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Review of "Giovanna Alfonzetti. Il discorso bilingue. Italiano e dialetto a Catania. Milano, Franco Angeli"

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cussed, but only fairly briefly, and mainly with a view to illustrating the phenomena and questioning the earlier theories. When the presentation of Fludernik's own theory does finally come in Chapter 8, followed by a brief last chapter on 'Consequences and Conclusions', she has no space to do herself justice, and is less than usually thorough. The very appropriate mention of Lacan stands on its own, with no further discussion or chapter and verse (p. 432). There is no detailed presentation and critique of the available versions of cognitive linguistics on which the new account of reporting relies. Some of the literature on discourse (or pragmatic) particles is not mentioned (e.g. Lakoff, 1973; Östman, 1981; Finell, 1989; Schourup, 1983). And there is far too little positive substantiation. This would have been the place for a careful selection of the earlier examples, more exhaustively analysed, and in terms of Fludernik's own new theory.

Fludernik's challenging originality and mastery of the field are the more remarkable for coming across in spite of her presentational difficulties. The book is a landmark of the first importance, and her forthcoming work on a 'natural' narratology will doubtless develop many of the points raised here. When these two necessary scholarly tomes are in place, it is very much to be hoped that Fludernik will produce a single, short book, presenting her linguistic and narratological thought in the most reader-friendly manner, putting her own ideas first, and concentrating on the detailed analysis of only one or two literary and oral texts in full. This would ensure her the wider audience she deserves.

References


The bulk of research on code switching (henceforth CS) conducted over the last two decades has been concerned with bilingual communities of migrants or other ethnic minorities, normally characterized by a certain structural distance between the two languages involved (e.g. Spanish/English or Italian/German), as well as by the co-existence of different socio-cultural norms and values. By contrast, the CS phenomena investigated in the book under review take place in a rather different (socio-)linguistic setting, namely in Sicily, where it is actually two romance varieties – a regional variety of Italian and the local dialect – that are in contact. Perhaps it should be pointed out that Alfonzetti is not dealing with style shifting between two varieties of the same language, but with interlingual CS in the proper sense, i.e. the juxtaposition, within the same speech event, of portions of discourse belonging to two closely-related, but nevertheless clearly distinct linguistic systems. As regards the social distribution of the two codes, both are used over a wide range of communicative domains, with functional overlapping in many situational contexts and a large amount of mixed utterances in everyday interaction.

The autochthonous character of the bilingual community, together with the genetic relationship between the two language systems and their low degree of functional differentiation in most of the communicative events of normal life, constitute the three essential features which underlie the variegated manifestations of CS in Catania, a commercial and industrial city on the eastern coast of Sicily. This is where Alfonzetti has collected, by means of participant observation, a corpus of about 14 hours of transcribed tape-recordings, which document no less than 18 different types of speech events, ranging from communicative interaction at the registry office, the market place or the bus stop to a condominium members’ meeting, the sale of a billiard hall and telephone conversations between friends (to name only a few of them). More than four hundred examples of CS are discussed throughout the book, and some percentages of the different CS-types occurring in the corpus are listed in a number of tables.

