

The discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity in
the printed press: A critical discourse analysis of
editorial articles on the Gibraltar issue



TESIS DOCTORAL

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CERTIFICA:

Que la presente Tesis Doctoral titulada ‘The discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity in the printed press: A critical discourse analysis of editorial articles on the Gibraltar issue’, presentada por Dña. Angela Alameda Hernández para optar al Grado de Doctor en Filología Inglesa, ha sido realizada bajo su supervisión en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Granada.

Con esta fecha autorizo la presentación de la misma.

Granada, 24 de marzo de 2006

Fdo. Elaine Hewitt

Memoria presentada por Dña. Angela Alameda Hernández para optar al Grado de Doctor en Filología Inglesa con Mención Europea por la Universidad de Granada.

Fdo. Angela Alameda Hernández

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Preface

Despite its tiny size, the Rock of Gibraltar is mainly well-known for its being the last colony that still exists in Europe and because of the political consequences that are originating in the international sphere at the moment. Nevertheless, the community that lives on the Rock is the rich result of geographical, historical and social factors that have brought about a very interesting and attractive community that is worthy of study.

Thus, not surprisingly, there is a reasonable amount of literature that deals with the history of Gibraltar, especially in relation to its becoming a British territory and also in connection to its current situation.

It is worth mentioning, however, that in contrast, the proportion of what has been written in relation to this community's identity, and even its peculiar sociolinguistic situation, is considerably smaller. It is only in the last two decades that more attention has been given to these other aspects. In this sense, the present piece of research aims to create interest in these other also interesting aspects of the Gibraltarian community, since as Finlayson (2002) has stated in connection to the present crucial historical moment Gibraltarians are going through, 'the question of identity has become a vital one for them' (2002: 23).

The Gibraltarian community has been exposed to particularly strong challenges in its most recent history. The recent decades have witnessed the at-

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tempts on the part of the political powers involved (United Kingdom, Spain and the UN) to modify the political status of these people, which Gibraltarians themselves felt as a threat to their own social and national identity. It is the aim of the present research to investigate this distinctive Gibraltarian identity from a discursive perspective. Two important moments in the recent history of Gibraltar have been taken as landmarks to focus this investigation: the two referendums held in Gibraltar in 1967 and 2002. The focus of my research is on the latest referendum, which has closer implications and consequences for the present.

Hence, in the current study, I intend to gain insight into the particular characteristics of the distinctive Gibraltarian identity from a general philological perspective, aiming at gaining insight into the Gibraltarian issue through the tools provided by discourse analysis, and more particularly critical discourse analysis. That is, my study will be based on the linguistic analysis of texts related to the Gibraltarian community. The overarching **research question** that frames this study is:

– How did Gibraltarians present themselves to the world during the period surrounding the referendum held in 2002?, and how was the community of Gibraltar perceived and represented by the two main participants involved in the situation, i.e., Spain and Britain?

– And a secondary question: A comparison of the previous results with how the Gibraltar issue was perceived and discursively represented during the earlier referendum held in 1967.

That is, my research questions aim at discovering which are the discursive strategies resorted to in the discursive construction of Gibraltar, both from the Gibraltarian community itself and from outside.

To address these questions I have centred my study on texts from the

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mass media, more particularly on editorial articles, and I have focused on the dates surrounding the two referendums held in Gibraltar in 2002 and 1967, since they were relevant events in the critical historical evolution of this community.

Our initial hypothesis is that the Gibraltar press would attempt to defend and construct a positive representation of Gibraltar, while the press from the two other sides –Spain and Britain– would presumably intend to destroy it or present a different, and rather negative, image. Even if these hypotheses are finally proved right by our investigation, it remains equally relevant to discover which are the discursive strategies employed by each side to construct their own representations of the situation.

Language plays a crucial role in many social practices and in social change. It is not too much of an exaggeration to state that any social issue that matters centrally involves language, i.e., texts. Fairclough's words provide support for this statement: 'Nobody who has an interest in modern society [...] can afford to ignore language' (1989: 3). And so also in the crucial historical moment the community of Gibraltar is going through, language plays a central role and as such its analysis has proved quite revealing.

From the above discussion, it follows that my object of study places my research midway between linguistics and social science, since I am interested in a particular social group -that which we call the Gibraltarian community- and how their distinctive identity is constructed and represented through discourse. Thus, both linguistic and social aspects enter into play in an interdisciplinary way.

It is for this reason that the main discipline chosen to carry out this research will be Discourse Analysis, more precisely the paradigm termed Critical Discourse Analysis, because it is concerned with language and its

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actual use in social contexts. As described by one of its leading practitioners, CDA is ‘primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis’ (Van Dijk 1993: 252).

Thus, concepts and theories from the social sciences will also have to be taken into consideration to understand those aspects of our topic of research which lie outside purely linguistic dimensions, and in order to provide the conceptual and analytical tools to approach our object of research. The reason, as highlighted by Wodak (2000), is that our object of research is such a complex one that cannot be approached purely armed with the concepts and tools of linguistics.

Consequently, geographical, historical and sociolinguist information on the Gibraltar community will prove an inestimable aid to our project since, as Kramsch (1998) has pointed out in relation to the interpretation of texts, ‘one of the greatest difficulties for foreign readers is less the internal cohesion of the text than the cultural coherence of the discourse’ (1998: 59).

Moreover, such vast background information is needed because my analysis will not be a mechanical one, but as any critical interpretation, it ‘requires historical knowledge and sensitivity’ (Fowler, 1991: 68).

Thus, the researcher, as foreign to the Gibraltar culture, needs to go deeper into all these aspects in order to properly interpret the instances of discourse on Gibraltar and be able, then, to critically describe what these texts tell us about the construction and representation of the distinctive Gibraltar identity.

In this way, my research has come to cover a multidisciplinary perspective that, in addition, needs to make use of the contributions of other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, sociology, geography and history.

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Hence, this thesis offers a very broad and tentative view of Gibraltarian society as it is filtered through and refracted by the lens of its printed press, together with a view of this community from two related views, the Spanish and the British ones. While the initial analytic focus might be linguistic, the vision that it yields clearly expands beyond the linguistic to the socio-political landscape. However, I would like to make clear that it is not, nor pretends to be, a true sociological or political analysis.

In addition, I would like to highlight that the object of this research is not to determine or evaluate whether the representation of Gibraltar in the press analysed is true or false, but rather how such an image of Gibraltar is constructed and represented.

At the same time, the research is carried out being aware of the limitations of such a task since no analysis can be exhaustive. In Fairclough's (2003) words: 'No analysis of a text can tell us all that might be said about it' (2003: 202), especially when social matters enter into play. In addition, we cannot forget the inherent complexity of textual interpretation, since the analysts bring their own personal background and position, which obviously influences their task to the point that there cannot be something like a 'right' interpretation (Sheyholislami, 2001).

The following chapter, titled 'Preliminary issues', introduces some general theoretical aspects that will help to place the present piece of research. I will briefly review the evolution in linguistic studies that allowed for the study of language in social contexts, to reach at Discourse Analysis, the discipline that seems to best suit the purposes of the present investigation.

The second chapter offers a review of the literature on the Gibraltar issue, which shows the little attention that the academic world has devoted to this topic. Most works deal with its history and, only recently, the sociolinguistic

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situation of Gibraltar has also been studied. The chapter focuses on those works which are particularly relevant for the present study because of their contribution to gaining an insight into the Gibraltarian community and their timid discussions of certain aspects of these people's national identity.

Furthermore, this review highlights the relevance and novelty of the present research as it offers new perspectives and findings about this interesting community from the discipline of discourse studies.

Chapter three summarises some relevant background information on Gibraltar. It deals with those aspects of its geography, history and sociolinguistic situation that are essential in order to appreciate the current situation of the Gibraltarian community and in order to properly understand and interpret the texts that form the corpus of analysis of the present investigation.

Next, chapter four, presents the theoretical framework within which the present study is conceived. I will describe the emergence and evolution of discourse studies and more specifically, of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), since this is the linguistic paradigm that the present investigation adheres to. In addition, because of our particular research objectives, two other important aspects are covered in this chapter, namely, the notion of national identity and how it is discursively constructed; and secondly, media discourse and its relevance in the discursive representation of identity. These help to set the theoretical foundations of our investigation.

Going a step further, chapter five describes the actual methodological model that has been applied in the present study. In the light of the literature on CDA and the discursive construction of national identity, and based on the results of prior pilot studies, I have developed the method of analysis for the present investigation. It has been adopted from the approach and categories of analysis described by Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999)

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and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) as part of their *Discourse-historical approach*, and Halliday's (1994) *Transitivity model*. Both these approaches, and their adaptation to conform to the needs and aims of the present investigation, are described in detail in this chapter.

Then, chapter six describes and justifies the data that comprise the textual corpus of analysis of the present study. As already mentioned, our analysis is based on editorial articles from Gibraltarian, Spanish and British newspapers dating from the months surrounding the two referendums held in the colony in 1967 and 2002. Newspapers, and the genre of editorials especially, are potent means of social influence and, as such, their critical analysis becomes particularly relevant to understand the discursive representation of Gibraltar that the three sides involved in the issue construe.

Chapter seven offers the results of the discursive analysis. These results are presented in two parts that correspond to the two analytical tools, that is, the categories of analysis of the Discourse-historical approach and the transitivity system. Results, from both the 1967 and 2002 periods, are divided in relation to the three corpora, namely, the Gibraltarian corpus, the Spanish corpus and the British corpus. Then, these results are further discussed and compared/contrasted in the Discussion chapter.

Throughout the Discussion and Conclusion chapters, I will show how the three corpora analysed discursively construct different representations of Gibraltar that reflect the own views, interests and political intentions of the three sides involved in the issue. I will demonstrate that the Gibraltar press resorts to strategies that help construct unity and a positive self-presentation of Gibraltar mainly based on the concepts of honesty and law, while the Spanish and British sides discursively dismantle such a representation, basically through destructive and transformative strategies, respectively. Fur-

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thermore, the analysis will reveal the general tendency, common to the three corpora, to represent Gibraltar as a passive entity that mostly acts at the level of the inner consciousness, and consequently with little influence on the outside world or to manage its situation.

For the editing of the present piece of work, I have followed the conventions of the *MHRA Style Guide*, edited by the Modern Humanities Research Association (London), which, in addition to its being widely spread and adopted by a growing number of authors and publishers, includes specific guidelines and recommendations about thesis writing.

In this line, I would like to clarify that, throughout this work, whenever an author is quoted but no page reference appears it is because it has been taken from web texts in run-on electronic format (i.e. without page divisions).

Finally, I would like to note that I engage in this task, with all its advantages and disadvantages, from the perspective of an outsider. Being born and brought up outside the Gibraltarian community makes my research even more challenging as there are many elements of the Gibraltarian culture that are strange to me and thus I have had to compensate for that with greater and deeper investigation. Nevertheless, being an outsider can also prove positive since it allows a more or less neutral position in the observation and interpretation of the events. There might be those, however, that might argue that being a Spanish born researcher places me on *one* of the sides (indeed, on the other side of the fence).

No doubt, my investigation makes an interesting point of research, at the same time that makes me tread on a politically sensitive ground. Nevertheless, throughout my analysis I have tried not to take sides on the issues and just centred on the object of the study. I do not intend to provide ways out to the political situation of Gibraltar, though I hope the present analysis

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of Gibraltar discourse can contribute to a more conscious and critical reading of mass media and also help to achieve a better understanding of this community and among people.

Chapter 1

Preliminary Issues

This chapter deals with those general aspects that will help to frame the present piece of research. The basic premise on which it is based is the interdependency between language and social reality. As already introduced, my research intends to show how Gibraltarian identity is represented and constructed based on linguistic evidence.

Such a research aim needs a disciplinary approach that brings together linguistic as well as social aspects. Through a brief overview of the developments of the disciplines that deal with these two aspects –language and social reality–, this chapter presents Discourse Analysis as the one that have proved to best suit our present research interests.

The following pages, thus, introduce this theoretical approach, which will be more deeply dealt with in chapter 4.

1.1 Introduction

At this very moment in history Gibraltarians are striving to show both to the British and Spanish governments, and to the world in general, that they have

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their own distinct social and cultural identity. To put it in other words, they want to make it clear that the community that lives on the tiny peninsula of Gibraltar has evolved to the present day to become a distinctive entity, one that has to be differentiated both from Spain -despite its physical proximity- and from England -despite it being politically part of it.

From my position as a philologist, the aim of my research is to describe how Gibraltarians show this distinctive socio-cultural identity through language and also how this community is perceived and represented from the two main angles involved in its present situation, i.e., Britain and Spain.

Thus, from the above mentioned it becomes increasingly clear that the scope of the present research is ample and rich, since a wealth of aspects enter into play: the need to gain an understanding of the social group that makes up the Gibraltarian community, plus the particular historical moment they are going through, and understanding also the linguistic behaviour of this community.

Hence, this piece of research seems to lie midway between linguistic and social interests since, when we come to take into account language users, social situations and culture at large, we move away from the traditional scope of linguistics and get closer to the domains of social sciences. In a sense, we need to integrate both perspectives.

For this reason, the present research uses the tools and framework provided by **Discourse Analysis**. The main reason is that this relatively new discipline makes the necessary connections between language and its actual use in social and cultural contexts (Cook, 1994: 2). With such a broad and fuzzy domain of analysis, it is not surprising that Discourse Analysis has become a 'vast and multidisciplinary enterprise' (Van Dijk, 1997a: 31) that, though based on linguistic analysis, it also has to make reference and

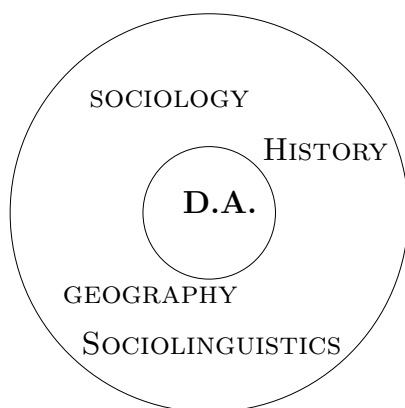
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connections to certain aspects of the social sciences (such as anthropology, sociology, psychology).

As Halliday and Hasan (1985: 6) stated, a knowledge and analysis of the social and cultural situation in which language is used is essential in order to understand particular instances of language. Hodge and Kress (1995) were also firm in this respect when they stressed that,

The site in which a text occurs typically contains instructions as to how it should be read and what meanings should be found in it (1995: 68).

Bearing this in mind, I have engaged in a deep analysis of the Gibraltarian community to get the necessary background to understand language use in Gibraltar. In this way, my research has come to cover a **multidisciplinary perspective** that, though firmly rooted in linguistics, in addition, needs to make use of the contributions of other disciplines such as sociolinguistics, sociology, geography and history, as illustrated in my diagram below:



The following straightforward statement clearly summarises and supports the need for a multidisciplinary view in the present study:

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Quite simply, it is almost impossible to separate discourse from its uses in the world and in social interactions; as a result, linguistic tools alone are not sufficient for its comprehensive study (Georgakopoulou and Goutsos, 1999: 181).

Hence, throughout my research I have relied on the wide discipline of **sociolinguistics**, taken in its broadest sense as the field that ‘brings together the perspectives of linguists and sociologists to bear on issues concerning the place of language in society’ (Romaine, 2000: IX). It has been an useful tool since this discipline deals, among others, with aspects such as the role of bilingualism and multilingualism in societies and the description of situations of language contact. These aspects are of great importance in the Gibraltar-ian community since certain geographical and historical factors have brought several languages into contact (English, Spanish, Italian, Arab, Sephardic), thus shaping a community that has multilingual and multicultural origins, and where those languages and cultures are still playing an active role.

The description of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar is of paramount importance in order to properly understand and analyse the language evidence with the tools provided by discourse analysis, which is the central aspect of this research. Thus, though interesting enough, I have not carried out a purely sociolinguistic research, but rather, for the description of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar, I have relied on the work of several scholars that have analysed the Gibraltar-ian community using sociolinguistic methodology. For example, authors such as Moyer (1993), Fierro Cubiella (1997), Kellermann (2001) or Fernández Martín (2002) use methods such as interviews, language diaries, recordings or matched-guised technique. The latter is a test in which a person has to evaluate the personality of two speakers speaking in different languages. What the judge does not know is that

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those different speakers are in fact the same person speaking once in one language and then in another. This way the technique shows the language attitudes of the person judging.

Making use of such methods they describe different aspects of the sociolinguist situation: the patterns of language use, bilingualism, code-switching and language attitudes in Gibraltar, just to mention a few examples.

In addition, the **social sciences** provide the concepts of nation and of social and cultural identity which are central in the present study as it intends to describe the traits that characterise the socio-cultural identity of the Gibraltarian community.

I have studied the contributions of authors such as Tajfel and Turner (1983), Abrams and Hogg (1990), Anderson (1983) and Martin (1995), among others, who produced leading studies in this field.

Finally, the disciplines of **geography** and **history** have also provided additional help in order to picture the situation of the Gibraltarian community. Both geographical and historical aspects build the context within which the Gibraltarian identity has been, and is, expressed.

There are indeed geographical aspects that are of crucial importance so as to understand the present situation of Gibraltar. Above others, the strategic location of the Rock as a crossroads at the intersection of two continents, Europe and Africa, and two water masses, the Atlantic ocean and the Mediterranean sea. A location that has turned Gibraltar into an attractive place throughout history.

Equally relevant are the historical events that have shaped the Gibraltarian community. Kramsch's (1998) words are quite illustrative in this sense:

People identify themselves as members of a society to the extent that they can have a place in that society's history and that they

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can identify with the way it remembers its past, turns its attention to the present and anticipates the future. Culture consists of precisely that historical dimension in a group's identity (1998: 7).

History is indeed a relevant aspect that enters into play in the shaping of a group's social identity since the fact that certain events have been lived by them together and the idea of sharing whatever the future may bring them, is something that knits a group together and helps to reinforce their feeling of belonging to that group.

In this sense, Gibraltarians share a wealth of history. The community on the Rock has gone through historical events that have tied the community together, since very ancient times, through the Moorish invasion of the Iberian peninsula (a.D. 711), the British invasion of the Rock (1704), to the present moment when the question of their sovereignty is being put to test.

1.2 Language and social reality: evolution of the studies that comprise these two aspects

As I have already mentioned, language is a central element of society, and more precisely, it becomes a central marker of social identity. Hence, the prominence of the connection between language and society.

However, language has not always been studied in relation to the social context and its users, as it is nowadays. For this reason, I think it is important at this juncture to briefly survey the developments within the broader field of linguistics that have allowed and led to the study of language and so-

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ciety. Obviously, this survey does not aim to exhaust the topic, nor am I, by no means, attempting a comprehensive review of the historical evolution of modern linguistics, but rather my intention is to highlight only those aspects which are central to the placing of the present piece of research.

In the evolution towards the study of language in connection with its actual use in society, we are going to consider two basic steps which made it possible:

To begin with, modern linguistics was traditionally limited to the study of language at ‘sentence level’. The sentence was taken as the highest level of analysis (Bloomfield, 1969: 170) which allowed for a quite comprehensive and systematic analysis at the phonological, morphological and syntactic level.

Nevertheless, the necessary step was taken when attention was turned to a level above ‘sentence’, that is, ‘text’. As Birch (1989) summarises,

Text grammars developed in the early 70’s as recognition that linguistics needed to be able to handle whole texts made up of coherent stretches of *connected* sentences, not just isolated sentences (1989: 145).

‘Text’ became, then, the new formal unit of language analysis. Obviously, when analysing and understanding texts –understood as the unit made up of sentences–, a rich variety of aspects enter into play. Aspects such as the connection between sentences, cohesion, coherence, the context in which the text is produced, and so forth.

Thus, a first ‘turn’ from sentence to text can be considered. In Gunnarsson’s (1997) words,

The study of smaller units, of words and sentences, has yielded ground to studies of larger units, of text and discourse (1997: 286).

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In addition, we may consider a second ‘turn’ –very much related to, and even a resulting consequence of, the previous one– from the study of language as an abstract system of rules to the study of language in use. This goes back to the dichotomy established by Saussure between *langue* and *parole* (Lavandera, 1988: 1). *Langue* refers to the abstract system of signs which can be implemented in different ways, while *parole* refers to the actual crystallisation of *langue*.

According to Crowley (1991: 6), Saussure’s work meant a revolution in language studies. He introduced with *parole*, language in use. However, he relegated these factors to the realm of what he termed *external linguistics* and he concentrated on the study of *langue* which he considered as the proper object of linguistics. For Saussure, *parole* does not seem to merit proper and serious linguistic study (Holdcroft, 1991: 35).

This dichotomy was also paralleled some time later in Chomsky’s *competence-performance* pair. By *competence* Chomsky meant the speaker or hearer’s knowledge of his language, and by *performance* the author referred to the actual use of language in real situations (Cook, 1989: 14).

However, although the distinction was recognised, attention was most frequently paid to the abstract, ideal side of language since systematisation was more easily found there (Halliday, 1984: 57). Chomsky’s transformational-generative linguistics, thus, dissociated language structure from language use and, again, the linguist would not consider the latter a valid concern of linguistics (Fowler, 1991: 5).

Summarising, as Van Dijk (1997a) suggests,

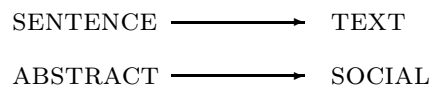
The language science of the twentieth century, known as *modern linguistics*, resolved to *disconnect* language and study it *by itself* (1997a: 36).

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They chose to disconnect language from its use in context because whenever context is taken into account a variety of situational and social elements enter into play that ‘disturb’ the systematics and order of the abstract ideal. This new challenge of linguistic studies was described by Grimes (as cited by Beaugrande, 1997: 40) who established a comparison with a Dutch boy with his finger in a dike. As the boy stands in that position, he imagines the ‘whole wild sea out there’. That was precisely what linguists felt about language: that if they wanted to take into account language users, their activities and the situations in which language is used, then, there was that ‘wild sea’ they had to face, the real ‘messy’ world.

It was Halliday, based on the work of Firth and Malinowsky, who introduced the ‘messy’ world into linguistic theory. His Functional grammar (1985) views language as the exchange of meaning in context.

Hence, two important steps took place in linguistic studies:



These were from sentence to text and from abstract to social. As a consequence of these two ‘turns’ a variety of studies emerged. Studies that cover a wide spectrum from those that are more linguistically oriented to the ones that are more sociologically oriented. Thus, linguistics broadened its scope and, at the same time, it led some scholars to establish connections with the other main discipline of sociology –of which language is also a major concern. As Lee and Poynton (2000) clearly put it:

The ‘linguistic turn’ in the human sciences over the past three

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decades has seen increasing attention given to the significance of language and discourse in the construction of knowledge and the formation of persons or subjects. This interest has been manifested, among other things, in an array of different forms of discourse/textual analysis as important tools for social and cultural research (2000: 1).

So, Sociologists, on their part, also broadened their scope to recognise the relevant role of language in social life and so more attention was devoted to this crucial element of society. According to Romaine (2000: Preface), it was in the 50's that the broad term 'sociolinguistics' was coined in order to bring together the perspectives of linguistics and sociology. It obviously covers almost endless approaches.

Fasold's (1987, 1990) two volume work aims to cover the myriad disciplines and fields that can be found along this spectrum that goes from language to society. Fasold, as well as many other scholars (Trudgill, 1978: 1; Lavandera, 1988: 2), recognises the fuzzy boundaries and even overlapping of the different approaches concerned with the study of language and its connection with its social use, since so many aspects are to be taken into account: the linguistic system, human beings, context, culture, and so forth.

Among the more socially oriented disciplines we may mention: sociology of language, ethnography of speaking, anthropological linguistics or psycholinguistics. Without going into further details, we may say that these disciplines are mainly concerned with social goals, i.e., understanding society, and they are usually carried out by sociologists or anthropologists, such as Gumperz, Hymes, Fishman or Lambert (Fishman, 1982: 14).

Other disciplines that are more linguistically oriented are: text grammar, discourse analysis or conversation analysis, whose goals are said to be not

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just to learn about the social reality, but to study language in connection to its use in society (Trudgill, 1978: 4).¹

All of them are quite recent areas of research –hence the overlapping and lack of precision among them– which are nonetheless firmly establishing their position in the academic world. In general terms, they emphasise the need to analyse language in connection to its use in society, i.e., they imply a ‘broadening of perspective in linguistics’ (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 5).

These developments in the study of language are crucial to place the present piece of research on the way Gibraltar identity is constructed and represented through language.

For a start, the first ‘turn’ from sentence to text is central since my study is based on the analysis of editorials from Gibraltar, Spanish and British newspapers. My analysis of written texts would then be impossible without this ‘turn’ to text level.

As regards the second ‘turn’, it is obviously the connection with social aspects, language users and cultural context that allows us to draw the relevant conclusions about the discursive representation of Gibraltar identity.

In addition, these two ‘turns’ led to the development of discourse studies which is, as I have already mentioned, the approach that has proved to best suit the purpose of our study. In his well known *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis* (1985), Malcolm Coulthard briefly sketches the emergence of this field as deeply indebted to the contribution of early linguists that I have mentioned above such as Firth or Chomsky. In Mills’s words (1997),

Discourse Analysis can be seen as a reaction to a more traditional

¹As I have already mentioned and due to lack of precision in this broad field, other authors may consider other disciplines or may give them different names or consider one as a subdiscipline of the other. What I intend here is just to present the general picture.

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form of linguistics (formal, structural linguistics) which focused on the constituent units and structure of the sentence and which does not concern itself with an analysis of language in use (1997: 135).

Finally, Brown and Yule's (1983) brief comment will illustratively introduce this field, that I will describe in more detail in the chapter on the theoretical framework:

The analysis of discourse is necessarily the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs [...] The discourse analyst is committed to an investigation of what that language is used for (Brown and Yule, 1983: 1).

1.3 Human and Document Resources

Many have been the sources from which I have drawn the relevant information about the Gibraltarian community. These range from library work to personal contacts.

Obviously, to provide the historical account of Gibraltar that is presented in this piece of research, I have referred to history books, both general (Morgan 1993, Gran Enciclopedia Rialp 1972, Comellas 1978) and specific to Gibraltar's history (Dimont 1954, Stewart 1967, Hills 1974, Dennis 1977, Chipulina 1980, Jackson 1990, Hernández del Portillo 1994), including the Gibraltarian periodical *Gibraltar Heritage Trust Journal* which has been of great help for specific information on the community which is the object of our study.

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I have also had access to certain historical documents that are of central importance, such as the Treaty of Utrecht and other United Nation documents concerning the issue of Gibraltar. In this sense, the Garrison Library, in Gibraltar, has shown itself to be the best source of information for anything concerning the historical evolution of Gibraltar.

In the Garrison Library, I have also had access to works on the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar. Many of them are unpublished MA or PhD dissertations, or works which have been published in a limited edition. These factors make these works difficult to access normally.

In Gibraltar, I have also had personal interviews with some of Gibraltar's historians, such as Mr. Tito Benady, who is a regular contributor to the *Gibraltar Heritage Trust Journal* and who offered vivid and accurate descriptions of certain crucial moments in Gibraltar's history. I also met Mr. Sergio Ballantine, who at the present time is teacher at the Bayside School of Gibraltar and who has studied certain aspects of the language situation of the community (Ballantine, 1983); and Mrs. Jane Sánchez, a retired Gibraltarian teacher at Catalan Bay School, who has contributed to a vision of the educational system in Gibraltar in recent decades.

Additionally, most recent history is still too close to us to be presented in history books. It is for that reason that I have described these more recent events relying on the press, through close study of press articles from Spanish, British and Gibraltarian sources (*Ideal, ABC, El Sur, The Herald, The Gibraltar Chronicle, Panorama Gibraltar*).

To gain access to the body of articles that conform the textual corpus of the present investigation I have also had to rely on the on-line versions of the newspapers, which usually have easy access archives. Some other times more traditional methods such as microfilm forms or paperback editions have had

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to be surveyed carefully to get the desired articles. To do this various libraries have been visited, such as Biblioteca de Andalucia in Granada, Manchester Central Library in the United Kingdom, apart from the Gibraltar Garrison Library, Mackintosh Hall Library in Gibraltar and the Gibraltar Government Archives. This process is described in more detail in chapter 6.

1.4 Resolutions

We can conclude that the present piece of research is framed within the field of discourse analysis since it is a discipline that brings together linguistic analysis and the social reality in which language is used. As we have seen, such a disciplinary approach has proved to best suit our goal: discovering how Gibraltar identity is discursively constructed and represented through the analysis of a corpus of texts from the media.

In order to be able to properly understand and interpret those texts, I have gone through a deep analysis of the Gibraltar community, studying elements such as its geographical location, its historical evolution and its sociolinguistic features, descriptions of which are presented in the following pages.

Chapter 2

Review of the literature on Gibraltar

Academic literature on the Gibraltar issue is essentially scarce and mainly deals with historical perspectives. Indeed, it mostly focuses on the particular historical evolution of this community. On the other hand, those works having a connection with linguistic aspects are more recent and, for the most part, sociolinguistic in nature. Though not directly located within the theoretical framework adopted for the present investigation, both kinds of works have been particularly useful for gaining a general view of the social, cultural and linguistic aspects of the Gibraltarian community.

Moreover, because of the kind of critical discourse analysis that I intend to carry out, a broad knowledge that goes beyond purely linguistic aspects is necessary for a critical interpretation of discourse. Hence, the study of the history, culture and sociolinguistics of the Gibraltarian community has paved the way for the proper discursive analysis. It is for this reason that these works have proved a useful aid for the present investigation and are, thus, reviewed in the following pages.

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I would like to point out that in addition to the scarce literature on the topic, a great deal of work remains unpublished and it has consequently been obtained through personal contacts and the help of the staff at the Gibraltar Garrison Library, where most of these studies are kept having been donated by their authors.

Thus, the present chapter offers a review of the literature on the Gibraltar issue, focusing on those works which are particularly relevant for the present study. The first two sections include studies from the two main areas of knowledge that have traditionally approached Gibraltar, namely history and sociolinguistics. As the following pages show, only some of them occasionally make connections or draw timid conclusions about the national and cultural identity of the Gibraltar community. Moreover, just a couple of them have included a discursive perspective in their analysis. The chapter finishes with a review of work that, though not directly addressing the Gibraltar question, deserves attention at this point because of its sharing similar aims and a critical discourse analysis approach.

2.1 History studies

Gibraltar has most frequently attracted the attention of scholars because of its bizarre historical evolution, especially in relation to its becoming a British territory and its unique present situation, as the last colony that still exists in Europe and being claimed by the neighbouring State of Spain.

Hence, works on the history of Gibraltar are fairly common. In the early works, their authors are, for the most part, either British or Spanish. The former narrating the wonders of this British conquest and the latter regretting its loss.

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Certainly, various episodes of the history of Gibraltar are also narrated in general history books, but these are just isolated events relevant for recordings of the history of usually Britain or Spain. Such is the case of **Morgan** (1993) on British history, which recounts the victory at Gibraltar in the eighteenth century and its strategic importance for the supremacy of Britain overseas, or **Comellas** (1978) which also mentions the battle of Gibraltar as part of the war of Spanish succession.

The oldest work on the history of Gibraltar that I have had access to dates from 1782. It was written by Ignacio **López de Ayala**. His *Historia de Gibraltar* attempts to produce a history of Gibraltar to that time captivated by the appeal and attractiveness of this territory. He is one of the Spanish scholars attracted by the situation of that piece of land under British flag where siege and attempts to recover it by Spanish forces were constant, as the author states in the Preface.

By the second half of the twentieth century a handful of works dealt with the historical evolution of Gibraltar. It was the time of the 250th anniversary of the British capture of Gibraltar and also the time when the United Nations started to consider the situation of Gibraltar and urged its decolonisation. These were events that motivated the emergence of most of the works around this date, for example the articles by **Hennessy** (1954), **Dimont** (1954), **Robinson** (1967) and **Henry** (1968), which survey Gibraltar's historical development to focus on the Anglo-Spanish dispute by that date, and the book by **Howes** (1951), which focuses on the distinctive make up of the Gibraltarian society as a consequence of its historical evolution.

Also from that period but with a more popular character are the works of **Armangué** (1964) and **Stewart** (1967), by Spanish and British authors respectively. Armangué's *Gibraltar y los Españoles* describes Gibraltar's evo-

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lution and situation, and focuses on Spanish feelings towards this situation. Stewart's *Gibraltar: the Key Stone* is seasoned with the author's personal experience during his decade of stay in Gibraltar working as a civil servant.

Later, other works which deserve special mention were written, such as **Hills** (1974), which is an extensive and detailed history of Gibraltar, **Chipulina** (1980), a sound and well documented contribution to a history journal, and the histories of Gibraltar by **Finlayson** (1991), **Dennis** (1990 and 2004), and sir William **Jackson** (1990). The latter, by a former British governor in Gibraltar. On the Spanish side, the recent work of **Hernández del Portillo** (1994) is another important contribution to the study of the history of Gibraltar though it mainly centers on the 16th and 17th centuries.

The works by **Morris and Haigh** (1992), **García** (1994), and **Izquierdo Sans** (1996) revolve around the political and legal aspects of the present status of Gibraltar which is the cause of the long-running Anglo-Spanish dispute. García's work has the peculiarity of having been written by the leader of the Libertal Party of Gibraltar, in the political opposition at the moment. Particularly pertinent for the present research is Morris and Haigh's *Britain, Spain and Gibraltar 1945-1990. The Eternal Triangle* which focuses on the political relations of the three powers involved in the conflict on the second half of the twentieth century. Finally, **Oda-Angel** (1998) is a contribution with sociological methodology and intentions.

In recent works, especially those written in the last decade, authors have become more aware of the growth of a Gibraltarian national sentiment and, hence, their accounts of the history of Gibraltar introduce this dimension which is of central relevance for the present investigation. Such is the case of **Finlayson** (2002), **Sepúlveda** (2004), **Kent** (2004) and **Oliva** (2004), which were influenced by the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the British

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capture of Gibraltar (1704-2004). These works extensively review Gibraltar's history to focus on how particularly recent events (the two referendums, the closure of the frontier, the negotiations between Britain and Spain, the potential change of status and sovereignty, etc.) have led to the emergence of a distinctive Gibraltarian identity, that is, a feeling of a united and distinctive community. Their contributions are discussed in more detail in page 55 and following, on the growth of the Gibraltar national sentiment.

2.2 Sociolinguistic studies

As regards the linguistic situation of Gibraltar, scholars generally agree on the little attention that linguists and sociolinguists have devoted to this issue (as stated by Moyer 1993, García Martín 1996, Errico 1997, Kellermann 2001). Moreover, in this area a great deal of the works are unpublished MA dissertations and PhD theses.

Earlier works on linguistic aspects date back to the middle of the twentieth century. The first is **West's** 'Bilingualism in Gibraltar' (1956), a short article for an educational journal where he describes the factors that affect the use of English and Spanish in Gibraltar, and he compares it with the situation in Puerto Rico. It can be considered the first attempt at describing the Gibraltarian speech community.

As far as I am aware, it is not until the decade of 1970 that we find any more publications on linguistic aspects in Gibraltar. **Becker** (1970) wrote an interesting article on the influence of the Spanish language on the English of Gibraltar. He described the distinctive features he found at various levels: spelling, grammar and vocabulary. Similarly to my own study, he based his research on written language and, specifically, the Gibraltarian

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newspapers. He stated that ‘hasta hoy no se ha analizado la lengua escrita de Gibraltar’ (up to the present moment, the written language of Gibraltar has not been studied) (1970: 19). That is true of his time, but also applicable to two decades later, since most of the works on linguistic aspects deal with the characteristic features of the English or Spanish languages as spoken in Gibraltar, or are based on oral production, as the present review illustrates.

Aware of the distinctive vocabulary of the language spoken in Gibraltar, the Gibraltarian **Cavilla** wrote the first *Diccionario Yanito* (1978). Some time later, he also wrote ‘Los Yanitos’ (1984), a short and unpublished article discussing the origins of the term ‘Yanito’, which is used to refer to the people of Gibraltar, and he described what is known as ‘Yanito dialect’ (though it is not free from controversy among scholars ¹). In 2001, **Vallejo** wrote a new Yanito dictionary with a passionate introduction tracing the roots of the present Gibraltarian community.

The year 1986 saw the publication of two important contributions to the study of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar. They focus on the bilingualism of Gibraltar. These are *English and Spanish in Gibraltar* (1986) by **Kramer** and the article ‘Sobre el bilingüismo anglo-hispánico en Gibraltar’ (1986) by **Lipski**. Both studies deal with socio-political and historical factors as they affect the domains of language use and language attitudes on the Rock.

Apart from these, most of the rest of publications on the sociolinguistics of Gibraltar derive from MA and PhD studies, since the early 1980’s but especially the decade of 1990. These works have been undertaken mainly by Gibraltarian, Spanish and British scholars, but Gibraltar has also attracted

¹Discussed in Kramer 1986, Fierro Cubiella 1997, Moyer 1993, Kellermann 1996, 2001 and Dean 2001

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the attention of other researchers from further abroad, such as Italy and Germany. As already mentioned, some of these works remain unpublished.

In 1980, **Traverso** wrote *A History of Education in British Gibraltar (1704-1945)* where he thoroughly surveyed the influence of historical events on the system of education in Gibraltar with emphasis on the languages used as a means of instruction in each period. More recently, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the British capture of Gibraltar, Traverso together with **Archer** (2004) have published an extended account of the evolution of education in Gibraltar to cover the complete three hundred years.

The Gibraltar school teacher **Ballantine** wrote his thesis entitled *A study of the effects of English-medium education on initially monoglot Spanish-speaking Gibraltar children* in 1983, to do with the system of education in Gibraltar. Ballantine relied on the recent findings of the early work by Traverso, though he was more concerned with his own contemporary situation. He carried out a series of questionnaires and tests among school children. In the light of his findings, the author strongly recommended a programme of bilingual education which fits better with the sociolinguistic reality of the Gibraltar community (1983: 91).

From the other side of the border, **García Martín** (1996) also studied Gibraltar students. This time the focus was on the lexical features of the Spanish spoken by this group. His methodology is based on questionnaires and he compared his results with another group of students from the neighbouring Spanish city of La Línea. The author concluded that the Spanish language spoken in Gibraltar is heavily influenced by English terms, especially in the fields of family and social life. Similarly, another study, the unpublished work of **Parody** (1998), paid attention to the pronunciation of bilingual children from Gibraltar. Parody found certain distinguishing

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features in articulation and a greater difficulty for Gibraltarian children to read and write in the Spanish language due to the fact that this language is mainly used at the spoken level.

Fierro Cubiella published his doctoral thesis in 1997. Though he set his study within sociolinguistic methodology (with interviews, questionnaires, direct observation and fieldwork), he mainly offered an extensive survey of cultural aspects of the Gibraltarian community.

The analysis of code-switching in Gibraltar was the object of study of **Moyer's** PhD thesis (1993) and her later article (1998). She carried out an extensive data collection process based on oral production and studied the grammatical rules that govern code-switching in Gibraltar, concluding that there is not data to support the existence of a Yanito (i.e. code-switched variety) grammar. Moreover, according to her findings, code-switching fulfils an important role in the Gibraltarian community as it allows Gibraltarians to avoid the use of pure English or Spanish, which are associated to cultures that these people only partially embrace.

Also on code-switching are two minor articles by **Benítez Burraco** (1997) and **Dean** (2001). The former considered, among other things, that the Spanish language is the base-language governing the rules of code-switching in Gibraltar. Dean concluded that the factors determining code-switching in Gibraltar are the situation, the speaker's intention and the level of proficiency in each language.

Four more PhD theses were written in those years, **Errico** (1997), **Modrey** (1998), **Kellermann** (2001) and **Fernández-Martín** (2002). Only the two last have been published.

The Italian Errico analysed the prosodic features of the English of Gibraltar and made a revealing contribution describing the existence of an Anglo-

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Spanish *linguistic continuum* (1997: 49) which includes the local varieties characteristic of Gibraltar alone. Modrey, from the University of Leipzig, focused on aspects of language use, language behaviour and language attitudes. She based her investigation on a series of interviews, analysing the informants' attitudes towards each language. The author concluded the the linguistic situation of Gibraltar is unparalleled in the world today (1998: 96), since language contact has led, not into a situation of language conflict, but to the development a close-knit community who identify themselves as Gibraltarians.

Kellermann's works, her PhD thesis published in 2001 and a previous article from 1996, are particularly relevant for the present study since the author attempted to address the question of identity. Her research is a sociolinguistic empirical survey based on tape-recorded interviews. The aim was to study the central role of language 'in the quest for, development and assertion of their Gibraltarian identity' (1996: 73).

More precisely, Kellermann reveals how the use of the various languages that Gibraltarians have at their disposal helps to construct and express their distinctive identity. The author concludes that a new variety of English, which should be called Gibraltarian English and which is different from English-Spanish codeswitching, is emerging and that it could express the particular Gibraltarian experience.

Fernandez Martin (2002) is a pure sociolinguist study on language attitudes in Gibraltar. Through questionnaires and the matched-guise technique, the author reveals the thoughts and attitudes of Gibraltarians towards the languages they have at their disposal. Results from her analysis showed that Gibraltar is a bilingual community (English-Spanish) where the local mixed variety known as Yanito enjoys covert prestige. Results also showed that En-

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glish is the language of prestige while the Spanish language is less favourably valued.

Three more authors deserve special attention as their works come closer to the aims and method of the present investigation. These are **Sloma** (1994, 1997), **Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo** (1998) and **Kelly** (1997). They move away from purely sociolinguistic studies and enter into the realm of discourse analysis.

In her two articles for the *Gibraltar Heritage Journal*, Sloma examined the language and style of the oldest Gibraltarian newspaper, the *Gibraltar Chronicle*. The author has studied the changes in style in this newspaper throughout the years. Sloma's works become particularly relevant for the present study for her contributions regarding the *Gibraltar Chronicle*, which is also analysed in the present research, and her attempts at tracing the features of the Gibraltarian identity. Results from her analysis made her emphasise the role of the *Gibraltar Chronicle* in the make up of the Gibraltarian identity, more precisely, a Gibraltarian identity with a heavy British character due to the fact that the newspaper is written in English.

Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's article analyses the rhetorical construction of the Anglo-Spanish dispute over Gibraltar in two British newspaper editorials. In general terms, this work is the closest in method and data to the present investigation. To begin with, it is theoretically based on the 'correlations between language and society in a Hallidayian vein' (1998: 113), that is, a functional view of language where it influences society at the same time that it is influenced by the latter. This assumption is in the foundations of discourse studies, which is the overarching discipline that frames the present research. The linguistic elements of analysis in Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's work are vocabulary and syntax, modality, text structure, style

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and the speech situation. The linguistic categories I have analysed in the present research are described in the chapter on Methodology.

In addition, the data analysed in Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's article are two newspaper editorials, more precisely from the British newspaper *The Times*. Editorials are also the kind of data that conform the textual corpus of the present investigation. The author concludes emphasising the role of this genre in the formation of public opinion and how the construction of the Gibraltar question in the British press in terms of a war does not help in the tackling of the situation. Further contributions of this work are discussed in chapter 8, where its results are compared to the findings of my own analysis.

Finally, Kelly's (1997) contribution is her published PhD thesis *Prensa e Identidad Nacional: la Imagen de España en la Prensa Británica* from the University of Granada (Spain). Though her focus of attention is different to ours (hers is the image of Spain in the British press), she follows similar methodological tools, mainly the contributions of critical discourse analysis and the analysis of texts from an extended period of the printed media. The author carried out a content analysis of the articles prior to the textual analysis itself, which has also proved a very illuminating and helpful methodological step in the present investigation.

Kelly devotes a short section to the image of Spain in relation to the Gibraltar issue. Her analysis shows that, even though in the period analysed (first years of the decade of 1990) there were no relevant events as regards this issue, the British press tended to resort to this topic with frequency. The only example that the author introduced presents the Gibraltar Chief Minister of the moment, Mr Joe Bossano, in positive terms. In chapter 8, I will compare and contrast Kelly's results with the ones derived from my own investigation.

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These last three works highlight what seems to be a general tendency among scholars to approach the Gibraltar issue from the British or Gibraltarian side, but the Spanish discursive representation of the issue seems to be obviated. In this sense, the present research intends to fill this gap and include among other things in its results some conclusions regarding how the Spanish press discursively constructs Gibraltarian identity.

Finally, Gibraltar is also included, though quite obliquely, in a handful of general books on sociolinguistic aspects such as **Crystal** (1997), **Mc Arthur** (1998) and **Mondéjar** (1991). Crystal briefly introduces Gibraltar in the list of English-speaking territories, this being his only reference to Gibraltar. According to Mc Arthur, Gibraltar is an ENL (English as a national language) territory, but no more attention is paid. In the Spanish dialectology books, Gibraltar is usually ignored, except for the brief appendix devoted to it in the work by Mondéjar, which describes aspects of the varieties of Spanish and English spoken in Gibraltar. However, in most other books on dialectology or those that survey the varieties of English around the world, Gibraltar is not even mentioned, such is the case of **Cheshire** (1991), **Trudgill and Chambers** (1991), **Bailey and Görlach** (1984) and the *Atlas Lingüístico y Etnográfico de Andalucía* by **Alvar** (1991).

These mainly sociolinguistic works reviewed in the above pages have helped us to gain insight into the Gibraltarian community. They have shed light on the complexity and interest of this community. The present socio-political and linguistic situation of Gibraltar is the rich result of social, historical and geographical factors which have brought different peoples and languages into contact building up the Gibraltarian uniqueness.

2.3 Other related works

To finish this chapter, I would like to briefly review various works that, though not dealing with Gibraltar, are closely related to the present investigation in approach and methods. The connection comes from the fact that these are studies that also focus on the analysis of the discursive construction of identity within the theoretical framework provided by Critical Discourse Analysis and are based on media discourse. They, thus, rely on similar analytical tools and data to my own research, but applied to different contexts or situations.

To begin with, the work by **Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart** (1999), *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, constitutes a landmark in the study of the construction of national identity in discourse. As part of the Vienna School of Discourse (University of Vienna) and illuminated by the tradition of CDA, Professor Ruth Wodak and her colleagues have developed a theoretical and analytical method for the identification and analysis of the set of strategies and linguistic devices that contribute to discursively construct national identity. It has been termed ‘The Discourse-historical approach’. In the present investigation, I resort to this model (which is also described in other works, such as Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) and for this reason it is extensively described in the corresponding section of the Theoretical Framework chapter.

In their work, the authors have successfully applied this model to the study of the discursive construction of Austrian national identity. The data analysed were public political speeches, together with transcriptions of focus group discussions and interviews. The authors have observed the use of generally similar discursive strategies in the different set of data analysed. The dominant discursive strategies reported were constructive, justifying and

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transformative. In political speeches these help construct Austrian identity far from or in favor of traditional neutrality and assimilated to EU membership, depending on the different political tendencies; while data from the focus groups and interviews emphasise the use of strategies of avoidance in relation to the Nazi past, as well as mirroring the public debate on neutrality.

Having this study as theoretical and analytical foundations, my own investigation has identified the discursive strategies around which Gibraltar and its national identity are articulated.

Similarly, the work by **Ricento**, *The Discursive Construction of Americanism* (2003), has been illuminating for my research in that it works within a discourse-historical framework, but applied to the context of the American nation.

Ricento analysed three texts on America by leading political and cultural figures dating back to the early decades of the twentieth century. His analysis showed the use of different discursive strategies by each author, which led Ricento to identify three different discursive constructions of Americanism depending on the values and ideologies that the three authors analysed represented: conservative, progressive or liberal. Ricento further discussed how some aspects of these discourses on Americanism are present in contemporary American discourse.

Hence, my own analysis has leant on the research carried out by Ricento, though the type and length of the data analysed was not the same, since it proved a good example of the application of Wodak's model to a different context.

A further research within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis that analyses the discursive construction of national identity is **Chouliaraki's** 'Media discourse and national identity: Death and myth in a news broadcast'

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(1999). The author focuses on the text of a news broadcast on a particular event (the assassination of two Greek Cypriots by Turkish forces) to discover how this media constructs Greek identity. Chouliaraki's findings report the use of strategies that mythologise the nation, especially by glorifying its past and dramatising the event, which the author refers to as the 'aesthetization' (1999: 54) of political life in order to construct national unity.

Finally, I would like to steer attention to other kinds of works that analyse the discursive construction of identity in media discourse. Among others, and because of the similarities with the present investigation, we can mention **Oktar** (2001), **Stamou** (2001) and **Achugar** (2004). The three of them base their analyses on newspaper language, especially opinion-editorial articles and editorials by Oktar and Achugar, respectively. On her part, Stamou analyses news reports. Though their focus is not on national identity, but rather on the discursive construction of the identity of particular social groups or actors, they are relevant for the present investigation because of their analytical methods and data, as already mentioned, and especially because of their contributions as regards the strategies that characterise positive in-group representation and negative out-group representation.

Thus, the above works, having similar methodological approaches and data for the discursive analysis of identity, have proved useful examples and models on which to base and contrast/compare my own analysis and findings.

2.4 Concluding remarks

A review of the literature on Gibraltar shows that not much has been written on this interesting and unique community.

The particular historical evolution of Gibraltar has always been an attrac-

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tive topic for scholars for a long time. However, Gibraltar's sociolinguistic situation had not been thoroughly and academically researched until recent years and, in addition, part of this work remains unpublished. As regards the study of Gibraltar's identity, even less is found, specifically, timid implications and conclusions made by scholars when dealing with either historical or sociolinguistic aspects.

Thus, the present research is meant to bridge this gap, contributing to a better understanding of this exceptional community armed with the theories and tools of discourse studies, which offer a new and enriching perspective into this question. This discursive perspective makes it different from the purely historical or purely sociolinguistic studies that have been reviewed.

Chapter 3

Background on Gibraltar

In this chapter, I am going to give a general picture of the Gibraltarian community which is essential in order to properly understand and interpret the present situation . To do so, I will cover three main areas: geography, history and the description of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar.

Thus, the following pages intend to place my research in context. By *context* I here understand the relevant world outside the discourse I am going to analyse, though we might not forget that the same world is influenced by the discourse I am analysing. Hence, this overview of Gibraltar that I attempt to offer is not just the ‘wrapping paper’ of my object of study, nor are discourse and context understood as two separate entities, but rather very much interconnected.

In this line, gaining background knowledge is indeed a prerequisite for the kind of research I am embarked into, since, as Weiss and Wodak (2003) put it,

In investigating historical and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate much available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the so-

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cial and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded (2003: 22).

Thus, having a knowledge of the socio-cultural background of the texts we analyse helps us to understand them, and vice versa, the analysis of texts will illuminate aspects of the society and culture of the community under study.

The chapter starts with a brief description of the physical and geographical situation of Gibraltar, covering just those aspects that are of interest to us because they have had some repercussion on the present situation of the Rock. I then move on to a review of the main historical events that have shaped the characteristics of the community on the Rock, followed by a section on the sociolinguistic aspects that characterised the Gibraltarian community. Next, the section titled ‘present day Gibraltar’ aims to describe the Gibraltar we find nowadays, as a reflection of its particular historical evolution. The chapter finishes with a section on the growth of the Gibraltar question and the Gibraltarian national sentiment, which will help us understand the overarching discussion on the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity.

3.1 Geography

Gibraltar is a narrow peninsula in the Southern Mediterranean coast of Spain. This tiny piece of land could have been ignored by history and scholars, were it not for its peculiar shape and location.

On the one hand, Gibraltar strikes the observer by its impressive rocky promontory, which makes it well-known as The Rock ¹. The Rock is surrounded by a narrow coastal lowland and connected to the Spanish mainland

¹It is 1400 feet high (426 m), three miles long and three quarters of a mile wide.

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through an isthmus. The city of Gibraltar stands on the western coast of the Rock.

This particular shape makes Gibraltar an attractive place and a point of reference among the lowlands and water that surround it. At the same time, being a thin isthmus its only link to the hinterland, makes Gibraltar a somehow 'isolated' territory which has contributed to Gibraltar's peculiar evolution.

On the other hand, Gibraltar's location is privileged since

For the ancient Greeks and Romans, Gibraltar was one of the two Pillars of Hercules, set up by the mythical hero to mark the edge of the known world (the other pillar was the coastal mountain Jebel Musa in Morocco) ².

The Rock of Gibraltar is then strategically located at the entrance to the Mediterranean, thus connecting the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea.

However, Gibraltar does not only connect two important masses of water, but two no less important pieces of land. It is indeed at the intersection of two continents, Europe and Africa, as a kind of crossroads or meeting point.

Thus, Gibraltar's physical shape and geographical location have made it an attractive and strategically important place through history. As Chipulina (1980) puts it,

Topography no less than geography has shaped the history of Gibraltar. Had it been a flat instead of a rocky promontory, it might have had no history worth telling; or at least not one so violent, so often bizarre and so far-reaching in relation to Europe (Chipulina, 1980: 25).

²From www.lonelyplanet.com/destinations/europe/gibraltar (accessed 22.05.03)

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Nowadays, Gibraltar is metaphorically described as ‘a melting pot’ (Finlayson 2002: 23; Juan José Téllez in *Main Street*, 2002 -from an interview in *Europa Sur*, 12.12.02), a ‘crossroads’ (www.gibraltar.gi), a ‘cultural mixture’ (www.gibraltarian.com), a ‘burbuja de piedra’ (a bubble of stone) (17.05.02. Sección especial. *ABC*), ‘una de las grandes encrucijadas del mundo’ (Dean, 2001), a ‘shining example of multi-ethnic and religious harmony’ (*The Independent*, 6.02.02) and ‘the meeting place of continents’ (www.andalucia.com/Gibraltar). All these metaphors emphasise the multicultural nature of the Gibraltarian community which has, no doubt, been favoured by its geographical location at an intersection and meeting point of languages and cultures.

