

Hanna Lantto & Leena Kolehmainen

## **Basque-Spanish Bilinguals and Reported Speech**

### **Translation and Code-switching in the Basque Context of Language Revitalisation**

#### *Abstract*

This article discusses the multilingual practices of minority language speakers in oral everyday interaction. The data come from bilingual speakers of an autochthonous minority language, Basque, which has been the target of revitalisation efforts since the 1980s. The article examines the varying use of ad hoc translation and code-switching in reported speech: When reporting a previously expressed spoken or written message that was originally uttered in another language, the bilingual speakers need to decide whether to translate the message or to use code-switching and keep the original language. The examination of bilingual conversational data shows that the two strategies, translation and code-switching, do not form opposite alternatives but are interconnected and may serve the same function. In addition to the description of actual multilingual practices, the article investigates the underlying ideologies of minority language speakers concerning their language choices in reported speech.

## **1 Introduction**

The everyday translational practices of multilingual speakers remain unknown and under-studied phenomena. Translation Studies (TS) as a field has focused on describing professional translators' practices, and in linguistic research on language contact, translation is often not mentioned although this is a common activity in all multilingual societies (see also Kranich/Becher/Höder 2011; Kolehmainen/Koskinen/Riionheimo 2015). This article examines the multilingual practices of minority language speakers. The focus is on the translational and the code-switching practices of the bilingual speakers of an autochthonous minority language, Basque, which has been the target of both institutional and grassroots revitalisation efforts for the last thirty-five years. The article discusses the varying but interconnected use of ad hoc translation (for a definition see section 2.2 below) and code-switching in reported speech; when orally presenting a previously expressed oral or written message that was originally uttered in another language, the speaker needs to decide whether to translate or not. To choose the language of the ongoing interaction means to translate. Quoting the original message in the original language means code-switching. In addition to the description of actual multilingual

practices, this article aims to uncover the minority language speakers' underlying beliefs and ideologies concerning their language choices in reported speech.

The interplay between the practices of code-switching and ad hoc translation in reported speech are examined in two types of data that come from Basque-Spanish bilinguals. The first set of data entails bilingual Basque-Spanish speakers' metalinguistic comments on two speech extracts that they listened to and that entailed intensive code-switching. The speaker reactions to code-switching reflect how the speakers perceive the connection (or rather contrast, in this case) between code-switching and translation. These metalinguistic comments were the original source of inspiration for this study. The researcher never brought up translation; the bilingual informants themselves made the connection between code-switching and translation, which they considered opposite strategies for reporting speech. In the metalinguistic data set, the comments on the issue of whether to prefer code-switching or translation in reported speech reveal underlying language ideologies that the language users voice to justify their beliefs. The second set of data consists of recorded informal conversations with Basque-Spanish bilinguals. The speakers' actual language use, the occurrences of ad hoc translation, and code-switching in reported speech are described. The data not only show when and how the two practices are utilised by bilingual speakers, but they also reveal that the two practices may even coincide. Code-switching may, in itself, be an ad hoc translation if the speaker, instead of the original language or the language of the ongoing conversation, chooses to use some other language in reported speech. The two types of data are compared with each other to see whether the actual language practices and the speakers' language ideologies coincide.

The Basque Country, which extends from southern France to northern parts of Spain, is an area where the language contact between the indigenous language of the region, Basque, and the languages descended from Latin has lasted for two thousand years. In other words, the area has been multilingual for centuries. Basque has always been the minority language of the area, not always in numerical terms, but in terms of institutional power. Therefore, bilingualism has mostly been unidirectional, as the Basque speakers needed to know Spanish, but the Spanish speakers did not need to know Basque.

At the turn of the 1980s, Spain transitioned from a Spanish right-wing dictatorship, where the minority languages were practically forbidden from public use, to a democracy, where the regional minority languages of Basque, Catalan, and Galician became co-official languages with Spanish in their respective regions. Recent revitalisation efforts have managed to reverse the decline of Basque speakers that had been ongoing for centuries (Urla 2012; Ortega et al. 2015). The language is now taught at schools and spoken in public institutions, and strong grassroots movements support the "normalisation" of the regional minority language. The numbers have changed significantly. While in 1981, 21.9 % of the population in the Basque Autonomous Community was bilingual in Basque and Spanish, 30 years later the percentage was up to 36.4 %, which means that in 2011, there were 318,000 more bilinguals than thirty years earlier, approximately 750,000 in total (Gobierno Vasco 2014: 20). The bilingualism in the Basque Country has

become bidirectional, as many Basque speakers now have Spanish as their first language (Ortega et al. 2015). However, the Basque speakers are still in the minority. In the Greater Bilbao area, where the data for this study were collected, the Basque speakers represent 24 % of the population. This is the largest urban area of the Basque Country, so they are many in number (approximately 200,000), yet they live scattered among the monolingual Spanish-speaking majority.

In the process of language revitalisation, language users and speakers are the agents who ultimately decide if and how a language is going to be revitalised. Today, as earlier, virtually all Basque speakers in the Spanish part of the Basque Country are bilingual in Basque and Spanish after their early childhood. When the Basque-Spanish speakers have access to both official languages of the Basque Autonomous Community, it is up to them how to use the linguistic resources at their disposal. Speakers tend to use their linguistic resources in a way that makes sense in specific social conditions (Heller 2007: 1). Consequently, the way that they speak can be informative about the social organisation of the linguistic varieties in their speech community. The Basque speakers of the Greater Bilbao area have diverse linguistic backgrounds that they can apply in the form of multilingual practices in their everyday interactions.

