

## Code-switching as a translatorial practice within the Italian national minority in Slovenia

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### ABSTRACT

The paper explores the occurrence of code-switching as a form of translatoriality among members of the Italian national minority in Slovenia. As a continuation of a wider sociolinguistic study, which brought a comprehensive analysis of 1,389 instances of code switching between Italian and Slovene among bilingual speakers, the paper examines the intersection between code switching and self-translatoriality by studying 85 instances of bilingual reiteration in spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech. By observing these instances from the perspective of translatoriality, the paper presents a case study on the translatorial actions that occur in such bilingual utterances, i.e. summarizing, duplicating, expanding and complementary language practices, as well as their underlying motivation and purpose, while also highlighting the practice of intercomprehension among bilingual speakers within the culturally and linguistically diverse community of the Slovene coast. The data show that self-translatoriality occurs both in in-group and out-group bilingual communication, although more frequently in the context of public events aimed at the broader multilingual community. While duplicating language practices occur in all settings, speakers often only repeat the nearest element, which leads to a fragmentation of the message. Translatorial action types are also frequently combined, producing fluid bilingual utterances that presuppose a plurilingual competence among all participants.

**Keywords:** linguistic minority, code-switching, translatoriality, self-translatoriality, intercomprehension

### Kodno preklapljanje kot primer prevajalskosti med pripadniki italijanske narodne skupnosti v Sloveniji

#### IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava kodno preklapljanje kot obliko *prevajalskosti* med pripadniki italijanske narodne skupnosti v Sloveniji. Izhajajoč iz obsežnejše sociolingvistične

obravnave 1389 zgledov kodnega preklapljanja med italijanščino in slovenščino pri dvojezičnih govornicah, prispevek proučuje presečišče med kodnim preklapljanjem in *samotolmačenjem*. Analiza 85 zgledov dvojezičnega ponavljanja v spontanem in delno pripravljenem govoru z vidika *prevajalskosti* prinaša pregled prevodnih dejanj, tj. povzemanje, podvajanje, razširjanje in dopolnjevanje sporočila, do katerih prihaja v obravnavanih dvojezičnih izjavah, ter razkriva temeljne razloge zanje. Prispevek obenem osvetljuje pomen medjezikovnega razumevanja med dvojezičnimi govorniki v večjezični skupnosti v slovenski Istri. Čeprav do *samotolmačenja* prihaja tako pri dvojezičnem sporazumevanju znotraj manjšinske skupnosti kot tudi s pripadniki večinske skupnosti, je veliko pogostejše v okviru javnih dogodkov, namenjenih širši večjezični skupnosti. Podvajanje sporočila se sicer pojavlja v vseh položajih, vendar govorniki pogosto ponavljajo le najbližje elemente, zaradi česar prihaja do fragmentacije sporočila. Prevodna dejanja se v dvojezičnem govoru pogosto tudi prepletajo, kar se izraža v tekočih dvojezičnih izjavah, iz katerih je razvidno, da se govorniki zanašajo zlasti na večjezično zmožnost vseh udeležencev.

**Ključne besede:** jezikovna manjšina, kodno preklapljanje, prevajalskost, samoprevajalskost, medjezikovno razumevanje

## 1. Introduction

In the historically mixed, multicultural, multiethnic, and multilingual area of Slovene Istria,<sup>1</sup> particularly in the bilingual municipalities of Ankaran, Koper, Izola, and Piran, there are two official languages, Slovene and Italian, the use of which is codified due to the presence of the autochthonous Italian national minority (see Kompara Lukančič, Lenassi, and Paolucci 2023, 12–20).<sup>2</sup> In addition to the two official languages and the colloquial coastal variety of Slovene, two dialects are spoken – the Slovene Istrian dialect and the Istro-Venetian dialect (see Todorović 2018, 33–35), along with other languages and linguistic varieties “imported” by immigrant communities.

Regarding the linguistic situation of the Italian national minority, Baloh in her studies (Baloh 1995; Baloh 2003) notes that most of its members speak both official languages

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- 1 For a complete history of this long-contested territory, where the Romance and Slavic cultures and languages coexist, see Darovec (2023a), Darovec (2023b), Corni (2015), Hrobat Virloget, Gousseff, and Corni (2015), Hrobat Virloget (2021), and Pupo (2015).
  - 2 The Italian national community is a constitutionally recognized national minority in Slovenia. In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, the autochthonous Italian national community is guaranteed special collective rights in various areas (e.g. language, culture, and education) to preserve its identity, provide equality and promote social inclusion, regardless of the number of its members (Benedetti et al. 2015).

– alternating the codes as required in various domains and settings – as well as the Istro-Venetian dialect, which has become “a bond of solidarity among members of the Italian national community and a central part in the socialization process of the Italians living in Slovenia” (Todorović 2021, 229, my translation from Slovene). The linguistic repertoire of the community is characterized by proficient bilingualism (Baloh 1995, 143) as well as dilalia,<sup>3</sup> since the communicative settings in which standard Italian and the Istro-Venetian dialect are used often overlap (cf. Umer Kljun 2024; Todorović 2021).

This situation of intense contact gives rise to an inevitable series of contact phenomena – code-switching between Italian and Slovene being one of the most prominent consequences of language contact in the speech of the members of the Italian minority and the broader multicultural community of Slovene Istria (Filipi 1995; Buić 2011; Buić 2012; Buić 2014; Buić 2020; Umer Kljun 2015; Umer Kljun 2023).