Above all, Gibraltar is described as ‘the Rock of the Gibraltarians’ (www.gibraltarian.com). But who are these Gibraltarians? Searching for an answer, we may find the following explanation from *El Llanito’s Homepage*:

Many people in other countries, when told that Gibraltar is in South Europe, and given the fact that we speak Spanish, automatically assumed that we are in Spain. Others, when they hear us speaking in English, wonder whether we are English. Gibraltar is a British dependent territory on the Southernmost tip of Europe, our nationality is British, however, we are neither English nor Spanish, we are Gibraltarians ³.

In order to better understand the present situation of Gibraltar, it is absolutely necessary to briefly look back at its history, which will help us to realise why such a tiny place can be the object of (linguistic) study, not only to the present piece of research, but to a variety of other works.

³www.geocities.com/el_llanito (accessed 10.05.02)

3.2 Historical account

In this section, I am going to give an overview of the historical evolution of Gibraltar. Although Gibraltar is most frequently studied in relation to its becoming a British colony (Hennessy 1954, Robinson 1967, Henry 1968, Morris et al., 1992, Finlayson 2002), I will start with records from earlier times since they will help to give a richer view of the Gibraltarian community and its evolution. I will finish with some comments on the present historical situation of Gibraltar which will help us to understand the linguistic situation of Gibraltar as it is nowadays. This is because it is a situation which is a consequence and reflection of all the peoples and languages that history has brought together on the Rock.

First of all, it is important to remember that the most relevant and famous event in the history of Gibraltar is the British invasion in August, 1704. However, the history of the Rock previous to that moment should also be taken into account to get a comprehensive understanding of the present Gibraltar.

As we have already mentioned, because of its physical and geographical location, Gibraltar has attracted visitors since ancient times. There is evidence of human presence on the Rock long before the Christian era. However, it seems that there were no permanent settlements as the Rock was mainly considered a sacred place. According to Hills (1974: 15), the characteristic features of the place could have helped to the development of this idea: Gibraltar was seen as a massive rock at the end of the 'known land' and usually beaten by high winds, which made it a dangerous place for sailors.

Later on, the area, then known as Calpe, was visited by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Romans and Barbarians. All of them were aware of the Rock's value as a gateway and key to the Mediterranean trade. However, it remained

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uninhabited until the Moorish occupation in the 8th century (Dimont, 1954: 558).

The Arab armies entered the Iberian peninsula through the Strait in 711 A.D. Their leader, Tarik-ibn-Zeyad changed the name of the Rock from Calpe to Jebel-Tarik –The Mountain of Tarik –, which over the centuries has altered to its present form, Gibraltar. Another possible explanation which is given to this name is ‘pathway’ or ‘Mountain of the path’, that is, Gibraltar was the pathway for Muslims into the Iberian peninsula ⁴, and also, ‘Mountain of Victory’ (Vallejo, 2001: 1). According to Jackson (1990: 34), no town existed in Gibraltar until 1160, when a city and castle were ordered to be built on the Western side of the Rock. Thus, it was the Moors who first established stable settlements on the Rock.

The Muslim occupation of the Rock lasted for about seven centuries, until it was finally captured by the Spaniards in 1462 (Dimont, 1954: 558). D. Juan Alonso de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia, captured Gibraltar. However, it is not accurate to say that Gibraltar was captured by Spanish forces since at that time, what we know as Spain was divided into several separate kingdoms. It was not until 1502, with Queen Isabella, that we can say that Gibraltar came under the Crown of Spain. Most of the Moorish inhabitants left the city and crossed the strait back to the North of Africa.

Lack of records from these early times does not allow us to make explicit statements as to the particular features of the language or languages spoken in Gibraltar by that time. However, as Kramer (1986: 47) suggests, some sort of Romance vernacular must have been spoken in the area, and quite probably a Mozarabic variety because of the long Arabic presence. This Mozarabic language was an archaic Spanish dialect which retained many

⁴From www.andalucia.com/Gibraltar (accessed 20.02.03)

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archaic Latin forms and which also borrowed many words from Arabic.

Spain held Gibraltar for two and a half centuries. These were far from peaceful years. As it had previously been and would continue to be, Gibraltar was the objective of constant raids by pirates, Turkish armies, Dutch forces and all those who realised the importance of the Rock in the Mediterranean trade routes. That accounts for the scarce population at that time (Hernández del Portillo, 1994: 12).

The eighteenth century started with the war of Spanish succession which was going to have unimaginable consequences for the future of the Rock. In 1700, the Spanish King Charles II died without a heir. The two rival claimants to the Spanish throne were Philip of Anjou –Bourbon House– and the Archduke Charles –Austrian House–. During this war, on August 4th, 1704, an Anglo-Dutch force led by Admiral Rooke attacked and captured the fortress of Gibraltar. As Morgan (1993) puts it, England was involved in this war on the part of the Austrian candidate ‘to prevent the creation of a mighty new Bourbon empire comprising the Spanish as well as the French monarchy’ (1993: 402). For indeed, the French had always been a permanent enemy and rival for England in the battle for the supremacy overseas.

However, although England had captured Gibraltar on behalf of one of the candidates to the Spanish throne, she very quickly realised the strategic importance of the place and claimed the territory for the British Crown (Dimont, 1954: 561). In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to the conflict, the Fortress of Gibraltar was officially yielded to Britain. Article X of the Treaty of Utrecht read as follows:

The Catholic King does hereby, for himself, his heirs and successors, yield to the Crown of Great Britain the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the

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port, fortifications, and forts thereunto belonging; and he gives up the said property to be held and enjoyed absolutely with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or impediment whatsoever.

British statesmen congratulated themselves on the success as they appreciated the new territory which was described as ‘of great use to us for securing our trade and interrupting of the enemy’s’ (Robinson, 1967: 34). Another text, from some time later reaffirmed this idea and declared that ‘the fortress is to be reckoned amongst the most valuable possessions of England’ (Dimont, 1954: 563).

The native civilian population was allowed to remain on the Rock but under British flag, so most of them chose to leave and established themselves in the new city of San Roque. According to some chronicles, only about 12 native people remained (Garcés Olmedo, 1972: 13; Oda-Angel, 1998: 101). Others add that they were mainly Genoese fishermen settled on the East side of the Rock. Howes (1982: 2) numbers around 30 families. Fierro Cubiella details that:

Tras la toma de Gibraltar, solo una docena de españoles, entre ellos una mujer y un sacerdote, y una treintena de familias genovesas permanecen en aquella ciudad (1997: 41).

The city was, then, practically re-settled by the new colonisers, who unlike colonisers in other areas did not have to impose their language on a native one, since there were almost no native speakers left –Take for instance, by contrast, the colonial situation of India where the British colonisers imposed their rule and their language (Cheshire, 1991). However, it is important to bear in mind that even if native inhabitants were few, contact with them

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was inevitable for basic needs and trade. So that, as Moyer (1993: 123) points out, it is likely that some sort of simplified language developed in order to make communication possible. In addition, as these first settlers were mainly members of the garrison personnel, they would not learn the Spanish language of their neighbours since they would not stay in the Rock for long (Kramer, 1986: 49). It could have been around these days and due to the necessary contact with native inhabitants and the Spanish mainland, that the characteristic English-Spanish code-switching, traditionally known as Yanito (see page 48), started to spread. It might have become a kind of lingua franca facilitating communication among these two groups.

From 1713 onwards the population consisted in the main of British military personnel, some Genoese traders and fishermen, and others of mainly Mediterranean origin. According to West (1956), Gibraltar suffered an increased immigrant influx as it became the safe place for many of those who had to flee from their homes because of war or other reasons, so that at that time it can be said that around 21 different nationalities were represented in this tiny piece of land and it seems quite probable that ‘they retained to some extent their own native languages’ (1956: 151).

Fierro Cubiella (1997: 42) also points out the return of the Sephardic Jews, descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain two centuries before, right after the British conquest. According to Finlayson (2002), the presence of Jews is usually attributed ‘to the fact that Gibraltar, within a year after its capture, was declared a free port’ (2002: 24). To the already notable variety of the Gibraltarian population this new group added their distinctive language, a kind of archaic Spanish.

Along the century, Gibraltar continued to be attacked mostly by Spanish forces trying to recapture it. The most important event is known as The

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Great Siege, which lasted from June 1779 until February 1783.

In the following centuries, the population increased despite the effects of some crude plagues and epidemics. On the whole, Gibraltar prospered. This became more evident at the beginning of the 19th century when, in 1830, Gibraltar became a Crown Colony and a more peaceful time for its people started. This, added to material prosperity, led to a population explosion (Chipulina, 1980: 29). As the status of Gibraltar changed from ‘garrison’ to ‘colony’ a growing civilian population, i.e. non military, emerged. According to Cantizano Márquez (2001: 206), at that time Gibraltar was seen as a copy of the British model, whose prosperity and growth contrasted with the neighbouring cities of a less developed Spain.

The documents containing various censuses from those years reveal that the largest group was of Genoese origin, followed by Jews, British, Spanish and Portuguese (Kramer, 1986: 14). This means that a diversity of languages were at play. To begin with, the Genoese dialect of the majority –which was different from standard Italian–; then the Jewish Spanish of the Sephardim; English as the official language; and other Romance Mediterranean languages. However, as Kramer puts it

Inevitably, the dominant language of the civilian population of Gibraltar has always been Spanish. Although the Spanish element was not the strongest factor in the composition of the Gibraltarians (being outnumbered, as we have seen, by the Genoese, the Jews and even the British), the Spanish language had always had a preponderance over all other tongues, because it was the language used in all contacts with the hinterland, and Gibraltar was too tiny a territory to escape the linguistic influence of its huge neighbour (1986: 16).

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It seems to me that its being a tiny territory surrounded by a dominant monolingual Spanish population made Gibraltar a non-monolingual place out of necessity. The linguistic diversity of the Rock was then, a consequence of internal and external factors. On the one hand, the variety of peoples that populated it, and, on the other, Gibraltar's unavoidable connections across its border.

Dimont (1954: 564) also points out that contact with Spain was inevitable in order to get fresh food and water supplies and due to the large number of Spaniards who went there daily to work. In addition to this linguistic variety, López de Ayala (1782: 373) claimed for the use in Gibraltar of some sort of lingua franca which was common among traders throughout the Mediterranean and North Africa.

Then came the 20th century with its two world wars and a couple of other events that deeply marked the history and the people of Gibraltar.

During World War I, Gibraltar was not directly affected but for the incessant crossing of war vessels and aircrafts. It was the more active role of the military base on the Rock during World War II that really left a mark on Gibraltar as most of the civilian population had to be evacuated. According to Fierro Cubiella (1997: 36-45), around 17000 people, mainly women and children, were forced to leave their homes and were sent to England, Northern Ireland, Madeira or Jamaica. The refugees were repatriated between 1944 and 1951.

There is another important event that also affected Gibraltar in the 20th century. This was the deterioration of political relations with Spain which started by the second half of the twentieth century when the United Kingdom and Spain held a series of meetings on the future of Gibraltar. Talks became especially tense by 1963 when the Gibraltar issue was raised in the

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United Nation's committee of 24. Particularly tense had already been the British Queen's visit to Gibraltar in 1954 and the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the British invasion of the Rock (Hennessy, 1954: 145).

The Spanish position -arguing for its territorial integrity- was gaining support at the United Nations. However, Britain ignored UN resolutions for decolonisation and, instead, granted Gibraltar with greater self-government. Then, as before, England made no concessions to the Spanish demands (Dimont, 1954: 564). As a consequence, in 1966 the Spanish government began a series of restrictive measures at the Gibraltar frontier.

In this atmosphere, a referendum was held in Gibraltar on 10 September 1967. It was the first one in the history of the colony. Gibraltarians had to vote whether to remain British or to be handed over to Spain. The outcome showed the unanimity of the Gibraltarian population to retain their link with Britain and their rejection of the Spanish claims for sovereignty. Both Spain and the United Nations regarded the referendum as illegal. In addition, two years later, in 1969, Gibraltar was granted a Constitution. The Spanish reaction was the strengthening of restrictions on the colony and the cease of contact across the border. 8 June 1969 is the date that has been recorded in history books as marking the complete closure of the frontier.

Politically, the 1970's are considered a kind of anti-climax after the events that marked the sixties and the build-up to the frontier closing and the Constitution (Simpson, 2001). In 1973 Gibraltar entered the European Economic Community as a dependent territory. It was also by the end of this decade that some changes at the frontier took place: in 1977 telephone links with Spain were restored.

However, soon after, another historical event disturbed this growing positive atmosphere and delayed the complete opening of the frontier: the ques-

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tion of the Falkland Islands (Sepúlveda, 2004: 324). In 1982, Argentina and the United Kingdom engaged on a war for the control over these islands, located in the South Atlantic Ocean. For obvious historical reasons, Spain was on the Argentinean side. For the Gibraltarians, being British subjects, this meant that Spain was on the enemy's side (Gooch, 2000: 94). This event also damaged the image of Spain in the Gibraltarian eyes, caused resentment and led to reinforced links with Britain –and consequently its language- since Gibraltarians did not want to speak the language of the enemy ⁵.

Communications between the United Kingdom and Spain regarding the issue of Gibraltar were relaunched during a meeting in which the Foreign Affairs ministers of both countries signed what is known as the Lisbon Agreement. As a result and manifestation of good will, the frontier with Spain was first reopened in December 1982, and without restrictions in February 1985. It had been more than a decade of isolation.

In 1986, Lipski wrote that at the moment of the writing of his article (just a year after the opening of the fence) communication between the inhabitants of both sides of the border had improved, which obviously favoured the renewed influx of the Spanish language across the isthmus (1986: 415). Again, Spanish workers entered Gibraltar and Gibraltarians traded with Spain. So that, after a long period, the Spanish language was again more frequently heard along the streets and needed in order to communicate with the neighbours.

Since then, Britain and Spain have periodically dealt with the 'problem' of Gibraltar urged by the United Nations which regards the situation of Gibraltar as contrary to the United Nations Charter. Resolutions 2070 (XX) and 2231 (XXI) of the General Assembly emphasised the urgency for con-

⁵Source: Mr. Sergio Ballantine. Personal communication, 8.05.03.

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tinued negotiations, regret the interruption of negotiations and invite both countries to resume their talks and find a solution ⁶.

In this line, it was in 1984 that a new round of talks, known as the Brussels Process, was initiated with the direct objective of reaching a definite solution. Surprisingly, for the first time in history the question of the Rock's sovereignty was on the agenda. This meant a possible change in the status of the colony which particularly worried the Gibraltarian community.

The different rounds of talks, more than ten, without having reached any definite solution, show the complexity of the situation and the will on the part of both governments to continue on the initiated line until a solution was found. On some occasions, the negotiations reached stalemate when all of the sides disagreed on the proposals, such was the case in 1997, when negotiations were stopped.

The latest round of talks was initiated in July 2001. The Blair's government desire of integration with Europe, together with the results of various EU reports on the irregular financial system of Gibraltar were the main reasons that motivated the relaunching on conversations between England and Spain (Sepúlveda, 2004: 358). Both governments committed themselves to reaching an agreement before the summer 2002. This commitment was made more explicit during the meeting of the European leaders at the European Council held in Barcelona in March 2002.

The reaction in the Gibraltarian community included massive demonstrations (such as the one on March 18), letters to the press and public events in which Gibraltarians showed their opposition to a solution of that kind. And above all, the calling of a new referendum which was to be held on 7th November 2002. According to Peter Caruana, Gibraltar's Chief Minister,

⁶Source: www.un.org (accessed 12.11.02).

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this referendum was prompted by the United Kingdom's statement that a solution was about to be signed with Spain.

Indeed, an agreement was ready by May 2002. However, the increasing tension in the public opinion and the British political parties, fed with Gibraltarian propaganda movements, made more sensible a delay (Sepúlveda, 2004: 365).

Hence, the summer went by and no agreement was signed. On 7th November 2002 the Gibraltarians held their referendum. Once again, the outcome was overwhelmingly against any form of Spanish sovereignty: 99 per cent of Gibraltarians voted against the principle of Joint Sovereignty (*The Gibraltar Chronicle*, 08.11.02).

The effect of the referendum was that once again negotiations between Spain and Britain suffered a new cooling off process. The referendum was not recognised by any of the two countries, however it achieved its end: the breakdown of negotiations. Even a year later, Spain's timid attempt at reopening conversations in June 2003 was turned down by the British side.

Hence, in the aftermath of the 2002 referendum -with the subsequent derailment of Anglo-Spanish negotiations- and the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the British capture of the Rock in August 2004, the way ahead for this community was a challenging one indeed.

3.3 Sociolinguist aspects of the Gibraltarian community

This section offers a brief description of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar as presented by the scholars who have studied it. This will also contribute to gain a general picture of the present situation of this community.

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To begin with, the historical evolution of Gibraltar has brought a variety of different languages onto the gibraltarin stage. As a consequence, the languages that Gibraltarians have at their disposal are English, Spanish and the local variety called Yanito.

English is the official language of Gibraltar since 1704, or more precisely 1713 after the Treaty of Utrecht. However, it has not been without effort and time that this language has spread to the general population for everyday use (Fierro Cubiella, 1997: 43). Among the factors that have favoured the establishment of English in the Rock, the early self-consciousness of the Gibraltarians as British subjects deserves special mention. This feeling started to grow and was reinforced among the population along the centuries as a consequence of Spanish constant claims over the territory of Gibraltar. According to some scholars, Gibraltarians have stuck to English because they have realised that, against these claims for sovereignty over Gibraltar, language, too, can be an argument in order to avoid becoming part of Spain (Kramer, 1986: 58).

Other factors that have facilitated the spread of English in Gibraltar are the effects of the evacuation of the civilian population during World War II, since, having been taken to other English speaking countries or colonies, Gibraltarians came into contact with the English language more than if they had remained in Gibraltar (Moyer, 1993: 124); the closing of the frontier with Spain in the period 1969-1985 whose main consequence was an anglicisation of the colony, not only as far as language is concerned, but also in relation to customs and life-style in general (Fierro Cubiella, 1997: 45); the role of the system of education which mirrors the traditional United Kingdom's system, together with the increased number of Gibraltarian students that attend

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university in the United Kingdom nowadays⁷; the more recent influence of the mass media in Gibraltar since advances in technology allow Gibraltarians to watch satellite English t.v. channels and listen to English radio stations, something which was simply not possible some decades ago.

Quite significantly, the number of periodicals published in English has also increased, as can be seen from a study on the newspapers published in Gibraltar throughout the 20th century (Finlayson, 1998). The study shows how the number of newspapers and publications written in the Spanish language decreases as the century progresses. So that, publications in Spanish such as *El Calpense* became English-Spanish bilingual and then disappeared in the 1970s. Similarly, *Luz* ceased publication in 1951. Nowadays, there are no newspapers in the Spanish language. Some of the current publications are: *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, *Panorama*, *Gibraltar Magazine*, *New People* and *Vox*. All of them are written solely in English, except for *New People* that contains a couple of articles in Spanish, and *Vox* which, despite being subtitled *Gibraltar's Bilingual Newspaper* only shows 2 pages in Spanish out of a total number of around 30.

As regards the Spanish language, when, in 1704, Gibraltar became part of the British Empire, Spanish persisted as the usual language of communication among the scarce civilian population that remained on the Rock. The language was originally maintained thanks to trade and personal contacts with the Spanish mainland and the great bulk of Spanish workmen that had been crossing the frontier to work in Gibraltar since the first moments –obviously excluding the years of the closure of the border (1969-1982). Nevertheless, as we have seen, especially from the beginning of the twentieth century great efforts were made by the government to effectively impose the

⁷Source: Mr. Sergio Ballantine. Personal communication (08.05.03).

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English language in Gibraltar. This obviously affected Spanish to the point that there is nowadays no sign of this language in the official sphere (García Martín 1996: 26).

Nowadays, although the connections with the Rock are normal, the continuous claims for sovereignty on the part of the Spanish Government revive this resentment towards their neighbour, to the point that there are not any signs of concern towards the Spanish language in Gibraltar: no demands at the educational level to promote the language, no cultural circles or movements calling for a higher presence of the language at the official level.

Although the two main languages spoken in Gibraltar are English and Spanish, we cannot forget the various different social and ethnic groups that also populate the Rock. It is the characteristic historical evolution of Gibraltar that has brought people of so many different origins together. These groups are mainly Italians, Jews, Moors and Indians. These inhabitants are not only bilingual, but tri- or multilingual since they have to use the two main languages of the Rock plus their own group language in everyday communication. Of course, it depends on particular circumstances, to which degree they master and use each language. These minor languages are kept at home and at the religious ceremonies of these groups, and are undoubtedly heard along the streets of Gibraltar.

Finally, in this brief account of the languages that Gibraltarians have at their disposal, it is interesting to devote some attention to what is commonly known as ‘Yanito’, although there is not general agreement as to what it really means and what sort of language it refers to.

Generally speaking, scholars use the term Yanito to refer to either of the two following phenomena: On the one hand, according to some authors, Yanito is the particular dialect of Spanish spoken in Gibraltar (Kramer 1986,

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Fierro Cubiella 1997, Cavilla 1984 and Lipski 1986). The form of the Spanish language spoken in Gibraltar is given the name Yanito since it has features at the lexical and phonological features that make it different from the Spanish spoken in Spain.

On the other hand, Yanito is also understood as the form of code-switching (English and Spanish) that is typically present in conversations among Gibraltarians (Moyer 1993, Benítez Burraco 1997 and Dean 2001). Used in this sense, Yanito is given by some scholars the category of language variety. This view is shared by Moyer (1993) and Dean (2001). In Moyer's words,

The language situation in Gibraltar is characterized by three language varieties which are used in defined situations. While both English and Spanish are used separately with a native-like proficiency, code-switching, i.e. Yanito, is also a common way of communicating among Gibraltarians (1993: 84).

Yanito is so relevant since this particular language use distinguishes Gibraltar from other linguistic communities. In this way, Yanito helps to give cohesion to the community on the Rock.

Regardless of this term being used to refer to the Andalusian spoken in Gibraltar or to the alternate use of English and Spanish, it is clear that the word Yanito has extended its meaning to refer in general terms to, not only the language, but the inhabitants and the culture of the Rock.

In relation to this amalgam of language varieties spoken in Gibraltar, Errico (1997: 49) made a revealing contribution. In the light of her research, she recognized the existence of a *linguistic continuum* where Standard English and Standard Spanish make up the ends and which includes the local varieties characteristics of Gibraltar alone.

The local varieties she describes are Gibraltarian English, Yanito –unders-

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tood as the particular way Gibraltarians code-switch English and Spanish–, and Gibraltarian Spanish.

This is, graphically represented, in Errico’s *linguistic continuum*:

English — GibEnglish — Yanito — GibSpanish — Spanish
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It seems to illustratively reflect the rich linguistic diversity within which Gibraltarians move in everyday communication; and it is important to bear in mind what Halliday (1984: 162) reminds us: that no language variety is better or worse than the other. Thus, the non–standard forms of Gibraltarian English, Yanito or Gibraltarian Spanish, are not to be considered as deviations, but rather as the reflection of the richness and uniqueness of the Gibraltarian linguistic reality.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, in the description of the sociolinguistic situation of Gibraltar there are two terms that have traditionally been present in the works of experts. These are Bilingualism and Diglossia. Bilingualism is what most authors generally agree on when describing the Gibraltarian situation. However, there seems to be lack of agreement as to whether the two main languages of Gibraltar are in a diglossic relation.

To begin with, the Gibraltarian community is bilingual in the sense that Hamers and Blanc describe it:

The state of a linguistic community in which two languages are in contact with the result that two codes can be used in the same interaction and that a number of individuals are bilingual (1989: 6).

Generally speaking, the population of the Rock can speak both English and Spanish (Moyer, 1998: 215), although we have to bear in mind that not all speakers may share the same competence in both languages (Moyer, 1993:

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19; Kramer, 1986: 59). As we have already mentioned, education in Gibraltar is conducted in English, and Spanish is taught as a second language. As a consequence, the knowledge of Spanish is more colloquial and people lack a knowledge of grammatical rules, which they usually have of the English language.

Thus, scholars generally agree that Gibraltar is characterised by bilingualism at the societal level. However, scholars devoted to the study of languages in Gibraltar usually refer to the question of whether the concept of Diglossia can be applied to the linguistic situation of the Rock.

Sociolinguists usually describe various domains of the use of the English and Spanish among the Gibraltarian society. They, however, disagree as to whether this situation can be properly described as diglossic.

The basic domains of use of English and Spanish in Gibraltar can be summarised as follows: English is the language of Government and Education (Moyer, 1993: 250). For this reason, it is the language of prestige (Kramer, 1986: 89) and, as such, it is used in the realm of employment and official relations in order to secure upward social mobility (Lipski, 1986: 424).

Spanish, however, is said to be the language of informal domains, such as home, family and friendship (Moyer, 1993: 116), and whenever emotions are involved (Kramer, 1986: 91). It is important to bear in mind that these are not sharp and rigid distinctions. Lipski (1986) stresses the contrast between the official language policy of the Gibraltarian Government, that purportedly relegates Spanish to an inferior category, and the actual language use of the community, where Spanish is widely present.

In this vein, Moyer (1993: 108) also adds that other factors such as interlocutor, personal involvement and topic are also determinant of language choice, even to the point that any of the two languages can be used for almost

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all social functions. Moyer stresses that it is precisely the alternate use of the two codes, or English-Spanish code-switching, that is most commonly found in most functions and domains in the Gibraltarian community. Furthermore, code-switching is said to enjoy covert-prestige as this practice clearly characterises the members of the Gibraltarian community and distinguishes them from either Spanish and British citizens (Moyer, 1998: 221). As Romaine (2000: 35) puts it, the selection of one language over another, or the choice of using code-switching involves an act of identity, i.e., choosing the group with whom the speaker wants to be identified.

It is García Martín (1996: 15) who reaches an intermediate solution as to the applicability of the terms diglossia and bilingualism to describe the Gibraltarian community. In his words, ‘nos encontraríamos ante un híbrido de diglosia teórica y bilingüismo real’ (1996: 15), since diglossia is kept at an official level (i.e. the official policy on language use), but the social reality is closer to a situation where both languages are widely used and not so much compartmentalised.

Thus, despite the lack of agreement among researchers, it stems from the above analysis that Gibraltar is a multilingual society where there are two main languages (English and Spanish) which are more widely spread and used at a bilingual societal level. These two main languages are usually associated to certain domains of use, though they are most frequently code-switched in everyday communication.

3.4 Present day Gibraltar

Gibraltar has, no doubt, gone through profound changes. It is no longer a mainly military site, but has rather become a modern city and an attractive

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tourist resort with considerable financial activity, especially in the banking sector which was particularly benefited by the opening of the frontier with Spain in 1985 (Kellermann 2001: 29). Errico (1997: 28) also stressed that despite the decrease in the military strategic value of the Rock, there has been a considerable growth in the service sector to compensate for that.

Moreover, as *The Gibraltar Financial Services Handbook 2003* states, the financial conditions in Gibraltar, specially its favourable tax legislation, constitute a significant incentive that nowadays attracts foreign investors to the Rock and, thus, favours its economic growth (p. 57). In this vein, information from the Statistics Office ⁸ are quite optimistic and shows the growth in population, the high employment rates, and tourism statistics as a sign of prosperity in the community.

The spread of education and the higher number of students that go to the United Kingdom to attend further education are also important aspects of the present day Gibraltar. Moreover, the role of mass media cannot be underestimated. In this sense, it is relevant to highlight the great impact of satellite communication in the community, which has allowed Gibraltarians to watch and listen to English channels. In addition, the number of publications in the Spanish language has decreased in recent decades (Finlayson, 1998: 103), so that Gibraltarian periodicals are English monolingual, except for a couple of newspapers that include a few articles in Spanish. Not to forget that British press arrives on the Rock daily via plane ⁹. These factors, mass media and education, have consolidated the use of English and Anglo-Saxon culture in Gibraltarian homes.

The main ethnic groups that make up the Gibraltarian population at

⁸Source: Statistics Office. www.gibraltar.gov.gi/about_gib/statistics/statistics_index.htm (accessed: 04.08.03).

⁹Source: Mrs. Jane Sánchez. Personal communication, 29.07.03.

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present are: English, Spanish, Italians, Maltese and Portuguese ¹⁰. Furthermore, we have to add Jews, Indians and Arabs, among others, who enrich the Gibraltarian character with their own languages and native cultural elements. Indeed, Gibraltar's multicultural character strikes the outsider as it is so naturally present in everyday life. As you walk along the streets, you meet people of very different origins: Jews, Indians, Moors, Spanish workers and a variety of other people, intermingled with the many tourists. Indians have entered the Gibraltarian landscape more recently. They come from another former British Colony and, nowadays, its presence is widely felt in the Gibraltarian life. Although English and Spanish are the languages of common use on the Rock, these minority groups have retained their own languages and cultural elements at home and in their religious ceremonies. It has been the particular historical evolution of the Rock that has brought all these people together and that shapes current Gibraltarian life.

To finish, I would like to quote Kent (2004) who has quite pictorially illustrated this mixture of languages and cultures that characterises the Gibraltarian reality:

The sash-windowed Regency buildings and wrought-iron balustrades of the British, the slatted shutters of the Genoese, the coloured flower boxes and courtyards of the Spanish and the ancient fortresses and tightly woven alleys of the Moroccans are all potent reminders of the greatness and the pride of all those cultures, which fought and conquered, defended and survived (2004: 26).

¹⁰Source: CIA.The World Factbook: www.cia.gov/publications/factbook/geos/gi.html (accessed 26.07.04).

3.5 Gibraltar national sentiment

The above summary of the most relevant events in the history of Gibraltar helps us understand the growth of a national sentiment in this community.

This national feeling had been progressively gaining form throughout the centuries, but has especially and more powerfully been forged with the events of the last fifty years.

To begin with, the evacuation of most of the civilian population during World War II left a profound mark on the community. Their new situation reinforced their sense of being Gibraltarians, that is, different from those around them although they were in English speaking countries. In those days, Spanish could only be used as a family language, which also helped to reinforce ties with their distant homeland (Fierro Cubiella, 1997).

However, the roots of the Gibraltar question as we understand it nowadays should be placed in the long-standing Spanish sovereignty claim. The restrictions imposed during the Franco regime (1940-1975) reinforced the Spanish image as an enemy, at the same time that developed in the population positive feelings towards Britain (Modrey, 1998: 87).

Obviously, the closing of the frontier (1969-1985) reinforced Gibraltarians links with Britain. Linguistically, this meant a higher use and prestige of the English language together with a feeling of distance and resentment towards Spain and, as a consequence, towards its language (García Martín, 1996: 22). In addition, it was in the years of the closure of the border that a great number of Moors, mainly Moroccans, entered Gibraltar to take the place of those many Spaniards who used to cross the border to work in Gibraltar. Obviously, this reinforced the presence of the Arab language on the Rock.

Chipulina (1980: 31) also highlights the great Anglicisation of Gibraltar and the loss of its Andalusian character that took place in those days. Thus,

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a sharp contrast could be appreciated in which, on the one hand, there was physical proximity between Gibraltar and Andalusia, but on the other, there emerged a great sentimental distance. This set the two territories far away from each other. From that moment on, Gibraltar turned much more on the United Kingdom as a model, as it was not possible, nor even desired, to turn to Spain.

Hence, the closure of the border and the subsequent isolation for the community living on the Rock had traumatic effects for these people. A suffering that was only mitigated by British support. It is, according to Oliva (2004: 76), what led to the characteristic *Gibraltarian Britishness*, as some sort of gratitude to Britain for protecting them from Spain and for granting it with economic privileges while Spain was poor.

However, Britain's shift in relation to the Spanish sovereignty claim during the Brussels process was to have a negative impact on the image of Britain on the Rock. As Morris et al. (1992: 115) point out, Gibraltarians were troubled by this change of attitude on the part of the British government, whose attitude was even considered a betrayal to their rights. Consequently, their feelings towards England changed as it was no longer seen as the loving and motherly protector of Gibraltar's people and so they distrusted any resolution that could be drawn from these talks.

The national sentiment reached its zenith during the last round of talks between Britain and Spain initiated in July 2001 and which ended with the holding of the referendum in November 2002 (Sepúlveda, 2004: 371). The press and other media described the event as probably one of the most important days in their history, because this referendum was seen as a new claim for the recognition of the Gibraltarian independent identity.

In Oliva's (2004) words, 'This unfortunate period of our history provided

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a neatly packaged and popular myth about the forging of a community' (2004: 93). It had been a natural defensive reaction from a harassed population: the traditional enemy being Spain, but which now also includes Britain after its political change of attitude. Moreover, this basically defensive feeling has been later transformed to present and more radical ideas, such as self-determination, that surrounded the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the British capture of Gibraltar, 1704-2004.

Hence, the Gibraltar issue is the question of this community's identity as a people and the eventual solution for it to develop and exist in harmony with the rest. The present research offers an insight on how this national sentiment was discursively constructed in the press during the period surrounding the last referendum held in the colony, and how it was discursively perceived and represented from outside.

3.6 Summary

This brief view over the history and sociolinguistic and cultural aspects of Gibraltar sheds light on Gibraltar's singularity. Indeed, historical events, together with the Rock's particular physical location, brought many different peoples to Gibraltar, and with them came their languages, thus shaping the present social and linguistic situation of Gibraltar.

Hence, a rich historical evolution with enormous consequences at the social and linguistic level for the Gibraltarian community. Thus, it seems an unlikely exaggeration that

No place in the world can boast about having such a diverse cultural background and influence in everyday life in such a small

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distance as Gibraltar does ¹¹.

Indeed, in about three square miles, a variety of languages and cultures have been fused together giving rise to the present Gibraltarian community where English, Spanish and the alternate use of both languages orally, known as Yanito, are the main means of communication.

¹¹www.Gibraltarian.com/history (accessed 23.04.02)

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DATE	EVENT
Ancient times	Early visitors: - Phoenicians - Carthaginians - Romans - Barbarians
711	Muslim invasion
1309 - 1333	Conquered and lost by Christian forces
1462	Conquered by Spaniards
1704	British invasion
1713	Treaty of Utrecht
1779 - 1783	Great Siege
1830	Gibraltar becomes British Colony
1939	World War II - evacuations
Sept 1967	First referendum
1969	Gibraltar Constitution
1969 - 1985	Closing of the frontier
1980	Lisbon Agreement
1984	Brussels Process
July 2001	Negotiations are relaunched
Nov 2002	Second referendum

Table 3.1: History summary chart

Chapter 4

Theoretical Framework

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework within which the present piece of research is conceived.

As I already mentioned in chapter 2, my investigation moves within the realm of discourse studies. I will thus start this chapter introducing the evolution and scope of this discipline, and then move on to the particular approach that frames the analysis, namely, Critical Discourse Analysis.

Because of the characteristics of the Critical Discourse Analysis paradigm and of the research interests of the present investigation, two other important aspects need to be covered: first, the notions of nation and national identity, since it is precisely Gibraltarian identity that we are looking at. In particular, what is of interest for the present study is how national identity is discursively constructed and reproduced. And second, it is necessary to provide some insights into media discourse since the selected texts that form the corpus of analysis have been drawn from the press, and in order to justify this selection.

4.1 Discourse Analysis

As I have already mentioned in 1.2, discourse analysis is a relatively new discipline. It emerged in the 1960's from a variety of other disciplines and approaches that, though originally stemming from different perspectives and also focusing on different goals, became increasingly concerned with language and its use in social contexts. It emerged out of a desire to analyse units larger than the sentence, i.e., texts, and to analyse them as they are *real*, naturally occurring language, i.e., discourse, language in use. Zellig Harris, with his analysis of an advert text in his early *Discourse Analysis* (1952) is considered as the starting point of Discourse Studies (Renkema, 2004: 7).

Many different authors, thus, place the origins of discourse studies on as many different disciplines. For instance, according to Beaugrande (1997: 46), the main contributors to the emergence of discourse analysis are:

- *Functional linguistics*: with the work of authors such as Firth, Halliday and Sinclair, who focused on language as the communication of meaning in context, in society, opposing Chomskyan view.
- *Sociolinguistics*: with Bernstein and Labov, who studied language varieties in relation to certain social features to describe how social structures influence language and its use.
- *Sociology*: and its subdiscipline of *ethnomethodology* whose main scholars are Garfinkel and Schegloff, who were interested in real conversation, though their methods and goals were mainly socially oriented.
- *Text linguistics*: with Dressler and Beaugrande, who recognised the need for linguistics to analyse whole texts and not just isolated sentences.

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and finally, Beaugrande also mentions studies on artificial intelligence and discourse processing.

Van Dijk (1997a: 25) also mentions as important contributions to the emergence of discourse analysis, the developments in *anthropology* and its *ethnographic* studies on the ‘ways of speaking’ in certain cultures; as well as the contributions from *psychology* and, more precisely, *social psychology* which were concerned with the production, understanding and mental processing of discourse. Other disciplines he mentions are *communication studies*, *legal studies*, *historiography* or *political science*.

Similarly, within the field of applied linguistics, Pennycook (1994) explains that discourse analysis ‘was a synthesis of approaches to the analysis of extended chunks of language use: textlinguistics, conversation analysis, and the ethnography of speaking’ (1994: 117).

Thus, there was a wide spectrum of disciplines that were all interested, in one way or another, with aspects of language and its use in real communication.

Discourse analysts can then be said to come from very different disciplinary backgrounds. A clear example is Teun Van Dijk who was originally engaged in the study of literary theory, moving shortly after to the area of textlinguistics. According to Renkema (2004: 8), this scholar is considered by many as the founding father of contemporary discourse studies. As he himself explains (2003), his initial goal was to find a ‘grammar of text’, i.e., to account for how texts are well-formed. However, his research activity led him to realise that his original work was misguided, and so he argued for an approach to text as action, rather than as internalised abstract rules. This way he became one of the first scholars to be involved in the development of discourse studies, where much of his work is still carried out. A selection

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of his publications can give us an illustration of the vast work and evolution of this author: Van Dijk 1977, 1981, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, 1988, 1991a, 1992, 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 1999a, 2000, 2001 and 2003). He has also been founder and editor of relevant international journals in the area of discourse studies: *Text* (1980s), *Discourse and Society* (1990s), and most recently *Critical Discourse Studies* (2004). In his latest work, he is mainly concerned with the expression and reproduction of racism and other forms of social inequalities in discourse. At present, his interests are directed towards the concept of *context*.

Not surprisingly, then, discourse analysis has been considered for a long time as a subdiscipline within other disciplines. For example, Fasold (1990: 65) and Stockwell (2002: 61) consider discourse analysis a subdiscipline within sociolinguistics, while Schiffrin (1994: 5) and Salkie (1995: IX) describe it as an area of linguistics. However, many other scholars claim that discourse analysis has come of age and can be considered an independent field of study (Van Dijk 1991b: 152-153). Independent, which does not mean isolated, for indeed, discourse analysis is a multidisciplinary enterprise. As Schiffrin (1994: 47) suggests, the theoretical framework provided by discourse analysis is in turn useful in many different areas. In her work on *Approaches to Discourse* (1994), she describes how the theoretical tools provided by discourse analysis are successfully applied in studies of areas such as speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis and variation theory.

In this account of the emergence of discourse studies, we cannot forget the developments within the field of literature and literary criticism. In their overview of the developments within the field of linguistics, Beaugrande and Dressler (1997: 53) stressed that the study of texts had usually been a concern

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of rhetorics or literary criticism, which obviously focused on literary texts. Developments within this area also led to the analysis of non-literary texts such as interviews, press reports, adverts, etc. Fowler's *Linguistic Criticism* (1986) signalled a decisive step in this direction, since, as the author himself stated in the preface to this work, linguistic criticism was originally aimed at the study of literary texts, though he made clear that any other text could merit this sort of analysis (1986: Preface). Birch (1989: XI) also highlighted the evolution of literary analysis to include detailed linguistic analysis of literary works, something which had been rejected for a long time. This practice of using linguistics for the study of literature was also called *stylistics* (Simpson, 1993: 3). This new practice has proved to be mutually enriching to language and literary studies and it is also another instance of the developments in different fields that favoured discourse analysis.

In general terms, scholars agree that discourse analysis has become a vast field of study that, covering such broad aspects, crosses with many other disciplines, resulting in mutual enrichment. In Van Dijk's (1997a) words,

There are few disciplines that offer such a broad, multidisciplinary, multicultural and socially relevant approach to human language, cognition, communication and interaction (1997a: 32).

An illustrative example of the wide panorama that discourse studies covers is the work by Santana Lario and Falces Sierra, "Any statement you make can be used against you in a court of law': *Introducción a la lingüística forense*' (2002), which establishes successful connections between this discipline and the field of law.

However, I would like to note that this broadness and amplitude has also been seen by certain scholars as a possible source of problems within the field: 'At present, within the frameworks where 'discourse analysis' is practised

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and taught, the term means very different things' (Lee and Poynton, 2000: 5). The authors regret the limitations that such fuzziness may bring to the practise of this discipline. Nevertheless, in general terms the interdisciplinary character of discourse analysis is seen as a feature of the nature of this kind of analysis itself and indeed an enriching one for the field.

It might be this fascinating panorama that accounts for the great attention and increasing research activity that this discipline has undergone in recent years, as Van Dijk (1991b: 147) himself recognised in his evaluation of the developments of this research activity in the early 90's.

More recently, Van Dijk (2003) has summarised his work and the work of discourse analysis in general recognising both the obvious limitations of a young discipline and its advances:

With the discipline as a whole, I have learned much about discourse during the last 25 years. And yet, at the same time I know that much of what we know is incomplete and misguided. I am not afraid to make mistakes, and see this as the inevitable problem of all new disciplines and original explorations of uncharted territories [...] Compared to the primitive 'text grammars' of the early 1970s, contemporary formal work on discourse structures is of course much more sophisticated. And compared to the simplistic cognitive, social and interactional models of text and talk of 20 years ago, new work on text processing, socio-political discourse studies and conversational analysis also has much advanced [...] Yet, there is still a lot to do (2003).

Thus, scholars are looking ahead towards the vast panorama on which much work is still to be done.

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Defining Discourse

The notion of discourse is a difficult one to define. It might be due to its relative youth that this term has been used by different authors in different ways.

To illustrate this, it may be very representative to quote Mills (1997) who has analysed how the term 'discourse' has been used within different disciplines and she starts her work acknowledging that:

The term 'discourse' has become common currency in a variety of disciplines: critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology and many other fields, so much so that it is frequently left undefined, as if its usage were simply common knowledge [...] It has perhaps the widest range of possible significations of any term in literary and cultural theory, and yet it is often the term within theoretical texts which is least defined (1997: 1).

Plenty of authors have recognised that the notion of discourse is essentially diffuse and even fuzzy (Pennycook 1994: 116, Widdowson 1995a: 157-158, Van Dijk 1997a: 1, Wodak 1996: 12), because it has been used to refer to different realities and also because it has attracted the attention and, thus, been used by a variety of scholars from different disciplines and even outside the sphere of discourse analysts by the general non-specialised public. Similarly, Jaworski and Coupland's (1999) words are also quite illustrative in this respect:

Discourse falls squarely within the interests not only of linguists, literary critics, critical theorists and communication scientists, but also of geographers, philosophers, political scientist, soci-

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ologists, anthropologists, social psychologists, and many others (1999: 3).

Mills also recognises that even within linguistics the term discourse is used in slightly different ways (1997: 131).

Thus, assuming the challenge, from the multiple definitions of discourse that can be found in the literature on the topic, I would like to pay attention to the one provided by Van Dijk (1997a) as he goes quite deeply into the concept and its scope. Another reason why I have chosen this author is that, as I have already mentioned in 4.1, Van Dijk has been among the scholars who were engaged in this kind of study from its very first steps.

Leaving aside those general everyday uses of the term, within the realm of discourse analysis, **discourse can be defined as a communicative event, that is, as language in use in context**. Defined this way, the notion of discourse is ample and covers a wealth of aspects. For this reason, Van Dijk (1997a: 2) considers that the concept of discourse involves three dimensions:

- Form: In this first dimension, he refers to the structural aspects of discourse, that is, formal structure, organisation of its elements, sentences, and syntax. For this linguistic analysis of discourse, different linguistic approaches can be used: for example, a formalist view of language or a more functionalist view.
- Meaning: It concerns the way information is organised in discourse. It deals with how the meanings communicated through discourse hang together (i.e. coherence) and how the information is presented (i.e. the meanings that are given prominence –focus or topic– and how they relate to the outside world –reference).

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It is, thus, a dimension ‘above’ the mere attention to formal structures. Nevertheless, this second dimension cannot be analysed independently of the previous level. Indeed, it will rely on syntactic patterns and formal structure to interpret the meanings of discourse.

- Action: It refers to the actions that language users perform when they are engaged in communication. In Van Dijk’s words, this level describes

The social actions accomplished by *language users* when they communicate with each other in *social situations* and within *society* and *culture* at large (1997a: 14).

It is in this third dimension when the discourse analyst enters into the realm of the interpretation of discourse, where the scholar has to take into account the characteristics of the social situation that are relevant in communication. That is, the analyst deals with the *social context* in which discourse takes place, i.e., the broad aspects of social organisation or culture.

Thus, for the analysis of discourse at this level, social and cultural elements are to be taken into account, and, at the same time, such an analysis allows the analyst to discover aspects of the society and culture in which that discourse is produced (Fowler and Kress, 1979: 26).

This third dimension of discourse comprising society and culture ‘may be seen as the culmination of discourse studies’ (Van Dijk, 1997a: 21), since it is obviously the most inclusive level, the one that covers a wider panorama.

Again, as we said in relation to the second dimension, this third level is not independent, but rather needs to take account of all the previous ones. That is, the discourse analysts concerned with the interpretation of discourse in relation to social and cultural aspects will equally have to carry out an analysis of structural and formal elements, and of the organisation of

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meanings in discourse.

It will be at this broad level that the analysis of the present piece of research will be carried out. More precisely, the theoretical paradigm of critical discourse analysis, which frames my research, understands discourse as a form of social practice. Discourse as language in use in society, shapes society by constructing versions of the world, at the same time that it is shaped by it (Wodak, 1996: 15). Understood this way, the critical analysis of discourse helps us understand the Gibraltar question, as well as how discourse in turn influences this community and how it is perceived.

Since these three dimensions of discourse are quite vast, Van Dijk (1997a: 24) suggests that discourse analysts may concentrate on just one of the aspects. For instance, the structural dimension, leaving aside the other more external aspects. However, he realises that although the analyst may concentrate on one level, integration of the three aspects in one way or another is always necessary.

This wide description of discourse involving different levels helps us to appreciate the tremendously vast scope of discourse analysis, as well as to understand the various definitions of discourse that different authors offer. Hence, for those who mainly concentrate in the initial dimensions of discourse (as described above), discourse is understood as chunks of language above sentence level and the relationship between sentences. However, those who engage in discourse analysis at the higher dimension, understand discourse as language in use in a broader sense. Having this in mind helps us to place the work carried out by the different authors who are involved in this discipline.

In this sense, as illustrative examples we could distinguish those authors who are mainly concerned with the structural aspects of discourse and on how coherence is achieved, such as Longacre (1983), Nunan (1993), or Salkie

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(1995), inter alia. Similarly, Sinclair, Coulthard, Stubbs and Swales are scholars who are mainly concerned with discourse as grammatical analysis, with a strong descriptive basis. At the other end we may find those authors who are more interested in the social dimension of discourse and do not just describe, but interpret it. Some of them are Fowler, Kress, Trew and Hodge (1979), Van Dijk (1991a), Wodak et al (1999) and Fairclough (2003).

Furthermore, Shiffrin (1994: 42) also recognises that the notion of discourse can be defined in different ways depending on the concept of language that the linguist is working with. She distinguishes a formalist and a functionalist view of discourse. This distinction is somehow related to the above division by Van Dijk. The formalist view is obviously related to the first dimension of Van Dijk, while a functional view of language will include those aspects related to the second and third dimensions described by Van Dijk.

Thus, different definitions of discourse can be found in the literature depending on the concept of language itself and on the dimensions or aspects the analyst concentrates on. Above all, it has to be stressed, following Jaworski and Coupland (1999) that ‘discourse is an inescapably important concept for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as for understanding language itself’ (1999: 3).

In the following sections I will deal with certain aspects of discourse which are of importance for the present piece of research.

Discourse, text and talk, and context

These are basic concepts that enter into the definition of discourse, on which I would like to make some points.

From the above discussion, it can be understood that discourse, comprehended as language in use, can refer both to *spoken* as well as *written*

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language. Indeed, both aspects have been deeply studied by discourse analysts. However, I am not going to go deeper into the aspects of discourse in relation to spoken language since my analysis will be based on written language. It is also for this reason that in the present piece of research I will use the term *text* to refer to written language, although quite suitably some authors also include in this notion oral records of language (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6; Nunan, 1993: 6; Fairclough, 2003: 3). In the 1980's, Malcolm Coulthard showed his concern for the scope and boundaries of this term (1985: 3) and more recently, Martínez-Cabeza (2002: 37) has offered a brief but clear discussion of the different uses of the terms *discourse* and *text* as defined by a handful of authors.

At this point, it also seems relevant to remember that this kind of language that discourse analysts work with is ‘ ‘real’ naturally occurring language’ (Mills, 1997: 138) and not stretches of language invented by the linguist for the purpose of analysis.

Also stemming from the above description is a basic concept when understanding and analysing discourse, that of *context*. In short, Nunan (1993) explains that ‘context refers to the situation giving rise to the discourse’, that is, everything that surrounds the production and interpretation of discourse. As such, this notion includes linguistic and non-linguistic elements. By *linguistic elements* is meant the language that accompanies the piece of text we are analysing and which is usually referred to as *co-text*.

In relation to the *non-linguistic elements*, context may cover the elements that are more easily grasped, such as the physical location or objects that are present, up to the broader aspects of social organisation or culture. Obviously, concentration on one aspect or another of context will very much depend on the dimension from which the analyst approaches discourse anal-

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ysis.

As Brown and Yule (1983: 27) suggest, in the interpretation of discourse, discourse analysts have to take account of the context in which a piece of discourse occurs, since it will be that contextual information that will enable the analyst to arrive at the appropriate interpretation. In addition, Van Dijk (2004b), who is at present working on a critical theory of context, considers that to do proper critical discourse analysis, one needs to focus not only on linguistic structures but on all aspects of context. He puts the stress on the idea of *relevance*, i.e., the analyst needs to take into account only those aspects of the social situation which are relevant in discourse production and interpretation, i.e, it includes a cognitive and mental dimension.

Hence, since our analysis of the Gibraltar issue is located in a specific place and time, it follows that the study of contextual aspects will be of crucial importance. Thus, the relevant contextual features of the Gibraltarian community and the particular historical moment it is going through are required to be examined and taken into account in order to properly interpret our data.

4.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Bearing in mind Van Dijk's (1997a) three dimensions of discourse (as discussed on page 67), I would like to pay special attention to the third one since it will be at this broad level that my analysis will be carried out. It is therefore useful at this juncture to attempt a description of this field of study.

In the third dimension of discourse, 'Action', Van Dijk refers to the analysis of discourse which comprises the analysis of broad aspects of the societal context in which discourse is produced. This kind of analysis has been ap-

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appropriately termed *social discourse analysis* (Van Dijk, 1997a: 21). Such an analysis of discourse sheds light on the features of the societal situation in which discourse occurs.

In my analysis, I intend to discover the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity in the printed media of Gibraltar, Spain and Britain. Therefore, I have to engage in discourse analysis at this highest level, taking account of the social and cultural aspects that shape and characterise the Gibraltarian community. My linguistic analysis will then refer to those social and cultural aspects to draw conclusions as to how Gibraltarian identity is discursively constructed and represented in the printed media.

A variation within this form of *social discourse analysis* is what has come to be termed **critical discourse analysis** and usually referred to as **CDA**. In this section I attempt to trace the genesis of CDA, the primary mode of linguistic investigation used in this research.

CDA, which according to its practitioners should not be considered nowadays a subdiscipline within discourse analysis, but an independent paradigm (Van Dijk, 2001: 96), is also based on the view that language is a central element in social life and, hence, it analyses discourse in relation to the social context in which it occurs. Or, put the other way round, CDA analyses social life in its discursive aspects.

Norman Fairclough's work and the contributions of the research group 'Language, Power and Ideology' at the University of Lancaster, United Kingdom, are considered to be the founding fathers of this discipline as it is conceived nowadays (Rajagopalan, 1996: 2). Furthermore, Fairclough's *Language and Power* (1989) is considered as the landmark work in the development of the critical study of language (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000: 454). Below, I devote some lines to the genesis of this young discipline and the

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various re-labelling it has gone through.

What distinguishes CDA from mainstream discourse analysis is the critical analyst's special concern with the disclosing and expression of certain social situations: those which are characterised by inequalities, crisis, power abuse or discrimination. What concerns the critical discourse analyst is how these situations are reproduced, legitimated or enacted through discourse. In Van Dijk's (1993) words, their aim is 'to get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality' (1993: 253) in order to achieve 'consciousness-raising' (Fowler, 1996: 5). It has become, using Jaworski and Coupland's term, a sort of 'forensic activity' (1999: 6). As can be inferred, when analysing such situations, critical discourse analysts usually take the part of the deprived and disadvantaged (Meyer, 2001: 30).

In brief, the work of critical discourse analysts is mainly aimed at providing social criticism based on linguistic evidence. This implies a constant shunting back and forth between linguistic categories of text analysis and concepts from social and cultural theories. The latter are certainly needed 'for explaining and explicating the social contexts, concomitants, contingencies and consequences of any given text or discourse' (Luke, 2002: 102). Thus, critical discourse adherents are not concerned with the study of linguistic structures *per se*, but only as far as their analysis helps in the understanding or delation of a certain social situation. As a consequence, CDA needs to pay special attention, not only to social aspects, but to a wider historical panorama (Fowler, 1996: 10).