The aim of this mainly qualitative study is twofold, in that it provides both a ‘functional’ (i.e. conversational) and a ‘linguistic’ (i.e. syntactic) analysis of the corpus. However, the primary research interest is directed to the former aspect of CS, as reflected by the internal structure of the book. In the first chapter, ‘Presentazione della ricerca’ (pp. 15–34), the author tackles some definitional problems related to the notion of CS and illustrates her methodological procedure as well as some theoretical assumptions underlying her own research. The main body of the study is concerned with the functions of CS in communicative interaction, namely chapter 2, ‘Analisi funzionale I: code switching connesso ai partecipanti’ (pp. 35–57), and chapter 3, ‘Analisi funzionale II: code switching connesso al discorso’ (pp. 59–171). The next chapter, ‘Analisi linguistica’ (pp. 173–244), focuses on the syntactic categories switched, the permissible switching points and the constraints governing intrasentential CS; the ‘Conclusioni’ (pp. 245–255) summarize the salient results of the research.
To study the interactional and pragmatic relevance of CS in Catania, Alfonzetti adopts an ‘interpretative’ approach, based on the techniques and principles of (ethno-methodological oriented) conversation analysis. On the other hand, she draws – in a somewhat eclectic manner – on various ‘theories’ of CS, mainly on some (not all) of the categories established in Auer’s (1984, 1988) procedural model of bilingual conversation, as well as on the notions of ‘contextualization’ (Gumperz, 1982) and ‘markedness’ (Myers Scotton, 1988), and, to a lesser extent, on the work of other scholars. Obviously, Alfonzetti’s reliance on Auer’s proposals is consistent with the general conversation-analytical approach of her study; it also shows up in the headings of chapters 2 and 3, which refer to the basic distinction between ‘participant-related’ and ‘discourse-related’ CS, as well as in the labels of some more specific CS-types – such as changes in participant constellation (pp. 94–98), changes of topic (pp. 98–105) or ‘elaborations’ (pp. 105–109). Of course, this is not the place for an in-depth discussion of Auer’s model; nevertheless, some of the problems arising from Alfonzetti’s work should be hinted at.

First, there is the risk of a (not intended) taxonomic application of the participant vs. discourse dichotomy, which refers to attributes of the speaker on the one hand, and to the organization of the ongoing interaction on the other. Many examples could indeed appear in both chapters 2 and 3, since several ‘functions’ apply simultaneously. Moreover, the definition of some of Auer’s CS-types has been enlarged to cover the whole range of intended meanings. For instance, the participant-related ‘preference’-function appears to be not only an indication of the speaker’s imbalanced bilingual competence, but also a strategy for signalling divergence or convergence with the interlocutor, as in interview-excerpt 4, where the interviewee suddenly switches to Sicilian (probably her dominant code) to express a negative opinion about the taxation system, “quasi a voler esprimere con maggiore efficacia il suo parere negativo” (p. 40). It seems that such illocutionary upgrading also reveals a discourse-related CS-function, which Alfonzetti calls ‘expressive’, a cover term for the expression of speakers’ attitudes towards the discourse topic and of different types of emotive meaning, such as anger, satisfaction, tenderness, etc. (pp. 138–163).

It might be interesting to look at some of this material in terms of speech acts. In example 5 (p. 42), an employee of the registry office switches to Sicilian – which is the preferred code of the interlocutor, but also the marked choice in this rather formal situation – to ask for small change; the convergence towards the more informal variety might thus be a strategy to avoid a possible refusal of his request. Alfonzetti does not explicitly take into account one discourse-related CS-type, defined by Auer (1988: 199) as “change in mode of interaction”, which seems to me the prevailing function in example 9 (p. 46), where the nurse – while telling a story in Sicilian – switches to Italian to accept the interlocutor’s offer of a coffee, and then returns to the preferred dialect. The classification of this example under the (participant-related) subtype ‘adherence+divergent preference’ shows how the ethic procedure of conversation analysis leads above all to a structural description of CS-devices, but not necessarily to a pragmatic interpretation. Formal and functional categories often alternate at the same level of analytic conceptualization: if ‘sequential organization’
(pp. 67–75) or ‘quotation’ (pp. 119–137) can be regarded as discourse functions, ‘repetition’ is not a function by itself (as stated on p. 109, following Gumperz, 1982: 78–79), but rather fulfills several functions such as topic management, expression of emotive participation or emphasis, and elaboration (pp. 111–119).