Code-switching has suffered from a negative stigma in most communities where it has been studied. There also seems to be a dissociation between how speakers use their linguistic competence and what they think they know about it (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 15-16). Modernism has taught us to think of languages as neat, discrete packages (Heller 2008: 510; Blommaert/Leppänen/Spotti 2012: 5-6), and mixing goes against this belief. Changes in language are often associated with decadence (Woolard 1989: 17), and mixed forms are saliently, abruptly different from the monolingual standard varieties taught at schools and promoted by normative language authorities. In minority language contexts, where the majority language is seen as a threat, the rejection of hybridity might be considered essential for survival (Woolard 1989: 18; Jaffe 2007). However, purist language ideologies can have their counterforce in what Matras (2009: 19) calls the speakers' urge to use their repertoire as a whole – unmonitored speech that aims for maximum expressiveness. Authenticity as a language legitimizing ideology is the idea of natural, unregulated speech (Eckert 2003) that reflects the speaker's "essential self" (Woolard 2008). In earlier research, authenticity in the Basque context has been connected to the vernacular varieties of the traditional Basque speakers (Echeverria 2003; Ortega et al. 2015), but in the Greater Bilbao area, authenticity may also be linked to the bilingual speech style that includes code-switching (Lantto 2015, 2016). The question whether translating in bilingual speakers' unmonitored speech is considered a means of authentication or a strategy to maintain linguistic purity is a question that, to our knowledge, has not been investigated in earlier studies.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 shows how reported speech has been approached in the separate research traditions of code-switching research and TS. Section 3 describes the data that this study is based on. Sections 4 and 5 deal with the findings regarding reported speech, translation, and code-switching in the data: first in

the metalinguistic commentary, then in the bilingual speech data. Finally, section 6 presents a discussion of how the language ideologies manifested by the informants in the metalinguistic conversations are related to actual speech data.

## 2 Reported Speech

Multilingualism is a resource that speakers can utilise by navigating between the languages of their language repertoire. As already indicated in the introduction, this movement can involve code-switching, i.e. the juxtaposition of two languages or linguistic varieties, or translating, i.e. the formulation of a new message on the basis of a prior message in another language. In this sense, both code-switching and translation result from multilingualism. The research traditions of code-switching and translation have remained mostly separate, and, at first glance, one might think that they do not have much in common. Code-switching is perceived as a “micro-practice” that is embedded in dialogue turns or is inserted into full-length written texts. Translating and interpreting, in contrast, are often approached from the opposite point of view of full-length texts or complete dialogues. There are, however, several points where these phenomena coincide if the full-length definition of translating and interpreting is rejected. This will become clear in the following two subsections that summarise central results of code-switching research and TS on the relations between reported speech, code-switching, and translation.

### 2.1 Previous Studies on Reported Speech in Code-switching Research

Several papers in code-switching research have been dedicated to the discussion of code-switching terminology. Many of those who study the languages from a grammar- and structure-oriented perspective, use the term code-switching when referring to the alternation of linguistic fragments between two normatively defined languages or language varieties (Poplack 1980; Myers-Scotton 1993b/1997; Halmari 1997). Those who approach code-switching from a more conversation analytical frame often use the term only when the juxtaposition of the two linguistic varieties is used to achieve conversational functions (see the articles in Auer ed. 1998). The function of reporting speech is fundamentally pragmatic, and most studies that have examined the interfaces of reported speech and code-switching have approached the phenomenon of code-switching from this pragmatic point of view (Muñoa 1997; Alfonzetti 1998; Frick/Riionheimo 2013). However, the definition of code-switching that is used in the present study is based on normative language boundaries, as this interpretation of code-switching aligns with the informants’ metalinguistic commentary presented in section 4.

In previous research, reported speech, also called “quotations” (Gumperz 1982; Alfonzetti 1998) and “voicings” (Frick/Riionheimo 2013), has been noted to be one of the most common pragmatic functions of code-switching. Reported speech is mentioned in the seminal work of Gumperz (1982), in which he classifies types of code-switching according to their pragmatic functions. Goffman (1981: 22) describes code-switching as

one of the means to mark a change in footing when speakers shift from saying something themselves to reporting what someone else said. In the terminology of Gumperz (1982), the strategies to mark changes in footing are called contextualisation cues; they serve to announce that a change has happened.

The early scholars of conversational code-switching, such as Gal (1979: 109) and Myers-Scotton (1993a: 117), assumed that the language choice in reported speech was determined by the language of the original utterance. The language choice is, however, not that straightforward as shown by Álvarez-Cáccamo (1996). He distinguishes between what he characterises as isomorphic and non-isomorphic reported speech. In the former type, the reporter reproduces the language choices as they were in the original situation and switches to the language of the original situation. In the latter type, which the author labels as code displacement, the speaker switches to some language other than the one of the original situation. This latter switch is not characterised as translation by Álvarez-Cáccamo (1996), yet in our view, it involves translational practices, the formulation of a new message on the basis of a previous message in another language. Alfonzetti (1998: 199), in turn, concludes that even though the most obvious language choice for reported speech would be to preserve the language of the original situation, this cannot be assumed as a general principle, and sometimes the opposite happens. Instead, the most important function of code-switching in her data seems to be creating voices in a narrative. These voices could be “virtual”: something that the speakers imagined they would utter, or “impersonal”: a generic quotation that could be uttered by anyone. Often the reported speech is provided in a language that would have been very unlikely to be used in the social situation or by a speaker who would have been a highly unlikely speaker of that language variety. Impersonal, generic reported speech or a quotation not attributed to anyone in the narrative can be considered as a strategy for reporting something but at the same time distancing oneself from what is being said, an off-screen voice (Alfonzetti 1998: 204).

