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ANALYSIS OF CODE-SWITCHING IN GIBRALTAR

# CHAPTER 6

SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

Code-switching within a sentence should be distinguished from other kinds of code-switching that take place in a conversation or in a particular situation. In order to explain the restrictions that exist on intra-sentential code-switching it is first necessary to state one's position regarding the relationship between grammar, a speaker-hearer's bilingual linguistic knowledge, as well as the mental processes involved in producing and understanding bilingual speech. A variationist model seeks to explain intra-sentential code-switching by the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint. These constraints are formulated on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of code-switching in different syntactic structures. A formal generative model, on the other hand, makes use of the principle of syntagmatic coherence of the elements in a sentence to account for intra-sentential code-switching. This principle is formalized in the government constraint adapted from a Government and Binding framework. A description of Yanito syntactic structure is needed in order to test the validity of the constraints proposed by the two models. Interaction between the components of English and Spanish grammatical systems requires an explaination of bilingual code-switching in Gibraltar.
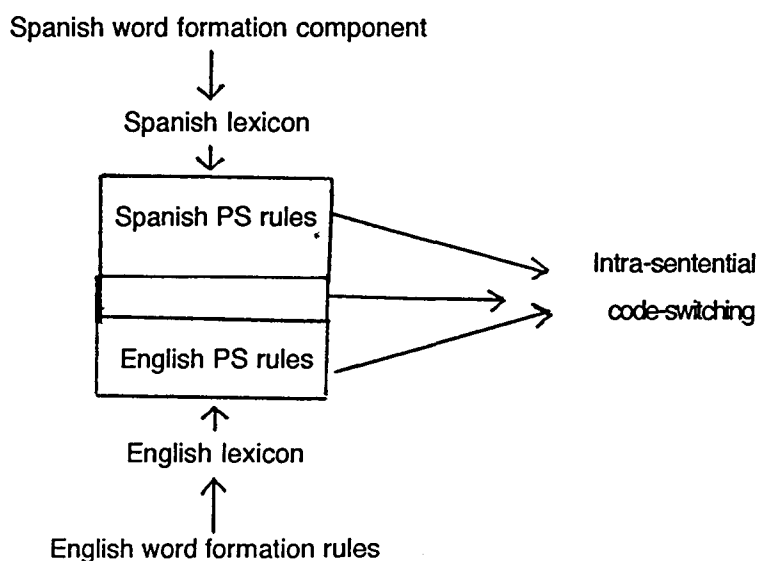
Sentences in two languages

Code-switching from a grammatical perspective is defined as the embedding of grammatical information/structure from two (or more) languages within the same syntactic unit, usually the sentence but also within intermediate and phrasal level constituents. Grammatical structure and other syntactic information are elicited by the word order configuration of constituents in a

sentence, by morphemes, and specific lexical items. This definition of code-switching as noted by Poplack (1991) and Muysken (1991) requires an advanced knowledge of the syntax of two languages. Therefore the only way to guarantee a corpus of intra-sentential code-switching data is to ensure a person's ability to communicate in two languages with close to native proficiency. Thus, all research in this area which seeks to explain code-switching needs to specify the informant's level of proficiency in each language. Otherwise, researchers fall into the danger of explaining bilingual language contact phenomena which is motivated by incomplete acquisition of a second language.[1] In part, this requirement for obtaining intra-sentential code-switching data is methodological but it also involves the adoption of a theoretical stand on the cognitive status of intra-sentential code-switching data, as well as other kinds of bilingual contact phenomena.

Some questions that arise regarding a bilingual's two grammars are their internal organization and the manner in which the two languages are stored, organized, and accessed during speech production and processing of code-switching.[2] If a bilingual person can communicate in two languages more-or-less like a native speaker then there is reason to assume a grammar for each language.[3] The number of grammars is not an essential question. It is the relatedness between the two grammars which is the real issue that at present remains unsolved, and which is discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter.[4] Current generative approaches to language maintain a modular view of the grammar whereby distinct subsystems of rules and principles contribute to the different components of the grammar (Hale 1988:28). The organization of the grammar and its components, phrase structure specifications, lexicon, movement rules and rules of interpretation interact to produce and relate the D-structure and the S-structure.

Phrase structure ⟶ **D-STRUCTURE** ⟵ Lexicon
specifications

↓

Movement

↓

S-STRUCTURE

↓

Movement and rules of interpretation

↓

LOGICAL FORM
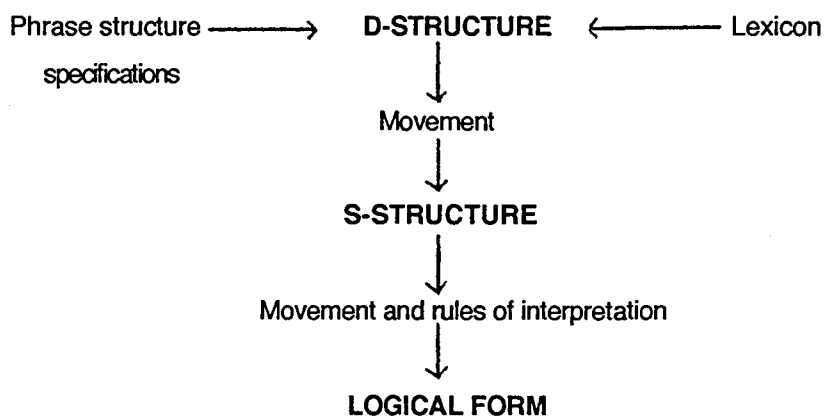
The manner in which two languages interact to produce code-switching
has sometimes been associated with the way a language A and a language B
are related in the grammar. Woolford (1983) proposes that there are two
separate grammars with separate lexicons but with a partial overlapping of the
phrase structure component with the phrase structure rules (PS rules) common
to both languages. For example, English lexical items fill the terminal nodes
created by English PS rules and Spanish lexical items fill in the terminal nodes
generated by Spanish PS rules.

Spanish word formation component

↓

Spanish lexicon

↓

Spanish PS rules	
	→ Intra-sentential
English PS rules	code-switching

↑

English lexicon

↑

English word formation rules

The predictions made by this proposal fit Poplack's formulation of the equivalence constraint.[5] An important difference is that Woolford's proposals do not predict all the possible switching sites within the sentence. The overlap of phrase structure rules from both grammar A and grammar B solely accounht for switches between and within phrasal constituents and not hose instance of code-switching that are excluded by Poplack's free morpheme constraint.[6] The ordering of the constituents within a sentence is determined also by word order rules. So, a switch in language applied to the lexical items inserted is the result of a switch in the PS rules applied. In current formulations of generative grammar from a government and binding perspective, phrase structure rules have virtually disappeared from the theory; the properties of phrase structures are determined in part by the lexicon and X-bar theory of the "lexical projection" of categorial structure, and also in part by argument structure, theta theory, as well as principles of government and case marking. In spite of major changes which have taken place in Chomky's initial formulations of generative grammar, it is helpful to understand how intra-sentential code-switching is viewed. There are numerous counter-examples to this claim attested by data from other researchers ; a violation from Yanito of Woolford's proposals are illustrated in the nominal phrase (1).

(1) El fish fresco

This example follows the PS rules of adjective placement of Spanish, but note that in spite of the Spanish PS rules the English lexical item *fish* has been inserted. This constitutes a structural conflict where the ordering of this constituent is Spanish but a lexical item from English is inserted. Weinreich provides evidence for the claim that lexical insertion and the grammatical

ordering of the elements in a sentence are separate processes, at least in the acquisition of second languages.[7] The example Weinreich presented contains lexical items from English, but it follows the German syntactic order.

(2) He comes tomorrow home [8]

It is not likely that the two processes of lexical insertion and language specific ordering rules are linked in the way Woolford has proposed.[9] Based on these proposals Woolford analyzes data mainly from other authors and predicts that code-switching may occur: (a) at major constituent breaks; (b) between one of two conjoined verbs or verb phrases; (c) between the elements in COMP position and S or the reverse since both Spanish and English have the rule S' COMP S. Code-switching is blocked (a) between a noun and a following adjective; (b) between verb and its clitics (whether or not they are preposed or postposed); (c) between morphemes in a single word ; (d) and between the elements of AUX, including the negative particle.

In order to understand more clearly the processes that take place in the production of Spanish/English code-switching in Gibraltar it is helpful to examine the way in which grammars differ. Spanish and English are both SVO languages which means that they are head first or that their "modifiers" appear to the right of their head. In spite of the similiar head ordering of English and Spanish there are a few head ordering differences between the two grammars, such as the position of adjectives modifying the head noun. Spanish adjective modifiers follow the head as in (3) whereas English adjective modifiers typically precede the head noun as in (4).

(3) La bandera roja

(4) The red flag

Another difference between English and Spanish grammars is that tensed verbs do not need a lexically overt subject as in (5). English must have a lexically filled subject with a tensed verb as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (6) as opposed to the grammaticality of (7).

(5) Atacaron a los enemigos

* (6) Attacked the enemy[10]

(7) They attacked the enemy

Object pronoun clitics are preposed to the main verb in Spanish whereas in English they must follow the main verb. Sentences (8) and (9) illustrate this point.

(8) María me lo dió

(9) Mary gave it to me

Negation without a modal auxiliary in English requires "do support" that is the insertion of the auxiliary verb *do* in order for the verb to be negated as in (10). Sentence (11) is ungrammatical because there is no auxiliary element. Spanish directly inserts the negative particle in the position preceding the main verb as in (12).

(10) John did not cry

*(11) John not cry

(12) Juan no lloró

Other points of difference between Spanish and English grammars according to Pfaff (1979) are that Spanish distinguishes more categories of tense and mood by verb suffix than English. Also, agreement features between subject and verbs are more developed in Spanish. English, historically, has lost most of its agreement features with the exception of the verb like *be* and the third person singular forms of most verbs. These differences between English and Spanish can lead to structural conflict in code-switching and the resolution of structural conflict depends on the theoretical approach adopted.

Predicting intra-sentential code-switching

The main question addressed by researchers entertaining an analysis of intra-sentential code-switching is whether or not there is some syntactic principle (or principles) that a person follows when code-switching within a sentence. In connection to this question is another formulated by Di Sciullo (1986:2) on the best way to characterize syntactic constraints on code-switching and whether these constraints are independently motivated or follow from some more general principle.[11] The answer to these questions depends on the theoretical assumptions adopted by the researcher and the claims she/he wishes to make. A feature of common agreement in all approaches to intra-sentential code-switching is that structural constraints exist; and an important goal is to be able to predict what combinations of languages are possible and in what kinds of syntactic configurations.

The two best known approaches to intra-sentential code-switching are the variationist model (Sankoff 1991) and the formal generative model (Di Sciullo

1986; Muysken 1991). The variationist model is formally exposed by Poplack at the European Science Foundation (ESF) meeting on code-switching held in Basel in September 1990 and it provides a framework for her previous research. The formal generative model undergoes further modifications which Muysken partially specifies in his paper presented to another ESF meeting on code-switching held in Barcelona by March 1991.

A variationist approach to language contact stems from Labov's proposals (1971) to scientifically investigate language use and structure in the vernacular. The main concerns of this paradigm are to account for the production data contained in a sample of spontaneous speech and to discover patterns of usage which pertain to the relative frequency of occurrence or with the co-occurrence of structures. Poplack (1990) defines her research program on language contact as involving the study of linguistic processes by which forms from two or more languages may be combined as a result of their common use; the linguistic constraints on such combinations, and its consequences for the structure of the languages involved. This approach is also concerned with the social meaning of language choice, and in particular, with the behavior, attitudes and perceptions of speakers. Research carried out in this framework has placed emphasis on methods of data-collection in the speech community (Poplack 1980). Much attention has been addressed within this model to the methodological problem of identifying true instances of code-switching and distinguishing it from other kinds of bilingual language contact phenomena such as lexical borrowing, nonce borrowing, incomplete second language acquisition, and interference.

The constraints formulated on intra-sentential code-switching within a variationist perspective are based on the frequency in which two languages are combined within a variety of different syntactic constituents. Syntactic relations

in this sense are limited to the linear ordering of the code-switched elements. Other sorts of grammatical relations such as the constituent structure, the syntactic properties of lexical items or hierarchy are not taken into consideration. A theory of grammar has never been proposed within the variationist paradigm and the role of constraints predicting code-switching is not stated.

Frequency data, however, supplies researchers with valuable information on the kinds of switching permitted in the sentence. The frequency information on intra-sentential code-switching is based on data from the Spanish-English language pair on the Puerto Rican community in New York City studied by Poplack (1980). The probabilistic predictions for word and phrasal level constituents in that study are summarized in Table 6.1 and 6.2. Frequency data confirm the sensitivity of code-switching to word and phrasal constituents. These tables also indicate that some constituents are switched more frequently than others, but no word level nor phrasal level constituents is excluded from switching processes.

The data presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 represent only 35% of all the instances of code-switching in Poplack's sample. The remaining instances of code-switching are classified as instances of extra-sentential code-switching (i.e. idiomatic expressions, tags, and quotations), independent and subordinate clauses, and predicate adjectives. The idiosyncratic classifications for the different sentence elements used by Poplack (1980) as well as Pfaff (1979) make comparisons difficult as it is unclear how each researcher has classified her data into syntactic constituents. In the case of Poplack's data, it is preferable for quotations and idiomatic expressions to be broken down into syntactic constituents rather than grouped together on the basis of discourse principles.

Table 6.1
Frequency of code-switching in word level categories

Categories:	Number of CS	% word categories	% all CS data (a)
Noun	175	56.4	9.5
Conjunctions (b)	49	15.8	2.7
Adverb	47	15.2	2.6
Verb	19	6.1	1.0
Adjective	15	4.8	0.8
Determiner	3	1.0	0.2
Preposition	2	0.6	0.1
Total	310	100 (310)	16.9 (1835)

Source: Shana Poplack.1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18:581-618.

Notes: (a) The remaining code-switching data in Poplack's sample includes 53.8% of extra-sentential switching (i.e. tags), 8.4% of independent and subordinate clauses, and 2.3% of predicate adjectives.
(b) It includes subordinate, coordinate and relative conjunctions.

Table 6.2
Frequency of code-switching in phrasal level constituents

Constituents	Number of CS	% phrasal constituents	% all CS data (a)
NP	209	60.9	11.4
VP	40	11.7	2.2
PP, AP, ADVP	94	27.4	5.1
Total	343	100	18.7 (1835)

Source: Shana Poplack.1980. Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español: toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18:581-618.

Notes: (a) The remaining code-switching data in Poplack's sample includes 53.8% of extra-sentential switching (i.e. tags), 8.4% of independent and subordinate clauses, and 2.3% of predicate adjectives.

The classification of the syntactic categories that undergo switching in Poplack's frequency table is somewhat confusing because the larger syntactic context where switching takes place is not specified. For example, in a noun phrase sequence made up of a [$_{np}$ determiner + noun] in which the noun occurs in a different language there is no way of deciding whether to count the determiner as the switched item or the noun as the switched item; unless precedence is taken as the criterion in which case syntactic critera such as word order are excluded. The frequency data in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 do not include information on the structural conflict between English and Spanish such as adjective and noun ordering although Poplack claims that there are no ungrammatical combinations in the 1,835 switches she studies. This may be because problematic cases were discarded as instances of borrowing.

The absence of structural conflict leads Poplack (1981:5) to formulate the equivalence and the free morpheme constraints. The equivalence constraint states that the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously. Poplack (1981:5) states that the free morpheme constraint restricts switches between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the latter is phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme.

These constraints are initially claimed to have close to universal status for code-switching of other language pairs. Numerous other constraints are formulated but they do not hold in all cases. The most important are: (a) the constituent size constraint which accounts for why higher level constituents such as sentences and clauses tend to be switched more frequently than lower-level constituents such as word level categories (Poplack 1980:604); (b) the phrase structure boundary

constraint which accounts for code-switches occuring primarily at phrase structure boundaries (Poplack 1980); (c) the conjunction and conjoined sentence constraint which states that conjunctions must be in the same language as the conjoined sentence (Gumperz 1976); (d) the pronominal subject and object constraint which restricts switching between pronominal subjects or objects and verbs (Gumperz 1970:158).

Both the free morpheme and the equivalence constraints account for all of Poplack's Puerto Rican data, but she admits that further comparative work, especially from languages without categorial equivalence, is necessary before these constraints are considered universal or near universal conditions. Researchers of code-switching find counter-examples to each one of the constraints elicited above in almost every multilingual community which uses code-switching to communicate. The counter-examples found do not necessarily invalidate the general patterns that code-switching tend to follow. That is, while the constraints may not be predictable in 100% of cases, they do have a high probability of occurrence. This status of syntactic statements based on frequencies has no resemblance to formal statements of generative approaches where probability does not reflect a speaker's linguistic competence.

The constraints above are formulated in terms of the linear sequence of words rather than hierarchical structural relations. While word order is one aspect of grammar that is currently accounted for by head order parameter and X-bar theory of lexical projection, there are many other principles of grammar which must be formulated in terms of phrasal level categories and structural relations of constituents at different levels. Woolford (1983) reduces code-switching to the compatibility of the phrase structure rules of the two languages used to code-switch. If the same phrase structure rule exists in both languages

then elements from either languages can be inserted; however, if rules from one language are adopted then the syntactic requirements must be filled by lexical items from that language. This criterion seems insufficient to account for intra-sentential code-switching especially for those cases where the absence of certain structural relations (i.e. government) holds.

An important goal of the variationist approach is to distinguish code-switching from borrowing and nonce-borrowings. These latter two phenomena are discussed in detail in chapter 3 and they are brought up again here since they enable variationists to account for the exceptions to the equivalence constraint and the free morpheme constraint.

Since morphological integration is taken as an important criterion for distinguishing borrowings, then those cases where the stem verb is in one language and the verbal morphology in another would be taken as a loan word which has been adapted to the host language rather than a case of code-switching. The equivalence constraint requires that the surface word order of the two languages be homologous in the vicinity of the switch point in typologically distinct languages as, for example, the case of adjective order in English and Spanish, variationists would consider either *fish* in example (1) and repeated here, *el fish fresco* as a loan or a borrowing since switches can not take place where there are differences in word order between the two languages. From a theoretical standpoint, a bilingual person's linguistic competence is the same whether or not borrowings and nonce borrowings are distinguished as a separate kind of phenomena.

A formal generative model situates intra-sentential code-switching within a framework with a well-defined theoretical background and set of goals. The government constraint, initially introduced by Di Sciullo (1986) and later modified by Muysken (1991), is an attempt to account for code-switching within

a Government and Binding model of grammar. The government constraint is an attempt to account for two observations about code-switching. In the first place, the absence of code-switching between elements with a certain structural coherence; and secondly, the tendency not to code-switch when there is an incompatibility between grammars. The issue which arises is not whether these observations can be disproved but whether they are independently motivated or follow from some general principle in the grammar. Di Sciullo (1986) and Muysken (1991) adopt the position that intra-sentential code-switching should be accounted for in the grammar.

Some of the differences between the variationist model and the formal generative model proposed is that the latter uses structural relations of dominance and precedence to predict intra-sentential code-switching rather than linear sequence of word and phrasal level categories which characterized Poplack's approach. Di Sciullo (1986) adds that the equivalence constraint fails to explain why switching does not take place in allowable switching sites that are permitted by the constraint. This constraint also predicts that intra-sentential code-switching can not take place between typologically different languages. Although numerous researchers (Nishimura 1986, Berk-Seligson 1986, Clyne 1987, Bokamba 1988) have disproved this.

The government constraint is based on the notion of syntagmatic coherence which holds between certain words in a sentence. Where this coherence is present between the elements in a sentence code-switching can not take place. The government constraint proposed is adapted from the notion of government in the current theory of government and binding. The definition of the government constraint states the kind of structural relationship where code-switching can not occur; outside this relationship of government the lexical items can be switched. An item X is said to govern Y if the first branching node

dominating X also dominates Y, and where X belongs to a major category such as noun, verb, adjective or preposition and no maximal boundary/barrier intervenes between X and Y. The governor X is a lexical item while the governed item or governee is a maximal projection (Di Sciullo 1986:6). The tree below illustrates these structural relations.

```
          V P
         /  \
        /    \
       V      NP
             /  \
            /    \
          Det     N
```
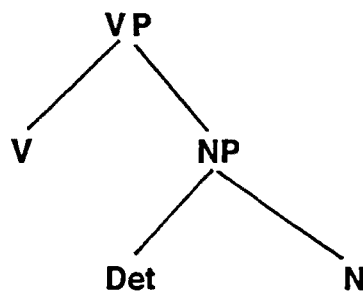
The verb governs the NP because the governor is a major category and because the first node dominating V is the VP and this VP also dominates the NP.

Elements in a government relationship must have the same language index, that is they must occur in the same language. The language index marks the words that are drawn from the same lexicon at the level of S-structure. They are not associated with base rules although a language index may get assigned to a constituent through structural relations. The conditions on the language index require that if the language carrier L_q has the language index q, then Y^{max} will also have the language index q; and if in a maximal projection Y^{max}, the L_q carrier is the lexical element which asymmetrically c-commands the other lexical elements or terminal nodes dominated by Y^{max}.

The concept of c-command in its weak form also known as m-command is central to Di Sciullo's proposal for the language carrier. This relation holds if

and only if the first branching node dominating X also dominates Y. This is exemplified by the tree structure of the noun phrase.

```
              NP
             /  \
            /    \
          Det    N'
                /  \
               /    \
              N      PP
```
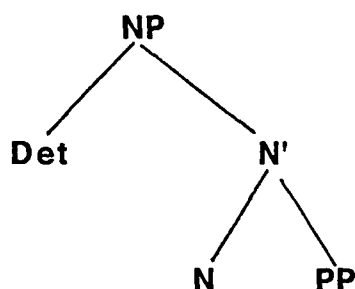
The X category does not need to be a major word category in order for it to c-command some other constitutent Y. Therefore in this tree the determiner c-commands N', N and PP; N also c-commands PP. The L_q carrier (the determiner or the noun) determines the language of the governed category. In this complex NP structure the determiner is the highest lexical element of the maximal projection, therefore it is the language index carrier. The determiner thus assigns through c-command a language index to the N and the PP. The lexical head N could be selected as the L_q carrier if there is a head with its complements . In other words, N could be selected as the lexical carrier of the maximal phrase projection PP in the above tree.

The predictions on intra-sentential code-switching made by the government constraint are stated according to structure, language index carrier, governor and governee. Bold lettering is used to distinguish language A or language B code-switching. The most frequently switched structures predicted by the government constraint are the following:

$[_{S'} [_S \textbf{NP} \ \text{VP}]]$

Language carrier: the language index carrier depends on the internal structure of the NP and VP phrase.

Governor: N is the governor of the NP; V is the governor of the VP.

Governee: the elements within each phrasal constituent (NP,VP) are governed by a head.

$[_{VP} \textbf{V} \ [_{S'} \textbf{COMP} \ \text{S}]]$

Language carrier: The language carrier of the VP is V and the language carrier of S' is the complementizer.

Governor: The governor of the VP is V.[12]

Governee: The governees of V are S', Comp, and S.

$[_{VP} \textbf{V} \ [_{NP} \textbf{DET} \ \text{N}]]$

Language carrier: The language index carrier of the VP is V and of the NP is the determiner.

Governor: The governor of VP is V, and the governor of the NP is N.

Governee: The governee of V is the NP, determiner, and N. Directionality of government impedes including determiner as a governee of the head N.

$[_{VP} \textbf{V} \ [_{AP} \textbf{QP} \ \text{A}]]$

Language carrier: The language carrier of the VP is V, and the language carrier of the AP is the quantifier phrase (QP).

Governor: The governor of the VP is V, and the governor of the AP is A.

Governee: The governee of V are AP, QP and A.

$[_{PP}P\ [_{NP}DET\ N]]$

Language carrier: The language index carrier of the PP is the P.

Governor: The governor of the PP is P. The governor of the NP is N.

Governee: The governees of the P are the NP, the determiner, and the N.

$[_{NP}DET\ [_{N'}\ N\ AP]]$

Language carrier: The language index carrier is the highest element in the phrase which is the determiner.

Governor: The governor of the NP is N, and the governor of the AP is A.

Governee: The governee is the AP but not the determiner as in traditional defintions of government because of the directionality of the government parameter.

$[_{NP}DET\ [_{N'}\ N\ PP]]$

Language carrier: The language index carrier of the NP is the determiner.

Governor: The governor of the NP is N.

Governee: The governee of N is the PP, P and the NP.

The language index for these structures is different in each case as constituents with varied complexity. As Di Sciullo (1986) stated the lexical item highest up in the tree structure is the lexical index carrier. If for example the NP complement of a PP has a complex internal structure, then only L_q carrier of the governed item must be in the same language as the governor.

VP
V_q PP_q
P_q NP_q
dét_q N'_p
N_p PP_p
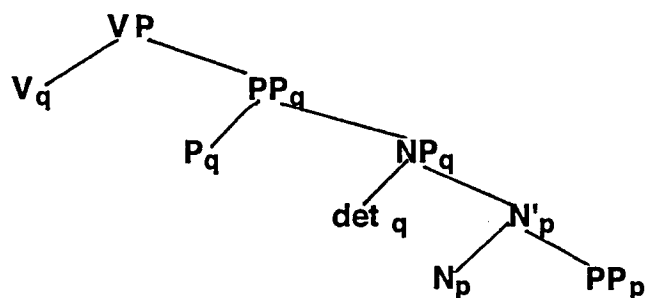
The governor of the VP in the tree structure is the V, and the governed categories or governees are the PP, P, and the NP. Neither N' nor the N in the tree are required to have the same language index which is indicated by a lower case *p*.

Grammatical structure of Yanito

This structural account of English/Spanish code-switching in Yanito is based on data from the transcripts included in the appendix and from over thirty published articles of *La Calentita: Gibraltar's National Dish*. The examples analyzed come from bilingual informants with a near native competence in both languages. The written texts from which the examples in this section are extracted are also produced by a highly fluent speaker in both English and Spanish. The examples from written texts are reproduced word for word and with their original spellings which differ on occasions from standard Spanish and English.

The object of this section is to provide an analysis of the various kinds of switches that take place in Yanito sentences. The different sentence structures presented are obtained after a careful examination of all the available data

rather than from frequency counts or informant's judgements on the grammaticality of code-switched sentences.[13]

Much of the research on the syntax of code-switching seeks to explain the occurrence of language switching in the most frequently occuring structures. The most frequent occuring switches provide important insights on what needs to be accounted for in a syntactic approach to code-switching. For example, why do word level lexical categories switch more frequently than phrasal categories or functional words such as complementizers and conjunctions. Caution, however, needs to be taken on how frequency data are interpreted. For some researchers from the variationist tradition, the frequency of switching in certain structures is translated into a universal grammatical rule without reference to any specific grammatical model or theory. The equivalence constraint Poplack (1980) proposes, is an example of how certain frequency patterns of switching are misinterpreted.[14] Another potential problem of calculating frequencies on the data collected is that these frequencies may be a characterization of a specific speech style since certain language choices are more frequent in given contexts than in others.

In the model of grammar adopted, words belong to different syntactic categories, and the syntactic category to which a word belongs determines its distribution in the sentence. Some lexical units, as for example verbs, account for the obligatory nature of certain constituents in a sentence. The minimum number of constituents required in a sentence stems from its meaning and from the type of action or state the verb expresses. These notions account for the subcategorization frame, the predicate argument structure, and the thematic roles of verbs.[15] Code-switching from a purely lexical perspective must take into account the syntactic information carried, for example, by a verb. The process of identification of a word in English with a word in Spanish is not

always instantiated by items with the same subcategorization frame, thematic roles or argument structure. In cases where there is a difference or conflict in syntactic information between the two languages code-switching does take place in Yanito.

In examples (13) to (15) subcategorization information and the argument structure are preserved in spite of code-switching between the arguments and their predicates. The predicate *go* takes a patient/experiencer and locative arguments which are filled. In addition, the verb *go* with the meaning of *fetch* in English must take the preposition *for* also in English which is not the case. The subcategorization frame for *go* is filled by the Spanish word *por* which is equivalent in meaning to the English preposition *for* of the subcategorization frame of the head verb. A slightly different pattern is observed in (14). The English predicate *allow* requires two predicates, an agent and a theme which are lexically filled by Spanish words. In (15) the agent argument is expressed in Spanish while the complements are expressed in the same language as the predicate.

(13) Después mientras que we've gone por los muebles

After, while we have gone for the furniture

(14) Yo no comprendo cómo un gobierno can allow una cosa así to happen

I don't understand how a government can allow something like that to happen

(15) Mi Juan spends his time watching the war en el televisho

My John spends his time watching the war on television

Switching is not constrained by the language in which the main verb occurs. As long as the subcategorization frame and the argument structure of the main verb predicate are satisfied the choice of language makes no difference. This is strong evidence for claiming some sort of connection or inter-relation between the Spanish and English lexical inventories in the mind of a bilingual speaker. Otherwise, there is no way to account for the above examples and in particular for the selection of the preposition *por* in (13) which does not fulfill the strict subcategorization requirements of the English verb *go*.

In contrast with examples (13)-(15), the subcategorization frame of the English verbs *tell*, *accuse*, *invite*, and *answer back* are violated by code-switching in (16)-(18) below. The verbs which are lexically filled in English require an NP complement also in English immediately following the head. In each example, the NP complement position is filled with a PP. The arguments of *tell* (i.e. agent, theme, and goal) are lexically filled and they express the correct semantic relationship to the predicate. The subcategorization conflict not only lies in the choice of the appropriate constituent but also in the correct ordering of the constituents as example (16) illustrates; since the verb *tell* does permit a PP complement but not immediately following the head verb. An additional violation in the ordering of the complement and the verbal particle *back* is observed in (19). One of the requirements of this complex verb is that the particle *back* follow the complement which should be placed immediately after the head of the VP. Even though the verbs in (16)-(19) are English, it is the subcategorization frames of the Spanish forms of *decir, acusar, invitar,* and *contestar* which are filled. In (20) and (21) the subcategorization frame is correctly filled for both English and Spanish verb entries. The prepositional particle subcategorized for by *estar* in (21) appears in the same language as the verb but this is not a requirement as is illustrated in (16).

(16) He is going to tell a un tal Ensalada que acepte el British

interpretation of the airport deal

He is going to tell some nitwit to accept the British interpretation of

the airport deal

(17) He accused a Mister Bigote de doble lenguaje

He accused Mister Bigote of double talk

(18) They invite a El Boss and then they don't keep their word

They invite the boss and then they don't keep their word

(19) Tio Bigote who quickly answered back al Flamenco Jones with the

kind of music we all understand

Uncle Bigote who quickly answered Flamenco Jones back with the

kind of music we all understand

(20) Let's look forward a un año más tranquilo

Let's look forward to a calmer year

(21) Estamos a back to square one

We are back to square one

Subcategorization and the ordering requirements of English predicates

are not satisfied even though the predicate argument structure and the thematic

roles are respected in (16)-(19) and they are the same verbs whether they are

filled lexically by English or Spanish verbs. This indicates that the person who

code-switches must identify *tell* with *decir, accuse* with *acusar, invite* with *invitar*

and *answer back* with *contestar* on a semantic and argument structure basis.