Hence, while DA can be said to be an originally descriptivist approach, CDA researchers add these critical and ideological goals to the analysis of text and talk (Johnstone, 2002: 26). Even more generally, it has been claimed that all other approaches to language study existing to that moment –such

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as linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics or cognitive psychology– lack the critical dimension that CDA introduced to the study of language. In Billig’s (2003) words,

critical discourse analysis implies that it is insufficient merely to study discourse as linguists have traditionally done. Linguistic analysis needs to be augmented by critical social analysis (2003: 40).

Similarly, the words of Pennycook (1994) illustratively summarise this point when stating that critical discourse analysts:

share a commitment to going beyond linguistic description to attempt *explanation*, to showing how social inequalities are reflected and created in language, and to find ways through their work to *change* the conditions of inequality that their work uncovers (1994: 121)(My own italics).

Thus, from the above description it stems that CDA can be conceived as a step further in discourse analysis as it attempts to bring about changes in the world as a result of the analysis and work of its practitioners. Hence, as summarised by Billig (2003), their being a ‘critical’ paradigm implies a three-fold dimension: they are critical of the present social order; they are critical of other paradigms, usually traditional ones, which are non-critical; and they are especially critical of dominant positions (Billig, 2003: 38-39).

Some of the leading names in the field at the moment are Norman Fairclough, Teun Van Leeuwen, Teun Van Dijk, Lillie Chouliaraki, Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard or Ruth Wodak.

A fairly general consensus places the early steps of critical discourse analysis in the work developed by Roger Fowler, Gunther Kress, Robert Hodge

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and Tony Trew in the University of East Anglia in the 1970s, especially through their well-known *Language and Control* (1979) (Threadgold 2003, Fowler 1991, Wodak 2001b, Martin and Rose 2003). By then, their approach was named *Critical Linguistics* because they set themselves apart from the mainstream Chomskayan linguistics and insisted on ‘analysing real texts and their relations to real contexts’ (Threadgold, 2003). As a consequence, more attention was paid to social issues in the analysis of language. In addition, the *critical* side of the term added a new dimension which was, according to Fowler (1986: Preface), traditionally reserved only for literary texts. It also signalled a departure from the purely descriptive goals of discourse analysis.

This original trend developed and broadened over the years to give rise to what became to be known as *Critical Language Study* (CLS) in the late 1980’s, and was sometime later renamed *Critical Discourse Analysis* since the 90’s (Wodak, 2001b: 5). The new term aimed to place the emphasis on the *discourse* side of the research activity, that is, on language in use (Rajagopalan 1996: 9). Nevertheless, recently a new term seems to be arising: **Critical Discourse Studies**. It is, according to Van Dijk (2004a), a more comprehensive term, since the former CDA suggests that the field is mostly *analysis* without any theoretical basis, which does not do justice to its actual practice. Hence, the evolution of the term itself is, as Billig has stated, a sign of the establishment of the new discipline as a successful field of study (2003: 25).

Not only evolution within the science of language itself favoured the emergence of CDA, but it is understood that the origins of this critical paradigm are also and quite importantly ‘firmly rooted in the properties of contemporary life’ (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 260). What these two authors claim is that CDA emerged as part of the developing features of our present

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world. Indeed, nowadays, language plays a crucial role in our modern society of goods and services, mass media, telecommunications and economic and technological evolution. So that, language is central in crucial areas such as the marketisation of public services, the political arena or the spread of public opinion. As Jaworski and Coupland (1999) state it,

Under these circumstances, language itself becomes marketable and a sort of commodity, and its purveyors can market themselves through their skills of linguistic and textual manipulation (1999: 5-6).

This has led to a growing awareness of the value, function and force of language in social issues. To put it in a nutshell, our society has evolved to become more critical of language itself, which has necessarily favoured works and analyses such as those by critical discourse analysts.

The growth and academic success of this new paradigm (whichever the term we use to refer to it) has also been made evident throughout recent years with the progressive foundation of new journals devoted to the publication of studies in this specialised field, i.e. journals of its own. Such was the case of the emergence in 1990 of *Discourse and Society*, which appeared with the aim of giving a special focus to the social, cultural and political dimensions of discourse -as the opening editorial of the journal stated (Van Dijk, 1990: 8)-, and most recently *Critical Discourse Studies* which appeared in 2004. This journal has also been founded and edited by Van Dijk, and the growth and interdisciplinarity of the paradigm is made evident in the explanation that the journal was established 'in response to the proliferation of critical discourse studies across the social sciences and humanities'¹. In

¹From the description of the journal. Source: <<http://www.cds-web.net/cdsfront.htm>>(accessed 16.07.04)

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addition, *Critical Discourse Studies* aims to reflect the relevant contribution of the critical analysis of discourse in the understanding of social life, which attracts interesting cross- and inter-disciplinary work from scholars in other fields (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak, 2004).

In addition, nowadays CDA has its own undergraduate and graduate courses (for instance, at Lancaster University) and international conferences (for example, the 'International Conference on Critical Discourse Analysis' held at Valencia (Spain), 5-8 May, 2004). Hence, it seems without doubt that CDA is firmly establishing its own place in the academic world. In deed, 'over the last twenty years CDA has established itself internationally, and is now one of the most popularly embraced forms of discourse analysis' (O'Halloran, 2003: 1).

In its theoretical foundations, critical discourse analysts were decisively influenced by left-wing and Marxist ideas and the thoughts of philosophers and scholars such as Foucault, Habermas, Berstain, Bordieu or Bakhtin (Fairclough, 1989: 12; Van Dijk, 1993: 251; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 261; Mills, 1997: 134; Hammersley, 1997; Jaworsky and Coupland, 1999: 498; Wodak, 2001b: 2). Each of them providing their characteristic views, but having in common a concern for the struggles of modern capitalist society, power relations and also, a reference to the role of language use in such struggles, i.e., a reference to discourse.

That might account for the fact that critical discourse analysis is very much politically loaded, as Kress (1996) stated:

Critical studies of language, Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have from the beginning had a political project: broadly speaking that of altering inequitable distributions of economic, cultural and political goods in contem-

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porary societies (1996: 15).

And the author explains how these scholars intend to reach this goal through the systematic analysis of texts because they are 'potent cultural objects' (1996: 15).

Therefore, critical discourse analysts usually go beyond the description and interpretation of discourse and they enter into political issues or social problems in order to try to contribute to society and social order (Fairclough, 2003: 209; Mills, 1997: 148; Coulthard and Caldas-Coulthard, 1996: xi). As Wodak et al (1999: 8) have stated, critical discourse analysts do not intend to be neutral in their analyses since such neutrality would not allow for a criticism that could lead to the social and political changes they aim at. Its original political intention was so strong that Van Dijk once stated that this paradigm could be called 'sociopolitical discourse analysis' (1993: 249).

Nevertheless, the practice of critical discourse analysts has shown that there does not necessarily have to be an explicit political intention in their analysis, but rather whenever a conflicting or controversial situation is present, a critical discourse analysis can be applied to make explicit the relationships that underline such a situation (Van Leeuwen, personal communication, 7.5.2004). Some illustrating examples are Stamou and Paraskevopoulos 2003, Gilbert 2003, and Stamou and Paraskevopoulos 2004, where CDA is applied to the analysis of ecotourism and environmental education.

Bearing that in mind, we may add what can be considered a core feature of CDA: its problem-orientation (Meyer 2001: 29) , i.e. its practitioners turn attention to a problem or social situation, instead of straightforwardly focusing on linguistic structures. Then, once a critical situation has been identified, they intend to unfold/clarify/reveal, through critical discourse analysis, the tensions underlying such a situation in order to raise consciousness and

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make it more transparent. This opens up research to endless perspectives making connections with other fields and disciplines. An illustrative example is Ainsworth and Hardy's (2004) research on social identity. From their field of organisation studies, these authors explore the contributions of CDA to the study of the 'older worker' identity. They systematically compare and complement their findings with those of other related disciplines such as cultural studies, economics, labour market research and gerontology.

This, in turn, leads to a further characteristic of CDA, its interdisciplinarity (Weiss and Wodak, 2003). Interdisciplinary work implies that once the topic of research has been identified, the critical discourse analyst has to look for methodologies, theoretical frameworks and categories that suit it. This will involve drawing upon literature from the pertinent disciplines or even carrying out team work with experts in those related fields. Certainly, having a linguistic background, interdisciplinarity in CDA will always show a predilection for language (Fairclough, personal communication, 04.12.2004). Basically, it is based on the fact that analysts focus upon problems which have discursive aspects, and secondly, because of the predisposition for those aspects over other theories. Nevertheless, it is for this interdisciplinary character that 'practitioners in a range of disciplines other than applied linguistics have found CDA particularly useful' (Kress, 1990: 93) be it sociology, history, anthropology or cultural studies.

Hence, not surprisingly the topics that are most frequently addressed by critical discourse analysts include: racism (Van Dijk 1986, Reisigl and Wodak 2001, Van Der Valk 2003), gender and sexism (Caldas-Coulthard 1999, Machin and Thornborrow 2003), war and political strategies (Fairclough 2000, Chouliaraki 2004, Butt et al. 2004), and language domination and inequalities in institutional settings (Fairclough 1995a: 130-166, Wodak

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et al. 1999, Hobbs 2003), just to mention some illustrative examples. To cut it short, it might be stated that for an event to become a discursive event, it needs to have social or political consequences or an impact at a general societal level (Jäger 2001: 48).

Then, because of its own nature and evolution, CDA is, according to its own practitioners, not a homogeneous approach. Fowler (1996) pointed out that the dispersion of the early practitioners of the discipline –mainly the authors of *Language and Control*– did not allow for a uniform development of its practice (1996: 6). Nevertheless, it is not only a question of lack of contact among practitioners, but also due to CDA's characteristic features that, at present, its work comprises a wide range of methods and theoretical frameworks depending on the analyst's own interests and tendencies (Sheyholislami, 2001; Wodak et al. 1999: 7, Meyer 2001: 30). Basically, CDA practitioners need to bring together linguistic and sociological categories in their analyses, through a synthesis of the different conceptual tools that best suit the research questions they address. They are, thus, an heterogeneous group who nonetheless share some analytical principles and a concern with certain issues manifested through discourse (Blommaert, 2005: 21).

In fact, although functional grammar can be said to be the main contributor of analytical tools for the kind of analysis carried out by CDA, there are many other grammatical aspects upon which critical analysts can rely, and Threadgold (2003) points to the heterogeneity of methods which, he claims, is characteristic of this field. A basic reason is that 'complex new problems, such as identity research, racism research, and so on, require more than the expertise of an individual discipline' (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 18). It is because this lack of a common single or specific theory that Wodak and Weiss suggest that 'CDA as such cannot be viewed as a holistic or closed paradigm'

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(2003: 12), but rather these scholars suggest that the use of the term ‘school’ or ‘programme’ is best suited to refer to CDA.

So that, the work of the salient critical discourse analysts illustrates the variety of approaches that operate within the common perspective of CDA: Norman Fairclough is mainly concerned with the application of CDA to social research and practice, while Teun Van Dijk’s most recent work concentrates on cognitive aspects. Gunter Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen have developed a multimodal analysis (Van Leeuwen, 2004). Ruth Wodak has introduced a focus on a discourse-historical approach (Wodak 2001a), and Ron Scollon (2001) has differentiated and termed his approach *Mediated Discourse Analysis (MDA)* on the grounds that he pays special attention to social action and actors, and consequently, discourse is *just one* among the many factors that have to be analysed.

Indeed, Van Dijk (2001) himself has emphasised the need for CDA to be diverse, broad and multidisciplinary in order to properly fulfil its goals. Thus, like discourse studies in general, CDA is a vast and interdisciplinary paradigm, with a challenging and attractive panorama ahead. It is a complex field which is still expanding and evolving.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) stated some basic principles of CDA which summarise the present discussion:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitute society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.

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6. The link between text and society is mediated.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Criticism of CDA

Finally, I would like to finish this section with a brief discussion of the **critiques** that CDA most frequently faces, since, as any other new and emerging trend, CDA is not free from limitations, misinterpretations and criticism. Nevertheless, it should not be seen in a negative way since any form of criticism is positive as long as it allows the young discipline to reflect on its own practices, refine its methods and redirect its future steps. In this line, Billig (2000, 2003) has repeatedly stated the need for any critical discipline, and in particular CDA, to be self-critical, since,

As language analysts, we should not shy away from examining (critically examining) the terms that we use to describe our own work and, indeed, our own identity (2000: 291).

To begin with, CDA has had to face the eager opposition of Henry Widdowson, whose criticism led to a series of critiques and replies between this author and Norman Fairclough in the mid 1990's (Widdowson 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998; Fairclough 1996; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999 (2004): 67). Worth mentioning is also the criticism directed by Michael Stubbs (1996), although from a more sympathetic and mild position.

Widdowson's basic claim is that CDA is a contradiction in terms, in the sense that no research can be both *critical* and *analysis* at the same time. The reason is that while the latter is an objective, cold-blooded activity, the former belongs to the realm of interpretation, judgement and ideological

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implications. Hence, it is a contradiction claiming to direct an analysis that is both subjective and objective. Widdowson further argues that CDA is simply a trendy label since the term *discourse* has become very fashionable in linguistic studies lately. This criticism was countered by Fairclough and other critical discourse analysts arguing Widdowson's complete misunderstanding of the main tenets of CDA due to his orthodox and mainstream-linguistics point of view (Rajagopalan, 1996: 23 and 2004: 261; Wodak and Ludwig, 1999: 11).

As far as theory and methodology are concerned, as has already been mentioned above, critical discourse analysis lacks a single uniform methodological practice among its practitioners. This, according to Fowler (1996), makes the practice of CDA not an easy task, especially for those who start in this area of research, so that he suggests that 'a comprehensive methodological guide, tailored to the needs of the discipline [...] is needed' (1996: 8). In addition, Fowler has also highlighted that the categories from functional linguistics that are most frequently applied in textual analysis are usually quite complicated, abstract and even sometimes not enough for the needs of critical analysis (1996: 8). This we have to add to the complex panorama presented by the need to integrate linguistic and sociological perspectives in the analysis. Thus, very often scholars have suggested that CDA would benefit from a greater degree of coordination among practitioners and standardisation at the theoretical and methodological levels (Kress, 1990: 93; Toolan, 1997: 99).

However, CDA practitioners themselves acknowledge the lack of a uniform theoretical foundation, but consider that this plurality of theory is necessary in this kind of research since 'the complex interrelations between discourse and society cannot be analysed adequately unless linguistic and sociological

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approaches are combined' (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 7). Weiss and Wodak (2003) in their recent book extensively deal with the concepts of 'theory' and 'interdisciplinarity' in CDA practice in order to counter this criticism. They argue that because of their goals, CDA analysts need to take from the different theoretical schools the conceptual tools relevant and appropriate for the particular research questions they want to address. It is, thus, though not an easy task, in the specific nature of CDA practice. In the same line, Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 16) deem this bringing together a variety of theories into dialogue a strength of CDA that provides this practice with dynamics, creativity and innovation. In general, even CDA practitioners themselves, acknowledge that a theoretical framework that mediates between the different perspectives applied in CDA is required, but has not been created to date (Fowler, 1996: 8; Rajagopalan, 1999: 449; Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 7).

In addition, the critical discourse analyst's eager interest in political matters has been criticised by some authors who claim that particularly Fairclough and other critical discourse analysts are too much concerned with their political agendas, leaving other social aspects of the analysis weak (Scheuer, 2003: 144) or even appropriating certain social categories without much precision (Poynton, 2000: 35).

Similarly, another aspect which CD analysts have not paid much attention to is the human mind and language cognition. This fault has been pointed out by Stubbs (1996) and Chilton (2005) who argue that the cognitive aspects in the interpretation of texts have been neglected in the practice of CDA and that it could enrich its work with recent research on cognitive science and psychology. Chilton, nevertheless, acknowledges that a handful of authors have timidly introduced this cognitive dimension. He includes

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Wodak's discourse-historical approach as gaining in this direction (2005: 44). Other attempts include O'Halloran recent book, which has precisely tried to fill this gap (2003: 31), and Van Dijk's work (for example his latest, 2005).

Stubbs (1996: 107) also stressed that the interpretation of texts could be strengthened if results were compared to other large corpora and if quantitative methods were used with the goal of confirming and providing support to the findings of individual texts. The linguist claimed that at that time very few studies of CDA followed this practice. Nevertheless, more recently large corpora are being used to provide comparative tools and thus, enrich the work of CDA with qualitative and quantitative methods (Dr. Baker, lecturer at the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University. Specialist on corpus linguistics and CDA. Personal communication. 20.07.04).

A further criticism that CDA most frequently encounters is the objection that political and social ideologies are 'read onto' data, referring to the analysts imposing their pre-determined political bias on the analysis (Widdowson 1995a: 169; Stubbs 1996: 102; Wodak 2001b: 12). In a similar vein, the detailed linguistic analysis has sometimes been deprived on the grounds of excessive attention to political matters, resulting in the use of grammatical categories without much theoretical background (Widdowson, 1995b: 510; Widdowson, 1998: 137; Van Dijk 1999b: 459, Wodak 2001b: 12). Reisigl and Wodak (2001) have countered this criticism suggesting that a possible way to reduce the risk of a politically biased analysis is to follow the principle of triangulation, i.e, to integrate and combine in the analysis of a particular discourse phenomenon a variety of methods, approaches, data and background knowledge (2001: 35). This is the kind of analysis they attempt to carry out in their approach known as 'discourse-historical

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approach'. Nevertheless, these two authors also understand the unavoidable fact that the critic is not a disembodied individual, but a member of a society, with specific points of view.

Finally, critical discourse practice has been criticised for being fruitless in its criticism, for critical discourse analysts have striven to make patent covert relations of power, discrimination, domination and abuse. However, their work does not go beyond, in the sense of providing new ways out, alternatives or solutions to the situations they spotlight. In the words of Gunther Kress (1996),

Critical language projects have remained just that: critiques of texts and of the social practices implied by or realised in those texts, uncovering, revealing, inequitable, dehumanising and deleterious states of affairs (1996: 15).

Kress is emphasising the lack of productive outcomes in CDA works. Similarly, and suggesting considerations for the future work of critical discourse analysts, Luke (2004) has stated that 'I would not want to see our activities restricted to critique and deconstructivism' (2004: 152). In this vein, Martin's (2000) proposal seems a valuable one to bear in mind:

We have to spend less time looking at discourses which oppress and more time looking at discourses which challenge, subvert, renovate and liberate –and celebrate those discourses as enthusiastically as we can. Otherwise our analysis is too negative and too depressing. We need some celebratory discourse analysis alongside our critique! (2000: 297).

In other words, CDA, in their view, should be more positive and constructive. One possible way of doing so is considering as object of analysis

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discourse with positive contents instead of only that which reproduces situations of injustice or oppression. Martin and Rose have termed this *Positive Discourse Analysis* (PDA) (Martin and Rose, 2003: 264) and quite illustratively the authors suggest the analysis of discourses such as those of Nelson Mandela (in the African context) which express harmony, peace and compromise, and from whose interpretation we learn good news about how people make the world a better place.

In a similar trend, Janks and Ivanic (1992) have stressed the need for a critical study of language. Although their work is particularly concerned with critical language awareness in the realm of education, they share the concern for a critical study that can realistically contribute and lead to changes in society so as to make it more equitable and just (1992: 320).

However, critical discourse analysts have repeatedly countered this argument trying to clarify the misunderstanding and arguing that their work does not mean an exclusive focus on the negative side of social processes (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999: 12), i.e., it does not imply a merely deconstructive process, but rather 'it may aim to be 'reconstructive', reconstructing social arrangements' (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 35). Moreover, as I have already mentioned, their work has since its early times a clear commitment to bringing about changes in the world as a result of their critique (Pennycook, 1994: 121).

4.2 The discursive construction of national identity

This section introduces us into the domain of social theories in order to provide a description of the concepts of social and national identity, which

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our research questions and method of analysis require.

Since the topic of identity touches on a wide variety of fields, it has been studied from many different perspectives (psychology, sociology, philosophy, politics, linguistics...). Since it would be impossible to deal with all of them here –and additionally, it is not the aim of this investigation– I will concentrate on those aspects that are relevant for our research.

Most developments in the field of social identity derive from the work of Tajfel and Turner in the 70s, who devised what is known as the ‘Social Identity Theory’ . Their influential work has been very much discussed and elaborated (Abrams and Hogg, 1990).

Based on their work and later contributions, here we will use the term ‘social identity’ to refer to the knowledge that people have of their membership in a certain group (Tajfel and Turner, 1983: 16) which help them find their place in the world (Haarmann, 1995: 3). Understood this way, the notion is said to have a central cognitive essence (Giles and Coupland, 1991: 105; Hamers and Blanc, 1989: 118), i.e., it mainly refers to a concept that is present in people’s minds: that sense of belonging to a certain group. A sense which, according to Chambers (1995: 250), is ‘a profound need’ for people, because everybody needs to show they belong somewhere.

This sense of belonging is based on the dichotomy *similarities–differences*. Indeed, identities are constructed in relation to other identities, marking those aspects that differentiate one’s identity from another. This way ‘difference’ should not be seen as the opposite of identity, but rather becomes one of the key aspects in the notion of identity (Woodward, 1997: 29). That is, members of a group identify themselves as such because they feel they share some aspects, at the same time that they detect other aspects that differentiate them from those who do not belong to that group. This way

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sociocultural identity clearly establishes the distinction between *insiders* and *outsiders* (to use Kramsch's (1998: 8) terms).

As central as the idea of difference, and deriving from it, is that of the 'Other'. Identity needs the 'Other' in order to define itself since it is the 'Other' who makes it possible to establish the differences. This was one of the basic contributions of Ricoeur (1992), although he mainly developed his theory at the level of the individual, which is not of interest for us here.

In this connection, as Oktar (2001: 318) summarises, the development of social identity implies a two-step process. First of all, the identification and differentiation of two groups: 'us' and 'them'. And, second, and equally relevant, the attachment of certain values to each group, where 'us' is always favourably described, while 'them' is associated with negative traits. It is what the author refers to as *positive self-presentation* in opposition to *negative other-presentation*.

Hence, in opposition to traditional beliefs, today, identities are understood as constructed, multiple and dynamic (Woodward, 1997: 303; Martin, 1995: 7; Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004: 237). Social groups develop those mental constructs at specific times in history and identities may change if required by the external circumstances.

Going a step further, we are interested in a specific form of social identity, namely, **national identity** in order to investigate the representation of national identity in the context of the Gibraltar community.

There is a reasonable amount of literature on the topic of national identity since recent historical events (e.g. the Yugoslavian conflict, the situation in the Middle East, Germany's reunification or the European Union) have turned attention to the issue these days (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999: 13) even to the point that some scholars have described it as the most fashionable

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topic of research in sociopolitics today (Álvarez Junco, 2001: 11).

The most influential definition of ‘nation’ has been provided by Benedict Anderson (1983) who described it as an ‘imagined community’. A nation is a mental construct that resides in the minds of those who identify with it. It is imagined in the sense that it is not based on direct interpersonal relations. Members of a nation cannot possibly know each of the other fellow members, yet they have that feeling of belonging to the same national group; hence, a feeling of sharing a collective identity (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996: 11). However, though imagined, it does not mean endless. Nations have boundaries and these boundaries lie where other nations start.

National identities are, thus, understood as the feeling of belonging to a certain imagined community. A community which is felt by its members as having a national uniqueness which differentiates it from other nations. As such, the idea of national identity is relatively recent. It did not appear until the era of Enlightenment with the destruction of absolutist power.

Traditional essentialist theories considered the nation as a ‘natural’ reality and national identities as somehow ‘given’, ‘permanent’ and ‘fixed’. However, recent developments in political science research -with the contributions of scholars such as Gellner, Anderson, Hobsbawm or Weber (Álvarez Junco, 2001: 15-16)- together with contributions from the wide field of Discourse Analysis have helped change this view (Mottier 2002). Hence, nowadays, just like identities in general, national identities are seen as constructed and dynamic.

However, **what is the connection between the social notion of national identity and discourse?** or, in other words, **why do we attempt to analyse this concept from a discursive perspective?** The first glimpse of answer is provided by Martin (1995):

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Communication is what makes relationships possible and the specificity of the human species is that the privileged medium of communication, unknown to other species, is language (1995: 6).

Martin suggests that it is language that makes it possible for members of a community to enter into relation with one another and it is precisely through the use of language in narratives that the differences and values of a collectivity are expressed. Hence, language lies at the heart of the notion and expression of identity. This way, the identity narrative becomes ‘an instrument for constructing an ‘imagined community’” (Martin, 1995: 8). We assume that it is through narratives that the idea of the nation reaches the minds of those who identify with it.

From the above, it also stems that identities by themselves do not exist. They are rather constructed by identity narratives which offer particular interpretations of the world for imagined communities. Thus, following Wodak et al. (1999) we assume that national identity:

is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse (1999: 22).

Thus, national identities are discursively constructed. It is through discourse as social practice that national uniqueness and inter-national differences are expressed. Hence, through discursive practices a certain national identity can be constructed, perpetuated, transformed or dismantled (Wodak et al. 1999: 33).

These identity narratives are produced and spread by members of a community in specific contexts of time and space, which in turn explains why national identities are dynamic and changeable, rather than fixed or given.

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National identities change as individuals encounter new material which is added to the narrative. In addition, in the discursive construction of national identity the concepts of time and space are particularly significant (Wodak et al. 1999: 26). The narrative of the nation is abundant in references to the common past, the present and the future which the members of the nation will go through together. Likewise, the imagined community needs a place to be lived and experienced.

In addition, the discursive construction of the 'self' and the 'other' is said to become especially accentuated in the case of conflicts, or, as Fishman (1999: 447) pointed out, in the face of threatening forces, which is when people more especially need to defend themselves reaffirming who they are. This is backed up by Tajfel and Turner's (1983) statement that conflicts 'do not only create antagonistic intergroup relations but also heighten identification with, and positive attachment to, the in-group' (1983: 8). This comment becomes particularly significant for the study of the Gibraltar community since they are going through a crucial moment in their history, striving to defend their status and integrity. In such a situation, the question of identity has certainly achieved greater prominence for them. In Kent's (2004) words, 'The question of what it means to be a Gibraltar and, indeed, who Gibraltarans truly are, is one whose answer has been at the eye of all the protectorate's political storms since the British first arrived' (2004: 22).

In this line, Martin's (1995) statement is also relevant in the case of Gibraltar. This author affirms that national identity narratives become weapons when 'the narrative is built with the intention of redressing or reversing a balance of power considered to be detrimental to the interests of a 'group'' (1995: 8). This way, the narrative can help to mobilise the group against that situation.

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Thus, identities in general and national identities in particular can rightly be the object of study of the broad discipline of discourse analysis, from which identity is viewed as an ongoing process constructed through language and communication. Discourse and identity are intimately connected. Even more, recent investigations have proved CDA particularly useful in the study of identities by filling key gaps that other disciplines approaching this concept fail to address (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004: 225; see also the review of the literature on page 27 of the present work). CDA's critical perspective allows the researcher to examine and understand the broader social and cultural context in which identities are constructed through language as social practice.

4.3 Media discourse

Since the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth century, the media of mass communication have undoubtedly had a central role and impact in the development and transformation of modern societies. It was this invention that made possible the circulation of printed materials and their availability to a plurality of recipients. This subsequently meant the spread of ideas.

Nowadays, to the press we have to add other electronic means of mass communication (television, radio, Internet, etc.) whose power and influence in our contemporary society is generally acknowledged (Fairclough, 1995b: 3). This has been illustrated by a variety of studies such as Van Dijk's (1989) on the role of media in the reproduction and spread of racist ideologies, Menz's (1989) about the influence of the printed media in a dispute over the construction of a hydroelectric power-plant in Austria, or Stamou's (2001) about a social protest in Greece, just to mention a few examples. The reason

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is that living in a world permeated by the media, they become the ordinary means by which individuals get information with which they form judgements on certain issues (Thompson, 1995: 257), hence shaping people's minds on those matters.

It is in this line and with specific reference to one of the kinds of media that Trew affirmed:

Newspapers are only a part of the ideological institutions of a society, a part whose specific nature involves the fact that they are primarily concerned with making public information about what is happening (1979: 156).

It is through this transmission of information that ideologies are spread and societies influenced by them. In addition, having a mass audience, the influence and power of the media becomes massive. Fairclough has conveniently illustrated this point in the following words:

The ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or the economy), particular constructions of social identities (e.g. the construction in particular ways of the scientific experts who feature on radio or television programmes), and particular constructions of social relations (e.g. the construction of relations between politicians and public as simulated relations between people in a shared lifeworld) (1995b: 12).

Because of their relevance, media studies are widespread nowadays. Here, what concerns the present investigation is the language of the media, or more specifically, *media discourse*, i.e., the analysis of media language in relation to its social context and its social practices (Fairclough, 1995b: 16).

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Hence, it refers not to a special kind of language, but to special uses of language. Scholarly attention towards media discourse was, according to Van Dijk (1990: 6), part of the general atmosphere of the ‘turn to discourse’ that characterised the last decades of the twentieth century. Hence, relatively recent.

According to Fairclough (1995b), media discourse has been approached from a variety of disciplines including linguistics, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, cultural studies and, of course, critical discourse analysis since its early antecedents in the critical linguistics, as the chapters by Trew and Hodge in *Language and Control* (1979) clearly illustrate. In addition, media discourse has become a kind of data with a strong tradition in CDA (Bell and Garret, 1998: 6; O’Halloran, 2003: 9).

As Van Dijk (1991a: 108) has pointed out, discourse analysis with its interdisciplinary theories and methods seems particularly suitable for the study of media messages. Some examples of the study of media language from a critical discourse perspective are Van Dijk (1988), Fairclough (1989, 1995b), Lamb (1990), Fowler (1991), Martín Rojo (1995) and Chouliaraki (2004), among the various volumes and journal articles that could be cited.

One of the reasons for the special focus on media discourse on the part of CDA is the fact that, as has already been mentioned, the media of mass communication are one of the institutions by which society gets information and ideological knowledge. The media, then, shape society, but at the same time media discourse is shaped by the society in which it is produced. There is a dialectical relationship in which media discourse is socially shaped and socially ‘shaping’ (Fairclough, 1995b: 55). This view opposes a more traditional sociolinguistic approach, such as Bell’s (1991) who considered that media language simply reflects reality and that it is not socially constructed.

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Certainly, Fairclough (1995b: 21) criticised this point. It is nevertheless important to mention that Bell's work, though not a critical analyst and, as such, not so relevant for the present research, is one of the most influential texts in media studies. Other leading figures in the field include Stuart Hall (1980) from a cultural studies perspective or John Hartley (1982), from semiotics.

Hence, in the critical discourse approach media discourse is seen as a social practice that reconstructs and reconstitutes reality (Chouliaraki, 1999: 38). Consequently, with the analytical tools provided by critical discourse analysis the ideologies and representations of the world that are latent in media texts can be unpacked and their influence on society can be analysed.

Thus, not surprisingly CDA practitioners find in media discourse -with its load of symbolic forms- the appropriate arena for their social and political agendas.

But, as pertains the present investigation, a further point needs to enter the present discussion: **What is the connection of media discourse with the representation of national identity?** As can be inferred from the above exposition, the media of mass communication also play a crucial role in the formation of identities.

Benedict Anderson himself recognised that the invention of the printing press and other means of mass communication was one of the necessary conditions for the emergence of forms of national sentiment (Thompson, 1995: 62). Basically, the media play a relevant role in the construction of the nation since through these means members of the community enter into contact, if in an indirect way, with other members of the community, which helps construct their image of a 'we' (Amezaga 2000). This way the media make possible that the idea of the imagined community reaches individuals who are remote

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in space and time.

Piller (2001) reinforces this idea adding that ‘contemporary cultural identities are hybrid, complex, and often contradictory, and the media play a crucial role in their reconfiguration’ (2001: 155). Although the author deals with the analysis of printed adverts, his statement can be applied to any kind of media discourse.

As Thompson (1995: 210) has highlighted, the narrative of identity is constructed with the symbolic materials that are available to the community. Traditionally, this was achieved through face-to-face interaction and a shared locale. However, in our contemporary societies, much of these symbolic materials are provided through the media. The media constitute a new form of interaction known as ‘mediated interaction’ which has altered the traditional conditions in the formation of identities.

Nowadays, most of our knowledge of the past and about the world is nourished by the products of the media. Then, our feeling of belonging is dependant on the media and ‘we feel ourselves to belong to groups and communities which are constituted in part through the media’ (Thompson, 1995: 35). Thus, the analysis of media discourse constitutes a helpful component in the study of the formation and representation of national identities.

In the present study, the data are taken from one of the media of mass communication, the newspaper, and more particularly from editorials as a genre of media discourse. The selection of this genre allows us to focus on the opinions and ideologies present and spread in the coverage of the issue which is the object of our study (Achugar, 2004: 293). This kind of article reflects the reactions, attitudes and feelings of people towards current events, situations, peoples and conflicts. They represent the identity and opinion of the newspaper on a certain matter. In this way, they become written

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monologues but with dialogic nature, appealing to the reader and getting them involved in the discussion.

The selection of media discourse from newspapers is particularly relevant, since the process of identity formation takes place slowly (Thompson, 1995: 43) and the message of the editorials, being received, read and appropriated by the readers day after day, can be seen as a hammer shaping people's minds with each stroke.

4.4 Consequences for the present investigation

This chapter has presented the theoretical background that provides the necessary framework for the present investigation, covering three important aspects: the critical discourse analysis paradigm, the discursive construction of national identity and the role of media discourse in the formation of national identities.

Having the above discussion in mind, I would like to stress that my research will adhere, and make use of the tools provided by, the tradition of critical discourse analysis. I do not intend to feature nor to solve the political problem that the Gibraltar community faces. My research's aim is to analyse and interpret what the discursive analysis of instances of discourse on Gibraltar tells us about a controversial situation: the Gibraltar community and the discursive construction of its identity. That is, a community where conflicting forces are at play: the United Kingdom, Spain and the Gibraltarians themselves.

Since, as I have already pointed out, Meyer stated that critical discourse analysts usually take the part of the deprived (2001: 30), I may claim that I

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have turned my attention to the unprivileged ones in the present situation, that is, to the Gibraltarians themselves, since they are the ones who are suffering the political tensions between the two powers: the United Kingdom and Spain.

In the context of the present research aims, a critical discourse analysis can serve to understand how the media spread and impose certain political and social beliefs, values and perspectives, shaping society's perception on a particular issue, namely, the Gibraltar issue and this community's identity. And I do hope that the intended analysis can provide for a better understanding of these people.

Moreover, from the variety of approaches I have mentioned that lie under the common umbrella of CDA, the present piece of research is to be placed under the **discourse-historical approach** as described and developed by professor Ruth Wodak and the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis at the University of Vienna (Wodak et al. 1999; Wodak and Meyer, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). This approach has proved particularly useful for the study of historical and political topics as it –in an interdisciplinary way– integrates a vast amount of background historical information combined with socio-political and linguistic perspectives (what is known as the principle of 'triangulation' (Wodak et al. 1999: 9)).

In addition, the discourse-historical approach has been successfully applied in pieces of research which share similar goals to the ones that concern us here, i.e., the analysis of the discursive construction of national identities, as in Wodak et al. (1999) in the case of Austria, and Ricento (2003) who focused on the construction of American national identity (as already reviewed on page 27).

Thus, the discourse-historical approach can provide the appropriate frame-

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work for the study of the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity. And it is for this reason that the present study includes an extensive section on the history of Gibraltar, so as to successfully understand the object under investigation, and then be able to properly analyse and interpret the media texts about it.

Hence, my critical discourse analysis within the tradition of the discourse-historical approach will help to identify which are the discursive criteria around which Gibraltarian identity is articulated. From the above discussion, Gibraltarian identity should be understood as the collective idea of what Gibraltar as a term and a place represents. In addition, the vast corpus of texts that constitute the data for analysis -taken from Gibraltarian, Spanish and British sources- will allow us to show how this identity is constructed and articulated in discourse both for those who identify with it (Gibraltarians themselves) and for those who view it from outside (Spain and Britain). Thus, CDA allows us to explore how the Gibraltarian community is represented in the media and the implications it has for society and the future of the community itself. The discursive strategies and the method of linguistic analysis will be described in more detail in the next chapter.

Because of the special role of the media as powerful means in ideological construction and maintenance in contemporary society, media discourse constitutes the appropriate kind of data on which to base the analysis of the Gibraltar issue. Particularly, the genre of editorials 'is characterised by being one of the widest circulated opinion discourses of society and by representing institutional, not personal opinion' (Achugar, 2004: 294). Thus, the analysis of editorials can help us understand the representation of the Gibraltarian identity that this means of mass communication has transmitted and its influence in the perception of the issue by society.

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In addition, the texts I analyse in the present research are influential in shaping people's perception of the Gibraltar issue, not only in Gibraltar, Spain and Britain (where the newspapers are edited and distributed), but worldwide due to the emergence of the World Wide Web and other electronic media with the subsequent globalisation of communication.

Finally, the selection of media discourse as the kind of data on which to base my research places my study within the more traditional tread of the theoretical and analytical paradigm of CDA.

Chapter 5

Methodology

Now that the overall theoretical framework has been described, this new chapter moves on to the detailed description of the actual methodological model that has been applied in the present investigation. It starts with an account of how this model was developed.

Hence, bearing the above theoretical discussion in mind and having thoroughly studied many pieces of research within the paradigm of CDA and the topic of the discursive construction of national identity, these are the steps I have developed for my own study:

1. **Genesis:** I became interested in the issue of the Gibraltarian community due to the critical moment they are currently going through as a result of the present political situation with a history lingering for more than 300 years. So, I identified and described this situation, gaining background knowledge, through the study of the history and the ethnography of Gibraltar. This led to the formulation of the research questions (already presented on page ix) which define the purposes of the present work. As this researcher has a linguistic background, this certainly became the main perspective from which to approach the is-

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sue. In addition, since CDA practice is problem-oriented (see page 79) and it allows for a critical study that links linguistic and social aspects, it was adopted as the general theoretical framework on which to base the research.

2. **Process of data collection:** Having observed previous and varied research carried out by other authors, I learnt that there is no unanimity in the way of selecting a textual corpus for this kind of study. The process of data collection is always determined by the research questions posed by the investigation. Consequently, I selected appropriate discourses relevant for the issue under study. This point is later elaborated in the section on the description of the corpus.
3. **Content analysis:** It is a first analytical step since it is basically a quantitative and thematic analysis. The evaluative and interpretative part will come in the next stage. This content analysis, which is considered as belonging to a more traditional and sociolinguistic approach to media language, seems a useful and necessary complementary step to the proper discourse analysis (as it is also suggested by Kelly (1997)). In addition, this combination of textual analysis complemented with some form of content analysis had also been advocated by Fairclough (1995b: 105) and, particularly when analysing media discourse, by Renkema (2004: 267).

This stage of my research covered two aspects. First, the coverage of the Gibraltar issue in the body of texts selected. And second, an analysis of the subject areas with which the Gibraltar issue has been related. I also intended to look into which topics and events caught the attention of editors in relation, and beyond, the Gibraltar issue. This

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gave a first impression of how the issue was covered in the body of data analysed.

4. **Selection of linguistic categories:** At this stage certain choices had to be made since, out of common sense, complete linguistic analysis of such a large corpora as the one in the present investigation is out of the question (Van Dijk, 2001: 99). In addition, following the practice of CDA, where there is no set list of linguistic devices for using in an analysis, I had to select those which were relevant for my research question and whose analysis would allow relevant conclusions to be drawn (Meyer, 2001: 25). Thus, I had to identify which properties of discourse were relevant for the particular social issue at stake.

Hence, having observed a great many studies and the results of prior pilot studies (for example, Alameda-Hernández 2005), the linguistic analysis of my textual corpus is based on the categories provided by Reisigl and Wodak (2001) and Wodak et al (1999) as part of the so-called 'Discourse-historical approach' that was developed by the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis, because the discursive strategies described are involved in the representation and construction of national identities. It is also complemented with Halliday's Transitivity Model, as described in his systemic-functional grammar (1985, 1994 and 2004). The model of linguistic analysis I have relied on in the current study is described and developed in more detail below.

5. **Textual analysis:** At this stage, the linguistic categories were applied to the body of texts. Following Fairclough (1999: 184), in order to critically analyse discourse, detailed and careful textual analysis is needed because *form* and *content* are intrinsically related. This way, formal

analysis, which includes the analysis of linguistic structures and textual organisation, mediates the proper interpretation of the content of the discourse under investigation.

6. **Drawing of conclusions:** It involved making extensive interpretation of the analysis since it is not ‘a mechanical procedure which automatically yields ‘objective’ interpretations’ (Fowler, 1991: 68). Rather, constant reference had to be made to the background context, the issue being analysed, as well as the broad social theories underlining the research. It was at this stage when the links between the linguistic aspects and the outside world became more transparent.

These steps have been designed guided by Jäger (2001) on how to conduct discourse analyses, and also illuminated by Maxwell’s (1996) suggestions on how to design consistent and workable qualitative research.

5.1 Methodological model

As I have already mentioned, CDA draws on many different theoretical frameworks to carry out the textual analysis. Following Van Dijk’s suggestion about not following a single ‘expert’ in the practice of critical discourse analysis (2001: 95-96) and based on the results of prior pilot studies on the Gibraltar issue (Alameda-Hernández 2004 and 2005), I have gradually been pinning down the model that best suits the goals of the present investigation.

Consequently, the methodological model I have developed for the present research has been adopted from the approach and categories of analysis described by Wodak et al. (1999) and Reisigl and Wodak (2001) as part of their *Discourse-historical approach* and Halliday’s (2004) *Transitivity model*,

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together with the contribution of Van Leeuwen (1995, 1996) on the representation of social actions and actors.

At this point it seems relevant to quote Van Dijk (2001):

It should be stressed that CDA and discourse analysis in general, are not ‘methods’ that can simply be applied in the study of social problems. [...] CDA does not provide a ready-made, how-to-do approach to social analysis. [...] Concrete methods of research depend on the properties of the context of scholarly investigation: aims, participants, setting, users and their beliefs and interests (Van Dijk 2001: 98).

It is for this reason that the above mentioned approaches have been adapted to conform to the particular research needs of the present investigation, i.e., to conform to the analysis of the construction and representation of national identity in the context of the Gibraltar community through the analysis of media discourse. The next sections will describe each of the categories of analysis in detail.

5.1.1 Referential and Predicational Strategies (the Discourse-historical approach)

The categorisation of referential and predicational discursive strategies that I employ in the present investigation was developed as part of the so-called **Discourse-historical approach**.

The Discourse-historical approach, committed to the broader paradigm of CDA, was developed by the Vienna School of Discourse Analysis in the decade of the 1980s. Their early interests were complex social problems affecting our modern societies, such as antisemitism, racist discrimination

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and national identity. Their studies (Wodak, Nowak, Pelikan, Gruber, de Cillia and Mitten (1990), Mitten (1992), Matouschek, Wodak and Januscheck (1995) and Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999), among others) were originally applied to the Austrian context.

In investigating such complex issues, the Discourse-historical approach ‘attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded’ (Wodak, 2001a: 65), together with the incorporation of the appropriate social theories to explain the context.

This model is, thus, essentially similar to the practice of other critical discourse analysts, but with a special emphasis on the analysis of the historical context, to integrate it into the interpretation of discourses, and the incorporation of ethnography and fieldwork to explore from the inside the object under investigation. In other words, it is particularly historically-oriented and context-sensitive.

I decided to adhere to the categories of analysis of this model because from the very beginning its analysts were interested in issues of social and national identities, as shown above, and, as the approach was elaborated, it developed a successful method of description and analysis applicable to the study of the discursive construction of national identities. This method, though originally applied to the Austrian case, could successfully be extended to other contexts (Wodak et al, 1999: 186). Hence, the present research takes on that suggestion by the authors of the discourse-historical approach and applies it to the study of the discursive construction of national identity in the Gibraltarian context.

As has already been discussed in the previous chapter, discourse is socially constituted at the same time that it is socially constitutive, i.e., it influences

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the social institutions and social settings in which the discursive act appears. In addition, according to the findings of the discourse-historical approach, in doing so, discourse fulfils four main functions: constructive function, perpetuating function, transformative function and destructive function (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001: 43). That is, discourse can help to construct, justify, change or dismantle a certain social condition or situation, respectively. To fulfil these functions, discourse relies on four basic **macro-strategies** which are named after the function they fulfil: constructive strategies, preservative strategies, transformative strategies and destructive strategies.

By strategies is meant the systematic way of using language adopted to achieve a particular aim (Wodak, 2004: 131). Applied to the study of the discursive construction of national identity,

1. *Constructive strategies* aim at the construction of national identities,
2. *Preservative strategies* aim at the reproduction of a certain national identity,
3. *Transformative strategies* aim at changing the character of a certain national identity, and
4. *Destructive strategies* aim at the dismantling of certain characteristics of national identities.

Particular discourses will give prominence to one or two of these strategies over the others. It is the task of the analyst to discover and explain which they are and what implications it has for the discourse under study.

These discursive macro-strategies are further specified in a number of **micro-strategies** which detail the various linguistic devices through which they are actualised in discourse. These are:

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1. *Referential strategies*: to construct and represent social actors.
2. *Predicational strategies*: to assign qualities to the social actors.
3. *Argumentation strategies*: To justify and legitimise the positive or negative attributions assigned to social actors. They include topoi and common strategies such as scape-goating, blaming the victim, trivialisation or denial.
4. *Perspectivation strategies*: To express the point of view of the speaker in the representation of social actors.
5. *Intensifying/Mitigation strategies*: To intensify or mitigate the illocutionary force of what is presented and qualified.

In my study I focus on the first two types of micro-strategies, namely, **Referential strategies** and **Predicational strategies**. This selection is based on the nature of the present investigation which necessitates the analysis of devices that characterise how Gibraltar is presented and represented in texts. The selection is further sustained/supported on the basis of the results of my prior pilot studies which stressed the relevance of these two discursive strategies over the rest in the context of the construction of Gibraltarian identity.

Hence, referential and representational strategies are particularly significant in the present investigation because the way a social group is categorised influences the way we perceive and relate to it. It shapes society's perception of that group. For instance, naming implies evaluation by the narrator of that which is named. Again, that evaluation is conveyed to the reader/audience. In the same line, the lexicon of a language is the key to the history, culture and society that produces it. Key words in a text highlight the main actors

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in a certain debate or situation. Fairclough (1989) himself supports the relevance of the study of vocabulary as part of the practice of CDA because of the impact of the social meanings and values coded in words. The evaluation and emotional impact of a text are constructed through these lexical choices and their categorisation in textual structures.

In the end, these are strategies of self- and other-presentation, which are core elements in the discursive construction of national identity. Hence, the relevance of these linguistic devices we focus on.

As already introduced, referential strategies are realised in the form of linguistic devices through which social actors are referred to or named, while predicational strategies provide the qualities or attributes assigned to those actors in discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 45). As far as the linguistic devices through which these strategies are actualised in discourse –and thus the linguistic aspects I focus on in my analysis-, it has to be mentioned that both strategies are very much connected, because any form of reference or naming very often involves an evaluation or characterisation of that which is named. It is for this reason that a single list of linguistic devices will be presented. This list is not exhaustive, but just includes the most relevant and frequent ones:

1. Suppression: radical exclusion.
2. Backgrounding: de-emphasising exclusion (e.g. passivisation).
3. Lexical choices in naming.
4. Attributes: adjectives, appositions, relative clauses.
5. Collocations.
6. Semantic fields.

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7. Comparisons.
8. Similes.
9. Metaphors.
10. Other rhetorical figures: metonymies, hyperboles, personification, synecdoches.
11. Generic references.
12. Collectives and pronouns (collectivisation).

In addition, according to the discursive function they fulfil, these micro-strategies are connected to the macro-strategies, so that they may be constructive, perpetuating, transformative or destructive. A summary may be seen in my table 5.1.

SOCIAL FUNCTION OF DISCOURSE	MACRO-STRATEGIES	MICRO-STRATEGIES
Constructive	Constructive	Referencial and Representational strategies
Perpetuating	Preservative	
Transformative	Transformative	
Destructive	Destructive	

Table 5.1: Discursive strategies and their social functions in the Discourse-historical approach

In my analysis, I identify the micro- and macro-strategies that predominate and hence determine the corresponding discursive function they are realising.

Thus, the analysis of these discursive strategies is oriented towards giving response to the basic specific questions of our research aim: How is Gibraltar named and referred to linguistically? and, what traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to it? Hence, the linguistic analysis of our textual corpus of editorial articles from the *Gibraltarian*, Spanish and British press allows us to discover and understand how Gibraltar presented itself to the world and how it was perceived and represented from outside.

5.1.2 The Transitivity system

(Halliday's Systemic-Functional linguistics)

The system of transitivity that my research relies on stems from Halliday's Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) (Halliday 1985, 1994; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The main reason is that Halliday and functional linguistics in general regard language as a societal phenomenon and thus study it in relation to its use in society (Halliday, 1994). Not surprisingly, this approach is also referred to as Social-semiotics.

As such, it establishes the relationship between grammatical structures of language and their social context. With such a conception of language, SFL provides the appropriate grounds for the kind of linguistic analysis the critical discourse analyst intends to carry out. Martin (2000) summarises the close connection between CDA and SFL highlighting that functional linguistics is

multifunctional, well adapted for text analysis and concerned with relating language to social context [...and because of] its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use (2000: 275).

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Secondly, it is precisely functional grammar that has been the linguistic framework most frequently used by those scholars who have been engaged in critical discourse analysis since its early stages, from the very advent of Critical Linguistics, such as Fowler, Kress, Hodge and Trew (1979), Fairclough (1989) and Fowler (1996). Recent studies include Oktar (2001); Stamou (2001), O'Halloran (2003) and Fairclough (2003), just to mention a few examples. In addition, Martin (2002) explores the close connection of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Discourse Analysis offering a wide review of recent work which reflects it. Similarly, Young and Harrison's (2004) recent work is a collection of papers that both theoretically and analytically explain and illustrate the solid tradition that links SFL and CDA.

Furthermore, as Renkema (2004) has suggested, a Hallidayan approach to CDA is an attempt to carry it out in a more systematic way, so as to counter the criticism of vagueness and lack of objectivity that this discipline usually encounters (2004: 284). Hence, one of the strengths of applying a SFL analysis to CDA is that its detailed and rigorous analysis of texts helps to preserve the interpretation from ideological bias.

And finally, Fairclough (1999) is convincingly firm when he states that this analytical framework is particularly suited for the kind of research that I intend to carry out, since 'issues of social identification in texts cannot be fully addressed without a multifunctional view of language such as Halliday's' (1999: 202). Hence, a Hallidayan approach to discourse on the Gibraltar issue can help us uncover ideological effects in the texts which are not obvious at first reading.

The basic premise of Halliday's work is that 'language is as it is because of the functions in which it has evolved in the human species' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 31). Hence, his central contribution is the identification

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of the three main functions that language is used for in society. These he called metafunctions and are: Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual.

The **Ideational function** refers to the use of language for the expression of experiential meaning, in other words, the representation of experience, the expression of content. It is probably the basic function of language because every message is always about something.

The second **Interpersonal function** makes for interpersonal meaning, that is, language is used to set up interactions between the people using the language. It refers to the enacting of social relationships.

Finally, the **Textual function** deals with the organisation of the information in discourse, the construction of the message, which has also been referred to as textual meaning.

These three functions are reflected in the linguistic structure of discourse. Thus, the ideational function is reflected through the **Transitivity system** of grammar (which refers to the types of processes, participants and circumstances represented in discourse), the interpersonal function is manifested through the **Mood system** (in the form of the modality system, modal verbs, adverbs and adjectives), and the textual function is reflected in the **Theme system** (through the organisation of the message in theme and rheme).

Analysis of these linguistic structures enables the researcher to discover how the three kinds of meaning that language expresses are enacted in particular texts and, in turn, provide useful information as to the language users and the social context in which such instances of language are used. In this sense, in the early years of the systemic-functional model, Hassan (1978) stated that text is

a social event whose primary mode of unfolding is linguistic. If

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text can be seen as a bridge between the verbal symbolic system and the culture, this is because of the relationship between text and social context: text is ‘in language’ as well as ‘in culture’ (1978: 229).

It becomes clear, then, that SFL focuses on language in use in context because the analysis always links the language choices of a text to its context of use. Put in other words, its object is ‘the question of how language is structured to make meaning in context’ (Norgaard, 2003: 12). This focus on context supports the application of the categories of SFL within the general CDA framework of the present investigation.

Then, the label ‘functional’ in Halliday’s grammar refers to the conception of language as a meaning making resource, while on the other hand, being ‘systemic’ means that it is seen as a network of choices, that is, the selection of options from the various systems of grammar constitute meaning potentials (Fairclough, 1995a: 210). In our textual analysis, each option is interpreted against the paradigm of what could have been said instead.

Since SFL is inherently context-oriented, a few words have to be devoted to this concept. *Context* in SFL is understood as comprising two aspects: **Context of situation** and **Context of culture**. The former refers to the immediate context in which language is used, and the former includes the larger context that the culture embodies. Both aspects have to be taken into account throughout the process of textual analysis as they will be illuminating as to the interpretation of data. This is also the reason why some ethnographic and field work was undertaken in the early stages of this investigation and why basic background information about the Gibraltar community has been provided in chapter 2.

When dealing with the context of situation, three variables need to be

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identified (Halliday and Hassan, 1985: 12):

1. **Field of discourse:** concerned with the content or topic of discourse.
2. **Tenor of discourse:** related to the nature of the relationship, status and roles of those involved in language use.
3. **Mode of discourse:** refers to the role of language in the situation, the channel and status of language.

Applied to the textual corpus of the present investigation,

-*Field* refers to the discussion of the Gibraltar issue, the situation and future of the colony;

-*Tenor* refers to the editor or editorial board, as the institutional voice of the newspaper in the leader pages, addressing the audience;

- And *Mode* relates to the channel which in this corpus is written and one-way in the sense that feedback is not immediate nor even expected, except possibly in the form of letters to the editor.