To borrow from Koskinen (2020, 2–3), if the multilingual, multiethnic environment of the Slovene Istria is seen as a *translation space* (Cronin 2006, cited in Koskinen 2020), “i.e. a space where translation needs to happen for mutual comprehensibility and where multilingual repertoires meet and mix”, the Italian minority exists in a “climate of constant movement between different languages” (Koskinen 2020), a situation that Koskinen defines as *translatoriality*.

Based on previous research on language contact between Italian and Slovene within the Italian national minority in Slovenia, this article aims to observe and discuss the occurrence of code-switching as a *translatorial action* in the speech of bilinguals within the Italian national minority in Slovenia. While others have explored the overlap between code-switching and translation (see Harjunpää and Mäkilähde 2016, on multilingual reiteration in everyday conversations between Brazilian Portuguese and Finnish speakers and in early modern drama; Alvarez de la Fuente, Fernandez Fuertes, and Arratia Garcia 2019, on natural interpreting among bilingual children; Chirsheva and Houston 2020, on interlingual duplicating and childhood bilingualism), the relation between the two terms has not yet been sufficiently explored. In this respect, I believe that the broad concept of translatoriality provides a sufficiently adaptable methodological framework for analysing code-switching as a self-translatorial practice.

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3 According to Berruto (1999, 6) the term dilalia denotes a situation in which the hierarchical boundaries between higher and lower codes, especially when it comes to the relationship between language and dialect, are completely blurred.

## 2. Translatoriality and code-switching

### 2.1 Translatoriality

Deriving from Holz-Mänttari's concept of *translatorial action* (Holz-Mänttari 1984, cited in Koskinen 2020) – the primary function of which is to enable functionally adequate communication across cultural barriers (Schäffner 2011) and which denotes a professional translator's "activity that transgresses the boundaries of equivalence-based search for optimal correspondence between two texts" (Koskinen 2020, 2) – Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke (2017) extended the scope of the term to include contexts of paraprofessional and non-professional translation, in which the role of the translator or interpreter is taken up by bilingual speakers who are not formally trained in translation.

Translatoriality, which "presupposes that something is repeated, reworded, revoiced, or recommunicated" (Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 9), is seen as a characteristic feature of multilingual communication, in which there are two message carriers (i.e. two communicative elements) that share a relevant similarity (Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke 2017, 2). Translatoriality has therefore been proposed as a clarifying term, coined to identify and study a wide range of practices "within a wider spectrum of operating across and within several linguistic codes" (Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 11). As Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke (2017) observe, translatoriality often manifests in self-translation among bilinguals who switch between codes, providing partial summarizing translations and fragmentary reiteration of their own utterances (Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 12).

Since the concept of translatoriality has already proven its usefulness in describing bilingual contexts in which para-professional interpreting seems to be the norm (see Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke 2017 on translatoriality in bilingual formal meetings; Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022 on translatoriality in FL and learning; Havumetsä 2020 on translatorial actions by journalists), it is also certain to provide further insight into bilinguals' code-switching patterns, as those observed within the Italian national minority in Slovenia. Especially considering that, according to Kolehmainen, Koskinen, and Riionheimo (2015, cited in Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 12), in contexts where all participants share the same linguistic resources, the notion of translatoriality is not restricted to aiding comprehension, but can also be linked to identity display, emphasis, and even humour – some of the features that have also been identified in code-switching.

## 2.2 Code-switching

Following Thomason's definition, code-switching (CS) is understood here as the "use of material from two (or more) languages by a single speaker in the same conversation" (Thomason 2001, 132). The juxtaposition of elements from two or more codes "by the same speaker in the course of a single microtext or communicative event" (Dal Negro and Guerini 2007, 42) has been extensively studied (Auer 2005; Auer and Muhamedova 2015; Dal Negro 2005; Dal Negro and Guerini 2007; Dal Negro and Molinelli 2002; Di Sciullo, Muysken, and Singh 1986; Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007; Gardner-Chloros 2010; Gumperz 1973; Gumperz 1977; Gumperz 1982; Isurin, Winford, and De Bot 2009; Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton 1997; Myers-Scotton 2002; Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1980; Poplack 2004; Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1989; Poropat Jeletić 2019; Poropat Jeletić, Moscarda Mirković, and Bortoletto 2021; Sankoff and Poplack 1981) and remains one of the most prominent and discussed contact phenomena. A brief overview of the literature on CS shows it takes many forms and patterns that do not necessarily depend only on linguistic factors, but can be explained if we take into account extra-linguistic factors, such as "the political balance between the languages involved, the duration of the contact and the origin of bilingualism; the functional configuration of the linguistic repertoire, patterns of language use, functions, socio-symbolic meanings and the relative prestige and status of the two languages; attitudes towards CS and bilingualism in general; the type of interactional setting, social network and conversational context; the degree of bilingual proficiency, gender and, last but not least, age" (Alfonzetti 2005, 96).