However, the grammatical ordering of the complements which is language

specific is not restricted. This creates problems for determining the matrix

language especially if this concept is based on the grammatical parameter of word order alone.

Verbal modifiers which are not subcategorized for by the verb, also known as adjuncts, appear in either English and Spanish regardless of the language of the verb they modify. Full phrasal constituents such as the adjuncts are switched in (22)-(24) although this is not always the case as is explained in the more detailed analysis provided for each of the constituents in Yanito.

(22) Lo vendían at your door

They sold it at your door

(23) Va a formar un new pressure group en Inglaterra

He is going to form a new pressure group in England

(24) Le ha dado los dos cuartos de al lado to extend it

He gave him the two rooms next door to extend it

Verb patterns with the Spanish verb *hacer* followed by an NP in English as in examples (25) and (26) from Yanito are also observed in other Spanish/English code-switching communities described by Pfaff (1979). The meanings of the verb *hacer* do not overlap completely with either of its English equivalents which are *do* and *make*. Selectional restrictions on the verb *do* make *do a Moslem fast* or *do a phone call* impossible in English. Selectional restrictions of *make*, in (26) however, do allow *phone call* as a possible complement but not when the verb *hacer* has the meaning of *do* or *follows* as in (25). Selectional restrictions on the Spanish verb *hacer* are satisfied in both (25)-(26) although the following complements are in English.

(25) Hace Moslem fast for thirty days

He follows the moslem fast for thirty days

(26) Ellos me hacen un phone call dos o tres veces a la semana

They call me by phone two or three times a week

Pfaff's (1979) Mexican-American data in (27)-(28) show a similiar pattern with the verb *hacer*. The verb *hacer* has a non-modal auxiliary function in these examples if the following word is taken as a lexical verb form with no morphology. An alternative analysis would be to treat *hacer* as the main verb with a nominalized verb complement. These two examples illustrate the same problem as in (25) where selectional restrictions of the Spanish meaning of *hacer* are respected as English does not allow constructions such as the ones in (27) and (28).

(27) Su hija hace teach allá en San José

His daughter teaches there in San José

(28) ¿Por qué te hicieron beat up?

Why did they beat you up?

A different proposal Pfaff (1979) makes is that a process of grammatical simplification of the verbal morphology similiar to what occurs in creole languages takes place.

In summary, the sentences of Yanito examined show that intra-sentential code-switching takes place when subcategorization, argument structure, and thematic roles are identical in both languages as in (13)-(15). Code-switching also takes place when subcategorization of English and Spanish verbs are not the same as in (16)-(19). Argument structure and thematic roles of examples

(16)-(19) are the same in both languages. In addition, code-switching occurs when selectional restrictions and thematic roles between verbs and NP complements differ as illustrated in (25), (27) and (28). These observations suggest that in the case of Yanito code-switching does not follow from lexical level syntactic constraints

Phrasal constituents are distinguished from word level constituents by a variety of distributional, syntactic, and morphological arguments (Radford 1988).[16] The categorization of phrasal constituents is determined by the word level category which serves as its head. Noun phrase constituents are of particular interest in Spanish-English code-switching since the word order of adjectival modifiers differs. Many researchers studying this particular language pair observe that switching rarely takes place between an adjective and a head noun as this would involve a violation of the gramatical rules of both English and Spanish. Poplack (1980, 1981) formulates the equivalence constraint to account for this restriction on code-switching.

The most frequent switching in the Yanito NP is between the article which is commonly Spanish and an English head noun.[17] Prepositional phrase complements of noun phrase constituents are also freely switched. Phrases (29)-(31) illustrate the prototypical code-switching patterns in Yanito noun phrases. Agreement morphology of gender is usually realized lexically on the Spanish item rather than on the English word since English does not distinguish gender on adjectives nor determiners. The agreement features of number between the determiner and the noun are realized lexically on the elements in both languages. Person agreement between the head noun and the verb of the main clause is also realized lexically on the verb if it is in Spanish but not in English since verb morphology is limited.

A question that arises and which is illustrated in (29)-(31) is what kind of gender gets assigned to a determiner or adjective modifier if the head noun is in English. Poplack looked at this in her analysis of Puerto Rican speakers and she found that there was no principle that explains the gender of the head noun in Spanish.

(29) El title del libro

(30) Los employers toman la persona y lo tienen por un cierto tiempo

(31) El British Governation

The logical possible instantiations of code-switchings of the determiner, of the prepositional phrase complement, and of the head noun show a wider variety of structures than what actually occurs in Yanito. For example, the combination of an English determiner and a head noun in Spanish occurs less frequently in the data than the reverse language combinations (i.e. a Spanish determiner and an English head noun). The determiner, a noun and its prepositional phrase complement have the same ordering restrictions in both English and Spanish. Theoretically none of the logical language combinations elicited in parentheses (el título *of the book,* el *title of the book,* el *title* del libro, *the title* del libro, *the* título del libro, *the* título *of the book*) violate Poplack's equivalence constraint although only some of these structural combinations are actually used in Yanito. From a syntactic point of view there is no violation in the word order of the two languages. The cases which do not occur are either a result of the data sampling or they must be explained by some other principle.

Example (32) and example (1) *el fish fresco* from Yanito are violations of the equivalence constraint because the adjectival phrase which is in Spanish follows Spanish word order while the head noun is English. The conflict of word

order in the NP constituent and lexical insertion is resolved by the speaker adopting the word order of one of the two languages. Word order in this case is taken as the main criterion for determining the matrix language of the sentence. Phrases (32)-(33) and (35), in spite of the differences in language of their lexical heads are structurally Spanish because they follow Spanish word order. Sentences (31) and (34) which also have an English head follow the English structural ordering. This shows that the language of the lexical head is not a necessary factor in determining the syntactic structure of noun phrase constituents with adjectival phrase modifiers. It also indicates that code-switching is not limited to phrasal structures with identical word order in the two languages. The high degree of language proficiency of the individual who code-switches enables that person to choose whichever ordering rules that are part of her linguistic competence. These examples of NP constituents either follow the ordering parameter of Spanish or English and we do not get combinations such as *noun + determiner + adjectival phrase* or *adjectival phrase + determiner + noun* because neither of these word orders exist in either Spanish or English. The syntactic rules we formulate on code-switching need to account for why such combinations are absent.

(32) Una person normal

A normal person

(33) Se ponen esas flores dying

Those dying flowers are put there

(34) Esos French books no son míos

Those French books are not mine

(35) Algunos Campo politicians

Some Campo politicians

Poplack treats these examples with the exception of (34) as violations of the equivalence constraint as a different kind of phenomenon altogether. She claims that words like *fish* or *person* in (1) or (32) have a different cognitive status than intra-sentential code-switching. They are classified as a kind of borrowing and are called nonce-borrowings.

The syntactic structures of the previous examples are accounted for by appealing to a the notion of matrix language based on the ordering parameter of the adjective, but in the case of (36)-(37) the task of identifying the matrix language is more problematic because the head noun is preceded by an adjective in English and followed by an adjective in Spanish. These are also clear counter-examples to the equivalence constraint. The head noun does not determine the syntactic structure of the noun phrase as can be observed in (36) where the head noun is Spanish, and (37) where it is English. Both English and Spanish syntactic rules involving ordering must interact to produce combinations grammatical in either one of the languages.

(36) The best agua escocesa con ga y sin ga[18]

The best Scottish water with fizz and without fizz

(37) Ya tenemos un shipping register nuevo

We already have a new shipping register

Rather than use the ordering principle of just one language, the word order in (36)-(37) of both English and Spanish are followed. An alternative view of these examples is if *agua escocesa* and *shipping register* are considered as a single lexical units. Evidence for this is also that both words occur in the same language. This is a plausible hypothesis in the case of Gibraltar where cultural

and community bound objects and activities are often only known in a single language, in spite of an individual's proficiency in English and Spanish. This proposal involves taking *agua escocesa* and *shipping register* as a kind of compound word like the English lexical item *hard-working*,. If this hypothesis is correct the matrix language structure would be determined by the placement of the adjectival phrase. In example (36), the noun phrase follows the English ordering rules since *best* is preposed; and example (37) follows a Spanish word order with the adjectival phrase *nuevo* following the English nominal phrase *shipping register*.

There are no restrictions on language switching between a relative clause and its antecedent. Both (38) and (39) illustrate the two possible language combinations. This switching pattern fits Poplack's equivalence constraint as the word order of noun phrase clausal modifiers is identical in Spanish and English.

(38) Ha salido un lote de niñas including fifth years and sixth years
   We have turned out a group of girls including fifth years and sixth years
(39) They cleaned up the beaches que antes estaban muy sucias
   They cleaned up the beaches that were very dirty before

Only (39) is introduced by a complementizer which is in Spanish together with the rest of the clause. The analysis of yanito NP constituents and their modifiers indicates that code-switching is not restricted to Poplack's equivalence constraint, and that conflicts of ordering such as (32), (33), and (35) are resolved by reference to either the concept of matrix language or the combination of ordering rules of both languages as in (36) and (37). Only noun

phrases with word orders in Spanish or English appeared in the data. The absence of ungrammatical noun phrase structures as proposed should not receive the same treatment of non-occurring structures that are the result of pragmatic conditions of the data collected.

The English verb phrase is perhaps the phrasal constituent which differs most markedly from Spanish in its morphological realization of tense, and agreement. The expression of perfective aspect with *have* and progressive aspect with *be* as well as the preponderance of English compound verb forms (i.e. with a preposition) are some of the most obvious ways the verbal systems of English and Spanish are different.

The Spanish attributive verb *estar* is used in structures followed by a perfective participle form. This pattern has a parallel structure in English with the verb *be*. The participal in (40)-(41) is code-switched without any structural conflict between the two languages. Example (42), is more problematic since it lacks the correct perfective verbal morphology required both in English and Spanish.[19] The most common form of code-switching in the Yanito data is of the entire verb phrase as illustrated in (43).

(40) El pobre hombre está confused

   The poor man is confused

(41) Ya hasta los toilets están coordinated

   Now even the toilets are coordinated

(42) Todo estaba bruise

   Everything was bruised

(43) Después mientras que we've gone por los muebles

   After while we have gone for the furniture

The interaction between grammars involves a process of identification of the English and Spanish verbal meanings and the morphological markings of each system in order to generate code-switching in (40)-(42) without violating the grammar of either language.

Sentence (44) illustrates one of the most common cases of switching. An inflected English modal verb *can* with the main verb *allow* in a otherwise Spanish context . A question that is raised by this example is whether switching is tied to grammatical principles or if simple insertions can be viewed as a process separate from the grammar.

> (44) Yo no comprendo como un gobierno can allow una cosa así to happen
>
> *I do not understand how a government can allow something like that to happen*

An additional verbal structure in Yanito which is also described by Pfaff is a Spanish verb with an English infinitival complement. Example (45) is a case of a bare infinitive without the infinitival particle *to*. This pattern is identical in both English and Spanish; thus there is no structural conflict between the two languages. The matrix language is Spanish since there is no *to* particle, and switching of a non-finite form fulfills the sructural requirements of the base language.

> (45) Hay que stand back
> *You have to stand back*

Another feature which distinguishes English and Spanish verb systems is person and number agreement between the verb and the subject of the clause.

(46) Tú te sientas y ellos say I wanna talk to you

You sit down and they say I wanna talk to you

(47) Mi husband sigue tomando el cuécaro in the mornings

My husband eatsquaker oats in the mornings

The English verb *say* in (46) lacks Spanish agreement morphology while in (47) the Spanish verb *seguir* carries the third person singular verbal ending which agrees with the English *husband*. The grammars of English and Spanish must interact to mark agreement between the English verb and the Spanish subject. This interaction rules out ungrammatical constructions like *Ellos says I wanna talk to you.*

Even though code-switching does not take place in (48), this sentence is produced by an individual proficient in both English and Spanish while all the lexical items are English, the subcategorization frame of *parecer* (the Spanish equivalent of *seem*) is fulfilled. A formal generative account of the verb *seem* within government and binding theory is that it is a raising verb where NP movement has taken place across an S boundary. Example (48) is ungrammatical in English since the verb *agreed* is tensed requiring an S-bar (S') rather than S which blocks NP raising (Radford 1988: 435-438, Haeggeman 1991: 282-284). The Spanish verb *parecer*, in contrast permits an adjectival modifier (in this case a past participal with adjectival modifying function) following such as *Ellos parecen contentos* or (They seem happy) *La puerta parece estropeada* (The door seems broken).

(48) Everyone now seems agreed that as the UK presence

reduces *our independence increases*

Example (48) is not grammmmatical for the monolingual English speaker but for a highly proficient bilingual who has access to both the subcategorization frames of *parecer* and *seem* ; this is explained by reference to a matrix VP in Spanish determined by subcategorization of *parecer* with lexical items inserted from English.

There are no cases observed in the Yanito data collected in the present study of English.verbs with Spanish morphological endings as pointed out by Pfaff and presented in examples (49) and (50). The morphological adaptation of

(49) Los hombres me trustearon

The men trusted me

(50) Taipiamos cada día

We type every day

English verbs to Spanish allows a pro-subject not permitted in English. Poplack treats the verbs in the latter two cases as borrowings rather than cases of code-switching. She considers that the English verbs are adapted phonologically and morphologically to Spanish. The real issue at debate here is the linguistic competence of the person who produced such a sentence. In the case (49) and (50) are produced by a bilingual speaker they are showing a proficient linguistic competence in both English and Spanish because in addition to mixing the morphologies of two languages there is no violation of the principles of agreement between subject and verb endings.

Another question which is raised by examples (49) and (50) is whether these sentences should be considered structurally Spanish. The lexical items in both sentences are Spanish and the ordering of the clitic *me* in (49) also follows Spanish word ordering as well as the pro-subject in (50) and English tensed verbs without lexically realized subjects. The criteria of pro-drop, clitic ordering and the Spanish verbal morphology on an English root verb are the basis for classifying these two sentences as Spanish from a structural perspective.

Examples (51) and (52) are produced by individuals with native linguistic competence in both English and Spanish; therefore, such cases cannot be discarded as a problem of language acquisition. The absence of an overt, lexically realized subject in the English clauses shows how the pro-drop parameter of Spanish is carried over to an otherwise English construction. Hale (1988: 431-432) discusses this kind of grammatical phenomena in terms of the prevalence of a person's L1 (native language) parameter in an acquired L2 (second language), and whether the learning of parameters is a unitary phenomenon learned for all structures at once or an isolated structure specific learned phenomenon.

(51) Son personas que are very close to nature

They are people who are very close to nature

(52) Y la otra es Marie; is very hard-working

And the other one is Marie; she is very hard-working

An additional consideration proposed is that for a proficient bilingual speaker two grammatical systems closely interacting and that linguistic competence and lexical knowledge from both languages is needed in order to

process the kind bilingual code-swithing analyzed in the present chapter. These examples are consistent with the notion of grammatical code-switching where grammatical principles and parameters interact and the insertion of lexical items from two languages is not restricted by the grammars.

Clausal constituent complements of a main verb can be introduced by complementizers in both English and Spanish regardless of the language of the head verb. According to some researchers (Gumperz 1982) a conjunction such as the Spanish *que* in the sentences below must occur in the same language as the clause it introduces. Note that in examples (53) and (54), this is not the case, but in (55) *que* does introduce a clause in the same language.

(53) But he didn't say once que Brussels had served its purpose

But he didn't say once that Brussels had served its purpose

(54) Nos estamos dando cuenta que going to the Fortress Fantasia was like attending our own funeral.

We are becoming aware that going to the Fortress Fantasia was ilke attending our own funeral

(55) I say, y lọ digo que han quitado all the chains from the waiting area

I say, and I repeat that they have removed all the chains from the waiting area

Di Sciullo et al. (1986) propose a distinction between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions and complementizers that introduce S-bar clauses. They claim that complementizers can be in a different language from their sister S, but like Gumperz (1982) they must be in the same language as the head verb because the main verb is the governor and it must be in the same language as the governed complementizer. This government relation does not

hold between the main verb and the S constituent. Example (56) as well as (53) and (54) are violations of the constraints proposed by Di Sciullo and Gumperz. These examples suggest that the grammatical principles constraining code-switching work in the same way as in a monolingual grammar. The interaction and the identification of lexical items, (in this case complementizers), of English and Spanish permits the insertion of words from either language as long as the subsystems of the two grammars cooperate to produce structures that are gramatical in both languages. Grammaticality is realized when the structures of English and Spanish are equivalent and/or identical and in case they are not the speaker realizes the syntactic structure in just one of the languages (i.e. matrix or base language).

(56) A lo mejor le cae mal that we go to the Marbella money show
Maybe he doesn't like that we go to the Marbella money show

Sentences (57), (58), and (59) exemplify different switching patterns of coordinated clauses in Yanito. The constraint formulated by Pfaff (1979) states that the coordinating conjunction must be in the same language as the second conjunct as in the examples from Yanito illustrated below.

(57) Tú recuerdas los muertos del año and you're going to make it a
day of rejoicing
You remember the dead of the year and you are going to make it a
day of rejoicing

(58) They go ahead doing the wrong thing y después nos dan los

broken plates

They go ahead doing the wrong thing and after they give us the

broken plates

(59) Mi pobre Juan dió un ronquio half-way through y se perdió hasta

el

gordo

My poor Juan gave a snore half-way through and he even missed

the lottery prize

(60) I might do a diplomatic thing but con nosotros está entre amigos

I might do a diplomatic thing but its between us

Sentence (60) does not follow the constraint proposed by Pfaff; this

constraint is not necessary as long as the sentences produced are grammatical

in both of the code-switched languages. English and Spanish have structurally

similiar means of coordinating two constituents and introducing S-bar (S')

clausal *complements with complementizers.*

Language processing

One aspect of language processing in bilinguals which interests

researchers is how intra-sentential code-switching is produced, perceived and

comprehended. General agreement exists on the issue that code-switching

involves interaction between two grammatical systems (Sridhar 1980, Joshi,

1985, Grosjean 1986), and that this interaction should be reflected in the

processing model. A question that is raised by a processing model of code-

switching is whether or not the model of grammar characterizes the linguistic knowledge used in language comprehension and production. A model of grammar shares with a model of processing the need to account for code-switching data. Therefore, both attempt to formulate constraints which predict when code-switching can occur within the sentence. The principles that account for code-switching within the grammar are necessarily formulated in different theoretical terms than in the processing model even though both need to account for the same phenomena.

Frazier (1988:31) claims there is empirical evidence that supports the view that generative grammars do characterize the linguistic knowledge, at least in our comprehension ability. The rules and principles of grammar are shown to participate directly in language comprehension. A major development in generative grammar over the past fifteen years which have had major consequences for processing models is the shift from a derivational model to a modular model of grammar which enables distinct subsystems of principles to apply concurrently, and where delays in the analysis in one subsystem need not affect the operations carried out in other subsystems. The autonomy of the processor's use of distinct information types supports the model of grammar adopted and explained at the beginning of this chapter. These assumptions regarding a processing model are examined in light of the proposals put forth on the processing of code-switching phenomena.

A common feature of all proposals on code-switching processing models is the integration of guest elements into host structures (Sridhar 1980:410). Joshi (1985:191) adopts the terminology of matrix and embedded languages whereby a matrix language is determined by sentence word order and the embedded language include all the elements from a different language which are integrated into the matrix language. It is the relationship between the matrix

and the embedded language which differentiates processing models for code-switching.

The concepts of matrix and embedded languages are problematic; especially in the application of these notions to languages which are typologically similar where the task of identifying the matrix is many times impossible. The linear configuration of the elements in a sentence is a helpful way of distinguishing code-switching in languages with different word orders but some other criteria/on is needed for typologically similar languages. Argument structure, thematic relations, and lexical subcategorization are other ways in which languages may differ and they are more helpful criteria for distinguishing matrix and embedded languages in code-switching of a typologically identical language-pair. This proposal suggests that in processing code-switching bilingual speakers in languages like English and Spanish may use this grammatical information from the theoretical framework of Government and Binding for determining the matrix and the embedded language.

This contrasts with the proposals of Vallduví and Fontana (1989) who propose two linguistic mechanisms to account for intra-sentential code-switching. These linguistic mechanisms are presumedly meant to characterize the interaction between the grammar and the lexicon of the matrix and the embedded languages but their relation to a theoretical model of grammar is not established nor is there any mention to a model of processsing for code-switching. Grammatical mixing is distinguished from lexical mixing whereby grammatical mixing involves the switching of syntactic constituents from different languages and lexical switching involves the insertion of single lexical items from the embedded language. Criteria for establishing the overall structure of the sentence and the language it belongs are not discussed. In addition, the syntactic information lexical items contribute (i.e. verbs) to the

structure of the sentence is not captured by the linguistic mechanisms proposed which make a strong point about lexical switching as independent of grammatical switching.

Sridhar (1980) recognizes that the equivalence constraint goes a long way in accounting for code-switched sentences but it does not say anything about the internal constituency of the switched elements. To resolve this issue an additional principle called the *dual structure principle* is proposed where the guest constituent does not need to conform to the structure rules of the matrix language sentence as long as it is embedded in the matrix sentence following the matrix word order (Sridhar 1980:412). None of the problematic cases of structural conflict between two languages such as examples (38) or (40) in the present chapter are discussed and the difficulties of identifying the host and the guest language as illustrated in examples (41) and (42) of this chapter is not dealt with for typologically similar languages like English and Spanish. An additional drawback of this model are the psycholinguistic claims outlined by the author; the assembly line model entails a process by which individual guest components are put together separately and inserted into appropriate slots in the syntactic frame of the host language. This implies that in processing it is necessary to go back and forth from the grammatical system of the guest language to the grammatical system of the host language, and the overall ordering of the elements in a sentence is the basis for determining the host language but Sridhar (1980) does not explain how this is acomplished from a processing perspective. Frazier (1988) points out that in non-modular approaches the limited capacity of the processor makes the construction of the sentence computationally expensive and time consuming. This could be an explanation for researchers (Grosjean 1986, Sridhar 1980) observations from experiments that code-switching takes more time to process.

Joshi (1985) proposes a computational model to account for the generation and the parsing of utterances with intra-sentential code-switching. The grammar of the matrix and the embedded language are systematically interacting in the production and the comprehension of code-switching. This interaction between the grammars is formulated in terms of a switching rule which is restricted by a series of constraints. The switching rule is not formulated in terms of a third grammar contrary to Sankoff and Poplack (1981). The constraints on Joshi's switching rule are: the asymmetry between matrix and embedded languages whereby switches from the matrix to the embedded language are possible but not viceversa, the non-switchability of the matrix sentence root node, the non-switchability of closed class items, as well as additional constraints for complementizers and preposed relatives of the Marathi-English language pair. A parsing strategy is needed to try and determine as early as possible the language of the major constituent it is currently parsing and at the same time capable of capturing the asymmetry constraint and the constraint on closed classes (Joshi 1985: 202). This model proposed by Joshi is not linked to any particular grammatical theory. The advantage of a modular perspective as opposed to Joshi's proposal to processing is that it enables interaction between the grammars of the language pair to take place autonomously within the individual subsystems. The interaction between the Spanish/English lexicon as illustrated in this chapter suggests that thematic, subcategorization and argument structure information must be interchanged in order to produce and comprehend the switching patterns that occur in Yanito.

NOTES OF CHAPTER 6

1. Since second language acquisition data and some kinds of bilingual language contact data may be identical it is compulsory to state the speakers' level of proficiency in the two languages.

2. The generation and parsing of code-switching is taken again in the last section of the present chapter. See Grosjean (1986) and Romaine (1989) for a more complete review of the issues of bilingual production and processing.

3. Sankoff and Poplack (1981) have proposed three grammars for speakers who code-switch. A grammar of language A, another for language B, and a third code-switching grammar. This proposal is criticized by Woolford (1983) and Joshi (1985) among others.

4. The issue which causes some confusion is whether it is necessary to account for code-switching by a third grammar or by some processing mechanism. It is difficult to demonstrate empirically which of the two is the correct solution.

5.The equivalence constraint specifies that switching may only take place when the two grammars overlap. A discussion of this is included in section two of this chapter. See page 185 for the definition of the equivalence constraint.

6. See page 185 of this chapter for a definition of the free morpheme constraint.

7. Word order is a language specific rule which is separate from the syntactic information of subcategorization and the argument structure which is specified by the verb.

8. Weinreich does not state the language proficiency of his informant. It is presumedly someone who does not have full linguistic competence in English.

9. In current generative theory PS rules no longer specify the ordering of the elements in a sentence. X-bar theory specifications together with a language specific parameter which states the ordering of the head with respect to its "modifiers".

10. The asterisk (*) indicates the ungrammaticality of a sentence or a phrase.

11. What Di Sciullo refers to here is whether code-switching should be accounted for in the grammar or in a model of bilingual language processing.

12. The revised status of S as I-double bar (I") has not been incorporated in the analysis of code-switching. For more information on this see Haeggeman (1991).

13. Obtaining a bilingual speaker's judgement on the grammaticality and the acceptability of intra-sentential code-switching is problematic since bilingual speakers coincide that code-switching is unacceptable.

14. Poplack's work still is extremely valuable for researchers but her interpretation of frequency can not be easily integrated into the theoretical claims of generative grammar.

15. The theoretical terms (i.e. D-structure, S-structure, subcategorization, argument structure and thematic roles) used to discuss the syntactic information of lexical items are taken from Chomsky's model of Government and Binding. A clear and concise introduction to these terms is available in Sells (1985), Radford (1988) and Haegeman (1991).

16. We will not be examining the switching patterns of intermediate constituents between the word level and the phrasal level constituents established by X-bar theory.

17. This switching pattern is present in almost all the collected data. The term frequent does not refer to numerical frequency counts but to the observable occurrence in the data.

18. This example was taken from a written advertisement in *Panorama*, a Gibraltarian weekly newspaper. The word *ga* is an Andalusian dialectal pronunciation of the Spanish word *gas* which means *fizzy* in English.

19. This example is included in order to fulfill the accountability principle of the different kinds of data in Yanito. The example was extracted from a piece of oral discourse. It is unclear from just one example whether the lack of morphological marking on the participal may be explained by a phonological deletion rule which is typical in words ending in [d] in Andalusian Spanish.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to the present dissertation bring together the results of empirical research discussed in chapters one, four, five, and six with their overall significance for the speech community of Gibraltar. The importance of studying yet another code-switching community resides in the new data and information presented on the Spanish/English language pair. This new information on the language situation in Gibraltar provides a testing ground for examining external language factors that contribute to the use of contrasting code-switching patterns in different communities. In addition, the new data serve to test the grammatical constraints formulated up until the year 1991, and also they check the methodological and theoretical limits of the code-switching models proposed.

A bilingual community

The definition of Gibraltar as a speech community is based on shared values and norms of the population which are in part determined by specific social, historical, and political circumstances. These macro level factors serve to unify a socially, linguistically, and ethnically diverse society. The language practices of different sectors of Gibraltarian society are not so homogeneous which is why language use is not a reliable criterion for defining the notion of speech community. Any Gibraltarian regardless of ethnic origin, linguistic, religious or social background have a marked sense of their unique identity. This identity comes from the constant need Gibraltarians have of asserting their separateness from everything that is Spanish. A concern which is tremendously important considering its geographical location on the tip of the Iberian Peninsula and the constant political pressure from Spain, as well as, Spanish

presence in the everyday lives of the population. While Spain is perceived as the most immediate threat to Gibraltar's status quo, Gibraltarians also find the need to assert their identity with respect to the British. Great Britain's colonial domination and its role as provider of jobs and economic resources creates an economic dependency which creates ambivalent feelings, sometimes of resentment and other times of superiority with respect to their Spanish neighbours. Even though Gibraltarians have their own local level government as well as the full rights just as any other citizen born and raised in England they often perceive themelves and are treated as second class British citizens.

Contact with two different nationalities and political powers puts Gibraltarians in a rather contradictory position where they must underline their distinctness with respect to Spanish or British groups. This is accomplished by Gibraltarians asserting their identity to one group in terms of the other or otherwise by expressing their own particular uniqueness. One of the features which distinguishes Gibraltar from other multilingual communities (i.e. Catalonia, Belgium or Canada) is precisely this pressure of two political powers rather than a single political entity such as the State. In spite of their local identity, Gibraltarians still consider the English language and culture as prestigious and the model to be followed. Language choice (Spanish, English) turns out to be one of the most effective ways Gibraltarians have of aligning theirselves with a given language group. Code-switching, on the other hand, is a way to avoid identifying oneself with a given group, or a way of affirming local identity. Although other cultural manifestations such as cooking, mass-media, local celebrations, and life-style patterns serve to reinforce local identity as well.

The language situation described in the present dissertation reflects the linguistic reality in Gibraltar for a given period of time between the years of 1987-1991. Current use of English, Spanish, and code-switching also referred to as

Yanito must be understood as part of wider historical processes which relate to the current political situation of "The Rock". Information collected through observation-participation techniques together with situational data obtained from language diaries are essential for understanding the current status and use of code-switching as well as the future linguistic outcome. The macro level domains of language use in Gibraltar are clearly delimited. Government, education, religion, and relations with the military are areas of Gibraltarian life where English is predominantly used. Spanish and code-switching of English and Spanish are reserved for family and friendship domains. The weakness of a domain approach is that it does not incorporate micro level factors that influence language choice. The results from administering a language diary to a reduced group of informants provided information on individual language choices within macro level domains. Even though the information from the diaries are not representative of the population at whole they do show patterns that reflect attitudes extensive to the community at large. In the home which is an informal domain English is used with children. This type of language use for example reflects an overall trend of middle class families in the community to use English in order to give their children a head start in the educational system; even when they normally use Spanish or code-swithing in the home with husband or older children. Language choice in public places is typically Spanish or Spanish/English code-switching although the type of interlocutor is an important consideration. In the work place English is by far the most commonly used language although the relationship between speaker and addressee is an intervening factor. The Spanish presence in the daily lives (i.e. contact with Spain, reading and mass-media) of the diary informants does not have a clear influence on the choice of Spanish or Spanish/English code-switching to

communicate. While this indicates that life-style has little or no influence on language practices it may be due to the limited size of the sample.

Another point about the speech community of Gibraltar is that linguistically it is not as homogeneous as one might first suppose. In the first place, sectors of the community come from widely varied linguistic backgrounds, but in addition, among the groups with a similar linguistic background there are important differences in their linguistic competence of English and Spanish. While no empirical data are available on the correlation between language proficiency, social class and ethnic background there are indications that such correlations are valid. For example, in the local primary schools which are located in different catchment areas there is a notable variation in the children's English competence at school entering age. Children attending school in lower class areas have more difficulties with their English. These considerations on the speech community of Gibraltar including the information on language choice at a macro and a micro situational level are important for explaining the different patterns of bilingual language use and why code-switching as opposed to some other form of bilingual language use exists in the first place. The case of Gibraltar is also relevant for discovering whether other bilingual communities with the English/Spanish language pair (i.e. the Puerto Ricans in New York City) share similar patterns of language use and grammatical constraints.

The central question in comparing code-switching patterns in different communities is the relation between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic variables; that is the type of code-switching patterns with social pllitical, historical and economic variables. Within a sociolinguistic tradition, Labov (1972a) was the first to successfully demonstrate that phonological language variation was socially motivated. Other kinds of variation that is variation at an individual level were the result of stylistic shifting. Stylistic shifting has since been reinterpreted

by Bell (1986) who claims that the presence of interlocutors is a determining factor in an individual's speech style. Also, the Milroys observed in their study of Belfast that language variation was best explained by an individual's social network.