Muñoa (1997) has examined the pragmatic functions of code-switching in the Basque context. In the Basque Country, as in many other bilingual communities, reported speech seems to be one of the most common functions for code-switching together with humorous and ironic remarks, rejections and reinforcements of what has already been said, the introduction of new topics or maintaining and finishing a turn. All these communicative functions are often marked by using code-switching. In the example below from Muñoa, code-switching to Spanish is used to quote a conversation “which may have happened either in Basque or Spanish” (Muñoa 1997: 563). Here, code-switching and reported speech coincide. All fragments of reported speech in the examples are underlined. The code-switches to Spanish from the Basque base are marked with italics. In the English translations of the transcriptions, the translations of the Spanish parts are included in italics.

Topic: a trip to the mountains

JM: Iriki zun atia ta aiba / inor ez / ez ote dute ematen jaten edo hola? / ta, / bitarte hortan ba emakumia, / ta /que, no se puede entrar a comer? / y si si...

She opened the door and wow, nobody, do they really serve lunch here?, and, in the meantime, the woman (came) and (I said), so, can we go in and have lunch? and (the woman said) yes yes...

Muñoa notes that speakers often use code-switching to report hypothetical situations. As also noted by Goffman (1981), on these occasions, the speakers assume a different role; they are no longer themselves but a mechanic, a bartender, etc., using virtual or impersonal voices as described by Alfonzetti (1998). In Muñoa's data, the language of reported speech is always Spanish. In addition, Spanish is also used when quoting real conversations that might have happened either in Basque or in Spanish. There are several instances in Muñoa's data in which the same conversation is first reported in one language and later in the other, i.e. translated.

## **2.2 The Relationship between Reported Speech, Code-switching, and Translation from the Perspective of TS**

As noted in section 2.1, in reported speech, the speaker presents a previously expressed message to a new audience in a new context. This is what translation is also about, but in translation, the new message is additionally formulated in a different language. Both the reporter and the translator interpret the prior message according to their commission, the purpose of the new message, and the profile of the new audience. The prior message can remain unchanged, some parts can be kept, and other parts can be left out (Mossop 1998: 239; Kalliokoski 2005: 9). Reported speech and translation, in this sense, can be regarded as related phenomena.

Gutt (2000: 210) finds that written translation, in which a prior text is rendered from one language into another and recontextualised for a new audience, parallels with reported speech. He characterises all translation as "a case of interlingual reported speech or quotation", i.e. as a quotation that takes place between two languages. This interlingual reported speech "inform[s] the target audience what the original author said or wrote in the source text" (Gutt 2000: 210). In the study of literary translations, the representation of reported speech in translations has been investigated, for example, by Kuusi (2011, 2016, for the interfaces between reported speech and translation see also Mossop 1998; Hermans 2007: 65-76). With regard to the task of interpreters, who report orally in another language what the speaker just said, the interconnections between reported speech and interpreting are even more obvious than in written translation. In Interpreting Studies, the interpreter's techniques of reporting speech in another language form one prominent topic of research. The professional authorities' recommendation to retain the perspective of the original speaker and to use the first person singular ("I have a headache", "I killed her") has been contrasted to the interpreters' actual use of indirect reporting strategies ("He says that he has a headache", "He said he killed her"), for

example, by Bot (2007) in an interpreter-mediated medical setting and by Cheung (2012) in court interpreting (examples from Bot 2007: 79; Cheung 2012: 77).

In previous research, the interconnections between reported speech, translation, and interpreting have mainly been approached from the viewpoint of professional translators' and interpreters' activities. In this article, the perspective is shifted to oral everyday interaction and contexts of non-professional translation in which ordinary multilingual speakers utilise their multilingual repertoire and carry out translational activities. As highlighted by Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015), the concept of translation needs to be adjusted when approaching non-professional contexts. In non-professional mundane interaction, translation is not always about replacing a written or spoken complete text by another complete text in another language but can occur locally within a single text or conversation and can concern smaller units (see also Wilton 2009). In other words, "the translation mode" (Müller 1989) is "turned on" although not necessarily kept up for the entire span of interaction. Bigger or smaller units of a prior message form the source on which the translated message is based. Like in audiovisual translation, for example subtitling, the translated parts are embedded into a larger whole and alone do not enjoy an independent full-text status. Paloposki characterises this kind of embedded translation as an "act of translating" (Paloposki 2016: 18). In this article, the term *ad hoc* translation is used to capture the differences to professional translation and interpreting. By *ad hoc* we refer to the fact that the translational activity in everyday conversation can be spontaneous and fragmentary and does not necessarily range from the beginning to the end of a conversation but appears in the middle of an ongoing dialogue. In addition, in the cases to be discussed, translation occurs in interaction between parties who share the same linguistic resources and is, thus, not carried out in order to facilitate communication between speakers of different languages. Instead, translation has other functions.