The transitions from one code to another, which used to be (wrongly) considered as random, disorganized, and even chaotic (Berruto 2003, 217) indicators of a speaker's lower linguistic competence, usually fulfil specific functions in the conversational context and are characterized by *a certain degree of intentionality* (Dal Negro and Guerini 2007, 42). A comprehensive approach to CS revealed it to be a particularly useful language skill (Coulmas 2005, 113), as bilingual or plurilingual speakers who code-switch adapt to each other more easily and have a wider range of discourse strategies at their disposal than monolingual speakers (cf. Grosjean 1985). The bilingual speakers' repertoire is therefore characterized by a diverse range of linguistic resources that they can alternate, adapt, combine, and merge, especially (but not exclusively) in informal communication with other members of the same linguistic community.

In his seminal work on bilingual discourse strategies, Gumperz (1982) identified *reiteration* as one of the six fundamental functions of CS (along with quotation, addressee specification, interjection, message qualification and personalization/objectivization). According to Gumperz (1982, 78), reiteration is a strategy by which "a message

in one code is repeated in the other code, either literally or in somewhat modified form” to *facilitate comprehension* or *emphasize* what has been said, e.g. “The three old ones spoke nothing but Spanish. Nothing but Spanish. *No hablan ingles* (they did not speak English)” (Gumperz 1982, 78). From the perspective of this article, this is the point at which the study of code-switching most evidently converges with the concept of translatoriality, as proposed by Koskinen and Kinnunen (2022, 11), since the repetition of overlapping content in different codes or message-carriers highlights “the role of self-translatoriality in many contexts beyond professional translating and interpreting” (Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 11).

### 3. Aim, data and method

The aim of this article is, therefore, to observe and discuss occurrences of *reiterative code-switching as turn-internal translatorial practices* in spontaneous spoken discourse by bilinguals within the Italian national minority in Slovenia.

The article is a continuation of a broader sociolinguistic case-study on code-switching between Italian and Slovene, which proved to be a very prominent contact phenomenon in the spoken language of bilingual speakers within the autochthonous Italian national minority in Slovenia (Umer Kljun 2015; Umer Kljun 2023). The overarching goal of the research was to provide a comprehensive view of the phenomenon. To do so, three main objectives were set: to determine the typology of code-switching between Italian and Slovene among bilingual speakers within the Italian national minority on both structural and functional levels; to observe how conversational settings, as well as the age and ethnicity of the speakers influence the occurrence of code-switching; and to explore the community’s attitudes towards the individual codes of their linguistic repertoire and towards code-switching. The fieldwork, carried out in collaboration with members of the community, consisted of collecting recordings of authentic spoken language in informal (in-group private discourse), formal (public discourse, events hosted by the Italian minority), and semi-formal settings (interview interaction with bilingual speakers). To observe extra-linguistic factors that might motivate language choice and code-switching, 18 bilingual speakers were interviewed about their perceived competence, language use and attitudes towards the various codes of their linguistic repertoire, bilingualism, and code-switching. These interactions form part of the corpus. All recordings were then transcribed, annotated, and analysed using the EXMARaLDA software suite (Schmidt and Wörner 2022). The *ad hoc* corpus of spoken language comprises 62 recordings and approximately nine hours of transcribed speech. In the context of the study, a total of 1,389 instances of intersentential, i.e. switching at sentence boundaries, and intrasentential

code-switching, i.e. switching within a single sentence, clause, phrase and even within a word (Gardner-Chloros 2010; Winford 2003), were further analysed in accordance with the research objectives (see also Umer Kljun 2024).

For the purpose of this article, 85 instances of *reiterative code-switching*, i.e. cases in which there is an obvious overlapping of meaning between the spoken text segments expressed in different codes by a single speaker, have been extracted from the above-mentioned corpus. The CS cases, in which a reiterative function has been observed, occur within a conversational turn, i.e. within a speaker's speech sequence that ends when the speaker stops or is interrupted by another speaker (Verdonik and Zwitter Vitez 2011; Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke 2017). Only 11 such cases were identified in the sub-corpus of spoken language in informal settings, which consists mainly of transcriptions of recordings of private in-group conversations in Istro-Venetian, Italian or a mixed Italian-Slovene sociolect. There were 26 instances of turn-internal reiterative CS in transcriptions of interviews, conducted in Italian, and 48 cases from transcriptions of recordings gathered at public cultural events, aimed at a broader local audience, in which the working languages were Italian, Slovene and in two instances even Croatian. While such events might require the presence of a professional interpreter in other multilingual contexts, the events observed here presuppose a certain degree of plurilingual competence among the audience, as "knowledge of all the languages involved is required to understand the whole message" (Reh 2004, 14), and the role of the interpreter is only occasionally taken up by the moderators or speakers themselves.

To observe these bilingual utterances through the lens of translatoriality, the following research questions were proposed:

- (A) What types of translatorial actions occur in this specific bilingual context?
- (B) What is their underlying motivation and function?