In the first place we need to have a clear classification of different code-switching patterns. In communities previously studied, the different patterns distinguished are: a) code-switching used to flag when a change of language takes places in discourse; b) smooth code-switching without hesitations and false starts; c) limited conversational code-switching; d) code-switching for specific discourse functions. In addition to these patterns it is also possible to distinguish different patterns based on the forms that are code-switched: intra-senential code-switching, the alternate use of two languages. the insertion of individual lexical items in a conversational context and code-switching of ritualized cultural expressions.

Once a more or less clear typology of code-switching patterns is recognized then the task of comparing these patterns with social, economic and historical factors becomes more straight forward. Individual interactional factors have also been recognized as factors influencing the use of code-switching in communities. Both Milroy and Gumperz have developed micro-level analyses but what remains to develop is the wider social significance of individual variation or in this study code-switching patterns. Interpretive accounts have been provided within the anthropological tradition. In Gal's (1988:247) words code-switching practices are symbolic creations concerned with the construction of the self and the other within a broader political, economic, and historical context which reflects the way people respond symbolically to relations of domination between groups within the state, and how they understand this historic position and

identity within a world capitalist system structure around dependency and unequal development.

Comparisons between different speech communities which use code-switching to communicate in their daily lives seeks to shed light on the kinds of social and linguistic features these communities share in addition to providing the reasons for using code-switching in the first place. Unfortunately, however, the comparability between communities is not a straight forward task because of the variety of data available or because of different data collection methods, needless to say, the different situations and social settings in which the data were collected. .

Code-switching patterns of the Spanish-English language pair in Gibraltar and different Hispanic communities of the United States are most easily studied within a linguistic framework since Poplack(1980) and Pfaff (1979), among others have made concrete proposals for the kinds of grammatical constraints that yield the mixture of English and Spanish at the intra-sentential level. The functions and strategies of code-switching in a particular community, and the attitudes and values towards language upheld by Hispanic groups in the United States are more difficult to compare since only limited knowledge is available with perhaps the exception of the Puerto Rican communities and to a certain extent the Mexican communities in California and Texas. Other types of information on statistics and the economic, social and political procedence of the Hispanic immigrant groups can be obtained (Waggoner 1981; Zentella 1988, Valdés 1988, García and Otheguy 1988) and with this information it is possible to gain some insight on the background of these immigrants.

The study of the meaning code-switching takes on in communities which use the Spanish-English language pair is difficult because of the diversity of Spanish speaking immigrants in addition to the Mexicans and the Puerto

Ricans. A social analysis of code-switching is further complicated by the fact that Hispanic groups concentrate around the geographical areas of entry to the US (New York, New Jersey, Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California) but many have also gone to live in the Mid-West , especially in the States of Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, as well as Pennsylvania and Louisiana (Ferguson and Heath 1981). The present comparison sketches some of the historical and social circumstances that contribute to understanding the functions accomplished by code-switching as well as the patterns and types of code-switching the communities adopt.

In Gibraltar, English and Spanish have been in contact for approximately two hundred and eighty years (since 1713). This contrasts with the Hispanics who arrived during this century. The case of Puerto Rican immigrants should be distinguished from other Hispanic groups in the United States since Puerto Rico was taken over by the United States in the Spanish American war in 1898 and since 1952 it has been a free associated state or commonwealth. Attempts to "americanize" Puerto Rico especially regarding areas like education and language were not met with much success (Zentella 1988).The recent decision, within the past two years, to revive Spanish as Puerto Ricos's official language provides a boost to the status of Spanish among the Puerto Rican population both in continental US and the Island. Since World War II, Puerto Rican migration has been increasingly heavily and according to Zentella (1988) by the eighties approximately two million Puerto Ricans were living in the United States more than half than on the Island.

The communities of Puerto Rico and Gibraltar share the experience of having the English language imposed on them by their colonizers (Spain and the United States in the case of Puerto Rico and Britain in the case of Gibraltar). This contrasts with the situation of many Mexicans who immigrated voluntarily

to the US in search of better economic and living conditions. One of the results of this colonial background is reflected in the ambivalent values the English and Spanish languages have for the members of Gibraltarian speech community and the Puerto Rican residents in the United States (Elías-Olivares et al,1985).

In the community of Gibraltar, English is the prestigious language. It is used in government, schooling, between parents and their children as well as in more formal conversations and it is seen as the language of upward social mobility. Code-switching while evaluated negatively by Gibraltarians has covert prestige since it serves as a symbol of local identity both in relation to the Spanish and the British population Gibraltarians come in contact with. In the case of Puerto Ricans there is strong pressure for these immigrant groups to integrate and to adopt English in public circles. In spite of this pressure, many Puerto Ricans have maintained Spanish or have adopted code-switching as a means for conciliating both their Spanish and their US cultural background. This coincides with Fishman (1971) ————————> and Zentella's (1985) claims that Puerto Ricans are maintaining their mother tongue longer than other immigrant ethnic groups.

The social makeup of Gibraltarian society is quite different from that of the Puerto Rican communities in continental US. The Jewish, Indian and Moroccan ethnic minorities in Gibraltar adopt different language practices. The Jews are the oldest minority group (in 1981 they constitute approximately 2.2 % of the entire population) and they are generally fluent in both English and Spanish and they use code-switching commonly to communicate among family and friends. The Indian community is well off and socially influential; they own many of the stores open in Gibraltar and they constitute 1.5% of the total Gibraltarian population. The older members of the community know Spanish and they use code-switching, the more recent arrivals (within the past five or ten years)

mainly use English as they come from an ex-British colony. The Moroccans have been in Gibraltar since the border with Spain closed down under the Franco regime in 1969. They are employed in construction work, as maids, and as manual laborers, occupying positions formerly held by Spaniards. They constitute 8% of the population in 1981. Most Morrocans communicate with Gibraltarians in a grammatically simplified mixture of Spanish primarily and some English; a few use Spanish-English code-switching to communicate. Most of the Gibraltarians employed work for the government which is why more menial jobs today are filled by Spaniards and Moroccans. Code-switching in Gibraltar is used more by middle and upper classes in Gibraltar than by lower social classes whose knowlege of English is more limited.

This situation contrasts with that of the Puerto Ricans who have immigrated massively to urban centers on the East Coast of the United States. They usually belong to the working class population of industrial cities and they are stigmatized not only for their language and their ethnic background but also because of their social class affiliation. Code-switching in this situation acquires a different value. Gal (1988) suggests that it fulfills the function of integrating newcomers from the Island into the Puerto Rican communities on the continent. In addition, code-switching serves as a means of expressing group solidarity and when needed as a symbol of local identity.

The differences between the Gibraltarian and Puerto Rican speech communities do not affect their code-switching patterns. Both use fluent or skilled code-switching with smooth transitions at switching points and no hestitations or false starts (Poplack 1988:218). In addition, both communities display intra-and inter-sentential patterns of switching even though different linguistic constraints apply in each case. The use of code-switching in informal situations and with family is also a shared characteristic. The differences in

speech communities however are responsible for some of the social functions code-switching fulfills. The future of code-switching in Puerto Rican communities across the United States is undoubtedly tied to the pressure they receive to integrate which is strong, and also to the other Hispanic immigrant groups such as the Mexicans, Cubans , South and Central Americans who together with the Puerto Ricans account for 11 million inhabitants living in the continental United States. Language contact in Gibraltar has lasted for over two hundred years and it will more than likely that code-switching will survive as a form of communication while political and economic ties are maintained with Britain.

Code-switching in syntax and discourse

The present dissertation seeks to answer two basic questions regarding code-switching in relation to language behavior in Gibraltar. The first question addresses the reasons speakers have for choosing code-switching for communicating as opposed to monolingual systems of communication. While there is no absolute deterministic principle to account for language choice there are both community and individual factors which influence the language choices people make in Gibraltar. The second question taken up has to do with the kind of knowledge a bilingual speaker needs in order to code-switch two grammars within the sentence. Researchers working in the area of code-switching and grammar all agree that grammatical code-switching is principled but the real question involved is whether or not code-switching constitutes a third grammatical system separate from each of the monolingual systems of the bilingual speaker or whether there are two grammar systems interacting to

produce code-switching and which take into account principles of the two grammars. The position adopted with respect to this issue involves different assumptions which determine whether the explanation should be within the realm of grammar or of the language processing system.

The first question is explored in chapter five on code-switching in conversations. Both community and individual reasons for using code-switching in conversation are explored. The second question regarding the kind of knowledge needed in order to code-switch is explored in chapter six on a syntactic approach to code-switching. A syntactic approach provides a deterministic account of grammatical code-switching in the sentence. Both a discourse and a syntactic approach together provide the social and syntactic constraints that determine code-switching in Gibraltar.

The theoretical models available for explaining conversational code-switching are unsatisfactory because there is no single model that provides a comprehensive explanation for (a) all the types of code-switching and code-switching forms that turn up in a conversation, (b) the strategies a speaker uses to express non-literal meaning, (c) the way a hearer is able to interpret non-literal meaning expressed by a speaker (d) the relation between interactional meaning with a larger social meaning. All the models discussed in chapter five are applicable to code-switching occuring in Gibraltar but no single approach is sufficient for accounting for interactional and social meanings as well as the wide variety of code-switching patterns. Four distinct code-switching patterns in conversations in Gibraltar can be identified. These are the alternate use of two languages by different participants in a verbal exchange as illustrated in extract #4; the combination of different syntactic constituents within the

sentence as in line #3 of extract #12 or the examples analyzed in chapter

six; the insertion of individual lexical items as in extract # 20, and finally

the the insertion of ritualized expressions with culture specific content as

in extract #18 and #19. Each one of these patterns needs to be examined

in terms of the individual speaker as well as the community. The

individual factors influencing certain patterns over others may be related

to linguistic competence of the speaker or a strategy or non-literal

meaning a speaker wishes to express. Wider scope meanings are

associated with the community such as its social structure, ethnic

makeup, as well as the overall attitudes and values shared by the group.

This problem which has not been resolved within any framework is

presented in Table 7.1 on the relation of code-switching to the individual

and the community. Code-switching can be meaningful at a micro level of

conversational interaction or in a wider social context or domain. An

analysis of code-switching from the production end provides a framework

that takes into account the individual, the group, and the society at large.

A proposal such as that made in Table 7.1 successfully accounts for

meaningful and non-meaningful code-switching in relation to group and

society.

In the model proposed an individual speaker code-switches in response to the

external environment whether it be the group or the community at large. There are

certain established conversational and social norms which an individual speaker

adopts as a response to a given situation or context. Passive or responsive code-

switching shows a speakers conformity with the existing norms. In Table 7.1 code-

switching is defined as the alternate use of two languages most typically beyond

the sentence level. RVI and RSD represent two different ways a speaker

Table 7.1

Code-switching: Individual, Social and Interactional meaning

Individual speaker production: -	Meaning of code-switching:	
	Interactional meaning	Social meaning
Passive switching	RVI Responsive code-switching in a verbal interaction	RSD Responsive code- to a social domain
Active	IVI Initiative code-switching in a verbal interaction	ISD Initiative code-switching in a social domain

alternately uses two languages in response to external factors. In the case of RVI, code-switching should be understood as the choice of language in response to a previous speaker or exchange. This kind of responsive language choice is typical among bilingual individuals who use the same language as their interlocutor as a sign of solidarity. Code-switching in response to a social domain or passive RSD also involves language choice based on the social domain. In Gibraltar, a person automatically uses English in Government or in Education and Spanish or code-switching in more informal domains. When language choice, that is the alternate use of two languages or intra-sententential code-switching, is responsive a speaker is using code-switching in an unmarked way and where no specific meaning is intended by the speaker.

Active individual speaker production derives from those cases where code-switching is not a response. A person uses code-switching in an unexpected way to convey intended meaning. This kind of meaningful code-switching may gain its meaning from a verbal interaction with other participants or otherwise acquire its meaning from the social domain where a different from expected language choice is made. In the case of IVI or initiative code-switching in the interaction different code-switching forms or patterns can be used. In a conversation people take on different roles, change footing, take turns, and negotiate social relations in the context of the conversations. IVI also includes cases of code-switching which are used to accomplish different discourse functions, including things like humor. From a domain perspective, initiative code-switching takes on meaning. The social meaning of ISD derives from the use of code-switching in association with the social domains and the language practices expected. in those domains. It is possible for IVI and ISD to overlap that is that a given instance of code-switching may have a

meaning at the local interactional level while at the same time have a social meaning related to larger scale community constructs.

In an attempt to account for the kind of gramatical knowledge a bilingual speaker must have in order to code-switch numerous researchers have proposed constraints and processing models which do not account for data obtained from speakers in Gibraltar. This does not imply that code-switching is not predictable; it simply indicates that our goals may be misplaced. What is predictable about the Gibraltar intra-sentential code-switching data is that they follow the grammatical principles and parameters of both English and/or Spanish grammars.

Much attention is dedicated to predicting the language in which the contituents of a sentence occur but this seems unwarranted. Examples of clauses #16-#21 and phrases #32-#37 show that neither the government constraint nor the equivalence constraint are not applicable. The question that arises is are these sentences and phrases unprincipled. A careful analysis of the syntactic information such as word order, predicate argument structure, thematic roles and subcategorization shows that these syntactic requirements are fulfilled regardless of the language of the constituents.

These results also point for a need to reconsider the kind of criteria needed to determine the matrix language of a code-mixed sentence with two languages that are typologically similar. Word order has been the traditional criterion. The proposal made here is that matrix language must be defined on the basis of different kinds of grammatical information and not just word order. The additional grammatical information explored is lexically based but there may be other grammatical principles involved. Future research on the grammar of code-switching should seek to confirm whether the language of lexical (or constituent) insertion is truly random as suggested here and confirmed by

probabalistic predictions currently proposed by several researchers such as Poplack or Muysken. Another area for explorating is the manner in which universal grammatical principles as well as language specific parameters apply to sentences with code-switching.

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Chomsky, Noam. 1982. Some concepts and consequences of the theory of government and binding. Cambridge: The MIT Press. The shift from rule systems to the study of subsystems of principles is discussed in relation to empirical data from well-studied languages. The properties of various types of empty categories such as NP trace, and PRO are also examined in light of the new theoretical claims.

Clyne, Michael. 1987. Constraints on code-switching: How universal are they? Linguistics 25.739-764. It presents a critical analysis of the most important structural constraints on code-switching. The notion of matrix language is also discussed in relation to the German-English and Dutch-English language pairs spoken by bilinguals living in Australia. Syntactic convergence is a process which favors code-switching and is necessary for the application of some constraints.

Cots, Josep M., Luci Nussbaüm, Lluís Payrató and Amparo Tusón. 1989. Conversa(r) Caplletra 7:51-72. A review article introducing the basic concepts and theoretical approaches to conversational analysis. Examples from Catalan are used to propose a definition of conversation. Attention is given to the role of context for the interpretation of conversational exchanges.

De Miguel, Jesús M. and Melissa G. Moyer. 1988. La cárcel de las palabras. Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer. It is a non-technical essay on language and three classic extra-linguistic variables: class, gender, and age. A short introductory chapter on a variationist perspective of language is included with a final chapter on language planning.

Dennis, Phillip. 1977. Gibraltar. London: David and Charles. A detailed account of the history of Gibraltar which is helpful for understanding the development of the linguistic situation on the Rock. A section is dedicated to the main social and cultural characteristics of Gibraltarians. There is also information on law, government, finance, communication, and commerce.

Department of Education (ed.) 1984. Language and the curriculum: A report. Gibraltar: Workshop Proceedings. This collection of papers deals with the role of bilingualism in the school curriculum in Gibraltar.

Department of Education. 1988. Biennial report. Gibraltar: Department of Education. Basic information and statistics on primary and secondary school enrollment as well as level of achievement is reported in a government publication.

Di Sciullo, Anne-Marie; Pieter Muysken; and R. Singh. 1986. Government and code-mixing. Journal of Linguistics 22.1-24. Code-mixing constraints are explained by theoretical proposals of current syntactic theory of Government and Binding. Government relations which hold between certain elements of a sentence account for instances were a switch in languages can not take place. Emphasis is on structural relations as opposed to strict linear ordering of the elements. The notion of language index carrier is an additional theoretical mechanism for predicting intra-sentential code-switching.

Dorian, Nancy C. 1982. Defining the speech community to include its working margins. Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities, ed. by Suzanne Romaine, 25-34. London: Edward Arnold. The definition of speech community that is proposed takes shared language use as the basis for deciding community membership. This criterion does not account for the English Gaelic bilingual community in East Sutherlandshire in England.

Durán, Richard P. (ed.) 1981. Latino language and communicative behavior. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex. This is a collection of articles dealing with such varied topics as latino sociolinguistics; code-switching as well as communication and cognition in the home, community and school setting.

Elías Olivares, Lucía. 1976. Ways of speaking in a Chicano community: A sociolinguistic approach. Doctoral dissertation, Austin, Texas: University of Texas. This is one of the first studies on Spanish English bilingualism carried out in a Mexican American community in the United States.

Ellis, Rod. 1985. Understanding second language acquisition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. A thorough account of second language acquisition research is offered. The issues discussed are: the role of the first language, the development of interlanguage, variability in interlanguage, individual differences in second language acquisition, the role of input and its interaction in acquisition, and learners strategies. A chapter on models of second language acquisition where the author brings together different topics in a single discussion is also included.

Ferguson, Charles. 1959. Diglossia. Word 15. 325-40. A classic article in language contact studies. High varieties and low varieties are distinguished for four different linguistic communities. The languages discussed are (a) Classical Arabic/Eygptian Arabic, (b) Standard German/Swiss German, (c) French/ Haitian Creole, and (d) Literary Greek/Modern Greek. These language varieties are associated with specific functions.

Ferguson, Charles and Shirley Brice Heath (ed.) 1981. Language in the USA. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Thisvolumes is a collection of article on the language situation in America, how it came to be the way it is, and the forces of change within it.

Figueruelo, Antonio. 1968. Informe sobre Gibraltar. Barcelona: Ediciones de Cultura Popular. A report written by a Spanish journalist from Barcelona. It was published after the border with Gibraltar was closed down. Tension between Spain and Great Britain over the sovereignty of Gibraltar was at its height. It examines the social, political, and economic situation of Gibraltar in 1968.

Fishman, Joshua. 1970. Sociolinguistics. A brief introduction. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House. This book is one of the first introductions to sociolinguistics. It primarily adopts a sociological perspective and it covers a wide variety of issues and theoretical concerns.

Fishman, Joshua, et al. 1971. Bilingualism in the Barrio. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. A study of Spanish/English bilingualism in different domains gives a clear picture of how these two languages are used by the Puerto Rican community in Jersey City in the vecinty of New York. It is based on a report to the The US Office of Education and its chief merit lies in identifying problems of wide social significance through a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of language in society.

Fishman, Joshua. 1972a. The relationship between micro- and macro-sociolinguistics in the study of who speaks what language to whom and when. Sociolinguistics, ed. by J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes, 15-32. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin. It uses the concept of domain to explain language choice among a Spanish/English speaking community in the city of New York. It is a central article for the study of the theoretical issues of macro and micro variables to predict situational language use.

Fishman, Joshua. 1972b. Societal bilingualism. Language in socio-cultural change. ed. by Anwar S. Dil,135-178. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. A compilation of previously published articles on bilingual societies from a sociological perspective are included in this edited volume.

Flores, Michael and Sergio Ballantine. 1983. Bilingualism in education. Gibraltar: mimeo. This is a report based on a series of workshops held on bilingualism submitted to the Director of Education of Gibraltar.

Flynn, Suzanne and Wayne O'Neil. 1988. Linguistic theory in second language acquisition. Dordrecht: Kluwer. This volume includes a selection of papers from the meeting on second language acquistion held at MIT in October 1985. The issues addressed the setting of parameters in second language

acquisition, the notion of markedness, and evidence from second language acquisition for universal grammar .

Fontana, Josep and Enric Vallduví. 1990. Mecanismos léxicos y gramaticales en la alternancia de códigos. Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada , Anejo 1:171-182. It provides a review of the bibliography on inter-sentential code-switching. The authors distinguish between a lexical and a grammatical mechanism of switching. The concept of cognitive markedness is supposed to account for instances of the grammatical mixing of languages within the sentence. An important distinction is made between open and closed classes of words and their frequency in code-switching within the sentence.

Frazier, Lyn. 1988. Grammar and language processing. Linguistics: The Cambridge Series. Volume II. Linguistic Theory: Extensions and Implications, ed. by Frederick J. Newmeyer, 15-34. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press. The proposals of generative grammars characterize our linguistic knowledge as it is used in generating and parsing language. The process of language comprehension is dealt with in greatest detail. The non-derivational property of current grammar models together with modularity are important for bringing together models of grammar and processing.

Gal, Susan. 1979. Language shift and social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria. New York: Academic Press. It is a study of a German/Hungarian bilingual community in Austria. Predictions regarding language choice can be made if the participants know each other. Domain analysis is not helpful for understanding how language choices are made.

Gal, Susan. 1988. The political economy of code choice. Code-switching. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives. ed. by Monica Heller, 246-264. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. It studies the relationship between code-switching practices and the changing political and economic position of social groups who use this form of communication.

Gaona, María Eugenia (ed.) 1986. Antología de la literatura chicana. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. A collection of different literary

genres including theatre, poetry, essay, novel, chronicle and short story by chicano authors in English and Spanish.

Garcia, Joe (ed.) 1978. Who's who in Gibraltar. Gibraltar: Medsun. Prominent members of Gibraltar society are listed in this publication which also includes many of their professional achievements.

García, Ofelia and Ricardo Otheguy. 1988. The language situation of Cuban Americans. Language diversity: problem or resources. ed. by Sandra L. McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, 166-192. New York: Newbury House. The history of immigration of the Cuban population in the US is examined. This community represents total of one million Spanish-English speaking persons concentrated in Florida and New Jersey. A discussion of bilingual maintainence or shift is presented.

Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 1991. Language selection and switching in Strasbourg. Oxford: Clarendon Press. A case study of bilingual language use in Alsace. An analysis of conversational data obtained from interactions in the workplace and in local stores.

Gibbons, John. 1987. Code-mixing and code-choice. A Hong Kong case study. Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters. A combination of approaches is taken to analyze bilingual code-switching data in Hong Kong. A sociological, ethnographic, linguistic, and social-psychological approach is used to analyze bilingualism at the University in Hong Kong.

Gibraltarian Status Ordinance. 1964. Gibraltar: Gibraltar Garrison Library. A piece of legislation specifying necessary conditions to be considered a Gibraltarian citizen and receive a British passport.

Goodluck, Helen. 1991. Language acquisition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. An introduction to first language acquistion is presented within a Government and Binding framework. The acquisition of morphology, phonology, syntax, and semantics is discussed in relation to data from different languages.

Cognitive mechanisms children use to process language and form rules are also taken up.

Grosjean, François. 1982. Life with two languages. An introduction to bilingualism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. A survey of the field of bilingualism is presented. Some of the issues discussed are bilingualism in the United States and the rest of the world, bilingualism in society, the bilingual child and the bilingual adult. Different bilingual language phenomena are distinguished.

Grosjean, François and Carlos Soares. 1986. Processing mixed language: Some preliminary findings. Language processing in bilinguals: Psycholinguistic and neuropsychological perspectives, ed. by Jyotsma Vaid, 123-143. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. It studies changes in the phonetic and prosody in the production of code-switching. Some preliminary data on the perception of code-switching is presented. The issue of word recognition in bilingual code-switches is also explored and a distinction between borrowing and code-switching is examined in relation to language processing.

Grosjean, François. 1990. The psycholinguistics of language contact and code-switching: Concepts, methodology and data. Papers for the workshop on concepts, methodology and data, 106-118. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. This paper examines how psycholinguistics deals with the concepts that pertain to language contact and code-switching. Current views on psycholinguistics, its aims and approaches are studied in light of (a) speech mode studies, (b) voice onset studies, and (c) categorical perception studies.

Gumperz, John J. 1968a. The speech community. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 9. 381-386. London: Macmillan. The theoretical construct of speech community is defined with examples of how the concept has been applied in linguistic and sociolinguistic research.

Gumperz, John J. 1968b. Types of linguistic communities. Readings in the sociology of language, ed. by Joshua Fishman, 460-472. The Hague: Mouton. Different kinds of communities are characterized on the basis of their social organization and language use.

Gumperz, John J. 1971a. Social meaning in linguistic structures: Code-switching in Norway. Language in social groups, ed. by Anwar S. Dil, 274-310. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. Features of the local social system serve to predict language choice. The social setting, the situation and the event are the main constructs used to analyze language choice. An attempt is made to link linguistic utterances with the social categories of the community.

Gumperz, John J. 1971b. The speech community. Language in social groups, ed. by Anwar S. Dil, 114-128. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. A revised version of the author's original article on speech community published in 1968 and brought together with other articles on society and multilingualism.

Gumperz, John J. and R. Wilson. 1971c. Convergence and creolization: A case from the Indo-Aryan/Dravidian border. Pidginization and creolization of languages, ed. by Dell Hymes, 151-168. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Four languages in contact characterize the everyday speech of the Indian community of Kupwar. Grammatical borrowing results from the contact of Urdu, Kannada, and Marathi. The local language varieties include processes of reduction and convergence which is suggestive of processes of pidginization and creolization.

Gumperz, John J. 1976. The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. Working Papers 46, 128-173. Berkeley, California: Language Research Laboratory. Conversational code-switching of three different language pairs English/Spanish, Hindi/English, and Slovenian/German are used for the same ends in similar discourse contexts. Basic concepts and distinctions for conversational analysis are defined as, for example, the difference between borrowing and code-alternation as well as situational,

non-meaningful and metaphoric code-switching. The analyses provide support for the underlying assumptions about social categories and shared cultural knowledge which differ systematically from overtly expressed attitudes or values.

Gumperz, John J. 1982a. Discourse strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. This presents how interpretive sociolinguistics can be used to analyze face to face interactions. Most chapters combine reviews of existing theory with illustrative analyses of conversational sequences or case studies of particular events. Chapters 3 and 4 concentrate on code-switching in multilingual communities.

Gumperz, John J. (ed.) 1982b. Language and social identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A compilation of articles on intercultural communication.

Gumperz, John J. 1990. Contextualization and understanding. ed. by Duranti, Alessandro and C. Goodwin, 1-22. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. It is a discussion of the use of verbal and non-verbal signs as contextualization features to maintain conversational involvement. Detailed examples of how text analysis should be carried out. A list of transcription features is provided for analyzing and interpreting conversations.

Haeggeman, Liliane. 1991. Government and binding theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. An introduction to the mainline version of government and binding theory based on Noam Chomsky's writings is accompanied by practical exercises on the notion introduced in the chapters. It is divided into twelve chapters each dealing with a particular component of the theory which is designed for classroom instruction.

Hale, Ken.1988. Linguistic theory: Generative grammar. Linguistic theory in second language acquisition, ed. by Suzanne Flynn and Wayne O'Neil, 26-33. Dordrecht: Kluwer. The acquisition of second languages is discussed in relation to universal grammar principles and the theoretical framework of government and binding theory.

Hamers, Josiane and Michel H. A. Blanc. 1983. Bilinguality and bilingualism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. This English edition is a revised version of the French *Bilinguité et bilinguisme*. A multidisciplinary approach to the principal issues of bilingualism and languages in contact. The first seven chapters provide an analysis of the theoretical models and research data from various disciplines as well as the methodological issues relating to them. The last three chapters address applied dimensions of language contact, namely, bilingual education, second language learning and interpretation and translation.

Harris, Zellig. 1952. Discourse analysis. Language 28:1-30. The main attempt of this article is to identify the types of structures describable in conversation. The notion of text is distinguished from a random list of sentences.

Haugen, Einar. 1950a. The analysis of linguistic borrowing. Language 26. 210-231. The linguistic phenomena of borrowing are analyzed from a historical perspective. Substitution and importation are defined in terms of the speakers ability to reproduce the linguistic forms in question. No reference is made to code-switching behavior. Loans from a synchronic perspective are difficult to identify.

Haugen, Einar. 1950b. Problems of bilingualism. Lingua 2.271-290.A discussion of the different types of language contact phenomena. The notions of linguistic pressure, substitution, importation, redistribution, reborrowing, loanwords, loanblends, loanshifts, and creation are discussed.

Heath, Jeffrey. 1989. From code-switching to borrowing: Foreign and diglossic mixing in Morrocan Arabic. London: Kegan Paul. A presentation of the sociolinguistic research on Morocco in the post-colonial period. Code-switching and borrowing of different varieties of Arabic with French, English and Spanish are examined in detail.

Heller, Monica (ed.) 1988. Code-switching. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. A collection of articles which shows

how code-switching on an individual interactional level is linked to a macro-level social organization of language use in the community by demonstrating the use of code-switching to establish social boundaries or as a strategy of boundary levelling. Several of the articles address the multiple role relationships of individuals in a community and the linguistic resources used in those networks.

Hornby, Peter A. (ed.) 1977. Bilingualism. Psychological, social and educational implications. New York: Academic Press. This volume brings together some of the historical developments and theoretical controversies, major research findings, as well as applications from the disciplines of psychology, sociology, linguistics and education as they relate to the diverse problems (and benefits) of bilingualism.

Horrocks, Geoffey. 1987. Generative grammar. London: Longman. It provides a general overview of the three most outstanding contemporary syntactic theories: government and binding, general phrase structure grammar, and lexical functional grammar.

Howe, H. W. 1982. The Gibraltarian. Gibraltar: Medsun. This is a historical account of the population of Gibraltar since the British take-over in 1704. It is the first serious demographic study of Gibraltar.

Huebner, Thom and Charles A. Ferguson (eds.) 1991. Crosscurrents in second language acquisition. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. This collection of papers was presented at the Stanford University Summer Linguistic Institute. The topic of the conference was Second Language Acquisition: Contributions and Challenges to Linguistic Theory. The articles cover a broad area of disciplines which include issues on theory, hypothesis testing and the analysis of data in relation to model building. It includes an overview chapter by Huebner on SLA data as a test for linguistic theory, and a concluding chapter by Charles Ferguson on currents between second language acquisition and linguistic theory.

Hymes, Dell. 1972. On communicative competence. Sociolinguistics, ed. by J. B. Pride and Janet Holmes, 269-293. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin. It was originally published in 1971 with the same title. The theoretical concept of communicative competence is discussed in detail and it is contrasted with Chomsky's competence-performance model of language.

Hymes, Dell. 1974. Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Hymes presents the theoretical issues involved in an ethnographic approach to the study of language. His discussion of speech community is fundamental for understanding the genesis of the term as well as the misconceptions to which it has been subject since it has been adopted as a fundamental unit of sociolinguistic. analysis.

Jackson, William. 1987. The Rock of the Gibraltarians. London: Associated University Presses. A historical account of Gibraltar written by the ex-governor during his term as Governor between 1978-1982. It is a well documented study covering the history of the Rock from the Roman invasion until 1985 when the frontier with Spain was reopened by the post-Franco government.