The fact that reported speech in oral interaction can be an *ad hoc* translation is a new viewpoint brought up rather recently by Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015). In multilingual individuals' oral interaction, reported speech is one of the practices that may entail *ad hoc* translation.<sup>1</sup> When reporting what someone else has previously said or written in another language, the speakers need to decide whether to translate the original message or not. If the speakers choose not to translate, they switch to the language of the original message. If they prefer to use the language of the ongoing conversation or some language other than the language of the original message, they translate. Translation may, thus, take place both in the language of the ongoing conversation or in another language. In the latter case, translating is simultaneously code-switching (code-displacement, see section 2.1). In such cases, the decision to translate a message (instead of using code-switching), the formulation of the message in another language,

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<sup>1</sup> In addition, reiteration, a subtype of code-switching, in which a person repeats an utterance in another language (see Gumperz 1982: 78-79) may be regarded as a translational practice. The interfaces of reiteration with translation are discussed by Skaffari (2016) and Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015). For the relation of reiteration to translation and monolingual repetition, see the discussion in Harjunpää and Mäkilähde (2016).

and the presentation of the message in a new communication situation, are features that may be regarded as translational by their nature. In Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015), translated reported speech concerns parts that are uttered by some other speaker in another language and parts that are expressed previously by the reporter in another language. In other words, translated reported speech may involve self-translation. This can be seen as a rather natural feature of translated reported speech because reporting, as such, presumes participation in or access to the reported situation.

Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015) point out that the identification of translated reported speech is not always straightforward. There are cases in which the speakers mark it, for example, by using reporting clauses (“she said”), by mentioning the original language (“she said in German”) or by using diverse para- and nonverbal markers, but these devices are not always used. The contextualisation of translated reported speech is a complex issue. This is shown by Harjunpää (2017) in her in-depth study of the interactional organisation of non-professional interpreting in Finnish-Portuguese everyday conversations. The examples in her analysis, which involve a switch of language, illustrate the bilingual speakers’ multiple strategies to represent prior talk in another language. The examples range from different overt (e.g. *verba dicendi*, reporting clauses) and more covert (e.g. topic formulations, dialogic particles, logophoric pronouns, turn-initial keywords pointing back to prior talk) to almost non-perceivable quotative framing devices. In Kolehmainen, Koskinen and Riionheimo (2015), it is argued that the translation of the prior message may take place during the ongoing conversation, or the speaker may have translated the message previously in some other situation and repeats the translation in the ongoing interaction. In other words, the translated reported passage may be a recycled story that the speaker has repeated on several occasions. The examples discussed in section 5 highlight that the source of translated reported message may either be a prior oral conversation or a part of it (see also the examples in Harjunpää 2017) or a written source. In the latter cases, translated reported speech additionally involves an intersemiotic shift from writing to speech.

### **3 The Data**

Two types of data were collected from Basque-Spanish bilinguals. The first set of data, referred to as the metalinguistic data, was collected by Hanna Lantto. The data were not collected specifically for this study, but in order to obtain general metalinguistic commentary about code-switching in the Basque context (for a more thorough description of the metalinguistic data see Lantto 2016). 47 informants listened to two speech extracts with intensive code-switching and then discussed the extracts in small groups from two to four people. They received a question sheet with evaluative statements, such as “Does this person speak good Basque/Spanish”, “Does this person speak the way people usually speak?” to provoke ideological debate on code-switching. The discussions were recorded (12 hours in total) and transcribed. The researcher never explicitly mentioned code-switching, translation, and bilingual speech, yet they became the main topic of all



conversations. The discussions concerned linguistic purity, linguistic authenticity, Spanishisms, linguistic power relations, and the present and future of the Basque language. In the analysis, we first searched the data for the stem *itzul\**, which covers both translation and interpreting. Then the contexts of the use of this term were analysed. In the analysis, special attention was paid to the linguistic phenomena the speakers referred to by using this term. The rest of the data were examined carefully to identify the passages where translational practices and reported speech were discussed implicitly. The informants made the connection between translation, code-switching, and reported speech; most of the conversational fragments in the metalinguistic data that explicitly mention translation are connected to reported speech.

The second set of data, which will be referred to as the bilingual data, was also collected by Lantto between the years 2005 and 2011 in the urban area of Greater Bilbao (for a closer description of these data see Lantto 2015). The data consist of recorded conversations with 22 Basque-Spanish bilinguals of diverse sociolinguistic backgrounds (16 conversations and 22 hours in total). The informants were found via Lantto's social networks. This is a great advantage in the analysis because the researcher is familiar with the context, the themes, and the persons that the informants discuss in these conversations. Ten of the informants were L1 speakers of Basque, and twelve of them were L2 speakers of Basque. Their ages ranged from 19 to 45 years at the moment of recording. The conversations were recorded in informal places such as bars, cafeterias, and at dinner tables. Often more than one informant was present at the same time to keep the conversation going and to avoid an interview-like atmosphere. The researcher was present at these conversations as a participant-observer. The conversations were mostly held in Basque, but there was regular code-switching to Spanish from a Basque base language. The conversation fragments with code-switching and reported speech were identified for the analysis in this article. There were 65 fragments in total, many of them involving back-and-forth switching between the languages and also between the reported passages and other types of speech. The language choices and linguistic practices in these fragments were then analysed in detail.