The problem of what may be regarded as a ‘function’ has other conceptual and methodological implications, for instance when ‘code-mixing’ is defined as a type of intrasentential CS without a “specific communicative function” (p. 20) and is therefore excluded from conversation analysis, even though it constitutes 46% of the occurrences of language alternation found in the corpus. Now, if overall switching represents the unmarked choice (Myers Scotton, 1988: 161), it is reasonable to assume that code-mixing has the function of “expressing the bilingual identity of speakers who share a similar cultural and linguistic background”, as Alfonzetti (1992: 94) claims for CS in general. It seems to me that such a function applies not only “at the macro-sociolinguistic level” (ibid.), but also in communicative interaction, in that it contributes to the definition of the speech event as bilingual, and therefore acts as a general contextualization cue, laying the ground for more specific ‘functional’ CS-strategies.

On the other hand, it seems that in these data the social values of the two codes do not play a significant role, except for specific purposes, such as the choice of Italian for the more formal terms of address (pp. 163–171). In general, the direction of CS is not predictable and does not bear an inherent meaning, so that Alfonzetti (pp. 94, 145, 249) attributes only a small degree of importance to ‘symbolic’ effects of CS, like those referred to by Gumperz’ (1982: 66) distinction between “we-code” and “they-code” and the corresponding conversational function of “personalization vs. objectivization” (ibid.: 80–81). Nevertheless, I would argue that one can interpret more instances of ‘expressive’ CS in these terms than the author is inclined to do (p. 146); for example, it makes a difference if the interviewees express their anger about taxation in dialect or in Italian, since by switching to the official state language, speakers aim to lend more authority to their political statements (cf. example 4, p. 40, with examples 121 and 122, p. 141).

The overall perspective of this book emphasizes the use of CS as a contextualization strategy, which permits participants to organize communicative interaction by drawing mainly on the contrastive effects of language alternation. The conversation-analytical approach does indeed provide a number of interesting insights, as Alfonzetti demonstrates by her subtle analysis of the phenomenology of story-telling (pp. 75–94): in bilingual narratives, CS represents a fundamental tool which allows speakers to signal the successive phases such as story-preface, story-entry and story-exit, as well as to underpin the contrast between setting and events, or between story and comment.

In a similar way, CS is often used to mark quotations (cf. Gumperz, 1982: 82–83), but the extension of the switch does not coincide with the reported sketch of reported discourse, nor does the chosen language necessarily correspond to that of the original utterance. Rather, CS is a technique for representing the “polyphony of discourse” (pp. 130, 137), as one can also see from the fact that sometimes switching does not affect the quotation itself, but only the verbum dicendi. A good example of
this phenomenon – not commented on by Alfonzetti – is 39 (p. 87), where the beauty specialist retells a telephone call (mainly in Italian), introducing all of her own three turns with the Sicilian past tense *risti* "(I) said", whereas the five utterances of the two interlocutors are preceded by the Italian present form *dice* "(he/she) says"; the contrast between the persons is thus achieved by code and tense alternation. Finally, CS also occurs in "imaginary" reported speech, attributed to an unidentified or impersonal voice, thus introducing another point of view in the universe of discourse which is external to the immediate speech event; here, CS either increases the 'objectivity' of the statement or decreases the speaker's commitment and responsibility (pp. 133–136).

Moving to the syntactic aspects of CS, chapter 4 offers a thorough description of the wide range of switching points allowed in this particular pattern of language contact. Given the basically isomorphic syntactic structures of Italian and Sicilian, almost every constituent is able to be switched from one code to another. Consequently, Alfonzetti has found counterexamples to most of the quite numerous constraints postulated in CS-literature by several scholars. For instance, she invalidates Gumperz' (1982: 88) constraint, according to which "the conjunction always goes with the second switched phrase". Other positions where switching should be blocked, according to linguists' predictions, are: (a) between a pronominal subject and the verb (p. 196); (b) between the negative particle and the verb (p. 218); (c) between a clitic and the verb (pp. 226–227); (d) between a verb and its complement, be it an object NP (pp. 197–198), a prepositional phrase (pp. 228–231) or an embedded clause (pp. 186–188); (e) in general, within a complex VP, e.g. between the finite verb and its infinitival complement or between an auxiliary and a main verb (p. 193); (f) between the NP and a relative pronoun (pp. 188–189); (g) within an NP, i.e. between a determiner and a noun (pp. 201–203) or between the noun and an adjective (p. 214) or a PP complement (p. 228); (h) within an adjectival phrase: between the adjective and its modifier (p. 216).