Jacobson, Rodolfo (ed.) 1990. Code-switching as a worldwide phenomenon. New York: Peter Lang. The issues this volume deals with are: the use of linguistic structures and communication needs, the sociolinguistics of language switching, and the analysis of mixed discourse.

Jeffers, Robert J., and Ilse Lehiste. 1982. Principles and methods for historical linguistics. Cambridge, Massachussetts: The MIT Press. It introduces the study of language change from the perspective of historical linguistics. The authors do not commit themselves to any particular linguistic philosophy. Chapter 2 and 3 are dedicated to the method of comparative and internal reconstruction. Remaining chapters deal with phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical change. Chapter nine on language contact is particularly relevant to the issue of code-switching and other bilingual language phenomena.

Joshi, Aravind K. 1985. Processing sentences with intra-sentential code-switching. Natural language processing: Psychological, computational and theoretical perspectives, ed. by David Dowty, Lauri Kartunnen and Arnold Zwicky, 190-204. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Joshi constructs a computational model to account for code-switching. Two grammars interact with a switching rule which is restricted by several constraints. Code-switching is derived from a matrix language and the language it is mixed with is the embedded language.

Kempson, Ruth. 1988. Grammar and conversational principles. Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey. Linguistic theory: extensions and implications, ed. by Frederick Newmeyer, 139-163. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.The relationship between the properties of grammar and Grice's maxims of conversation are discussed. Truth conditions are not always separable from implicatures in the examples discussed.

Key, Harold H.; Gloria G. McCullough; and Janet B. Sawyer. 1977. Proceedings of the sixth Southwest areal language and linguistic workshop. Long Beach: California State University. This volume includes articles on bilingualism and issues in sociolinguistics. A number of the articles deal with Spanish/English bilingualism.

Klein, Flora. 1980. A quantitative study of syntactic and pragmatic indicators of change in the Spanish of bilinguals in the United States. Locating language in time and space, ed. by William Labov, 69-82. New York: Academic Press.The contact of English and Spanish in the United States can produce interference where the function of the two languages are equated. The reference to present activity is apotential source of interference which is explored within a quantitative praradigm.

Klein-Andreu, Flora. 1986. La cuestión del anglicismo: Apriorismos y métodos. Thesaurus XL:1-16. Bogotá: Instituto Caro Baroja. The concept of interference is analyzed in research carried out on the Spanish of Puerto

Ricans. Examples from progressive and present verb forms are taken to illustrate the author's point.

Kramer, Johan. 1986. English and Spanish in Gibraltar. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag. This is Kramer's doctoral thesis. It includes a detailed examination of the historical, and demographic factors which help to understand the current linguistic situation in Gibraltar. It also provides a detailed discussion of the English and the Spanish elements in the language used by Gibraltarians as well as examples of code-switching published in the local newspaper Panorama. A final discussion of the origin of the term "Yanito" to designate the local speech variety is included.

Labov, William, et al. 1968. A study of non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Mimeo. Chapter two is a detailed account of the methodology used in their study of language in New York City. The mimeograph includes information which does not exist in published form.

Labov, William. 1972a. Sociolinguistic patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. It comprises a total of nine chapters. The first six chapters are particular studies that cover a large part of the methods and findings on New York City. Chapter 7 deals with the mechanisms of language change and it uses data from Martha's Vineyard and New York City. Chapter 8 and 9 are a general survey of the problems, findings and prospects of a socially realistic linguistics; the diachronic aspects of synchronic matters are presented.

Labov, William. 1972b. Some principles of linguistic methodology. Language in Society 1. 97-120. Methodological practices of various approaches to linguistics are examined in relation to the type of data used. Vernacular speech is demonstrated to be the best sort of data to carry out linguistic analyses.

Labov, William and David Fanshel. 1977. Therapeutic discourse. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press. A study of psychotherapy seen as a form of

conversational interaction. It explores the goals and techniques of therapy through a close examination of the linguistic forms used by a patient and a therapist in fifteen minutes of one session.

Labov, William. 1981. Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. Sociolinguistic Working Papers 81.1-41. A detailed discussion of the aims and working principles for sociolinguistic fieldwork. The elements of the sociolinguistic interviews and practical ways of eliciting vernacular speech are presented. It is an essential article on how to apply sociolinguistic methodology.

Labrie, Normand. 1989. Choix linguistiques, changements et alternances: Les comportements multilingues des italophones de Montréal. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Laval. Italian, English, and French code-switching by Italian immigrants in Montreal, Canada is analyzed. The author examines language behavior in relation to situation and generational differences. A helpful distinction of different kinds of language contact phenomena is established (language choice, language change, language alternation and lexical insertion). The issue of language borrowing is not discussed.

Lavandera, Beatriz. 1985. Curso de lingüística para el análisis del discurso. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. A series of lectures on the linguistic models of discourse analysis given during the first quarter of 1983 in Buenos Aires. Detailed analyses of conversational fragments exemplify the author's own particular view of discourse as a dynamic and unfinished process in time.

Lehiste, Ilse. 1988. Lectures on language contact. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press. It provides a well-documented account of language contact phenomena from the perspective of the bilingual individual and the community. The author's review of the experimental research carried out in the field of bilingualism is helpful to back up the theoretical research on bilingualism.

Lipski, J. 1978. Code-switching and the problem of bilingual competence. Aspects of bilingualism, ed. by Michel Paradis, 250-264. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornbeam Press. Linguistic constraints on English/Spanish language use in the United States are proposed in order to study bilingual speaker's linguistic competence.

Mackey, William F. 1968. The description of bilingualism. Readings in the sociology of language, ed. by Joshua Fishman, 554-584. The Hague: Mouton. Bilingualism can be characterized as complex psychological, linguistic, and social interrelationships. A discussion of the type of framework needed to incorporate such a perspective is presented.

Mackey, William F. 1970. Interference, integration and the synchronic fallacy. Bilingualism and language contact, ed. by James Alatis, 195-227. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. Proposals are made for distinguishing the integration of foreign elements from interference in the language behavior of bilingual speakers. The synchronic/diachronic dichotomy is not considered useful for identifying bilingual language phenomena.

Magauran, H. C. 1986. Rock siege. The difficulties with Spain: 1964-1985. Gibraltar: Medsun. The British and the Spanish political positions on the sovereignty of Gibraltar are presented.

Martens, Janet. 1986. Gibraltar and the Gibraltarians: The social construction of ethnic and gender identities in Gibraltar. PhD thesis. London: University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. A marxist sociological analysis of the main ethnic groups (excluding the Jews) is provided. Information is offered on local political parties and the economy. Additional chapters study the discourse used by different groups to manifest their identity.

Miles, Benedict (ed.) 1947. Gibraltar directory and guidebook. Gibraltar: El Calpense. This is the first issue published since 1940. It includes a geographical, historical, geological, and botanical description of Gibraltar; it

also includes reliable population statistics during the Great Siege (1779-1781).

Milroy, Lesley. 1980. Language and social networks. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A complement to Labov's techniques for obtaining spontaneous data is proposed. The social network of an informant provides a complete array of styles used by a speaker. Micro- and macro-level factors are combined in a single theoretical framework.

Milroy, Lesley. 1987. Observing and analyzing natural language. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A detailed account of the methodological issues involved in using a social network approach to analyzing language variation. Chapter eight includes a discussion of style-shifting and code-switching with suggestions on how to obtain data in multilingual communities.

Milroy, Lesley, and Li Wei. 1991. A social network perspective on code-switching and language choice: The example of Tyneside Chinese community. Papers for the workshop on code-switching in bilingual studies: Theory, significance and perspectives, 233-252. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. The particular concern of this paper is to develop a coherent account of the relationship between code-switching and language choice by individual speakers, and the broader social, economic and political context.

Milroy, Lesley and James Milroy. 1992. Social network and social class: Towards an integrated sociolingistic model. Language in Society 21:1-26. The connection between the micro-level construct of network and the macro-level concept of social class are explored. The link is proposed to exist through weak network ties and the theoretical notion of life-mode.

Moyer, Melissa G. 1983. Análisis de la variación lingüística en Andalucía. Unpublished licenciatura thesis, Bellaterra, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Three phonological variables (the loss of intervocalic d, aspiration, and nasalization) characterisic of the Andalusian dialect are

studied in relation to the linguistic and extra-linguistic variables which influence their realization.Data from linguistic atlases of Andalusia are used.

Moyer, Melissa G. 1988. The speech of Andalusian inmigrants to the neighborhood of Sant Andreu in Barcelona. Paper presented to NWAV-XVII, University of Montreal, October 1988. A linguistic analysis is carried out on first and second generation Andalusian inmigrants to one of the industrial neighborhoods of Barcelona. The loss of characteristic phonological variables and the use of Catalan in their daily lives is taken as a measurement of linguistic accomodation which is correlated with integration into Catalan society.

Moyer, Melissa G. 1991. La parla dels immigrats andalusos al barri de Sant Andreu. Treballs de Sociolinguistica Catalana, 9:83-104.This is a revised version of a paper presented at the seventeenth edition of N-WAVE.

Muysken, Pieter. 1981. Halfway between Quechua and Spanish: The case of relexification. Historicity and variation in creole studies ed. by A. Highfield and A. Valdman, 52-78. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma. Media Lengua is a contact language with the grammatical structure of Quechua and almost 90% of its lexicon is Spanish. This paper aims to describe a case of massive relexification of two typologically different languages. It also presents a linguistic theory of relexification and an analysis of the role of relexification in a general theory of language genesis.

Muysken, Pieter. 1991. Needed a comparative approach. Symposium on code-switching in bilingual studies. Theory significance and perspectives. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. Concrete proposals are made for carrying out future research on code-switching. The comparison of different language pairs used in code-switching is more revealing if the variables involved in the comparison are kept constant. This is precisely what is lacking in many studies on code-switching. The second part of the paper compares the equivalence constraint of Poplack with Scotton's frame process model and Muysken's government model.

Myers-Scotton, Carol and W. Ury. 1977. Bilingual strategies: The social functions of code-switching. International Journal of the Sociology of Language. 13: 5-20. The main hypothesis of this article is that code-switching is the result of the redefinition of the interaction. The relation between the linguistic code and the social meaning of the interaction is explored for the use of three languages: a local vernacular, Swahili and English.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1988. Self-enhancing code-switching as interactional power. Language and Communication. 8:199-211. Marked patterns of code-switching are analyzed as a strategy for negotiating a position of power for the speaker. The paper primarily analyzes lexical shifts at a stylistic level.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1990. Intersections between social motivations and structural processing in code-switching ed. by The European Science Foundation, Network on code-switching and language contact. 1990. Papers for the workshop on constraints, conditions and models: 57-84. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. This paper explains the social motivation for code-switching and it accounts for permissible structures. The markedness model and the frame process model are able to predict code-switching and they make reliable claims which support all existing data.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. 1992. Constructing the frame in intrasentential code-switching. Multilingua 11-1:101-127. A language processing model of code-switching with implications for a grammatical account of this phenomena. The role of matrix language, as well as system and content morphemes which roughly coincide with closed and open class items are central to the Matrix Language Frame Model.

Network on code-switching and language contact. 1990. Papers for the workshop on concepts, methodology and data. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. A collection of papers presented at the first European Science Foundation meeting held in Basel, Switzerland and coordinated by Georges Lüdi.

Network on code-switching and language contact. 1990. Papers for the workshop on constraints, conditions and models. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. A collection of papers presented at the second European Science Foundation meeting held in London and coordinated by Georges Lüdi.

Network on code-switching and language contact. 1990. Papers for the workshop on impact and consequences: Broader considerations. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. A collection of papers presented at the third European Science Foundation meeting held in Brussels and coordinated by Georges Lüdi.

Network on code-switching and language contact. 1991. Papers for the workshop on code-switching in bilingual studies: Theory, significance and perspectives. 2 vols. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. A collection of papers presented at the fourth and last European Science Foundation meeting held in Barcelona, also coordinated by Georges Lüdi.

Nishimura, Miwa. 1986. Intrasentential code-switching: The case of language assignment. Language processing in bilinguals: Psycholinguistic and neuropsychological perspectives, ed. by. Jyotsma Vaid, 123-143. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. Code-switching of typologically different languages, as for example Japanese and English, supports the approach where language assignment is necessary. Reference to a matrix language is needed to acount for intra-sentential code-switching with this language pair. An additional finding was that language assignment does not occur in a particular direction.

Nussbaüm Capdevila, Lucila. 1990. El contacte de llengües a clase de francès: Una aproximació pragmatica. PhD thesis. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. A discourse analytic approach using an interactive model is adopted to analyze the language choice of Catalan and Spanish speakers in the French foreign language classroom.

Obler, Loraine K., and Martin L. Albert. 1978. A monitor system for bilingual language processing. Aspects of bilingualism, ed. by Michel Paradis, 156-164. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornbeam Press. An empirical experiment with 48 bilingual speakers. The results provide support for a bilingual monitor system where a bilingual's processing system is sensitive to changes in the linguistic and non-linguistic environment.

Paradis, Michel (ed.) 1978. Aspects of bilingualism. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornbeam Press. This volume was one of the first collections of articles on bilingualism from a variety of different perspectives. Part 5 deals with sociolinguistic aspects of two languages in one society.

Payán Sotomayor, Pedro M. 1983. El habla de Cádiz. Cádiz: Fundación Municipal de Cultura. A study of oral speech in Cádiz. It includes sections on grammatical structure, lexicon, and phonetics.

Pfaff, Carol W. 1979. Constraints on language mixing. Language 55. 291-318. The first serious study of grammatical constraints on code-switching. These constraints are based on frequency counts of data obtained from Mexican American communities in California and Texas. Observations made in this study coincide with data of other research on Spanish/English code-switching.

Poplack, Shana. 1980. Sometimes I start a sentence in Spanish y termino en español. Toward a typology of code-switching. Linguistics 18. 581-618. Spanish-English code-switching among Puerto Ricans in New York City is the basis for two constraints which have had an important influence on code-switching research. The equivalence contraint and the free morpheme constraint account for practically all of Poplack's data.

Poplack, Shana, and David Sankoff. 1984. Borrowing: The synchrony of integration. Linguistics 22. 99-135. This article presents the views of structural linguists on borrowing and loans of lexical items as well as a discussion of the difficulties of characterizing borrowings from a synchronic perspective. It also presents the results of an experiment to determine the

integration/assimilation of loanwords among Puerto Rican bilingual Spanish and English speakers in East Harlem, New York City.

Poplack, Shana; Susan Wheeler; and A. Westwood. 1987. Distinguishing language contact phenomena: Evidence from Finnish-English bilingualism. The Nordic Languages and Modern Linguistics 6, ed. by Pirkko Lilius and Mirja Saari, 33-56. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press. The concepts of loan, code-switching and nonce-borrowing are further distinguished for Finnish-English bilingual speakers in Canada. The analysis of typologically different language pairs provides support for the equivalence hypothesis proposed by Poplack. Typologically similar languages are conducive to code-switching while languages with conflicting typologies are more likely to result in nonce-borrowing. .

Poplack, Shana. 1988. Contrasting patterns of code-switching in two communities. Code-switching. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives, ed. by Monica Heller, 215-244. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. The difference in the patterns of code-switching of two bilingual communities: Puerto Ricans in New York City and the bilingual French speakers in Ottawa and Hull in Canada are examined.

Poplack, Shana. 1990. Variation theory and language contact: Concepts, methods and data. Papers for the workshop on concepts, methodology and data, ed. by the European Science Foundation, 33-65. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. A discussion of the theoretical and methodological principles of a sociolinguistic variationsist approach to language contact phenomena such as code-switching, borrowing, convergence and stylistic reduction. A presentation of data processing techniques for code-switching which distinguishes different kinds of contact phenomena is a good starting point for research in code-switching

Poplack, Shana. 1991. Linguistic variation and language contact. American dialect research: An anthology celebrating the 100th anniversary of the American Dialect Society, ed. by Dennis Preston, in press. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. A variationist approach to language

contact phenomena is proposed. An introduction to the basic concepts of language variation is studied in the light of typologically similiar and different language pairs: Spanish/English, French/English, Finnish/English, Tamil/English, and Arabic/French.

Preston, Dennis R. 1989. Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A sociolinguistic framework is offered to account for the analysis of interlanguage systems at different stages of second language acquisition. A detailed discussion of external (age, sex, context) and internal variables such as attitudes, aptitudes, personality, and individual motivation.

Prince, Ellen. 1988. Discourse analysis: A part of the study of linguistic competence. Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey. Linguistic theory: extensions and implications, ed. by Frederick Newmeyer, 164-182. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The suthor's objective is to demonstrate the relevance of certain aspects of discourse for generative theory. Some aspects of discourse are taken to be part of a speaker's competence rather than her performance.

Radford, Andrew. 1988. Transformational grammar. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The basic assumptions and theoretical concepts of generative grammar are presented in this introductory volume which is intended for classroom use.

Radford, Andrew. 1990. Syntactic theory and the acquisition of English syntax. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A discussion of the grammar of childrens speech during the period when they first string word together in a systematic way to form phrases and clauses is presented. Functional words and lexical categories are distinguished in terms of the way they are learned.

Revista de Occidente. 1982. El bilingüismo: Problemática y realidad. Revista de Occidente, Extraordinario II, 10-11. A collection of articles dealing with the bilingual situation in the autonomous communities of Spain as well as more general issues such as cognitive consequences of bilingualism, and educational problems in multilingual communities.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1982. What is a speech community? Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities, ed. by S. Romaine, 13-24. London: Edward Arnold. A critical review of the different working definitions of speech community. A large section of the article is dedicated to Labov's prototype variable rule community and the problems with this proposal.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1984. The language of children and adolescents. The acquisition of communicative competence. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A psychological and psycholinguistic perspective is used to analyze how children acquire communicative competence. Attention is given to the methodology used to gather and analyze bilingual language data.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. Bilingualism. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. It presents the state of the art of research on bilingualism. Most of the discussion presents previously published work in the area although Romaine presents some of her own data from Punjabi/English and from Tok Pisin/English bilinguals.

Sankoff, David, and Shana Poplack. 1981. A formal grammar for code-switching. Papers in Linguistics 14,1:3-45. Formal means of describing the syntax of code-switching are discussed with examples from Puerto Rican Spanish and English.

Sankoff, David, and S. Mainville. 1986. Code-switching of context-free grammars. Theoretical Linguistics.13. 75-90. The authors provide a formal model of a context-free grammar to support the equivalence constraint proposed by Poplack with respect to code-switching phenomena.

Sankoff, David; Shana Poplack; and S. Vanniarajan. 1991. The empirical study of code-switching. Papers for the symposium on code-switching and bilingual studies: Theory, significance and perspectives, ed. by The European Science Foundation, 181-206. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. Paper presented at the symposium on code-switching in bilingual studies organized by the European Science Foundation in Barcelona in March of 1991. It is a revised version of the article "The case of

nonce loan in Tamil" by the same authors. An up to date view of the debate on distinguishing loans, nonce-borrowing, and true cases of code-switching.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1988. Conversational analysis. Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey. IV. language: The socio-cultural context. ed. by frederick Newmeyer, 251-276. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A review article on conversational analysis which concentrates on the focus of inquiry and the methods of analysis used by various researchers in the field.

Sells, Peter. 1985. Lectures on contemporary syntactic theories. Stanford University: Center for the Study of Language and Information. Lecture notes of a course on contemporary syntactic theories taught by the author at the University of California at Santa Cruz in the spring of 1985. An outline of the main competing syntactic theories available up to date. Chapter 5 includes a postscript where the three theories are placed in perspective of the overall discoveries in syntactic theory.

Shields, Graham J. 1987. Gibraltar. Oxford: Clio Press. This annotated bibliography provides a wide range of entries dealing with the history, geography, economics, and politics, as well as with the people, culture, customs, religion and social organization of Gibraltar. Bibliographical references to current living conditions, housing, education, newspapers, and clothing are also included.

Smith, Neil. 1989. The twitter machine. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. A compilation of independent essays on the main assumptions of modern linguistics is presented for persons from other disciplines who are interested in linguistics. Theoretical concepts are accompanied by empirical data and arguments.

Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson. 1986. Relevance. Communication and cognition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. A theoretical framework based on a general view of human cognition accounts for the study of human communication. The view held is that communication implies that the information communicated is relevant. This principle of

relevance is enough to acount for linguistic meaning and contextual factors in utterance interpretation.

Sridhar, S. N. and K. K. Sridhar. 1980. The syntax and psycholinguistics of bilingual code-mixing. Canadian Journal of Psychology. 34. 407-416. These authors provide an overview of the literature on code-switching until 1980. They explore the implications of code-mixing for psycholinguistic models of bilingual language processing.

Stewart, J. D. 1967. Gibraltar. The keystone. Boston: Mifflin. This provides a historical account of Gibraltar prior to the Moorish invasion up until the events of the twentieth century.

Strubell i Trueta, Miquel. 1981. Llengua i població a Catalunya. Barcelona: Edicions de la Magrana. A discussion of the status of Catalan is presented with statistics on inmigration and the different uses of the language: speaking, writing, understanding and reading among different sectors of the society.

Stubbs, Michael. 1983. Discourse analysis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. An introduction to discourse analysis. The main principles of different approaches are applied to examples of oral and written texts.

Tannen, Deborah. 1984. Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex. A linguistic approach to the analysis of a dinner conversation involving six participants is presented with the goal of illustrating the relationship between linguistic form and meaning. Different conversational styles and their effectiveness are compared.

Tarone, Elaine. 1988. Variation in interlanguage. London: Edward Arnold. The systematicity of the language produced by second language learners and the criteria linguists use to determine and explain systematic language. Attention is addressed to variation in language learning and how sociolinguistic variation theory can explain such data.

Timm, L. A. 1975. Spanish-English code-switching: El porqué and how-not to. Romance Philology. 28. 473-482. Violations of most syntactic constraints proposed in the literature on code-switching. An appeal to non-linguistic variables are made to explain satisfactorily intra-sentential code-switching. The claims made are based on the Spanish/English language pair of Mexican Americans in California.

Traverso, Albert. 1980. A history of education in British Gibraltar 1704-1945. MA thesis. Durham: University of South Hampton. A history of education in Gibraltar. Parts of this thesis have been published in the form of articles in the Gibraltarian newsweekly *Panorama* between February and May of 1989.

Treffers-Daller, Jeanine. 1990. Towards a uniform approach to code-switching and borrowing. Papers for the workshop on constraints, conditions and models, 259-279. Strasbourg: European Science Foundation. Code-switching phenomena and borrowing are not distinguished as separate kinds of phenomena. A hierarchy of different structures is proposed to account for code-switching.

Turell, María Teresa. 1984. Elements per a la recerca sociolingüística a Catalunya. Barcelona: Edicions 62. It is an essential resource tool for carrying out sociolinguistic research in Catalonia. An analysis of the sociolinguistic behavior of native Catalans and immigrants is studied within the work place. A summary chapter includes overall attitudes and practices towards Spanish and Catalan.

Vaid, Jyotsna (ed.) 1986. Language processing in bilinguals: Psycholinguistic and neuropsychological perspectives. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. This collection of articles presents both a psycholinguistic and a neuropsychological perspective to bilingualism. The articles by Miwa Nishimura, François Grosjean and Carlos Soares deal directly with the issue of code-switching. Other articles in the volume include studies in first and second language acquisition as well as bilingualism in signing communities and experimental studies on cerebral lateralization.

Valdés, Guadalupe. 1988. The language situation of Mexican Americans. Language diveristy: Problem or resources. ed. by Sandra L. McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, 111-139. New York: Newbury House. An analysis of the different types of bilingualism existent among Mexican-American communities throughout the United States.

Vallduví, Enric. 1988. On lexical and grammatical language mixing. Linguistic change and contact ed. by Kathleen Ferrara et al., 368-377. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. Intra-sentential code-switching should be restricted to cases where grammatical principles of two languages are mixed. In order to give a principled account of code-switching this kind of phenomena should be distinguished from the lexical insertion of words from two languages which involves a different cognitive process altogether.

Van Coetsem, Frans. 1988. Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact. Dordrecht: Foris. The greater part of the book is dedicated to the theoretical framework which the author exemplifies with a case study of loan phonology of Middle English and Africaans as well as two other varieties of Dutch. The model proposed is based on the distinction between speakers who may use a recipient language or a source language and the process of borrowing and imposition.

Waggoner, Dorothy. 1981. Statistics on language use. Language in the USA, ed. by Charles Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath, 486-515. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The language statistics from several US censuses are analyzed. Issues of immigration of various nationalities and the use of English and immigrants mother tongue are discussed.

Wande, Erling; Jan Anward; Bengt Nordberg; Lars Steenland; and Mats Thelander (eds.) 1987. Aspects of multilingualism. Proceedings from the Fourth Nordic Symposium on Bilingualism, 1984. Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia 2. Uppsala: Borgströms, Motala. This volume contains 24 articles dealing with the sociological, socio-psychological and psychological perspectives on bilingualism. A wide field of interests are covered which

include linguistic minorities in Northern Europe, Belgium, and the former Soviet Union.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. Languages in contact: Findings and problems. The Hague: Mouton Press. A complete and thorough study on language contact. A detailed analysis of the structural causes of interference and its effects on the system as a whole is provided. Individual factors which contribute to bilingualism and the influence of the socio-cultural setting are taken into account.

Wilson, Deirdre and Dan Sperber. 1993. An outline of relevance theory. To appear in Links and Letters 1. Departament de Filologia Anglesa, Universitat Autònoma de. Barcelona. A clear presentation with detailed examples of the main ideas of relevance theory. Suggestions are made on its application to other fields of language study.

Woolard, Kathryn. 1983. Double talk. Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia. Stanford: Stanford University Press. An analysis of language values, attitudes relating to Spanish-Catalan bilingual behavior in the city of Barcelona. A detailed account of language use and identity as well as the rights and duties of bilingual language choice are discussed. The role of power, prestige,status and solidarity associated with Spanish and English is also examined.

Woolard, Kathryn. 1988. Codeswitching and comedy in Catalonia. Code-switching. Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives, ed. by Monica Heller,53-76. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. This is an analysis of Catalan-Spanish code-switching in the jokes of a well-known comedian. Social tension between Catalan and Spanish speaking immigrant groups are reduced by the humorous use of both Spanish and Catalan.

Woolford, Ellen. 1983. Bilingual code-switching and syntactic theory. Linguistic Inquiry 14. 520-535. Proposes a model consistent with Government and Binding theory. Two monolingual grammars cooperate in the production of code-switching. Phrase structure rules are drawn freely from both grammars

but the lexicon is limited to filling only those terminal nodes created by phrase structure rules common to both languages.

Zentella, Ana Celia. 1988. The language situation of Puerto Ricans. Language diversity: Problem or resources. ed. by Sandra L. McKay and Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, 140-165. New York: Newbury House. An analysis of the level of proficiency in Spanish and English for the Puerto Rican community of New York City is presented. The implications of linguistic competence for education is also explored.

APPENDIX
TRANSCRIPTS

The transcripts presented in this appendix are the data used to analyze the linguistic situation in Gibraltar. Citations from the data in these transcripts have been used in chapters four through six of this thesis to discuss the different theoretical approaches to the phenomena of code-switching.

A total of sixteen separate conversations that cover a wide range of situations and contexts are included. The researcher requested friends to make some of the recordings of their daily interactions with friends and fellow workers in order to obtain data for analysis that is more spontaneous and affected less by the observer's paradox. The conversations obtained from the teacher's room and the local bank were recorded by the researcher's friends (see transcripts #2, #3, #5, #13). The selection of the transcripts was made based on the methodological principle of supplying language data from as many different contexts as possible. The lengths of the transcripts vary. In most cases the whole transcript of the tape is provided while in other cases the transcriptions were selected according to their suitability (see transcripts #2, #11, #12).

The recordings from which these transcripts were made were carried out in Gibraltar between December 1987 and November1990. The recordings were transcribed with the help of a research assistant fluent in both English and Spanish, and afterwards they were corrected by two other people in addition to myself. This task was finished in August 1991.

The transcripts are organized according to language. The first transcriptions show a predominant use of English while the latter ones show a predominant use of Spanish. The recordings were obtained from both formal interview situations as well as informal situations where the participants were unaware they were being recorded. Permission was always obtained from the informants after the recording had been made.

Each transcript is preceded by a brief introduction to the context, and the location where the recording was made. Information regarding gender, approximate age and role of the persons in relation to the other participants in the conversation is provided. All true names have been changed in order to secure the anonymity of the informants.

A wide variety of situations and people were recorded: nurses at a public hospital, office employees, teachers, members of a family, friends, patients in an emergency room, and radio broadcasts. More than one transcript of the same Gibraltarian family has been included to provide a fuller view of their language use in different contexts and in interactions with different participants (see transcripts #6, #7, #10, #15).

Some of the transcripts involve telephone conversations where only one end of the conversation was recorded. The decision to include them here is because they constitute instances of informal speech where the informant does not feel monitored by the researcher's presence (see transcripts #12, #13, #16).

Two of the transcripts were made from a recording in the teacher's room of one of the local schools in Gibraltar. These recordings were carried out on different days and the participants are not all the same (see transcripts #3, #5). Language use in a teaching situation is illustrated in transcripts #1, #14. The first of these transcripts was obtained from the local vocational training school in Gibraltar and the second one was obtained from the local hospital. Transcript #2 is a formal conversation in one of the local bank offices in Gibraltar. Transcripts #8, and #9 are semi-spontaneous, humorous conversations broadcasted on different days over the local radio station in Gibraltar.

The sixteen tapes are the following:

A number of transcription symbols were used to identify different phenomena which turned up on the recordings. A more detailed transcript and set of symbols including prosodic features, the length of pauses, overlap in speech and so on was used for those extracts analyzed in the text, especially in chapter five on discourse analysis.

There are instances in the transcription where the speech of the same speaker appears on consecutive lines. This indicates that this speaker was

participating in two speech events where different people are addressed. In some instances, the participant in a conversation could not be identified. This is indicated in the transcripts without any initials preceding a person's turn. In those transcriptions which involved a telephone call or when the researcher was not present, it has not been possible to identify all of the speakers participating in a conversation.

English and Spanish are distinguished throughout with different letter types. All English appears in plain letters and the Spanish in **bold** letters. Both English and Spanish punctuation conventions are used according to the language of the text. In a few cases where both languages were equally present in a sentence, the choice of English or Spanish punctuation was based on the previous and the following contexts.

An unfinished sentence or expression is indicated by three dots [...]. A part of the transcription which is incomprehensible is indicated by a question mark between slashes /?/. When the transcription of a particular word or the identity of a speaker is doubtful, the word has been placed between slashes **/this afternoon/**. Conventional punctuation such as commas, colons, semi-colons and periods are used. Commas represent a short pause. A colon is used before instances of direct speech and preceding a list of items while a semi-colon indicates a pause which is longer than that which is indicated by a comma. It is also used to indicate a certain thematic continuity with what was previously said. A period ends the expression of a certain idea. Sometimes it coincides with a pause but this is not always the case.

The data included in this appendix are referenced throughout the text by transcript and page number (e.g. Transcript #5: 24). A list of the conventions used in this appendix are presented below.