In the following discussion, we will first examine the speakers' metalinguistic comments. The metalinguistic commentary offers some social background to the Basque bilinguals' attitudes and interpretations of the two bilingual speech phenomena, and a framework within which to examine their actual translational and code-switching practices regarding reported speech.

#### **4 Metalinguistic Data: To Strive for Authenticity or to Prefer Monolingual Purity**

To offer a couple of clear definitions, Silverstein describes language ideologies as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure or use" (Silverstein 1979: 193), whereas for Spolsky they are, simply put, "a community's idea of good language practice" (Spolsky 2004: 14). In

the metalinguistic discourses of this study, two ideological counterforces were identified: the strive for linguistic *authenticity* that was often considered as the motivation behind code-switching, and linguistic *purity*, a rejection of hybridity in the speech of Basque-Spanish bilinguals that could be achieved by ad hoc translation. The basic tone of the metalinguistic conversations was rather purist: the informants mostly condemned code-switching and regarded it as an undesirable type of speech. Nevertheless, after the first purist reactions to the speech samples, which included rather heavy code-switching, the informants started rationalizing the use of code-switching, and justifying the use of bilingual speech. The code-switching style was considered the most authentic Basque register in informal conversations, and the purist standard language was seen as too formal for informal interaction. It appeared that, on the one hand, the purist ideological tendencies seemed to discourage and condemn code-switching, whereas the strive for linguistic authenticity fomented and encouraged the use of Spanish linguistic resources in otherwise Basque speech (Lantto 2016).<sup>2</sup>

Since “code-switching” is not a general folk linguistic term, and it is not accessible to non-linguists (in the way that “translation” is), the speakers mostly referred to it as *erdarakadak*, “Spanishisms”, *erdarakadak sartu*, “putting in Spanishisms” and *hizkuntzak nahastu*, “mixing languages”. Only one speaker used the word code-switching (in its Spanish form *cambio de código*). The conversation fragments where the bilingual informants explicitly discussed translation (or interpreting, which is the same word) using this exact word were not many: The word search with the Basque word stem *itzul\** “transl”<sup>\*</sup> brings 32 hits in the metalinguistic data. The connection that the informants made between code-switching and translation, however, is remarkable, as translation was never explicitly mentioned by the researcher, whose original intention was to collect data on metalinguistic commentary about code-switching. The informants themselves brought up the practice of translation in the middle of a conversation about bilingual speech. What is more, and one of the core motivations behind this article, is the second connection that the informants made, most of the conversational fragments in the metalinguistic conversation data that explicitly mention translation were connected to reported speech. To the speakers, translation had direct connections to code-switching, but they were often seen as opposing phenomena: the speakers saw code-switching to Spanish in order to report speech as an attempt to preserve the original utterance or text. This is what the early code-switching researchers believed, and truly, at the first glance, it might seem as the most obvious and straightforward answer to the question of motivation behind code-switching (Alfonzetti 1998). Such is the case in Extract 1: Iñaki<sup>3</sup> condemns code-switching. Yet he seems to consider reported speech or text as an exception, if the original version is better than the translation. He says that he has never understood the practice of mixing languages when a speaker is merely giving their own

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<sup>2</sup> The metalinguistic data were previously examined in Lantto (2016). See her article for a wider discussion of language ideologies encouraging and discouraging code-switching in the context of Basque-Spanish language contact.

<sup>3</sup> Names changed throughout the article.

opinion. Nevertheless, when the speaker is making a reference to something they have read or heard, it is acceptable to give the quoted part as it was. (In this context Iñaki used the Basque onomatopoeias *tranka* and *franga*, which can be roughly translated into English as “boom” or “bang” to imitate the impact of a direct quotation.) Iñaki’s view echoes the overall tone of the metalinguistic conversations in which the informants favoured linguistic purity but can make an exception when what seems to be a bigger force, authenticity, is concerned.

Extract 1:

Nik ez dut ulertu inoiz hori, egin ahal duzu erreferentzi bat hor esan zuen batek hau eta egitea erreferentzia konkretu bat, esaldi bat, idazle honek esan zuen, pertsona honek telebistan ingelesez hau esan zuen, bueno TRANKA. Baina bere iritzi pertsonalak bi hizkuntzatan egitea nik inoiz ez dut ulertu. Baina ez euskerarekin bakarrik, beste hizkuntzan, ez dakit, normalagoa da munduan ia, ez dakit, baina nik ez dut ulertu. Bai erreferentzia batzuk egitea, baina itzulpena baino hobea izan delako, hau esan zuen FRANGA, hau irakurri nion.  
(Iñaki, 45)<sup>4</sup>

I have never understood that [code-switching], you can make a reference there, this is what someone said and make a concrete reference, a sentence, this is what a writer said, this person said this on television in English, well BANG. But I have never understood voicing your personal opinions in two languages. But not only with Basque, with other languages as well, I don’t know, it’s almost more normal in the world, don’t know, but I don’t understand it. Well yeah, you can make some references, but because it is better than the translation, this is what they said BOOM, this is what I read.