It can be seen that these three contextual variables are interconnected with the three metafunctions that language is used to serve in society. The following chart (5.2) summarises this relationship, and also that between the main variables in SFL that have been described above. It illustrates how Halliday's model establishes a close relation between language, meaning and context (adapted from Christie and Unsworth (2000: 9).

As has already been introduced, the present research focuses on the analysis of the **transitivity system** in the body of texts that comprise our data. This grammatical system has been selected in the light of previous pilot studies, having shown to provide useful and illuminating results, and also because it grammatically achieves and reflects what is considered to be the most basic function of language, i.e., the expression of ideational meaning. Then,

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CONTEXT	METAFUNCTION	USE	GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM
field	ideational	representing experience of reality	transitivity
tenor	interpersonal	enacting social relations	mood
mode	textual	organising messages	theme

Table 5.2: Metafunctions and other variables in Systemic Functional Linguistics

we assume, it reflects how the Gibraltar issue is represented and construed in discourse. In addition, research by other authors also supports this selection, as illustrated, among others, by the results obtained by Stamou (2001), whose analysis centered on the nature of processes (material, relational, behavioural, verbal) selected to depict certain social groups. The author was able to establish sound conclusions regarding the discursive representation of these groups.

However, although the focus of the analysis will be on the transitivity system, references to certain aspects of the two other systems are unavoidable at some stage to support the analysis. It is in the very nature of language itself. Indeed, the three systems intersect with each other as the three metafunctions of language simultaneously unfold in a text. Future studies will enrich and illuminate the results of the present one with deeper analysis of the two other grammatical systems.

At this stage, I would like to point out that from now on I will mainly make reference to the latest revised edition of Halliday's work (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004) because, as he himself states in the Preface, revision and clarification were needed as the systemic functional model had been widely

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used in the analysis of discourse. In addition, in relation to the area of SFL which particularly concerns us here –i.e. the Transitivity system-, the author explains that that part ‘has been considerably rewritten, in order to make the very complex aspects of transitivity more accessible and to provide more support for text analysis’ (2004: Preface). Hence, reference to this edition seems more sensible.

Moving into the study of the Transitivity system, the expression of reality, the representation of experience of what goes on in the world, involves three basic kinds of elements (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 170):

1. **Processes**, i.e, activities or ‘going-ons’ that unfold through time,
2. **Participants** who are directly involved in the process and
3. **Circumstances** of various types such as time, space, cause, manner, etc. which give additional information, but which are not directly involved in the process.

Processes are always realised by a verb and there is only one process in a clause. Participants, which do not necessarily imply +human or +concrete elements (i.e. having human or concrete traits), are typically realised by nominal group, but it is also possible to find embedded clauses. And, finally, circumstances are usually realised by prepositional phrases, nominal groups or adverbial groups (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 177).

For ease of presentation, the classification and description of the different kinds of processes, participants and circumstances is presented in tables 5.3 and 5.4, which have been elaborated from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 169-302).

In table 5.3, the discontinuous line in the description of participants separates those which are central and obligatory for the process to take place

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PROCESSES	Material Physical action, doing or happening.	Mental Aspects of cognition, emotion, and perception.	Relational Relation between two entities, characterisation or identification.	Behavioural Physiological processes or behaviours.	Verbal Forms of saying and symbolic exchange of meaning.	Existential Expressing something exists or happens.
PARTICIPANTS	<p>Actor: doer of the action. Goal: object of the action.</p>	<p>Senser: the one that senses (+conscious) Phenomenon:that which is sensed by the senser (thing, act or fact).</p>	<p>ATTRIBUTE: Attribute: quality attributed. Carrier: participant who has the quality. IDENTIFYING: Token: that which is identified. Value:that which gives the identification.</p>	<p>Behaver:that who is behaving (+ conscious)</p>	<p>Sayer: speaker or anything that is symbolically the source of saying.</p>	<p>Existent: entity or event which is being said to exist.</p>
	<p>Scope: further domain or specification of the process. Beneficiary: benefiting from the action: -Receptient: goods are given to it. -Client: services are given to it. Attribute:resultant qualitative state of the actor or goal after the process has been completed.</p>		<p>Attributor/Assigner: the participant that establishes the relationship of attribution or identification.</p>	Behaviour	<p>Receiver: addressee to whom the saying is directed. Verbiage: what is said. Target: entity targeted by the process (related to judgements).</p>	

Table 5.3: Transitivity System Summary Chart: Processes and Participants

CIRCUMSTANCES	ENHANCING	<p>Extent: distance in space or duration in time.</p> <p>Location: space or time where/when the process unfolds.</p> <p>Manner: way in which the process is realised (means, quality, comparison, degree).</p> <p>Cause: reason why the process is actualised (reason, purpose, behalf).</p> <p>Contingency: element on which the actualisation of the process depends (condition, concession, default).</p>
	EXTENDING	<p>Accompaniment: joint participation in the process (comitative, additive).</p>
	ELABORATING	<p>Role: part played by a participant in the process (guise, product).</p>
	PROJECTION	<p>Matter: that which is referred to, narrated, described, etc.</p> <p>Angle: source or viewpoint used to present information in a clause.</p>

Table 5.4: Transitivity System Summary Chart: Circumstances

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(above), from those which are optional or indirect participants in the process (below).

Even though the chart looks clear and neat, Halliday's himself recognises that the process types are fuzzy categories (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 172). Indeed, they are as rich and complex as the reality they represent.

Material, mental and relational are the three principal types of processes in the English clause as they represent the three main kinds of our experience of the world: outer experience in material processes, inner experience in mental processes and the relation of one fragment of experience to another one through relational processes.

The three other categories are located somehow at the boundaries of the three major ones. Hence, behavioural processes are on the borderline between material and mental, verbal processes at the boundary between mental and relational, and existential processes between relational and material (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 170-171). Figure 5.1 illustrates how the types of processes in English construe our experience of the world. This figure has been elaborated from Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 172).

Furthermore, the analysis carried out for the present investigation has been illuminated by the electronic tool 'Process Type Data Base' (Neale 2002). This device has been designed by the researcher Dr. Amy Neale from the University of Queen Mary's College (University of London). According to its designer¹, it is still being improved and enlarged.

The 'Process Type Data Base' already incorporates circa 5,400 verbs listed in alphabetical order. Various kinds of information is added about each verb, such as figures of the occurrences of the verb form in the Bank of English or information about the verb sense and its grammatical structure.

¹Personal communication, 04.08.05

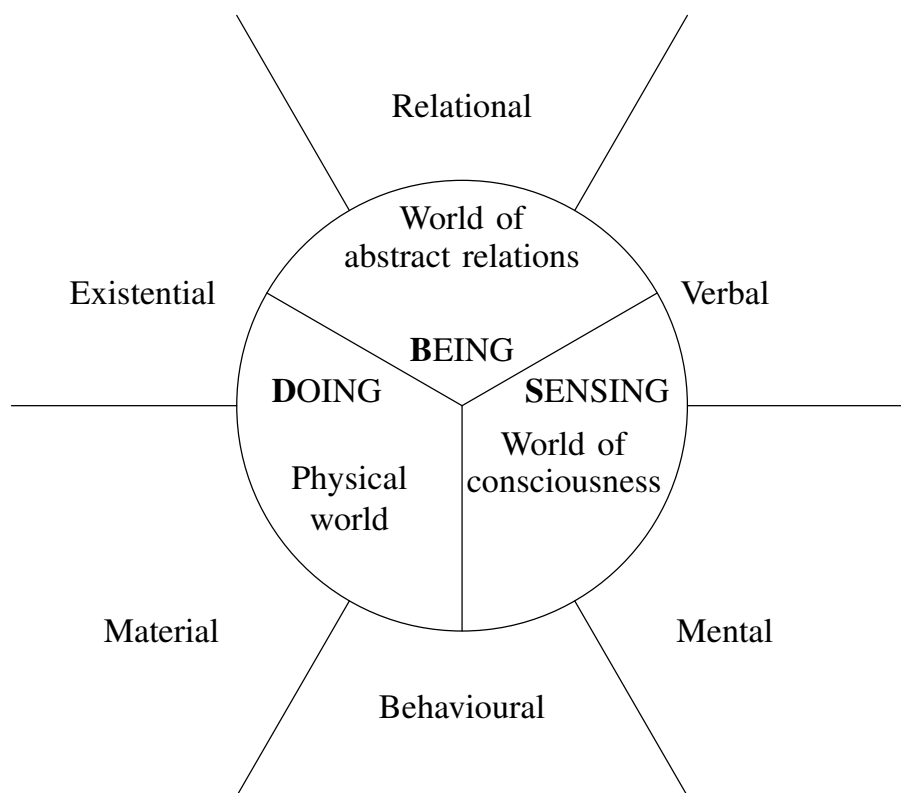


Figure 5.1: Types of process in English and our experience of the world

However, the most relevant information concerning our investigation is information about the process types and the participant roles associated to each verb sense.

This data base is based on text corpora and was designed as a useful resource for consultation by grammarians and text analysts. Indeed, it has proved a useful tool in helping to elucidate and interpret certain structures found in our textual corpus.

However, it has to be highlighted that a functional analysis is not simply a question of labelling (i.e. identifying the types of processes, participants or circumstances). It rather implies an act of reasoning and interpretation (Ravelli, 2000: 37). This obviously paves the way for a critical endeavour.

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The transitivity analysis makes it possible to relate the structural organisations at the clausal level with the ideologies embedded within the texts analysed.

All this becomes particularly relevant for our study in the light of Halliday and Matthiessen's words: 'Clauses of different process types thus make distinctive contributions to the construal of experience in text' (2004: 174). Hence, in the present investigation, the identification and analysis of the types of processes in which Gibraltar as a participant is involved, as well as the circumstances associated to them, help us understand how the the image of Gibraltar is construed in the press.

5.2 Summary

This chapter has described in detail the methodological model applied in the present investigation. First, a summary of the steps I have followed for my study has been presented. Then, referential and predicational strategies from the Discourse-historical approach and Halliday's transitivity model have been described and justified as the appropriate tools for the textual analysis of the collected corpus. Both are enriched by Van Leeuwen's contribution (see 1995 and 1996). His representation of social action and social actors brings together different systems: lexicogrammar, transitivity, reference, rhetorical figures and so on. Hence, illuminating, bringing together and complementing the categories of analysis outlined by Wodak's approach and Halliday's model.

These, as traditional tools within the general theoretical framework of CDA, help us in discovering the discursive strategies that construct the image of the Gibraltar issue in the press.

Chapter 6

Justification and Description of the Textual Corpus

This chapter describes and justifies the data that comprise the corpus of analysis of the present study. First, I deal with the motives that made me focus on instances of written language as my corpus of analysis. Then, I will justify the choice of editorial articles from a relevant period and from selected newspapers, as well as the criteria for corpus selection and the actual process of gathering the articles.

6.1 Written language

First of all, it is important to mention that I decided to base my study on written language because little or nothing has been researched on this in relation to Gibraltar. Most of what has been written on Gibraltar in relation to language issues focuses on spoken language, more precisely on the particular way conversation is conducted among Gibraltarians (Moyer 1993, Kellermann 1996, 2001, Errico 1997, Modrey 1998). These are mainly

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sociolinguistic studies. Only Becker (1970) engaged in a brief study of the influences of Spanish on the English of Gibraltar at the written level, analysing the orthographic, grammatical and lexical influences in some newspaper articles. Thus, nothing had been studied from a discourse analysis perspective, and that is why I decided to turn my attention to written texts and extract from their discursive analysis the characteristics of this interesting community. Hence, an innovative form and an innovative perspective towards it.

As the literature on the topic shows (for example, Moyer 1993), oral production in the Gibraltar community is mainly characterised by a peculiar English-Spanish code-switching, which is usually referred to as Yanito (see page 48). Initially, I expected to find something similar in written texts. Nevertheless, I soon realised that at the written level such practise is not reflected and written texts are generally monolingual, especially English monolingual if they have to do with official matters. Hence, the editorial articles from the Gibraltar newspapers that form the corpus of the present research are English monolingual texts.

Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that, according to Mr. Benady¹, there are some instances of written texts which reproduce Gibraltar oral usage. They are, however, artificially produced and for that reason I did not deem them appropriate as the corpus on which to base my study. This is the case, for instance, of *Calentita*, a section in the daily *Panorama* which recreates the conversation between two Gibraltar housewives talking about local matters. In addition, Elio Cruz, a Gibraltar writer, has written some plays in a similar way. For instance, *La Lola se va pa Londre* (1963). The characters in the play reflect the way Gibraltarians usually speak. However, apart from these rather artificially produced texts, most written production

¹Gibraltarian historian. Personal communication, 13.05.03.

in Gibraltar is monolingual.

6.2 Editorial Articles

As a step ahead in my investigation, I selected written texts from the media. Chapter four explained in detail the relevance of media discourse for the kind of research I have carried out (see page 94). This section goes a step further in describing and justifying the specific genre of media language analysed.

The main motivation for the selection of **editorial articles** is that this kind of article constitutes the voice of the newspaper, as an institution, on relevant current events, situations, peoples and conflicts. Readers reach those pages expecting direction and interpretation of events. This way they become a potent means of social influence, and indeed, the most potent one a newspaper has (Armañanzas and Diaz Noci, 1996: 64). They help construe social perception of certain matters, thus, shaping society's opinion. Certainly, this aspect is of primary importance for the present study, because the discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue in the printed media influences society's perception of it.

At the same time, these articles reflect the reactions, attitudes and feelings of people towards such matters. Thus, they constitute representative portraits of the community in which those articles are produced.

A further reason that motivated the selection of editorial articles is that, as Van Dijk (1995) has highlighted, given the 'prominent function of editorials in the expression and construction of public opinion, one would expect a vast scholarly literature on them' (1995). However, the author complains that, surprisingly, very little has been written on this crucial genre of opinion and media discourse on the part of discourse analysts. Van Dijk points out that

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it has mainly attracted the attention of journalists, while it is usually the genre of news that is most frequently studied by discourse analysts. Hence, the present study can contribute to the scarce literature on the topic and give editorial articles the attention they deserve.

Moreover, according to Armañanzas and Diaz Noci (1996), in the world of the printed media it is precisely this genre of opinion which is being given salience lately, as it offers a deep reflection that is lacking in the news articles, hence complementing the information provided by the latter (1996: 14). It can even be said that it is this reflexive task that is becoming the main function of newspapers nowadays. In this sense, the present investigation focuses on this relevant genre within newspaper language.

The fact that newspaper language is a kind of data traditionally used in CDA is particularly relevant for our investigation. As has already been explained, CDA is the primary mode of linguistic analysis in the present study. Fowler (1991) has highlighted how CDA is particularly helpful in the analysis of editorial articles:

The detailed structure of language silently and continuously shapes the ideas presented, moulding them in the direction of established beliefs. A newspaper assumes that there is always only one reasonable point of view on any matter presented. Editorials visibly *affirm* this point of view; the news and other pages are written to assume that this point of view is natural, common sense, to be taken for granted, not needing to be asserted. Critical linguistics brings this hidden process to consciousness; the practise of analysis makes ideological structure ‘tangible’ (1991: 231-232).

In the present study, I have selected editorial articles from Gibraltar, British and Spanish newspapers with the aim of presenting the discursive

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construction of the Gibraltar issue from the three main angles involved in it: Gibraltar itself, Spain as the neighbouring territory and Britain as the metropolis. The analysis of the Gibraltarian newspapers allows us to understand how Gibraltar presents itself to the world, the self-image it portrays, while the British and Spanish press illustrate how this issue and the community of Gibraltar are represented and viewed from the outside.

Hence, as a way of summarising, the **criteria for corpus gathering** have been:

1. Formal criteria: editorial articles from Gibraltarian, British and Spanish newspapers.
2. Content criteria: editorials that mention Gibraltar or comment on its socio-political situation.

6.3 Newspapers selected

The following table (6.1) shows the newspapers that have been selected in the present study:

GIBRALTAR PRESS	SPANISH PRESS	BRITISH PRESS
<i>The Gibraltar Chronicle</i>	<i>ABC</i>	<i>The Guardian</i>
<i>Panorama</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>Independent</i>
	<i>El Pais</i>	<i>Telegraph</i>
	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	<i>The Times</i>

Table 6.1: Newspapers selected from the Gibraltarian, Spanish and British press

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On the whole, ten newspapers have been selected: four newspapers from each side (i.e. Spain and Britain), except from Gibraltar, where being a tiny community, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and *Panorama* are the only daily newspapers with enough relevance. Below, I devote some more space to these newspapers, which though being only two in this side, are relevant enough to illustrate the Gibraltarian discursive representation of the issue.

All the newspapers selected are quality press, with wide diffusion in the communities they are published in and with recognised prestige. Furthermore, I have tried to gather newspapers that reflect the different political slants of the communities they belong to. Hence, in the Spanish and British press, *El País* and *The Guardian* correspond to left ideals; *ABC*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* are placed towards the right or conservative slant; while *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia* and *The Independent* are considered within a more centered tradition. Similarly, in the Gibraltarian press, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* represents the official governmental voice of the colony, while *Panorama* belongs to the political opposition, which reflects liberal ideas. Hence, the newspapers selected cover a wide spectrum of the three communities they represent.

At this point, I would like to emphasise that, as stems from what has been discussed so far, my aim in this research is far from disclosing the political or ideological tendencies of each of these newspapers as far as the Gibraltar issue is concerned (something which readers of these newspapers already know), nor to evaluate whether their reports are true or false, but to discover how these newspapers discursively represent the community of Gibraltar so as to get three different whole views of it, namely, the British view of Gibraltar, the Spanish view of Gibraltar and also the Gibraltarian own view of themselves. Thus, results of the analysis of each separate newspaper are not considered

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independently, but as part of the community, the angle of the issue, they belong to.

The newspapers selected cover the topic of the Gibraltar issue for the relevant time span that the central goal of my investigation pose, namely the latest 2002 referendum, a crucial moment for this community.

In addition, it has to be mentioned that I was originally interested in having in my corpus a number of newspapers which had also been published during the decade of 1960, so that an additional comparison could be made with the representation of the Gibraltar issue at the time of the first referendum held in the colony (i.e. September 1967). It was not always possible as some newspapers are quite young, particularly in Spain where only after the birth of democracy (in 1975) new publications started to appear. My table 6.2 shows the coverage of the Gibraltar issue in relation to the two referendums of 2002 and 1967, in relation to which newspapers existed in what moment.

Thus, the ten newspapers cover the event which constitutes the main focus of attention of the present investigation, i.e., the 2002 referendum, while at least two newspapers on each of the outside sides (Spain and Britain) cover the period of the 1967 referendum. As far as the only Gibraltar newspaper that existed at that time, we have to regret that by the second half of the nineteen sixties, John Searle, editor of *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, was given instructions to withdraw the leader column from *The Gibraltar Chronicle* on the grounds of forthcoming talks between Britain and Spain over Gibraltar (Mascarenhas and Searle, 2001: 29). The motivation seems to be the desire to avoid conflicts at that controversial moment for the Gibraltar community. This implies that during the period of the first referendum held in Gibraltar, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* did not include any editorial article, as represented

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Newspapers		1967 Ref.	2002 Ref.
GIBRALTAR	<i>The Gibraltar Chronicle</i>	YES (-)	YES
	<i>Panorama</i>	NO	YES
SPAIN	<i>ABC</i>	YES	YES
	<i>El Mundo</i>	NO	YES
	<i>El País</i>	NO	YES
	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	YES	YES
BRITAIN	<i>The Guardian</i>	YES	YES
	<i>Independent</i>	NO	YES
	<i>Telegraph</i>	YES	YES
	<i>The Times</i>	YES	YES

Table 6.2: Coverage of the Gibraltar issue in the selected newspapers in relation to the two referendums of 1967 and 2002

in the table above by the - symbol. It is for this reason that the discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue from inside Gibraltar at the time of the first referendum cannot be offered. Nonetheless, we are fortunate enough that the present analysis can offer interesting comments on the view from outside at that date, through the analysis of editorial articles from Spanish and British newspapers.

It also explains why, though being a regional newspaper, *La Vanguardia* has been chosen to form part of the present corpus of study. This newspaper is published in Catalunya and, together with *ABC*, it is one of the few newspapers that were published in Spain at the time of the 1967 referendum. It is a newspaper with recognised prestige, wide diffusion and sold outside its original region.

As the table shows, *Panorama*, *El Mundo*, *El País* and *The Independent*

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did not exist at the time of the first referendum. They appeared in 1975, 1989, 1976, and 1986, respectively.

Moreover, in my analysis I will not deal with visual/graphic aspects since editorial articles, unlike news items, are relevant for themselves, i.e., for expressing the newspaper's voice. Hence, their relevance is not marked by page position or font size. That is one reason why editorial articles in the newspapers are not accompanied by visuals.

6.3.1 *The Gibraltar Chronicle and Panorama*

Finally, it seems relevant to devote a few lines to the two newspapers that form the Gibraltar corpus to support their being the only newspapers selected from the Gibraltar community and also on the grounds that they are the less familiar ones.

These newspapers have been selected because of their prominence in the Gibraltar community. Indeed, they are the only dailies published in the colony -British daily newspapers also arrive in Gibraltar via plane. Besides them, the local press is made up of *Vox* and *New People*, which are weeklies and with a smaller circulation and impact in the community (Lorna Swift, Gibraltar Garrison Library. Personal communication, 30.04.03).

To begin with, *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, also known as *La Crónica*, is Gibraltar's oldest newspaper and the second oldest newspaper in Europe, having been first published on 15 May 1801, and becoming a daily as soon as 1821.

Similarly to Gibraltar's own history, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* was born in direct connection with the military garrison. In those days, the newspaper carried little or no local content, because its role was to gather British and foreign news for the information of the officers serving in the garrison. It

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was the time of the Napoleon wars, so the troops stationed at Gibraltar or in transit to the wars were anxious to get news of the battles. As an anecdote, it can be mentioned that this newspaper was proud to be the first one to inform of the Battle of Trafalgar.

It was not until well into the twentieth century that the paper lost its military character and developed as an independent institution. Today the newspaper belongs to an independent local trust and reflects Gibraltar daily matters. Quite illustrative of this evolution are the changes that the sub-title of the newspaper has undergone throughout the centuries, from *Military intelligencer*, through *Commercial intelligencer* and *Official Gazette*, to bearing no sub-title at the present moment (Sloma, 1997: 43).

Being the newspaper of a small area, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* necessarily has a small circulation (about 3,000 according to Kellermann, 2001: 232), but it covers a necessary intermediary role between a national newspaper and a community newspaper. It is the most widely read newspaper and it has been Gibraltar's only daily newspaper until 2002.

The charter that actually regulates the newspaper activity states that it is :

an independent newspaper primarily concerned with serious issues for the benefit of the community throughout the whole of Gibraltar free from any form of personal or of party political, commercial, religious, or other sectional control [...] that the news shall be as accurate and as comprehensive as is practicable and be presented fairly. ²

Today, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* has become an institution on the Rock. According to Francis Cantos, *Gibraltar Chronicle*'s first civilian editor, the

²Source: www.chronicle.gi/bicentenary/charter.htm (accessed 11.07.03).

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newspaper is a necessary element to Gibraltar's political and cultural make up (Cantos, 2001: 81). Indeed, during the period of the closure of the frontier with Spain, the Chronicle was the only source of information about the Gibraltar problem for the Gibraltarian community. In addition, the Chronicle has always been the means to publish official notices and there is a close relationship between the editorship of the newspaper and the democratically elected government of Gibraltar.

For its part, *Panorama* has become the most popular other printed media in Gibraltar. It started as a weekly in December 1975 with the desire to offer a different view of local and international news from that presented by the more institutionalised *Gibraltar Chronicle*.

As a newsweekly, it became the most popular one in Gibraltar (Kellermann, 2001: 232). *Panorama* became a daily at the beginning of 2002. Hence, just in time to cover the event that concerns the present investigation.

This newspaper is supported by Dr. Joseph Garcia, leader of the GLP, that is, the Gibraltar Liberal Party, and consequently member of the political opposition to the current government of Gibraltar, which is led by the social democrat Peter Caruana. Thus, *Panorama* represents and reflects that significant portion of the Gibraltarian community.

Being newspapers in a small community, *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and *Panorama* do not include editorial articles on a daily basis, but only when local or international events are relevant enough to deserve editorial comment. Leaders in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* are more frequent, while in *Panorama* the opinion by the editor, appears more sporadically, which explain the smaller number of editorials from this newspaper in the Gibraltarian press (see page 141). The names of the editors of these two newspapers during the time

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span selected of the present study are Dominique Searle from *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and Joe Garcia (son of the leader of the Gibraltar Liberal Party) from *Panorama*.

The two newspapers are available in the Internet through www.panorama.gi and www.chronicle.gi, respectively. The former was established in March 1997, the latter starting in 1995. The printed edition of these newspapers is distributed and sold within Gibraltar, while the Internet version is available worldwide. Thus, the printed version helps to shape Gibraltar's own view of the community, while the electronic version helps to make Gibraltar known beyond its border and influences opinions around the world.

Thus, *The Gibraltar Chronicle's* and *Panorama's* wide diffusion, together with their generally recognised relevance for the community they are published in and their representation of the different political slants are the main reasons that motivate and justify their selection as representative illustrations of Gibraltar discourse.

6.4 Selected time span

The main body of editorial articles selected as the corpus of analysis for the present study date **from July 2001 to November 2002**.

July 2001 was the date when negotiations between Britain and Spain regarding the issue of Gibraltar were relaunched for the last time. This event had a great impact on the Gibraltarian community, as well as on the international sphere, since for more than a decade conversations on this issue had been at stalemate. From that moment on, the evolution of the negotiations and meetings between the representatives of Britain, Spain and Gibraltar became a constant issue in the media, as opposed to the almost complete si-

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lence on the Gibraltar question in the previous years, as has also been noted by Sepúlveda (2004: 359).

November 2002 was the month when a new referendum was held in Gibraltar, when Gibraltarians had to vote on the issue of shared sovereignty with Spain. The referendum was called by the Gibraltar government to show Britain and Spain, and the world in general, the feelings and attitudes of the Gibraltar community in relation to the negotiations that were being carried out between Spain and Britain. Shortly after the referendum was held, news and articles on the issue of Gibraltar were reduced to a considerable degree –if not complete absence– perhaps purposely, not only in *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and *Panorama*, but in British and Spanish press alike. One possible motivation may have been the desire on the part of the governments involved to calm down public feeling about the issue, as a kind of cooling-off period.

The time span of the articles, thus, covers a wide and crucial moment for the community on the Rock, and, the Gibraltar question was frequently brought to the leader pages of the newspapers analysed.

Such a wide time span implies a diachronic dimension in the present analysis. Hence, the interpretation should be open to possible changes in the representation of events and participants (Fowler, 1991: 226).

Though the central body of the study concerns the analysis of the period described above regarding the 2002 referendum, the analysis is complemented with a diachronic perspective that offers the discursive representation of the issue during the first referendum held in Gibraltar on 10th September, 1967. The articles selected date from August and September, thus, a month previous and after the referendum was held. The time span has not been further expanded (as compared to the wider span of the 2002 referendum) since

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an analysis of the months previous and after those dates showed that the Gibraltar issue was not echoed in the leading pages of the newspapers, thus, including more months would have been unnecessary and fruitless.

As it has already been mentioned, articles in relation to the 1967 referendum have been taken from British and Spanish newspapers. Among the Spanish ones, *El Pais* and *El Mundo* did not exist at that time, while in the British press, it was *The Independent* that had not yet been born.

Hence, the dates selected are relevant as regards the intended objective of the present investigation. Both referendums have in common their having taken place in very promising moments in the negotiations between Britain and Spain, when a solution to the conflict was felt close. However, both referendums put those expectations at stalemate. In addition, we have to add the need to select a period with relevant events for Gibraltar as well as with international consequences, such as the two referendums, and hence reflected in the press.

6.5 Data gathering process

The actual process for the gathering of the body of articles has been varied and even challenging at times.

To begin with, for the collection of articles about the 2002 referendum, **Internet** has proved a useful tool in general terms. Most newspapers offer easy access to their archives; some of them requiring a subscription. I have also made use of specialised browsers for newspaper information, such as NewsBank (www.newsbank.com) and LexisNexis (www.lexisnexis.com), which find specific news items in a wide number of newspapers worldwide.

However, it was not only the Web that provided my research with the

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articles I was looking for. I also had to **tour around a number of libraries** both in Spain and Britain, and of course Gibraltar itself.

The dates around the 2002 referendum are recent enough to have been covered in the Internet version of the newspapers, which usually started in the mid nineties. It is the case for all of them, except for *The Gibraltar Chronicle*. This newspaper's on-line archive does not include some of the early months I selected for this investigation. Thus, I had to work with the **hard copies** at the Garrison Library in Gibraltar, where this newspaper has been archived since its very first edition. The editor and staff at *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and the Garrison Library in Gibraltar provided all sorts of relevant information about this newspaper and its history. At the Garrison Library I also had access to the archives of *Panorama*, though I had previously gathered the editorial articles via the Internet. Its staff was equally helpful during my research.

As far as the coverage of the 1967 referendum is concerned, work was much more manual and less computerised. Most libraries had this date in **microfilm form**. I visited the Garrison Library in Gibraltar to analyse *The Gibraltar Chronicle*; The British Library in Manchester (U.K.) and Leeds Central Library (U.K.) to collect the articles from the British press; and the Biblioteca de Andalucía in Granada (Spain) for the Spanish newspapers. Only *La Vanguardia* offered an on-line archive since its first edition in pdf format. *ABC* also has old editions in pdf format but in **CD-ROM** available at the Biblioteca de Andalucía.

Among the more than four thousand editorial articles found, my task was to select those which met the formal and content criteria described for the present investigation (see page 129). As far as the content of the articles is concerned, and though on-line browsers were helpful in finding keywords, I

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was not exempted from extensive and intensive reading as to exclude those articles that included ‘Gibraltar’ as the geographical point, the ‘Strait of Gibraltar’ or under other unrelated topics, such as the name of a racing horse or a military camp in Iraq, hence not referring to Gibraltar as the colony or the people.

Thus, I had to play with a wide variety of formats ranging from the Internet websites to paper copies, microfilms and CD-ROM.

6.6 Results of Corpus Gathering

Bearing in mind the above discussion on the description of my textual corpus, and having examined more than 4,000 articles, table 6.3 below shows the number of editorials that finally meet the formal and content criteria in each of the selected newspapers.

The table clearly illustrates how the editorial articles that comprise the textual corpus can be divided into three main parts or collections depending on the origin of the newspaper: articles from the Gibraltar press, from the Spanish press and the British press. They will be referred as the *Gibraltar corpus*, the *Spanish corpus* and the *British corpus*, respectively. Additionally, we can consider a further division by date: editorials from 2002 and from 1967.

The main body of articles date from the period of the 2002 referendum (167 on the whole), which is the central matter of concern in the present investigation. The articles about the 1967 referendum provide an interesting additional element of comparison of the issue at that time, limited by the constraints of lack of data in certain newspapers due to historical facts, as has already been pointed out.

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Certainly, 42.7% of the articles belong to the Gibraltar corpus, as they are the newspapers of the community which is the object of our study. From outside, it is the Spanish press which includes a highest proportion of editorials on the Gibraltar issue, more precisely 35.5% over the 21.8% of the British press.

Thus, the total number of editorial articles that meet my corpus criteria, and which have been thoroughly analysed for the present investigation, equals 179.

Newspapers		1967 Ref.	2002 Ref.	Total
GIBRALTAR	<i>The Gibraltar Chronicle</i>	0	61	76
	<i>Panorama</i>	-	15	
SPAIN	<i>ABC</i>	5	20	64
	<i>El Mundo</i>	-	8	
	<i>El Pais</i>	-	18	
	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	3	10	
BRITAIN	<i>The Guardian</i>	1	6	39
	<i>Independent</i>	-	7	
	<i>Telegraph</i>	1	16	
	<i>The Times</i>	2	6	
TOTAL	10	12	167	179

Table 6.3: Number of editorial articles in each newspaper and in relation to the two referendums of 1967 and 2002

6.7 Review

The aim of this chapter has been to present and justify the body of texts that make up the corpus of the present investigation. First, the criteria for the selection of these texts have been illustrated: written texts taken from the printed press, more precisely editorial articles from ten Gibraltarian, Spanish and British newspapers. The total number of editorials that meet my corpus criteria amounts to 179. On the whole, the data selected constitute representative discourse suitable to meet the objectives of the present investigation. As media discourse and, more precisely editorial articles, they reflect and influence society's perception of the Gibraltar issue. In addition, newspapers from the three main angles involved in the issues have been taken, providing a comprehensive picture of the situation. And, finally, the dates comprise relevant periods for the community, when the question of their identity was at stake. Thus, they are illustrative of Gibraltar discourse from which the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity can be studied.

Chapter 7

Results

This chapter presents the analytical results found after applying the methodology of analysis, which has been described above, to the body of articles that form the textual corpus of the present investigation. The aim was to discover the discursive strategies used in the representation of Gibraltar.

It starts with an analysis of the thematic areas identified in relation to the Gibraltar issue, i.e. the content analysis. Then, I offer the results of, first, the analysis of referential and predicational strategies and, second, the transitivity model in connection to the three main parts that constitute my data, namely those articles from the Gibraltar press, those from the Spanish press and those from the British.

The discussion of these results from the textual analysis and its consequences for the discursive representation of Gibraltar are further elaborated and reviewed in the next chapter.

7.1 Content analysis

This section offers the results of an initial thematic analysis, prior to the examination of the linguistic devices described in chapter 5. It gives a first impression of how the Gibraltar issue was covered in the data analysed.

To begin with, a quantitative analysis shows that out of the total number of 167 editorial articles on the Gibraltar issue in the period surrounding the 2002 referendum, 109 of them directly deal with the question of Gibraltar, while 58 deal with it indirectly, that is, comments about Gibraltar are made in relation to other topics. These other topics are commented on below (see page 148).

In the Gibraltar corpus, the issue is constantly addressed as it is this community that is directly affected. 83.5% of the total number of editorials published over the 16 selected months deal with the Gibraltar issue. As the table below shows, 75.3% of them address the issue directly, while 24.6% do it indirectly. Thus, a considerably high proportion of editorial articles deal with the Gibraltar issue and especially addressing it as the central topic of the article.

Directly	Indirectly	Total
57 (75.3 %)	19 (24.5 %)	77

Table 7.1: Editorials dealing with the Gibraltar issue directly and indirectly in the Gibraltar corpus

In the British and Spanish corpora, the Gibraltar issue is not so frequently addressed, about 5% of the editorial articles published over the selected months in both countries (about 3,800 editorials in each country) deal with the Gibraltar issue either as the central topic of the article or in relation

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to other topics. More precisely, 56 leaders in the Spanish press and 35 in the British. Nonetheless, though a small figure, it is substantial bearing in mind that only relevant events or questions make their way to the leader pages of newspapers every day.

In addition, the tables below show that it is the British press that most frequently addresses the Gibraltar issue directly (62.9 %), while the Spanish corpus is more balanced in its dealing with the Gibraltar issue either directly or indirectly. It means that, though the Gibraltar issue appears in the leader pages of the British press less frequently, when it does so, it is addressed as the central topic of the article in itself. In contrast, the Spanish press is proportionally more frequent in its addressing or touching of the Gibraltar issue even though the leader articles may centrally deal with other topics.

Directly	Indirectly	Total
30 (53.6 %)	26 (46.4 %)	56

Table 7.2: Editorials dealing with the Gibraltar issue directly and indirectly in the Spanish corpus

Directly	Indirectly	Total
22 (62.9 %)	13 (37.1 %)	35

Table 7.3: Editorials dealing with the Gibraltar issue directly and indirectly in the British corpus

The other topics that outweighed the Gibraltar issue and caught the attention of editors in the Spanish and British press include such relevant international affairs as terrorism after September 11 2001, Saddam Hussein

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and the Iraqi question, the crisis in the Middle East with the Palestinian problem, and the various EU measures such as the introduction of the new common currency, the euro. At a national level, the topics revolve around common public concerns such as home political measures, employment, education, health and public services. The Spanish press devotes attention to the Basque country, the independentist plan (commonly called Ibarretxe plan) and the terrorist group ETA. Something similar is reflected in the British press with the moves in the IRA question and Northern Ireland.

For its part, the leader pages of the Gibraltar press also echoed other issues without making connections to the Gibraltar question. These other topics revolve around local matters such as the postal service, the health programme, pensions, the legal system and the local police.

However, whatever the proportion, whenever it appears, the Gibraltar question is described as a relevant topic for these three sides involved in the conflict. To illustrate it, in the Gibraltar press the situation is referred to as the greatest challenge ever faced by this community, as illustrated in the *GC* 09.10.01, 21.11.01, 28.12.01, 23.01.02, among others ¹. From outside, that is, in the Spanish and British corpora, the Gibraltar issue is approached as one of the important topics in the politics of these two countries. The Spanish press includes the Gibraltar issue as one of the most relevant international affairs that concern it. For example, and quite significantly, when dealing with the challenges of the Spanish presidency of the EU in the first semester of 2002 (*ABC* 14.01.02). Other instances are *ABC* 28.07.02, 29.09.02, *EP* 17.03.02, and *LV* 17.03.02. The British press also mentions

¹Hence forward I will refer to the newspapers in an abbreviated form: *GC* stands for *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, *PN* for *Panorama*, *EM* for *El Mundo*, *EP* for *El País*, *LV* for *La Vanguardia*, *GD* for *The Guardian*, *IN* for *The Independent*, *TG* for *The Telegraph* and *TM* for *The Times*. Only *ABC* remains unchanged for obvious reasons.

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the Gibraltar issue as part of its international relations (*IN* 27.04.02; *TM* 26.07.02). However, it is also considered as an internal problem, so that the issue is additionally addressed when dealing with home politics, instances in point being *GD* 11.10.02 and *TG* 11.01.02.

7.1.1 Major topics in our corpus

I have identified four major thematic areas which are common to the three bodies of corpus (i.e. Gibraltarian, Spanish and British):

1	The negotiation process between Spain and Britain
2	The topic of a crisis
3	The referendum itself
4	The topic of the future of the colony

Table 7.4: Major thematic areas identified in our corpus

1. *The negotiation process between Spain and Britain* is repeatedly addressed in the editorials on the Gibraltar issue. Indeed, it was the event that brought forth the rebirth of the Gibraltar issue in international politics, and rightfully described as an ‘historic step’ (*GD* 13.07.02). On a temporal axis, it is the first topic that appeared in the 2002 corpora.

By the second half of 2001, the Gibraltar issue is dealt with in the leader pages of the newspapers because of the relaunching of very promising negotiations between Britain and Spain on the future of the colony. All newspapers echo this event and comment on its implications. Some titles of the early editorials of our corpora that reflect it are: ‘Volver a empezar’ (Starting up again) (*EP* 27.07.01), ‘The Rock starts to roll’ (*GD* 20.11.01), and ‘Giving talks a chance’ (*GC* 03.10.01).

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This topic includes as sub-themes the state of the talks, the sides involved and the representatives from each side, and the topics discussed in the conversations. The emphasis is always laid on whether any agreement is derived, and signed, from these negotiations, as it would have direct implications for each of the sides involved. The Gibraltar press is particularly concerned with the topic of ‘co-sovereignty’, as a possible undesired output to these talks (e.g. in *GC* 25.04.02, 03.05.02 and 07.11.02, and *PN* 02.07.01 and 31.03.02).

2. The *topic of the crisis* is one of the central thematic areas. It refers to the present status and political situation of the colony. The existing situation is described as problematic, and indeed a ‘long-standing’ one, as described in *TG* 29.05.02.

This topic evolves around the various critical areas that affect it. Indeed, the situation is problematic because it interferes in the political relationships between the countries involved. On the one hand, it obstructs and adds difficulties to the international relations of Spain and Britain even at the level of EU policy (*IN* 27.07.02, *LV* 31.10.01). On the other, it maintains and worsens the tense Spain-Gibraltar dispute (*EM* 04.06.02 and *IN* 04.02.02), at the same time that it deteriorates the former good relations between Gibraltar and its metropolis (*EP* 08.11.02).

The present status of Gibraltar is also presented as problematic in economic terms, since the colony enjoys certain financial benefits that quite frequently lead to irregularities. Some articles that address this topic are *EM* 04.06.02, 28.11.02; *IN* 13.07.02, 19.11.02; *TG* 21.11.01, and *GC* 21.06.02.

In addition, in the British and Spanish corpora, whenever the Gibraltar issue is not dealt with directly in the articles, but indirectly, in relation to other topics, these other topics tend to be crises (see notes on page 234):

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- The Spanish-Moroccan crisis which includes the dispute over Ceuta and Melilla, the Sahara and the problem with the invasion of Perejil (Parsley) island. Examples abound, such as *ABC* 19.07.02, 28.07.02, 29.09.02; *EP* 21.07.02, 02.09.02; *LV* 26.11.01, 12.02.02; *IN* 17.07.02; *TG* 13.07.02, 19.07.02; and *TM* 19.07.02,
- The crisis of the oil tanker *Prestige* (e.g. *ABC* 16.11.02, 19.11.02, 24.11.02; *EM* 15.11.02; *EP* 16.11.02, 20.11.02 21.11.02; *LV* 15.11.02; *GD* 20.11.02; *IN* 19.11.02; and *TM* 20.11.02) and other similar previous problems with nuclear submarines, such as the *Tireless* (*EP* 27.07.01 and *EP* 03.11.01).

Hence, Gibraltar is either listed among other critical situations or commented on when dealing with other problems.

The Gibraltar corpus also addresses external crises such as the Spanish-Moroccan one (*GC* 13.07.02), nuclear submarines (*GC* 07.12.01) and the *Prestige* event (*GC* 15.11.02, 20.11.02 and *PN* 21.11.02), though in a lower proportion. Certainly, the highest attention is paid to its own crisis and the ongoing negotiation process. Moreover, some leader articles devoted to other local problems make reference to the Gibraltar question. Such is the case of the airport regulation as seen in *PN* 02.07.01 and *GC* 30.08.01, or local internal politics, *GC* 23.11.01, 04.12.01 and 31.01.02; *PN* 16.12.01.

Through the negotiation process, the Gibraltar press emphasises the unity of the Gibraltarian community as regards this challenging situation, despite internal differences. The topic of unity is frequently addressed, for instance in *GC* 05.10.01, 11.10.01, 08.11.01 and 07.06.02, and *PN* 31.03.02 as a precondition for a successful end to the crisis.

3. As a consequence of the negotiation process, but having independent status is the topic of *the referendum*. Though it is only directly addressed in

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the dates preceding or following this event, and when its calling was made public, it is, nevertheless, important because of the relevance for the community itself and because it put an end to the promising expectations of Spain and Britain of finding a solution to the situation of the colony. Especially in the Gibraltar corpus, the referendum is of ‘vital importance’ (*PN* 05.09.02).

The referendum was called by Gibraltar’s Chief minister when Spain and Britain announced that an agreement was to be signed about the future of the colony. The aim of the referendum was to show the reply of the Gibraltarian community to this agreement. All newspapers analysed addressed this topic, most of them even devoting various editorials to comment on the results (*GC* 07.11.02, *ABC* 08.11.02, *EM* 08.11.02, *EP* 08.11.02, *IN* 27.07.02 and *TG* 27.07.02, 09.11.02 and 10.11.02). As can be seen, except for *La Vanguardia*, all Spanish newspapers devoted an editorial article to the Gibraltar referendum the day after it took place. The issue is relevant enough to get to the leader pages of these newspapers. However, in the British press, the opposite is the case: only *The Telegraph* deems the event salient enough to deserve editorial comment on the day it took place and even after. For the rest of British newspapers other events attracted the attention of the editors on those dates. Finally, both Gibraltarian newspapers devoted complete special sections to the referendum and its results.

4. Regarding the thematic area of *the future of the colony*, the three corpora show a concern for the prospects of this territory. This topic is frequently addressed as related to the outcomes of the negotiations and the referendum.

In the Gibraltar corpus, the stress lies on the future of Gibraltar as a community, as a people, and a dignified one indeed. Some of the articles that more clearly deal with this topic are *GC* 09.10.01, 16.10.01, 25.10.01,

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23.01.02, 30.04.02, 21.05.02 and 21.06.02, and *PN* 31.03.02, 24.06.02 and 05.09.02. These articles revolve around the subthematic areas of respect of Gibraltarians' rights, being allowed to take part in the decisions, and a sense of betrayal by the negotiation members.

The Spanish and British press put the emphasis on the subtopic of a solution, i.e. on putting an end to the present situation and status of the colony. This topic is highly frequent, not only in the body of the articles (as in *IN* 27.07.02, *GD* 20.11.01, 13.07.02, *TG* 26.07.02 and *TM* 21.05.02, 13.07.02), but, especially in the Spanish corpora, also reflected in some of the titles. Illustrative examples are 'Solución para Gibraltar' ('A solution for Gibraltar')(*ABC* 20.11.01), 'Gibraltar: Ahora es el momento de encontrar la solución' ('Gibraltar: now is the moment to find a solution') (*EM* 18.11.02), 'Hacia el final' ('Towards the end') (*EP* 26.07.02) and 'El Peñón más cerca' ('The Rock, a step closer')(*LV* 05.02.02).

In addition, the British corpus shows a special concern with Spain's role in making that solution possible, with frequent references to the subtopic of the Spanish dimension of a solution. *TM* 21.11.01 and 21.05.02, *TG* 06.02.02 and 11.07.02, and *GD* 20.11.01 illustrate it.

Thus, this section, as an initial step in our analysis, has shown that the Gibraltar issue was indeed a relevant matter of concern for the three sides involved in it, and consequently, reflected in the three corpora analysed, so that the Gibraltar question was frequently addressed as a central topic of the article and also indirectly in relation to other topics in the leader pages of the newspapers analysed. Analysis has shown that the main thematic areas associated to the Gibraltar issue revolve around the negotiation process between Spain and Britain which led to the calling of a referendum in the colony. The topic of the critical current situation of the colony and the

concern for its future have also showed to deserve special mention. In addition, the Gibraltar issue was also addressed in relation to other different topics such as various international affairs, especially other critical situations around the world, internal politics or, in the case of the Gibraltar press, other local concerns.

7.2 Analysis of referential and predicational discursive strategies

In this section, the different discursive strategies found for the representation of Gibraltar are presented in connection to the three corpora that comprise the present investigation, so as to identify and later compare and comment how each of the sides involved in the issue discursively referred to (Referential strategies) and categorised (Predicational strategies) Gibraltar. Following Reisigl and Wodak's (2001: 45) own suggestion, both sets of strategies will be discussed together in this section.

Throughout the analysis, a great amount of discursive strategies (and linguistic devices by which these are realised) have been identified. The following sections present and discuss the most relevant ones, that is, the devices and strategies that more forcefully represent the image of Gibraltar and, thus, help to discursively construct this community's identity.

7.2.1 Gibraltar corpus

Discursive strategies to refer to Gibraltar in the Gibraltarian press are varied, including its official name, anthroponyms and personal pronouns, each of them with the function of emphasising certain aspects of Gibraltar and hence

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helping to construct a particular representation of it.

To begin with, Gibraltar is referred to by its official name ‘Gibraltar’ which represents it as a political entity. Very rarely the popular term ‘the Rock’ is used. In the pages below, contrast with the use of this term in the other two corpora sheds some light on this aspect. Some examples in which Gibraltar is referred to as the political entity are:

- ‘Britain’s relationship with Gibraltar’ (*GC* 05.06.02),
- ‘Gibraltar must continue to ensure that it meets proper standards’ (*GC* 15.11.02),
- ‘Gibraltar has consistently rejected [the airport deal]’ (*PN* 02.07.01).

However, the most frequent device to refer to Gibraltar is the personal pronoun ‘we’ –and its variants ‘us’ and ‘our’. Its use doubles the other referential linguistic devices to refer to Gibraltar. For example in,

- ‘We have a serious autumn ahead of us’ (*GC* 30.08.01),
- ‘We are about to celebrate our National Day’ (*GC* 30.08.01),
- ‘We will find it increasingly difficult to achieve a positive agenda for our future’ (*GC* 12.04.02),
- ‘Britain can only legitimately point us in the direction which its own international obligations require it to’ (*GC* 05.07.01),
- ‘That is just one point about our constitution that [...]’ (*PN* 22.10.01),
- ‘The present political climate invites the question if we have left everything too late’ (*PN* 31.03.02),

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- ‘We do this every year [go to the UN Forth Committee]’ (*PN* 04.10.02),

The choice of the personal pronoun fulfils the discursive function of adding the human or personal dimension to that which the pronoun refers to. It also allows the attachment of human properties through what would look like personifications of Gibraltar. As in the following examples, where Gibraltar, as referred to with a personal pronoun, is given the qualities of thinking or believing: ‘what we think we want’ (*PN* 31.03.02) and ‘we believe in democracy and peace’ (*GC* 21.08.01).

These are, following Wodak et al. (1999: 47), metonymic forms of ‘we’ since the person stands for the country or the national body. This way, the political entity Gibraltar is discursively represented in a more personal, human, thus close, way.

Furthermore, references to Gibraltar with the first person plural personal pronoun help to discursively construct in-group identity, as a unifying device that unites its people. ‘We’ gathers together Gibraltar, including all the people of Gibraltar. Unity is indeed strongly discursively constructed in the Gibraltarian press through a number of unification strategies. These include lexical choices, all-inclusive personal pronouns and metaphors.

Lexical repetition of the concept ‘unity’ and lexical choices belonging to its semantic field are highly frequent in the Gibraltarian press. Some illustrative examples are:

- ‘The display of unity’ (*GC* 05.10.01b),
- ‘There was a clear unity on fundamentals yesterday in the UN, demonstrated by the Chief Minister and Opposition leader’ (*GC* 11.10.01),
- ‘A bid for unity for the sake of securing our future’ (*GC* 08.11.01),

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- ‘Those issues that unite all Gibraltarians’ (*GC* 05.10.01b),
- ‘Work together for the common good’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘Gibraltar [...] needs to work together’ (*GC* 05.02.02),
- ‘Gibraltar, collectively, wants solutions’ (*GC* 03.05.02),
- ‘Not only do we need results but also real unity’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘We can then have a united standpoint to face others’ (*PN* 22.10.01),
- ‘Back the government in the interest of unity’ (*PN* 05.09.02).

Other lexical choices which are quite significant in this respect are the ones which refer to Gibraltarian authorities. Even though these are also referred to by their civilian titles plus surnames (Mr. Caruana, *GC* 03.07.01 and 03.01.02, *PN* 24.06.02), their charge post (Chief Minister, *GC* 23.08.01 and 05.02.02, *PN* 31.03.02 and 24.06.02) and the general terms ‘government’ or ‘politicians’ (*GC* 03.10.01, 11.10.01 and 05.02.02), the use of the term ‘leaders’ is significantly frequent (e.g. *GC* 21.11.01, 18.03.02, 17.04.02 and *PN* 04.10.02, 22.10.01). This lexical choice deserves attention as it adds the further connotations of, not only being a source of power and authority, but their acting as guide and the people following.

A high proportion of these references to the Gibraltarian authorities are metonymic uses in which the political representative stands for the country itself so that the effect is ‘to identify official representatives totally with the state they represent, giving an image of the state as a single individual who acts through these representations’ (Hodge, 1979: 162). It is illustrated in ‘It would be very significant if Britain and Spain were to be able to agree Gibraltar’s voice as Mr Caruana has detailed it’ (*GC* 11.10.01) and ‘the Chief

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Minister has made clear to British diplomacy that the only way for Gibraltar's 'problem' with Spain to be resolved is through democratic process' (*GC* 12.04.02). These, again, are identified as strategies of unification.

Moreover, this word or the above-mentioned ones in relation to the authorities are very frequently modified by the de-verbal adjective 'elected' which meaningfully implies the mediation of the will of the people to give them a right to that post, as such they are discursively constructed as a result of the people's will, thus, theirs. The following examples illustrate it: 'elected government' (*GC* 05.10.01, 03.01.02 and *PN* 05.09.02), 'elected representatives' (*PN* 05.09.02) and 'elected leaders' (*GC* 13.07.02). These lexical choices reinforce the construction of Gibraltar as a unified group, particularly, a unified group around its government, which has also been democratically and systematically elected in an ordered way.

As has been illustrated, this discursive strategy is common in the two newspapers that form our Gibraltar corpus, even though *Panorama*, as the political opposition newspaper, is not particularly positive in the predication concerning the government of Gibraltar. These are, hence discursive strategies that also emphasise sameness and background intra-national differences (strategy of avoidance).

In addition, indefinite pronouns with a wide inclusive spectrum are also commonly found which additionally construct that unified whole of the Gibraltarian community. 'Everyone can rally in a manifesto of unity' (*PN* 22.10.01), 'everyone behind the referendum' (*PN* 05.09.02), 'a golden opportunity for us all' (*PN* 05.09.02) and 'we all, collectively as Gibraltarians, whatever our political views' (*GC* 16.05.02) serve that purpose well.

Finally, at least two metaphors are elaborated to discursively construct the Gibraltarian identity. These are the container-house metaphor and the

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ship metaphor, which suggest the container/holder that groups and keeps the community together. This way, both metaphors fulfil discursive strategies of unification. The first one is extensively elaborated and refers to the foundations of that Gibraltar house, the doors and windows that have to be opened or closed, the rooms and the space inside the house, etc. Some examples are:

- ‘Common positions cemented as foundations for the future of Gibraltar’ (*GC* 05.10.01b),
- ‘[Certain policy] can open the door to dangerous consequences’ (*PN* 05.09.02),
- ‘[We are not] people who give no room to those who disagree with them or belong to a minority’ (*GC* 05.10.01),
- ‘The Government has never closed the door on responsible dialogue’ (*GC* 23.01.02),
- ‘If any window of opportunity for progress were lost’ (*GC* 23.01.02),
- ‘He [the Chief Minister] can spend more time at home’ (*GC* 11.10.01).