List of conventions used in the transcripts

English expressions	She is Gibraltarian
Spanish expressions	Vive en Gibraltar
Unfinished word, sentence or expression	...
Words incomprehensible	/?/
Short pause	,
Pause longer than that indicated by a comma	;
End of an idea	.
Direct speech or list of items	:
Spanish questions	¿Qué tal?
English questions	What did you say?
Spanish exclamations	¡Qué bonito!
English exclamations	What a day!
Doubtful transcription	/This afternoon/

TRANSCRIPT 1

This is a transcription of a technical class in the local vocational school of Gibraltar. The second half of the transcription is a conversation between the teacher and the interviewer. The first pages (1-4) of this transcription were obtained without the participants' knowledge that they were being recorded, and permission to use the recording was obtained afterwards. Three students together with the teacher made up the entire class. The researcher, Carol= **C**, had requested a friend who was a student in the class to repair a broken microphone. The teacher gave permission to make the repair while the class was going on; Carol was allowed to wait inside the room. During the break the teacher gave the students a chapter to read from a book, and it was during this time that the conversation between the teacher and the interviewer took place. The quality of the recording was good. The identity of the three students who participated in the class was difficult to establish, thus they have all been classified under **S** with the exception of an exchange between John and the teacher (**T**= Teacher, **C**= Carol, **S**= Students).

T: Right, if we go through the syllabus I think we've covered a bit over a
    couple of pages ¿no?
S: The first /?/.
T: The three electrons transmitted from a hot /?/... Then we we've covered
    them on the handout I gave you. The struggle of electrons are admitted to
    particles are converted to another beam again should be in your hand-

out. Talking about the /?/ and the grid state the electrons impinging on a prepared screen producing a spot of light the brightness of which depending on the intensity that is also in the handout. Next one which is forty describes how the main intensity can be varied again we talked about it changing the potential of the /?/ which should increase or decrease the flow of electrons. Explain how the beam can be deflected by a high potential difference between pairs or metal plates you can talk about a potential unity pair of plates. What of machine are they talking about?

S: Plates there.

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

S: Uh no

T: No why not?

S: **Sí porque lo que estás diciendo es un** coiler **un** coiler /?/

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

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

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

S: /?/.

T: Well I mean the the beam is inside the oscilloscope and the magnetic field doesn't really matter whether it comes from a permanent magnet or it

comes from a coil the magnetic field is the same really it's just the source that we are changing the next one is state the purpose of coils on brilliance controls that I think it's a very obvious the purpose of the focus of the brilliance do you know what is meant by time base the time base what was the time base? Do you remember?

S: /?/

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

S: It controls the beam.

T: It moves moves the beam from left to right yes it's a oscillator that transfers... what shape of oscillations or waves does it produce? What type of a wave? Is it a sinusoidal wave that the type of wave it produces? Is it a square wave? Is it triangular? Or is it isosceles?

S: Isosceles.

T: ¿Qué tipo de /?/ tiene en el wave? Que el time of wave produce que va a aumentar los plates no te acuerdas ¿no?

S: No.

T: Eso lo llaman /?/ vale get that bit in a /?/ and the last bit there says this kind of simple wave can be displayed /?/. How can a simple wave be displayed in the tube? Where will you collect... What they're asking here is do you know where the signal eventually goes in the tube?

S: To the outer plates.

T: One. /?/.

S: One.

T: Out of the /?/. Y /?/

S: Se puede cambiar ¿no?

S: Y /?/.

T: Y is a vertical movement so what...

S: A time wave.

T: It's a time wave. So you have two signals going through the tube, right. The one that moves from left to right is horizontal, is fixed. It's probably your oscilloscope /?/. You select the time that you want. But then the other one is, the vertical one, is the signal. So the signal /?/. I think we've managed to go as deep as we need to go there. If there's no problems, we can move on to something else. John, how are you getting on with the tube? Alright?

J: Um hum.

T: ¿Eh? Shall we carry on with something else?

J: Yo creo que sí.

T: OK. Let's choose something else which is follows up from where we left off.

S: Television?

T: I think the television would be a good start. **Sí,** because we've just looked at the other parts of the machine, we know how the tube works after we can do /?/. We only need to know the black and white **¿eh?** /?/. Tell you what, you've got your books your text-books with you. If you can open up the chapter on the black and white. Page twenty-seven. On televisions. Read through... read up to the middle of page thirty-four, alright? And then we'll have a talk about it and see what you've made out of it. Alright? And later on I'll be going to get some photocopies of the correspondent course. I'll give you the copies as we've usually done. It so happen I haven't /?/. That's the last week's work /?/ with the oscilloscopes. **¿Vale?** Quick. Don't try to concentrate too much just the useful bits, and we'll talk about it and start throwing ideas back and forth and see what we make out of it. It's quite interesting **¿eh?**

[A break in the class]

T: Ah. It's running.

C: Is it all right?

T: No problem. As long as it's not...it's not used against me.

C: No. Of course not. Ha, ha.

T: Have you noticed how we naturally switch over from English and Spanish?

C: Well, this is precisely... It's something I do as well because, uhm. I came to Spain when I was eight years old and after I lived in **Sevilla**

T: Uh huh.

C: /?/ **Y aunque tengo pasaporte americana...**

T: **Sí, sí. Pero usted tiene muchos** foundations **para esto.**

C: **Estoy un mes más aquí en Gibraltar. He visitado ya el hospital /?/ para grabar.**

T: **Muy interesante.**

C: **Bueno, a ver que sale. Las cosas que a mí me interesan son la lengua.¿Cómo está...? Porque aquí en el** college...**las cosas ¿qué son? siempre en inglés o...**

T: **Bueno, eh,** officially **todos, todo el** examining board is... **son todos en inglés. Con que** really we are supposed to... we should teach them the proper things in English, first of all, because eventually they have to answer for them. But if during the process you find out that some people are giving you a weird look, inquisitive look, I mean, what's wrong with switching over you know. Cutting off into the Spanish memory; if you like,getting the point across. And then you bring them back to English

again. I mean since they don't have any English exams or such, I don't see the problem really.

C: No. The important thing for them is to learn and to understand.

T: I've always had a lot of arguments with some educationalists about it, you know, you should stick to English... Ah. If it's a process I'm looking for I don't care whether way we teach it.

C: Right, right, right. No, and now...

T: Even in sign language. Ha, ha, ha.

C: This is another thing because some people talking about the National Curriculum and they wanted to incorporate more Spanish in the schools so /?/.

T: I'll tell you what, I would find it very, very difficult having to teach my equivalent or counterpart in Spain because, precisely because of that we've been taught the actual jargon itself is... is in English and in ordinary conversation it is frequent. It is natural to us, but if I went to a college in Spain and tried to teach what I'm doing here, I wouldn't know what the words are. Yeah, I've got a dictionary upstairs.

C: No, no, but that's what some people have told me that they go to Spain to a hardware store to get a nail and there are certain kind of nails /?/.

T: But sometimes we /?/ with a particular word in a shop in Spain or something like that, and the person behind the counter says: what are you talking about? That's not that. Yes it is. No it's this. Mind you, I suppose there are people who do know what they are talking about, people that have studied a bit more.

C: No.

T: They're more inclined towards the language. I myself, I was more into the technical side. You know when I'm communicated with some friends of

mine in Spain sometimes I'm looking for the right word and I can't find it. Technical...

C: But what happens to me and I don't live in Gibraltar. When I go back to the States /?/.

T: **Sí,** that's right. I tell you, I've also noticed from the own bilingual experience that we are exposed here that the Spanish language I think is more precise, in terms of adjectives, than the English one. I think for every English or word in English that you get, there is probably about three of Spanish words that could. There's an intermediate stage between that word itself which...

C: But this is mainly in Electronics?

T: No, no, I mean generally in the Spanish language. When I hear the Spanish television. You know, that's where we pick up all a few of the words and all the technical stuff, especially the poetry, it sounds so nice! You know, it's more flowery.

C: **Sí, el lenguaje es más directo.**

T: **Me gusta más escuchar poesía y yo creo que la parte cultural me tira más la parte española.**

C: **Sí, sí.**

T: **Es más rico para mi opinión ¿eh?**

C: **Otra cosa que he notado aquí... Bueno aquí hay muy pocas cosas de teatro, algo de teatro pero no hay cine no...**

T: **Sí, sí, muy poquito.**

C: **Hay muy poca vida cultural aquí ¿no?**

T: **Sí, sí. Está en su infancia.**

C: **Pero en España tampoco hay mucho más, en La Línea no hay nada y en Málaga no hay... tampoco hay demasiado.**

T: Curioso ¿eh? Sabes que pasa que yo, yo no lo echaría de menos porque como no lo conozco tampoco.

C: Claro.

T: No ha sido parte de mi vida, pero comprendo que sí, ahora pensándolo bien.

C: O lecturas de poesía ¿no sé?

T: No hay nada.

S: Hay...

T: Poquísimo.

C: Hay algo.

T: Lo hay, porque las personas que están metidas en eso no /?/. pero no quizás como nos gustaría, o debiera haberlo, no sé por qué ¿eh? Pero es verdad.

C: ¿Y hay así mucho contacto profesional con lo que haceis con España?

T: ¿Eh? No, quizás con la cantidad que pudiera haber. También lo que influye mucho es las diferencias de los sistemas de educación.

C: Claro.

T: Es que no es que no sea mejor que el otro, ni nada ¿eh? Pero es que son diferentes. Yo no sé que sería el equivalente de este colegio o de esta cosa.

C: Formación profesional ¿o no?

T: Es que no lo sé, porque formación profesional por lo que se ve ¿puede llegar a estudiar a la universidad, por ahí?

C: No.

T: Pero sin embargo aquí sí. ¿Comprendes lo que quiero decir? En algunas cosas quizás sea equivalente. Sin embargo a lo mejor tiene otras salidas por otros lados que... o aquí las tiene y allí no.

C: Claro, claro.

T: Ellos por ejemplo si siguieran estudiando... Están en el primer año ahora, pero pueden hacer hasta cuatro años más. De... de... de part-time. Y si al final cogen eso cogen el equivalente del Higher National Certificate. Que no sé lo que sería.

C: No lo sé.

T: Por esto te digo. Ahora con el Higher National Certificate pueden, pueden aplicar para una beca, un scholarship, y los mandan /?/. Ahora, through the... through the equivalent in Spain, I don't know what the system would be, I'm sure there is something.

C: Sí, debe haber algo, pero...

T: Tú me dices formación profesional, I've heard it before pero I really don't know what it involves.

C: No, formación profesional es cuando terminan el Secondary School en una escuela o el comprehensive ¿no?

T: No sé, yo no lo sé.

C: Sí, cuando terminan, cuando ya no quieren ir a High School o a la universidad.

T: Bueno, tu dices el sistema del O level also y los A levels. Eso le llaman formación profesional?

C: No, no, formación profesional es formación técnica de electrónica, o de delineante.

T: Sí.

C: Es que no lo sé.

T: **Y** once they have done that, can they get a job anywhere doing that?

C: Yeah, yes, they get a job.

T: It's accepted by the state.

C: It's like a vocational school.

T: Ah, I see! **Bueno**, what we've got here now is vocational cadettes. It's something new, it's been around here, it's second year now going through.

C: ¿Y eso qué es?

T: It's very similar I think to formación profesional. They do a little bit of electrics, they do a bit of mechanical, they do a bit of everything like that and see whether they... we... you know, it stimulates their vocational side and gives them a bit more skills so that makes them better people so they can join society, you know, they can fit in. That is very similar perhaps.

C: Yeah.

T: And they get paid so well, aren't they?

C: Yeah.

T: Do they get paid in Spain as well?

C: No. No porque creo /?/.

T: Aquí el sistema que tienen es que los... los employers toman la persona y lo tienen por un cierto tiempo, sí... Y ese tiempo no es ningún gasto para el employer, el employer no tiene que gastarse nada. El gobierno es el que está pagando al estudiante. Que le va bien. Y al estudiante le gusta, y el employer al final de año lo puede ya tomar. Quiere decir que

el employer **ve y conoce qué persona es y el individuo ve que pasa. No hay gastos. nadie tiene que apurarse porque no hay nada que gastarse más que... El gobierno le da un sueldo muy pobre, pero le da algo. Y al final del año, pues casi siempre se queda con ellos.**

C: Sí, esto está muy bien.

T: Y trabajan. Este sistema está trabajando hasta ahora.

C: Está muy bien.

T: Porque como no les cuesta nada tampoco al employer...

C: Claro. No. Es un sistema que está muy bien.

T: Bueno, y cuénteme de los Estados Unidos como es en los States, **el sistema educativo allí. Escucho tanto de** High School **y eso.**

C: Yeah, well, people generally finish High School and then they can go to a vocational school or they can specialize. They are people who don't want to go to universtity.

TRANSCRIPT 2

This conversation took place in the office of a local bank in Gibraltar. The participants are two young female employees, Olivia and Margaret. Other female employees are present but they do not participate in the conversation which is being recorded by Olivia. Tania intervenes momentarily. The tape recorder was visible throughout the conversation. The conversation centered on the topic of the participant's new homes which they have recently purchased. (O= Olivia, M= Margaret, T= Tania)

M: How deep your voice **¿no?**

O: It's probably just cause it sounds, ha,ha, it sounds deeper when you're uh when you tape it. OK, well, what we were saying before when we tried to tape and it all came out wrong because I didn't have the volume up. /?/ Westside two. Have you heard anything about whether you've been given a house or not?

M: Sí, I've already got one.

O: I didn't know.

M: Sí.

O: Well, how many rooms is it?

M: Ahm, three bedrooms y tiene el living-room, dining-room...

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

M: Uh, yeah. **Sí** exact... with a balcony. **Y después** it's got two the...

O: It's got a balcony ?

M: Yeah.

O: You're joking?

M: Mind, it's a small one **¿no?** It's about one meter something long.

O: No, but at least it's something where you can stick geraniums if you want or...

M: Or Andrew when I'm tired of him I can lock him out on the balcany. **Pues...**
Sí, and   I've got two bathrooms. One and one.

O: Two?

M: It...

O: You had just three...

M: No, yo creo they must be smaller than yours, your bathroom. **Porque el mío tiene** one bathroom and a shower room. The shower room must be quite small. **Pero bueno**, it's got a loo and a shower.

O: Well, the thing is at least you have two loos.

M: Two loos. **Menuda conversación estamos teniendo.**

O: Sí, bueno, pero...

M: Yo creo que... When is yours finished ?

O: God knows when...Mine is due in June to October.

M: /?/.

O: Tania.

T: /?/.

O: Have you got a house in Westside as well? Ah. She won't speak. She's really silly. What was I saying? I can't remember. No mine is supposed to be due... is supposed to be ready October ninety one.

M: Ninety one?

O: No, but there is no way, I'm sure...

M: Yours is phase one **¿no?**

O: No, phase two, well no phase one but stage... I'm a bit confused

M: Westside one, phase two.

O: Westside one, phase two. That's right.

M: Entonces David **la coge antes que tú ¿no?**

O: Sí, David was in the housing list way before me. Apparently.

M: He's already finished his payments.

O: Well, yeah. That's right. His is supposed to be due in March.

M: Porque ehm my... Ethan's sister, she bought one in phase, you're phase

two ¿no?

O: Mmmm. Yeah.

M: I think she bought in phase three, and **el de... la casa de ella** is going

to be completed at the same time as mine. **Bueno,** It's supposed to.

O: When are you supposed to be ready?

M: December 1991.

O: December 1991.

M: No, pero yo no tengo bulla.

O: When are you going to get married then Margaret?

M: Well, first I have to get the house finished, **bueno,** the house has to be

built.

O: You're not going to do... you're not going to go and get married by the

registry are you?

M: No, no. I don't like it. It's not worth it anyway. I'm getting tax relief anyways.

O: That's true. Yeah.

M: He's getting it on his salary and I'm getting it on my salary.

O: You're too young Margaret.

M: Yeah.

O: Yeah.

M: No, probably the house won't be ready by... not ninety one but ninety two.

O: Everything is happening in ninety two.

M: May. May of ninety two. **Después mientras que** we've gone por los muebles.

O: Another ten years. **Sí,** you want everything perfect before you move in.

M: Sí, yo no quiero... a mí no me gusta como... Poca gente lo hace pero hay gente que se van de honeymoon... **Dejan a lo mejor arreglado lo mínimo, y** when they come back they have to work on the house **otra vez.**

O: You /?/ I think if... if it's like people like Melanie who has got her flat in Spain, and she's already had it for awhile. It's a bit of a shame to have such a nice flat just there empty. Do you know what I mean ? It depends on what you want **¿no?** You can go for a really flash honeymoon.

M: Sí, a Caribbean cruise. The works, yeah.

O: Ha, ha. You better start saving and ask for a pay rise. **¿no?**

M: I thought that's something I have to do. But anyway...

TRANSCRIPT 3

This spontaneous conversation was recorded at break time in the teacher's room at one of the schools in Gibraltar. The main researcher was not present. The recording was obtained by a friend of the researcher who is also a teacher of the institution. The tape recorder was concealed and afterwards permission was obtained from the participants to use the recording for this study. The quality of this recording is variable as people were coming in and out and speaking at the same time. This created difficulties with the transcription of the conversation. Several conversations among different people took place at the same time during the recording. Not all the participants could be identified personally although they are all adults and teachers at the school. The main topics of conversation have to do with student's behavior, a teacher's child being ill, the marriage of an ex-student, and a computer class. The participants identified are **C**= Christine, **T**=Teresa, **A**=Agatha, **E**=Enrique, **I**= Irene, and **R**=Robin.

T: No tienen educación ¿eh? Las niñas...

: Hello.

A: ¿Qué no tienen?

T: Ha salido un lote de niñas including fifth years, and sixth years.

: **¿A dónde se ha ido /?/?**

T: Both fifth years. Have stood... I'm holding the door.

: /?/.

T: I'm holding the door.

A: For them, **claro.**

T: For them.

  : Yeah.

T: And then two sixth years and a fifth year stood back and said come in. I was waiting for that.

E: Pero tú te esperas que en este, en este, en este day and age **que se cojan las niñas y te dejan a ti de pasar, porque te /?/.**

A: Heh, heh.

E: Vamos, porque sea el head of year **de aquí.**

T: No /?/. Además yo no soy head of year.

E: Sorry.

T: Yo soy year coordinator.

E: Sorry, sorry.

T: Now the... now the in word is coordinator.

E: Yo es que creí que todo /?/.

T: Escucha, ya hasta los toilets **son** coordinated.

E: Escúchame, los toilets **las niñas están cagándose cantidad.**

T: Están horrorosos.

E: Me han dicho que da vergüenza. Yo, me he ofrecido de entrar y ver pero...

T: El de las maestras de arriba de Brown. I didn't go in **porque me dice Ana María no entres.**

    [Several turns incomprehensible]

E: No. No. Pero es otra cosa, que el toilet paper **en algunos** toilets **no hay** toilet paper. **Y esto no es como los de que se leían cuando no había. Estos meten la mano en la lata y luego se**

encuentren que no hay papel and it may be what they should do is check more often.

A: They've complained about it.

T: I have to go.

A: Con la economía.

E: Aquí conmigo querrá una /?/.

I: Well, the girls have complained about it many times at tusk.

T: /?/ para el niño... para la niña esa Víctor.

A: Eliza Víctor.

E: Si viniese...

  : ¿Quién?

E: ...Cynthia Green

  : Who is she?

I: Cynthia Green?

E: The mother is the owner of the /?/ Pizza Hut **así que nos conviene...**

  : Ah, so...

E: ¿Te importa darle esto?

  : Sí.

T: It will be one /?/ to tell her /?/.

E: No. No, tratarla bien que si tú la tratas bien después cuando te compro una pizza, te pones mala.

  : Oh, **¡qué bien! A mí me gustan las pizzas.**

E: Escúchame, tú sabes que esta niña, que esta niña te habla inglés, francés, español.

I: Who is she? Sandra? Cindy?

  : /?/.

  : Cynthia? Green.

: Cynthia Green.

E: Shop rule **¿eh? Que es mucho más difícil porque no me puedo equivocar.**

I: I remember as a girl being taught how... You know you allow older people through first and married ladies to enter first.

: ...or single ladies. Ha, ha.

T: You need one respectable /?/. Your arms a little bit...

R: It's the perspective, **chiquilla**.

T: ...warpy.

R: It's not really spiritual.

: It's another perspective.

R: A perspective that only applies to the third dimensional space.

: /?/ perspective.

I: What did you say you were doing?

R: A very rough diagram. It can only be conceived in the mind. Another bit of paper. Like all your mathematics.

I: That's not a chemistry thing /?/. It's not a chemistry thing one of those where they draw...

: The problem is that you can not express any part of it.

R: /?/ **se gira.**

T: **¡Qué vergüenza!** You can only express it in your mind you can not translate it to the paper.

: What is the /?/?

R: Yeah, the immanations...

T: **¿Verdad** Bárbara?

: That's the end of me.

R: ...that come out of the /?/ in the /?/.

: He befriended me.

A: **Sí. Ahora mismo.** Heh, heh.

R: The trouble is the key. The trouble is the key. /?/ supposed to be in the

immanations involved. Naturally it is the one with /?/ this is the /?/

universe around the /?/ and that's the one nearest to the /?/.

: **Ay.**

T: **No me puedo sentar tranquila sabiendo que alguien me está**

esperando.

: /?/.

T: **Me está esperando. No puedo. Yo no puedo decir que esté**

esperando. No puedo.

I: They're trying to... They're all trying to diagrammatic.

: **Hay una niña nueva.**

: That is the way to hold the picture ¿eh?

: Let's use it.

: **Hay que** stand back/?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Dice** Christine **que quedó en venir todos los días.**

: **Los** supplies **¿eh?**

: /?/.

T: Christine **quedó los** supplies falter.

: **Ella no está aquí.**

A: **¿Qué? ¿Lo dividís?**

: **Yo cogí un** message **de** Rose /?/.

[Several turn incomprehensible]

: **Yo.**

: **Porque yo mandé un** message **a Miguel.**

: You're going to some hospital?

C: I went this morning **pero** I was out quite soon.

: /?/.

C: **El médico** saw me at once.

: **He oido hablar.**

: The hierarchy /?/.

: **Muy natural /?/.**

: /?/.

: He wouldn't even know /?/.

: When he would finally calm down and go to sleep **y se empezaba todo.**

: Then /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Que le dolía.** No, he said my tongue hurts, my ear hurts, my leg...

: **Pero tanto,** try to be positive about it.

: **Pero la cosa es que esta mañana decía** /?/. It was in the name of the
    school I was trying to ring them before half past eight **a cada dos
    minutos estaba llamando, comunicando todo el tiempo. Digo
    esto... algo va mal porque** it can't be engaged all the time. **Dice
    que no, que por lo visto, las... las dos líneas /?/.**

: **¿A las siete y media de la mañana?**

: **Sí.**

: **Hola,** Martha. **Un...**

: Hi, Martha.

: **¿Qué te pasa?**

C: **¡Qué noche he pasado! /?/ el niño.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Qué estás dando? ¿Un... una conferencia?** That's a good job.

: **Me dijo que te dejara esto.**

: Oh, I see it. As the tradition as if it were...

: **No hay agua, porra.**

: **¿No hay agua allí en la cacharra naranja?**

: **No.**

: **Te voy a enseñar... Siéntate allí.**

: **¿Esto qué es? ¿Traes agua?**

: **Sí.**

I: If you just prop it up on with your thumb. I think it will hold.

: On the table there.

: It's supposed to be good for /?/.

: Is there only a very narrow space?

I: I bought it originally for fruit juice. It's strictly to put /?/ because I still got one
at home and sometimes if you want /?/. Besides, I think it needs washing
out. Just leave it in the /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: That's it. I like it.

I: It needs washing out regularly because you musn't keep... Everybody will
keep dropping /money/ in it /?/ **con que el otro que tengo igual lo
tengo guardado aquí. Este lo traje aquí** /?/. It's got a double lid
and then it will always go back into place. So it's fairly hygienic /?/.

: Who's doing /?/ call?

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Let's choose /?/.

: /?/.

: I promised to hand her in.

: Probably knows that they're not like Eva Smith, she's all right. /?/.

: But they're girls who did it in... **no es culpa de ella.**

: **Porque las niñas no están** poised. They're maybe not being rowdy or destructive but they all may be doing what so and so...

: **Yo quiero hablar con Mari Carmen.**

: I thought they were taking notes.

: **De lo del** computer.

R: **A lo mejor allí /?/.**

   [Several turns incomprehensible]

C: **Pero está diciendo que la /?/ disminuido** and they can't /?/.

R: /?/ English lessons.

: What were you talking about?

: Very good you know I actually rather, I never boasted /?/ **y todo**; they want to expell him but they didn't.

   [Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Y esto qué es?**

: /?/.

: A dirty word.

: **/?/ introvertido.**

C: **Me acuerdo de... No lo conocía pero me acuerdo de ese incidente.**

A: **El cuento de la...**

I: I had an invitation to Janet Horn wedding.

: Brenda Cole.

I: Do you remember Janet?

: /?/.

I: And she's learned /?/.

C: **Es para hacer una película. Para hacer un vídeo.**

: Mabel y Mayte.

: Yes, yes.

I: The brother Art is marrying Janet Horn. I had a wedding invitation.

: Ah! Janet. ¿**La mayor?**

I: The thing is I've heard through another source that /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

E: ¿**Y el marido?**

: /?/.

C: **Sí bueno** and he got what he wants.

I: You know he is going out with a girl. I didn't know who the girl was.

: Yesterday.

I: Janet is a lovely girl, I think.

: Very nice.

I: Do you know how nice Janet is?

: Yes. I can imagine /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

I: ...and then I looked at the wedding and I said, wait a minute. He had /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

I: The last I knew two or three weeks ago and they're going ahead and they're

so upset that they don't want to invite anyone because they feel there

isn't any joy in this wedding.

: They're old fashioned type catholics.

: **Very acérrimo.**

I: ...and I got an invitation and of course I know Janet and then I said who is

she marrying? It's Eddy. This is the wedding.

: /?/.

I: Her son. Her one and only son. Her daughter is /?/. They were very upset about this boy because he was expected to learn in school and he never quite did and all this has caused a lot of upset and then I recently heard **decir que no**. He didn't want to marry her /?/. Apparently the wedding was for the second of November and the father said look the second of November is **el día de los difuntos**. You had many family /?/ your grandmother must be turning in her grave. You're going to do this. At least don't choose that day, **es un día muy señalado**. So, it's been moved to the first of November.

: All Saints Day.

: All Saints Day, hah, hah.

I: But he said it wasn't the day when he would be recalling the dead in the family, you know. At least he should be rejoicing about something.

: So the fact /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Su padre quiere...**

: **Es el día de los santos difuntos. Pero bueno.**

I : **Pero tú recuerdas los muertos del año** and you are going to make it a day of rejoicing for him.

C: **Mira, digo, escúchame /?/.**

: So it was moved all according to /?/ on Monday.

: **Si quieres.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Yo no necesito. Pero no voy a decir no, hombre, si puedo.**

I: **Digo, mira de quien hemos recibido unas invitaciones. Yo decía,** I'm surprised they've invited us. I know its the bride that has invited us.

Obviously, it is the bride who's invited us to make the connections to /?/.

They didn't invite us to Michael's and Michael said something. So.

: Porque no pedía. /?/ was a good person.

I: She's a nice girl.

E: Mira que...

: Sí.

I: The exception is...

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Quite convenient. Say both.

I: So Leslie said we're going. **Pensé** que we're not going. We would like to
go. I was very fond of Janet. I mean, that's why I'm being...

: She was very good.

: So the girl has gone back to her head of year and married him/?/.

: /?/.

: That will be interesting.

I: I don't know whether they will be able to decide to invite anyone in the end
or not. Because they're...

: /?/.

I: With Bern who was family member. They weren't, they weren't happy but
they weren't as fussed or upset with the Diocese and he was always...
Because his brother Brent is married to Leslie's cousin Margaret,
Margaret **Gómez.** Do you remember her? She goes /?/ with that /?/ Alan
Brent.

E: Sí, Alan, Alan.

I: Alan Brent.

E: Un año y medio.

I: Well, the rest of the family uh, are practicing Catholics if you like... and the other brother is married to Margaret and I remember at Margaret's wedding **que dijeron que** Elan was going out without the /?/ to be converted to a very traditional Catholics.

  : They are not /?/ because she has become a Jehovah.

T: Irene, **¿cúantos meetings hemos tenido para el** computer? **Hasta cuando yo estaba mala. Cuando yo estaba mala diciendo las verdades. Es el mismo problema. Se medio murió** /?/ **cuando vine. El primer día cuando vine de Inglaterra me encontré de inmediato; me espabilé para decir las verdades.**

A: Estabas así temblando en el meeting de sixth years and feeling nervous **y estaba** because your doctor. Hah, hah, hah.

T: Y es el mismo problema.

C: ¿Qué pasa que no aparece?

T: I mean he goes in **y se va.**

  : Pero Paula isn't he /?/.

  : Didn't he say something to anybody?

  : No /?/.

T: He says some girls don't want to come because **porque dice que hay algún problema con los horarios.** But Miss. Every... The only lesson we have a lesson is the day we are here.

  : Claro.

T: He said no we are marking the work we did in the summer. He says he gives us a chapter to read at home, the work to do at home and he say maybe next month he goes to that chapter. He said **después, dice** he said he goes and every time when he doesn't know it /?/.

A: Es que él... él sabe poner losetas.

T: **Ni para eso sirvió. Porque mira que ha comprado cemento de sobra.**

R: **Pero ¿pa qué es la amistad?** /?/ **¿Para qué es la amistad?**

: **Es un compromiso.**

A: **Me cobró mil quienientas. No son horas de albañiles. Y como había una para** /?/ **un acuerdo...**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Qué ha venido aquí a ver?**

T: He wanted to go to private lessons. He tried to get the letter from me that I should do this thing in the evenings when I get home. When I start... when he almost...

: /?/.

: **Y seguro que** if it is only private lessons to do with computers he's got the five classes. Five lessons and the /?/ educator for the school. The bad people have done. The syllabus /?/.

C: **Yo no entiendo como alguien así puede salirse con la suya y que nadie le diga nada.**

: But we had meetings.

: And then they would write this letter from the college /?/.

: **Muchas palabrarías. Viene como de** /?/

: There was no one there she didn't realize that they were going shopping into the town.

: ...**de tal manera que** you're/?/.

: **No se le puede decir a** /?/.

T: I've told her to call. /?/ González. I've told her to call the coordinator. Irene /?/ **y ha venido de Inglaterra** /?/ **y no podía casi hablar.** All I did when I came in /?/. **Me da vergüenza la verdad.**

E: **Porque dice que** this is the "r", you were meant to do. Children **así. Me parece ridículo. Y poco después salimos** then he says, **yo no sé lo que les enseñan a estos niños en el colegio. Así dice, porque acaban de venir no saben ni hacer una "r" en el** blackboard **y a una maestra inglesa** they tell her you're right. **Y si nadie sabe** going into the classroom, taking the chalk away from the teacher they demanded a /?/.

: **Yo, acabé dos semanas y lo comprobé. Y yo decía si a mí me mandaran a esta escuela el año que viene no iba arreglar na.**

T: But they're only saying something that the things they...

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: That's why **no estoy de acuerdo de** /?/.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: She only listens to the bright pupils.

: **Sí,** and the children were crying and she ignored them completely.

: **Claro.**

: **Sí. Así hay que tratar los problemas.**

: They made...