Muñoz (1997) has noted that the language of the Basque bilinguals’ hypothetical conversations she examined was always Spanish. The informants in the metalinguistic data made the same connection and said that it is typical to code-switch to Spanish when speaking Basque but not the other way around. The three women in Extract 2 listened to a speech extract with heavy code-switching, including reported speech. They found reporting speech directly, without introductory phrases or expressions, to be the most common, befitting type of reported speech. Often this involved code-switching to Spanish. One of the women noted a discrepancy between her use of the two languages and said that she tends not to translate to Basque if the original conversation was held in Spanish. In that case, she reports the conversation directly in Spanish even though the language of the conversation she was having at the moment was Basque. However, she would translate Basque utterances into Spanish in a Spanish conversation. The other participants agreed. They mentioned the Spanish tendency of quoting conversations with only minimal introductory phrases, such as *y yo* “and me” and *y tú* “and you.”

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<sup>4</sup> The numbers refer to the age of the informants. In order to support multilingualism and minority languages, the editors and authors of this special issue have agreed to retain the examples in their original language and not to hide them behind the English translations.

Extract 2:

IT: askoz ere egokiagoa, hitz egiten du horrela beste era batean baino.

IR: Bai eta hori, zehar-estiloa ez erabiltea, o sea, niri batzuetan geratzen jat, banabil baten batek esaten duena baina euskeraz, euskeraz esaten dut, baina erderaz danean – N: Ez duzu itzultzen.

IR: Ja, erderaz esaten dutenean bai. Banabil gure arteko elkarrizketa bat esaten, orduen bai egingo dut erderaz, eta euskeraz esan behar badut, erderaz esaten dut.

(N: Ja. IT: Ja.)

IT: Nik ere egiten dut horrela, *claro*, pantomima etorri zitzaion gaztelaniaz, orduan elkarrizketak eta egiten ditu gazteleraz eta...

IR: Baina ez du esaten etorri zen eta esan zigun...

(N: Ja. IT: Ja.)

IR: Nik ere berdin egiten dut, uste dut.

N: Dana dan, nik ez dut uste zehar estiloa normalean erabiltzen dugunik berba egiteko, o *sea*.

IR: Lagun artean igual ez.

N: Hombre, qué va, ez dozu esaten orduan etorri zan eta esan zidan ez dakit nanana, etorri zen eta esan zidan, bueno venga Naiara, goazen ez dakit zer berria den...

IR: Bai.

IT: Badago gaztelaniaz joera bat horrekin y yo no sé qué ni cuántos, y tú nanana y yo nanana...

N: Bai. IR: Bai. (laughs) N: Egia da. (Itziar 45, Irati 30, Naiara 33)

IT: It's a lot more befitting to speak like that [referring to the speech sample] than to speak in some other way.

IR: Yes and that, not to use indirect style, *well*, that happens to me sometimes, I go on about what someone said, but when in Basque, I say it in Basque, but when it is in Spanish-

N: You don't translate.

IR: yeah, when they say it in Spanish. If I'm telling a conversation between us, well then I will do it in Spanish, and if I have to say it in Basque, I say it in Spanish.

N & IT: Yeah.

IT: I also do that, *sure*, the pantomime came to her in Spanish, so she does the conversations and stuff in Spanish and-

IR: But she doesn't say [puts on a different voice and imitates] and then (s)he came and told us...

N and IT: Yeah.

IR: I do the same, I think.

N: Anyway, I believe that we don't usually use indirect style to speak, er, *I mean*-

IR: Maybe among friends we don't.

N: Please, yeah right, you're not going to say, then (s)he came and told me don't know what nanana, then (s)he came and told me, well, Naiara, let's go I don't know what's new.

IR: Yes.

IT: There is this tendency in Spanish and me, don't know what or where, and you nanana and me nanana...

N & IR: Yes (laughter). That's true.

Not all informants, however, shared this opinion. For example, Olatz, who is quoted in Extract 3, claimed she would not speak in the same way as the speakers (who were constantly code-switching) of the speech samples she had just listened to. She says that usually people do their best to translate everything that has been said into Basque. Olatz interpreted using code-switching to report speech as lack of competence in Basque.

Extract 3:

O: Gero, ez du itzultzen esaten ari dena, orduan hor, *o sea*, e... nik normalean, zerbait kontatzen dudanean euskeraz kontatzen dut. Nik ez ditut erderako hitzak sartu, euskeraz kontatzen dut. Honek egiten duena da euskaraz hasi, baina kontatu diotena kontatu zioten bezala kontatu, *o sea*, espainolez. Orduan, hori, horrek, atentzio deitu dit. *O sea*, normalean euskeraz hitz egiten duzunean solturaz, edo... itzuli egiten duzu esan behar duzuna ... baina normalean berak kontatu duena hori euskaraz oso erraz esaten duzu.

I: Ta zergatik uste duzu, e, berak ez duela itzul- itzultzen?

O: Ez dagoelako ohituta euskeraz hitz egiten denbora guztian. *O sea*, e, e, pro- e, ziur aski euskaraz ikasten ibiliko delako edo orain dela gutxi ikasi duelako. (Olatz 33, Interviewer)

O: Well, he doesn't translate what he's saying, so there, *well*, er... I usually, if I tell something I tell it in Basque. I don't put Spanish words there, I tell it in Basque. What he does is to start in Basque, but then telling what was said to him in the way it was said, *I mean*, in Spanish. So that, that's what caught my attention. *I mean*, usually when you speak in Basque fluently or... you translate what you have to say ... but normally what he said is very easy to say in Basque.