The most frequent counterexamples concern the more general and abstract 'government constraint', stated by Di Sciullo et al. (1986), the predictive power of which proves to be definitely too strong. Poplack's (1980) 'free morpheme constraint' can be upheld only if restricted to simple words, since switching also occurs within idiomatic expressions (pp. 199, 224, 227); moreover, a certain tendency to switch function words – such as articles, prepositions and the like – has been noted among speakers with a clear preference for (and probably a greater competence in) the dialect. The second of Poplack's predictions, the 'equivalence constraint', is neutralized by the already mentioned syntactic isomorphism of the two varieties, which allows for a sort of 'smooth switching' (to use another of Poplack's terms); in addition, the homophony of quite a number of lexical items in Italian and Sicilian often acts as a 'trigger' for intersentential CS.

In all, this is a well-written and well-argued book which is worth reading not only for those interested in Italian sociolinguistics, but also for a broader audience outside Italy, above all for scholars concerned with research on CS. If some aspects of Alfonzetti's typology of CS-functions, as well as a few interpretations of particular cases, may be open to discussion, it has to be stressed that, on the whole, the analy-
sis of bilingual conversation is surely convincing (thanks also to the author’s double ethno-methodological advantage of being both an ‘insider’/native member of the speech community and a participant or a witness to the communicative events). The rich and fascinating empirical data illustrating the alternation of Italian and Sicilian, as well as the detailed account of its conversational and structural patterns in the light of current CS-theory, contribute to the enlargement of our understanding of bilingual discourse.

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Like pragmatics, the field of translation studies is one in which several different disciplines meet. Also like pragmatics, in translation studies the cross-pollination which occurs when several different viewpoints collide or combine has resulted in viable new ways of thinking. This book shows what happens when pragmatic factors are crossed with the old models of translation to produce a new approach, which Hewson and Martin call ‘Variational’. In a sense, the inclusion of pragmatic factors in translation was inevitable. As views of translation have moved onward from the lexical debate on ‘word-for-word’ translation towards models which include text in context, a model which takes into account non-linguistic, and social and cultural aspects was the next logical step.

As the authors state in the Preface, their approach to translation is called ‘Variational’ because ‘it is based on a double movement – first generating a wide set of correlated paraphrastic possibilities in two or more languages, then going through a
number of selection procedures in order to choose a final Target Text” (p. vi). It is in the second ‘tier’ of their model, the ‘selection procedures’ that pragmatic factors are brought into play. The first ‘tier’ or ‘stage’ deals with “a generative process describing the development of variations” (p. 42) between the two sets of language-plus-culture which previous theories have referred to as source and target texts, and with the “definition of correspondences between the two sets. The second stage (‘tier’) is a normative process defining the socio-cultural parameters corresponding to each pair of correspondences ...” (p. 42). The definition of the Variational approach ends with the somewhat confusing sentence, “Translation production proper is situated beyond these two operations” (p. 42), by which is apparently meant that the translator, or “translation operator (TO)” as the authors prefer, produces the translation after completing the first two stages. This seems to imply a third stage in the model, which is not discussed in detail.

The word ‘generative’ does not seem to be used by Hewson and Martin in the Chomskyan sense. Rather it seems here to refer to the ‘generation’ of possible “paraphrases” and “homologies”, in which the paraphrases are “paradigmatic reconstructions” and the homologies are “syntagmatic” (p. 43). In Chapter 3, ‘Building a theory of translation’, the authors are at some pains to define what they mean by ‘paraphrase’ and ‘homology’. The next two chapters, Chapter 4, ‘Interrlinguistic homologies’, and Chapter 5, ‘Extrapropositional relationships in homologon definition’, are spent in defining these concepts in detail. In these three chapters, the authors knowingly enter the debate on the definition of two key concepts in translation studies: ‘equivalence’ and ‘transfer of meaning’.