: Juliet **se fué el año antes que tú, y yo fuera a allí arriba.**

R: And weren't they lucky!

: Yeah.

C: **Eso es algo como de otro mundo ¿verdad? Que...**

: **Era una pesadilla.**

: /?/ for their particular **¿no?**

: **Bueno.**

E: **Olga ¿qué va a pasar si** Missus Deare **oye este tape?**

A: Ha, ha, ha.

: ¿Con Missus Deare? ¿Quién es Missus Deare? Who is Missus Deare?

: Otra vez.

: Otra vez ha caído, ella.

: Yo lo pensé. Lo quieres creer.

TRANSCRIPT 4

The interview took place at the local hospital in Gibraltar in March 1990. The interviewer met with two nurses in a small room that had good recording conditions. At the beginning of the conversation the interviewer met with two middle-aged female senior nurses. Elisa, born in Gibraltar and Antonia born in Ireland but who has lived in Gibraltar for over thirty years. Towards the middle of the conversation other hospital staff came in to have a coffee. These are Sonia, Vanessa and Nathan who is the only male participant in the conversation. Sonia and Vanessa are younger than the other staff members and they are still practicing to become nurses. Nathan is the person who was in charge of the Emergency Room that day, where the researcher conducted the interview. He was my contact at the hospital and he introduced me to the staff I was interviewing. These newcomers did not stay for long and their participation in the conversation was limited. All the participants in the interview are fluent in both Spanish and English. (M= interviewer, E= Elisa, A= Antonia, S= Sonia, V= Vanessa, and N= Nathan).

M: **Claro. No. Pero es esto lo que quiero ver ¿no?**

E: **Sí, porque por ejemplo, el el plátano, el plátano en español es plátano. Nosotros decimos** banana.

M: **Claro.**

E: **Pues** banana, banana **es de inglés. Después ehm.**

A: Es otra vez, mucha, mucha... dos /?/ hablando /?/. Todos los que conozco en Gibraltar ¿eh? También el español lo admiramos aquí y lo entendemos todo ¿no?

M: Claro. Claro.

E: Pero no es el español.

A: No hombre, como el español, como Madrid y Zaragoza, y eso no.

E: El castellano.

A: Esto es Andalucía. Esto es yanita.

E: Son gaditanos, son palabras bien dichas ¿tú sabes?

M: Bueno.

E: Mezclamos, ¿no? Mezclamos mucho.

M: Bueno, pero es lo que se habla aquí que que es gibraltareño ¿no?

E: Sí, yo creo que a lo mejor, a lo mejor Portugal hablan igual ¿no? Hablan la mitad en portugués y la mitad en español ¿no? Y malamente ¿no? Y en Francia a lo mejor es igual. Hablarán español y la mitad francés porque están dos fronteras y es lo que pasa. Y hablamos así tan malamente porque yo hay veces que...

M: Pero yo creo que no es hablar mal.

A: We've got an advantage, we've got an advantage. We've got the English and we've got the Spanish.

M: Right, es mucho mejor que los españoles...

A: Ahí está.

M: ...que no hablan ni inglés; muy pocos y cuando lo hablan lo hablan mal. Al menos los gibraltareños hablan bien.

A: Hablan inglés en el norte. Por el norte en Galicia. Esa gente hablan inglés. Porque yo conozco un sacerdote y es de Galicia. He tr... trained, he trained in Ireland and he speaks perfect English.

M: Sí, sí, sí, sí.

A: ...and he he he he adores Ireland ¿no?

M: Claro.

A: Pero dice que he loves practicing his English. Y ahora está en Tánger. El ahora está en la iglesia de Tánger.

M: Está bien. Pues mira. Las preguntas que voy hacer son sobre Gibraltar. Sobre la infancia. Es un poco para entender... Es que las apunto y las grabo porque si no, no me acuerdo de las respuestas. Entonces tu vinistes...

A: Yo me vine aquí cuando tenía dieciseis años.

M: Dieciseis años y...

A: Y tuve mi primer hijo con diecisiete. Aunque vivo más años en Gibraltar que en mi país.

M: Claro, sí, sí, sí ¿Y cómo era Gibraltar cuando, cuando, cuando...?

A: Cuando yo vine aquí a Gibraltar era hab... era mucho más diferente que hoy en día. Uno, ehm abajo había toda agua, la Laguna. Allí no había casas. Allí había barracones.

M: Sí.

A: Y la gente también tenía, en la juventud... Hablando de la juventud. La gente tenía mucha más vergüenza. No entraban en un pub como hoy en día a tomar una copa. Y tampoco había por la calle Real todos los bares eso que las mujeres

venían dancing ¿no? Bailando. Y bebiendo, drinking, con el
sailors, con los marineros, sailors ¿no? Y estaba la vida de los
gibraltareños era muy diferente...

M: Sí.

A: ...que hoy en día. Y los españoles venían vendiendo por las
casas. Tú te acordarás Elisa.

E: Sí; los pescadores vendían el pescado...

A: El fish **fresco.**

E: Sí claro, venía de España todo.

A: Lo vendían at your door.

M: Really?

E: Sí.

A: Fruit and vegetables and fish.

M: Wow, how nice! **¿Y eso ya se perdió?**

A: Y por la mañana eran los churros y por la tarde eran los cakes.

E: Los cakes, **sí eran los** cakes.

A: Y era la calentita también. Ahora it's a different life.

E: El verdulero, el pescad...

A: Todo, todo, todo era muy diferente. Después se puso se car...
se cerró la frontera.

M: Sí.

A: Y they bound to became more...

E: More English, I mean.

A: Become, become more Irish, more English, more British, more British.

E: Ya las cosas que teníamos con España y ya eso se perdió. More
British, more British.

M: Claro.

A: Mucha de la gente que vivía aquí casi, bueno, unos, un forty, forty percent **yo creo ¿no?** Maybe I'm a bit more. Their mothers or their, their wives. Their mothers were Spanish and they they couldn't visit them and they used to go a long way around. Through Tangier, Algeciras and that. To see their families and the...

M: **Sí.**

A: **Existía,   había mucha gente así.**

E: **Yo creo que después de cerrar la frontera fue cuando todo cambió. Cuando todo cambió a más Británico en el sentido de que ya claro. El pescado no venía, ya lo tenían que traer de Marruecos o los nuestros pescarlos y venderlos. La verdura, la verdura si no venía de Inglaterra venía de Marruecos. Ya tuvieron que poner en vez de... antes había ehm comercios chiquititos ¿no? y comprábamos en las tiendas.**

A: **No, no. Ya** gra... gradually, **sí los bares, así empezó muchos bares   antes muchos /?/ al lado de la playa. Poniendo los bares en   la playa.** They cleaned up the beaches **que antes estaban muy sucias. Antes iba a España pero yo me acuerdo que quedábamos tres y cuatro en las colas para irnos a España el domingo por la mañana.**

M: **Ay, que rollo ¿no?**

A: **Para ir a las playas de España llevabas contigo tu bolsito con su cena, tu comida, toda allí en la playa, comía y todo. Compraba allí pan y cervezo, Coca Cola. Entonces eran eran de mi prima Nara bueno la** lemonade, **la limonada que es gaseosa blanca. Aquella grandiosa. Después viniendo para**

atrás tú comprabas tu verdura a lo mejor, antes antes de la frontera.

M: Sí.

A: Pero ya fueron con la idea de de empezaron a limpiar la playa aquí y poner bares en la playa y...

M: Ahora la playa por cierto la playa ha quedado muy destrozada. Claro.

A: ...ahora con el huracán que ha habido. Pero entonces estaba peor.

M: Sí.

A: Han empezado a ponerlo bonito y a arreglar el Rosia, los dolphins, el pool. Estaba más... Yo creo que Gibraltar antes cuando no estaba cerrada se puso mucho mejor desde ahora que está la frontera abierta.

M: Claro, claro, claro, claro, entra todo.

E: Sí, ahora ya...

A: Ahora...

E: ...han vuelto han vuelto para mi opinión, han vuelto a depender otra vez mucho en España para las cosas. Cuando antes, cuando se cerró por primera vez la frontera, Franco... la frontera, ya empezábamos a depender en otros sitios como Marruecos, Inglaterra y eso.

M: Claro, claro, claro.

A: Pero otro disparato de eso otra vez empezamos a depender de España para las cosas.

M: Claro, claro.

A: Que yo creo que está mal. Depender tanto de España. Bueno, ya los políticos saben mejor que yo como es su oficio ¿no? Pero apa... aparte de eso. Gibraltar todas esas que se han ido los los digo las tiendas chicas que se... Ya eso se desapareció, se ha venido abajo otra vez, se ha venido abajo, se ha perdido mucho.

E: Y antes lo que hacíamos que nuestras madres, como bueno la mía, la mía era española y la mía pues claro estaba acostumbrada a hacernos comida de española.

M: Claro.

E: Pero ya cuando yo me casé pues ya como no teníamos nada de contacto con España los libros...

M: Claro.

E: ...que mirábamos eran ingleses, menú ingleses pues ya incluso las comidas...

M: Sí.

E: ...incluso las comidas ya eran comidas inglesas. Ya no era los guisotes...

M: Claro, los garbanzos y todo eso.

E: ...de antes los potajes y las... y todo eso pues eso ha venido todo...

M: Claro, pero bueno eso es normal.

E: ...ha ido cambiando.

A: Sí, bueno, no hay nada que ver con discriminación ninguno. Discriminating nobody ¿no? Pero la cosa es que que a mí me gustaba siendo un outsider yo.

M: Pero ahora ya no te ven como un outsider.

A: **Al principio sí,** I was considered an outsider, **al principio. Sí aquí,**

allá donde va nunca I was accepted. I was always considered

English.

M: **Sí, M: Sí.**

A: **A mí me gustaba.¿hasta cuándo?**

A: But I wasn't English **y mi marido...**

M: You were Irish?

E: Irish. **Y mi marido es de Gibraltar y mis hijos son de Gibraltar**

¿no? Pero en ese tiempo recién llegada a Gibraltar con

dieciseis años, diecisiete años yo vine ya. Al principio me

tardé mucho antes que I was integrated into the people **¿no?**

M: **¿Qué tuvistes que hacer para integrarte?**

A: **Aprender el lenguaje. Aprender el lenguaje.**

M: **Sí, y una vez aprendido el lenguaje todo...**

A: **Y contestas; y ya podía contestar y participar en la**

conversación. Por lo menos entender lo que estaban

hablando.

M: **Claro, claro.**

A: **Y me costó mucho trabajo ¿no?**

M: **Por lo general la gente hablaba...**

A: **Porque yo vivía con mis suegros.**

E: **Es que yo creo que el español...**

A: **Mis suegros no hablaban el inglés, nada más que el español.**

Ellos eran de Gibraltar. Mi suegro sí hablaba inglés y

español. Pero siempre era este feeling **que tú eras... te**

hablaban, hablaba todo el mundo pero te ignoraban a ti.

M: **Claro.**

A: Comprende. Es una cosa que es difícil explicarlo ¿no?

M: Bueno, uno se siente más cómodo hablando...

E: Su idioma.

M: Su idioma ¿no?

A: At that time...

M: Sí.

A: Gibraltar was a little bit more **en de por parte español en sus**
   costumbres que el británico ¿no?

E: Yo creo que eso de cerrar la frontera hizo un mal.

A: Sí, es que ellos querían, diremos.

E: Hizo un mal en el sentido de que ya la gente se metieron más a
   las costumbres inglesas que a las costumbres españolas.

M: Claro, claro, claro.

E: Hicieron daño a las personas. Por ejemplo, mi madre que tenía
   su madre allí que no podía verla y ha dicho que de los
   mismos míos.

M: Eso es muy fuerte.

E: A otra que tenía mucho orgullo "Ah, pues yo no voy a España
   más ". Pues en vez de irme para España este año cojo, en
   vez de... y me voy a Inglaterra, o me voy a Francia, o me voy
   a donde sea, o a Marruecos incluso. O sea, ya lo que ha
   hecho cosas peor.

A: Han hecho los gibraltareños. Uno que yo he notado hablan
   inglés.

M: Sí.

A: Antes no hablaban y ahora casi siempre.

E: En la frontera era...

A: Español. Todo el tiempo español. Pero después que se cerró la frontera ya la gente se viene. They were more proud to speak in English.

M: Right.

A: To be British. Then you see then they became, they became more proud of themselves that they were British and not Spanish.

M: /?/.

A: El resultado en el referéndum solamente cuarenta y cuatro personas votó a quedarse con España. Todo era, nada, to be British, to be British. **Pero aparte de eso, en ese sentido la gente de de** they began to speak more English. They were proud to know that, see that, you know that they would speak in English, and not only Spanish as well. **En ese sentido sí, ya empezaron a aceptarme más a mí francamente a mí ¿no?**

M: Claro porque era como...

A: Ya era ya la parte británica. No era con española.

E: Incluso la juventud...

M: Sí.

E: ...la juventud yo me acuerdo todos terminaban aquí del hospital. Terminaba aquí en el hospital a las ocho de la mañana. Vamos a bañarnos a la playa. Y nos vamos a España andando. Ibamos por lo menos diez de nosotros.

M: ¡Qué bien!

E: Hoy en día mis hijas dicen que ya no van a España. Que no les ha perdido nada en España. Yo muchos domingos digo "Ay, yo estoy aburrida, vámonos". "Ay, venga dejarlo, venga dejarlo de..."

M: Es que La Línea está un poco decaída ¿eh?

E: Yo me voy al monte o yo me voy a la playa. O ellos /?/ y mi hija la que está casada igual. Yo para que voy a ir a España. La juventud no va.

M: Sí pero La Línea es run down, está muy...

E: La what?

M: La Línea, que está muy run down. Está muy... Hay un ambiente, un poco...

E: Sí.

A: Bueno el caso es que...

E: Es que mis hijas no son de... Es que la juventud ninguna...

A: Es que la juventud de Gibraltar también es que les gusta su independencia en Gibraltar. Yo prefiero también porque como yo sé que mi hijo está aquí. Yo sé con quien está y si pasa algo. El teléfono, siempre hay alguien para llamarte y decir tu hijo está aquí o tu hijo está allá. En ese sentido. No es nada que ver contra España, claro, yo tengo muchas amistades y mi yerno es español igual que español.

M: ¿Ah sí?

A: Pero aparte de eso personalmente para mí España no ha hecho nada para mí para... Al revés.

M: Claro, ha hecho... ha fastidiado España.

A: Al revés. Lo que ha... es fastidiado.

M: Sí.

A: Pero ahora en el sentido también que somos aquí. Yo soy primera para salir a pelear para Gibraltar.

M: Muy bien.

A: Y lo hago. Yo no soy de Gibraltar. Yo soy irlandesa pero lo hago.

M: Sí.

A: Porque yo he vivido más años aquí...

M: Sí.

A: ...que en mi país propio.

M: Claro, claro.

E: Mi madre, mi madre entró aquí con quince años. Y mi madre se murió...

M: Sí.

E: ...y mi madre se murió y ella decía que ella era de Gibraltar que ella no era española. Porque ella pasó toda su vida aquí. El pan que había comido era de aquí. Porque según ella durante la Guerra en España pasaron hambre y todo y dice y yo me metí aquí me venía aquí a fregar, a planchar cosas así antes de casarme. Y de aquí me llevaba yo la comida para allá, para mí, para mi madre.

A: Para la familia.

E: Dice, con que yo no puedo decir que a mí España me ha dado nada. Lo único que que he nacido. He nacido allí pero no me ha dado nada. Yo no puedo hablar malamente de los ingleses.

A: Eso no es tampoco. No es tampoco, no estamos hablando tampoco nada de política. No...

M: Yo es que no entiendo muy bien. La situación política no la he seguido.

A: Nada.

E: Nosotros no sabemos nada de eso.

A: No hay malos políticos.

E: Se pelean entre ellos y después vamos a tomar una copita.

A: Sí, sí. I mean the thing is I got an opinion. I was talking in general **¿no?**

M: Right, right.

A: Meat, for instance.

M: Yeah.

A: I wouldn't depend on Spain so much for things as they do nowadays.

M: Nowadays they depend on Spain for...

A: Even to throw our rubbish. They're making up a new contract to even throw our rubbish...

M: Uh huh.

A: ...to take to Spain to be burned or whatever you do with it there. I wouldn't depend on that either or to be recycled maybe as well. But at the same time, the poli... politicians know better what they're doing.

M: Yeah, you know its hard to...

A: It's hard to understand

M: ...to understand Bossano and yeah. Are there like different neighbourhoods here in Gibraltar?

A: There is.

M: Where do different kinds of people live?

A: Yes, if you go to the Moorish Castle Estate and it's entirely different to the Baryll Vegg Estate or the Glacis Estate or Laguna Estate.

M: Sí, sí. ¿En el Castle quién vive?

A: Moorish castle? I live there. What sort of people?

M: The people connected to the hospital?

A: No, no, no everybody lives there. Staff. You've got the staff hospital there seriously. But the thing is we all know each other and we tend to help each other. The people who have been living there for years. Mind you.

M: Uh huh.

A: They all know each other. They say "Well, how are you? How are you feeling? We all seem to know what has happened to you so far or you've been ill or anything like that, that tends to maybe obviously I'm not that older. **No me pasa a mí tanto ¿no? Pero te pican a la puerta:"Oye mira Anita, mira, no me encuentro bien hoy. Tú te vas a la tienda me traes un...**

E: Eso era también otra cosa antes de cerrar la frontera. Pero yo me acuerdo cuando era chica. Cuando yo era chica, las vecinas pues se ponían en la puerta a charlar unas con otras, o "Annie a ti te hace falta algo, o yo te ayudo. Pero después de la frontera, a estilo inglés, cada uno en su casa y cada uno se apaña como le da la gana.

A: Sí pero se moría en ese attitude. Y mira lo que está pasando.

E: En todas partes del mundo. Eso es en todas partes del mundo. Pero te ayudaba si te hace falta o si algo o faltaba algo pero después también te echaban.

M: Es que los ingleses son un poco más fríos.

A: Si más frío el carácter, vaya.

E: Sí, por ejemplo yo mira yo vivo en un bloque donde hay cincuenta y ocho personas. Bueno pues hace ya más de un año y medio que vivo allí y yo no conozco a todos ellos. Ahora, si vienen and they ask me for a favor. **"Mira Betti, que quiero que tu médico me vea que si esto", que he hecho un an**

appointment and I'll fix everything for her **¿tú sabes? Bueno,** after that I'll stick to my house and she sticks to hers **y cada uno... Ahora, antes no. Antes yo me acuerdo que mi madre se ponía en la escalera, se sentaba y "Otilia vente aquí", la otra, "Mira que ahora viene el de los pasteles, vamos a comprar pasteles". Y había otra cosa ¿no?**

A: Sí. It was something different then.

E: Y hoy en día hace a estilo inglés; cada uno por su lado y if you want a favor I'll do it and that's that.

M: Es como en America. Everyone is very individualistic.

E: Pero eso no está bien. Yo. A mí me gustaba más las cosas.

A: But at the same time as well they were too much into your life, into your home.

M: Sí.

E: Some of them they used to do help back.

S: Voy a encender la luz. Un poco de leche para el café de este hombre. Ay, que gente este. Ahora mismo ha empezado.

M: La gente va a llegar.

E: No, es que el médico ha llegado tarde y ya la gente viene más tarde.

A: Siente, Sonia.

V: No, me voy a ir, yo.

M: Sí, sentaros. Siéntate.

A: Siente. Venga, estamos hablando aquí. Vamos a ver si...

M: Que me está contando cosas.

E: Estamos hablando de mujeres nada más.

N: Estais hablando de mujeres.

E: Estamos hablando de cosas de mujeres de tí.

A: De tí mayormente era.

N: Ya me lo suponía yo...

A: No era de tí, hombre. Sonia tienes cara de frío. hija.

S: No tengo frío, yo.

M: A ver, las manos las tienes calientes.

S: Yo no tengo frío, no.

V: Es que siempre tengo frío.

A: La Sonia está en estado.

M: ¿Sí?

S: A ver si callas ya.

A: De Nathan, de Nathan es eso.

E: No mujer, no mujer, no digas eso.

S: No mujer, no digas más eso porque te voy a meter una patada
   que te voy a mandar a...

N: Y ten cuidado porque, mira, lo están grabando.

S: Uuh, por Dios. Ahora tú me puedes dar por cortada ahora.

N: Luego sale en la Chronicle , y tú...

M: Eso no sale.

V: Ha hecho las medidas. Menos mal que no ha dicho...

S: Nathan, a mí también /?/ la mitad para tí y la mitad para mí en
   esa cama.

N: Lo tenemos grabado. Lo tenemos grabado. Fija, no se puede...

E: Una trampa.

M: No.

S: Yo no he hecho la pedida. ¿verdad? Hay muchos Nathan.

M: Claro, hay muchos Nathan. ¿No?

A: Te conoce la voz. Conoce luego como hablas.

S: Esto no Elisa. Estás tú sacando los pies del plato.

A: Sí, sí.

S: Mételo todo para dentro que te conviene. Pues mételo para dentro que te conviene.

N: Habla más flojo que estamos hablando muy...

M: Y, ¿cómo eran los vecinos que tenías en la casa dónde vivías?

A: Yo vivía aquí en Gibraltar en I used to live in Supreme Court. Y mi suegro era... estaba trabajando con el Chief Justice.

M: Sí.

A: Y en verdad éramos solamente unos vecinos en el jardín, con el arbol de naranjas. Y era bonito pero muy solitario. No conocía a nadie. Y no había ellos. Mi marido, los hijos, todos los días. Mi cuñada venía de vez en cuando.

M: ¿Y tiene muchos hijos?

A: Yo tengo cuatro.

M: ¿Cuatro? ¿Y son ya mayores?

A: Sí. El mayor tiene veintiocho años. Y el que es chico tiene dieciocho.

M: ¡Qué alegría! ¿No? ¿Y están todos aquí en Gibraltar?

A: No, no, no. Los dos mayores están aquí de vacaciones por una semana. Pero están todos fuera. Uno en Inglaterra y uno en Francia.

M: ¿Y no quisieron quedar aquí?

A: No, aquí encuentran ellos muy chico esto. Muy aburrido.

M: ¿Sí?

A: No había nada que hacer. El que está en Francia está
  estudiando cocinero. French cooking.

M: ¡Qué bien!

A: Con que está muy contento él.

M: ¿Y francés?

A: Bueno, él hablaba en francés en la playa, se lo enseñaron
  ¿no? Y aquí and then he wanted to practice anyhow. He took A and O
  levels French. Con que ahora habla el francés pero como los
  franceses.

M: ¿Y viene a verla?

A: Sí. He's coming this summer as well, in July. Pero aún él está
  contentísimo. En Lyon está el David, en Lyon. Anoche hablé
  con él por teléfono. Quería hablar con el hermano Daniel que
  está aquí ¿no?

M: ¿Y qué tal?

A: Ah, está la mar de bien. Es que pasa aquí lo /?/ de miedo de
  joven tu aquí.

V: Un vasito con algo para comer. Me voy a hacer un tecito. Tengo
  un hambre que /?/.

S: ¿Del cuál? ¿Del duro o del tierno?

V: Del que sea.

S: Este. Este.

E: Este el que está duro, el que está duro. El que se cayó al
suelo.

M: Había mantequilla por allí, ¿no?

A: Mira Vanessa, si te vas a hablar habla yanito ¿eh? Medio
  inglés, medio español.

V: **Cierra la puerta allí ¿no?**

A: **Mira Vanessa, allí.**

M: **¿A ver?**

E: **¡Ay Vanessa!**

A: **Aquí está.**

M: **A ver, a ver, a ver.**

E: **/?/**

A: **La voy a filmar.**

M: **Sí, sí, sí, venga.**

A: **Anda filma, filma Vanessa.**

M: The grand prix. **Está bien. Está bien.**

E: **Y manteca ¿no hay?**

M: **Sí, sí que había.**

E: **Ahora verás. Quieres** ham o cheese o...

A: This is my bread. Do you want a knife?

V: I got one, thank you very much.

E: **¿Quieres más sol?**

A: Do you want some plaster of Paris?

A: Do you want to put it in the microoven?

M: **Entonces no habían muchos vecinos, pero aquí donde estás ahora sí.**

A: **Sí, sí, sí son muy** ehm friendly **todos.**

M: Sí.

A: **Nos llevamos todos bien.**

M: **Y en** Baryll Vegg, **que ¿quién vive?**

A: Baryll Vegg **viven ¿Tú no vives en** Baryll Vegg? Elisa.

E: **Yo, sí.**

A: Vive ya ¿no? Yanitos también ¿no?

E: Cada uno en su casa. Y para favor a la primera, pero cada uno en su casa.

A: Aparte de la gente de Europa.

E: Ya, ya te digo que somos cincuenta y ocho en mi block. Y si quiero cualquier cosa está Juan, we are there to help. Pero después cuando tienes tiempo para ir como antes que se sentaba una y charlaba con el meeting.

A: Have a meeting crocheting. Eso ya... eso has disappeared ya. Ahora si si tú quieres un favor. No te dicen no. Eso sí, después de...

E: Es que a mí, lo que me pasa es que antes las mujeres, antes las mujeres no trabajaban. Claro tenían más tiempo para charlar, para la casa, para los hijos y nowadays /?/ a las ocho.

A: Con la washing machine.

E: No hay tiempo ni para mirarse.

A: What happens is that everyone's working. Most women are working now. She also.

M: Y Laguna Estate ¿cómo es?

A: Laguna Estate?

M: Mucha gente ¿no?

E: Yo vivo encima de la muchacha que acaba de venir aquí. Yo la veo nada más que en el hospital. Y ella vive debajo del block, debajo mío

A: Ana.

E: Vivimos en la misma casa. Abajo. Y yo la veo aquí. Porque yo paso por la puerta de ella y nunca la veo. Con que ya ves.

S: Ya está ya ha comido ¿no? Eso ha costado diez peniques ¿no?

A: Yes.

E: Diez. Pues tienes que dejar cinco. La mitad.

V: ¿Y la manteca?

A: ¡Uy, es verdad la manteca!

V: Tengo un hambre hoy, por Dios. Yo no me puedo estar sin desayuno.

E: Y ¿por qué no te tomas nada antes por la mañana? Niña.

V: Porque quiero ponerme el bañador.

E: ¿Tú sabes lo que dice el *Daily Official*, mi alma ? Que you have to have a good breakfast.

V: ¿Sí?

M: Sí, yo esto lo he oído también.

E: You have a good breakfast.

V: Mira mañana voy a /?/.

M: Eggs and bacon.

E: And cornflakes.

V: Esto lo tomo yo a la noche, ante de acostarme. Por la mañana no tengo tiempo.

E: Nosotros tampoco tenemos tiempo de tomar desayuno.

A: No, tú tienes que tomar un English breakfast Vanessa. Bacon, poached egg...

V: ¿Tú sabes a qué hora me he levantado esta mañana? A las ocho y cinco.

E: Y la leche que te echas... No es skimmed milk.

M: A las ocho y cinco ¡qué susto!

V: Digo susto. Cuando me desperté digo yo, ya llego tarde. Le digo chica, tú dile a tu maestro que la /?/ ha llegado tarde. Ay, que corrí. Y después me di con el coche...

M: ¿Y los otros barrios de aquí de Gibraltar? ¿Cómo son?

E: Son casi todos iguales. People are very... people are very... How can you explain it?

M: Pero ¿No hay algún sitio como donde viven los indios? o...

A: Sí, sí. Los indios en... Tú los ves por la calle Real.

E: Bueno /?/ es por la calle Real, la calle Real a donde viven los hebreos y los indios.

M: But they have their shops there. But do they live there as well?

A: But on top of their shops, they have rooms, that's right...

E: On top, sí.

A: ...or they live at the back of the shop.

M: Ah, I see.

A: And the Moroccan population they live at Casemates most of them.

M: Right. Right.

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

M: Sí bueno...

A: **Pero,** that's their /?/ Casemates. The Indians most of them live at the top of the shops or behind the shops.

M: Claro.

A: They probably live about six or seven, eight or more in the morning **en un cuarto ¿no? Algo así.**

E: Sí pero muchos viven en casas alquiladas. No por el gobierno.

A: No, they're not entitled to homes.

E: No they're not entitled **con que los pobres tienen que vivir mayormente en casas viejas.**

M: Claro, claro, claro.

E: Y el Jewish population..

M: Y el Jewish population **¿Dónde....?**

A: They live, they got... they more or less keep to themselves.

M: Really?

E: They've got...There will be circles.... **A lo mejor de vez en cuando se casa un hijo con un cristiano, pero ya** the problem...

M: They're outcasts.

E: They are excommunicated more or less.

A: Como el muchacho de abajo Larry **que es el portero.** He's Jewish, married to a Christian. He used to be the /technic/ man around here. He worked here before but he says that his father has got the shop but he used to have it on the corner of Bell Lane.

A: More or less, the populations all stick to themselves, like a circle.

E: Sí ellos se ayudan mucho.

A: ¡Uy, sí, mucho!

M: ¿Y los ingleses, los militares estos qué tal?

E: También tienen su parte. Ellos también tienen su parte.

M: ¿Dónde viven ellos?

E: Ellos mayormente en Europa.

A: Ellos ya no viven en Europa ya es más bien...

E: ...o down here in Edinburgh House.

A: And down by Eastern beach. That's where most of them live.

E: They are very friendly when you are working with them in the Naval

Base.

M: Uh huh.

A: Or here in the hospital.

E: Working with them.

M: Are all the... are all the other doctors, military doctors?

A: No. No. No.

E: They are contracted.

A: They are on six month contracts. Well, they are housemen, as we call

them.

M: Right.

A: But the physicians like Doctor Smith and Doctor Bates; Doctor Bates is a

Gibraltarian, Doctor Smith is English, Doctor Ellis is Welsh, Mr. Peterson

is Scottish and Mr. Nelson he is, what, Yugoslav.

E: He's so sweet.

A: He's the most nicest person though... Seriously.

M: Really?

E: Sí, sí, sí.

E: Yes, he's so sweet.

M: Y estos médicos de esta mañana que son como un un caracol,

like a slug you were saying.

A: He's taking over for Doctor Ellis for two weeks.

M: Ah.

A: /?/ he's very nice. He's been here quite a few times already. But this

time around he seems so slow. Maybe because he is on a diet. **Porque**

no más está comiendo verdura hervida y fruta. /?/ He's slowing

down his metabolism.

M: Es una pena ver un médico que...

A: Lo que pasa es que es tan gordo.

M: Claro. Claro.

A: He has put himself on a diet. **Y no más que come vedura hervida y**

...

M: Sí. ¿Y tiene hipertensión?

A: **No, no, es que estaba tan gordo que** he has decided to go on a diet.
Pero it has slowed him down quite a bit.

E: He was so fat before.

V: But he's nice I think.

A: Oh, sí. He's a very nice man, a very nice person as well. **Pero** and he's
from Eygpt. Doctor Faisel, he's from Egypt. He started Ramadan
yesterday, as well. **Hace** Moslem fast for thirty days **¿no?**

M: And you're Moslem as well?

A: No, no.

M: But your husband is...

A: Well he doesn't really do much about it **¿no?** He's not interested really.
Although of course he believes in God.

M: Of course, everybody does.