In addition, in the Gibraltar press we find references to another house, the European house, where ‘we do not know how to get out of the corner in which we have been placed’ (*PN* 31.03.02), ‘They have been closing doors along the corridors of power which we are going to find increasingly difficult to open’ (*PN* 31.03.02) and ‘The Spaniards want to leave the door open to full Spanish sovereignty’ (*PN* 31.03.02). These expressions represent Europe as a different house where Gibraltar does not feel comfortable because of the position where it has been left (i.e. in the corner and behind closed doors) and with that possibility (door) open to Spanish sovereignty, which is something

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that Gibraltar does not want. Interestingly enough, the cause or source of Gibraltar's distress in this respect is either concealed, since the actor has been left out in the passive structure 'in which we have been placed', or it is identified as Spain ('the Spaniards want [...]') or vague in 'they have been closing doors' (Britain, Spain or both?).

In this line, there are only two instances in which the Gibraltar press intends to build up in-group with Europe. These are a reference to the Gibraltar people as 'Europeans', in '30,000 Europeans' (*GC* 18.03.02), and the pronoun 'us' in 'a bad deal will affect us all negatively, that is including Britain and Spain' (*GC* 12.04.02). These instances significantly appear at the time, in March-April 2002, when the agreement was about to be signed, functioning as intensifiers to stress the ample negative influence of the deal.

Building up the ship metaphor, the expression 'to plug holes to avoid HMS Gibraltar sinking' (*PN* 31.03.02) has been found. The ship metaphor unites its crew (the Gibraltar people) together on board. In addition, the fact that this vessel is titled 'Her Majesty's ship' (HMS) becomes significant as it reinforces Gibraltar's link and dependency from its metropolis, Britain.

Gibraltar is also referred to through the de-toponymic anthroponym 'Gibraltarians', as in 'Gibraltarians, rightly, are entitled to feel that [...]' (*GC* 23.01.02), 'today most Gibraltarians are being called on' (*GC* 07.11.02), and 'It is only the Gibraltarians who can do so' (*PN* 24.06.02). This linguistic device represents the people in terms of their living in a place. However, it does not occur very frequently (less than 5 % percent of the references). As has already been stated, the most frequent device to refer to Gibraltar as a people in the Gibraltarian press is the personal pronoun 'we'.

Analysis of predicational strategies show that Gibraltar is positively constructed, being attributed qualities of fairness and honesty by means of ad-

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jectives, adverbs and prepositional phrases that qualify Gibraltar and its actions. They include being ‘reasonable’ (e.g. in *GC* 26.09.01), ‘peaceful’ (*GC* 05.10.01b), ‘mature’ (*GC* 27.03.02), ‘right’ (*PN* 10.06.02), ‘intelligent’ (*GC* 21.06.02), and their acting ‘responsibly’ (*GC* 03.05.02), with ‘honesty’ (*GC* 17.04.02), ‘correct’ (*PN* 04.10.02) and the like.

Thus, predication attributed to Gibraltar especially belongs to the semantic field of the legal and proper. Words belonging to this semantic field also frequently collocate with Gibraltar’s demands and wishes. Some illustrative examples are:

- ‘We must be given a fair chance’ (*GC* 24.08.01),
- ‘we deserve to be treated fair and square’ (*GC* 09.10.01),
- ‘In the context of respect and democratic safeguards’ (*GC* 25.10.02),
- ‘the proper status in talks’ (*GC* 03.01.02),
- ‘All we ask for is a level playing field and a fair chance to do it our way’ (*GC* 09.04.02).

These contrast with the negative representation of the outside powers where these and other related qualities are missing: ‘[Spain is not prepared for] serious and democratic dialogue’ (*GC* 02.05.02), ‘[Spain’s approach to the issue is] not a particularly generous one’ (*GC* 28.05.02) and ‘Could anything be more illegal? [UN decisions]’ (*PN* 31.03.02).

Thus, we find discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, where the Gibraltar press discursively constructs the Gibraltar position as supported by law and correctness, at the same time as reinforcing external differences.

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Gibraltar is also discursively represented as a victim by means of very frequent references to the unfair treatment it has received. Lexical choices, adjectives and intensifiers reinforce this representation. Among others, the following instances illustrate it:

- ‘After decades of verbal bombardment’ (*GC* 26.09.01),
- ‘[Europe] its shameful abandon of Gibraltar’ (*GC* 12.10.01),
- ‘Once again we were left out of an EU measure’ (*GC* 16.10.01),
- ‘In the context of years of Gibraltar being left out of its EU benefits’ (*GC* 21.06.02),
- ‘We are always bound by obligations but never by rights’ (*GC* 21.09.01),
- ‘Not even the European Convention on Human Rights is made fully applicable to this territory’ (*PN* 22.10.01),
- ‘The forces working against us’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘[The people] have long endured many sacrifices’ (*PN* 05.09.02).

This victimisation strategy discursively creates in-group identity through solidarity appealing for compassionate feelings.

The Gibraltar issue and the current negotiation process are represented in the Gibraltar corpus as a problem and a dispute, but above all, as a challenge for the community and a really important one indeed, as can be seen in the following examples: ‘never has Gibraltar faced a greater challenge to its political future [...] than it does today’ (*GC* 21.11.01), ‘Serious challenges’ (*GC* 21.11.01), ‘The most challenging year as a community that it has confronted in decades’ (*GC* 28.12.01), ‘Never [...] as serious a challenge’ (*GC*

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03.01.02), ‘This crucial juncture in our history’ (*PN* 05.09.02) . Comparative particles are devices that serve the function of reinforcing the relevance of the moment.

Metaphors are a further rhetorical device to predicate the Gibraltar issue. The most salient ones are the journey or path metaphor, the theatre metaphor, the battle metaphor and the game metaphor. The various metaphors serve different purposes by highlighting different aspects of the concept they refer to. Table 7.5 presents some of the expressions that elaborate these metaphors.

The journey metaphor represents the Gibraltar issue as a lineal sequence in a direction, where there is a beginning, a process and an end. That end would mean the solution to the Gibraltar problem. The path to follow in that journey is constructed as divided in two directions. On the one hand, the journey that have been set up by ‘they’, that is, Britain and Spain, as the outside powers: ‘the process that Britain says it has embarked on over Gibraltar’ (*GC* 09.10.01), ‘Britain has embarked on a serious exercise’ (*GC* 28.12.01) and ‘Britain and Spain also seek the quickest way to joint sovereignty’ (*PN* 31.03.02). On the other hand, there is Gibraltar’s own path: ‘The Gibraltarian way’ (*GC* 03.05.02) and ‘The way we want to go’ (*GC* 25.10.01).

Moreover, quite significantly, the Gibraltar press constructs this journey as a dead-end, as in ‘Entering a well known cul de sac’ (*GC* 07.08.01), ‘Take the Gibraltar question back a step, not forward in any way’ (*GC* 19.03.02), ‘Lead none of us anywhere worthwhile’ (*GC* 07.06.02), and ‘Tony Blair recognises a dead end’ (*GC* 08.10.02). Hence, the Gibraltar press constructs Gibraltar’s own journey and path, and consequently its own solution to the problem, as opposed to Britain’s and Spain’s journey which will have a dead-

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Journey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The way ahead (<i>GC</i> 07.08.01) (<i>PN</i> 16.04.02) -Alter the general direction of the process (<i>GC</i> 13.11.01) -At this stage (<i>GC</i> 23.11.01) -What direction it [their work] is taking (<i>GC</i> 23.11.01) -[The demonstration] just a step in the very challenging march ahead (<i>GC</i> 18.03.02) -The process he [Mr Blair] has embarked on (<i>GC</i> 19.03.02) -There may be no going back (<i>PN</i> 16.04.02) -They [negotiations] have gone as far as they have (<i>PN</i> 08.07.02)
Theatre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The scenario (<i>GC</i> 07.08.01, 28.05.02, <i>PN</i> 31.03.02) -The backdrop (<i>GC</i> 09.10.01, 04.12.01, <i>PN</i> 31.03.02) -To have Spain start setting up the props for its own show before the EU public (<i>GC</i> 07.08.01) -Put before the Gibraltar public (<i>GC</i> 15.03.02) -Some of the delegates tell you behind the scenes that [...] (<i>PN</i> 10.06.02) -Ana Palacio came on the scene (<i>PN</i> 14.10.02)
Battle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -They [government] know, better than any of us, what is happening at the front line (<i>GC</i> 16.10.01) -Battle on peacefully to defend our rights and win the respect of others (<i>GC</i> 05.10.01) -To give some terrain (<i>GC</i> 25.04.02)
Game	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The card that Spain has played steadily all long (<i>GC</i> 23.08.01) -Fair play (<i>GC</i> 21.09.01) -The ball is, essentially, in Madrid's court (<i>GC</i> 03.10.01) -Returning to square one (<i>GC</i> 23.11.01) -Change the goal posts (<i>PN</i> 31.03.02) -Any referee would have blown his whistle against the UN (<i>PN</i> 10.06.02)

Table 7.5: Metaphors about Gibraltar in the Gibraltar corpus

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end.

This cul-de-sac construction of the problem is paralleled in the game metaphor with the references to a stalemate (*GC* 21.05.02 and 08.10.02). This and the battle metaphor emphasise the confrontational aspects of the Gibraltar question. They both reinforce the construction of opposite forces seeking their victory, thus representing Gibraltar as one of the sides opposing outsiders, which in turn helps to discursively construct group identity.

The theatre metaphor constructs the whole Gibraltar negotiation process as an artifice with actors that perform their parts on a scenario. Thus, the process is represented as artificial, as if both countries (Spain and Britain) were just pretending to negotiate something which consequently cannot have real implications for the actual world. It is also a device to negatively represent the process that the two other countries have started, as a further discursive strategy of negative other-presentation.

It is also worth mentioning how the battle metaphor used to refer to the Gibraltar problem, becomes a storm when related to the Prestige event. So that, if compared to the other great challenge, the Prestige accusations are a mere little threat. This can be seen in ‘Once this storm settles’ (*GC* 20.11.02) and ‘By creating [Madrid] storms in the EU’ (*GC* 15.11.02).

The idea of sovereignty –sharing sovereignty and the sovereignty of Gibraltar– was a central and recurrent topic in the negotiations between Britain and Spain. However, quite surprisingly, this term hardly appears in the Gibraltar press. This is, following Van Leeuwen (1996: 39), a de-emphasising strategy by means of which this concept is discursively represented as not central nor even one to deal with, as the Gibraltar side does not want it.

In contrast, we do find references to Gibraltar’s autonomy and independence, as in ‘Gibraltarian autonomy’ (*GC* 05.07.01), ‘Our self-determination’

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(*PN* 31.03.02) and ‘Our sovereignty’ (*PN* 02.07.01). These are autonomisation strategies (Wodak et al. 1999: 38), which help construct national identity.

Temporal references in the form of time adverbials most often point towards the future, close and distant, that Gibraltar faces, as in ‘Over the next few weeks’ (*GC* 11.10.01), ‘In the coming months’ (*GC* 21.11.01, 03.01.02), ‘We must be ready for some very serious thinking in the coming year’ (*GC* 18.03.02), and ‘Gibraltar faces its greatest challenge in the coming months’ (*GC* 09.04.02). But more frequent are the references to patience and to retarding the pace of events in relation to the present. Some instances are:

- ‘The Gibraltar issue needs time and consideration’ (*GC* 09.10.01),
- ‘[No] fast deals’ (*GC* 09.10.01),
- ‘Patience is a key virtue’ (*GC* 11.10.01),
- ‘There needs to be time’ (*GC* 23.01.02),
- ‘Proper pace’ (*GC* 23.01.02),
- ‘No instant solutions’ (*GC* 19.03.02),
- ‘There should be a rethink on all sides’ (*GC* 12.04.02),
- ‘Reflect [...] and consider the way ahead’ (*GC* 29.05.02),
- ‘Too soon’ (*PN* 16.04.02).

These temporal references, together with verb tenses and lexical choices with semantic components indicating ‘succession’ and ‘progression’ are strategies of continuation (Wodak et al. 1999: 37) which help construct a cohesive national identity. In relation to verb tenses, the present simple becomes

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particularly powerful as it connects the past and the present, as in ‘Peter Caruana has continued a strong impact there (the UN) and cultivated contacts’ (*GC* 03.07.01), ‘one of the most serious (challenges) that Gibraltar has faced since the Spanish pensions’ (*GC* 24.08.01) and ‘it is not what we have so patiently struggled for’ (*GC* 05.10.01).

Some of the lexical choices that express continuity are ‘remain’, ‘keep’ and the adverbs ‘still’, ‘again’ and ‘always’. The following examples illustrate this point: ‘we remain a significant base for the Alliance’ (*GC* 09.10.01), ‘the risk remains that Britain [...]’ (*GC* 28.12.01), ‘offer us deals and make proposals which we keep rejecting’ (*PN* 22.10.01), ‘we still run the very real risk that [...]’ (*GC* 15.01.02), ‘we have always faced challenges’ (*GC* 09.10.01), ‘the Gibraltar we have always known and want to keep’ (*PN* 31.03.02), and ‘once again we were left out of an EU measure’ (*GC* 16.10.01). These can be interpreted as preserving strategies (Wodak et al. 1999: 37).

Finally, the play on words that the Gibraltar press resorts to deserves special mention. Some of the expressions are:

- ‘Stand on the ground, on solid Rock’ (*GC* 23.01.02),
- ‘To ensure we stand solid as a Rock’ (*GC* 07.06.02),
- ‘Gibraltar to become the rock over which he [Blair] trips’ (*GC* 29.05.02),
- ‘Ignoring the Rock in their path is likely to trip up their plans’ (*GC* 07.06.02),
- ‘That troublesome rocky problem [for Britain]’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘The talks might end on the rocks’ (*PN* 08.07.02).

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This linguistic device enriches the discursive representation of Gibraltar playing with the semantic potential of the popular name of the colony, i.e., the ‘Rock’.

7.2.2 Spanish corpus

The Spanish press refers to Gibraltar in four basic ways that emphasise four corresponding views or representations of Gibraltar. These are: as a political entity, as a community or people, as a territory, and as an issue or topic of discussion. The following table shows the percentages of the various representations of Gibraltar in the Spanish press:

Political entity	42 %
People	26 %
Issue	23.6%
Territory	8.4 %

Table 7.6: Representations of Gibraltar in the Spanish corpus

The most frequent representation of Gibraltar is as a political entity, that is, as the institution with an official political status and engaged in political activities. Examples abound, such as

- ‘formas de cooperación entre Gibraltar y su entorno’ (ways of cooperation between Gibraltar and its surroundings) (*EP* 03.11.01),
- ‘la marcha de las negociaciones hispano-británicas sobre el futuro de Gibraltar’ (the progress of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations on the future of Gibraltar) (*ABC* 29.05.02),

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- ‘[España] adoptó una posición de dureza hacia el Peñón’ (Spain took a hard line towards the Rock) (*EP* 27.07.01).

As becomes clear from these examples, it is also interesting to point out that the press makes use of the various names of the colony: its official name ‘Gibraltar’ and the two popular ones, ‘el Peñón’ and ‘la Roca’ (both of them similar to the English ‘the Rock’).

On many other occasions Gibraltar is referred to, not by one of its names, but by reference to its political status as a colony, as in

- ‘la colonia revertiría a soberanía española’ (the colony would return to Spanish sovereignty) (*EP* 11.01.02),
- ‘[dos documentos que] dejan en evidencia a la colonia’ (two documents which made the colony’s guilt evident) (*ABC* 16.11.02).

Also discursively constructing this image of Gibraltar as a political entity is the reference to the authorities of Gibraltar, usually as a metonymy of the people in charge standing for the institution they represent as a whole. So that in ‘invitación a que el ministro principal gibraltareño, Peter Caruana, participe en las negociaciones’ (invitation to Gibraltar’s Chief Minister, Peter Caruana, to take part in the negotiations) (*LV* 05.02.02) and ‘Caruana debía ser un miembro más de la delegación británica’ (Caruana should be just another member of the British delegation) (*EM* 18.11.01), the invitation is to Gibraltar, as one of the sides affected, to participate in the conversations and as part of Britain.

However, this political entity is not very much politically active, but rather constructed as a possession, as something owned, something that can pass from one hand to another. The most salient linguistic device to discursively construct this image is the highly frequent collocations with the

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word ‘soberanía’ (sovereignty), as this term implies being under the rule or control of someone/something else. This can be seen in ‘Soberanía de Gibraltar’ (Sovereignty of Gibraltar) (*ABC* 10.11.01, *EM* 11.05.02, *EP* 19.11.01), ‘soberanía sobre Gibraltar’ (Sovereignty over Gibraltar) (*EM* 29.04.02), ‘Soberanía plena y exclusiva sobre la Roca’ (Full and exclusive sovereignty over the Rock) (*ABC* 31.10.01), and ‘Soberanía del Peñón’ (Sovereignty of the Rock) (*EM* 11.05.02, *EP* 27.07.01, *LV* 05.02.02). Examples such as these appear in almost every editorial of this corpus.

This representation of Gibraltar becomes particularly manifest when the choice is to ‘Roca’ or ‘Peñón’ because of the more material connotations and connections of these two terms. Some further lexical choices that also reinforce it are the words ‘retorno’ (return), ‘devolución’ (give back) and ‘quedarse’ (keep something) in ‘el retorno de Gibraltar a la soberanía española’ (the return of Gibraltar to Spanish sovereignty) (*EP* 27.07.01), ‘la devolución de la soberanía a España’ (to give back the sovereignty to Spain) (*EP* 19.11.01), ‘el Reino Unido se quedó con Gibraltar’ (the United Kingdom kept Gibraltar) (*EP* 21.11.01), and especially ‘en caso de cambiar de manos, el Peñón volvería a soberanía española’ (in case of passing to different hands, the Rock would return to Spanish sovereignty) (*EP* 08.11.02).

In contrast, there are other collocations of the word ‘Gibraltar’ that are constructed as impossible. For instance, the expression ‘Soberanía gibraltareña’ (Gibraltarian sovereignty) (*ABC* 10.11.01) is characterised as ‘necesariamente excluida’ (necessarily excluded). In a similar fashion ‘Derecho de autodeterminación’ (Right to self-determination) is premodified as ‘irreal’ (unreal) (*ABC* 08.11.02) and ‘eventual’ (only potential, not current) (*ABC* 04.02.02), and ‘Territorio independiente’ (independent territory) (*EM* 29.04.02) is related to the term ‘inviabilidad’ (non-viable). ‘Independencia del

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Peñón' (the Rock's independence) (LV 21.05.02) is predicated as 'no está en juego' (not at stake). Finally, 'Nación gibraltareña' (Gibraltarian nation) (*EM* 04.06.02) is excluded through irony.

As has already been mentioned, the Spanish press also refers to Gibraltar as a community or people. This is usually done through the de-toponymic anthroponym 'gibraltareños' (Gibraltarians), for instance in *ABC* 28.07.02, *EM* 27.05.02, *EP* 19.11.01, and *LV* 26.07.02. Less frequently, the newspapers use the more popular Spanish term to refer to the people of Gibraltar 'llanitos'. Some of them appear in *ABC* 14.01.02, *EM* 11.05.02 and *EP* 19.11.01. This term, which according to other investigations has more affectionate connotations (Kellermann, 1996: 74), is less frequently used in the Spanish newspapers analysed, which is an indicator of the little closeness with which Gibraltarian people are addressed in the Spanish press.

The community is also referred to with anthroponyms that emphasise their living in the place such as 'habitantes' (inhabitants) and 'ciudadanos' (citizens). For example, 'los habitantes de la colonia' (the inhabitants of the colony) (*EM* 18.11.01), 'habitantes de Gibraltar' (inhabitants of Gibraltar) (*ABC* 20.05.02), and 'ciudadanos gibraltareños' (Gibraltarian citizens) (*EP* 19.11.01). These are according to Van Leeuwen (1996: 59) spatialisation strategies.

However, a high proportion of these references to the Gibraltarians are in fact metonymical uses, i.e., the people stands for its country or institutions, which implies further references to Gibraltar as the political entity. The following examples illustrate it:

- 'Los gibraltareños exigen una delegación propia' (Gibraltarians demand their own delegation) (*ABC* 10.11.01),
- 'La incorporación de los gibraltareños a las negociaciones' (The incor-

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poration of Gibraltarians to the negotiations) (*ABC* 20.11.01),

- ‘Los gibraltareños deben participar integrados en la delegación británica’ (The Gibraltarians should participate as part of the British delegation) (*EP* 10.11.01).

In the above examples, it is really Gibraltar as a political entity that is to be integrated in the negotiations.

In addition, quite interestingly, Gibraltar is represented not only as the political entity and its people, but also as a topic, that is, an idea to talk about and discuss, as in ‘El otro gran frente de la acción exterior española es Gibraltar’ (the other great goal of the Spanish foreign policy is Gibraltar) (*ABC* 01.05.02), that is, the issue.

This way, Gibraltar is discursively represented as a ‘cuestión’ (question), ‘asunto’ (issue), ‘proceso’ (process) and the more legal and with war-like connotations ‘pleito’ (lawsuit), ‘contencioso’ (legal dispute), ‘disputa’ (dispute) and ‘conflicto’ (conflict). Some instances in point being:

- ‘Permanecer de espaldas a este asunto’ (keeping one’s back turned against this issue) (*ABC* 11.07.02),
- ‘El caso de Gibraltar’ (the case of Gibraltar) (*LV* 26.07.02),
- ‘Su política hacia la cuestión gibraltareña’ (its policy towards the Gibraltar question) (*EP* 27.07.01),
- ‘El bloqueo de este proceso’ (the blockage of this process) (*ABC* 27.06.02),
- ‘Acabar con el asunto cuanto antes’ (to finish with the issue as soon as possible) (*EP* 19.11.01),

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- ‘Solucionar un pleito anacrónico’ (to solve an anachronic lawsuit) (*EM* 18.11.01),
- ‘El planteamiento de un contencioso’ (the formulation of a legal dispute) (*EM* 08.11.02),
- ‘Desbloquear en breve el contencioso de Gibraltar’ (to shortly unblock the legal dispute on Gibraltar) (*LV* 17.03.02),
- ‘Salida al contencioso sobre Gibraltar’ (solution/way out to the legal dispute on Gibraltar) (*EP* 11.01.02),
- ‘Los estudiosos del tricentenario conflicto’ (researchers on the tricentenary conflict) (*EM* 11.05.02),
- ‘Si se resolviera esta disputa’ (if this dispute were resolved) (*EP* 11.01.02).

Some other cases in which Gibraltar collocates with words that belong to this semantic field are: ‘llegar a un acuerdo con el Reino Unido sobre Gibraltar’ (reach an agreement with the United Kingdom on Gibraltar) (*LV* 10.07.02), ‘negociar sobre Gibraltar’ (negotiate over Gibraltar) (*ABC* 20.11.01), ‘conversaciones sobre Gibraltar’ (conversations on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 04.02.02) (*EM* 18.11.01) (*EP* 21.07.02) (*LV* 21.05.02), ‘diálogo sobre Gibraltar’ (dialogue on Gibraltar) (*EP* 27.07.01) and ‘hablar de Gibraltar’ (talk about Gibraltar) (*LV* 31.10.01).

These referential strategies serve the purpose of representing Gibraltar as an issue or topic to be discussed, which ultimately discursively represent a reified Gibraltar.

Finally and less frequently, Gibraltar is also referred to as the territory or place that it occupies, as in ‘el territorio de Gibraltar’ (the territory of

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Gibraltar) (*ABC* 20.05.02), ‘empresas instaladas en Gibraltar’ (companies located in Gibraltar)(*EM* 15.11.02), ‘visita (de Jack Straw) a Gibraltar’ (visit (of Jack Straw) to Gibraltar)(*EP* 21.05.02), ‘el enclave’ (the territory)(*ABC* 16.11.02), and ‘manifestación masiva celebrada el lunes en Gibraltar’ (massive demonstration held last Monday in Gibraltar)(*EP* 20.03.02).

Attributes and adjectives most frequently predicate Gibraltar in terms of its anachronistic situation, emphasising how long it has gone through: ‘anacrónico y viejo’ (anachronistic and old) (*ABC* 10.11.01), ‘prolongado y anacrónico’ (lengthy and anachronistic) (*ABC* 20.11.01), ‘histórico’ (historic) (*EP* 03.11.01), ‘secular’ (century-old) (*EP* 03.11.01), ‘eterno’ (eternal) (*EM* 11.05.02) and ‘tricentenario’ (three century-old) (*EM* 29.04.02). In addition to this representation as outdated and as a consequence of it, Gibraltar is also attributed with qualities such as ‘insostenible’ (untenable) (*ABC* 20.11.01) (*EP* 11.01.02), ‘estrambótica’ (eccentric) (*EM* 04.06.02), ‘trasnochado’ (haggard) (*EP* 21.11.01), ‘incómodo’ (uncomfortable) (*ABC* 27.06.02), and ‘espinoso’ (thorny) (*ABC* 11.07.02).

A further, very frequent, attribution of Gibraltar is in relation to irregular financial activities, particularly the expression ‘paraíso fiscal’ (fiscal paradise) (*ABC* 08.11.02, *EM* 18.11.01, *EP* 03.11.01).

These categorisations serve as discursive strategies of negative representation to justify the Spanish position in the conflict, presenting British Gibraltar as illegal. Moreover, interestingly enough, negative attributions become more frequent in the Spanish press as long as the perception that an agreement is not to be signed becomes stronger.

As far as the people are concerned, predication is most frequently introduced by prepositional phrases with ‘of’ and personal pronouns which introduce categories attributed to them. These are very much related to the men-

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tal and volitional dimension: ‘sus intereses’ (their interests) (*ABC* 20.11.01), ‘sus derechos actuales’ (their present rights) (*EM* 08.11.02), ‘la voluntad de los gibraltareños’ (the will of the Gibraltarians) (*LV* 31.10.01), ‘los deseos de los gibraltareños’ (the wishes of the Gibraltarians) (*EP* 11.01.02), ‘la opinión de los gibraltareños’ (the opinion of the Gibraltarians) (*LV* 05.02.02).

The attribution assigned by the newspaper *El Mundo* deserves special mention: ‘los actuales habitantes’ (the present inhabitants) (11.05.02, 27.05.02, 08.11.02) and ‘actual población’ (current/present population) (8.11.02). They make reference to the historical event when the inhabitants of the Rock massively fled to the Spanish mainland after the British invasion (Fierro Cubiella, 1997: 41), implying that the present population is not the original one that should be there. This way, Gibraltar is discursively constructed as illegal not only in judicial or financial terms, but even in the own constitution of its people.

In addition, the Spanish press anchors its discursive construction of the Gibraltar issue in legal terms. It is made evident in the references to Gibraltar as ‘contencioso’ (legal dispute) or ‘pleito’ (lawsuit), which have already been discussed above, but also by certain attributes and adverbials that refer to justice and law –particularly international law– and the institutions that establish these laws. The examples below illustrate this point. The first set refers to Spain and its position:

- ‘Sus justificadas reivindicaciones’ (its justified vindications) (*LV* 31.10.01),
- ‘Como establece el Derecho internacional’ (as International law establishes) (*ABC* 20.11.01),
- ‘Como exigen las razones de justicia histórica’ (as reasons of historic justice demand) (*ABC* 04.02.02),

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- ‘Tanto según la UE como la OCDE’ (both according to the EU and OECD –Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) (*EP* 08.11.02),
- ‘Con las normas del Derecho internacional’ (with the norms of International law) (*ABC* 31.10.01).

In contrast, in relation to Gibraltar we find:

- ‘Una injusticia’ (an injustice) (*ABC* 31.10.01),
- ‘Infracción gibraltareña’ (Gibraltarian infringement) (*EM* 28.11.02),
- ‘Prohibida según el Tratado de la CE’ (Gibraltar financial activity, prohibited according to the Treaty of EC) (*EM* 28.11.02),
- ‘En contra de la letra del Tratado de Utrecht’ (against the wording of the Treaty of Utrecht) (*EP* 08.11.02),
- ‘Solución descartada por la ONU’ (Independence, solution discounted by the UN) (*EM* 29.04.02).

These recurrent references to legality are a discursive strategy to empower the Spanish position and to support and justify the Spanish discursive construction of the issue, as opposed to Gibraltar’s or Britain’s own construction of it.

The historical moment of the relaunching of negotiations in July 2001 and since then (the time span selected for the present investigation) is discursively construed as genuinely vital by lexical choices in the Spanish press that stress its relevance, and by comparative particles that contrast this moment with previous phases of the negotiations. To illustrate it: ‘una oportunidad histórica’ (a historic opportunity) (*ABC* 20.11.01), ‘un momento crucial’ (a

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crucial moment) (*LV* 05.02.02), ‘la ocasión es única’ (the occasion is unique) (*EP* 21.11.01), ‘una ocasión como ésta, la mejor desde 1704’ (an opportunity like this one, the best since 1704) (*EM* 18.11.01), ‘más que una utopía o una remota posibilidad’ (more than an utopia or remote possibility) (*ABC* 31.10.01), and ‘nunca ha tenido más posibilidades’ (never has it had more chances) (*EP* 27.04.02).

However, a diachronic study shows how this great optimism of the first months of the negotiations wears down by the end of May 2002, as the reaching of a definite agreement becomes improbable once again. As a consequence, attributions like the previous ones are not found again after May 2002, but rather the negotiations and the agreement are predicated as ‘acuerdo genérico’ (generic/vague agreement) (*EP* 21.05.02) and ‘eventual solución’ (occasional solution) (*EP* 21.07.02), and the Spanish press now refers to ‘ingenuidad’ (naivety) (*ABC* 29.09.02) and ‘se habían creado unas expectativas excesivas’ (excessive expectations had been created) (*ABC* 11.07.02).

In a similar line, the desired solution for the Gibraltar question is constructed in the first months of the negotiations as ‘definitiva’ (definitive) (*ABC* 25.04.02), ‘permanente’ (permanent) (*ABC* 20.05.02), ‘global’ (all-inclusive) (*LV* 05.02.02), ‘estable’ (stable) (*EP* 19.11.01), ‘último’ (final/ultimate) (*EM* 11.05.02), ‘pronta’ (prompt) (*ABC* 10.11.01), ‘inmediato’ (immediate) (*ABC* 31.10.01), and ‘irrenunciable’ (undeniable) (*ABC* 31.10.01). These were recurrent lexical choices in the Spanish press that, again, disappear as negotiations start to move away from an agreement. This construction of the issue conforms to discursive strategies of discontinuation (Wodak et al. 1999: 42), as they construct the need for a new, prompt and definite solution, emphasising disruption and discontinuity with the previous

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condition.

Also contributing to the above discontinuation strategies are the temporal references we find in the Spanish press. Adverbials with past reference point towards the anachronistic status of Gibraltar, but also and quite frequently to the very recent steps in the negotiations, so that the whole negotiation process is meticulously followed. Some illustrative examples are:

- ‘Durante tres siglos’ (for three centuries) (*EM* 11.05.02),
- ‘Desde hace tres siglos’ (for three centuries) (*EP* 19.11.01),
- ‘Tras cuatro años de ausencia de diálogo’ (after four years without dialogue) (*EM* 18.11.01),
- ‘El pasado mes de junio’ (last June) (*ABC* 25.04.02),
- ‘El pasado noviembre’ (last November) (*LV* 05.02.02),
- ‘Hace solo seis meses’ (only six months ago) (*EM* 28.11.02),
- ‘Unas semanas atrás’ (some weeks ago) (*EP* 03.11.01).

Then, a sharp contrast is established with the modern world that clashes with Gibraltar’s present unacceptable status, with adverbs such as ‘hoy’ (today) and ‘ahora’ (now) with the meaning of ‘nowadays’. As in *ABC* 20.05.02, *EM* 27.05.02, *LV* 21.05.02, and *EP* 11.01.02. Other similar temporal adverbials are ‘hoy por hoy’ (these days) (*EP* 21.05.02), ‘en la Europa del siglo XXI’ (in 21st century Europe) (*ABC* 27.06.02), and ‘en el mundo actual’ (in the present world) (*EP* 11.01.02).

Finally, future temporal references:

- ‘El próximo verano’ (Next summer) (*LV* 05.02.02),

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- ‘Antes de acabar el año que viene’ (Before the end of next year) (*EM* 18.11.01),
- ‘A mediados del mes de mayo’ (By the middle of May) (*ABC* 25.04.02),
- ‘La próxima semana’ (Next week) (*EP* 03.11.01),
- ‘En menos de un mes’ (In less than a month) (*EP* 27.04.02).

They direct towards precise points, that is, they are not generic future references, but rather the implication is that that future is wanted soon. These temporal references serve the purpose of highlighting the contrast between the past situation, the present and what should be the future of Gibraltar.

As regards other rhetorical devices, Gibraltar-is-a-journey is the most salient and recurrently resorted to metaphor in the Spanish press, which constructs the issue as a journey, and a long one indeed, with its obstacles, directions, turns, stops and end. It is extensively elaborated. Table 7.7 presents some expressions that help construct this metaphor.

Notice that in the Gibraltar issue, Gibraltar itself is also constructed as an obstacle in the whole negotiation process. Moreover, by the second half of 2002, when it was made evident that no agreement was to be signed, this journey becomes a ‘viaje a ninguna parte’ (*EP* 26.07.02), that is, a journey to nowhere, a journey that started but which has a dead-end. Thus, the negotiations are constructed as having set up a complex machinery to run a long journey, which ultimately had no successful end.

The Gibraltar issue is also metaphorically constructed as a war and as a game. In the Gibraltar-is-a-war metaphor, the enemy is usually Gibraltar, but also Britain as the country with which an agreement has to be signed. Some expressions are:

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The journey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -La marcha (the march) (EP 27.04.02) -España está abriendo eficaces vías de acuerdo (Spain is opening effective agreement paths) (LV 26.11.01) -Camino (way) (ABC 27.06.02)
Movement forward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Avanzar (move forward) (EM 29.04.02) -Caminar paso a paso (walk step by step) (ABC 25.04.02) -Marcha por buen camino (move ahead on a good path) (ABC, 04.02.02) -Proceso negociador en marcha (on-going negotiation process) (EP 20.03.02)
Journey stages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Paso adelante (a step forward) (ABC 20.05.02) -Dar este paso (take this step) (EP 03.11.01) -Un paso muy importante (an important step) (EM 28.11.02) -Las etapas (the stages) (ABC, 20.11.01) -Un hito en la marcha (a milestone) (ABC 25.04.02)
Obstacles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Problema con el que han chocado (problem they have encountered, impeding headway) (EP 27.07.01) -Las exigencias británicas y españolas chocan (British and Spanish demands clash) (EP 21.05.02) -Gibraltar se ha convertido en un importante obstáculo (Gibraltar has become an important obstacle) (EM 18.11.01) -Una china en el zapato español (a pebble in the Spanish shoe) (EP 03.11.01) -Allanaría el agravio (It would lighten the injustice, leaving the way free from obstacles) (EM 08.11.02) -No son obstáculos fáciles de salvar (these obstacles are not easy to jump over) (LV 21.05.02)
Arrival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Llegar (arrive) (LV 10.07.02) -Está llegando a su fin (It is reaching its end) (EP 27.04.02) -La meta (the finishing line) (ABC, 20.11.01) -No llegue a buen puerto (not to get safely into port) (ABC 27.06.02)
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Se puso en marcha un tren (a train set out) (ABC 28.07.02) -Única salida del túnel (only way out from the tunnel) (ABC 28.07.02) -Mirando por el retrovisor (looking in the rearview mirror) (EP 26.07.02) -Que descarrilen [...] las negociaciones (Let the negotiations derail) (EM 08.11.02) -Se daría luz verde a los procesos (grant a green light to the processes) (EM 08.11.02)

Table 7.7: Journey metaphor in the Spanish corpus

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- ‘Avanzar sus posiciones’ (advance their positions) (*EP* 21.05.02),
- ‘La defensa’ (the defence) (*ABC* 04.02.02),
- ‘Estudian blindar su posición’ (Gibraltarians are thinking about shielding their position)(*EP* 19.11.01),
- ‘Vencer las resistencias’ (break down resistance) (*ABC* 04.02.02),
- ‘Ganar la batalla de la opinión’ (win the battle of public opinion) (*ABC* 08.11.02).

In relation to the Gibraltar-is-a-game metaphor, the following expressions are used:

- ‘Las reglas del juego’ (the rules of the game) (*EM* 28.11.02),
- ‘Las cartas sobre la mesa’ (playing cards on the table) (*LV* 26.07.02),
- ‘El Peñón también tiene que mover ficha’ (also the Rock has to move its counter) (*LV* 05.02.02),
- ‘Quiere reservarse sus mejores cartas para jugarlas al final’ (the Spanish government, wants to keep the best playing cards till the end)(*EP* 11.01.02),
- ‘Ganar’ (win)(*EP* 10.11.01).

As regards this game, the Spanish press makes it clear that ‘no está en juego la independencia del Peñón’ (*LV* 21.05.02), that is, that the Rock’s independence is not brought up into play. Thus, the idea of Gibraltar’s independence is not be considered.

In both metaphors, there are opponents against which Spain has to react and they both necessarily imply final winners, so that the Gibraltar issue is

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represented as a confrontation where there must be a winner to put an end to the situation.

Similes and comparisons are further discursive strategies in the Spanish press to predicate about Gibraltar. Comparisons with other events that share characteristics with the Gibraltar situation are understood as a form of intertextuality that works to frame the situation and to support the main arguments presented by the newspapers (Fairclough, 1992). The Gibraltar situation is compared to that of Hong Kong (*ABC* 20.05.02, *EP* 27.04.02, *LV* 26.07.02), the Basque country (*EM* 11.05.02), Andorra and Abu Musa island (*EP* 11.01.02), Falkland Islands (*EP* 20.03.02) and Northern Ireland (*EP* 19.11.01). These comparisons serve different functions. They help interpret the Gibraltar situation in terms of the readers' available social background knowledge. Similarities are established with those situations in which there was a reintegration of the colonial territory to the mainland, as with the Hong Kong case, while differences are highlighted with cases such as the Falkland Islands where Britain kept sovereignty.

These comparisons and similes serve the purpose of supporting the Spanish position in the conflict. Similarly, some further parallelisms are highlighted that, with the same function, tend to minimise Gibraltar by discrediting it, such as the comparative predication 'territorio minúsculo, desgajado de un país mucho mayor' (tiny territory torn from a much bigger country) (*EM* 08.11.02). Quantifiers and numerical expressions also present contrasts that stress how small, and thus trivial, Gibraltar is, standing on its own. The following serve that purpose well:

- '30,000 habitantes de su colonia [...] 370 millones de europeos' (30,000 inhabitants of the colony vs. 370 million of Europeans) (*ABC* 20.05.02),
- '6 km² y 27,000 habitantes [...] 1,000 km² y 6 millones de habitantes' (6

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Km² and 27,000 inhabitants vs Hong Kong's 1,000 Km² and 6 million inhabitants) (*EM* 29.04.02),

- '6.5 km² con 28,000 habitantes, la población de Lloret de Mar' (6.5 Km² with 28,000 inhabitants -the population of Lloret de Mar, i.e., a small village in Spain) (*EM* 08.11.02),
- '30,000 llanitos [...] la política de Estado del Gobierno británico' (30,000 llanitos vs. the State politics of the British Government) (*ABC* 28.07.02).

Other recurrent lexical choices that serve the same purpose are: 'minúsculo territorio' (tiny territory) (*EM* 04.06.02), 'diminuta y díscola colonia' (tiny and ungovernable/unmanageable colony) (*ABC* 08.11.02) and 'pedacito de territorio' (little chunk of territory) (*EM* 29.04.02), among others. By contrast, negative traits are maximised through superlatives and other lexical choices, as in 'Gibraltar tiene *importantísimas* ventajas fiscales' (Gibraltar enjoys the most important fiscal benefits) (*EM* 04.06.02), 'contencioso *tan* prolongado' (such a long legal dispute) (*ABC* 25.04.02), '*eterno* bloqueo' (everlasting blockage) (*EM* 11.05.02), and 'la *última* colonia del continente europeo' (the last colony in Europe) (*EP* 03.11.01).

Predicational strategies regarding the holding of the referendum deserve some comment. The referendum is attributed negative characteristics, basically its illegality and uselessness: 'ilegal' (illegal) (*ABC* 08.11.02), 'extraoficial' (unofficial) (*EM* 08.11.02), 'engañosa' (deceiving) (*EP* 08.11.02), 'encubierto' (underhand) (*LV* 26.07.02), and 'sin valor legal' (without legal value) (*EP* 08.11.02). In the same line, it is predicated as 'con un resultado conocido de antemano' (its result, known before hand) (*ABC* 08.11.02), 'cuyo resultado es anticipable' (whose result is predictable) (*LV* 26.07.02), and 'sin sorpresas [...] nada sorprendente' (not a surprise) (*EM* 08.11.02). Summing

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up, the referendum is referred to as an unfortunate action: ‘un torpe desafío’ (a clumsy defiance/provocation) (*ABC* 08.11.02), ‘el ingrato gesto hacia Londres’ (the ungrateful sign towards London) (*ABC* 08.11.02), and ‘desafío del ministro principal de Gibraltar’ (defiance/provocation by the Gibraltar chief minister) (*LV* 26.07.02). All of them are predicational strategies of negative presentation.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to some play on words that the Spanish press has resorted to in the leader pages of its newspapers. We have found:

- ‘bien se merecería la Unión Europea que, durante la presidencia española de la misma, se quitara de la bota este Peñón que le impide caminar con normalidad’ (the EU well deserves that, during the Spanish presidency, it would get rid of the Stone in its shoe that prevents it from walking properly) (*EP* 21.05.02),
- ‘algo más que una china en el zapato español’ (Gibraltar is more than a stone in the Spanish shoe)(*EP* 03.11.01),
- ‘tropiezo en el Peñón’ (tripping up over the Stone) (*LV* 21.05.02).

These expressions play with the meaning implications of the word ‘Rock’ to bring to the readers’ minds negative connotations particularly in relation to the walking process, as something uncomfortable and an obstacle.

7.2.3 British corpus

In the British newspapers Gibraltar is again referred to in various ways. The most frequent one is its official name ‘Gibraltar’, but we also very frequently find the most popular term ‘the Rock’. The latter is indeed less formal

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and consequently it commonly appears in those articles that deal with the Gibraltar issue directly, that is, wholly about it, while in those articles that address the issue indirectly -either in relation to the Prestige event or other political questions- this term is hardly used.

The following table summarises the most salient representations of Gibraltar in the British press and their percentages of frequency:

Political entity	46.6 %
People	36 %
Issue	12%
Territory	5.4 %

Table 7.8: Representations of Gibraltar in the British corpus

Gibraltar is most frequently referred to as the political entity, either directly or through references to its government, authorities, political institutions and political status. Examples abound, such as

- ‘The Spanish have vetoed Gibraltar gaining [...]’ (*IN* 19.11.02),
- ‘Gibraltar’s Chief Minister’ (*GD* 05.05.02),
- ‘The authorities’ (*IN* 19.11.02),
- ‘Peter Caruana’ (*TG* 27.07.02),
- ‘The Chief Minister’ (*TM* 21.11.01),
- ‘the colony’s geographical position’ (*IN* 27.07.02),
- ‘accuses the colony of’ (*TG* 06.02.02).

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The references to Gibraltar as a people and community run behind those of political entity. Collectives such as ‘people’, ‘community’ and ‘population’ appear for example in *GD* 13.07.02, *IN* 04.02.02, *TM* 21.11.01, *TG* 19.03.02, and *IN* 04.02.02, together with the personal pronouns ‘they’ and ‘them’ (*GD* 05.05.02, *IN* 04.02.02, *IN* 27.07.02, *TG* 21.11.01, *TG* 14.01.02).

However, the most frequent linguistic device to refer to Gibraltar as a people is the use of the de-toponymic anthroponym ‘Gibraltarians’. Its use abounds, as in the following editorials: *GD* 05.05.02, *IN* 04.02.02, *TM* 21.05.02, *TG* 19.03.02, among many others. The people are further named with anthroponyms in terms of their living in a place, being ‘residents’ (*IN* 04.02.02, *IN* 27.07.02, *TM* 21.11.01) and ‘inhabitants’ (*TG* 06.02.02, *TG* 13.05.02, *TG* 21.05.02, *TM* 21.11.01) of Gibraltar. Predication through relative clauses is also used in this sense. For instance, ‘some who live in Gibraltar’ (*IN* 03.02.02) and ‘those who live on the Rock’ (*IN* 27.07.02). These are, as already mentioned, spatialisation strategies.

A further technique to refer to the people is actionalisation and politisation strategies, that is, through terms that denote they are doers of actions, and particularly in our corpus, political actions such as voting and demonstrating, as in ‘the voters’ (*TG* 14.01.02) and ‘the protesters’ (*IN* 03.02.02).

Like in the Spanish newspapers, the British press also refers to Gibraltar as a topic or idea to talk about and discuss. Its frequency, though smaller than in the previous two corpora, is still significant (12%). Cases in point are ‘On Gibraltar, Mr Hain is a typical [...]’ (*TG* 11.01.02) (that is, as regards this topic) and ‘over Gibraltar, it (Spain) is not behaving [...]’ (*TG*, 19.03.02). That is, over this topic or matter.

As such, Gibraltar repeatedly collocates with words that belong to the semantic field of debate and argument. Some examples are:

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- ‘Statement on Gibraltar’ (*GD*, 13.07.02),
- ‘Dispute [...] over Gibraltar’ (*IN* 27.07.02),
- ‘Discussions on Gibraltar’ (*TG* 12.11.01),
- ‘Global agreement on Gibraltar’ (*TM* 21.11.01),
- ‘Interview on Gibraltar’ (*TG* 26.07.02),
- ‘Disagreements over Gibraltar’ (*TG* 21.11.01),
- ‘Promises regarding the Rock’ (*TG* 11.07.02),
- ‘To say much about Gibraltar’ (*TM* 21.05.02),
- ‘Making a fuss about Gibraltar’ (*GD*, 11.10.02),
- ‘Negotiator on Gibraltar’ (*TM* 13.07.02).

In this sense, some lexical choices are also made to name Gibraltar, so that it becomes ‘an issue’, ‘thing’ or ‘question’: ‘conduct itself [UK] on this issue’ (*TM* 21.11.01), ‘the British Government to construct the question’ (*TM* 21.11.01), ‘[discussing] things that are not quite the main point’ (*GD* 11.10.02), ‘on this issue’ (*TG* 21.05.02) illustrate this point.

Finally, in a lesser proportion, Gibraltar is also referred to as an area or region. The term ‘territory’ is common to allude to Gibraltar, as in ‘sovereignty over a contiguous territory whose loss [...]’ (*GD* 20.11.01). Similarly, in *IN* 13.07.02 and *TG* 21.05.02 Gibraltar is also represented as a territory to visit, to stop at, to live in and to fly to and from, as some examples illustrate:

- ‘Visiting Gibraltar’ (*GD* 20.11.01),
- ‘A visit to the Rock’ (*IN* 03.02.02),

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- ‘Live on the Rock’ (*IN* 03.02.02),
- ‘Flights to and from the Rock’ (*TG* 06.02.02),
- ‘safety checks in Gibraltar’ (*IN* 19.11.02).

When naming Gibraltar, some lexical choices are made that categorise it as a disease and something outdated. This can be seen in ‘Last few remnants of empire’ (*IN* 04.02.02), ‘These anachronistic colonial conquests’ (*TM* 19.07.02) (also including and comparing with Ceuta and Melilla), ‘An irritant in Britain’s relations with Spain’ (*TG* 12.11.01), ‘A pimple on Spain’s bottom’ (*TG* 21.11.01), ‘An economic parasite’ (*TG* 14.01.02), ‘That uncomfortable spot’ (*TG* 27.07.02). Hence, naming strategies loaded with negative connotations.

This elaboration of Gibraltar as outdated is also present in the evaluation of the whole Gibraltar issue with expressions such as:

- ‘An anachronistic and unnecessary dispute’ (*GD* 20.11.01),
- ‘Historic rivalry and the legacy of empire’ (*GD* 20.11.01),
- ‘An increasingly preposterous echo of the imperial past’ (*IN* 03.02.02),
- ‘The long-running dispute’ (*IN* 27.07.02 and *TG* 19.03.02),
- ‘Ancient row’ (*TM* 21.11.01),
- ‘A dispute that has lasted almost 300 years’ (*TM* 21.05.02),
- ‘A feud [...] that has run [...] Franco [...] today’ (*TG* 12.11.01),
- ‘Perpetual irritant in our relations with Spain’ (*IN* 27.07.02),
- ‘Not a comfortable enterprise’ (*TM* 21.11.01),

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- ‘An irritant between two countries whose prime ministers get on well together’ (*TG* 21.11.01).

Temporal references are also highly common in the form of adverbials. Most of them referring to the past, which emphasise that outdated categorisation of Gibraltar. Some instances are ‘since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713’ (*TG* 19.03.02), ‘for almost 300 years’ (*IN* 13.07.02), ‘Since 1713’ (*TG*, 09.11.02), ‘in 1967’ (*TG* 21.11.01), and ‘almost three centuries ago’ (*IN*, 27.07.02); but also with references to the future, as in ‘In their future’ (*IN* 27.07.02)(*TG* 27.07.02), ‘At a later point’ (*TM* 21.11.01), ‘At some future date’ (*IN* 04.02.02), ‘as early as June’ (*TG* 19.03.02) and ‘For the foreseeable future’ (*TM* 13.07.02).

From the above examples, lexical choices such as ‘dispute’, ‘rivalry’, ‘row’ and ‘feud’ introduce us to the war metaphor. That is, the Gibraltar issue is identified in terms of a different domain, that of war and confrontation, so that, in the reader’s imagination the identified element (the Gibraltar issue) is provided with the attributions of the second element (war), emphasising that new feature or aspect (and backgrounding other aspects) (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 12-13). In that realm, there are constant references to offensives, revanchism and other expressions such as ‘[...] will not let the Rock off the hook’ (*TG* 11.07.02) and ‘a sword hanging over the Gibraltarians’ (*TG* 11.07.02), which reinforce the perception of the Gibraltar issue as a confrontation.

The British press also plays with a number of other metaphors that illustrate how the issue is represented and perceived from this side of the question. The most salient metaphors are those that qualify Gibraltar as a hindrance or obstacle and as a commodity or merchandise; and the Gibraltar process as a journey and as a game. A selection of examples that illustrate them is

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presented in table 7.9.

Of these, the metaphor most frequently resorted to in the British press is that of Gibraltar-is-merchandise or Gibraltar-is-commodity. It is repeatedly addressed in the four newspapers analysed and forcefully portrays an image of Gibraltar as an entity that can pass from one hand to another, a possession. Gibraltar is being reified, i.e., treated as a material or concrete thing, and impersonalised.

This is reinforced by the common collocations of Gibraltar with the words ‘sovereignty’ and ‘control’, as in ‘sovereignty over Gibraltar’ (*GD* 13.07.02), ‘sovereignty of Gibraltar’ (*TM* 21.11.01), ‘sovereignty over the territory’ (*IN* 27.07.02), ‘joint control of the Rock’ (*IN* 03.02.02), and ‘British control of Gibraltar’ (*IN* 03.02.02), where Gibraltar is always the ‘what’ to be controlled and under sovereignty.

In general, the British press is not abundant in the use of adjectives or appositions as attributes to predicate qualities about Gibraltar. Nevertheless, it seems interesting to briefly comment on the predication about Gibraltar concerning its being ‘British’. In general terms, the British editorial articles analysed make little reference to this quality of the Gibraltarian community. In *The Guardian* and *The Times*, Gibraltar and its people are described as ‘British’ in only one instance in each newspaper (*GD* 05.05.02 and *TM* 13.07.02). In addition, *The Independent*, adds the pre-modification ‘aggressively British’ (*IN* 27.07.02), which together with the expression ‘excessive loyalty’ (*IN* 04.02.02), imply the negative connotations that Gibraltarians have these qualities in a degree higher than what would be expected or what should be.

In contrast, we have found a different tendency in the remaining British newspaper, *The Telegraph*, where the adjectives ‘British’ and ‘loyal’ are pro-

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Obstacle metaphor	<p>It is holding up the drive to create [...] (TG 21.11.01)</p> <p>Gibraltar stood in the way of this plan (TG 11.07.02)</p> <p>A stumbling block (TG 09.11.02)</p> <p>The Rock starts to roll (GD 20.11.01)[obstacle removed?]</p> <p>[Now they are] closer than ever (TM 13.07.02)</p>
Commodity metaphor	<p>Selling out Gibraltar (TG 14.01.02)</p> <p>To conclude a deal at any price (TM 13.07.02)</p> <p>The Rock slips once again from its grasp (IN 17.07.02)</p> <p>To get rid of the Rock (TG 26.07.02)</p> <p>Dispose of the colony (TG 09.11.02)</p> <p>Get hands on Gibraltar (IN 27.04.02)</p> <p>[1713] brought us the Rock (GD 05.05.02)</p> <p>Share Gibraltar with Spain (TG 13.05.02)</p>
Journey metaphor	<p>To move far further and faster (TM 21.11.01)</p> <p>Steps (TM 21.11.01)</p> <p>The issue would never come to the vote (TM 21.05.02)</p> <p>[Agreement] a stepping-stone on the way to (TM 21.05.02)</p> <p>A historic and welcome step forward (GD 13.07.02)</p> <p>Getting stuck again (TG 10.11.02)</p>
Game metaphor	<p>A political point has been scored (IN 19.11.02)</p> <p>A spiteful move (IN 19.11.02)</p> <p>The winners (TM 19.07.02)</p> <p>The stalemate (TM 13.07.02)</p> <p>Both have made moves (TM 13.07.02)</p>

Table 7.9: Metaphors about Gibraltar in the British corpus

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portionally more frequent and without traits of negative connotations, as in:

- ‘British’ (*TG* 19.03.02)
- ‘loyal Gibraltarians’ (*TG* 19.03.02),
- ‘loyal British subjects’ (*TG* 13.05.02),
- ‘wholly British’ (*TG* 26.07.02, 27.07.02, 14.01.02),
- ‘fiercely loyal’ (*TG* 21.11.01),
- ‘a loyal colony’ (*TG* 27.07.02).