To determine the type of translatorial action involved, the cases were classified in accordance with the model proposed by Reh (2004, 10–12) for the analysis of multilingual writing in a linguistic landscape and adapted for the study of bilingual spoken discourse by Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke (2017, 471): namely, as a *duplicating language practice*, when the content or message expressed in the first code is fully reproduced in the second code; a *summarizing language practice*, when part of the content is condensed, omitted or otherwise fragmented; an *expanding language practice*, when there is some overlapping in meaning, while new information is added in the second code; and a

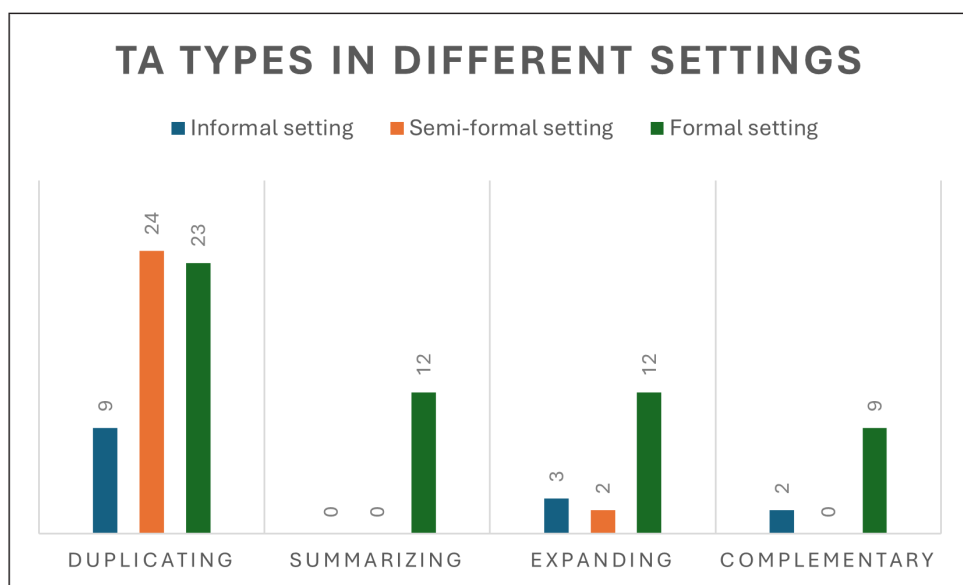


*complementary language practice*, where there is seemingly no explicit overlapping of content expressed in the two codes. These instances of *self-translatoriality* were then observed in their context to understand their underlying motivation and function, and six categories have been identified: *aiding comprehension*, *correction*, *emphasis*, *humour*, *addressee specification* (cf. Gumperz 1982) and *identity signalling*.

## 4. Reiterative code-switching as self-interpreting

### 4.1 Types of actions in turn-internal translatoriality

While many of the observed cases fall neatly into one of the established categories, others are not as easily definable, especially when considering the wider context of the single turns. Cases that fall between two categories (e.g. summarizing and expanding, duplicating and complementary language practices, or expanding and complementary language practices) were counted in both and some examples are presented at the end of this section. In the bilingual utterances extracted from the corpus, the content produced in Slovene always appears in bold to showcase the transitions from one code to another. The utterances are equipped with gloss translations in square brackets and the observed translatorial actions are underlined or otherwise emphasized.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 1.** Types of translatorial action in different bilingual settings.

<sup>4</sup> See the additional transcription symbols in the Appendix.



### 4.1.1 Duplicating

Duplicating, i.e. reproducing or repeating content in another code, is the only translatorial action that occurs in all of the observed settings. While code-switching – in general – is most prominent in informal settings, there are not many cases of duplicating in the sub-corpus. Examples 1a-c include some cases of duplication in informal conversations among peers, in which self-translatoriality serves to clarify the message (1a-b) or to illustrate an appropriate expression after some perceived miscommunication (1c).

#### Example 1a

**Šunka sir** va bene prosciutto e formaggio. Di quello là c'è solo: **šunka sir**.

[Ham, cheese, okay, ham and cheese. Of that one there is only ham, cheese.]

#### Example 1b

non so` se lei la sa` se non la sa` •• questo iera` •• ə •• / noi paghemo l' agiun` / la / l' assicurazion agiuntiva. ((1,3s)) **Dodatno zavarovanje**.

[I don't know if you know it or not, it was this/ we pay supplementary insurance. Supplementary insurance.]

#### Example 1c

Speaker 1: Vabbe che' come te disi` **mi bi rade**?

[Okay that, how do you say we would like?]

Speaker 2: Non stame domandar` adesso mi` non so!

[Don't ask me now, I don't know!]

Speaker 1: Non so. •• Perché mi volevo dir` **mi bi rade** ...

[I don't know. Because I wanted to say we would like ...]

Speaker 2: No:. Noi volesimo ordinar. Ordinar. **Mi bi želeli naročiti** no` non ... Attenta ((ime)) che se il birillo` in strada! ((smeh))

[No. We would like to order. Order. We would like to order, no, not ... Careful ((name)) there is a traffic cone on the road! ((laughter))]

Speaker 1: Dovevo di "**mi bi rade naročile**" e invezze go dito "**mi bi rade dobile**." ((smeh))

[I should have said we would like to order and instead I said we would like to get.” ((laughter))]

Speaker 2: **Dobile**. Che še un sinonimo no’ • però diemo che podessi esser anche mal interpretado.

[Get. Which is a synonym no, but let’s say it could be also misinterpreted.]

As presented in Examples 2a-d below, in semi-formal settings, i.e. interviews, conducted in Italian, duplicating consists mostly of single words insertions, usually accompanied by commentary (e.g. *per farti capire* “to make you understand, for you to understand”) or pauses. Knowing that the interviewer is a native speaker of Slovene, the interviewees tend to repeat single concepts in Slovene, to make sure they are understood.