The definition of ‘equivalence’ is discussed throughout the book, and includes cases of “confusing contextually irrelevant distinctions for semantic equivalence” (p. 65). One of the strong points of the book is that both authors are experienced professional translators who are now teachers of translations at the university level. As professionals who remain in touch with the actual practice of translation, they are able to provide concrete, actual cases to back up their theoretical statements. Regarding the redefinition of ‘equivalence’, Hewson and Martin would evidently abandon that term altogether, replacing it with a combination of ‘homologon’ plus ‘norms’, i.e. with the combination of the two tiers of their Variational approach. This would seem to be yet another case of relabelling, but the arguments the authors present for eliminating the term ‘equivalence’ are compelling. These arguments, which consider texts in contexts, are tied up with their definition of ‘meaning’.

The position that Hewson and Martin take on ‘meaning’ in translation is that “no transfer or equivalence of meaning can be achieved across languages. There can only be homologies between paraphrastic sets” (p. 47). Quoting (pp. 45–47) Peirce (1966: V,284) and Greimas (1970: 13), and using the terms of a French theorist, R. Martin (1976), the authors of this book redefine ‘meaning’ for the purposes of translation, disposing of the “conception of meaning in terms of core and peripheral, semantic and contextualized paraphrases” and replacing it with “the notion of paraphrastic sets” (p. 46). This redefinition of meaning is in fact crucial for translation, as practicing translators are well aware, since “there is no difference in kind between paraphrastic and meta-linguistic reformulations, only differences in logical con-
straint and the paraphraser’s degree and type of competence” (p. 46). In other words, the competence of the translator is the crucial factor. The problem that immediately arises is the definition, or as the book’s title states, redefinition, of the competence of the translator.

In presenting their theory of translation, the authors distinguish three types of competence: acquired linguistic competence, dissimilative competence, and transferred competence (p. 52). Acquired linguistic competence is that which is learned while learning the language, and includes cross-cultural competence. In discussing bilingualism, Hewson and Martin take up the interesting position that “a ‘bilingual’ individual as such cannot exist, simply because any language-learning situation will preclude this possibility” (p. 116). They also state the obvious fact that no translator can be an expert in all subjects. So the authors assume that the translator or “translation operator” has “competence in at least two linguistic systems and a certain knowledge of the LCs [language cultures] associated with them” (p. 52). The point they are making here is that strategies are of little use without basic linguistic knowledge. Here they also make the observation that definitions of bilingualism do not usually entail translation expertise, but that “systematization of translation can only be validly undertaken if founded on some degree of bilingual proficiency” (p. 52). Translation is seen to be not “a means to acquire competence in a second language” but rather “a means to consolidate that knowledge in correlation with the native language” (p. 52). In other words, you do not translate to learn a language, you learn a language in order to be able (among other things) to translate.

‘Dissimilative competence’ is, according to Hewson and Martin, the direct consequence of adopting and practicing their approach. They state that this competence can be taught, and spend most of one chapter (Chapter 10) on didactics. ‘Transferred competence’ is that part of dissimilative competence obtained and stored in “translation auxiliaries such as translation methods, dictionaries, data banks, and expert systems” (p. 52). This competence is instrumental and not a determining factor in the Variational method (p. 53). The primary determining factor in the method is the translation operator’s knowledge of the socio-cultural norms of the two (or more) cultures involved in the process of translation.