Thus, *The Telegraph* sets itself apart from what seems to be the general tendency in the British press as far as this attribution is concerned.

Other qualities are assigned by means of prepositional phrases with ‘of’, saxon genitive and possessive pronouns. These qualities attributed to Gibraltar or its people most frequently belong to the abstract dimension of mind and feelings, with constant references to their having ‘wishes’ (*TG* 06.02.02), ‘feelings’ (*IN* 04.02.02), ‘rights’ (*GD* 13.07.02), ‘interests’ (*IN* 04.02.02), ‘passions’ (*IN* 27.07.02) and the like.

In addition, the whole situation is characterised as a passionate issue with the passion-is-heat metaphor:

- ‘Put the issue on ice until passions cool’ (*TM* 13.07.02),
- ‘Give in to pressure’ (*TM* 21.05.02),
- ‘relieve pressure’ (*TG* 06.02.02),
- ‘Anglo-Spanish relations remain cool’ (*TG* 09.11.02).

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and other lexical choices such as ‘desperation’, ‘desperate’ (*TG* 26.07.02), ‘eager’ (*TG* 09.11.02), ‘vehement’ (Gibraltar’s attitude), ‘vigorously’ [how Gibraltarians will oppose the Anglo-Spanish deal] (*TG* 21.05.02), ‘attractive’ (*TM* 13.07.02), and ‘Spain is also extremely apprehensive that’ (*TM* 21.05.02). Hence, a high load of passion and emotion in its discursive representation.

A further interesting attribution of Gibraltar is realised by means of what can be called strategies of minimisation (Wodak et al. 1999: 36) with the use of quantifiers, adjectives and terms which denote a small size: ‘small community’ (*IN* 04.02.02), ‘statelet’, ‘a tiny colony’ (*IN* 27.07.02) (*TG* 14.01.02), and the very frequent number 30,000 quantifying the population (*GD* 05.05.02, *TM* 13.07.02, *TG* 14.01.02, *TG* 06.02.02, *TG* 13.05.02).

When predicating the whole Gibraltar question, the adjectives chosen belong to the semantic field of irrationality and even ridicule. It is described as ‘unrealistic’ (*IN* 27.07.02), ‘comical’ (*IN* 03.02.02), ‘awkward’ (*TM* 21.05.02), ‘naive’ (*TM* 21.05.02), ‘preposterous’ (*IN* 03.02.02) or ‘folly’ (*TG* 13.05.02). And the pursuing of the conversations on the issue by the British side as looking ‘foolish’ (*TM* 21.05.02), ‘damnest’ (*TG* 19.03.02), ‘asinine’ (*TG* 21.05.02), and even with a reference to Don Quixote (*TG* 09.11.02). These reinforce an image of the whole Gibraltar situation as illogical, which subtly suggests the need of change.

Finally, the British press also resorts to a number of popular expressions to play with the semantic potential of the name ‘Rock’:

- ‘No man is an island, not even if he lives on a rock’ (*GD* 05.05.02),
- ‘Between a Rock and a hard place’.

The implications and interpretation of these plays on words are discussed

in the Discussion chapter.

Summing up, this section has presented the most relevant referential and predicational strategies which have been identified in the analysis of the Gibraltarian, Spanish and British corpora, referring to the conflicts and debates about Gibraltar. Various discursive strategies that, as will be discussed in the following chapter, fulfil different discursive functions in the representation of Gibraltar and the whole Gibraltar issue.

7.3 Analysis of the transitivity system

This section presents the results of the analysis of our three corpora following the transitivity model described by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). It shows the types of processes that Gibraltar is most frequently involved in and the kind of participant roles that it is assigned. A critical interpretation of these results will be discussed in the next chapter: the Discussion chapter.

Because of the nature of the present study, which undertakes a critical endeavour, the present analysis will primarily follow conceptual/semantic criteria rather than syntactic/formal ones (O'Donnell, 2005).

Also notice that the occurrences of Gibraltar as a participant and as a circumstance that have been considered in this analysis include references to Gibraltar by its proper name ('Gibraltar', 'the Rock', 'Peñón', 'Roca'), to its authorities as they represent the community ('Gibraltar Government', 'Peter Caruana' and the like) and to the people of Gibraltar ('Gibraltarians', 'llanitos', 'we', 'the people').

7.3.1 Gibraltar corpus

In the Gibraltarian press, Gibraltar as a participant is represented as involved in material, mental, verbal and relational processes for the most part. There are only two instances in which this participant appears in behavioural processes and none in existential ones. Besides, Gibraltar also appears as a circumstance. The total number of instances in which Gibraltar appears as a participant is 556 and 56 as a circumstance. Table 7.10 details it.

PROCESS TYPE	OCCURRENCES
Material	232 (41.7 %)
Mental	150 (27 %)
Relational	113 (20.3 %)
Verbal	59 (10.6 %)
Behavioural	2 (0.4 %)
TOTAL	556

Table 7.10: Process types in which Gibraltar is a participant in the Gibraltarian corpus

Thus, the kind of actions that Gibraltar is most frequently involved in are material and verbal, that is, actions of doing or happening and, in a lower proportion, actions implying verbal production. As the table shows, actions involving behaviour are not particularly significant in this corpus.

However, there is a highly significant proportion of processes that do not belong to the realm of actions but to that of the inner consciousness. These are mental processes and are the second in occurrence in this corpus. Similarly, relational processes that ascribe qualities to Gibraltar are next in frequency.

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Going a step further, the analysis of the participant roles assigned to Gibraltar in the Gibraltarian newspapers in relation to these processes has shown very interesting patterns, as the table below (7.11) summarises.

PARTICIPANT ROLE	OCCURRENCES
Actor	149
Goal	69
Beneficiary	14
Senser	138
Phenomenon	12
Carrier	92
Attribute	2
Token	18
Value	1
Sayer	37
Receiver	19
Target	3
Behaver	2

Table 7.11: Participant roles assigned to Gibraltar in the Gibraltarian corpus

The most relevant participant roles that Gibraltar is assigned are actor and senser. It is interesting to point out that a diachronic analysis throughout the sixteen months that cover the present corpus shows that it is in the early months that the participant role of actor is particularly frequent, and as time passes by, especially by the month of March 2002 (the time when news articles started to inform that an agreement was likely to be signed soon) the instances of Gibraltar represented as goal and senser increases. So that Gibraltar stops doing things and starts being especially affected by the

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actions of others and also reacting to them. Besides, after the referendum and in relation to the Prestige event, Gibraltar again is assigned the more active role of actor.

A closer analysis of the material processes in which Gibraltar is actor shows that these are for the most part non-transactive actions, that is, those actions in which there is no goal. Semantically, it implies that these actions do not have an effect on other things, they do not bring about changes in the world (Van Leeuwen, 1995: 89). Some illustrative examples include the following processes: ‘go’, ‘move’, ‘enter’, ‘win’, ‘sit’ and ‘live’, as in:

- ‘Gibraltar moves in the direction of dialogue’ (*GC* 06.09.01),
- ‘He [the Chief Minister] just sits there as a mere spectator’ (*PN* 23.12.01),
- ‘We live in the real, tough world’ (*GC* 03.01.02),
- ‘Where we go next’ (*GC* 16.05.02),
- ‘Either way Gibraltar wins’ (*PN* 10.06.02).

These are, following Halliday and Matthiessen’s terminology (2004: 180), clauses that are closer to ‘happenings’, as opposed to those that having an effect on something else represent ‘doings’. In material processes of the latter type, Gibraltar most frequently appears as the goal (29.7 %). The other affected role of beneficiary, though in a lower proportion (6 %), is also assigned to Gibraltar in this type of processes.

In addition, a considerably high proportion of the actions that Gibraltar as an actor is responsible for are limited by conditional clauses introduced by ‘if’ or ‘unless’, which implies that their being brought about depends on something or someone else. They mount up to 10.4 % of these material processes, as illustrated in:

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- ‘Gibraltar can only take steps forward if Spain leads the dance’ (*GC* 05.07.01),
- ‘He will attend talks under the Brussels process if the talks are not bilateral between London and Madrid’ (*PN* 23.12.01),
- ‘He will not go if he just sits there as a mere spectator’ (*PN* 23.12.01),
- ‘If a vote were ever to come up, we may have won some silent allies too’ (*GC* 11.10.01).

However, conditions are not only limited to material actions, but are also present in other types of processes and it is also Gibraltar’s actions or reactions which are presented as a possibility (i.e. as part of the conditional clause). For example in the mental process ‘If Gibraltar is to be able to democratically consider and accept or rejects any plans for the future’ (*GC* 23.01.02), the relational ‘If Gibraltar is to be a joint colony of the UK and Spain’ (*PN* 10.06.02) or the verbal process ‘If we say no’ (*GC* 08.11.01).

The process ‘face’ deserves special comment as it is the most repeated one, accounting for 14% of the material processes. In the Gibraltarian press, Gibraltar is represented as facing challenges, problems, difficult situations and the like. For instance,

- ‘There are realities we need to face seriously’ (*GC* 25.10.01),
- ‘It faces what is likely to be the most challenging year as a community’ (*GC* 28.12.01),
- ‘Never has Gibraltar faced as serious a challenge as it does this year’ (*GC* 03.01.02),
- ‘Gibraltar faces its greatest challenge in the coming months’ (*GC* 09.04.02),

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- ‘Gibraltar will, at the end of the day, remain faced by serious challenges involving Spain’ (*GC* 28.05.02),
- ‘We face serious decisions about our future’ (*GC* 17.04.02),
- ‘The problem we face’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘If we want to cut-clean the dangers facing us’ (*PN* 24.06.02).

The verb *face* literally means to oppose something physically, showing one’s face bravely. In most instances here, it is used in its figurative sense of opposing an abstract reality (such as a challenge, a danger or a problem). These abstract material clauses are harder to understand as proper material clauses (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 196). In fact, the dictionary definition for the figurative sense of ‘face’ includes the attitude of accepting it (Collins COBUILD Dictionary), which adds certain mental connotations to the interpretation of the process, thus emphasising aspects of the inner consciousness of the actor.

Something similar happens with the actions ‘vote’ and ‘elect’ (as in *GC* 31.01.02 or *PN* 11.11.02), which though grammatically belonging to material processes of the doing type, have a strong semantic load of a previous interior decision, that makes them close to mental processes at a semantic level.

All these examples are relevant for the present investigation since the critical interpretation of these process types leads us to consider a considerable proportion of mental aspects, in the form of processes that belong to the realm of the inner self and consciousness.

The second most frequent type of processes in the Gibraltar corpus are mental (as already presented in the table above). Gibraltar is the senser in 92 % of the instances and phenomenon in the rest 8 % . In addition, for the most part these are senser-oriented processes in that Gibraltar as a senser is

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given prominence as thematised in the clause. That is, they are of the ‘like type’ (e.g. John likes listening to music) rather than the ‘please type’ (e.g. It pleases John to listen to music) (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 210).

Adapting Fawcett and Neale’s (2005) classification of participants, the following sub-types of senser have been identified in the Gibraltar corpus:

SENSER	OCCURRENCES
Cognizant	65 (47.2 %)
Desirer	37 (26.8 %)
Perceiver	24 (17.3 %)
Emoter	12 (8.7 %)

Table 7.12: Sub-division of the senser participant role in the Gibraltar corpus

Thus, Gibraltar is most frequently involved in cognitive processes that include deciding, thinking, choosing and reflecting, as in the following examples:

- ‘Gibraltar will ultimately choose from the destinies offered to it’ (*GC* 08.11.01),
- ‘Gibraltar knows how to listen and knows [...]’ (*GC* 27.03.02),
- ‘Gibraltar may be learning its lesson at a supersonic speed’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘We think the Ministry of Defence would be more likely to focus on the disadvantages of the scheme’ (*PN* 02.07.01),
- ‘We must now consider our response as one Gibraltar’ (*GC* 21.11.01).

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In an also quite significant proportion (26.8 %), Gibraltar is represented in the expression of its needs and desires, as in:

- ‘Gibraltar wants solutions but not imposed deals’ (*GC* 03.05.02),
- ‘Gibraltar does not need more rhetoric’ (*PN* 31.03.02),
- ‘He would wish to leave such a matter when the time comes to cross the bridge’ (*PN* 24.06.02),
- ‘Which way we want to go’ (*GC* 25.10.01).

Perceptions are most frequently associated to the expression of Gibraltar’s feelings, as in ‘If, from the outset, Gibraltar feels it has little room for manoeuvre’ (*GC* 23.01.02) and ‘To take whatever democratic action it feels it must to protect our interests’ (*GC* 28.12.01).

Some examples in which Gibraltar is the phenomenon of mental processes are: ‘(the extent to which) Gibraltar is genuinely wanted at these talks’ (*GC* 03.10.01), ‘The Ministry of Defence would not [...] see Gibraltar as [...]’ (*PN* 02.07.01) and ‘The Gibraltar we have always known’ (*PN* 31.03.02).

Finally, it is also relevant to notice that more than half (56.5 %) of the mental processes are associated to the pronoun ‘we’ representing the people of the community of Gibraltar.

As regards relational processes, the participant role of carrier is the most commonly one assigned to Gibraltar (81.4 %), through which qualities are attributed to it. The following examples illustrate this point:

- ‘Gibraltar is simply too small’ (*GC* 24.08.01) (intensive),
- ‘Gibraltar is mature enough to listen and to take a view without strife’ (*GC* 30.04.02) (intensive),

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- ‘The importance Gibraltar has in the military strategic world’ (*GC* 12.06.02) (possessive),
- ‘We have less right to safety on airlines than anyone else’ (*GC* 21.09.01) (possessive),
- ‘We remain just a few weeks away from Brussels talks’ (*GC* 03.10.01) (circumstantial).

Most of the relational processes belong to the intensive type (65.4 %). Possessive relational processes account for 31 % of the relational processes, and, as the examples above illustrate, it is relevant to point out that they do not refer in a narrow sense to physical possession, but mainly to abstractions, qualities or mental attributes that serve to characterise the Gibraltarian community.

Some of these possessive relational clauses have a quality of sensing ‘Gibraltar had no option but to [...]’ (*PN* 31.03.02), ‘Gibraltar has never had any intention of interfering with Britain’s internal politics’ (*GC* 28.05.02) or ‘The passion we have for democracy’ (*GC* 05.10.01) , which at a semantic level are connected to mental processes like ‘choose’, ‘intend’ or ‘feel’.

Gibraltar is also identified through the participant role of token, though in a considerably lower proportion (15 %), as in: ‘Gibraltar is its people’ (*GC* 28.05.02), ‘Gibraltar means the people of Gibraltar’ (*GC* 07.11.02) and ‘[whether] we are the indigenous population of Gibraltar’ (*PN* 21.10.02).

In a few instances, Gibraltar is the quality attributed to something else, in the form of the participant role attribute: ‘The world’s most influential prime ministers and foreign secretaries have us on their agenda’ (*GC* 07.06.02), ‘[the issue] is about Gibraltar and its future’ (*GC* 23.01.02).

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Finally, as far as verbal processes are concerned, Gibraltar is most frequently assigned the participant role of sayer, which is an extension of the verbal expression of their wishes, thoughts and desires (in this way, an extension of mental processes). It is usually the Gibraltarian authorities, as representing Gibraltar, that are assigned this role (54 %). Some illustrative examples in which Gibraltar is involved in verbal processes are:

- ‘What we are saying is [...]’ (*GC* 11.10.01) (Gibraltar as sayer)
- ‘The Government says it will campaign for a NO vote’ (*PN* 05.09.02) (Gibraltar as sayer),
- ‘The two big powers are telling us’ (*GC* 25.10.01) (Gibraltar as receiver)
- ‘Gibraltar has been criticised for knowing what it does not want, but not expressing a view on what it wants’ (*PN* 16.12.01) (Gibraltar as target).

In the Gibraltarian press, Gibraltar is also represented as a circumstance in 56 processes. The circumstantial information supplied (either spatial location (48.2 %), matter, angle or extend) tend to represent a passivated or affected Gibraltar. The following examples serve that purpose well:

- ‘[Britain] impose its will on Gibraltar’ (*GC* 13.07.02) (location),
- ‘The very country that is putting the squeeze on us’ (*GC* 05.06.02) (location),
- ‘The attention from Spain and other Spanish sources was directed at Gibraltar’ (*PN* 21.11.02) (location),
- ‘How hysterical the Spanish government has become over Gibraltar’ (*GC* 20.11.02) (matter),

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- ‘A resolution was passed about Gibraltar’ (*PN* 04.10.02) (matter),
- ‘It is of vital importance to Gibraltar’ (*PN* 05.09.02) (angle),
- ‘These are challenging times for Gibraltar’ (*GC* 05.11.02) (angle/extend).

Thus, this section has presented how the Gibraltar press most frequently assigns Gibraltar the participant roles of actor and senser. As an actor it is most frequently involved in non-transactive actions and the expression of Gibraltar’s feeling, desires and thought is given prominence. Relational processes also play a significant role adscribing qualities to the Gibraltarian community.

7.3.2 Spanish corpus

In the Spanish newspapers analysed, Gibraltar as a participant appears involved in material, mental, verbal and relational processes. The total number of occurrences as a participant is 162 and as a circumstance 30. The following table shows the number of occurrences and the different types of processes:

PROCESS TYPE	OCCURRENCES
Material	80 (49.4 %)
Mental	42 (26 %)
Relational	30 (18.5 %)
Verbal	10 (6.1 %)
TOTAL	162

Table 7.13: Process types in which Gibraltar is a participant in the Spanish corpus

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Thus, Gibraltar is mainly involved in material and mental processes, followed by relational and verbal processes in a lower proportion. There were no instances of Gibraltar in behavioural or existential clauses.

The table below represents the various participant roles that Gibraltar is assigned in these processes:

PARTICIPANT ROLE	OCCURRENCES
Actor	39
Goal	18
Beneficiary	23
Senser	42
Carrier	20
Token	6
Value	4
Sayer	8
Receiver	2

Table 7.14: Participant roles assigned to Gibraltar in the Spanish corpus

The most frequent participant role that Gibraltar is assigned in the Spanish press is that of senser (26 %), that is, in relation to the expression of the inner consciousness of this community. It is followed by the two affected roles in material process, that is, goal and beneficiary, which together account for 25.3 % of the participant roles assigned to Gibraltar, quite balanced with the 24 % of actor.

As a senser, Gibraltar is involved in mental processes that do not construe emotions, but are rather related to cognition for the most part. There are a few instances of clauses of perception, but where it is understood as cog-

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nitive perception, as they shade into that type of sensing, and have thus been considered as examples where Gibraltar is cognizant (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 210). The following example serves that purpose well: ‘Los gibraltareños acaben viendo más ventajas que inconvenientes’ (That Gibraltarian finally see more advantages than disadvantages) (*EP* 26.07.02). The following table summarises the sub-types of senser in the Spanish press:

SENSER	OCCURRENCES
Cognizant	29 (69.1 %)
Desirer	13 (30.9 %)

Table 7.15: Sub-division of the senser participant role in the Spanish corpus

Some examples to illustrate them are:

- ‘Lo que ellos consideran amenazas a su actual estatuto’ (what they consider threats to their present status) (*ABC* 27.06.02) (cognizant),
- ‘Los gibraltareños exigen una delegación propia’ (Gibraltarians demand their own delegation) (*ABC* 10.11.01) (cognizant),
- ‘Los llanitos la reclaman’ (Gibraltarians demand self-determination) (*EP* 03.11.01) (cognizant),
- ‘Desea que descarrilen las negociaciones’ (the Gibraltar Government wish the negotiations to derail) (*EM* 08.11.02) (desirer),
- ‘Los gibraltareños no quieren ni oír hablar de un cambio de estatuto’ (Gibraltarians do not want to hear about a change of statute) (*EM* 18.11.01) (desirer).

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In addition, it is interesting to point out that where Gibraltar is cognizant there is a considerable proportion of processes (34.5 %) that do not represent the factual consciousness –like the above ones, but that are rather related to the unreal or to what should be in the consciousness of the Gibraltar-ian community, through the use of the subjunctive mood and other modal verbs, as in: ‘Eso no implicaba que la administración gibraltareña aceptase el acuerdo’ (That did not imply that the Gibraltar-ian administration would accept the agreement) (*ABC* 28.07.02), ‘Se den cuenta de que ellos solos se han encerrado en una posición [...]’ (They would realise that they have positioned themselves [...]) (*ABC* 27.06.02), ‘Para que el Peñón se avenga a negociar bajo la fórmula de dos banderas, tres voces’ (so that the Rock would agree/dare to negotiate under the two flags-three voices formula) (*LV* 05.02.02), ‘Los gibraltareños deben comprender que es imposible mantener su actual situación’ (Gibraltar-ians ought to understand that it is impossible to keep their present situation) (*EP* 21.11.01) and ‘Los gibraltareños han de percatarse de que su elección [...]’ (Gibraltar-ians have to realise that their choice [...]) (*EP* 20.03.02).

In the above examples, the modal verbs belong to the type that share the meaning of obligation, and the subjunctive mood similarly indicates the introduction of a demand or recommendation.

As regards material processes, Gibraltar has been assigned a balanced active and affected role –as already presented, 24% of the total occurrences as actor and 25.3% as goal and beneficiary.

As an actor, the most relevant point to highlight is that Gibraltar is very frequently discursively represented as involved in the performance of evil doings, that is, it is responsible of actions with negative connotations. These negative aspects are introduced either in the process itself, as in ‘to boycott’

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or ‘to cause difficulties/obstruct’ (one word verb ‘dificultar’ in Spanish), or through the verb complementation. The following examples illustrate these two points:

- ‘Están hoy dificultando el futuro de 370 millones de europeos’ (Today Gibraltarians are obstructing the future of 370 million Europeans) (*ABC* 20.05.02),
- ‘Está boicoteando la política exterior del legítimo Gobierno británico’ (Gibraltarian authorities are boycotting the foreign policy of the legitimate British Government) (*ABC* 28.07.02),
- ‘Gibraltar se había inventado un sistema discriminatorio’ (Gibraltar had made up a discriminatory system) (*EM* 28.11.02),
- ‘Con unas cuentas públicas que esconden las autoridades del Peñón’ (With public funds that Gibraltarian authorities hide) (*EP* 08.11.02),
- ‘El referéndum ilegal que ayer celebraron los gibraltareños’ (The illegal referendum that Gibraltarians held yesterday) (*ABC* 08.11.02),
- ‘Ha actuado con evidente irresponsabilidad’ (Gibraltar acted irresponsibly) (*ABC* 19.11.02).

The affected roles of goal and beneficiary amount to 25.3 % of the occurrences, as already mentioned. Hence, in a considerable proportion Gibraltar is the participant over which the doings of others unfold. For example, it is goal in ‘Gran Bretaña se quedó con el Peñón’ (The United Kingdom kept Gibraltar) (*EP* 03.11.01), where Gibraltar is what the United Kingdom kept. As a benefited participant, processes are commonly related to the proposals and other actions taken by either Spain or Britain, or both, and which are presented to Gibraltar, as in:

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- ‘A la que están ofreciendo salidas extraordinarias’ (Gibraltar is being offered extraordinary measures) (*ABC* 27.06.02),
- ‘Piqué y Straw ofrecieron a Caruana estar presente en las conversaciones’ (Piqué and Straw offered to let Caruana be present in the conversations) (*ABC* 08.11.02),
- ‘[El Foreign Office se lamentaba] que se hubiese otorgado a los gibraltareños una Constitución’ (the Foreign Office regreted that Gibraltar had been given a Constitution) (*EM* 04.06.02),
- ‘Se multiplicarán por tres las líneas telefónicas a la colonia británica’ (Telephone lines will be increased by three times to Gibraltar) (*EP* 21.11.01),
- ‘Una amplísima autonomía para los habitantes del Peñón que les garantice un régimen de vida similar al que tienen’ (A very ample autonomy for the inhabitants of the Rock that would guarantee them a similar way of life to the one they have) (*EP* 03.11.01).

Gibraltar is also assigned the participant roles of carrier, token and value when it is involved in relational processes. The most frequent one is that of carrier through which qualities are attributed to it, as in: ‘Los gibraltareños tienen derecho a ser consultados’ (Gibraltarians have the right to be consulted) (*LV* 21.05.02) and ‘Los gibraltareños no son españoles’ (Gibraltarians are not Spanish)(*EM* 08.11.02), where the possessive relational process describes the right that Gibraltarians have, and the intensive relational process attributes them the quality of not being Spanish.

A considerable proportion of the attributive relational clauses (31.5 %) present the quality attributed as evolving in time, that is, as some sort of

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result ascribed to Gibraltar. In these instances, the relational process is a qualitative process of the ‘turn’ type where the meaning is that of ‘be + change of state’. The attribute in such clauses is usually related to being Spanish, a Spanish possession, or a financial paradise as in: ‘El Peñón volvería a la soberanía española’ (The Rock would turn back into Spanish sovereignty/Spanish possession) (*EP* 08.11.02) and ‘La Roca vendría a ser así tan española como británica’ (The Rock would come to be as Spanish as British) (*ABC* 25.04.02).

In a lower proportion, in identifying relative clauses, Gibraltar is either token or value, through which the Spanish press asserts what Gibraltar is and is not:

- ‘El otro gran frente de la acción exterior española es Gibraltar’ (the other big issue in Spanish foreign policy is Gibraltar) (*ABC* 01.05.02),
- ‘El anacronismo que supone Gibraltar’ (the anachronism that Gibraltar implies/means) (*LV* 05.02.02),
- ‘Su destino era Gibraltar’ (its [Prestige’s] destination was Gibraltar) (*EP* 16.11.02)

These structures discursively construct the definition and identity of Gibraltar. As value, Gibraltar identifies the destination of the oil tanker *Prestige* or identifies it as one of the big topics of Spanish policy.

In relation to verbal processes, it is interesting to point out that the number of occurrences of Gibraltar as sayer and, particularly, receiver is significantly low, bearing in mind that the textual corpus selected covers a period dealing with the conversations about the future of Gibraltar (i.e. verbal action), and especially, when the content of such conversations was supposed to be put to Gibraltar.

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Finally, Gibraltar is also assigned the function of adding circumstantial information. Location is the most frequent type of circumstance expressed by Gibraltar, indicating the place towards which Spanish policy and decisions are directed, and also especially in the month of November 2002 the destination of the Prestige. It is followed by the circumstance of angle or extent, which expresses the reach of the attribution, more precisely, how the decisions, measures or other processes of either Spain or the EU apply to Gibraltar. The following instances illustrate these types of circumstances:

- ‘El acuerdo se someterá a referéndum en Gibraltar’ (The agreement will be subject to a referendum in Gibraltar) (*EP* 27.04.02),
- ‘La posibilidad de que [...] la bandera española pueda ondear en Gibraltar’ (The possibility that the Spanish flag be able to fly in Gibraltar) (*ABC* 31.10.01),
- ‘El Prestige se dirigía hacia Gibraltar’ (Prestige was going to Gibraltar) (*ABC* 19.11.02),
- ‘Sería funesta para la población del Peñón’ (It would be fatal for the Gibraltarians/people of Gibraltar) (*EM* 29.04.02),
- ‘Para que la cosoberanía o la integración en España resulte una perspectiva atractiva para los habitantes del Peñón’ (So that co-sovereignty or integration with Spain would be an attractive proposal for the Gibraltarians/inhabitants of the Rock) (*EP* 08.11.02).

To end this section, it is relevant to highlight the elevated number of instances where Gibraltar is not a participant in the clause, but part of other structures, such as noun phrases or prepositional phrases. These are interesting to study because they amount almost as much as the instances

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where Gibraltar is a proper participant in clauses (157 instances, against the 162 where Gibraltar is assigned a participant role).

The analysis of these structures shows that the most frequent roles that Gibraltar is assigned as part of noun phrases and prepositional phrases are those of possessor, matter and actor.

Gibraltar is possessor in prepositional phrases with the preposition ‘de’ (of), which complement the attributes adscribed by means of relational process, as in: ‘Los derechos de los gibraltareños’ (the rights of the Gibraltarians) (*EM* 27.05.02) and ‘El estatuto colonial de Gibraltar’ (the colonial status of Gibraltar) (*EM* 18.11.01).

However, for the most part, what Gibraltar is represented as having is related to mental attributes. These include: ‘actitud’ (attitude), ‘asentimiento’ (agreement), ‘voluntad’ (will), ‘opinión’ (opinion), ‘deseos’ (wishes). Thus very much in line with the high frequency of mental processes and, especially, the role of senser that has already been mentioned above.

The role of matter is assigned in prepositional phrases with the prepositions ‘sobre’ (about, on) and ‘de’ (of), which reinforce the discursive representation of Gibraltar as the topic to talk about and discuss by Spain. Some instances are: ‘La cuestión de Gibraltar’ (the question about Gibraltar) (*LV* 26.11.01), ‘El conflicto de Gibraltar’ (the conflict about Gibraltar) (*ABC* 28.07.02), ‘La vieja disputa de Gibraltar’ (the old dispute on Gibraltar) (*EP* 20.03.02), ‘Las negociaciones de España y Gran Bretaña sobre Gibraltar’ (Spain’s and Britain’s negotiations on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 28.07.02), ‘Un acuerdo con el Reino Unido sobre Gibraltar’ (an agreement with the United Kingdom on Gibraltar) (*LV* 10.07.02), and ‘El diálogo sobre Gibraltar’ (dialogue on Gibraltar) (*EP* 27.07.01).

And Gibraltar is actor in frequent nominalised processes such as:

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- ‘La oposición frontal de las autoridades del Peñón’ (the frontal opposition of the authorities of the Rock) (*ABC* 04.02.02),
- ‘La votación de los gibraltareños’ (the voting of the Gibraltarians) (*ABC* 25.04.02),
- ‘La infracción gibraltareña’ (the Gibraltarian infraction) (*EM* 28.11.02).

In these linguistic transformations, the action is transformed into a process, a noun, thus attenuating the sense of activity or agency. In the above examples, it is Gibraltar (its people or its government) who are opposing, voting and infringing the regulations. The effect of such nominalisations is, according to Fowler (1991: 80) one of creating generality, abstraction and distance. This way the agency of Gibraltar is omitted or concealed.

Thus, the analysis of the transitivity model has shown how the Spanish press emphasises the role of sener in relation to Gibraltar, either directly (as a participant role) or indirectly (through prepositional phrases). Gibraltar is also represented as an affected participant, whose agency is either backgrounded (nominalisations) or attributed with negative connotations.

7.3.3 British corpus

In the British press, the number of occurrences of Gibraltar as a participant is 157. Gibraltar also represents circumstances in 36 instances. Apart from these, Gibraltar appears in other structures at phrasal level which are also worthy of comment.

As a participant, Gibraltar is involved in material, mental, relational and verbal processes. Table 7.16 shows the number of occurrences and the percentage of each type of process in the British corpus.

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PROCESS TYPE	OCCURRENCES
Material	61 (38.8 %)
Mental	43 (27.4 %)
Relational	28 (17.8 %)
Verbal	25 (16 %)
TOTAL	157

Table 7.16: Process types in which Gibraltar is a participant in the British corpus

Thus, material and mental are the most frequent process types, though the proportion of relational and verbal processes is also considerable.

Going a step further, the participant roles that Gibraltar is assigned are presented in table 7.17 below.

Gibraltar is most frequently represented in relation to the expression of its inner consciousness through the participant role of senser, which stand for 26.7 % of the total number of occurrences. It is followed by the role of goal (19.1 %). Moreover, the participant roles in relation to verbal processes are also more frequent and varied than in the other two corpora, with Gibraltar expressing the sayer and receiver, but also the target and verbiage.

As far as material processes are concerned, Gibraltar is mostly represented as a passivated participant, because of the high proportion of instances in which it is goal and beneficiary (68.8 %), and also because of the type of material processes in which Gibraltar is assigned the participant role of actor.

Thus, Gibraltar is usually represented as affected by the actions of others. The representation of Gibraltar as goal and beneficiary is usually foregrounded in the receptive variants of the material processes (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004: 182), as in the first three examples:

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PARTICIPANT ROLE	OCCURRENCES
Actor	19
Goal	30
Beneficiary	12
Senser	42
Phenomenon	1
Carrier	26
Token	2
Sayer	10
Receiver	5
Target	10

Table 7.17: Participant roles assigned to Gibraltar in the British corpus

- ‘[Gibraltar] would have to be sacrificed by Britain’s agreeing to share sovereignty’ (*TG* 11.07.02),
- ‘Gibraltar is caught in the pincers of Spanish revanchism and Britain’s fear of being sidelined in Europe’ (*TG* 27.07.02),
- ‘The protesters will be offered generous incentives to accept the deal’ (*IN* 03.02.02),
- ‘[The agreement] will give them greater mobility, trade and tourist income’ (*GD* 13.07.02),
- ‘The Spanish have vetoed Gibraltar gaining representation in the European Parliament’ (*IN* 19.11.02).

The role of goal is particularly common in non-finite clauses, where the

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source of the action (the actor) is omitted or backgrounded. For example in ‘To bully the Rock’ (*TM* 13.07.02) or ‘To betray Gibraltar’ (*TG* 06.02.02).

In addition, Gibraltar is assigned the role of actor in relation to non-transactive verbs and other processes which discursively represent the action as something that just happens, what Van Leeuwen terms ‘eventuation’ (1995: 96). The effect of such strategies is to background agency and the potential effect of Gibraltar’s actions in the world, as the following examples illustrate:

- ‘Gibraltar stood in the way of this plan’ (*TG* 11.07.02),
- ‘Peter Caruana, Chief Minister of Gibraltar, is wisely staying clear of the Brussels talks’ (*TG* 14.01.02),
- ‘Almost the entire population of Gibraltar turned out yesterday, in a blaze of red, white and blue, to proclaim their determination to keep the Rock British’ (*TG* 19.03.02),
- ‘The Rock slips once again from its grasp’ (*IN* 17.07.02),
- ‘The Rock had lost its strategic significance’ (*TG* 09.11.02).

Apart from these, Gibraltar is mainly activated in relation to the public expression of its wishes through the processes of voting and holding a referendum, as in: ‘The Rock voted overwhelmingly to remain with Britain’ (*TG* 21.11.01) and ‘The Gibraltarians have held a referendum’ (*TG* 09.11.02).

In mental processes, the British press mainly represents cognitive aspects of Gibraltar, while the representation of its desires, emotions or perceptions is considerably smaller. Table 7.18 shows the instances of sub-types of senser in the British corpus.

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SENSER	OCCURRENCES
Cognizant	27 (64.2 %)
Desirer	9 (21.4 %)
Emoter	4 (9.5 %)
Perceiver	2 (4.7 %)

Table 7.18: Sub-division of the senser participant role in the British corpus

Cognitive processes include what Gibraltar ‘thinks’, ‘considers’, ‘knows’, ‘expects’, ‘chooses’ and ‘realises’, among others. However, almost half of the mental processes belong to the semantic domain of acceptance/refusal (48 %), usually representing Gibraltar’s refusal of the proposals as a fact, and its acceptance, as belonging to the realm of the possible, introduced by conditional particles. The following examples serve that purpose well:

- ‘Gibraltar refuses to take part in the Brussels process’ (*TG* 21.11.01),
- ‘Nearly 99 per cent of Gibraltarians rejected joint sovereignty with Spain’ (*TG* 10.11.02),
- ‘If the people of Gibraltar approve it’ (*IN* 13.07.02),
- ‘As soon as its people agreed to accept a new relationship with Spain’ (*TG* 19.03.02),
- ‘Until the people of Gibraltar agree to it’ (*TG* 19.03.02).

Modalised demands in the domain of the mental are also frequent, as in: ‘Gibraltar’s Chief Minister should rethink his refusal to participate in the negotiations’ (*GD* 05.05.02) and ‘Those who live on the Rock should not feel threatened by a further pooling of sovereignty’ (*IN* 03.02.02).

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Verbal processes and the role assigned to Gibraltar in them in the British corpus deserve special attention. Gibraltar is both given voice (sayer) and affected by the semiotic actions of others (receiver and target). In 40 % of the instances, Gibraltar is sayer, while it is receiver or target in 60 % of them. Thus, prominence is given to its affected role in semiotic actions:

- ‘Gibraltarians say they have known all along’ (*TM* 21.05.02) (sayer),
- ‘Peter Hain, Minister for Europe, told the Gibraltarians that [...]’ (*TG* 12.11.01) (receiver),
- ‘It [Spain] falsely accuses the colony of crooked practices’ (*TG* 06.02.02) (target),
- ‘They are being warned that Britain’s traditional lobby for their interests will [...]’ (*IN* 03.02.02) (target).

Moreover, most of the verbal processes (68 %) refer to Gibraltar as represented by its people, rather than the authorities or the political entity. Thus, it is the community who is given voice and towards which the conversations are directed.

As regards relational clauses, the most salient participant role assigned to Gibraltar is carrier. 92.8 % of the instances represent Gibraltar as the carrier to which qualities are attributed, either in intensive or possessive structures.

Relational clauses such as the following ‘The Rock is unquestionably British’ (*TG* 19.03.02), ‘The people of Gibraltar has as much right to protest at the policies of the British Foreign Secretary as the rest of us’ (*GD* 05.05.02), and ‘Gibraltar is a colony’ (*IN* 27.07.02), where Gibraltar is carrier, serve to characterise and describe Gibraltar.

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As a circumstance, Gibraltar for the most part indicates additional information regarding location (44.4 %) and matter (30.5 %). The former is illustrated in examples such as ‘This may play well on the Rock’ (*TM* 13.07.02) and ‘Labour’s policy is equally unpopular in Britain, Spain and Gibraltar’ (*TG* 21.05.02) where Gibraltar indicates the place over which there is debate and towards which British policy is directed.

The circumstance of matter indicates the topic of semiotic actions. It is usually expressed by the prepositions ‘about’ and ‘over’, as in:

- ‘Making a fuss about Gibraltar’ (*GD* 11.10.02),
- ‘Neither Tony Blair nor Jose María Aznar wanted to say much about Gibraltar’ (*TM* 21.05.02),
- ‘To appease Madrid over Gibraltar’ (*TG* 11.07.02).

The high proportion of this type of circumstance in relation to Gibraltar becomes particularly relevant in the British corpus as it connects with the relevance of verbal processes which has already been highlighted. In fact, matter is at circumstantial level what the participant role of verbiage expresses in verbal processes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 276). Thus, reinforcing the involvement of Gibraltar in verbal processes.

In a lower proportion, Gibraltar also expresses the circumstance of extent: ‘Nor was it acceptable to Gibraltarians’ (*TG* 21.05.02), ‘This is wholly unacceptable to the Gibraltarians’ (*TM* 13.07.02), and ‘This is the best solution for the people of Gibraltar and Spain’ (*GD* 13.07.02).

Finally, similarly to the Spanish press, in the British corpus there is a considerable number of instances in which Gibraltar appears not as a participant or circumstance of the clause, but in structures at phrasal level. These are noun phrases and prepositional phrases, and they amount to over a hundred.

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The most salient roles that Gibraltar is assigned in these structures are those of goal, possessor and matter.

Prepositional phrases with ‘of’, which postmodify nouns, express the goal of the process. The noun is a nominalised form of the corresponding verb (‘block’, ‘treat’, ‘betray’ and ‘harass’ in the examples below):

- ‘Spanish economic blockade of Gibraltar’ (*TM* 21.11.01),
- ‘The Government’s high-handed treatment of Gibraltar’ (*TG* 10.11.02),
- ‘The betrayal of the Rock’ (*TG* 11.07.02),
- ‘Its history of harassment of the Rock’ (*TM* 21.11.01).

These structures, then, reinforce the representation of Gibraltar as affected and passivated.

Moreover, prepositional phrases with ‘of’ indicate possession, as in: ‘The rights of Gibraltarians’ (*IN* 27.07.02), ‘The constitutional status of the Rock’ (*IN* 19.11.02), ‘The will of the Gibraltarians’ (*TM* 21.05.02), and ‘The wish of the people of the Rock’ (*TG* 14.01.02).

Possession is also expressed by the fairly frequent genitive construction. In the following examples, Gibraltar is the possessor of ‘rights’, ‘future’, and ‘status’:

- ‘Gibraltarians’ rights’ (*GD* 20.11.01),
- ‘The colony’s future’ (*TG* 27.07.02),
- ‘Gibraltar’s status’ (*IN* 27.07.02).

They serve a similar function to that of carrier in possessive relational clauses, though Gibraltar is not given the status of a participant in the clause.

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Though in a smaller proportion, it is also relevant to point out the discursive function of the genitive construction to express the senser and sayer of nominalised processes: ‘the force of the Gibraltarians’ insistence on their Britishness’ (*IN* 04.02.02) and ‘Gibraltar’s announcement’ (*IN* 27.07.02), where it is Gibraltar that insists and Gibraltar that announces something.

Matter is expressed in prepositional phrases with ‘on’ and ‘over’ where the prepositional phrase post-modifies a noun which indicates semiotic action, such as ‘statement’, ‘negotiation’, ‘discussion’ or the like. In the following noun phrases Gibraltar is part of the prepositional phrase that specifies the topic of the head noun:

- ‘The long-running dispute with Spain over Gibraltar’ (*IN* 27.07.02),
- ‘Discussions on Gibraltar’ (*TG* 12.11.01),
- ‘Talks on the Rock’s sovereignty and long-term future’ (*TM* 13.07.02).

To sum up, the British corpus abounds in the discursive representation of Gibraltar as senser in mental processes, and also as a passivated and affected participant in material as well as in verbal clauses. Circumstances and other phrasal structures reinforce this representation.

7.4 Analysis of the 1967 corpus

Textual analysis of the editorials dealing with the first referendum held in the colony sheds light on how Gibraltar was perceived and represented at that time by the two external forces involved in the issue, namely Spain and Britain. It also allows us to draw conclusions as far as changes in the discursive representation over this diachronic study.

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As has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, it has not been possible to gather a corpus of editorial articles from the 1967 Gibraltarian newspapers. On the one hand, *Panorama* still needed about a decade to see the light, and, on the other, by the mid nineteen sixties, the editor of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* had been given instructions to withdraw the leader column from this newspaper due to the debates on Gibraltar that were taking place at the UN at that time. For this reason the present investigation cannot offer an analysis of the discursive representation of Gibraltar from inside Gibraltar at the time of the first referendum held in the colony. Nevertheless, the two external powers involved in the issue did reflect the Gibraltar issue on the leader pages of their main newspapers.

Indeed, the referendum held in Gibraltar in 1967 made its way toward the leader pages of British and Spanish newspapers. However, the Spanish press showed a wider coverage of the issue. The two Spanish newspapers that existed at that time (*ABC* and *La Vanguardia*) double the number of leading articles in the three newspapers that form the corpus of the British press in 1967, namely *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* (see table 6.3).

In addition, 87% of the editorials from the Spanish corpus addressed the Gibraltar issue directly, that is, the article was devoted to this topic, while in the British corpus the highest proportion (75%) is for those articles that dealt with the Gibraltar question indirectly, more precisely when dealing with the topic of decolonization. Indeed, the leader pages of the British press in the months analysed showed a wide coverage of the situation in other British dependencies (or former dependencies) overseas, with frequent leading articles on Rhodesia, Aden, Nigeria or Palestine.

The editorials on the Gibraltar issue addressed the central topic of decolonisation as part of the negotiations at the United Nations by the Commit-

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tee of 24, together with the topic of the future of the colony and the holding of the referendum itself. In addition, the topic of a problematic political situation was present. The Gibraltar issue was a problem that confronted not only Spain and Britain, but also Britain with the United Nations. Some titles that reflected it are ‘Un nuevo planteamiento para el problema de Gibraltar’ (‘A new program for the Gibraltar problem’)(*ABC* 04.08.67), ‘La ONU contra Inglaterra en Gibraltar’ (‘UN against England in Gibraltar’)(*ABC* 02.09.67) and ‘Victoria en la ONU’ (Victory at the UN)(*LV* 02.09.67).

Thus, at the time of the 1967 referendum it was the Spanish press that most frequently covered the Gibraltar issue and the holding of the referendum, as compared to the British press.

As regards the analysis of referential and predicational strategies, the **Spanish corpus** discursively represented Gibraltar as a military territory bound to be decolonised.

References to Gibraltar by means of the term ‘territorio’ (territory) and other geographical references abounded. In addition, this territory was categorised as belonging to Spain by means of the recurrent adjective ‘español’ (Spanish) and the possessive pronoun ‘nuestro’ (our). Some illustrative examples are:

- ‘Un pedazo de suelo español’ (a piece of Spanish land) (*ABC* 04.08.67),
- ‘Un pedazo del territorio español’ (a piece of Spanish territory) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- ‘Tierra nuestra’ (our land) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- ‘Una sombra colonial sobre su geografía’ (a colonial shadow on Spain’s geography) (*ABC* 22.08.67),

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- ‘La devolución del espacio geográfico’ (the return of the geographic space) (*LV* 02.09.67),
- ‘El territorio en que habitan’ (the territory that Gibraltarians inhabit) (*LV* 02.09.67).

Similarly, when referring to the population, it was most frequently addressed in terms of its being on a certain territory: ‘población inglesa habitante de tal territorio’ (English population that inhabits that territory) (*ABC* 04.08.67), ‘los súbditos británicos que viven en la Roca’ (British subjects that live on the Rock) (*ABC* 26.08.67), ‘los que habitan en Gibraltar’ (those who inhabit Gibraltar) (*LV* 02.09.67), among others. This spatialization strategy constructed the Gibraltar population as the occupier of a territory, thus discrediting its validity or legitimacy.

In addition, Gibraltar and its population were represented in military terms with plenty of references to its being a colony and military base, and the population as the mere subjects or subordinates. Some of the more recurrent terms were ‘base militar’ (military base) (*ABC* 04.08.67, 22.08.67, 26.08.67, *LV* 02.09.67), ‘plaza’ (fortress/garrison) (*ABC* 26.08.67, *LV* 02.09.67), ‘acantonamiento’ (quartering) (*ABC* 04.08.67), ‘colonia’ (colony) (*ABC* 02.09.67, *LV* 02.09.67) and ‘súbditos’ (subjects/subordinates) (*ABC* 04.08.67, 22.08.67, 26.08.67, 02.09.67, *LV* 06.08.67, 02.09.67). Such a representation strongly built the Gibraltar question in colonial terms in order to gain support for the Spanish position in consonance with the United Nations’s intention to end colonial situations. Indeed, as has already been said, the topic of decolonisation was among the most frequent ones, and this term was repeatedly used in the Spanish press.

The sudden change in the categorisation of the Gibraltar population at the beginning of September 1967 deserves special attention, as it took place at

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the moment when the Spanish position was recognised in the United Nations as the only solution and hence, the end of the colonial situation was felt to be close. While previously Gibraltarians had been represented as a colonial population occupying a place, the editorial article *ABC* 03.09.67 abounded in the qualification of this people in positive terms, describing them as honest and mere victims of Britain's policy: 'víctimas inocentes del juego inglés' (innocent victims of the English game), 'honesto pueblo de Gibraltar' (honest people of Gibraltar), 'hombres honestos' (honest people), 'pueblo objeto' (object people), 'instrumento británico' (British instrument), etc. It reflected the triumphalistic Spanish atmosphere, with no references to the referendum which still was to be held.

The whole Gibraltar issue was described in terms of a dispute :

- 'La disputa hispano-británica' (the Anglo-Spanish dispute) (*ABC* 04.08.67),
- 'Ocupación inglesa de un pedazo de nuestro territorio' (English occupation of a piece of our territory) (*ABC*, 04.08.67),
- 'El problema de Gibraltar' (the problem of Gibraltar) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- 'El pleito de Gibraltar' (the legal dispute on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- 'Nuestro doliente problema de Gibraltar' (our painful problem about Gibraltar) (*ABC* 02.09.67),
- 'Nuestra disputa contra Inglaterra' (our dispute against England) (*ABC* 02.09.67),
- 'El problema gibraltareño' (the Gibraltarian problem) (*LV* 02.09.67).

and a long standing one:

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- ‘El diálogo de sordos ha durado ya demasiado’ (the dialogue between deaf people has lasted too long already) (*ABC* 04.08.67),
- ‘El anacronismo colonial británico’ (the British colonial anachronism) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- ‘Arcaicas adherencias coloniales’ (archaic colonial clingings) (*ABC* 02.09.67),
- ‘[Utrecht] acuerdo anacrónico e inoperante’ (Utrecht, an anachronistic and ineffective treaty) (*LV* 06.08.67),
- ‘La ya larga negociación’ (the already long negotiation) (*LV* 06.08.67).

The two sides of the conflict were Spain and Britain. It is precisely Britain, more than Gibraltar itself, that was attributed negative features, as can be seen in ‘el exangüe Imperio británico’ (the bloodless British Empire) (*ABC* 03.09.67), ‘rigurosamente inexacto’ (British arguments, rigorously incorrect) (*ABC* 04.08.67), ‘intolerable presencia militar inglesa’ (unbearable English military presence) (*ABC* 22.08.67), and ‘radical debilidad’ (radical weakness, of the British position) (*ABC* 26.08.67).

But especially, the negative representation revolved around Britain’s breaking of the norms by not attending to the United Nations ruling, as in ‘las Naciones Unidas condenan la torpe maniobra inglesa’ (United Nations condemn the clumsy English move) (*ABC* 02.09.67), ‘desautorizada política británica’ (the overridden British policy) (*ABC* 03.09.67), and its organising of the referendum ‘contraveniendo todas las recomendaciones de la ONU’ (against all UN recommendations) (*ABC* 22.08.67). In contrast, Spain and its position were characterised as supported by law and even morality: ‘nuestra sólida posición jurídica’ (our solid legal position) (*ABC* 22.08.67), ‘La resolución

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es abiertamente favorable a las tesis españolas' (the resolution is openly favorable to the Spanish theses) (*LV* 02.09.67), 'El respaldo de la comunidad internacional' (the support of the international community) (*LV* 02.09.67), 'España tiene moral y jurídicamente hablando todos los derechos' (Spain has the right, morally and legally) (*ABC* 02.09.67).

In this line, the war metaphor was also elaborated with references to victories and defeats (*ABC* 02.09.67, 03.09.67).

Finally, the referendum itself was also discursively represented as an artifice outside of legality, which contributed to the negative representation of the British side (as its organiser). Some illustrative examples are: 'acto ilegal' (illegal act) (*ABC* 02.09.67), 'es condenable' (it is punishable) (*ABC* 26.08.67), 'desafío intolerable a la más alta magistratura del Derecho Internacional' (unbearable challenge to the highest magistracy of International Law) (*ABC* 02.09.67), 'la grotesca parodia' (the grotesque parody) (*ABC* 26.08.67), 'una mascarada' (a masquerade/mummery) (*ABC* 26.08.67), 'triquiñuela dilatoria' (dilatory trick) (*LV* 06.08.67), among others.

As regards the analysis of the transitivity system, the Spanish press mainly assigned Gibraltar the roles of carrier in relational clauses and senser in mental processes in the 1967 corpus. However, most frequently Gibraltar occurred as a complement in prepositional phrases, rather than being assigned a participant role in the clause.

As a participant, Gibraltar was involved in relational, mental, material and verbal processes. Table 7.19 shows the number of occurrences and percentages in each type of process.

On the whole, there were 29 occurrences of Gibraltar as participant and 7 as indicating circumstances. Table 7.20 below presents the different types of participant roles that Gibraltar was assigned.

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PROCESS TYPE	OCCURRENCES
Material	8 (27.6 %)
Mental	9 (31 %)
Relational	10 (34.5 %)
Verbal	2 (6.9 %)
TOTAL	29

Table 7.19: Process types in which Gibraltar is a participant in the Spanish corpus in 1967

Thus, Gibraltar was most frequently represented through participant roles that served to characterise and identify it, that is, it was assigned the two roles in relation to relational processes, carrier and token. These relational clauses are either intensive or possessive. For instance, it is carrier in ‘Gibraltar es indispensable a la estrategia del desmayado Imperio británico’ (Gibraltar is essential for the fainted British Empire) (*ABC* 04.08.67) and ‘Gibraltar ha venido siendo y llamándose colonia’ (Gibraltar has been a colony and has been called a colony) (*LV* 02.09.67). And it is token in ‘La población gibraltareña ha sido además de la víctima de la operación colonialista inglesa, su ingenuo instrumento de propaganda’ (Gibraltarian population has been apart from the victim of English colonialist operation, its naive propaganda instrument) (*ABC* 03.09.67).

In addition, Gibraltar was activated for the expression of its inner consciousness, with a considerable proportion of occurrences where it was assigned the role of senser in relation to cognitive and desiderative mental processes. It is particularly the people of Gibraltar who were assigned this role. As in:

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PARTICIPANT ROLE	OCCURRENCES
Actor	3
Goal	3
Beneficiary	2
Senser	8
Phenomenon	1
Carrier	9
Token	1
Sayer	1
Target	1

Table 7.20: Participant roles assigned to Gibraltar in the Spanish press in 1967

- ‘Ellos han preferido confundir sus deseos’ (They have preferred to confuse their wishes) (*ABC* 03.09.67),
- ‘Si desean ser españoles de hecho y de derecho’ (If they wish to be Spanish in fact and by law) (*LV* 06.08.67),
- ‘La pretensión británica [...] que los que habitan en Gibraltar decidieran sobre el destino de su territorio’ (the British intention is [...] that those that inhabit Gibraltar decide on the destiny of their territory) (*LV* 02.09.67).

In addition, it was phenomenon in ‘La población gibraltareña ha sido considerada siempre por Inglaterra como un pueblo-objeto’ (Gibraltarian population has always been considered an object-population by England) (*ABC* 03.09.67).

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In relation to material processes, Gibraltar was assigned the roles of actor, goal and beneficiary. The two affected roles outweigh the active one (5 to 3).