#### Example 2a

La ((ustanova))’ è un’ associazione. • • Per farti capire’ **društvo**.

[The ((institution)) is an association. To make you understand, an association.]

#### Example 2b

E: io in questo momento sono in pausa parto • • • in **porodniška**.

[And at this moment I am on maternity leave ... on maternity leave.]

#### Example 2c

Sempre di questo: br: i/ m: ingegneria civile’ **gradbeništvo**’ sarebbé’ e dopo ha fatto anche la facoltà.

[Still about this civil engineering civil engineering that would be and then he went to university.]

#### Example 2d

È bellissimo perché ə: già il: / ə: il bandó il **razpis**’ nó lo mete fuori in istroveneto.

[It’s beautiful because the call the call, no, is published in Istrovenetian.]

In formal settings, especially in the case of three cultural events, co-hosted by Italian and Slovene associations, and aimed at a wider local audience, duplicating is most clearly discernible in opening greetings and closings.

#### Example 3a

Grazie’ • • **hvala lepa**’ al • • direttore del ((ustanova))’ • • **direktorju** • • • ə ((ustanove))

[Thanks ... many thanks to ... the head of the ((institution)) ... the head of the ((institution))]

## Example 3b

Stimati` • • ospiti` spettabile pubblico` • • • permettete di porgervi il saluto a nome della ((ustanova)) di capodistria. • • • **Cenjeni gosti` spoštovana publika` lep pozdrav` • • in dobrodošli` na sedežu ((ustanove)) Koper.**

[Dear guests, esteemed audience ... allow me to greet you on behalf of the ((institution)) of Capodistria. Distinguished guest, esteemed audience, greetings and welcome to the ((institution)) headquarters in Koper.]

## Example 3c

Najprej lep pozdrav vsem` • • un cordiale saluto a tutti quanti.

[First, a warm greeting to all. A warm greeting to all.]

## Example 3d

Vi ringrazio. **Hvala lepa.** ((aplavz))

[Thank you. Thank you very much.]

After these brief bilingual introductions, addressing both Italian and Slovene speakers and audience members, each speaker is free to continue in their preferred code and there is little to no further explicit translatorial activity on their part. In doing so, the participants rely on *receptive multilingualism* or *intercomprehension*, which entails reciprocal understanding between speakers of two different mother tongues, where each participant uses their own language while understanding the language of others. Although intercomprehension is traditionally seen as a process that takes place between languages within a language family (Schlamberger Brezar 2020, 104), in the context of the broader Slovene-Italian linguistic community in Istria this bilingual practice signals a respectful attitude towards the language and culture of the other, as it allows all participants “to be on a fairly equal footing” (Perko 2020, 156). According to Zeevaert (2007, 105, emphasis added), receptive multilingualism can be defined as:

(...) a reasonable option of communication between languages that are unrelated or only remotely related – **under the condition that all speakers involved are familiar with both languages**, and provided that the speakers have only a passive competence at their disposal (either because only a passive competence was acquired, because one or more of the speakers are less advanced learners or because of a lack of language practice) or that **the interlocutors prefer to use their own mother tongue in spite of an available active competence** (either because they feel able to express themselves better in their first language or **to mark their linguistic identity in a multilingual environment**).

In the context of the wider bilingual community of the Slovene coast described here, such practices can be seen as a conscious effort by members of the two national groups to overcome past conflicts and even as a means of preventing linguistic discrimination and assimilation of the linguistic minority (see Umer Kljun 2024).

#### 4.1.2 Summarizing – fragmentary multilingualism

Example 4 below illustrates the fragmentary nature of summarizing as a turn-internal translatorial action in a lengthier excerpt of spoken language in a formal setting. The purpose of the event, hosted by a local Italian cultural association, was to present the Italian national minority to university students of Italian and Slovene. As some of the students did not speak Italian, one of the presenters, who is of mixed Italian-Slovene ethnic background and fluent in both languages, engaged in self-translatoriality by either interpreting only the nearest elements (effectively duplicating single phrases or key words) or omitting commentary and information, thus condensing the presentation of several cultural associations to a simple enumeration of their activities, and producing a highly fragmented text.

##### Example 4

Presenter 1: Cominciamo dalla musica **začnemo z glasbo**´ abbiamo i piccoli i minicantanti` ••••: **mlade glasbenike**´ che m::: •• più che venire in comunità` •• è la comunità ad andare da loro´ quindi •• si fanno a scuola. •  
 • Le loro / Le loro prove si fanno a scuola´•• poi abbiamo il coró´ •• **zbor**´  
 •• poi abbiamo: ə: il gruppo di mandolini´ /  
 [Let's start with music let's start with music, we have the little ones, the little singers, the little musicians, who ... it's not that they come to us it's the community that goes to them, so they take place at school. Their lessons take place at school. Then we have the choir the choir and then we have the mandolin group /]

Presenter 2: La filodrammatica.

[The theatre group.]

Presenter 1: Cominciamo dalla musica perché se no` comincio a dire ((neraz.))  
 • e dimentico tre quarti. •••• I mandoliní´ •• e poi abbiamo in casa Tartini´  
 un corso di` • **tečaj**` pianoforté´ •• **klavir**´ violinó´ e •• chitarra. •••• Poi /  
 [Let's start with music or I'll start to say ((unintelligible)) and will forget half of it. The mandolins and then we have in the Tartini house a course of a course piano piano, violin and guitar.]