A: But Faisel sometimes he's Moslem but sometimes... One day he sticks to
the diet he'll stick to it and will eat nothing, drink nothing. Another day
he'll say I'll have a cup of coffee.

M: Sí.

A: So, thirty days is quite a bit, especially if you have to work hard as well
¿no?

M: Yeah, a normal days work and not being able to eat anything.

A: Anything or to drink either from sundown to sunset.

M: But at night you can eat.

A: You can eat at night, at sundown until sunup. But you mostly go by a Moslim time, not by our time. They try to get orientated to the Moslim...

M: Right, right. And what is the Moslim time?

A: They are two hours... They are nine over there in Morocco. Instead of being twelve o'clock it would be eleven o'clock over there. Well, five to eleven over there. The same as England more or less. They're on Greenwich Mean Time.

M: I thought it would be the same time.

A: No, no. The same as Greenwich Mean Time

M: Y ¿cómo son los ingleses, los que viven aquí?

A: Hay algunos que son muy simpáticos y otros que son más nórdicos.

V: Hay como todo. Yo creo que hay como todo. Lo único malo que tienen es que allí en Inglaterra, por ejemplo, a lo mejor son muy fríos, igual que todo el mundo ¿no? Y they come here y a lo mejor como es un médico ya se cree que...

M: Es Dios ¿no?

E: Que es Dios ¿no? Aquí como le ponemos tanto...

A: También los nacidos aquí...también nosotros le damos tanta importancia. Pues ellos they go a bit high ¿no? Ahora if they go back to the UK.

E: Pasa como en el banco mi hija trabaja en el banco y vino un jefe inglés y a lo primero he was very nice very nice with everybody. Ya le dieron un puesto, ya un poquito alto...

A: Ya está cambiado.

E: ...y ya está cambiado. Ahora cuando se fue otra vez a Inglaterra, ya llamaba, and he was the nicest person ¿sabes? a lo primero. Con que eso es lo que tienen ellos, cuando vienen aquí, es que les ponemos tanto...

A: ...tanta importancia. Nosotros tenemos la culpa.

M: Sí, no...

A: We're to blame.

E: Pero es como en todos los lados, muy buenas personas.

M: Sí.

E: Son buenas personas.

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

M: Sí. Y los militares ¿Qué tal?

A: Pues allí arriba en el /?/ yo no he estado nunca paciente allí. Pero he trabajado muchos años en quemaduras. ¿Te acuerdas del burn case? I'll tell you something she was... a sister was there and she was a bastard. I remember that porque todas las noches sentado en una silla de esas. Bueno, de estas no, de lata.

M: Claro.

A: De lata. Ahora, cada media hora hacía el round **ella y tú no podías ir al** water **ni hacer pipís ni nada de eso.** You couldn't go to the toilet or anything like that.

M: Really?

A: You had to sit there and do the observations you had to do.

E: ¿Te acuerdas de esa?

M: ¿Trabajais juntas?

E: Yo llevo veintiocho años trabajando. Desde la edad de catorce años. El gobierno no me pagaba porque a los quince estamos supuestas a empezar a trabajar y te pueden pagar, pero por ley a los catorce no puedes. Bueno, pues yo con los catorce estuve seis meses trabajándole al Gobierno sin un penique. Ayudar a levantar viejas, a limpiar viejas, te acuerdas antiguamente, venga a limpiar. Yo como era tan delgadita y tan chiquitita no podía coger las viejas.

M: Claro, pero sí es mucho peso.

E: Lo que hacía yo era luego cogía las viejas y las ponía en la cama y ponía el barquito y las ponía así, así y las alzaba para abajo. Tan chiquitita. Veintiocho años.

M: Veintiocho años; ¡madre mia!

A: Pero después se salió, cuando te casaste.

E: Estuve na más de cuatro años fuera. He estado diecinueve años de noche, de guardia de noche.

M: ¿Todas las noches?

E: Bueno, dos noches a la semana.

M: Sí.

A: No. Yo trabajaba full-time.

E: Part-time, **dos noches a la semana. Diecinueve años.**

M: **Sí.**

E: **Y ya he llegado a un** stage **que ya, que ya me quedo dormida a las nueve de la noche. Y ya no puedo.**

M: **Y el** schedule **aquí ¿es muy largo o no?**

E: Twelve hours. Eight to eight. From eight at night until eight in the morning.

A: I worked eighteen hours. No more.

M: Eighteen hours?

A: Eighteen years. **Con cuatro niños,** family, full time.

M: **¿Y tenías ayuda de alguien con los niños?**

A: **Bueno, tenía una marroquina que venía a limpiar la casa.**

M: **Sí.**

A: **Pero ya está. La comida la hacía yo y todas las cosas.**

E: **No, yo no, yo no tenía nadie.**

M: **¿Y cómo lo hacías?**

E: **Yo lo que hacía era que mi marido era policía. Mi marido cuando no trabajaba de noche, él se quedaba con mis hijas de noche, y yo me venía a trabajar. Y después por la mañana yo me iba a casa y él se iba a trabajar. Había veces que nosotros nos veíamos una hora o dos horas. Y las niñas ya ves, las dos saltándome en la cama, una de un lado, otra de otro.**

A: **Esto me pasaba a mí, con cuatro.** "Mommy, **vamos al** beach, **vamos al** beach, **vamos al** beach". **Con el calor del verano, y cuatro son chicos ¿no? Y digo ay, sí otro día vamos a la playa.** You are coming at night and you get heavy work like /?/ during the day. **O un sitio como el /?/ que entra y sale la paciente**

también. Igual en vacaciones y tú trabajas doce horas. Y los niños todo el día en la playa.

E: ¿Y tu suegra no te ayudaba?

A: Mi suegra no.

E: La mía tampoco.

M: ¿No?

A: Ella decía: "Los hijos para tí". Que ella ya tuvo los suyos.

E: Como mi madre.

A: Ella no trabajaba en la calle nunca.

E: Como ella no trabajaba. Bueno, en verdad mira, tú trabajas **porque** you want extra money.

M: Claro.

E: Tú quieres un coche, o quieres comprarte más vestidos, para comer no. Porque para comer con la paga de nuestro marido we can cope, **para comer y para medio pagar. Pero si tú**

quieres un holiday o you want a new house or you want new furniture, you have to work.

A: Claro.

E: Ahora, lo primero que decía "¿para qué trabajas?" Que por mi madre era esto. "¿Para qué trabajas?" "No trabajes". "¿No tienes bastante con lo de tu marido?"

M: Claro, incluso estaba un poco mal visto antes ¿no?

E: Pero antes...

M: Ahora no, pero antes estaban...

E: Antes no trabajaban y ellos se conformaban con lo que tenían and nowadays we are more selfish. **Antes...**

M: Bueno, si yo no trabajara no sobreviviríamos.

A: Antes la mujer que trabajaba al principio y fumaba, era una...

M: ¿Y las mujeres antes no podían tomar copas?

A: No, antes no, entrábamos en un bar aquí, era muy feo. Ni incluso con tu marido. En un baile sí; te tomabas tu botella de champagne o algo así.

M: Pero ahora sí ¿no?

A: Pero ahora entrar en un bar o tomar un café o una copa, o incluso un cigarro... Y nadie mira a nadie. Pero antes no. Eso no se hacía antes. Y una mujer mirar así directamente la cara no lo hacía tampoco.

M: ¿No?

A: Yo me acuerdo yendo por la Calle Real con mi marido el que era mi marido y las jóvenes que pasaban agachaban la cabeza. No miraban a tu marido, al hombre ¿no? Pero hoy en día te miran directamente.

M: Te miran de arriba a abajo. A ver...

A: Y hoy en día dicen que el hombre casado tiene más experiencia. Y le gusta más las casadas.

E: La vida ha cambiado.

M: La vida cambia sí.

A: Y ya ves tú, entramos en un bar con falda aquí arriba o los shorts en verano enseñando todo.

V: Yo me acuerdo cuando yo tenía así que yo iba a España que yo iba a bañarnos. Bueno como nosotros estábamos un poco más modernizados que los demás, ibamos en shorts. Y yo me acuerdo que en La Línea había un bus, al salir de la aduana

había un bus. Y los españoles los pobres sacaban la cabeza y yo dije " Ay, que vergüenza" /?/. Oyes, guapa y los gritos.

A: "¡Olé la mujer de Gibraltar" -decían los yanitos- "que enseñan todo".

E: Mira una vez que hicimos un gran campamento en la playa. Y tú sabes en un campamento. Yo no sé aquí, tú sabes que tienes que pasar por un pueblo. Y que el pueblecito se abre dentro a la playa porque íbamos, quien era, la hermana de Gloria Marín creo que llevaba algo, tú sabes, muy al aire, y nos tuvimos que poner una toalla liada así para pasar. Hay que ver. Y hoy en día van hasta en topless.

A: Y en la playa no las mira nadie.

M: ¿Aquí la gente va topless, aquí en Gibraltar?

A: En Gibraltar van, pero los turismos.

M: ¿No es la gente local?

A: No.

M: ¿Porque está mal visto?

A: Pero las yanitas lo hacen a lo mejor en Marbella o en Estepona.

M: Pero no lo hacen en Gibraltar.

A: Pero ahora los turismos vienen aquí y la hacen. Se quedan en Caletta Palace, o allí en Holiday Inn.

M: ¿Y qué sitios son buenos aquí para ir a tomar una copa? Así por la tarde.

A: Cualquier lado en verdad. Cheers.

M: Pero es así, es un público muy... Bueno, está bien pero...

A: Es muy, muy inglesado, muy inglesado.

E: Picadilly is a very nice one. **Donde está el** Queen's Hotel. **Está por la parte...**

M: Sí. **Anoche fui con una amiga canadiense que está con, bueno que irá con** Nathan **a ver, a estudiar los macacos. Está viviendo en la misma casa que estoy yo en** Irish Town, **que estoy alquilando una habitación y esto. Y fuimos anoche a** Picadilly, **y lo pasamos muy bien.**

E: **Sí, sí.** Picadilly **a mí me gusta porque en** /?/.

A: **Allí en** Irish Town **a mí me han dicho que hay muchos bares que están bien.**

M: **Sí, está el** Clippers **que había ambiente, había gente cantando.**

A: **Allí está muy bien. Allí.**

M: **Pero yo no sabía que había otros sitios, en lugar de ir siempre a un mismo sitio.**

E: **Hay el** Winstons.

A: **Allí abajo está** Winstons.

M: **¿Dónde es** Winstons?

A: **Allí abajo,** /?/ **abajo de la calle Real.**

E: **Abajo de** Caletta Palace.

M: **Vale.**

A: Caletta Palace **por abajo también hay restaurants.**

E: **Sí, bueno está...**

M: **Bueno, por la tarde, antes de ir a tomar una cerveza.**

A: **El Copacabana.**

M: **En el Copacabana.**

A: Allí van todos del hospital. Copacabana. La Copa. Yo digo la Copa. Allí van todos.Van allí siempre. Y aquí en /?/ Brennans. Allí es donde va Guille, o aquí al Angry Friar aquí abajo.

M: El Angry Friar está bien ¿o no?

A: Sí está muy bien. Allí es donde van ellos. Está muy bien.

M: ¿Y qué tiendas son buenas? Aquí por ejemplo, la gente ¿dónde va a comprar la ropa?

A: Mira, yo voy a Principles. It's in Irish Town. Allí voy yo mucho.

M: ¿Y la ropa allí es muy cara?

A: Bueno.

E: Yo la veo cara.

A: Yo no lo veo tan caro. Bueno Benetton, Benetton está más caro que en España; las cosas de Benetton.

E: A mí me gusta mucho St. Michaels. Yo la ropa de St. Michaels.

A: A mí no me gusta St. Michaels porque yo me compré un top, y yo vengo aquí un día puesto y me veo una mujer limpiando con el mismo top puesto para todos.

E: Claro, porque todo el mundo lo tiene.

A: Se gastan por lo menos mil de cada cosa.

E: Pero es muy buen artículo, porque estás harta de lavarlo y siempre lo tienes.

A: Esto sí, esto es lo bueno que tiene.

M: Me compré estos en St. Michaels.

A: Los jeans sí. Ahora, jeans hay unos en la Calle Real que es...

M: Teo ¿no?

A: No. Teo no. Este es caro también. Indian ella /?/.

M: ¿Cúal es?

E: Que está el /?/ shop al lado.

A: Está en frente del /?/ shop. Esto es Tagore.

E: Tagore allí está. Aquí venden jeans muy buenos y no muy caros.

M: ¿Y está al lado de Tagore? Ah, se llama Tagore.

A: Y tienen muchos y muy bonitos y no muy caros.

TRANSCRIPT 5

The spontaneous conversation took place in the teacher's room at one of the schools in Gibraltar. The main investigator was not present. The recording was obtained by a fellow teacher and member of the group participating in the conversation. The tape recorder was concealed, and permission was obtained afterwards from the participants. The number of participants varies throughout the recording as people were coming in and out. When possible, the same speaker is identified throughout the conversation by the same initial. On occasions, several speakers spoke at the same time which made transcription impossible in a few instances which are noted as incomprehensible. All names of persons have been substituted to avoid identification although attempts are made to preserve the language in which the name appeared. The main topics of conversation are the wedding meal, the wedding presents of a colleague, and the behavior of several student's. Three of the participants identified are **E**= Enrique, **C**= Christine and **T**= Terry.

: ¿Quién era?

: ¿Y los supplies Enrique?

E: La Missus Roberts.

: Ah, sí.

E: En el pabellón.

: ¿Eh?

E: Jack **no estaba.**

: Cómo /si es/ tonta la gente.

: Se te puede pasar. No te digo.

: Sí, pero...

E: Sí, yo una vez llegué tarde cinco minutos arriba y, sí... cuando estaba en el West area. ¿Te acuerdas?

: ¿Tú?

E: Yo, yo llegué una vez cinco minutos tarde porque yo estaba en el West area y ella enseñando allá fuera en el /?/.

: Ah.

E: Y se quejó a Teddy por ese motivo.

: Ay, ya.

E: Porque había mucho ruido ¿no?

: Pues mira...

E: Mira por donde.

: La venganza.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: No, I haven't done anything about it. Pero...

: ¿Cuándo viene Montse?

: Yo tengo que ir a verla.

: Nosotros vamos también.

: Jack me llamó.

: /?/.

: /?/ hablando de estar en el pueblo y todo.

: /?/.

: I mean, about... about nothing. About... about. Tú ves un cuarto que Margie saw that /?/.

: Aunque yo me fijé en eso pero no era para tanto. Is he up in the room?

: Normally he goes to... uhm... to the top.

: **No era para tanto.**

: But... but he... but he says he did ask them to be checked.

: **Él mantiene que no.**

: **Él dice que él... Manuel se lo dijo pero que he wasn't...** but when he saw it in the blue thing. He... he was surprised. It had been done because he said he hadn't checked it with anyone.

: People have been in charge.

: Evylyn, check yours **¿no? El tuyo sí lo hice, o no.** Missus Barns.

: Because in fact I suggested it. It was a double.

: **Vámonos a otro cuarto.** It's all right. I mean, **si hay una solución.**

: **No te metas.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Heh, heh, I forget it. I'll do it.

: Wait. **Es because aquí nos estamos metiendo /?/.**

: **Uy, ten cuidado. Uy,** and food. The water is undone.

: **Berta, llamé a** Mr. Zelig. Can you cover it? **El jueves que viene.**

: **Mejor a** Peter.

: Yes /?/.

: It's a psychologist ¿no?

: **Pero dice que** that name rings a bell a couple of years ago and the address. **Pero dice... Me parece que era algo de** Notre Dame **o algo.** He said for he's going to come tomorrow and I'll... he and he's going to see what he finds now before he goes. **Digo porque si tuviera teléfono.** It would be much easier because I could pick up the phone and say, hello **o algo. Pero ...**

: **¿Es tuyo Rebecca** the /?/ television?

: ¿Os habeis enterado lo que ha pasado con el menú?

: Yes, you can pick and choose.

: Sí, ella viene ahora. Dijo que venía ahora.

: Cuando venga Linda, digo. ¿No sé?

: I thought you could only have the two ¿no?

: I know but when they went yesterday evening, les dice el hombre...

: No, porque the menu didn't seem...

: Sorry, whose is this?

: Eso no es mío. Esos French books no son míos.

: Who's buying a television.

: No, Pat's buying... uh... a camera.

: Malcolm, the pink, the pink room off the open area, it's gonna have lockers inside.

: Yes.

: The examination room /?/.

: Miss Domínguez are you here?

: Yes.

: Ah, Nelly yes. I told her to come and pester me. It's all right.

: Have you changed?

: You want an exercise book.

: Aquí hay, aquí hay. Espera. By the window. By the window.

: /?/ to return your books.

: She has come to my class for Spanish y no tenían. Thanks.

: All right, get somebody to put and copy down the notes to take home.

: Missus Taylor.

C: Sí.

: /?/.

C: **Sí, ya lo sé.** But they've spoken, they've spoken to me about it too. I said I'll speak to her about it. I don't think she wants to speak to you.

   : **Te pasaste.**

   : **La, la** Simpson at homework time she had too much homework and then she had to go out.

   : **Otra vez.**

   : **Pero...**

C: Shelley Santana, **sí.**

   : **Otra...**

C: **Mira estos dos no me extrañan,** Cynthia Thomas y Janet.

T: **Otra** had to go out. The only sensible excuse for I couldn't make... **era que** she did it in draft and thought she couldn't do it.

C: **Ella dice** do it in rough, do it for homework and she did it in rough.

   : **Bueno,** who was that?

   : Cynthia Thomas.

   : She is a hard worker.

T: That made a sensible excuse but I had to treat her the same as the others. I said look you should listen. Look, I put. She said she did not hear what I said. Look I didn't make the point. **Pero ésta** had to go, **ésta** had to go out **y la otra** had to go and do trampoline. **Pero...**

   : Pero Yvonne va a querer hacer /?/. ¡Qué raro! She's very gentle.

   : She's very hardworking too.

T: Do it. Look at the homework diaries. I've written what they've said.

C: **Sí,** well I've looked at **porque vi a una** and then they told me that... uhm...

T: **Y la otra** had to go and meet her friends. **Digo** how nice!

C: Now, Jeanie. **Digo** Jeanie, Jeanie /?/.

T: **Era un poquito.**

: /?/.

T: Un poquito, no más que era. That should be done in class. **No más**

tenían que... No podían echar más de diez minutos anyway. It was

done in class.

: A ese ¿qué? Tú te fijastes.

T: They're not getting away with it.

: Hello.

: I'm having a word with her.

: ¿Qué tiene, clase, ella?

: Uh, hum.   .

C: No la Jeanie **no me extraña porque no es floja. Y la otra es** Marie, is

very hardworking too.

T: Después me da mucho coraje because she had a lot of homework.

Digo, what time did you start? I don't know, but then I had to go out. **Digo**

then it's not... and a little bit? Totally prepared in class. Too much homework

was going to take home on that day.

: ¿Eso qué es first year, **o qué?**

T: Only the... No, History and a little story. We did half really thoroughly in ten...

en break **lo hubieran escrito.**

C: Yo tengo otra que tampoco.

T: It's disgusting. Anyway, I've written it in their homework diaries, their reason

and I /?/.

: Some of them need the books to do it.

T: I've told them that como théy don't have History till Thursday which makes it

better. The whole of Wednesday.

: Thursday. Wednesday and Thursday.

: You want the what for when? For Wednesday?

: For Wednesday?

: **Ella dijo que en media hora que hablara sobre el menú.** It's changed.

T: No. I can't mark /?/.

: It's changed you can pick and choose. You don't have to have prawn cocktail and the meat. You can have prawn cocktail and the sole or you can have what the other thing and this. What it's la list.

: **Pues la gente está furiosa.**

: **Pues no digas más na. Te callas y ya está. Cállate ya. Calla.**
   [Several turns incomprehensible]

: At midnight **terminan de comer.**

C: **Yo te digo una cosa. Yo te digo una cosa que yo esta vez no me callo.**

: Ha, ha, ha.

C: **Yo no voy. No.**

: /?/.

C: **Pero lo estoy diciendo. Que yo como a mí me pongan una birria de comida. Poca cosa, y muchas tonterías, y muchos camareros y la comida churri que** they only give us a choice of two things **que pa mí no es eso. Porque pa mí,** onion soup...

: **Oye, dime...**

C: I hate onion. **El** prawn cocktail **que francamente original es...**

: They all react **a lo máximo.**

C: **Dice que de pronto,** prawn cocktail. **Dice** Marty, it's good they're very small.

: /?/ **a comer** /?/.

: I've only been there...

: I've only been there **por algo en la lista.**

C: **¿Eh?**

: /?/.

: Have you ever been there **con la lista?**

: **/?/ de las croquetas.**

 : **Por aquí se ha perdido la otra lista.**

 : **De las croquetas.**

: I haven't even seen it.

 : **Pues, allí la tienes.**

: But you can choose from either.

: I come in **y espero que Diana** has brought the new...

: **Pero es lo mismo.** It's just that she doesn't say so much.

: Choose whatever, **no como otros.**

: Come in.

: Missus Matthews, uhm... last week you put twelve A first and twelve G.

: I've done it again?

: No. No. Have a look. It says period five and then the others underneath period four.

: Ah.

: The order is illogical I realize. Tell them to have a look. It's illogical. I put twelve A first, **pero he puesto** period five **y tampoco está puesto** twelve G period.

: /?/.

: Steve **y yo hablamos que son muy...** very small portions.

: Malcolm is very generous. He's very honest.

: **¿La lista de comer? Ha,ha, ha.**

: /?/ sole meunière.

: Fish.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Quién?**

: No, not the king. The... **el marido de** Princess Caroline.

: **No me digas que se ha matado.**

: Both of them in a boat.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Mind her.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Sí, sí, sí.**

: **¿A qué hora quedaste? ¿Pa darte el dinero?**

: **Yo pagué. ¿Lo apuntó** Linda ?

: **Berta pagó por dos y** Linda **no más que era pa uno.**

: **Yo, ¿cuánto te tengo que dar a ti?**

: Linda, **no pagues.**

: **Berta.**

: **Ah, no, no /?/.**

: What have you got to decide now. **Esto.**

: Right. **Venga. Yo...**

: **Lo que puse.** French onion soup. **Estás poniendo en el /?/**

: Soup.

: Mais oui.

: Sole meunière.

: /?/.

: Certainly. **No importa.**

: **Menos mal que /?/.**

: **Abraham coge lo que quieras ¿no?**

: **Yo voy a tomar el menú.**

: **A mí el menú no me gusta.**

: **El** onion soup.

: I hate onion **pero...**

: **Pa mí el** onion soup **sería como...**

: **Este** weekend **me voy a pasar a una nueva vida con todo lo que tengo aquí dentro.**

: /?/.

: **Ah sí, ¿no?**

: Ha, ha, ha.

      [Several turns incomprehensible]

: Have you been to the movie yet?

: **No porque /?/.**

: **Está por allí, en las montañas de ahí.**

: We treated ourselves last year on the way back from...

: **Me voy a cambiar al sole.**

: **¿Qué? ¿Vas a cambiar? ¿no?**

: **No, ¿tú sabes que pasa?** I need to /?/.

: Frozen broccoli, mushrooms /?/.

: A very high cake.

: What other way can you do them.

: **Bueno /?/.**

: I'll have a look.

: **Sí. Vale.** OK. **Vamos a ver.**

: A little bit of cornet.

: Absolutely.

: **Ya sé porque no te gustan los restaurants. Porque tiene, eh...**

: I'll see what he has.

: He's such a good cook at home

: **Sí** /you choose/ **como todos nosotros cenarás bien.**

: **Claro.**

: **Por eso digo yo.**

     [Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Mi marido, le encanta el vino.**

: It must mean something.

: He said, it's a compliment. **Digo** I'd rather have other sorts of compliments.
/?/

: I must never ask for anything you make because I always prefer the way

    you make it, so... At least it is not a compliment to my cooking. **Pero**

    nunca para decir algunas cosas y después /?/.

: There's going to be a /?/.

     [Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Cuándo os vais?**

: Friday.

C: **Tengo que salir con Carol y otra gente.**

: **¿Qué le pasa a** Rebecca?

: **Que no viene.**

: She has the dinner.

: **Se va a perder el** wine.

: The wine no /?/.

: Taking my share of the **vino. Lo puedes beber tú.**

: Oh, I wanted to meet up with Rebecca. What do I do now?

: **Ah, porque ella** /?/.

: Christine will bring my share of wine.

: Coffee and the liqueurs.

: Liqueurs.

: **Si no hay** liqueurs. **¿Cómo se le ocurre a la gente de pedir**

 liqueurs?

: She seems to be prying.

: **Eso es servir** liqueurs.

: **Eso será otras veinte libras.**

: Yeah.

 : **Ya después de que, de que...**

: **Esto incluye, esto incluye** half a bottle of wine.

: And coffee.

: And coffee.

: **Y** liqueur, **que lo ponga la casa.**

 : **Pues se lo diremos.**

: **Que si no, ni agua.**

: Is the water free?

: Ha, ha ha.

: **Cinco peniques me cobraron en el** Jew **del** Alex. **Yo quería armar**

 la grande. Pero...

 [Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Oh, poca vergüenza. Porque se compran cinco peniques por**

una **botella de agua.**

 : **Si era vaso, no era ni una botella.**

 : **Eso era de...**

: **Eso era agua mineral.**

: **Eso del agua es más caro en** many places.

: She hasn't paid for them and...

: /?/ I've had to pay forty five pee for a glass of water.

: **Yo, como le hice la /?/.**

: That isn't fair.

: **Yo como lo hice el año pasado. El año pasado en Francia yo pedí agua y le digo** Non, non. Oui, du robinet. **Déjate de agua mineral si el agua** from the tap is all right. I was drinking, and drinking.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **¿Eso dónde queda?** Round the...

: **...donde está** Cornwalls.

: **Sí.**

: I know, **pero ¿qué lado?**

: Beside the end of...

: Near the entrance to Strings cinema.

: **Bueno, enfrente de** Strings. Where the management...

: Near the Llano brothers.

: **Viajo por los sitios de muebles de estos /?/. No fueron los** Night Clubs **que /?/.**

: Your landmarks are different from mine.

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Much nearer.

: **Sí.**

: **Ahí, por ahí.**

: I've been taking it.

: **Si no hay que ir en coche ni nada.**

: Some of us have to **pero qué le vamos a hacer.**

: There's no rush.

: **¿Tú tienes cambio?**

: **For what?**

: What do you want?

: There's no change for that rule, is there?

: You have to pay for your dinner.

: I started down the road

: **¿Dónde está** Malcolm?

: No they're drunkards.

: Ah, drunkards.

: Where are they?

: Back to the /?/. **Que tienen una lucha /?/.**

: **¿Sí?**

: **/?/ porque está en** Cheers. **Que van todos los niñatos y se sientan fuera. Está el otro. ¿Cómo se llama?**

: Winstons.

: Winstons.

: **Por eso voy.**

: ...and Winston's and over there and over there around the corner.

: And Cheer's.

: That's the in place. **No, ya no Piazza ni /?/ ni nada.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **No porque está /?/.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Allá enfrente. Sí.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: Linda **me preguntó a mí esta mañana.** So I felt that /?/.

: **Sí.**

: In fact it wasn't a train.

: **Pero /?/.**

: She took it home from the office yesterday.

: Anyway, thank you. See you tomorrow then.

: OK.

: Eight to eight thirty **¿no?**

: **O** eight thirty to nine.

: Eight thirty to nine, **ponía**.

: I'm just asking. I haven't done...

: **Dale tiempo para que acuesten a los niños y esto. Ha ha.**

: Eight thirty to nine.

: **Vale, adiós.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Este mes que no se case nadie más, eh. Ya son muchas bodas ya este año.**

: **Nos juntaremos las siguientes.**

: **Ves, éste, el otro... Vaya, vaya.**

: Too many weddings.

: Seventeen fifty **el menú porque** seventeen fifty...

: **¿Sí?**

: **Sí, Elisa.**

: **Veinte para Rita.**

: **Pero Rita ¿qué va a comer?**

: **Treinta.**

: **No porque treinta el otro, Rita no está.**

: We have to leave extra for the present.

: No. For the...

: She's collecting for the present.

: **Ah, lo que estás tú pidiendo hoy es lo mismo que tú pedistes a nosotros ¿no?**

: If you like, I might do a diplomatic thing but **con nosotros está entre amigos.**

: **Que yo voy a contribuir al personal y después al de aquí y al otro también. No.**

: /?/ I want to give him a present.

: **Yo ya no compro más regalos ¿eh?**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Y después, ¿qué se le compra? Porque** you know buying takes hours.

: **Bueno mira /?/.**

: Nine hundred pounds.

: **Escúchame.**

: **Que lo vaya a comprar ella.**

: **Que le compremos platos.**

: **No. Algo más.**

: **Que le compramos los** kitchen scales.

: How much is that?

: Kitchen scales? Very cheap.

: Seven pounds.

: **Menos.**

: /?/ **comprar** kitchen scales y bathroom scales. **Las dos ¿no?**

: It might be taken as a hint.

: **Bueno, el que no quiere poner /?/** everything. **Lo puede pasar arriba al cuarto piso. Que yo no tengo ni la /?/.**

[Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Después queda muy poco para comprarle otra cosa.**

: If she actually insists on a kitchen scale **que se lo compre ella ¿no? Porque es libre.** You know what I mean.

: **Pero** there must be other things that she needs.

: **A lo mejor** she just follows that **porque** to see how much we are collecting.

: No.

: **Ella le ha dicho que quiere** kitchen scales.

: **Bueno, cómprale unos** kitchen scales and then add something to it like a /?/.

: Pero, that's more difficult. With only forty or fifty pounds **¿qué le compras? ¿Tú sabes?**

: **Sí.**

: **Dale un** picture frame. There's a range there. They've got there all sorts, cheaper, more expensive, **de todo.**

: /?/ the frames at the stag brothers.

: Ah, yes.

: **No has visto los antiguos estos.**

: **Pero hay algunos que** but they may be too expensive. And we're doing that as a supplement to the other thing.

: No. Six or seven pounds.

: Ay, come on.

: She'll always like the money.

: **Yo ya le he pagado.**

: **Una cafetera, ahora dice Enrique.**

: **Bueno, yo te tengo que dar...**

: /?/ **todo puesto en la casa de la mar de tiempo.** They've got everything.

: Yeah, they've got everything.

: **Bueno ¿ya has visto la cocina?**

: One of those are they. One of those...

: They've got the house set up.

: **En la cocina tienen todo puesto.**

: She was bound to. Rita is very conventional and she keeps saying **¡qué caro**

   está todo! and I keep saying /?/. I can imagine she would want to have...

: /?/ there's quite a bit of money

: **Que /?/ está todo. Hay de todo.**

: **En la cocina hay de todo.**

: **No van a disfrutar ahora.**

C: **No pero, por eso. Pero que...**

: **Pero yo necesito algo después de ella. ¿Sabes quién es?**

   [Several turns incomprehensible]

: **Isabel ha prometido unos churros y no se le ve.**

: **Enrique was found...**

E: **Bueno, señores todo lo que habeis estado hablando se ha**

   grabado ahí, por si hay alguno que lo quiere escuchar después.