Moreover, in the processes in which Gibraltar was actor there is actually little involvement of action. It is illustrated by '[Inglaterra dice que] Gibraltar no rompe la unidad territorial española' (England states that Gibraltar does not break Spanish territorial integrity) (*ABC* 04.08.67) and 'Ha llegado la hora de que los gibraltareños realicen su auténtico examen de conciencia' (It is time Gibraltarians made an authentic examination of their consciences) (*ABC* 03.09.67), where the former shares traits with relational clauses, since it characterises Gibraltar; and in the latter, the verb 'realizar' (make) is empty of meaning, the actual meaning of the process being completed by the mental activity of inner examination.

As goal and beneficiary, it was affected by the actions of other actors. It was most commonly the goal of the verb 'descolonizar' (decolonise), as in 'Gibraltar no será descolonizado' (Gibraltar will not be decolonised) (*ABC* 22.08.67), where, in addition, the affected role was foregrounded as thematised in the receptive version of the clause. The beneficiary role is illustrated by 'Ofrecimos a los gibraltareños la posibilidad de conservar su ciudadanía británica' (We offered the Gibraltarians the possibility of keeping their British citizenship) (*ABC* 03.09.67), where Gibraltar was the recipient of the Spanish offer.

In addition, there is an existential process, but it is nominalised. It is nonetheless relevant as it represented Gibraltar as a mere existent: 'La existencia de Gibraltar cortado del territorio al que pertenece espontáneamente' (The existence of Gibraltar chopped off from the territory it spontaneously belongs to) (*ABC* 26.08.67).

In relation to circumstances, Gibraltar for the most part expressedes lo-

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cation, as in ‘Los ingleses permanecerán en Gibraltar mientras puedan’ (The British will stay on Gibraltar as long as they can) (*ABC* 22.08.67) and ‘Dos cosas son evidentes en Gibraltar’ (Two things are evident in Gibraltar) (*ABC* 04.08.67).

However, Gibraltar’s role was most frequently backgrounded since the number of occurrences of Gibraltar, not as participant in a clause, but having a role at phrasal level almost double the former. On the whole, there are 53 occurrences of Gibraltar as part of prepositional phrases.

The roles of Gibraltar in prepositional phrases, as some sort of minor processes, are possessor, goal and matter.

As possessor in is introduced by the preposition ‘de’ (of). What Gibraltar was represented as possessing are interests, will, and status, as in:

- ‘Los intereses de los gibraltareños’ (The interests of Gibraltarians) (*ABC* 03.09.67),
- ‘La voluntad de los que habitan actualmente en la plaza de Gibraltar’ (The will of those who presently inhabit Gibraltar) (*LV* 02.09.67),
- ‘El estatuto de Gibraltar’ (The status of Gibraltar) (*LV* 06.08.67).

The role of goal is also fairly frequent and, like the material processes mentioned above, it is usually so in relation to the process ‘decolonise’ which in this case has been nominalised, as in ‘La descolonización de Gibraltar’ (The decolonisation of Gibraltar) (*ABC* 04.08.67, 02.09.67 and *LV* 02.09.67) and ‘La descolonización de la Roca’ (The decolonisation of the Rock) (*ABC* 22.08.67).

Matter is introduced by the preposition ‘sobre’ (on) complementing nouns that express semiotic action, as illustrated by the following examples:

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- ‘Las negociaciones sobre Gibraltar’ (Negotiations on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 04.08.67),
- ‘Argumentación sobre Gibraltar’ (Argumentation on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 22.08.67),
- ‘El reciente memorándum británico sobre Gibraltar’ (The recent British memorandum on Gibraltar) (*ABC* 04.08.67).

Thus, the Spanish press mainly involved Gibraltar in passive participant roles and backgrounded it by most frequently assigning to it roles at phrasal level.

In the **1967 British corpus**, the most frequent strategy to refer to Gibraltar was spatialization, either through the use of toponyms (‘Gibraltar’, ‘the Rock’) or de-toponymic anthroponyms (‘Gibraltarians’) and collectives (‘the people of Gibraltar’, ‘population’), the latter two referring to the people in terms of living in a place. In addition, the references to Gibraltar as people were scarce as compared to the references of Gibraltar as a political entity.

It is worth pointing out that those references to Gibraltar as people appeared in the only editorial that directly addressed the topic of the referendum (*TM* 11.09.67). In this article, we find references to the Gibraltarians’ rights, feelings and enthusiasm by means of prepositional phrases with ‘of’ or the saxon genitive. These are the only instances in which the human dimension was introduced in the discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue.

In contrast, the articles that dealt with the Gibraltar issue as part of a wider discussion on British foreign policy did not make any reference to the people, except for the expression ‘the voters’ and its pronoun ‘they’ (*GD* 27.09.67). This, together with ‘those consulted’ (*TM* 11.09.67) deserve some

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comment: even though there is a human trace in these lexical items, they are above all references to the Gibraltar people through the discursive strategy of actionalization or politicization, i.e., the emphasis is not on their humanity but on their performing of a certain political action.

In addition, in the representation of the Gibraltar issue, the British press constructed, not especially Spain but, the United Nations as the opponent, by means of discursive strategies of negative representation, such as the following attributions:

- ‘untiringly hostile to Britain’ (*GD* 27.09.67),
- ‘Hostility to Britain’ (*TM* 16.09.67),
- ‘Its shortcomings’ (*TG* 28.09.67),
- ‘Its silly dogmatism on colonialism’ (*TG* 28.09.67).

Thus, Gibraltar was mainly represented in the British press in 1967 through spatialization and politicization strategies, which portrayed a political and dehumanised Gibraltar.

As regards the analysis of the transitivity system, there are 6 occurrences of Gibraltar as a participant in a clause and 4 as adding circumstantial information. Gibraltar was only involved in mental and material processes, as the following table 7.21 shows.

Senser was the predominant participant role assigned to Gibraltar, as in ‘The Gibraltarians do not want to become Spaniards’ (*TM* 11.09.67). It was also phenomenon in ‘They are not to be heard’ (*GD* 27.09.67).

In the only two material processes, Gibraltar was the actor. However, these processes involved little action or external effect, as in ‘The result should be underlined by the enthusiasm of those consulted’ (*TM* 11.09.67)

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PROCESS TYPE	OCCURRENCES
Material	2 (33.3 %)
Mental	4 (66.7 %)
TOTAL	6

Table 7.21: Process types in which Gibraltar is a participant in the British corpus in 1967

or it is a non-transactive verb: ‘To make sure that Gibraltar does not run down’ (*TM* 11.09.67), where in addition, the source of the action derived from a different social actor, which can be inferred as the British Government.

As a circumstance, Gibraltar indicated location or matter. ‘Where we (Britain) are defending the rights of a united local population as in Gibraltar’ (*TM* 16.09.67) exemplifies the former, and ‘The ordinary Briton is sore at being misunderstood over Gibraltar’ (*TG* 28.09.67) exemplifies the latter.

Finally, the 4 structures at phrasal level represented Gibraltar as possessor and goal. Gibraltar was represented as possessor by means of the preposition ‘of’ and the genitive structure, as in ‘The feelings of Gibraltarians’ (*TM* 11.09.67) and ‘Gibraltarians’ instincts were probably right’ (*TM* 11.09.67). Goal was introduced by the prepositional phrase with ‘of’ which complements a nominalised process: ‘The present siege of the Rock by Spain’ (*TM* 11.09.67).

Thus, the British press was scarce in the representation of Gibraltar as a participant in a clause. It was mainly assigned the roles of senser and actor.

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the results of analysis applying the method that has been elaborated to meet the research goals of the present investigation. These results are further discussed and elaborated in the following chapter.

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NOTES

(1) To ease recollection of these events, a summary is offered:

- Spanish-Moroccan crisis: It is a long-lasting problem that follows from the colonial past. The territory of the Sahara was part of the former Spanish protectorate on Africa, which Morocco intends to control despite the claims of its inhabitants for independence. A further problem concerns the cities of Ceuta and Melilla, which are Spanish territory, and which Morocco claims for itself on the ground that they are on African soil. Finally, the most recent crisis with Morocco arose in July 2002, when Morocco invaded the tiny islet of Perejil, off the African coast and Spanish territory. This symbolic event led to a diplomatic crisis between both countries. The Spanish military forces finally recovered the territory.
- The Prestige event: On 13th November 2002 the oil tanker Prestige sank in the Atlantic Ocean to the North-West coast of Spain causing a huge environmental disaster. The ship, which did not comply with many maritime regulations, had previously been allowed to stop at Gibraltar. This caused a series of accusations and reactions between the Spanish, Gibraltarian and British governments regarding the lack of legislation in the colony that favoured such illegal and detrimental situations.
- The problem with nuclear submarines: This kind of vessels are dangerous because of the substances they carry and they become a source of problems whenever they suffer any sort of failure. Some nuclear submarines have stopped at Gibraltar port (e.g. HMS Tireless in 2000/01) causing distress among the Spanish authorities as well as among environmentalist groups and the neighbouring population.

Chapter 8

Discussion

In this chapter, I will tie together the key results that have arisen from the discursive analysis of the Gibraltar issue in the period of the latest 2002 referendum from the three main angles involved, namely, Spain, Britain and Gibraltar itself. This task will be done in the light of the theoretical framework and the methodology of analysis described for the present investigation in chapters 4 and 5. Some conclusive remarks and diachronic comparisons will also be added from the analysis of the textual corpus concerning the 1967 referendum.

8.1 The discursive construction of the Gibraltar issue

This section summarises and comments on the results of the textual analysis presented in the previous chapter. First, the discussion of the results from the analysis of the Gibraltar corpus shows the discursive strategies that shape the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity from inside, that is, their function and effect in constructing Gibraltar's self-image. Then, the discus-

sion of the results from the Spanish and British corpora offers the discursive construction of Gibraltarian identity from the outside view.

8.2 The view from inside: Gibraltar.

In relation to **referential and predicational discursive strategies**, in the previous chapter, we said that the most frequent device to refer to Gibraltar in the Gibraltarian press is the first person plural form of the personal pronoun (i.e. ‘we’). The effect of this linguistic choice is to build in-group identity. It also creates closeness and intimacy since it adds a human or personal dimension to the representation of this community. So that, the Gibraltar press builds Gibraltarian identity on the personal dimension of this community, rather than on its being a political entity or their mere living on a certain place (that is, as referred by means of de-toponymic anthroponyms).

Our analysis has also reported the predominance of significant lexical repetitions such as the word ‘unity’ or ‘leaders’ (when referring to Gibraltarian authorities), and the all-inclusive indefinite pronouns ‘everyone’ or ‘all’. This means that the Gibraltar press resorts to predicational strategies that fulfil the discursive function of creating unity, i.e. strategies of unification. Similarly, references to the Gibraltarian authorities have been identified as metonymic forms with the effect of identifying the official representatives with the community as a whole.

The metaphors of the ship and house, presented in the preceding chapter, also have the effect of creating in-group identity, since they reinforce the closeness inside these two receptacles. In contrast, the European house metaphor discursively constructs Gibraltar’s isolation and lack of affinity at the European level, represented not as Gibraltar’s own will, but caused by

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the actions of others, especially Spain, and also probably Britain.

Other metaphors reported in the results chapter are the journey metaphor, the theatre metaphor, the battle metaphor and the game metaphor. The resort to these linguistic devices is relevant since they help construct a particular version of the situation. Hence, the journey metaphor fulfils the discursive function of presenting the negotiations as a path to follow, but with the particularity that such a journey has a dead-end. This means that the Gibraltar press constructs the present situation as with no end, no solution.

Moreover, the inclusion of the theatre metaphor is a discursive device which has the function of negatively constructing the whole negotiatory process as an artifice which can have no real implications for the Gibraltar community. The battle and the game metaphors, for their part, help construct the present situation in confrontational terms.

Results of the analysis of predicational strategies showed that Gibraltar is assigned positive qualities. This means that the Gibraltar press resorts to a positive self-representation which favours group identity. In addition, group identity is also reinforced by the discursive representation of Gibraltar as a victim by means of lexical choices, adjectives and intensifiers, as the previous chapter illustrated. This victimisation strategy has the effect of appealing for compassionate feelings in order to favour the construction of group identity.

Quite significantly, our analysis reported the scarce reference to the concepts of sovereignty and co-sovereignty, despite their being frequently addressed by the negotiatory members, Spain and Britain, throughout the period analysed. This is interpreted as a de-emphasising strategy by means of which the Gibraltar press intends to background this idea, since the Gibraltar side probably does not consider a solution to the problem in terms of changes in sovereignty or co-sovereignty. In contrast, the analysis

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showed references to Gibraltar's autonomy and independence. Thus, these are discursive devices to support Gibraltar's political position in the conflict.

Finally, in the previous chapter we mentioned temporal references in the form of adverbials, lexical choices and verb tenses that indicate progression and succession. These are interpreted as discursive strategies of continuation and preservation which have the discursive function of constructing national identity emphasising continuity on a temporal axis.

Summing up, referential and predicational discursive strategies in the Gibraltar press aim at constructing a Gibraltarian in-group identity. This identity is mainly built up through the use of the personal pronoun 'we' and other lexical choices and metaphors that emphasise that unity. By contrast, the scarce use of de-toponymic anthroponyms to refer to this community points to an intention of not building this identity on the mere fact of these people living in a place, but rather on their being a tied social and political group. Moreover, the emphasis on sameness and the backgrounding of intra-national differences are discursive strategies that fulfil the function of constructing identity, with a special emphasis on discursively constructing Gibraltar as a homogenous people or community. Thus, the Gibraltar press resorts to Constructive and Preserving strategies.

In relation to the **analysis of the transitivity system**, the analysis of the Gibraltar corpus showed that Gibraltar is most frequently assigned the participant roles of actor, senser and carrier. However, quite interestingly, as an actor it is involved in non-transactive actions, that is, those that do not have an effect on the world. This means that the Gibraltar press constructs a mainly passive Gibraltar, since in the cline of dynamism (Hassan 1989), these are not dynamic or active roles, but rather tend towards the more passive ones.

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Van Leeuwen (1995) supports this interpretation when the author states that non-transitive actions imply less power on the part of the actor since ‘the ability to transact requires a certain power, and the greater the power, the greater the range of goal that may be affected by an actor’s actions’ (1995: 90). Similarly, the more the expression of affective reactions (desires, needs and wants common in the Gibraltar press) imply the less the power of the social actor (1995: 87).

In this line, Gibraltar’s reaction towards its situation is represented in a quite unspecified and vague way through the commonly repeated abstract process ‘face’ which does not specify the course of action which is going to be taken. This and other abstract processes together with relational clauses which have a quality of sensing, reported in the previous chapter, are significant since they imply a construction of Gibraltar’s identity loaded with mental aspects, that is, connected to the realm of the inner self and consciousness. This, in turn, signifies a discursive construction of Gibraltar away from positions of power.

In the previous chapter we said that it is in relation to the articles that deal with the Prestige event (November 2002) that Gibraltar most frequently appears as actor of material processes. A possible reason seems to be that Gibraltar is activated in relation to the question of the Prestige event when this community felt threatened, in contrast to the referendum, when Gibraltar knew beforehand what the results would be. This also signifies that Gibraltar is activated in order to defend itself from attacks, which in addition reinforces that representation as a victim affected by the actions of others.

Moreover, the considerable number of conditional clauses that our analysis reported means that the processes in which Gibraltar is involved are very

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frequently actions or reactions that do not belong to the realm of the real, but to the possible or desirable as they are limited by restrictions introduced by conditional clauses or they are part of conditional clauses themselves.

The analysis of verbal processes showed that Gibraltar is most frequently assigned the participant role of sayer. While for the expression of its feelings and desires, Gibraltar is represented by the inclusive pronoun 'we' representing the community, for the verbal expression of its desires and thoughts, Gibraltar most frequently speaks through its authorities. This means that the Gibraltar press resorts to the representation of Gibraltar's authorities for the verbal expression of their demands which endows them with greater power than if they were just expressed by the common people.

The previous chapter also reported the considerable proportion of instances in which Gibraltar is assigned the participant role of carrier. These relational clauses complement the picture presented by mainly material and mental ones, describing the qualities that have made Gibraltar react the way it has, as well as presenting those with which it is endowed to face its future. Significantly, these qualities are attributed to Gibraltar as part of the discursive strategy to defend it from attacks and the situation facing it.

Thus, we can conclude that, in the Gibraltar corpus, Gibraltar is most frequently assigned participant roles that reinforce its representation as a victim and powerless, since as an actor it is involved in non-transactive material processes (understood as happenings) which do not have an impact on the world, as well as in mental ones, that is, those that belong to the realm of the consciousness. Similarly, circumstances represent a passivated Gibraltar.

In contrast, Gibraltar can be activated in order to defend itself from attacks as in relation to the question of the Prestige event when this community felt threatened.

8.3 The view from outside

8.3.1 Spain

In relation to **referential and predicational discursive strategies**, the analysis of the Spanish corpus showed that Gibraltar is most frequently referred to by means of its official and popular names, and the references to its authorities. This means that the Spanish press constructs Gibraltar with an emphasis on its being a political entity.

Furthermore, analysis of collocations of these terms showed that Gibraltar is perceived and represented as a belonging, that is, as some sort of goods that can pass from one hand to another. In this line, our analysis reported that references to Gibraltar's independence or autonomy are discursively excluded by means of various forms of adjectival modification, predication and irony. This way the Spanish press constructs a passive and powerless Gibraltar, affected and manipulated by others.

The previous chapter also reported that when the Spanish press refers to the people of Gibraltar, the most frequent linguistic devices are de-toponymic anthroponyms. These are interpreted as spatialisation strategies, which construct the identity of these people in terms of their living on a certain place. It also reinforces the political representation of Gibraltar.

In addition, in our analysis we said that the Spanish press also resorts to references to Gibraltar as a topic or issue to talk about, especially by means of legal or war-like terms. These discursive strategies reinforce the passive representation of Gibraltar mentioned above, so that the Spanish press constructs a reified Gibraltar.

Analysis of the Spanish corpus further identified linguistic devices that predicate about Gibraltar in terms of an anachronistic and illegal situation.

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The analysis highlighted the frequent references to justice and legal aspects, together with the negative characteristics attributed to it regarding the holding of the referendum. The effect of such categorisations is to negatively represent Gibraltar, so as to justify Spanish position in the conflict urging for a change in the status of the colony, as such change is represented as necessary. It is also supported by the discursive construction of the negotiations between Spain and Britain as a crucial step in history.

Moreover, temporal references and other predicational strategies reported in the preceding chapter pointed towards that urgent change in the situation, contrasting the past and present of Gibraltar with what should be the future of this territory. These can be interpreted as discursive strategies of discontinuation, which emphasise disruption and again supports Spain's political position in favour of a change of status.

In our analysis we also found that predication about the people of Gibraltar most frequently referred to mental and volitional aspects (interests, wishes, will, etc.). This can be interpreted as a discursive strategy in the Spanish press to construct the Gibraltarians as mainly involved with the expression of their inner consciousness. This in turn emphasises the lack of activity attributed to Gibraltar and its people from the Spanish side.

Various metaphors were also identified in our analysis. The most salient one is the journey metaphor. Quite significantly, in this journey, Gibraltar is represented as an obstacle. The effect is again to construct a negative representation of Gibraltar. The war and the game metaphors have a similar effect, since Gibraltar is represented as the oponent.

Finally, our analysis of referential and predicational strategies reported the use of similes, comparisons and parallelisms to predicate about Gibraltar. As we said, they compare and contrast Gibraltar to other situations around

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the world. These can be interpreted as strategies of justification (Wodak et al. 1999: 36) through which the Spanish press justifies Spain's dominant position.

Hence, the lexical choices, metaphors, and other predicational strategies that portray Gibraltar as anachronistic are part of discursive strategies of Transformation that support the need to change the present identity of this community. The negative attributions assigned to Gibraltar and its people, together with the metaphors that identify Gibraltar as an obstacle and disease also reinforce the discursive function of transforming the current situation.

Similarly, the war metaphor and the lexical choices in the fields of irrationality represent the Gibraltar issue as a whole in quite negative terms as an illogical dispute which should not exist as such nowadays. The Spanish press mainly resorts to the field of legality and justice as justificatory strategies to support its position.

In relation to the **analysis of the transitivity system**, the analysis of the Spanish corpus showed that Gibraltar was most frequently assigned the participant role of senser, and more precisely, cognizant. This implies that the Spanish press discursively represents Gibraltar in relation to the expression of these people's consciousness and it is less concerned with the community's feelings or desires. The Spanish press does not appeal to Gibraltarians' emotions, but to their intelligence (participant role of cognizant) in order for them to understand and accept the Spanish position. So that, from the Spanish side the situation is discursively represented not as a matter of 'wanting' the solution modelled by this power, but rather of simply 'understanding' it.

Moreover, the frequency of the subjunctive mood and modal verbs in the processes where Gibraltar appears as cognizant, as reported in the previous

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chapter, implies that the Spanish press appeals to a change in Gibraltar's understanding of the situation towards the Spanish point of view.

This, together with the high proportion of the affected roles of goal and beneficiary, means that Gibraltar is represented as a passive social actor, affected by the actions and decisions of others, while it is predominantly activated in relation to negative doings or for the mere expression of its wishes. This way, Gibraltar's situation and its future are represented as not in the hands of these people. Furthermore, Gibraltar is negatively represented in the Spanish press because most of the actions in which Gibraltar is assigned the role of actor have negative connotations.

The previous chapter also showed the predominance of relational clauses of the resultative type. They serve the discursive purpose of describing Gibraltar in a way that supports the Spanish position in the conflict as a strategy of the Spanish press to highlight the need of a change of status, thus supporting the Spanish policy in favour of a change of status for the colony.

In relation to the analysis of verbal processes we reported that the number of occurrences of Gibraltar as sayer or receiver was significantly low. This seems to mean that the Spanish side gives less relevance to the role of Gibraltar in the conversations regarding its future status. So that for Spain, the Gibraltar question is discursively represented as a matter to deal with Britain, but not with the Gibraltarian community.

The analysis of circumstances also represented a passivated Gibraltar since it most frequently indicates location or the extension of processes, that is, how the actions and decisions of other social actors affect Gibraltar.

In the analysis of the Spanish corpus, we said that there is a considerable proportion of instances where Gibraltar is not a participant nor a circumstance in the clause, but rather it is part of other structures at phrasal

level. As our analysis showed, these are very frequently cases of nominalised processes. Its significance lies on the fact that these structures imply a backgrounded representation of Gibraltar, since this social actor is not given prominence as a participant.

8.3.2 Britain

In relation to **referential and predicational discursive strategies**, the analysis of the British corpus showed that Gibraltar is most frequently referred to in political terms. Reference to the people of Gibraltar also emphasise their political dimension either by means of strategies of spacialisation or strategies of actionalisation and politisation. This means that the British press constructs the discursive representation of Gibraltar as a mainly political entity.

In addition, even though our analysis showed that there are references to Gibraltar as a people and a community, and that they and their political institutions are activated in relation to the holding of their referendum and in deciding about their future, Gibraltar is most frequently represented as in the hands and power of external forces, namely the two countries taking part in the negotiations. This way, Gibraltar is backgrounded, being represented as not having power to decide its future.

Our analysis also reported the references to Gibraltar as a topic or idea to talk about, and its frequent collocations with words that belong to the semantic field of debate and argument. These discursive strategies help to construct a representation of Gibraltar as a passive and powerless entity, affected by the debate and decisions of others.

In the previous chapter we also found that in the British corpus Gibraltar's attributes are characterised by negative traits (being outdated, irra-

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tional, a disease, excessive Britishness, etc.). These are interpreted as discursive strategies of negative representation. Here, *The Telegraph* stands out as the only British newspaper that positively describes Gibraltar in terms of its being a loyal British colony, against the general tendency in the British press.

In a similar line, minimisation strategies, as reported in the preceding chapter, also have the effect of backgrounding it and relativising the whole Gibraltar issue.

Results also reported of the use of various metaphors which serve to characterise Gibraltar as a confrontation and an obstacle. The effect is also to emphasise a negative representation of Gibraltar. Nevertheless, the most elaborated metaphor is the Gibraltar-is-merchandise one, which means that the British press forcefully constructs a representation of Gibraltar as goods, and consequently, powerless and under the effects of others.

The British press also resorts to the passion-is-heat metaphor to characterise the whole Gibraltar issue. The effect is to discursively represent the situation as one in which passions burst. This is something which can be interpreted as reaching to the point of lacking rationality. This effect is reinforced by the predication by means of adjectives that belong to the semantic field of irrationality, as our analysis showed.

In conclusion, the British press, though the Gibraltar question is relevant enough to be commented on in the editorials of the leading newspapers of England, referential and predicational strategies discursively minimise and background it.

In relation to the **analysis of the transitivity system**, the analysis of the British corpus showed that Gibraltar is most frequently assigned the participant roles of senser, goal and carrier. This again means that Gibraltar

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is discursively represented as a mainly passive social actor.

In addition, results reported that when in the roles of goal and beneficiary, Gibraltar is foregrounded in the receptive variants of the material processes. This shows the prominence given to this passivated representation in the British press. In the same line, as an actor, we said that Gibraltar is involved in non-transactive actions. This also has the effect of backgrounding Gibraltar's potential agency and influence in the world.

In relation to the participant role of senser, the analysis showed that Gibraltar is predominantly a cognizant participant associated with frequent modalised demands. This means that relevance is given in the British press to demands at the cognitive level rather than in relation to feelings or emotions.

The previous chapter also reported the number of instances in which Gibraltar is associated with verbal processes, either as active (sayer) or affected (receiver and target) participant. They show a greater relevance given in the British side to the role of Gibraltar in the negotiations, though, as the results showed, its role is predominantly passive.

As reported in the previous chapter, relational clauses mainly represent Gibraltar as the carrier. These serve to assign Gibraltar the characteristics that fit the British representation of the issue.

In the analysis of circumstances, we said that the most relevant circumstantial information that Gibraltar indicates in the British press is in relation to location and matter. The second is particularly relevant because it reinforces the passivated representation of Gibraltar in relation to the conversations (mental processes). The reason is that Gibraltar is represented as the topic or matter to talk about, thus having little active role in the conversations.

Similarly, the analysis of phrasal structures showed a high proportion of

structures where Gibraltar indicates matter, with the same effect as described above. Other structures were showed to represent Gibraltar as goal and possessor. These again reinforce the representation of a passivated Gibraltar.

8.4 Contrast and Comparison of the three corpora

I will start this section comparing and contrasting the results of the analysis of referential and predicational discursive strategies. Then, I will turn attention to the analysis of the transitivity system. Finally, I will finish the section with some comments in relation to the findings of other authors that have also studied Gibraltarian identity.

Our analysis has shown that the Spanish and British press, despite some differences, construct similar discursive representations of Gibraltar, being the Gibraltarian press the one that represents Gibraltar in more contrasting terms. This can be interpreted as a closeness in Spanish and British positions regarding this issue, while it is Gibraltar that stands alone in its position.

While the Gibraltarian press constructs Gibraltarian identity in terms of their being a tied social group, the Spanish and British press discursively represent Gibraltar as mainly a political entity.

Similarly, collocations on both the Spanish and the British sides forcefully construct the identity of Gibraltar as a belonging, as something to pass from one hand to another. This way, the whole negotiatory process is constructed in the Spanish and British press as a discussion about the suitable owner for certain goods or possessions, and Gibraltar is, thus, reified.

Moreover, in some of these collocations the words ‘sovereignty’ and ‘control’ are usually linked to ‘Gibraltar’ with the prepositions ‘over’ or ‘under’

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which imply spatial references to power (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 17), so that Gibraltar as always in the inferior position, is discursively constructed as powerless. Quite significantly, these lexical items hardly appear in the Gibraltar press, and when they do so, they collocate with other words in the realm of the possibility or suggestion (e.g. option, proposal, whether..., etc.), which make that sovereignty or control more distant and unreal.

Our analysis has also shown that the Gibraltar press assigns positive attributes to Gibraltar, that is, it resorts to discursive strategies of positive self-representation, while the Spanish and British press tend towards strategies of negative other-presentation. Quite significantly, the three corpora resort to attributes that belong to the field of justice or honesty. This implies that these are represented as important qualities, which obviously the Gibraltar press assigns to Gibraltar, while the Spanish and British corpora stress Gibraltar lacking them.

Temporal references in the three corpora deserve special attention, since as has already been pointed out (see page 93), the concept of time plays a crucial role in the discursive construction of national identity. As reported in the previous chapter, in the Gibraltar corpus, temporal references serve the discursive function of emphasising continuity. Thus, contributing to the discursive construction of Gibraltar national identity. In contrast, in the Spanish and British corpora references to past and future events have been identified as discursive strategies of discontinuation which reinforce the discursive representation of a change of identity for these people.

The various metaphors we have encountered in our analysis become especially relevant since, as Cameron and Low have highlighted (1999: Preface), they shape our conception of the world and, particularly here, our conception of Gibraltar. These rhetorical devices bring extra meaning to the reader's

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understanding of the issue, activating and emphasising in them new domains and meanings that make us perceive Gibraltar as an obstacle and a commodity, and the negotiatory process as a long journey, a war and a game, in the Spanish and British corpora. They all activate in the audience the negative aspects of such situations, which consequently discursively represent the Gibraltar situation as in need of change. In contrast, the Gibraltarian press resorts to metaphors that construct Gibraltar's unity.

It is worth mentioning that even though the three sides of the issue resort to the journey metaphor to represent the situation, there are some differences.

While the journey metaphor highlights both direction and progress towards a goal, the Gibraltar press, as we have seen in the previous chapter, constructs a journey with a dead-end. In contrast, the Spanish and British press construct the situation as in need to reach an end. Thus, the same metaphorical constructs fulfil different discursive functions.

Even though both the Spanish and British press abound in references to Gibraltar's will, wishes or rights, Spain and Britain do not share those wishes and will. So that, the three communities are never discursively identified as part of a common group, not even a Spain-Gibraltar group or a Britain-Gibraltar group. The analysis showed not a single *inclusive we* (Wodak et al. 1999: 45). This creates an effect of distance, as Gibraltar is discursively represented as the outside 'other'. Gibraltar is discursively not linked to the country that claims it, nor to the metropolis it depends on.

The play on words that the three –Gibraltarian, British and Spanish–press resort to deserves special mention. The three corpora play with the semantic potential of the popular name for Gibraltar –the Rock or Peñón/Roca– to enrich their discursive representation of Gibraltar.

As the examples collected in the previous chapter showed, the expressions

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in the Spanish and British corpora bring to the readers' understanding of the rise of new meanings and aspects. They have the effect of creating distance and help construct an image of Gibraltar that, as those physical objects (i.e. rocks and stones), is something uncomfortable, obstructive and isolated.

In contrast, the Gibraltar press also plays with the semantic potential of the name but with the opposite discursive function or purpose, that is, that of highlighting its positive aspects, such as solidity and stability. Nevertheless, on some other occasions the Gibraltar press also resorts to this play on words with a different function, that is, to stress Gibraltar's position in the negotiation process as an obstacle to the negotiations. Quite significantly, the talks might end 'on the rocks', that is, cease, but also to end there further implies ending the way the Rock wants, i.e. without a Spanish-British agreement.

In relation to the results from the analysis of the transitivity system, the predominance of the participant roles of senser, goal and carrier which is common to the three corpora means that the press from the three sides involved in the Gibraltar issue, including Gibraltar itself, coincide in their discursive representation of Gibraltar as a passive social actor.

It is, however, the Gibraltar corpus that tends to assign Gibraltar a more dynamic representation being more frequently assigned the active roles of actor and sayer. Nevertheless, even though the Gibraltarian press activates Gibraltar with a proportionally higher number of instances of Gibraltar as actor of material processes, these are mainly non-transactive actions, as we have already discussed.

Quite significantly, the three corpora coincide in their representation of Gibraltar in relation to mental aspects, especially by means of the participant role of senser. This means that from the three sides, Gibraltar is perceived

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and represented in relation to the expression of its thoughts, feelings and desires. So that its identity is discursively built up around the expression of these people's inner world rather than on their deeds or actions upon others.

The Gibraltar corpus is the one that gives more relevance to Gibraltar in the conversations with a higher proportion of instances in which Gibraltar is assigned the participant role of sayer, while the Spanish press constructs a Gibraltar with little involvement in the conversations. In contrast, the British press is proportionally more concerned with the role of Gibraltar in the conversations, as any of the participants in verbal processes (sayer, receiver or target) or as providing circumstantial information (matter).

These participant roles associated to verbal processes are more frequent in the British corpus than in the other two corpora. In addition, this passive representation of Gibraltar in the Spanish and British press is reinforced by Gibraltar being very frequently the matter or topic to talk about, as comparison of the results of the analysis of circumstances and other phrasal structures showed.

The three corpora resort to the role of carrier in relational processes (the most frequent one in this process type) in order to describe and characterise Gibraltar in a way that justifies each side's position in the conflict. For example, in relation to its being English or Spanish or none.

Nominalisations are a recurrent device in the texts analysed to conceal or mitigate the agency of Gibraltar. However, while in the Gibraltar corpus the effect is that of eluding responsibility for certain actions, in the Spanish and British corpora the intention is that of pushing Gibraltar into the background. In Van Leeuwen's terms (1996: 39), through these strategies Gibraltar is de-emphasised or backgrounded, being Spain and Britain the foregrounded entities.

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The less frequent participant roles that Gibraltar is assigned coincide in general terms in the three corpora. These are existent, verbiage and behavior, the first two having no single instances and the last, just two in the Gibraltar corpus, as the results section presented. As regards the first one, Gibraltar is not discursively represented in relation to its mere existence, that is, it is taken for granted.

Moreover, Gibraltar is neither discursively represented in relation to physiological processes or behaviours. The percentage of the participant role of behavior in the Gibraltar corpus is not significant either. The effect is to discursively reinforce the passivated representation of Gibraltar that the three corpora construct, since in the clyne of dynamism, the role of behavior is considered more dynamic (lying mid-way between material and mental processes) than senser, which is just restricted to the world of the participant's inner self and the role that Gibraltar is very frequently assigned, as already mentioned.

Finally, Gibraltar as a participant is not represented as that which is said (verbiage). Nevertheless, in the Spanish and British press a similar function is represented by the circumstance of matter, which is indeed fairly frequent in these two corpora. The effect is to discursively construct Gibraltar as the topic which was discussed, while the Gibraltar press backgrounds this aspect, giving no particular relevance either to the verbiage participant role nor to the circumstance of matter.

The discursive strategies in the British press have been identified as Transformative, and not merely Destructive, since the constant temporal references to the past, present and future aim at some new transformed identity for this community, not just a dismantling of what they currently are. However, the Spanish press resorts to Destructive strategies with the stronger and more

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precise temporal references to the future, as an emphasis on discontinuity (Wodak et al. 1999: 42) and the subsequent eager urgency to look for some new state.

In general, through referential and predicational strategies, the Spanish and British press discursively construct an image of Gibraltar as a political entity and political issue, which shows a lesser concern for the people and, thus, the human interest of the issue.

To conclude this section, I have compared and contrasted my results to **other authors' findings**.

As the chapter on the review of the literature of Gibraltar showed, previous research on the Gibraltar issue and more specifically, on Gibraltarian identity is essentially different in nature to the present investigation. For this reason, contrasting the findings from the various pieces of research is difficult and even non-appropriate or fitting at times. Nevertheless, a few comments can be annotated.

To begin with, our analysis has highlighted the discursive representation of Gibraltar in terms of a confrontation in the Spanish and British press. This finding lies in accordance Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's (1998) own analysis, though his is limited to the analysis of the British press alone and covering a different and shorter period, some months of the year 1997. Hence, contrasting the results shows a persistent representation of the Gibraltar issue as a war in a diachronic dimension. With this author, we can affirm that such a discursive representation of Gibraltar does not favour 'a basis for agreement and diplomatic solutions' (1998: 111).

Nevertheless, Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's analysis reports the presence of attributions with positive connotations when predicating about Gibraltar and its authorities in the British press. This contrasts with my own

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findings, where, as presented above, Gibraltar is in general terms negatively represented. This might be interpreted as a discursive manifestation of the change of attitude on the British side regarding the Gibraltar issue in the short period that runs since 1997 to the relaunching of negotiations in 2001.

Another author who studied the Gibraltar question on the basis of newspaper language is Sloma (1994, but specially 1997). On that occasion, the newspaper analysed comes from Gibraltar. As already introduced in chapter 2, this author studies the language and style of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* in order to draw conclusions as to the cultural identity of those towards which the newspaper was addressed.

This analysis recognised the relevance that this newspaper written in English, had in the formation of Gibraltarian identity. In the light of our own findings, we can refine Sloma's conclusions, adding that the Gibraltarian press (also including the other newspaper *Panorama*) intends to construct and assert that Gibraltarian identity, not merely by the use of the English language in its pages, but by means of the various linguistic devices and discursive strategies that we have described in the preceding pages and which construct in-group identity.

In addition, the PhD thesis of Kelly (1997) on the image of Spain in the British press introduced a brief section on the Gibraltar issue. According to this author's results, Gibraltarian authorities are positively represented while Spain is negatively represented. Again this contrasts with my own findings, since, as I said in relation to Martínez-Cabeza Lombardo's conclusions, the analysis of my corpus has shown that the British press has turned towards a rather negative and distant discursive representation of Gibraltar in recent years. The time span of about a decade between Kelly's data and my own seems to be the reason for the different results which, in addition, point to a

recent change of attitude (and discursive representation of the issue) on the British side.

Following a systematic sociolinguistic study, Kellermann (1996 and 2001) recognised the relevance of the question of national identity for the Gibraltarian population and the central role that the use of their distinctive variety of oral English has to assert that identity. Complementing these findings, we could add that it is not only the linguistic attitude of the Gibraltarians that plays a role in the assertion of national identity, but also the influence of the printed media (in the form of Gibraltarian newspapers) that help construct and, more importantly, disseminate that common sense of identity.

8.5 The discursive construction of the Gibraltar issue in 1967

Where things different in 1967? Was the Gibraltar issue discursively represented in the same way at the time of the holding of the first referendum in the colony? Has anything changed in 35 years of history? This section discusses the results of the 1967 corpus as reported in the previous chapter, at the same time that a diachronic perspective allows contrast and comparison with the discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue in the latter period of 2002.

To begin with, the fact that there were no editorial articles in the main Gibraltarian newspaper, *The Gibraltar Chronicle*, at the time of the first referendum is relevant in itself. It meant that the Gibraltarian community was deprived of this potent means of social influence that could offer and spread Gibraltar's own perception of the situation at that particular and crucial time. As a consequence, the Gibraltarian community was left without

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guide and mainly exposed to the outside perceptions of their condition. The main influence was the Spanish one, since access to newspapers from Spain was easy at that time, and the British newspapers did not reach the colony on such a regular basis as they do nowadays.

Furthermore, this absence of leader comments in the Gibraltarian press was not accidental, but rather forced. As has already been said, by the second half of the decade of 1960, the editor of *The Gibraltar Chronicle* had been instructed to withdraw the leader column from his newspaper on the basis of forthcoming negotiations over Gibraltar at the UN. Thus, the Gibraltarian community was not given voice, its mouth was shut. Gibraltar was not allowed to express their own views about the negotiations that were taking place internationally about their present and future status.

The initial quantitative and thematic analysis of the 1967 Spanish and British corpora revealed that the Spanish side showed a greater concern for the Gibraltar issue than the British one. In the former, the number of editorials on the Gibraltar question outweighed the British ones. In addition, the question was mostly addressed directly, as a relevant issue in itself, while in the British newspapers the topic was mentioned or commented upon indirectly, as part of wider discussions on international politics. More precisely, the topic of decolonization.

This scarce coverage and attention to the Gibraltar issue in the British press in 1967 is more striking since the referendum took place at a period when Britain was more concerned with its colonial empire and the developments within it. Hence, in general the British side showed a lack of interest in the situation and the future of the colony of Gibraltar, while more attention was paid to other colonies.

By 1967, the Spanish and the British press discursively represented Gibralt-

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tar mainly as a territory. Spatialization strategies when predicating about it and its population reinforced this representation. Attention to the human dimension of the issue by means of references to the people were more common in the Spanish press. Similarly, the British press was characterised by the use of spatialisation strategies.

In 1967, both Spain and Britain assigned participant roles to Gibraltar such as *senser* and *carrier* which imply little power, or *actor* in material actions with little effects on others. Thus, these were participant roles which typically represent social actors as passive. Comparison with the results of the 2002 corpora showed that this kind of representation persisted by the time of the second referendum, with similar participant roles being the predominant ones.

However, by 2002, more frequency is given, especially in the British press, to the negotiatory aspects of the situation with participant roles related to verbal processes again, particularly the affected or passive ones, such as *target*, *receiver* and the *circumstance of matter*.

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We are neither English nor Spanish, we are Gibraltarians ¹.

This statement from a Gibraltarian Website seems to summarize these people's feelings and the prominence the question of identity has reached for them. In the beginning of the 21st century, the status of Gibraltar at the crucial historical moment they are going through is indeed a big issue. In addition, as neighbours and having had a role in the historical evolution of this community, this question is also of relevance for us in Spain.

And it is indeed the hypothesis that has been put to test in the present investigation: the Gibraltarian national identity and how it is discursively constructed and represented in the media of the three main sides that have a say in the issue, namely Britain, Spain and Gibraltar itself.

The present investigation's research questions, introduced in the Preface, have been directed towards giving response to how the press, that massive means of social influence, has discursively constructed Gibraltar and the Gibraltar issue, and the analysis has shown which discursive strategies have

¹[www.geocities.com/el llanito](http://www.geocities.com/el_llanito) (accessed 10.05.02).

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been used by each of the sides involved -Gibraltar itself, Spain and Britain- to do this and consequently legitimise their own positions.

Chapter 1 framed the present piece of research within the tradition of discourse analysis, as the discipline that brings together language and the social reality in which the language is used. It has been the developments and changes in the study of language in the last century that have led to the emergence of discourse studies. More specifically I referred to the 'turns' made in linguistics from sentence to text level and the abstract to the social. These allowed for the study of larger units than the sentence and the consideration of social and contextual aspects which has proved central to this research on the way Gibraltarian national identity is discursively constructed in the printed press.

The review of the literature on Gibraltar presented in chapter 2 summarised the contributions of those scholars who have studied the Gibraltar issue and which are of relevance for the present research. This survey evidenced the scarce attention devoted to Gibraltar in the academic world until relatively recent times, despite the interest and uniqueness of this community. Gibraltar has most frequently been the focus of attention for historians, and reasonably so, for indeed Gibraltar's historical evolution is particularly singular.

In addition, just in recent decades, Gibraltar has attracted the attention of linguists from a variety of nationalities astonished by the particular way Gibraltarians conduct their everyday interactions. They, thus, generally concentrate on spoken language usage, the use of English and Spanish in this community and the attitudes towards the languages they have at their disposal. These are, thus, mainly sociolinguistic studies, which leave a door open for contrast and complementation with the contributions of the present

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study, which is framed within a discursive perspective.

In chapter 3, I went into a deep analysis of the Gibraltar community that encompassed geographical, historical and sociolinguistic aspects, in order to gain sound background knowledge of the community under study. Familiarity with all these factors has been central for an appropriate explanation and interpretation of my textual corpus.

The chapter revealed present-day Gibraltar as the result of its bizarre historical evolution and the diversity of peoples that have populated it. It also discovered how particularly recent events have led to the emergence of a Gibraltar national sentiment and its growing importance for the community.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, scholars consider that Gibraltar is characterised by English-Spanish bilingualism with each language having its basic domains of use. Generally today, English is the language of government and education. For this reason it is the language of status and the language we have found in the main newspapers. For its part, Spanish is the language of everyday life and of emotions. Moreover, at the spoken level, scholars generally recognize the relevance of the language variety known as Yanito as the most peculiar character of this community, and its use as indicative of the Gibraltarians' common sense of identity.

In the next chapter, chapter 4, I described the theoretical framework within which my research is conceived. In this sense, the young but well-established paradigm known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provided the overall methodological considerations and tools to carry out the present investigation. As a social form of discourse analysis, it incorporates interpretation and critique of discourse, which has allowed us, through the present analysis, to make the Gibraltar situation more transparent. Indeed, critical

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analysis of discourse has favoured a deeper reading and consequently a better understanding and reaction towards the media texts analysed.

In order to do so, two other aspects which move away from purely linguistic matters were studied in detailed. First, some considerations on the notion of national identity and the studies concerning how it is discursively constructed helped us to frame and structure the present investigation. Second, media discourse and its influence in social life was studied since the textual corpus that was to be analysed had been drawn from the printed press. Thus, the overall interests of our research required these two aspects to be considered and their contributions to be adopted.

Chapter 5 described the methodological model devised to carry out the present investigation in the light of the research questions and the overall theoretical framework which had been previously studied. Moreover, my method was refined and elaborated based on prior pilot studies and recent literature on the topic of national identity and critical discourse analysis.

Consequently, the methodological model was adopted from Wodak's *Discourse-historical approach* (Wodak et al. 1999, and Reisigl and Wodak 2001) and Halliday's *Transitivity system* (Halliday 1994, and Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). The first provided the set of referential and predicational strategies which have helped us identify the discursive strategies prominent in each of the three corpora analysed. Then, the analysis of the transitivity system and its interpretation has shown that the assignment of different process types to participants is critically non-trivial.

A separate chapter 6 described and justified the media texts that had been selected to form the textual corpus on which to base the present investigation. The selection of written texts has intended to fill the gap left by a generalised tendency among scholars to focus on spoken language when dealing with the

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Gibraltar situation.

The media texts selected were editorial articles since they are potent elements to express and transmit the community's opinions and feelings, more precisely at a moment when the question of the community's identity is on the focus of attention. Being such potent means of social influence, they shape society's opinion and help construe social perception of certain matters. Specifically, for the matter that concerns the present investigation, their relevance lies in their potential to shape society's perception of the Gibraltar issue.

On the whole, ten newspapers with wide diffusion and recognised prestige in the three communities involved in the issue were selected. They were *The Gibraltar Chronicle* and *Panorama* from Gibraltar; *ABC*, *El Mundo*, *El Pais* and *La Vanguardia* from Spain; and *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* and *The Times* from Britain. They, thus, form three textual corpora.

In addition, the time span selected covered sixteen crucial months in the history of this community, since the relaunching of negotiations between Britain and Spain on the Gibraltar issue in July 2001 until the holding of the Gibraltar referendum in November 2002. This was completed with a selection of articles from the two months preceding and following the 1967 referendum, that is, August and September, so as to reveal changes in the discursive representation of Gibraltar from a diachronic perspective.

Examination of these newspapers amounted to a total number of 179 editorial articles dealing with the Gibraltar issue.

In chapter 7, I presented the results of the textual analysis of the three corpora. These results were further discussed and compared in the Discussion chapter number 8.

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The content of the articles that form the three corpora of the present investigation might be said to be similar, but a deeper analysis and interpretation showed that this only applied at a superficial level. Indeed, the three corpora from the Gibraltarian, Spanish and British press were concerned with the Gibraltar situation, but each of them approached it in different ways, as the analysis of strategies of reference and predication together with the examination of the patterns of processes, participants and circumstances have revealed.

The analysis allowed us to draw some social and political conclusions on the discursive construction and representation of the Gibraltar issue. On the one hand, the analysis of the Gibraltarian newspapers allowed us to understand how Gibraltar presented itself to the world, the self-image it portrayed; while on the other hand, the analysis of the Spanish and British newspapers allowed us to understand how this issue and the community of Gibraltar were perceived and represented from the outside, that is, from the two relevant angles involved in the situation of this territory.

The following are the main conclusions drawn from the present investigation:

In the Gibraltar press, the high proportion of editorials directly and indirectly dealing with the Gibraltar issue, as opposed to the lower rate of articles on other unrelated topics showed the relevance of the Gibraltar question for this community that, almost whatever the topic of interest for the editors, a connection is made to this central matter of concern.

In contrast, the proportion of editorial articles in the Spanish and British newspapers dealing with the Gibraltar issue, though a small figure (5%, as presented in the previous chapter), was revealing since only those events and topics that are highly relevant are addressed in the leader pages of the news-

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papers everyday, as Armañanzas and Diaz Noci (1996: 100) have highlighted. Indeed, the volume of media coverage is an indicator of the salience awarded to an issue and, in this sense, the Gibraltar issue was prominent enough to make the press of these two big European powers turn their attention towards the tiny colony.

Nevertheless, physical proximity and a historic territorial claim seem stronger motives than the political ties between metropolis-colony, as it was the Spanish side that showed a greater frequency on the Gibraltar issue in the form of a higher number of editorial articles in its newspapers dealing with it.

The analysis of the thematic areas connected to the Gibraltar issue in the Spanish and British press showed how both countries put the emphasis on the critical situation of the colony at that time. Gibraltar, particularly for Spain, is a problem that needs urgent solution. Thus, it was discursively presented as a problem and listed among other problems of various natures: in international politics, Gibraltar is a burden on the political relations between two member states of the UN; from an economic point of view, the colony enjoys a special financial status that leads to irregularities; even for the environment its situation is presented as a menace, being connected with the Prestige event and nuclear submarines; finally, Gibraltar was compared or related to other problematic situations worldwide, namely, the Spanish-Moroccan crisis over the Sahara territory, Parsley island, Ceuta and Melilla and South America.

Furthermore, the emphasis in the British and Spanish corpora on the topic of finding a solution for the present status of the colony showed how both countries would like to put an end to the problematic situation, as they are directly affected by it. The analysis of referential and predicational strategies

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regarding this topic showed that it was especially the Spanish side that was more enthusiastic about it, constructing the moment of the relaunching of negotiations as a crucial one in history and the solution as a definite and prompt one. In this line, as the previous chapter showed, temporal references to the future agreement were much more precise in the Spanish than in the British press.

Referential and predicational strategies in the Gibraltar corpus have been identified as Constructive and Preserving since they aim at discursively building in-group identity and defending it at a time when this distinctive identity was felt threatened. In the Spanish corpus, we have identified discursive strategies of Destruction and Transformation for the most part. The various linguistic devices analysed aimed at dismantling Gibraltarian identity basically by means of their emphasis on discontinuity and negative representation of Gibraltar, as well as transforming Gibraltar's present identity so as to support Spain's policy in favour of a change of status for the colony.

From the analysis of the transitivity system, we can conclude that Gibraltar was most frequently represented as a passive entity, affected by the actions and decisions of others. Especially in the Gibraltarian press, Gibraltar became a victim and powerless. Gibraltar was most frequently activated in relation to the expression of its consciousness, a feature common to the three corpora. This way, Gibraltar's situation and its future were discursively represented as not in the hands of these people. In the Spanish press, emphasis was put on the cognizant aspects of mental processes, thus appealing to Gibraltarians' intelligence to understand and accept the outcome of the negotiations about the future of the colony rather than to wanting it. Analysis of verbal processes has also highlighted that it was the Spanish press the less concerned with the role of Gibraltar in the conversations.

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The number of instances in which Gibraltar was not a participant neither a circumstance in a process, but rather part of a noun phrase or prepositional phrase was proportionally higher in the Spanish and the British press than the Gibraltarian press, which reinforces the backgrounded representation that these two corpora gave to Gibraltar.

Spain's and Britain's relation to Gibraltar was not represented as an interaction with people, with the community. That is, what concerns these two countries is not the Gibraltarian community, but the Gibraltar issue as a kind of phenomenon. As the analysis has shown, the Gibraltar question was most frequently introduced as a semiotic action and Gibraltar as the topic specification of that semiotic action.

In addition, there were constant references to the Gibraltarians' interests, will and wishes, but these are abstractions, that is, they are never detailed or specified, and Gibraltarians are hardly ever given voice to express them. These abstractions have the effect of creating distance. Something similar happens with the reference to the whole Gibraltar situation by the generalised and abstract nouns 'problem' or 'issue'.

Gibraltarian national identity was generally built on this community's inner self since the three corpora have in common the relevance given to Gibraltar in mental processes as senser, that is, the three angles involved in the issue construed a Gibraltar that mostly acts at the level of the inner consciousness. Its agency is mainly limited to the expression of its wishes and opinions, thus with little effect in the outside world. Consequently, the discursive representation of Gibraltar is that of a community with little power to exert an influence on its future. In addition, while these people's needs and desires were discursively represented, Gibraltarians were very frequently exhorted to change their thoughts and views.

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In addition, the diachronic study (1967-2002) confirmed the long-standing representation of the Gibraltar issue as a problem. While, at the time of the first referendum, the Gibraltar issue was a relevant political problem with international implications, being discussed at the United Nations, as time passes by the situation became increasingly problematic including even economic (financial irregularities) and environmental aspects (in relation to the Prestige event and nuclear submarines). Hence, whatever the aspects included, the Gibraltar question has diachronically been perceived and represented as a problem for the two countries affected.

The analysis of the two historical moments has also shown the discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue as a dispute or confrontation (mainly by means of metaphors and various strategies of negative presentation). However, the sides or opponents in this dispute have undergone some changes. By 1967, Spain's opponent was Britain, while Britain's opponent was the United Nations. In contrast, by the time of the holding of the 2002 referendum Spain and Britain were represented as in the same side opposing Gibraltar. Moreover, the United Nations were not represented by either side as an opponent any more.

The comparative study has also shown a greater frequency of the Gibraltar issue by the Spanish side at the two crucial moments of the holding of the 1967 and 2002 referendums with a wider coverage of the issue and its discussion in the editorial pages of its leading newspapers.

Common to the three corpora was the representation of the Gibraltar issue as a long and anachronistic one by means of different linguistic devices (lexical choices, temporal references, etc) but with the universal function of emphasising the need of change even though each side claims for different kinds of changes, i.e. different solutions.

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The analysis of the transitivity system has also shown that by 1967 both Spain and Britain backgrounded the representation of Gibraltar with proportionally less occurrences of it with the status of a participant in the clause and more as part of minor structures at phrasal level. At that time prominence was then given to the other social actors involved in the question of Gibraltar.

Especially in the British press, and comparing 1967 and 2002, at the time of the first referendum there were considerably less occurrences of Gibraltar as a participant, not only in absolute numbers (because there were less editorial articles), but proportionally as well. Hence, this reinforces the scarce attention given to Gibraltar at that time.