Presenter 3: E mandolino.

[And mandolin.]

Presenter 2: E: ma ha già deto.

[She already said that.]

Presenter 3: Ah sì perché l' ha già dettò scusami.

[Ah, yes, because you already said that, sorry.]

Presenter 1: Ho detto mandolino? ••• ((smeh)) Poi c' è il gruppo dei pittori' •  
•• ə **slikarji** il grupo dei ceramisti' •• ((pokaže izdelke)) di **keramika**'  
• li' e:h? ••• E:: il gru/ un gruppo etnografico' la famea dei salineri' • ə:  
**se pravi solinarska družina**' che è quel gruppo che dovrebbe' / •• che  
mantiene' le tradizioni' • ə della vita e del lavoro l/ legato alle saline di  
pirano'

[Did I say mandolin? ((laughter)) Then there's a group of painters, painters, a group of ceramists, ((points to the artwork)) of ceramics, there. And the ethnographic group, the salt makers family, that is to say, the salt makers family, which is the group that should/ that preserves the traditions of the life and work at the salt pans of Piran.]

Listener 1: E si esibisce' no' anche?

[And they perform as well?]

Presenter 1: E si esibisce' •• əm:: il gruppo della filodrammatica' **dramska skupina**' che anche ogni anno::' ••• fa una propria produzione' •• in dialetó' •• vero? O in dialetó' o in lingua' ma • per la maggior parte gli ultimi anni almeno' da quando • sono io qua' e: in dialetto' ••• **se pravi dramska skupina v dialektu in v italijanščini**' •• e poi insomma quelli che dimentico' no? ((neraz.)) Il gruppo fotografico' ((1.5s)) e: il gruppo al tempo di tartini. Perché quest'anno' ə: •• ma già dagli ultimi:' •• paio d/ anni' abbiamo deciso di dedicarci' un •• po' di più al settecento veneziano' e alla vita di tartini e cerchiamo di' •• ripercorrere la sua vita' e •• fare anche dei percorsi' guidati' attraverso •• gli ambienti che: gli ospiti possono visitare. ••• **Torej zadnja leta se ukvarjamo' / se ukvarjamo •• imamo novo skupino: ki se ukvarja z •• oblačili' in Tartinijevim življenjem' in delom.** ••

[And they perform. The theatre group, the theatre group, that makes a production every year, in dialect, right? Either in dialect or in Italian, but at least in the last few years mostly, since I've been here, in dialect,

that is to say, a theatre group in dialect or Italian. And then in short all those who I forget, no? The photography group and the group In Tartini's time. Because this year, but in the last few years as well, we decided to focus more on the Venetian 18<sup>th</sup> century and to Tartini's life and we try to retrace his life and also make guided tours through the environments that guests can visit. So, in the past years we have been focusing / we have a new group dealing with the clothing and Tartini's life and works.]

These single-word switches that are intended by the speaker as a form of translation into Slovene are frequently preceded by pauses (*un corso di* • *tečaj* `pianoforte' • • *klavir* "a course of ... course piano ... piano") and filler sounds (*Poi c'è il gruppo dei pittori* • • • • *ə slikarji* "Then there's a group of painters ... uhm, painters"), while longer target-language segments are introduced by "so" (*torej*) or "that is to say" (*se pravi*). Although it was the speaker's intention to render their own words in Slovene to facilitate comprehension among those who do not speak Italian, it is quite clear that speaker presupposes at least a passive command of Italian on the part of the listeners.

#### 4.1.3 Expanding

Expanding is observed in those cases of self-translatoriality when there is some overlapping in meaning while new information is added. In an interview, an expansion can be as simple as adding a modifier to an inserted noun phrase (5a) to further clarify or better illustrate the situation the speaker is describing (that is, why she relies on her husband when dealing with issues in Slovene). In formal settings, as those described in Example 3 above, speakers tend to expand when reiterating a greeting in the second code, which can be interpreted either as an indication of their own affiliation to a particular institution/community/group (5b) or the affiliation of the person who is about to take turn speaking (5c).

##### Example 5a

E: adesso sto ricu` / perché anche mio marito adesso sta: / ha fatto un corso: • **tečaj slovenščine** • • allora gli dico sempre` "((ime)) ma che **sklon** è questo` come fa questo`"

[And now I am re/ because even my husband now / completed a course a course of Slovene ... so I always tell him "((name)) which case is this, how do you say this?"]

## Example 5b

Lep pozdrav' vsem prisotnim`cordiale' •• (quindi) saluto a nome:` •• della ((ustanova)) di` •• di Capodistria.

[Greetings to all the people present warm greetings on behalf of the ((institution)) of Capodistria]

## Example 5c

Ecco ora io non mi dilungerei' •• cederei subito la parola` •• agli esperti' •• torej •• a: predajam besedo` •• tokrat •• •• v vlogi strokovnjaka` kot umetnostnega zgodovinarja` •• ki bo predstavil zbornik' •• profesor' •• ((ime)). Izvolite.

[So now I wouldn't want to take-up any more time, I'd like to immediately give the floor to the experts. So I'm giving the floor to – this time in the role of an expert as an art historian who will present the book of proceedings – professor ((name)). Please.]