I: And why do you think, er, that he doesn't trans- translate?

O: Because he's not used to speaking Basque all the time. *I mean*, er, er, pro- er probably he's learning Basque or learned it just a while ago.

Olatz seemed to interpret bilingual speech as a sign that the speaker lacks sufficient competence to produce the utterances in Basque or that the speaker, at least, is not used to speaking entirely in Basque. The informants of the metalinguistic conversations did not know the background of the speakers of the speech samples, but reported speech and all types of code-switching were often interpreted differently if the speaker of the extracts was perceived as a native or a non-native speaker. One of the speech samples was often judged to be non-native Basque speech, which led to doubts that the speaker was simultaneously translating what he wanted to say from Spanish to Basque. In this context, Aritz asserted that the speaker was not a native speaker of Basque, but learned Basque at school. To justify this belief, he explains:

Extract 4:

Niri eman didan sentzazioa izan da ee agian dudak zituela hitz egiterakoan, orduan zer esan behar zuen, pixkat pentsatzen, bere buruan itzultzen. Gaztelaniatik euskarara itzultzen esan nahi zuena. Nola esaten da hau, pinpan. (Aritz, 33)

I had this feeling that er, he maybe had doubts when he was speaking, then what he needed to say, thinking about it a little, translating it in his head. Translating from Spanish to Basque what he wanted to say. How do I say this, bing bong.

According to native speaker ideology (Doerr 2009), only native speakers possess mental schemas of their language, and the speech of all the rest is characterised by interference, incompetence and translation. This widespread belief has been taken for granted in linguistic studies, and it has been a part of folk linguistic awareness. However, during the last decades, some linguists have started to challenge it. Sociolinguistics like Doerr and others, especially those within the relatively recent new speaker paradigm (O'Rourke et al. 2015: 6-9), have criticised the native speaker ideology for essentialism and for presenting the native speaker as the only real and authentic language user. The language

practices of native speakers are presented as the yardstick to which all linguistic productions are then, often negatively, compared. Blommaert and Backus (2013) have noted that the repertoire of both native and non-native speakers consists of elements (constructions) they have accumulated during their lifetime.

Igor, in Extract 5 assumes that a “true” native Basque speaker with a Basque socio-linguistic background would say everything in Basque, even when this involves translating an original Spanish utterance. In contrast, as Aritz claims in Extract 4, for a non-native Basque speaker from a Spanish background, speaking Basque is in itself a translation. Code-switching to Spanish is, thus, considered either a relief strategy or a liberation of the true, Spanish mental schema of the non-native Basque speaker. Echoing the native speaker ideology, native language is considered the manifestation of the speaker’s true, essential self. Igor uses the expression *euskaldun peto-petoa*, “a real Basque, a hard-core Basque” to refer to a person who would always translate reported speech into Basque.

Extract 5:

Hori da, hori da. Baina nere ee, nik esaten dut honek beti erderaz hitz egiten duelako ze nere ustez euskaldun peto-peto batek Cuban egonda eta beste lagun hori bere pasaia kontatzerakoan, nahiz eta kubatarrak erderaz hitz egiten egon, berak bere lagunari euskeraz esango dio. (Igor, 27)

That’s it, that’s it. But my er, I say that this one speaks always in Spanish cause I think that a real hard-core Basque, even when they have been to Cuba and they are telling their adventures to another friend, even though the Cubans would have spoken in Spanish, they would tell it in Basque to their friend.

There were, however, dissenting voices. Some informants said that reported speech and all code-switching are typical of native Basque speakers. In response to Igor, another participant in the conversation quoted above evokes a caricature of this *euskaldun peto-petoa*, “hard-core Basque/authentic Basque” as someone clearly out of touch with present day reality. The message seems to be that, while the translation of reported speech from Spanish into Basque might occur, it is not common in everyday language use.

Extract 6:

G: Eta zelan esaten dozu *oye mamita* zelan esaten dozu euskeraz?

I: Ba, nere ustez euskaldun peto-petoak esango luke euskeraz.

G: Bai, holan Azpeitiko mendian bizi dan txabolan bizi dan artzainak. (Gorka 34, Igor 27)

G: And *oye mamita* (hello, beauty!), how do you say it in Basque?

I: I think a real hard-core Basque would say that in Basque.

G: Yeah, a shepherd who lives in a mountain hut in Azpeitia.

The ideological undercurrents in Basque bilinguals’ metalinguistic commentary are multiple and often show contradictory tendencies. Not all informants agree with each other, and interpretations vary. Unlike in Extracts 3 and 5, in the following conversation between non-native Basque speakers, code-switching when reporting speech is attributed directly to native Basque speakers (and to young people).

Extract 7:

I: Baina batez ere, ee gazteleraz, a ver, pertsona - gazteleraz hitz egiten duenari buruz hitz egiten ari bazara, *es que claro*, erabiltzen duzu –

A: Bai,

I: Gazteleraz,

A: Errepikatzen duzu hitz berberak,

I: Ez- ez itzultzen duzu zer esan duen

A: Nik uste dut, eta gainera jendea igual herrian eta horrela- horrela hitz egiten dute askotan,

M: Ba hori bai,

A: Batez ere gazteak

I: Batez ere euskaldunzaharrak, askotan. (Irati 24, Amaia 25, Markel 25)

I: But especially also, er in Spanish, let's see, if the person- if you are speaking about what is spoken in Spanish, *it's that sure*, you use-

A: Yes.