The key concept in the Variational approach is that of socio-cultural norms. To quote the authors: “The main idea here is that no text and no translation can exist without explicit socio-cultural determinations” (p. 53). While this may appear obvious to pragmatists, it is fairly new in translation studies to assert that everything “has to be assessed in terms of its insertion within the target language situational and discursive norms” (p. 53). In stating this, Hewson and Martin provide a genuine service to translators of what have been called ‘pragmatic’ texts, or as they say ‘normalized texts’ (i.e. research papers, school-leaving certificates, regulations, etc.). In terms of the Variational approach, all texts to be translated correspond to definite norms. The idea that some norms are more constraining, and some less constraining, is ‘an illusion’. Taken to its logical end, this means that translators of pragmatic texts must be just as creative as translators of literary texts, and that the ‘process’ of translation is the same for all types of texts.
The second ‘tier’ of the Variational method is probably the one of most interest to pragmatists. Concentrating on “comparison, not on conversion” (p. 8), the Variational approach attempts to show a continuity and not a hiatus between linguistic, textual and contextual meanings. In so doing, the authors also attempt to resolve the conflict between two major schools of thought in translation theory, proposed by Steiner (1975: 235) and quoted here by the authors: universalist and relativist. Universalist theories are based on the idea of contractual transactions between languages and cultural relationships, and translation is seen as a process of transference based on the establishment of equivalence. The fact that meaning is conveyed through translation implies the existence of some degree of universality in language. Relativist theories, in contrast, see transference as production within an interactive structure. “From that point of view, universals are not only perceived as non-existent, they contribute to the denaturing of communication” (p. 37). This leads to theories in which translation is interactive reformulation, not a contractual exchange. Hewson and Martin see the contradictions between these two approaches as leading to a deadlock in translation studies. Hence their attempt, particularly in regard to socio-cultural norms, “at conciliating and synthesizing the merits of these contradictory opinions and regrouping them in a wider perspective” (p. 39). It would seem that their Variational approach does just that.

Three chapters of the book are concerned with defining the place of socio-cultural norms in the Variational approach and analysing the parameters to be established in its application. Chapter 6 discusses the ‘Cultural Equation’, which must be built up and defined in each translation situation. The three main elements of this equation are (1) the ‘actors’ in the translation situation, (2) the importance of the discourse family, and (3) the relative importance of the influences on the translator of the two cultures involved (p. 111). Chapter 7 considers the Translation Operator as a Cultural Operator; and Chapter 8 looks in detail at the socio-cultural parameters and norms that define the limits for making choices in producing the target text.

Chapter 8 is significant in that it is one of the first times in translation studies that the role of the initiator of the translation is discussed as being important. Professional translators who earn their livings from translation have always had to take into account the wishes and needs of their clients, but translation theorists have often seemed blithely unaware of these ‘pragmatic’ factors and placed their translators and translations in an economic vacuum. This may serve the purposes of certain translation theories, but it does a disservice to students who may wish to become professional translators. It would seem useful for students to be taught some of the harsh realities of professional life in a classroom first, before meeting them head on with no preparation.

Chapter 9 provides some examples of applications of the model, and Chapter 10 discusses such related fields of interest such as translation criticism and teaching of translation. The Appendix contains the texts and illustrations accompanying the texts that are used as examples. Since the authors work and teach in France, the main languages of the comparative analyses are French and English, but some examples are taken from Serbo-Croatian. The examples are well-chosen and effectively illustrate the ways in which pragmatic factors influence the decisions of the translators. Extra-
linguistic factors and the translation of extra-linguistic elements is also illustrated by examples from literary and dramatic texts and from advertisements. The index is limited but useful in finding key concepts.

For everyone interested in the effects of pragmatic factors on translation, this book provides a good theoretical background and numerous examples that can aid in supporting new studies in this area. In particular, the new way of looking at the reality of translation, as described in the 'articulation' of the Variational approach, should help in raising the consciousness of translators by exposing them to other views than those traditionally held. For pragmatists interested in expanding their fields of influence, the book could serve as an opening for the introduction of courses in pragmatics to be included in the training of translators. This has already been done in some institutes, as more and more teachers of translation realize how important pragmatics is to translation studies. Redefining Translation: The Variational Approach makes an important contribution of its own in this respect.

References