Whichever the case, part of the message is only expressed in one of the codes. Similarly, expanding can also be observed in the context of the formal event, described in Example 4 above. When interpreting their own speech for the benefit of a Slovene-speaking audience, the speaker expands on what has been said by commenting on it, expressing an opinion (6a), or adding information that they consider important, but which was not previously included (6b).

## Example 6a

•• Se/ finanziamenti permettendo. Vedno smo odvisni tudi mi` na žalost` predvsem od denarja.

[If/ funding permitting. We are always dependent, unfortunately, primarily on money too.]

## Example 6b

E: c' è l' asilo' •• la scuola per l' infanzia' vrtec' ((ustanova))' e anche la scuola: / •• il ginnasio ((ustanova)). Gimnazija. •• Tudi' •• z italijanskim učnim jezikom.

[And there is a kindergarten, the preschool preschool ((institution)) and also the school / the secondary school ((institution)). The secondary school. Also with Italian as the language of instruction.]

#### 4.1.4 Complementary language practice and combining TA types

Unlike Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke (2017), who refer to complementary language practices, i.e. cases in which there is no overlap between the contents produced in the



two codes, as non-translatorial, data from the corpus of bilingual spoken discourse of members of the Italian national minority in Slovenia suggests an implicit translatoriality. Although not explicitly duplicated or otherwise interpreted, the following cases from informal in-group conversations show how the contents produced in the two codes are connected, either through intensification (7a) or attenuation (7b). The alternating segments in different codes quite literally complement one another (cf. *message qualification* (Gumperz 1982), i.e. CS, in which a segment produced in the second code defines or completes the previous utterance), thus producing a fluid bilingual speech.

#### Example 7a

Non lo sopporto organicamente. **Mi gre na bruh'** proprio perché se un / il cialtrone' • che è diventato famoso.

[I can't stand him physically. He makes me sick, just because he is a slob who became famous.]

*Statement* > *intensification* > *elaboration*

#### Example 7b

Ah se::' **zbirčen**' se:: ((1,3s)) delicato ciò! ((smeh))

[Ah, he is choosy, he is delicate ((laughter))]

*statement* > *attenuation*

Several translatorial actions can also be combined: Example 8 below illustrates summarizing (“the association is based on voluntary work”) combined with expanding (“and none of us are employed here”).

#### Example 8

Il lavoro della comunità degli italiani • • • è un lavoro di volontariato noi siamo tutti volontari ((1,2s)) La parte / • • torno a ripetere. La parte culturale' è una parte di volontari' • • ə: **se pravi kulturni del društva' / društvo deluje na osnovi prostovoljnega dela' in nihče od nas tukaj ni zaposlen'**

[The work of the Italian community is voluntary work we are all volunteers. The part/ I will repeat myself. The cultural section is a section of volunteers. That is to say, the cultural section of the association / the association is based on voluntary work and none of us are employed here]

In Example 9a, the speaker starts off in Slovene, elaborates on the first utterance in Italian (italics), duplicates the content of the Italian utterance in Slovene (underlined), and finally adds further information in Italian, which remains uninterpreted (italics).

## Example 9a

Tam se pa prijavimo' kot katero dr/ koli drugo kulturno društvo. ((1,5s)) **Con la differenza' che noi ci occupiamo' di • cultura • italiana.** ((1,4s)) Z razliko' da se mi ukvarjamo' • • pretežno' z italijansko kul/ kulturo' anche se siamo molto aperti anche alla maggioranza.

[There we apply as any other cultural association. *With the difference that we deal with Italian culture.* With the difference that we deal mostly with Italian culture even though we are quite open to the majority.]

Examples 9b-c below illustrate duplicating combined with expanding and complementary language practices.

## Example 9b

((kašelj)) ə:: In questa casa' • • funzionano:: / hanno / trovano spazio: le sezioni' • che operano' presso la nostra comunità • • • **Torej v tej hiši' domujejo dru/ m:: • • sekcije našega društva' naše skupnosti' • •** e sono tante' e ne dimentico sempre qualcuna' per questo chiamo sempre due aiutanti' no?

[(cough)] In this house function, have, find their space the sections that operate within our community. So this house is home to sections of our association, of our community and there are many and I always forget some this is why I always call for two assistants, no?

## Example 9c

Lepa hvalá • **grazie' •** a ((ime))' curatrice' di questo volumé' • • • ecco ora siamo giunti' • • • ala fine quasi' • e io • • • vedo tanti autori' • • collaboratori' • cederei la parola se qualcuno' ((1,5s)) ha voglia di fare qualche intervento? • • **Če je m/ mogoče' kdo med vami' da bi želel še kaj' dodati?** ((4,0s)) Sembra di no' siamo un po' stanchi' forse.

[Many thanks, thanks, to ((name)) the editor of this volume ... so now we have come to the end, and I see many authors, contributors, I would like to give the floor if anyone feels like adding something? Is there someone among you who would like to add anything? *Apparently not, we are a bit tired, maybe.*]

These sequences and combinations of different types of TA further highlight the fluidity of such bilingual practice, proving that – even at public events – the bilingual speakers who engage in self-translatoriality assume that everyone involved speaks both languages, while also signalling a preference for intercomprehension over interpreting.