Finally, both the Spanish and British press persisted in the assigning to Gibraltar of participant roles which typically represent social actors as passive, since similar participant roles are the predominant ones in both periods.

These conclusions are not intended to be the final word on the Gibraltar issue for, as Wodak (1996) stated 'Interpretations are never finished and authoritative, they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information' (1996: 20). The emergence of new information and new events may always entail the reconsideration and re-evaluation of data as presented in this investigation.

Nevertheless, our analysis has proved very useful in helping to understand how the particular linguistic structures analysed are ideologically, socially and politically significant.

In the light of our results, we can state that a central contribution of this research is its complementing and illuminating previous findings, as well as its filling certain gaps which had been left uncovered.

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Thus, the present investigation offers a new piece of research that testifies to the usefulness of successfully applying the methodological tools and insights of CDA into the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity, applying it to a new context which had not be so researched before. Therefore, the Gibraltar issue and, more precisely Gibraltarian identity, have been approached from a completely new perspective, that of discourse analysis, in an extensive way.

This way, our investigation contributes and complements other pieces of research on the Gibraltar issue, providing these novel insights from a discursive perspective. Another strength of the present work is that it combines the analytical categories of the discourse-historical approach with SFL so as to provide systematic analysis and two perspectives of analysis to help avoid the criticisms concerning ideological bias that CDA work sometimes encountered. Indeed, the present work has devised, improved and detailed an appropriate methodology to address the issue. In addition, attention has been paid to the written language which had been the forgotten one in previous investigations.

Summing up, Gibraltarian identity has been studied through new lenses, which base our results not on people's attitudes or reactions towards the language (pure sociolinguistic studies), as previous research has done, but on how the press helps to construct that identity, shaping society's perception of the issue. Because of the immense influence of mass media, the present research's findings affect not only Gibraltar but also the two countries responsible for the future of this territory.

The colour of things at the time being allows us to say with Kent (2004) that the question of Gibraltar is 'an old story and has a few more chapters left in it' (2004: 26). These pages are, thus, a starting point for future and

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welcome comments and interpretations on the situation of the Gibraltarian community.

If only, one thing can be advanced, in the light of the potential of discourse, and more precisely media discourse, to influence society's perception of certain matters: if the Spanish and British press changed its discursive representation of the Gibraltar issue and the Gibraltarian community, Spanish and British society would consequently change its perception of it. Otherwise, the press of these two countries will exert its inexorable effect perpetuating the negative representation of Gibraltar and the consequent negative perception of Gibraltar in these two countries.

Thus, promoting a more favourable attitude to the Gibraltar situation through language (that is, the way this situation is discursively constructed) and, consequently, allowing a friendly approach to Gibraltar could facilitate reaching a solution to the problem. Similarly, a change in the discursive representation of the issue in the Gibraltarian press could lead to a change towards a more positive and active attitude on the Gibraltar side.

Indeed, this research may open discussion in the field and may hold great potential for future work.

Possibilities for further studies include, for instance, applying a basically similar method of analysis to other contexts, or the analysis of different linguistic structures or historical moments to the same Gibraltarian context. Future work could also tend towards a reverse version of the present research, i.e., investigating the influence of the Gibraltar problem in the construction of Hispanic identity, since being neighbours and historically connected, the Gibraltar issue must have had an impact on it. Additionally, a study could be carried out on the impact of the discourse analysed (these editorials) on the public, investigating its reception and recontextualization in other domains

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of society. For example, by means of reception studies as described by Moores (1993) and Richardson (1998) or through the analysis of interviews and focus-group discussions, as Wodak et al. (1999) in their study of the discursive construction of Austrian identity.

It could also be very interesting to analyse the discursive construction of Spain and Britain in the Gibraltar press, as well as analysing how Gibraltar is discursively constructed in the press of other countries which are alien to the conflict.

It is intended that the present piece of work will help to create interest in the situation of the Gibraltarian community, because it seems that the closing of the fence, together with other historical events, have made Spain turn its back on Gibraltar even from an academic perspective. Thus, research in this line can also contribute to achieve a better understanding of these people.

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Appendix A

Titles of editorial articles analysed

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

1967

ABC

- 04.08.67 Un Nuevo planteamiento para el problema de Gibraltar.
22.08.67 Gibraltar, España y el 'Comité de los 24'.
26.08.67 Un voto típicamente imperialista.
02.09.67 La ONU, contra Inglaterra en Gibraltar.
03.09.67 Invitación al examen de conciencia.

LA VANGUARDIA

- 06.08.67 Perspectiva Gibraltareña.
02.09.67 Victoria en al O.N.U.
12.09.67 Guinea-España.

THE GUARDIAN

- 27.09.67 Good sense from Mr. Brown.

TELEGRAPH

- 28.09.67 George and the dragon.

THE TIMES

- 11.09.67 No possible doubt.
16.09.67 The brave man chooses.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

2002

GIBRALTAR CHRONICLE

- 03.07.01 Pulling and punching.
05.07.01 Spain's open season must end.
06.07.01 Giving oxygen to cooperation.
07.08.01 Genuine dialogue?
21.08.01 Tragedies of inaction.
23.08.01 The new economy.
24.08.01 Britain must ensure level playing field.
30.08.01 Air debate will set autumn tone.
06.09.01 The key and anchor.
21.09.01 China in a bullring?.
26.09.01 Spinning and weaving.
27.09.01 Undignified row.
03.10.01 Giving talks a chance.
05.10.01 A passion for democracy and liberty.
05.10.01b The foundations of unity.
09.10.01 In the face of challenge.
11.10.01 Unity, the deaf ears and other business.
12.10.01 Goose and Gander.
16.10.01 As things unfold.
25.10.01 Deciding for ourselves.
08.11.01 Brussels: pas de deux or ménage a trios?
13.11.01 Informal dialogue.
21.11.01 The crunch.
23.11.01 Constitutional Committee.
04.12.01 Sticks and stones.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

07.12.01	Backyard blues.
11.12.01	Lending an ear.
28.12.01	The Blair project.
03.01.02	Back and forth.
15.01.02	The big debate.
23.01.02	90 minutes.
31.01.02	The underlying rift.
05.02.02	A time for deep reflection.
26.02.02	Finders keepers?
15.03.02	March 18 and beyond.
18.03.02	A policy for inertia?
19.03.02	Actions speak loud...
27.03.02	Taking a step towards mutual respect.
09.04.02	Small, medium but big in success.
12.04.02	Clear as a bell.
17.04.02	A heinous threat.
25.04.02	Leaks and stoppers.
30.04.02	Far from the madding crowd...
02.05.02	Facing the music.
03.05.02	The Gibraltarian way.
16.05.02	Muddying the waters?
21.05.02	Lulls before storms.
28.05.02	Taking a long term view.
29.05.02	A match to remember.
05.06.02	Spinner, byers and facts.
07.06.02	A rock bigger than a house.
12.06.02	Voting rights and risks.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

- 21.06.02 Lies, damned lies and statistics.
01.07.02 Rights, half-rights and wrongs.
13.07.02 A gamble with consequences.
08.10.02 Consent, a precursor to dialogue.
25.10.02 No Hain, no pain?
05.11.02 Gutter Guardian.
07.11.02 The big "no".
15.11.02 Now comes the backlash.
20.11.02 Troubled waters over oil.

PANORAMA

- 02.07.01 Incipient British thinking on the airport.
22.10.01 Colonial Constitutions being reviewed, but what about ours?
16.12.01 No more delays, please!
23.12.01 Flags, voices, vetoes and noises.
31.03.02 What Gibraltar needs: results.
16.04.02 Talks on May 13.
10.06.02 Gibraltar 2-0 Spain.
24.06.02 Gibraltar's future can only be decided by the Gibraltarians.
08.07.02 The way forward, and its long overdue.
05.09.02 Everyone behind the referendum.
04.10.02 Gibraltar tries to demolish Spanish territorial integrity arguments.
14.10.02 The Foreign Office goes for what they think is the soft option.
21.10.02 Boycott!
11.11.02 What next?

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

21.11.02 We cannot be at the receiving end all the time.

ABC

31.10.01 Soberanía de Gibraltar.
10.11.01 Impulso descolonizador.
20.11.01 Solución para Gibraltar.
14.01.02 Madrid, centro diplomático.
04.02.02 Conversaciones sobre Gibraltar.
25.04.02 Soberanía total compartida sobre Gibraltar.
01.05.02 Los flancos abiertos de la acción exterior.
20.05.02 Madrid y Londres frente a los gibraltareños.
27.06.02 De lo posible y lo deseable en Gibraltar.
11.07.02 Reformas y diálogo.
19.07.02 Razones de una crisis: Sahara, Ceuta y Melilla.
28.07.02 Crisis de Perejil y el problema de Gibraltar.
31.07.02 Mohamed VI admite su derrota.
01.09.02 Perspectivas del nuevo curso político.
16.09.02 Obcecado Benaissa.
29.09.02 Luces y sombras de la política exterior.
08.11.02 Plebiscito de pega.
16.11.02 Control portuario.
19.11.02 Una catástrofe que no ha de repetirse.
24.11.02 El Prestige y la teoría del mal menor.

EL MUNDO

18.11.01 Gibraltar: ahora es el momento de encontrar la solución.
29.04.02 Gibraltar exige soluciones realistas, no imposibles.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

- 11.05.02 Gibraltar, más vale seguir como ahora que ceder en lo esencial.
- 27.05.02 Gibraltar, visto desde Londres.
- 04.06.02 La "finca" gibraltareña, al fin ante sus responsabilidades fiscales.
- 08.11.02 Gibraltar, soberanía y nacionalidad.
- 15.11.02 Los nuevos piratas del mar.
- 28.11.02 Hacia el fin de un paraíso fiscal.

EL PAIS

- 27.07.01 Volver a empezar.
- 03.11.01 El Peñón se mueve.
- 10.11.01 Los amigos y el Peñón.
- 19.11.01 El futuro de Gibraltar.
- 21.11.01 Gibraltar, de vuelta.
- 11.01.02 Cosoberanía razonable.
- 17.03.02 Barcelona posible.
- 20.03.02 Fondos a Gibraltar.
- 27.04.02 Gibraltar, pero no así.
- 21.05.02 Problema británico.
- 21.07.02 Perejil, regreso a la casilla cero.
- 26.07.02 Hacia el final.
- 02.09.02 De Madrid a Rabat.
- 08.11.02 Viaje a ninguna parte.
- 16.11.02 Inseguridad marítima.
- 20.11.02 A pique.
- 21.11.02 ¿Hay alguien al timón?

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

27.11.02 La mancha, en Málaga.

LA VANGUARDIA

31.10.01 Hablar de Gibraltar
26.11.01 Marruecos aprieta.
05.02.02 El Peñón, más cerca.
12.02.02 Sahara, Rabat y Madrid.
17.03.02 Con buena nota.
21.05.02 Tropiezo en el Peñón.
10.07.02 Reafirmación política.
22.07.02 Lecciones de la crisis.
26.07.02 Desafiante Caruana.
15.11.02 Santa Bárbara.

THE GUARDIAN

20.11.01 The Rock starts to roll.
03.02.02 Finisterre finis.
05.05.02 Rock with Europe.
13.07.02 Shares in the Rock.
11.10.02 Quietly groping.
20.11.02 Loss of Prestige.

THE INDEPENDENT

03.02.02 Spain's right to Gibraltar.
04.02.02 Gibraltar's people ought to accept this sensible deal.
27.04.02 First Sweden, now Japan.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

- 13.07.02 How to sell a diplomatic failure as a success.
17.07.02 Beware the diplomatic storm brewing in the Mediterranean.
27.07.02 Let Gibraltar have its referendum, but keep talking to Spain.
19.11.02 An environmental disaster and a test for the principle that
 the polluter must pay.

TELEGRAPH

- 12.11.01 Pain from Hain, gain for Spain.
21.11.01 Stand by the Rock.
11.01.02 It's that man again.
14.01.02 Carrot and stick for the Rock.
06.02.02 The Spanish bully.
19.03.02 Persecuted for being British.
13.05.02 A defensive Rock.
21.05.02 Between a rock and a hard place.
28.06.02 The Tory mis-spokesman.
11.07.02 Gibraltar still besieged.
13.07.02 The biter bit.
19.07.02 Parsley sauce.
26.07.02 Sacrificing the Rock.
27.07.03 Gibraltar strikes back.
09.11.02 Ninety-eight per cent British.
10.11.02 On reflection.

THE TIMES

- 21.11.01 No short cuts: Spain still needs to win hearts and minds in
 Gibraltar.

Appendix A. Titles of editorial articles analysed

- 21.05.02 Spanish practices: Madrid's tough line makes a Gibraltar deal unlikely.
- 13.07.02 Successful failure. The Gibraltar talks have not been a waste of time.
- 19.07.02 Herculean folly. Spain waves aloft its double standard.
- 26.07.02 When his lips move. The parochial meets the powerful and a nation shrugs.
- 20.11.02 Oil and water.

Appendix B

Content Analysis Tables

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

1967

Paper	Date	Article		Content	
		Title	Gibraltar	Other topics	
	04.08.67	Un Nuevo planteamiento para el problema de Gibraltar.	yes		
ABC	22.08.67	Gibraltar, España y el 'Comité de los 24'.	yes		
	26.08.67	Un voto típicamente imperialista.	yes		
	02.09.67	La ONU, contra Inglaterra en Gibraltar.	yes		
	03.09.67	Invitación al examen de conciencia.	yes		
	06.08.67	Perspectiva Gibraltareña.	yes		
LV	02.09.67	Victoria en al O.N.U.	yes		
	12.09.67	Guinea-España.	-	International politics	Decolonisation
GD	27.09.67	Good sense from Mr. Brown	-	International politics	Decolonisation
TG	28.09.67	George and the dragon	-	U.N. politics	and decisions
TM	11.09.67	No possible doubt	yes		
	16.09.67	The brave man chooses	-	UK politics, national	and international

Table B.1: Content analysis of the editorial articles from 1967.

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

2002

- Content analysis of the editorial articles from the Gibraltarian press 2002:

Paper	Date	Article	Content	
		Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
GC	03.07.01	Pulling and punching.	yes	
	05.07.01	Spain's open season must end.	yes	
	06.07.01	Giving oxygen to cooperation.	-	Health.
	07.08.01	Genuine dialogue?	yes	
	21.08.01	Tragedies of inaction.	yes	
	23.08.01	The new economy.	-	Local finance.
	24.08.01	Britain must ensure level playing field.	-	Local finance.
	30.08.01	Air debate will set autumn tone.	-	Airport.
	06.09.01	The key and anchor.	yes	
	21.09.01	China in a bullring?.	yes	
	26.09.01	Spinning and weaving.	yes	
	27.09.01	Undignified row.	yes	
	03.10.01	Giving talks a chance.	yes	
	05.10.01	A passion for democracy and liberty.	yes	
	05.10.01	The foundations of unity.	yes	
	09.10.01	In the face of challenge.	yes	
	11.10.01	Unity, the deaf ears and other business.	yes	
	12.10.01	Goose and Gander.	-	Economy.
	16.10.01	As things unfold.	yes	
	25.10.01	Deciding for ourselves.	yes	

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Paper	Article		Content	
	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
	08.11.01	Brussels: pas de deux or ménage a trios?	yes	
	13.11.01	Informal dialogue.	yes	
	21.11.01	The crunch.	yes	
	23.11.01	Constitutional Committee.	-	Local politics
	04.12.01	Sticks and stones.	-	Local politics
	07.12.01	Backyard blues.	-	US nuclear submarines
	11.12.01	Lending an ear.	yes	
	28.12.01	The Blair project.	yes	
	03.01.02	Back and forth.	yes	
	15.01.02	The big debate.	yes	
	23.01.02	90 minutes.	yes	
	31.01.02	The underlying rift.	-	Local politics
	05.02.02	A time for deep reflection.	yes	
	26.02.02	Finders keepers?	-	Local event
	15.03.02	March 18 and beyond.	yes	
	18.03.02	A policy for inertia?	yes	
	19.03.02	Actions speak loud...	yes	
	27.03.02	Taking a step towards mutual respect.	yes	
	09.04.02	Small, medium but big in success.	-	Local conference
	12.04.02	Clear as a bell.	yes	
	17.04.02	A heinous threat.	yes	
	25.04.02	Leaks and stoppers.	yes	
	30.04.02	Far from the madding crowd...	yes	
	02.05.02	Facing the music.	yes	
	03.05.02	The Gibraltarian way.	yes	
	16.05.02	Muddying the waters?	yes	
	21.05.02	Lulls before storms.	yes	

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

Paper	Article		Content	
	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
	28.05.02	Taking a long term view.	yes	
	29.05.02	A match to remember.	yes	
	05.06.02	Spinner, byers and facts.	yes	
	07.06.02	A rock bigger than a house.	yes	
	12.06.02	Voting rights and risks.	-	EU voting right
	21.06.02	Lies, damned lies and statistics.	-	UK-Gib problem
	01.07.02	Rights, half-rights and wrongs.	yes	
	13.07.02	A gamble with consequences.	-	Perejil crisis
	08.10.02	Consent, a precursor to dialogue.	yes, referend.	
	25.10.02	No Hain, no pain?	yes	
	05.11.02	Gutter Guardian.	yes, ref	
	07.11.02	The big 'no'.	yes, ref	
	15.11.02	Now comes the backlash.	-	Prestige
	20.11.02	Troubled waters over oil.	-	Prestige
PN	02.07.01	Incipient British thinking on the airport.	-	Airport
	22.10.01	Colonial Constitutions being reviewed, but what about ours?	yes	
	16.12.01	No more delays, please!	-	Gib Constitution
	23.12.01	Flags, voices, vetoes and noises.	yes	
	31.03.02	What Gibraltar needs: results.	yes	
	16.04.02	Talks on May 13.	yes	
	10.06.02	Gibraltar 2-0 Spain.	yes	
	24.06.02	Gibraltar's future can only be decided by the Gibraltarians.	yes, ref	
	08.07.02	The way forward, and its long overdue.	yes	
	05.09.02	Everyone behind the referendum.	yes, ref	
	04.10.02	Gibraltar tries to demolish	yes	

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

		Article	Content	
Paper	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
		Spanish territorial integrity arguments.		
	14.10.02	The Foreign Office goes for what they think is the soft option.	yes	
	21.10.02	Boycott!	yes	
	11.11.02	What next?	yes	
	21.11.02	We cannot be at the receiving end all the time.	-	Prestige

Table B.2: Content analysis of the editorial articles from the Gibraltarian press 2002.

• Content analysis of the editorial articles from the Spanish press 2002:

		Article	Content	
Paper	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
ABC	31.10.01	Soberanía de Gibraltar.	yes	
	10.11.01	Impulso descolonizador.	yes	
	20.11.01	Solución para Gibraltar.	yes	
	14.01.02	Madrid, centro diplomático.	-	Spanish EU presidency
	04.02.02	Conversaciones sobre Gibraltar.	yes	
	25.04.02	Soberanía total compartida sobre Gibraltar.	yes	
	01.05.02	Los flancos abiertos de la acción exterior.	-	Internat. politics
	20.05.02	Madrid y Londres frente a los gibraltareños.	yes	

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

Paper	Date	Article	Content	
		Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
	27.06.02	De lo posible y lo deseable en Gibraltar.	yes	
	11.07.02	Reformas y diálogo.	-	National politics
	19.07.02	Razones de una crisis: Sahara, Ceuta y Melilla.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	28.07.02	Crisis de Perejil y el problema de Gibraltar.	yes	+ Perejil crisis
	31.07.02	Mohamed VI admite su derrota.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	01.09.02	Perspectivas del nuevo curso político.	-	Spanish internat. and nat. politics
	16.09.02	Obcecado Benaissa.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	29.09.02	Luces y sombras de la política exterior.	-	Sp internat. politics
	08.11.02	Plebiscito de pega.	yes, ref	
	16.11.02	Control portuario.	-	Prestige
	19.11.02	Una catastrofe que no ha de repetirse	-	Prestige
	24.11.02	El Prestige y la teoría del mal menor.	-	Prestige
EM	18.11.01	Gibraltar: ahora es el momento de encontrar la solución.	yes	
	29.04.02	Gibraltar exige soluciones realistas, no imposibles.	yes	
	11.05.02	Gibraltar, más vale seguir como ahora que ceder en lo esencial.	yes	
	27.05.02	Gibraltar, visto desde Londres.	yes	
	04.06.02	La "finca" gibraltareña, al fin ante sus responsabilidades fiscales.	yes	+financial irregularities
	08.11.02	Gibraltar, soberanía y nacionalidad.	yes, ref	
	15.11.02	Los nuevos piratas del mar.	-	Prestige
	28.11.02	Hacia el fin de un paraíso fiscal.	yes	+ financial irregul.

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Paper	Article		Content	
	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
EP	27.07.01	Volver a empezar.	yes	
	03.11.01	El Peñón se mueve.	yes	
	10.11.01	Los amigos y el Peñón.	-	UK-Sp relations
	19.11.01	El futuro de Gibraltar.	yes	
	21.11.01	Gibraltar, de vuelta.	yes	+ Financial irreg.
	11.01.02	Cosoberanía razonable.	yes	
	17.03.02	Barcelona posible.	-	EU politics
	20.03.02	Fondos a Gibraltar.	yes	
	27.04.02	Gibraltar, pero no así.	yes	
	21.05.02	Problema británico.	yes	
	21.07.02	Perejil, regreso a la casilla cero.	-	Perejil crisis
	26.07.02	Hacia el final.	yes	
	02.09.02	De Madrid a Rabat.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	08.11.02	Viaje a ninguna parte.	yes, ref	
	16.11.02	Inseguridad marítima.	-	Prestige
	20.11.02	A pique.	-	Prestige
	21.11.02	¿Hay alguien al timón?	-	Prestige
	27.11.02	La mancha, en Málaga.	-	Internat. politics + Prestige
	LV	31.10.01	Hablar de Gibraltar.	yes
26.11.01		Marruecos aprieta.	-	Sp-Marocco crisis
05.02.02		El Peñón, más cerca.	yes	
12.02.02		Sahara, Rabat y Madrid.	-	Sp-Marocco crisis
17.03.02		Con buena nota.	-	EU politics
21.05.02		Tropezó en el Peñón.	yes	
10.07.02		Reafirmación política.	-	National politics
22.07.02		Lecciones de la crisis.	-	Sp-Marocco crisis
26.07.02		Desafiante Caruana.	yes, ref	
15.11.02		Santa Bárbara.	-	Prestige

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

Article			Content	
Paper	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
Table B.3: Content analysis of the editorial articles from the Spanish press 2002.				

• Content analysis of the editorial articles from the British press 2002:

Article			Content	
Paper	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
GD	20.11.01	The Rock starts to roll.	yes	
	03.02.02	Finisterre finis.	-	New international maritime regulations
	05.05.02	Rock with Europe.	yes	
	13.07.02	Shares in the Rock.	yes	
	11.10.02	Quietly groping.	-	National politics
	20.11.02	Loss of Prestige.	-	Prestige
IN	03.02.02	Spain's right to Gibraltar.	yes	
	04.02.02	Gibraltar's people ought to accept this sensible deal.	yes	
	27.04.02	First Sweden, now Japan.	-	EU politics
	13.07.02	How to sell a diplomatic failure as a success.	yes	+Financial irregularities
	17.07.02	Beware the diplomatic storm brewing in the Mediterranean.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	27.07.02	Let Gibraltar have its referendum, but keep talking to Spain.	yes	
	19.11.02	An environmental disaster and a test for the principle that the polluter must pay.	-	Prestige

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

Paper	Date	Article	Content	
		Title	Gibraltar	Other topics
TG	12.11.01	Pain from Hain, gain for Spain.	yes	
	21.11.01	Stand by the Rock.	yes	
	11.01.02	It's that man again.	-	National politics
	14.01.02	Carrot and stick for the Rock.	yes	
	06.02.02	The Spanish bully.	yes	
	19.03.02	Persecuted for being British.	yes	
	13.05.02	A defensive Rock.	yes	
	21.05.02	Between a rock and a hard place.	yes	
	28.06.02	The Tory mis-spokesman.	-	National politics
	11.07.02	Gibraltar still besieged.	yes	
	13.07.02	The biter bit.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	19.07.02	Parsley sauce.	-	Perejil crisis
	26.07.02	Sacrificing the Rock.	yes	
	27.07.03	Gibraltar strikes back.	yes, ref	
	09.11.02	Ninety-eight per cent British.	yes, ref	
10.11.02	On reflection.	yes, ref		
TM	21.11.01	No short cuts: Spain still needs to win hearts and minds in Gibraltar.	yes	
	21.05.02	Spanish practices: Madrid's tough line makes a Gibraltar deal unlikely.	yes	
	13.07.02	Successful failure. The Gibraltar talks have not been a waste of time.	yes	
	19.07.02	Herculean folly. Spain waves aloft its double standard.	-	Sp-Morocco crisis
	26.07.02	When his lips move. The parochial meets the powerful and a nation shrugs.	-	International politics
	20.11.02	Oil and water.	-	Prestige

Appendix B. Content Analysis Tables

Article			Content	
Paper	Date	Title	Gibraltar	Other topics

Table B.4: Content analysis of the editorial articles from the British press 2002.

Appendix C

Resumen en castellano

La construcción discursiva de la identidad gibraltareña
a través de la prensa: un análisis crítico de editoriales
sobre la cuestión de Gibraltar

A pesar de sus escasas dimensiones, el Peñón de Gibraltar es bien conocido por ser la última colonia que aún existe en Europa, arrastrando una historia de más de 300 años. Pero principalmente Gibraltar llama la atención por las consecuencias políticas que continúa originando en la esfera internacional hoy en día. Sin embargo, la comunidad que vive en el Peñón no es sólo un avatar político. Gibraltar es el rico resultado de una serie de factores geográficos, históricos y sociales que han dado lugar a una interesante y atractiva comunidad que es digna de estudio.

Debido a su particular evolución a lo largo de los siglos, no es sorprendente que exista una amplia literatura referente a la historia de Gibraltar, especialmente con relación al momento en que el Peñón se convirtió en territorio británico, así como a su situación política actual.

Por contraste, lo que se ha escrito sobre esta comunidad en relación a temas socio-lingüísticos es considerablemente menor. Ha sido solamente en las últimas décadas cuando se ha despertado el interés por estos otros interesantes aspectos de la comunidad gibraltareña. Así pues, para contribuir a cubrir este hueco, el presente estudio dirige la atención hacia la interesante comunidad que habita en el Peñón y lo hace desde una perspectiva discursiva, con la intención de adentrarse en la cuestión de Gibraltar a través del análisis crítico de un corpus textual extraído de la prensa.

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La comunidad de Gibraltar ha estado expuesta a importantes desafíos en su historia más reciente. A lo largo de las últimas décadas han sido frecuentes los intentos de los poderes políticos involucrados en el conflicto (Reino Unido, España y la O.N.U.) de modificar el estatus político de este pueblo. Lo cual es visto desde Gibraltar como una amenaza contra su identidad social y cultural.

El objetivo del presente estudio es investigar cómo esta peculiar identidad gibraltareña se representa discursivamente en la prensa de los tres países involucrados, es decir, Reino Unido, España y Gibraltar mismo. Llega este análisis en un momento decisivo, ya que según ha expresado Finalyson, para los gibraltareños en la actualidad ‘the question of identity has become a vital one for them’ (‘la cuestión de la identidad se ha convertido en vital para ellos’) (2002: 23).

Para llevar a cabo esta investigación nos hemos fijado en dos momentos decisivos de la historia reciente de Gibraltar: los dos referendums celebrados en Gibraltar en 1967 y 2002. La atención se ha centrado especialmente en el último referéndum ya que tiene consecuencias más cercanas y directas sobre la situación actual.

Por tanto, el **objetivo general** de esta investigación es analizar la imagen de sí mismos que los gibraltareños proyectaron a través de la prensa en las fechas que rodearon el referéndum de 2002, así como descubrir cómo Gibraltar fue percibida y proyectada desde los dos países involucrados en el asunto, España y Reino Unido. Como un objetivo secundario, también se ha analizado y contrastado esta representación discursiva de Gibraltar con la que se proyectó en torno al primer referéndum de 1967.

En definitiva, la presente investigación pretende descubrir las estrategias discursivas que se emplearon para representar discursivamente a Gibraltar

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tanto desde la comunidad Gibraltareña misma, como desde fuera.

La hipótesis inicial es que la prensa gibraltareña tenderá a defender y construir una representación positiva de Gibraltar, mientras que la prensa de los otros dos países -España y Reino Unido- probablemente intentará destruirla o presentar una imagen negativa. Incluso si estas hipótesis se confirman a lo largo de esta investigación, es igualmente relevante descubrir cuáles son las estrategias discursivas concretas empleadas por cada país para construir su propia representación del asunto.

Así pues, el objetivo de la presente investigación la sitúa a medio camino entre la lingüística y las ciencias sociales, ya que nos centramos en un grupo social concreto -la comunidad gibraltareña- y cómo su identidad se representa y se refleja a través del discurso. Por tanto, aspectos tanto lingüísticos como de carácter social entran en juego de un modo interdisciplinar.

Por esta razón, la disciplina desde la cual se ha llevado a cabo esta investigación ha sido el Análisis del Discurso, y concretamente, el conocido como Análisis Crítico del Discurso (CDA), ya que permite analizar el lenguaje con relación al amplio contexto social e histórico en que aparece, con la finalidad de aportar una crítica social basada en la evidencia lingüística.

Esta investigación conlleva un necesario carácter multidisciplinar ya que, junto a los conceptos puramente lingüísticos hay que tener en cuenta aspectos históricos, sociales y del discurso periodístico. La razón es que el objeto de estudio es tan complejo que no se puede abarcar si disponemos solamente de las armas, los conceptos y herramientas, que la lingüística proporciona (Wodak, 2000). De ahí que se haya llevado a cabo un vasto estudio de aspectos históricos y socio-culturales de la comunidad gibraltareña. Además, como ya apuntó Fowler (1991), el presente análisis no será de carácter mecánico, sino que al implicar una interpretación crítica, '[it] requires historical knowl-

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edge and sensitivity' ('requiere un conocimiento y sensibilidad históricos') (1991: 68).

Por tanto, esta investigación ofrece una visión de la comunidad gibraltareña tal cual es filtrada y reflejada a través del prisma de la prensa escrita, tanto la propia (la visión gibraltareña) como la de los dos países relacionados (la visión española y la visión británica).

De lo expuesto hasta el momento se desprende que, aunque el objetivo analítico inicial es lingüístico, el panorama que ofrece el análisis se extiende más allá de lo puramente lingüístico hacia aspectos socio-políticos. Sin embargo, hay que resaltar que esta tesis no es, ni pretende ser, un estudio puramente sociológico o político. Así mismo, no se pretende evaluar ni establecer si las representaciones de Gibraltar que la prensa analizada ofrece son verdaderas o falsas, sino simplemente cómo esas representaciones se construyen discursivamente.

El **capítulo 1** enmarca el presente trabajo de investigación dentro de la tradición del análisis del discurso, como la disciplina que aúna el lenguaje y el amplio contexto social en el que éste se produce. Han sido los cambios y la evolución de la Lingüística a lo largo del último siglo los que han dado lugar a la aparición de los estudios del discurso. Especialmente, nos hemos referido a los 'saltos' desde el análisis a nivel de oración hacia el nivel textual, y desde la consideración de unidades abstractas hacia la introducción de aspectos sociales. Estos cambios hicieron posible el estudio de unidades más grandes que la oración, así como el estudio de aspectos del contexto social, lo cual es esencial para la presente investigación acerca de la representación de la identidad gibraltareña a través del discurso periodístico.

La revisión crítica de la literatura sobre Gibraltar que se presenta en el **capítulo 2** resume las aportaciones de los autores que han estudiado la

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comunidad gibraltareña y que son relevantes para nuestra investigación. Este repaso ha puesto de manifiesto la escasa atención que el mundo académico ha prestado a Gibraltar hasta fechas relativamente recientes, a pesar del interés y la singularidad de este pueblo.

Principalmente, Gibraltar ha sido del interés de historiadores y no es de extrañar ya que la evolución histórica de este pueblo es especialmente singular. Entre los estudios históricos destacan los de López de Ayala (1782), Hennessy (1954), Dimont (1954), Robinson (1967), Henry (1968), Armangué (1964), Stewart (1967), Hills (1974), Chipulina (1980), y los más recientes de Jackson (1990), Finlayson (1991), Morris y Haigh (1992), Hernández del Portillo (1994), Oda-Angel (1998), Sepúlveda (2004), Kent (2004) y Oliva (2004). Se trata de autores tanto españoles, como británicos y gibraltareños que ofrecen visiones de la historia de Gibraltar desde ambos lados de la verja. Las obras de la última década reflejan el florecimiento de un sentimiento nacional gibraltareño, y así, hacen hincapié en aquellos hechos históricos que han favorecido su afianzamiento, como son los dos referendums, el cierre de la verja, las negociaciones hispano-británicas, etc.

Además, en las últimas décadas, Gibraltar ha cautivado la atención de lingüistas interesados en las peculiaridades comunicativas de la comunidad gibraltareña. En general, los aspectos estudiados van desde el uso y actitudes hacia las lenguas que los gibraltareños tienen a su disposición (Becker 1970, Cavilla 1978 y 1984, Vallejo 2001, Kramer 1986, García Martín 1996, Fierro Cubiella 1997, Errico 1997, Modrey 1998, Kellermann 2001, Fernández Martín 2002), pasando por el bilingüismo (West 1956), el cambio de código (Moyer 1993 y 1998, Benítez Burraco 1997, Dean 2001), hasta la educación (Traverso 1980, Ballantine 1983, Archer y Traverso 2004). Estos estudios de carácter sociolingüístico permiten establecer conexiones y contrastes con las

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aportaciones de la presente investigación, que arroja luz sobre la comunidad gibraltareña desde una perspectiva discursiva.

Esta revisión bibliográfica también nos ha permitido descubrir un pequeño grupo de estudios más cercanos a nuestra investigación en cuanto a metodología y planteamiento. Se trata de los trabajos de Martínez Cabeza (1998), Sloma (1994 y 1997) y Kelly (1997), que también estudian (o al menos comentan acerca de) Gibraltar sin ser sociolingüísticos, sino desde el análisis del discurso.

Por último, el capítulo repasa brevemente otros estudios que aunque no tratan sobre Gibraltar, sí son relevantes en cuanto a que ofrecen modelos metodológicos que analizan la representación discursiva de la identidad nacional y el discurso periodístico. Se trata de Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl y Liebhart (1999), Ricento (2003), Chouliaraki (1999), Oktar (2001), Stamou (2001) y Achugar (2004).

El **capítulo 3** ofrece información general sobre Gibraltar, centrándose en aquellos aspectos geográficos, históricos y sociolingüísticos que son relevantes para entender la comunidad gibraltareña y así poder llevar a cabo una adecuada interpretación crítica del corpus textual.

La Gibraltar actual se presenta como el resultado de su peculiar evolución histórica marcada por la diversidad de pueblos que la han habitado.

El hecho histórico más conocido y relevante para el presente de Gibraltar fue la invasión inglesa de 1704, que la convirtió en un enclave militar británico. España, a pesar de todo, nunca renunció a reconquistar el territorio perdido. Los intentos de recuperarlo, unos más violentos, otros a través de la diplomacia, se han ido sucediendo sin éxito hasta llegar a nuestros días: desde el llamado Gran Sitio que duró cuatro años (1779-1783), pasando por el más reciente cierre de la frontera desde 1969 a 1985, hasta las actuales

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negociaciones entre los ministros de exteriores español y británico.

En 1967, los gibraltareños expresaron en el primer referéndum de su historia su deseo de permanecer siendo británicos. Dos años más tarde, y en medio de no poca polémica, se redactó una Constitución para Gibraltar. Fueron años en los que desde la O.N.U se instaba a llegar a una solución para acabar con el estatus colonial de Gibraltar y la solución española era particularmente apoyada a nivel internacional. Desde entonces, España y el Reino Unido han tratado periódicamente y con mayor o menor éxito el asunto de Gibraltar.

La última tanda de negociaciones comenzó en Julio de 2001 cuando los ministros de asuntos exteriores británico y español se comprometieron a llegar a un acuerdo antes del verano de 2002. Inmediatamente, los gibraltareños, temerosos de un posible acuerdo que implicara un cambio de soberanía en la colonia, convocaron un referéndum para mostrar su oposición a una eventual solución de este tipo. La consulta popular tuvo lugar el 7 de noviembre de 2002 aunque sin validez reconocida tanto en España como Gran Bretaña. El hecho fue descrito en la prensa gibraltareña y en otros medios como unos de los momentos más importantes de la reciente historia de Gibraltar al presentarse como un reconocimiento de la identidad propia del pueblo gibraltareño. Desde ese momento nuevamente las negociaciones sufrieron un enfriamiento que dura hasta el momento actual.

Ha sido pues, su particular evolución histórica, especialmente en los últimos cincuenta años, la que ha hecho crecer en Gibraltar su sentido de identidad como pueblo. Ha sido una reacción natural de defensa por parte de un pueblo con un estatus incierto y acosado desde el exterior (Oliva 2004: 93).

En cuanto a las características sociolingüísticas de la comunidad gibraltareña, los estudiosos consideran que Gibraltar se caracteriza por un bilingüismo

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español-inglés, teniendo cada lengua sus dominios propios de uso. En general, hoy día, el inglés es la lengua de la política y la educación, y consecuentemente la de prestigio y la que encontramos principalmente en la prensa gibraltareña. Por su parte, el español es la lengua de los contextos informales (familia, amigos, etc.). A nivel oral, los estudios sociolingüísticos revelan la importancia de la variedad local conocida como Yanito, que distingue y caracteriza la práctica oral de esta comunidad.

El siguiente apartado, **capítulo 4**, describe el marco teórico desde el cual se plantea la presente investigación, que es el paradigma lingüístico conocido como Análisis Crítico del Discurso (Critical Discourse Analysis o CDA) de tradición anglosajona. Esta aún joven corriente lingüística se basa en la idea de que el lenguaje es un elemento central de la vida social y por tanto, analiza el discurso con referencia al amplio contexto social en el que éste aparece. El análisis no se centra en el estudio de las estructuras lingüísticas ‘per se’, sino solamente en cuanto que su estudio ayuda a entender y desvelar los entresijos de una determinada situación social (Wodak, 2001: 2).

De ahí que los analistas de CDA vayan con frecuencia más allá de la mera descripción e interpretación del discurso, para adentrarse en asuntos políticos o problemas sociales en muchos casos con la intención de contribuir a la mejora de la sociedad (Fairclough 2003: 209, Coulthard y Caldas-Coulthard 1996: xi). De ahí se deduce que una característica fundamental del análisis crítico del discurso es su orientación hacia o concentración en un problema determinado (Meyer 2001: 29). Es decir, la atención se centra en un problema o situación social, en lugar de dedicarse directamente al análisis de estructuras lingüísticas. Así, una vez que se ha identificado un asunto social, los analistas tratan de revelar/clarificar/desvelar a través de un análisis crítico del discurso las tensiones que subyacen casi de modo imperceptible en

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esa situación para hacerla más transparente y patente a todos los ojos.

Así pues, el análisis discursivo crítico en torno a Gibraltar ha favorecido una lectura más profunda y en consecuencia, un mejor entendimiento de los textos periodísticos analizados.

Para llevar a cabo el estudio y debido a sus características, se han considerado otros dos aspectos teóricos que van más allá de lo puramente lingüístico. En primer lugar, hemos indagado en el concepto de identidad nacional y cómo ésta se construye discursivamente; y en segundo lugar, hemos estudiado el discurso periodístico y su influencia en la vida social.

Después, el **capítulo 5** describe el modelo metodológico que se ha diseñado para llevar a cabo la presente investigación de acuerdo con los objetivos propuesto y a la luz del marco teórico elaborado. Además, este modelo metodológico se ha ido puliendo sobre la base de una serie de estudios piloto (Alameda Hernández 2005).

En concreto, para el análisis discursivo de nuestro corpus textual se han seguido las categorías descritas por Wodak en su *Discourse-historical approach* (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl y Liebhart 1999, Reisigl y Wodak 2001) (Modelo histórico-discursivo) y el sistema de transitividad como parte de la gramática sistémico funcional elaborada por Halliday (Halliday 1994, Halliday y Matthiessen 2004). El primero ha proporcionado el conjunto de estrategias de referencia y predicación (léxico, adjetivos, metáforas, símiles, etc.) que nos han ayudado a identificar las estrategias discursivas predominantes en los textos analizados para representar la identidad de Gibraltar (es decir, estrategias constructivas, transformativas, destructivas o de justificación). Por su parte, el análisis del sistema de transitividad y su interpretación ha permitido mostrar que la asignación de diferentes tipos de procesos verbales a los actores no es trivial.

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El **capítulo 6** describe y justifica la selección y formación del corpus textual. Así pues, se han elegido textos escritos para cubrir el vacío existente debido a la tendencia generalizada, que mostró la revisión de la literatura, en centrarse en aspectos del lenguaje oral a la hora de estudiar la situación gibraltareña.

Además, se han seleccionado artículos editoriales porque son potentes medios de expresión y transmisión de las opiniones y sentimientos de la comunidad, especialmente en un momento en el que la cuestión de la identidad nacional de esta comunidad era el foco de atención. De esta manera, los textos seleccionados son relevantes ya que influyen y forjan la opinión de la sociedad acerca de la cuestión gibraltareña.

En conjunto, se han tomado artículos editoriales de diez periódicos de gran difusión y prestigio en las tres comunidades sobre las que nos hemos centrado: *The Gibraltar Chronicle* y *Panorama* de Gibraltar; *ABC*, *El Mundo*, *El País* y *La Vanguardia* de España; y *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph* y *The Times* de Inglaterra. Constituyen, así, tres corpus textuales.

El periodo de tiempo analizado cubre dieciséis meses cruciales en la historia reciente de Gibraltar. Van desde el reactivamiento de las negociaciones entre Inglaterra y España en Julio de 2001, hasta la celebración del referéndum en Gibraltar en Noviembre de 2002. Además, esta selección se completó con los artículos editoriales publicados en los dos meses que rodearon el primer referéndum de Septiembre de 1967, para poder llevar a cabo un estudio diacrónico comparativo.

En total, se han recogido y analizado 179 artículos editoriales que tratan sobre la cuestión gibraltareña.

En el **capítulo 7**, se resumen los resultados del análisis discursivo de los tres corpus textuales. Estos resultados son luego interpretados y comparados

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en el **capítulo número 8**.

Todos los artículos editoriales analizados se puede decir que tratan sobre el mismo tema. Sin embargo su estudio detallado y análisis crítico han puesto de manifiesto que esto es cierto solamente a un nivel superficial, ya que cada uno de los corpus textuales analizados presenta y construye discursivamente la cuestión de Gibraltar de manera diferente.

Nuestro análisis nos permite extraer una serie de conclusiones de carácter social y político acerca de la representación discursiva de Gibraltar. Por un lado, los periódicos gibraltareños nos han permitido descubrir cómo Gibraltar se proyecta a sí misma, mientras que el análisis de los periódicos españoles y británicos nos ha permitido desvelar como Gibraltar y su situación se perciben desde fuera y cómo estas dos potencias construyen discursivamente el problema de Gibraltar.

En la prensa gibraltareña, el alto número de editoriales que tratan la cuestión de Gibraltar tanto directa como indirectamente, comparado con la menor proporción de artículos que tratan otros temas, pone de manifiesto la importancia de este tema para esta comunidad, ya que ante cualquier tema de interés editorial se hace una conexión al asunto de su situación.

Por su parte, la prensa española y británica recogen el tema de Gibraltar con menor frecuencia (5 % de todos los editoriales publicados en esas fechas). Sin embargo, sigue siendo una proporción relevante teniendo en cuenta que sólo los hechos prominentes para la comunidad se tratan en la sección de editoriales (Armañanzas y Díaz Noci 1996: 100). Por lo tanto, la cuestión de Gibraltar se muestra como un asunto de relevancia para estos dos países. Entre ellos, es la prensa española la que recoge mayor número de editoriales sobre el tema y, de este modo, muestra una mayor atención hacia él.

El análisis del contenido pone de manifiesto la tendencia en la prensa

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tanto española como británica de presentar la cuestión de Gibraltar como un problema o una crisis, que además necesita solución. El tema de Gibraltar se enumera o se relaciona con otras situaciones críticas (crisis con otros países, irregularidades financieras, normativa marítima, desastres ecológicos, etc.), de modo que Gibraltar se convierte en un problema no sólo histórico o político, sino económico e incluso con repercusiones de carácter medioambiental.

Además, el tema de encontrar la solución a la presente situación de Gibraltar es recurrente en la prensa tanto española como británica, reflejando el deseo de ambos países de ponerle punto final. Esto llama especialmente la atención en la prensa española ya que el análisis de estrategias de referencia y predicación ha puesto de manifiesto cómo desde España se construye el momento del reactivamiento de las negociaciones como un punto crucial, y la solución como algo definitivo y cercano.

Las estrategias discursivas de referencia y representación en la prensa gibraltareña van encaminadas a construir identidad nacional. En concreto, predomina el uso del pronombre personal de primera personal plural y metáforas que enfatizan dicha unidad. Además, el escaso uso de antropónimos de lugar para referirse al pueblo de Gibraltar indica la intención de no construir discursivamente a esta comunidad sobre la base de simplemente vivir en un lugar determinado, sino más bien sobre que son un grupo social y político unido. Del mismo modo, ayudan a construir discursivamente esta comunidad unida el resaltar la igualdad y obviar las diferencias internas. En general la prensa gibraltareña recurre a estrategias ‘constructivas’ para crear identidad nacional.

En la prensa británica, aunque la cuestión de Gibraltar tiene la suficiente entidad para ser comentada en los artículos editoriales, las estrategias de

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referencia y predicación empleadas tienden a minimizar y poner a Gibraltar en un segundo plano.

Tanto en la prensa española como británica, las estrategias de predicación, en concreto las elecciones léxicas, los atributos negativos y las metáforas (Ej. metáfora de la enfermedad y del obstáculo), que representan a Gibraltar como un elemento anacrónico son estrategias de transformación, que apoyan la idea del cambio urgente de situación para esta comunidad.

En general, en la prensa británica predominan las estrategias ‘transformativas’ ya que las constantes referencias al pasado, presente y futuro de Gibraltar apuntan hacia una nueva identidad para esta comunidad, más que la mera destrucción de la actual. Sin embargo, en la prensa española destacan las estrategias ‘destructivas’ con mayor énfasis en referencias temporales de futuro y en la discontinuidad (Wodak et al. 199: 42). Además, ambos lados del conflicto construyen una imagen de Gibraltar como una entidad política, con escasa referencia a su gente, y, por tanto, mostrando un menor interés por el lado humano del conflicto.

Del análisis del sistema de transitividad, podemos concluir que, en la prensa gibraltareña, a Gibraltar principalmente se le asignan roles que construyen su representación discursiva como una víctima sin poder, ya que como actor suele estar inmerso en acciones sin objeto al que afectar, y por tanto que no tienen impacto o repercusión en el mundo. También aparece muy frecuentemente en procesos de tipo mental, es decir, que se mueven dentro del ámbito de lo interno, de la actividad intelectual. También, cuando Gibraltar aparece como circunstancia de los procesos verbales, se refuerza esa representación pasiva.

En el corpus español, a Gibraltar se la representa principalmente con relación a la expresión de aspectos mentales (procesos mentales). Sin em-

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bargo, no se hace referencia a los sentimientos de los gibraltareños, sino principalmente a su inteligencia, lo que implica que desde el lado español se pretende que los gibraltareños entiendan y acepten la solución que se les impone, y no que la quieran.

La elevada proporción de los roles de ‘objeto’ y ‘beneficiario’ (‘goal’ y ‘beneficiary’) construyen una imagen de Gibraltar con carácter pasivo, que es afectada por las acciones y decisiones de otros actores. Por lo general, la prensa española representa un Gibraltar activo en relación a acciones negativas o para reflejar la mera expresión de sus deseos. De este modo, la situación de Gibraltar y su futuro se representan discursivamente como que no están en manos de este pueblo. En la misma línea, la escasa proporción de roles asignados a Gibraltar en procesos verbales (es decir, con relación a las negociaciones que estaban teniendo lugar) pone de manifiesto que desde el lado español se construye la cuestión de Gibraltar como un asunto que discutir y tratar con Inglaterra, pero no con Gibraltar.

Por su parte, la prensa británica concede más relevancia al papel de Gibraltar en las negociaciones ya que con más frecuencia a Gibraltar se le asignan roles en los procesos verbales. Estos son más frecuentes en el corpus británico que en los otros dos.

El número de ocasiones en las que Gibraltar no aparece como participante directo en los procesos verbales, sino como parte de un grupo nominal o preposicional es proporcionalmente más elevado en los corpus español y británico, que en el gibraltareño, lo cual refuerza la construcción que estos dos corpus hacen de un Gibraltar en un segundo plano.

Así mismo, el análisis ha mostrado el escaso interés por parte de España e Inglaterra en el factor humano, es decir, la comunidad gibraltareña. La cuestión de Gibraltar se representa discursivamente como un mero asunto

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político. Son frecuentes las referencias a los deseos, los intereses y la voluntad de los gibraltareños, pero siempre aparecen como generalizaciones, sin ser nunca detallados o especificados, y además, en los editoriales analizados a los gibraltareños no se les concede voz para expresarlos.

En general, los tres corpus analizados representan discursivamente un Gibraltar con escasa actividad externa y poder de influencia, que actúa al nivel de actos mentales. Su actividad se reduce principalmente a la expresión de sus deseos y opiniones. Por tanto, la situación de Gibraltar no se representa como en manos de este pueblo.

Además, el estudio diacrónico comparativo (1967-2002) ha confirmado la persistente representación discursiva de la cuestión de Gibraltar como un problema por parte de las dos potencias externas, España e Inglaterra. Mientras que en la época del primer referéndum la cuestión gibraltareña era un problema político debatido a nivel internacional, en el momento del último referéndum el problema ha adquirido además carácter económico (irregularidades financieras) e incluso con repercusiones medioambientales (incidentes relacionados con submarinos nucleares y, sobretodo, el episodio del petrolero Prestige, que la prensa relacionó con Gibraltar).

El análisis de estos dos momentos históricos ha confirmado también la tendencia a representar discursivamente el problema de Gibraltar como una guerra o enfrentamiento (especialmente a través de metáforas y varias estrategias de representación negativa). Sin embargo, los bandos de este enfrentamiento han cambiado. En 1967, el oponente español era Inglaterra, mientras que para Inglaterra era también las Naciones Unidas. En 2002, por contraste, España e Inglaterra son representados en el mismo bando, como el oponente a Gibraltar.

Así mismo, se ha podido comprobar que tanto en relación al primer re-

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feréndum como al segundo, es el lado español, a diferencia del inglés, el que muestra mayor interés en la cuestión gibraltareña con un mayor número de editoriales que tratan este tema.

Es común a los tres corpus analizados la representación discursiva de Gibraltar como un asunto prolongado y anacrónico a través de diversas estructuras lingüísticas (elecciones léxicas, referencias temporales, etc.) con la finalidad de enfatizar la necesidad de cambio -aunque cada lado del asunto proponga cambios diferentes, es decir, soluciones diferentes.

El análisis del sistema de transitividad también ha mostrado cómo la prensa española y británica asignan a Gibraltar roles típicamente pasivos, que será una característica persistente también treinta y cinco años después.

Las conclusiones de este estudio no pretenden ser la última palabra sobre la cuestión gibraltareña, ya que somos conscientes, como Wodak (1996) ha afirmado, de que las interpretaciones críticas nunca son definitivas, sino más bien dinámicas y abiertas a nueva información y nuevas interpretaciones. De cualquier manera, el presente estudio ha servido para comprender cómo determinadas estructuras lingüísticas analizadas son ideológica, política y socialmente significativas.

A la luz de los resultados expuestos, podemos afirmar que este estudio ha contribuido a completar e iluminar estudios anteriores, a la vez que cubre algunos huecos que no se habían estudiado.

Así, nuestra investigación ofrece un nuevo ejemplo de la utilidad de aplicar con éxito la metodología y consideraciones teóricas del análisis crítico del discurso en el estudio de la representación discursiva de la identidad nacional, aplicándolos además a un contexto que no se había tratado así con anterioridad. De este modo, la cuestión gibraltareña, y en concreto, la identidad gibraltareña se han estudiado desde una perspectiva completamente nueva.

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Así, este estudio completa y complementa previos estudios sobre Gibraltar que se habían realizado desde el campo de la sociolingüística o la historia.

Resumiendo, la identidad gibraltareña se ha estudiado desde una nueva perspectiva, que se basa no en las actitudes o reacciones de la comunidad hacia sus lenguas (como habían hecho los estudios puramente sociolingüísticos), sino en cómo la prensa ayuda e influye en la construcción de esa identidad nacional, forjando la percepción que la sociedad llega a tener sobre este asunto.

Teniendo en cuenta el enorme potencial de la prensa para influir en la sociedad, podemos tímidamente aventurar que si la prensa tanto española como británica cambiara sus representaciones discursivas de Gibraltar, las sociedades de estos dos países también cambiarían su percepción del asunto. De otro modo, la prensa seguirá ejerciendo su inexorable efecto perpetuando la imagen negativa de Gibraltar en estos países.

De modo que una actitud más favorable hacia Gibraltar a través del discurso periodístico permitiría un acercamiento más amistoso hacia esta comunidad y probablemente favorecería una salida al conflicto. Del mismo modo, la prensa gibraltareña podría también favorecer una actitud más positiva desde ese lado.

Este trabajo ofrece amplias posibilidades para futuros estudios. Por ejemplo, hacia la aplicación de este modelo metodológico en otros contextos o el análisis de otras estructuras lingüísticas o momentos históricos con relación a Gibraltar. Igualmente interesante sería analizar la representación discursiva de España e Inglaterra en la prensa gibraltareña, así como la representación de Gibraltar en la prensa de otros países que no están relacionados directamente con el conflicto.

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