: **No me digas que lo has grabado.**

: **Ha, ha ha.**

E: **Lo de los scales y todo. Ha, ha ha.**

: **Enrique, por Dios.**

E: **Para Carol.**

C: **¿Todo esto has grabado? ¿Toda esta conversación?**

E: **Y lo que tú estás diciendo ahora.**

C: **A ver si sale. A ver si sale.**

TRANSCRIPT 6

This tape was recorded during a lunchtime meal at the home of a Gibraltarian family in April 1990. The tape recorder was concealed and permission was obtained after the recording was completed from the persons present. The participants are a middle aged Gibraltarian woman called Pam, and her husband Marten, also Gibraltarian. Marten spoke with difficulty as he had undergone an operation to remove his vocal cords and could be understood by lip reading. His voice was was audible in a few exchanges. Both husband and wife are fluent bilinguals. Ana is an elderly lady related to the family. She is from Gibraltar and was visiting for a few days. She only understands some English. Elizabeth and Carol were paying house guests. Elizabeth is in her mid-twenties. She is a Canadian biologist residing in UK and was visiting Gibraltar to study the apes. She does not know any Spanish. Carol is the person undertaking the present study. She is bilingual and participates in the conversation in Spanish and English naturally. (**A**= Ana, **E**= Elizabeth, **P**= Pam, **C**= Carol, **M**= Marten).

A: **Es de ella sólo. Tuya no es. Ni de nadie. Que vamos a abrirla.**

E: Oh. Ha, ha, ha.

A: **¿Qué día es?**

A: **Hoy es miércoles.**

P: I'm going to ask my husband...

C: Whoops, sorry.

P: ...about the dick.

C: About who?

P: Dick.

E: Ha, ha. Uh oh.

P: Sí, because you told me to ask him.

E: No.

P: Ana, ¿dónde está el cuchillo chico? El cuchillo chico. ¿Cómo se abre el cajón, Carol? Ya está aquí. Ya está aquí.

C: But they're all closed now.

P: Déjalo, déjalo. Ya lo he arreglado. Mira. ¿Esto qué es? El pantalón.

E: What?

C: Cierra.

P: The trousers, your trousers.

E: What?

C: You're going to ruin the **manzanita**. Here, you can break it. You need a...
Trae algo. El destornillador.

P: Eso no está allí. ¿Dónde lo pusiste, tú?

C: En el cajón. ¿No iba...? Va aquí ¿no?

P: Allí, allí, allí.

P: What has happened to your trousers?

A: ¿Qué dice?

E: A pen. That's why I have to get to the cleaners.

A: ¿Ya te la has roto? Oh.

P: Sí, pero.

C: Oh, those are your new trousers?

P: They are new?

E: They're the ones I bought and the everything...

P: Eso es tinta, Ana. Eso no se quita.

A: No es tinta.

C: There I have... I have I have a thing on how to take out stains. Wait a

minute.

E: They're just dirty, I need to wash them.

P: Don't take them. I'll put the... I'll put the washing machine on.

E: No, no, no.

P: So if you have anything on the bed it has to be hand washed. You can't do

it in the...

E: You see I can't. I don't think it can be cleaned because I only have to wear

the coat underneath I have to be dry.

C: Look.

P: Bueno, for example, if I wash it now.

C: Look, no look. This is how to take it out. I, I saved it. This is how to take out

stains: grease, eggs, cosmetics, food, uhm, wine, yogurt, sweat.

P: ¿Qué quieres que diga?

C: Tinta.

P: Yo voy a poner a eso ahora, la lavadora.

C: Lemon juice.

A: Cuando venga /?/.

P: Porque tengo allí unas cosas, Ana.

A: /?/.

C: Claro.

P: Mañana vienen los niños y no puedo; el martes la mora y

tampoco puedo.

A: ¿A qué hora entras mañana?

P: A las nueve.

P: No mira, tú, Elizabeth.

C: Si la mancha es reciente dice que si mojas la parte manchada en zumo de limón y se aclara con agua fría...

P: Sí.

C: Lo que no pone es como quitar manchas.

P: Bueno, allí, hay limón. Lo puedo hacer. Take off her trousers. See what I can do.

E: OK

A: ¿Esto cuál es, Pam?

P: /?/. Ana, vete repartiendo allí los platos, venga.

C: /?/.

P: Sí. /?/. Postre, cucharas de postre.

C: ¿Pequeñitos?

P: Sí para...

C: Cógelos por aquí ¿no?

P: No. No puedo. Esa no. /?/.

C: Es que es... /?/ como se quitan las manchas de grasa y todo.

P: Sí, pero eso es muy profundo, Carol. Eso es es la tinta. Ahora, con zumo de limón.

C: Aquí dice que si la mancha es reciente, se vierte la parte manchada en zumo de limón y se aclara con agua fría. Si es tejidos de lana o de /?/ se ablanda con glicerina y después se lava en agua caliente.

P: Vamos a ver.

A: Tú pareces catalana.

C: ¿Por qué?

A: Hablando.

P: Venga.

A: ¿Tú sabes lo que son las safardeñas?

C: No.

A: ¿Safardeña? No, es más bien catalana.

C: ¿Qué es esto?

P: Toma Carol. Mira, para tí.

C: ¿Dónde, dónde nos sentamos?

A: Aquí en la esquina.

P: ¿Está bien esto o quieres más?

M: /?/.

A: No.

P: Esto es para Marten.

C: Mmmm.

C: ¡Qué bien! Es una comida de domingo.

M: /?/.

A: Siéntate, siéntate.

P: Esto es para Elizabeth.

C: Thank you, Pam.

P: Toma. El pan. Espérate.

C: It's very good ¿no?

M: /?/.

C: ¡Que maravilla! Es una comida de domingo.

P: Pues claro, ¿qué te crees tú, hija? Como tú te vas ¿eh?

C: Me hace mucha ilusión.

P: ¿No ves? Para que vaya tú hablando bien de los yanitos.

C: Claro. Yo voy...

P: Para que no digas tú, los yanitos son más... esto, lo otro. Son más secos... Ana, esa es para Ana.

A: ¿Quién? ¿Elizabeth allí?

C: Ana aquí y Elizabeth allí.

P: Ana, tú siéntate allí hija que aquí estamos a la orden de...

C: Yo quiero estar al lado de Ana.

A: ¡Ah, sí!

P: Elizabeth. ¿Dónde está esta perola?

C: Come on.

A: Elizabetita.

P: Perdónenos.

M: /?/.

P: ¿Y yo qué? Ah, que tenías que haber comido. Darling, tenía hambre.

M: /?/.

P: Te pongo un poquito más.

M: /?/.

P: Sí yo estoy comiendo todos los días con ésas, unas pelmazas. Anoche no me dejaron de...de... Dice que si tú estabas estudiando pa cura me dijeron las dos anoche. Porque te miran tan respetable. Que no pareces persona de ir a bailes ni nada, de cabaret ni nada. Que parece que si tú has estudiado pa cura.

P: Elizabeth!

E: Yep.

C: Ha ha ha.

P: De verdad. Esto, esto...

P: Que si tú... y la otra que, tú... Mira eso... muy recto, ¿que si tú has ido a cabarets? Digo no, él no ha ido a cabarets, na más que está...

P: ¿Qué?

C: Hemos hecho papadum hoy.

P: ¿Sí?

C: Sí. Para para un aperitivo a las doce.

P: No me digas. ¿Y te gustó? Le compraron el pan ¿no? Se comieron el pan.

A: ¿El pan? ¿Eso es pan?

P: Sí, exactamente.

A: El vinillo. Ha ha ha.

P: Cheers.

C: Cheers.

E: Cheers.

P: No, gaseosa. No hay allí ¿no? Allí, allí. You see, I told... I told my husband what you said last night about him.

E: Ah.

P: That if he was going to study for priesthood. You said that he would, he was going to... He looked very old and very respectable.

E: Who said that?

P: You did.

E: No! Ha ha ha.

P: That he never, she said, "Has he ever been to a dance?" I said: "certainly he has been to a dance before he got married". Then he said /?/ muy antiguo, aparte de que lleva el carro.

C: Antiguo, no he dicho.

P: No, respetuoso.

C: Gentleman.

E: Gentleman.

P: Gentleman. It's different.

P: Anoche nos reimos, darling; **pero reirnos...**

C: ¿Cuánto /?/?

M: /?/.

E: Ha ha ha.

C: Ha ha ha.

P: We had a good laugh last night. **¿No es verdad?**

E: It was fun.

C: Sure it was.

P: We had fun **¿eh?**

P: Y esta mañana cuando me levanté a las ocho menos veinte...

P: ¿Qué?

A: /?/.

P: No, mujer.

P: ¿Quieres sal? Cuando me levanté a las ocho menos veinte ya estaba ya estaba ... Ya se iba pa el monte.

E: Mmmmmm.

P: Do you like it?

E: Um hum. It's really good.

P: So on Friday, Sunday, you'll think of us.

C: Mmmm, on Sunday, yes.

E: On Sunday she will be at home?

P: **Sí**, at home; you in the mountains there.

C: Mmmm.

P: ¿Qué dices Carol?

M: /?/.

C: Ha ha ha.

A: Ha ha ha.

P: ¿Qué dice, que de cura ni hablar?

M: Fraile.

P: Yo entonces como esta gente se asustaban contigo. Yo les dije mira, era más puto que Rita y empezó ya así la risa. La risa...

C: Mira eso tampoco me lo creo yo, eso tampoco me lo creo yo.

P: Mira, dice que no se cree qué hacían /putos/, Ana. No, el bigote blanco lo tiene de de estudiar la Biblia.

P: Mira que día más bueno. Lovely day, today, this afternoon.

M: Va a llover.

P: ¿Va a llover? No creo yo. Estaba todo por allí /cla.../ It was clear. But you know the climate there. They...they were so miserable. All the time grumbling the weather, the weather and they've come from UK and look at the weather. And what can we do? And where can we go. ¡**Qué horror!**

C: Tell them to go back to England, Pam. Ha ha ha. Tell them to go back to England, Pam.

E: No, it's not your better weather.

P: No, in England, I think it was better...

E: Was it?

P: ...than in Gibraltar.**En Inglaterra está el tiempo mejor que aquí, Ana.**

A: ¿Qué vamos a hacer hija?

E: This is delicious. What is it?

C: It's a Rioja. No but it's good, it's good. **Está excelente.**

E: You don't have a /?/?

P: No, because I had lunch at the hotel. I...

C: Do they serve meals at the hotel?

P: No, just now but for the staff they do have the lunch.

C: /?/.

P: Sí, and we were you know this morning people that were supposed to leave didn't leave because of the weather ¿eh? Before coming I... and there were people coming in, you know so I left it with the sixty, and we were expecting round about fifty. And when I was coming out, people was coming in, you know, so... the eighties, the eighties. We will go into the eighties tonight.

C: Um hum.

E: Well, that's a good size for a hotel.

C: It's right near Steve's office.

E: Is it?

P: As I say, you know the church?

E: Yeah.

P: Well, it's there. It's opposite the church.

P: Have you seen Steve today? **¿No?**

E: Um hum.

P: In the Rock? In the Rock?

E: I saw him this morning. No he didn't come up the Rock but we went to his house.

P: Oh yes, you told me. But he wasn't going anywhere to Spain or anywhere.

C: Yes he was.

P: No me digas.

C: Yes, but he is going to a friends house rather than doing it in the country.
He was doing it at a friends house.

P: Ah.

A: Vamos

A: Y los platos y los platos. Sienta, siéntate, siéntate.

C: I'm going so slow.

C: María and Paul are coming today. /?/

E: No, not yet.

C: These friends are so nice. They've offered to take me to the bus station.

E: Oh, really?

C: On Friday. I can't catch a cab because I have too many bags.

E: /?/.

C: /?/ They are supposed to go to the airport from La Línea and it's a whole lot
cheaper than renting a car. And my problem is that I can't really cross the
border walking because... It's really sweet of them to offer.

E: Oh yeah.

A: Carol.

C: Thank you Ana, **gracias**. I'm going to miss Gibraltar.

P: Mira, para Elizabeth.

A: Este es el mío.

M: /?/.

C: You are going to say finally we don't have anyone in the house. Ha ha ha.

M: /?/.

C: ¿No? OK.

P: Que coman que se enfría ¿eh?

A: Que comais pronto que se enfría.

C: No. Esperamos Ana, también.

A: Come, come, come Carol que se enfría.

P: Come Carol que se enfría.

C: Oye ¿me oyes? Esto es estupendo, está buenísimo.

P: ¿Te gusta?

C: Sí.

P: Venga, ya está. ¿Esto qué es? Esto aquí es para la lavadora.

C: Pam

P: ¿Qué?

C: It's delicious. Está buenísimo.

E: Ha ha ha.

P: ¿Te gusta?

C: Está muy bueno. Está...

P: ¿Sí?

C: Sí, uy.

P: You like it?

P: Entonces yo sé... yo sé hacer de comer, mi alma.

C: Pues claro que sabes hacer de comer.

P: Dame hijo que nos vamos a emborrachar.

A: No bebas más vino que no has comido.

P: Anda venga ya. ¿Cómo que no? Yo he comido. Ay, por favor
   que trabajo mucho.

M: /?/.

P: Que me calle.

P: Mira esta gente, esta gente se tajan. ¿Sabes?

M: Cheers.

E: Cheers.

P: Anoche, ¿sabes que nos tomamos? ¿Te lo digo?

M: Claro.

P: Cenaron, y después digo: "ay, vamos a tomar churros". Y salió Carol con Elizabeth. Sí; entonces cuando venimos, ellas convidaron a los churros. ¿Sabeis? Tomamos café y té con whisky.

A: Toma.

C: Con mucho whisky.

P: Así que cuando empezamos a... ésta empezó a reirse,colorada, la otra igual y dijimos chistes.

C: You were running, no, you were laughing.

P: Ana, ya está, ya está, ya está.

C: Yo casi me quedo dormida en la bañera. Me bañé después.

A: Mira. ¿Te quedaste dormida pronto, Carol?

C: En seguida, roque. Puse las noticias y no pude oir nada.

E: This is so good.

P: Sí. You like it?

E: Ummm.

P: So, you've liked my... all the the food I given you.

E: Everything, yeah.

P: You can say that in the in the university.

C: Tonight's the Oscars?

M: /?/.

C: Yes.

P: A ver, toma.

C: Esta noche ponen los Oscars.

P: ¿En Gibraltar?

C: No, en Hollywood.

P: Sí, pero Gibraltar.

M: /?/.

P: Anoche los pusieron en España, sí, los Oscars. Pero en Gibraltar me gusta más porque lo dice ¿tú sabes? Spain they always, as they are talking in English, they are translating so we get mixed up, we don't know whether to hear the English or the Spanish.

C: Or the Spanish, right. There is simultaneous translation.

P: Esto está bueno, ¿no? Carolsita. ¿Te gusta esto, Ana? Me ha salido bueno.

C: Mmm, buenísimo

P: Y mira... no de verdad. I've al... always given you a different plate.

E: Everyday.

C: Yes, everyday.

P: Isn't it true?

C: Yes.

P: Every single day.

E: Since you've been here? You've been here a long time.

P: She's been here over a month.

E: That's fantastic.

P: And I've always tried to give different things.

C: Everyday a different dish.

M: /?/

C: Te ayudo. Te lo corto.

A: No, mujer. Él ya puede.

C: Te lo corto.

P: No, Ana. Y él ya puede, Carol. ¿Te gusta el vino?

C: Mmmm. Me encanta.

P: Y a mí.

C: Me encanta.

P: Ah, he can do that with that arm, but he can't with the other; darling, **¿pero no puedes?**

E: What's wrong?

M: No puedo.

P: Cuando te operastes sí, así, tú mira...

C: Because of the muscles.

P: Sí, because the nerves, the nerves were covered up.

C: Uh huh.

P: Now, so...so... so now I'm happy in a way because like that, he won't be able to go to the night clubs and dance, as he always did.

E: Oh... Ha ha ha.

P: Tangos, tangos.

C: Tendrá mucho más éxito. Así se tiene más éxito, así las mujeres...

E: Are there still night clubs in Gibraltar?

P: No. There used to be a very famous one. The Panama. But now no. Penelope, Penelope nada más que está. No hay night clubs and the only people who go are sailors, sailors and drug people

A: /?/.

P: Sí pero ¿quién va a ir, Ana? Eso es...

A: Pues no lo sé.

C: One night, you know, I would like to go to the Casino. Have you ever been to the Casino to play bingo or...

P: Sí, to play Bingo. I went once.

C: /?/.

P: Bien, on Monday, tomorrow, there's a Bingo where **Ana** lives. Let's go.

C: Really?

P: Let's go.

P: Ana, ah. I can't go. I'm going to the cocktail tomorrow.

A: ¿A qué hora vienes del cocktail? ¿A qué hora es el cocktail?

P: No. Maybe because at half past six, and you don't stay there long. **Ay, hija.**

A: ¿Qué?

C: That's something I wanted to do to...

A: Si vais me avisais.

P: Quiere ella ir al bingo.

A: Pues vamos nosotros.

C: Sí, vamos nosotros Ana. Do you want to come to the Casino?

E: Yeah. Would you go later?

C: Yeah.

M: /?/.

P: Cocktail party, Marten. **Ya lo sé, se lo he dicho. Ocho, ocho salimos de aquí, Marten. Los** cocktails parties **no son lejos. Sí.**

M: /?/.

P: Seis y media.

A: A las ocho y media. ¿A las ocho no puedes estar aquí?

P: Claro. Ocho, ocho y media. Y eso empieza a las nueve o más tarde.

C: Can you play bingo at the Casino, or not?

P: No. But this is a club who goes not so many people as as the Casino. And it's very **familiar. Mira,** and it starts at nine o'clock.

C: Podemos ir nosotros ¿no?

P: Claro.

A: No, no. Ella viene también. En...en el Ir... ¿cómo es? Yo, yo lo he visto.

P: No en el en en...

A: En el Irish...

C: It's hot.

A: Dame un trocito de tarta, Carol.

P: Old Fellow, the Old Fellows, the Old Fellows, Old Fellows.

E: I really don't...

P: Yo voy a coger una tajada.

A: Está bien.

C: Pam /?/.

A: Ha ha ha ha.

P: Ustedes van a ir a bailar conmigo muy bien.

C: I'm not going to make it up to the Rock.

A: No bebas.

C: Ah, pues sí, mañana vamos al bingo. Sí, me hace mucha ilusión.

C: Sí mañana vamos al bingo...

P: Bueno si esperais por mí, si esperais por mí...

A: Claro.

P: Porque yo voy a ir.

A: Mira.

C: Elizabeth wants to come too.

P: Sí Elizabeth, **vamos las cuatro. Hacemos un pool y si nos toca, nos toca a las cuatro ¿eh?**

C: OK, OK.

P: Compramos /?/ tickets, but if we win it's between the four.

E: OK.

C: How do you play. Do they give you the cards?

P: They give you the cards. You can buy three or four as much as you like.

E: Ha ha ha.

A: Mira, ¿tú no ibas a ir ayer? que tú me dijiste si "voy a ver Rosia" ¿no?

P: ¿A una iglesia?

A: Ella iba a ir a Rosia.

P: ¿Y había... y hay bingo?

A: No, mujer. Enfrente... enfrente, un poquito más acá.

P: The workers union. The union, el union.

A: El union más para acá.

P: Sí, es un callejón antes y allí hay un club de Old Fellows **se llama. Y eso sí que es yanito.**

C: Bueno, pues llevaré mi magnetofón, además.

P: Ah, sí. Llévalo, llévalo.

A: ¿La puede llevar?

P: Ya está bien. El sesenta y ocho el setenta y nueve.

A: No, no. ¿Vistes los premios esta semana?

P: No. Uy, no. Yo lo detesto.

E: Do they say it in Spanish

C: In Yanito.

P: They say it in Spanish...

E: Uh oh.

P: ...and in English, in English. **Ana, ¿qué lo dicen en inglés y en español?**

A: En español.

P: Entonces, ¿Elizabeth cómo lo va a hacer?

C: We can do it...

A: Y en inglés también.

P: And English as well.

E: Do they?

P: Sí.

E: OK

C: Do you think we'll win something there?

P: And why not?

E: Ha ha ha.

A: Yo que no voy nunca al bingo.

P: Ni yo, que es lo que me gusta. No lo hago.

A: Ya ves, podríamos ir los lunes un ratito.

P: My husb... my husband loves bingo. He used to go nearly every day.

C: Have you gone to the Casino, Marten?

A: Entonces yo por la mañana me voy. ¿Y tú a qué hora entras?

P: A las nueve in the morning.

A: A las doce ya estás aquí.

P: Prepárale el desayuno a Marten, Ana.

A: Sí. /?/. Allí voy a estar yo. A las ocho y media, allí.

P: Bueno, no, espérate Ana. Por si yo no voy. ¿Ellas saben donde ir?

A: A mi casa.

P: Entonces que vayan a tu casa a por tí. Bueno, después hablaremos de esto.

E: Ha ha.

P: Do you want more?

E: No thank you. No. It's delicious.

C: But bingo is /?/ ¿no?

M: /?/.

P: Yo me voy a tomar un poquito de té.

C: Oh no, Pam.

E: /?/. I have to go study the monkeys.

C: Ha ha ha.

E: Ha ha ha.

P: Me parece a mí que ésta...

E: Yeah. I'll speak /?/ to the monkeys.

C: Ha ha ha.

E: Ha ha ha.

P: ¿Nos vamos, Ana?

P: ¿Tú vas a ir a ver los monkeys, Carol?

C: I think so, yeah. As long as it's not raining. I'm not going to have time to...

A: ¿Dónde van a ir, Pam?

P: ¿Van a ir a ver los monitos?

M: /?/.

P: ¿Un poquito no quieres? ¿Y un yogur? Un yogur sí. ¿Tú quieres Ana?

A: No.

P: Yo voy a tomar café, té, venga.

C: And how did it go today at the hotel?

P: Very busy. Extremely busy.

C: /?/ they didn't go out.

P: It was raining and people that went didn't want to go. We had to change

rooms because people wer... was coming to that room so we had to

change them.

E: How many rooms are there?

P: About seventy.

E: Seventeen?

P: Seventy.

E: But some rooms are double rooms.

P: ¿Eh?

E: But some rooms are double rooms.

P: Sí, and triple.

C: ...and triple

P: And four bedded. I /?/ they're single. We have only three singles. The rest

are twin, triple and four.

C: Pam, yo los llevo.

P: Esa es para tí.

C: Está muy bueno ¿verdad Ana?

A: Dame un poco.

C: ¿No quieres un poco?

P: No llévatelo de aquí. Anda, venga. He loves it. He can't get through

that...

C: He said he wasn't well last night ¿no?

P: ¿No? No te encontrastes bien ayer ¿Qué es, fatiga, devolviste?

M: /?/.

P: A las seis ¿Te levantaste?

M: /?/.

P: Ah, sí! ¿Qué es? ¿Lo del estómago?

P: Flato, flato.

M: Flato.

A: No puede comer mucho él.

P: A las cuatro, cuatro horas. Que no es nada eso del flato.

M: /?/.

P: Y después devolviste. ¿Y no tomaste nada?

M: Yo estaba fatal.

P: Esto lo tienes que hacer tú pa los niños.

C: Sí.

P: Carol, que this is very easy.

E: Is it? It's so good.

P: It's bisquits ¿cómo se llama? boudoir.

C: Boudoir bisquits.

P: You whisk two eggs with the yolk and everything, and then you put liqueur or whisky. That's why you like it.

E: Oh, really? Ah.

P: Whiskey or liqueur or anything, or wine. Whatever you want.

C: Voy a coger...

P: And then you pass the biscuits through that and you put a layer over that. And then you put a layer of Nestlé cream a layer of... you finish with the cream and chocolate flakes and you put it in the fridge for a whole day, overnight.

E: Why do you put it in the fridge?

P: So that it can set because this doesn't go into the oven or anything, it's just the fridge. It's very easy and I mean if you have somebody to... for dinner or...

E: Mmmm

M: /?/

C: Ha, ha, ha.

P: ¿Dónde has puesto eso, Ana? Tú no ves que está... tú te vienes conmigo y ella va, y lo que hago yo por /?/, Ana.

A: /?/.

P: Y se lo voy a lavar por eso.

C: Two or three days /?/.

P: Se lo voy a lavar. Han comido bien los niños ¿Ves Ana? ¡Hay que ver! ¿No te apetece un poquito de camomila? ¿De verdad, Ana?

A: Yo no quiero camomila.

C: What's going on in the cocina?

M:/?/.

C: Have a rest now.

C: Has there been a lot of work?

M: Yeah.

C: Go to bed.

M: Two to three a.m. you couldn't sleep.

C: Something /?/ like a bar, pub, or a restaurant.

P: Sí eso va a la cocina, Ana.

A: No, pero /?/.

M: /?/.

C: Yes?

A: Pues mira, tíralo aquí.

P: Uy, sí. Cuidado.

C: Ha ha ha.

P: ¿Quieres más? Do you want more?

E: No thank you.

A: /?/.

P: /?/.

A: Sí.

P: Nada. Hay de dulce y la hay plain. **La hay para masa y...**

A: Sí.

P: ...la hay para los dulces.

A: ¿El que tú tienes aquí?

P: Sí, del plain **y del** self rising.

A: ¿El rising **es para todo?**

P: Plain.

A: Es para...

P: ¿Quieres más?

E: No thank you.

P: A little bit more.

E: No, no.

C: Pam, I'm going to help you wash the dishes.

E: Me too.

A: Mira está bien. Está dulce.

P: Self-rising, **esas me gustan**

A: /?/ las cosas.

P: Esa es plain **para las cosas.**

P: /?/. Try it. If not it's going to waste.

E: Did...

P: Take anything that you have, panties or anything to wash because I'm

going to put the washing machine.

C: The same things or different things?

P: You bring it here because I'm going to wash it.

P: ¿Te echastes azúcar?

C: And how many times have you been for your throat, on the operating table?

C: Three times they've operated?

M: /?/.

C: Four times. They've operated four times?

A: Lo pongo aquí.

P: No, eso es para lavar. /?/ una morenaza que hay guapa.

A: Sí que es linda, sí.

P: Es una chica española.

M: That's a miracle.

P: Todavía no sé... Y cuando se fue dice... vamos que vino otra como ella. Le vi cerrar los ojos. Algo pasó.

A: Ah.

P: Escucha los pájaros. Hace un día bueno.

A: /?/.

P: Lo hace mucha gente. Yo lo he escuchado.

M: /?/.

C: A mí, no me gustaría. Yo de pequeña me quitaron las amígdalas.

M: /?/.

C: Ha ha ha.

P: Que tú bebías mucho y fumabas.

C: No me estaba contando que ha pasado por el operating theatre, otra vez.Que cuatro veces por la garganta ¿no?

M: Ocho.

P: Ocho; los hombres se quejan mucho. Yo me pongo mala y na, nadie se entera. ¿Y tú?

C: Una vez ha pasado por el operating theatre.

P: A mí me operaron dos veces de la matriz. Una me la subieron y la otra me la quitaron. ¿Te acuerdas Gardener era un... que después de de operarme se lo echaron porque el tío estaba piripi.

A: Así son las porquerías que mandan para Gibraltar. Todas las porquerías los mandan aquí.

C: Bueno, pero has dado a luz que es como una operación.

E: Pam, I just have two things. I should just take them to the cleaners then it will be much easier.

P: Pero why?

A: ¿Qué quiere? ¿Qué quiere?

E: But they're big they're two pairs of trousers.

P: Like what?

E: Two trousers and one shirt that I need to take to Morocco.

P: I can do it.

E: No.

P: I'm going to put the washing machine.

A: Manzanilla.

P: /?/ clean.

C: Ah.

A: Porque el señor Marten, no quiere que yo tome té.

P: ¿Tú tienes algo que lavar?

P: ¿Pantalones tienes? Pantalones ya sucios.

A: Sí, anda, venga ya, traélos.

P: Y toallas. Bring the towels.

C: Lo tienes que poner en la lavadora Pam.

A: Sí.

P: Por eso.

C: Y la toalla. La toalla y la...

P: Bring me the towel. **Venga**, bring everything.

A: /?/ que estás /?/.

C: Elizabeth is wondering what is going on. Ha ha ha.

E: Ha ha ha.

P: ¿Quién me va a ayudar a poner la lavadora y a tender. ¿No quieres té?

M: /?/.

P: Las prendas. Anda tómate el té. El té no te da diarrea. Tienen que ir al monte.

P: They are in the fridge

A: ¿No quieren té ellas?

P: Ni tienen ni se lo ofrezco.

A: Ha ha ha.

P: Después se lo toman, daddy. **Ellas, tú descuida... si ellas quieren se lo toman. ¿Tú no vas a tomar té ahora, Carol?**

M: ¡Está bien!

P: Está bien. No ves. Mira, escucha. Está bien.

A: Que quiere hablar.

P: Mira que estás tú mejor que nunca. Porque no piensas en qué haces.

M: /?/.

P: Que yo siempre estoy contenta y me gusta la gente que estén muy felices. Que no estén gruñiendo. Se ponen, se ponen con arrugas. Alegría, alegría.

C: Ha ha ha.

P: Saca tu tristeza.

P: Carol, sorry, es que he tomado dos copas de vino y me pongo piripi.

A: Carol, no puede poner piripi. Mira, Carol ¿tú compras lotería /?/ hija?

P: Se lo dije.

A: Anda, mi alma ¿Por qué no me has comprado?

C: No lo sé, nunca me he acostumbrado a comprar lotería. No me importa.

A: ¿En España tampoco, Carol?

C: No nunca.

A: Hay personas que no...

C: Es que nunca, nunca tengo suerte.

E: Are you sure? I should wait for... If you change it, I'll just take them to the cleaners.

P: ¿Y los pantalones?

A: Están allí.

C: Ah, de la niña!

P: Sí, de España.

A: Hoy se ha jugado, hoy se ha jugado, Marten.

C: Tengo el periódico. Tengo el *Area..*

P: You haven't got socks. You haven't got socks.

C: Pero ha salido ¿o no?

E: No, no, because I have shoes.

A: Ayer se salió. Los sábados.

E: I'm going to get ready to go to the mountain.

P: ¿Eh?

E: I'm going to get ready to go to the mountain.

C: Oh, very good.

E: Thank you for the dinner.

C: It was nice.

P: Do you want socks? I have socks.

C: ¿Cómo dijo?

A: ¿Tú has entendido lo que él te ha dicho?

C: Sí.

A: Ah.

M: /?/.

E: Lunch, right. Oh, it wasn't dinner. It was lunch at three. OK. /?/ I'm not eating anything else today.

C: No, no.

P: Elizabeth, if you look in the drawer? The one there. No I have socks.

E: It's OK. I've got some wool socks that...

C: I have some socks if you want.

E: Thank you. Are you going to come up?

C: Are you going up right now?

C: Yeah, OK. I have to go up and... Should I take a tee shirt?

E: Yes.

C: No, pero venía una amiga suya hoy.

P: Ah, no, no que venía una amiga suya de Inglaterra.

C: I'm going to take an umbrella. I'm not like her who goes up...

A: ¿Es una amiga tuya?

C: No, una amiga de Natalia.

A: ¿Eh?

C: No, una amiga de Natalia viene.

A: Y tú ¿que quieres? ¿Ir a verla?

C: No, no, no.