## 4.2 Motivation for self-translatoriality and its purpose

Self-translatoriality, as already indicated in Example 5 above, is not limited to interpreting and facilitating comprehension: for instance, in Example 10a, when asked about their preference between Italian and Slovene, the speaker responds with conviction, repeating the last utterance in Slovene, to *add emphasis and humour*; furthermore, Examples 10b–d illustrate how speakers engage in self-translatoriality to *correct an (unintentional) insertion*. In many of these cases the transitions between codes are marked by pauses, laughter, or commentary.

### Example 10a

No:: l'italiano assolutamente. Non esiste. • • Non c'è paragone. • • \*Ni primerjave\*.

[No, Italian, absolutely. It doesn't exist. There is no comparison. There is no comparison.]

### Example 10b

ad esempio l'altro giorno mia mamma' • • è entrata in una biblioteca' • • in una libreria' scusa' • • quella lì di fronte ala **tržnica** di fronte al merca/... Mia nona' non gavesi dito mai **tržnica**.

[for example, the other day my mum went to a library ... a bookshop, sorry ... that one in front of the market, in front of the mark/ ... My grandma would have never said market.]

### Example 10c

E lei ha detto "sì però se tu fai decidere' • • il capitalismo' al fine sei una: / una **cunja**" \*non so cosa ha deto\* uno straccio.

[And she said "yes but if you let capitalism decide, in the end you are a rag" I don't know what she said a rag.]

### Example 10d

Avevo' • • un nonno' che viveva a Lubiana' che era **čebelar**' • • apicoltore' • • • e::m:: e loro' so che mi:: insegnavano::' ((1,9s)) lo sloveno.

[I had a grandfather who lived in Ljubljana and he was a beekeeper ... a beekeeper ... and they, I know they taught me Slovene.]

### Example 10e

**In veste kako je blo hecno' ne?** • • Cosa era interessante' no? • • Che allora' • • noi naturalmente non possedevamo nessuna fotografia' niente'sua di lui' no?

[And you know how funny it was no? What was interesting, no? That at the time we did not possess any photo, nothing, of him, no?]

As observed before in the case of opening greetings, self-translatoriality can also overlap with *addressee specification* (cf. Gumperz 1982) and serve as a symbolic gesture expressing openness and respect towards the other culture. Moreover, it may *signal the speakers' identity* through language choice (cf. Koskinen and Kinnunen 2022, 12), as illustrated in case 10e above, in which the presenter at the meeting with the university students starts their turn in Slovene, reformulates their utterance and continues in Italian, presumably to highlight their role as a representative of the Italian community.

## 5. Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to observe the occurrence of code-switching as a form of translatoriality among members of the Italian national minority in Slovenia. Following the model proposed by Reh (2004) and expanded upon by Koskela, Koskinen, and Pilke (2017), 85 instances of self-translatoriality (or *reiterations* according to Gumperz 1982, 78) from spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech were observed in terms of duplicating, summarizing, expanding and complementary language practices. The analysis shows that while self-translatoriality occurs both in in-group and out-group bilingual communication in different (informal, semi-formal and formal) settings, it is far more frequent in the context of public events hosted or co-hosted by the Italian national minority that were open to the broader multilingual community, i.e. in situations that would usually call for interpreting. Furthermore, the analysis indicates that although duplicating language practices occur in all settings, speakers often repeat only the nearest element, either single words or phrases, which can sometimes lead to a fragmentation of the message. Moreover, all four TA types are often combined, producing fluid bilingual utterances that presuppose a certain degree of plurilingual competence among all participants.

In addition to speakers making sure they are understood or engaging in self-translatoriality to aid comprehension, these language practices are also motivated by other reasons: speakers often correct themselves after a single-word switch or reiterate what has been said to add emphasis and humour. The data also show that self-translatoriality signals speakers' identities and – particularly in the case of duplicating greetings and opening formulas in formal settings – often overlaps with *addressee specification*. The case study also unveiled the value of translatoriality as a symbolic gesture within the multilingual community of Slovene Istria, in which intercomprehension is perceived as a desirable practice that acknowledges the importance and value of

both official languages as well as a discursive strategy that reveals a respectful attitude towards the culture of the Other and promotes plurilingualism and the coexistence of multiple local cultural identities.

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## Appendix

**Table 1.** Additional transcription symbols.

.	falling intonation
?	rising intonation
!	exclamation
´	rising tone
`	falling tone
*text*	speech laughter
“text”	reported speech
:	sound elongation
•	short pause
••	pause < 0,5 seconds
•••	pause 0,5–1 second
((0,00s))	longer pause with duration
word/ wor/	false start, correction, or word fragment
...	ellipsis
((text))	extralinguistic circumstances, e.g. ((laughter)), ((noise)), ((sigh)); omission to provide anonymity, e.g. Rose works at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana > ((name)) works at the ((institution)) in Ljubljana
((neraz.))	unintelligible speech
(text)	guessing an unintelligible part
ə, əm, m,	filler sound indicating hesitation, uncertainty
mhm	filler sound indicating agreement

## About the author

Jerneja Umer Kljun graduated in translation studies at the University of Ljubljana and holds a PhD in sociolinguistics from the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Primorska. Her main research area is language contact between Italian and Slovene in multilingual areas, although she also researches other topics in the field of translation studies and digital humanities. She works as a language instructor and researcher at the Department of Translation at the Faculty of Arts (University of Ljubljana).