I: You repeat exactly the same words

A: No, you don't translate what has been said

I: I think that, and even more I think that maybe people in the village and that way - they speak often that way.

M: Well that yeah.

A: Especially the young.

I: Especially native Basque speakers, often.

The speakers in Extract 7 mentioned later on in the conversation that they, as non-native Basque speakers, would not do this. Due to the language acquisition in a classroom context, they have learned to separate the languages. The data support the view that native Basque speakers use more code-switching when reporting speech; most of the examples involving code-switching and reported speech in the bilingual data are from native Basque speakers. Another common assumption concerning different groups of speakers was that younger speakers use all types of mixed language, whereas older people would only resort to code-switching when reporting speech “exactly how they heard it”. This is an assumption that the data cannot confirm or disprove, as all the informants of the bilingual conversational data examined in section 5 were young(ish) adults.

In sum, what the metalinguistic commentary in general shows is that the bilingual speakers identify reported speech as a locus of interaction in which varying techniques are available: code-switching into Spanish to achieve authenticity and maintain the original voice, and ad hoc translation from Spanish into Basque to achieve a monolingual mode and, thus, linguistic purity. The metalinguistic comments of the informants touched upon the direction of code-switching in reported speech that was stated to be typical from Basque to Spanish but not the other way around. The informants also mentioned group-specificity. According to this view, native Basque speakers prefer translated reported speech, whereas L2 speaker contributions in Basque would be translations as such. L2 Basque speakers were assumed to resort to Spanish code-switches as a relief strategy. This view was not, however, unanimously accepted, as code-switching in reported speech in general was seen as a typical feature of Basque speakers' everyday practice, and ad hoc translation was seen as something that may take place, but not very often.

Overall, reported speech seems to be partially exempt from the purist monolingual norms. It is a form of code-switching that is readily accepted because it is considered as the authentication of the original voice.

## **5 Bilingual Data: From Code-switching via Mixed Practices and ad hoc Translation to Hypothetical Voicing**

As noted in section 2.1, when discussing pragmatic functions of code-switching, reported speech is often mentioned as one of the most common functions. This seems to hold true also in the Basque Country. The bilingual speech data had 65 passages that included code-switching when reporting speech or text. The actual cases of reported speech fragments amounted to even more, as many of the extracts, such as several examples in this section, included embedded quotations and shifting back and forth between quoting and the story-telling frame as well as between the languages.

In section 4, it was concluded that the informants of the metalinguistic data seem to hold the view also harboured by some linguists (Gal 1979; Myers-Scotton 1993a); that code-switching is used for the maximum authenticity of the quoted extract, to maintain the voice as it is. Some informants saw code-switching as a preferred strategy to report speech, while others favoured translation of the quoted extract as a means to maintain monolingual purity. Overall, code-switching in reported speech was considered as an opposing strategy to translating the quoted extract. While this general perception holds true in many cases of reported speech, often the use of linguistic juxtaposition is not that straightforward and simple, and in many examples of the data, what actually happens is the opposite: reported speech in itself is an ad hoc translation or a figment of imagination.

In this section, we will examine different types of examples found in the bilingual data. The examples are organised in an order in which maintaining the original voice becomes gradually less straightforward and clear. We will start with examples in which code-switching maintains the original language of the reported extract and end with examples in which the quoted voice has very little connection to reality, cases of hypothetical reported speech in which code-switching serves to create voices and separates them from the narrative frame. In between these two extremes lies a range of varying practices in which speakers may move back and forth between the languages of their repertoire or provide ad hoc translations for reported parts. In addition, translational practices vary so that translated reported speech may itself be a code-switch. In the terms of TS, this continuum could perhaps be characterised as a mixed continuum of diverse overt and covert practices (House 1997) that either overtly mark and maintain the original voice and distinguish it from the narration or covertly hide the original voice and language.

First, as the informants in the metalinguistic data noted, using code-switching for reported speech often maintains the original language of the utterance. Sometimes the maintenance of the original language is voiced explicitly. Such is the case in Example 1 in which the informant, who is a kindergarten teacher, describes how children, who are



still in the process of language acquisition, experiment with verb conjugation. The children use the principle of analogy to conjugate Spanish verbs, which sometimes leads to normatively atypical results. The Spanish verb *caber*, “to fit”, is irregular. If it follows regular verb conjugation, the first person singular would be *cabo* [‘kabo], “I fit”. However, the irregular first person singular form is, *quepo* [‘kepo]. The same happens with the verb *saber*, “to know”. The first person singular of *saber* is *sé* [se:] instead of the regular *sabo* or the analogous form of the first person singular of the verb *caber* [‘sepo/‘kepo].

Example 1:

Baina batzuetan, esaten dutenean, zer esaten dute, bai, hori, no cabo, no cabo, erderaz quepo, el verbo caber, no cabo, tú cabes y yo cabo. Eta holakoak, hori, ba, no cabo, no sepo, no sabo, no sabo (Igone, 28).

But sometimes, when they say, what do they say, I don’t fit\*, I don’t fit\* in Spanish I don’t fit, the verb fit, I don’t fit\*, you fit and I fit\*. And things like that, well, er, I don’t fit, I don’t know\*, I don’t know\*, I don’t know\*. (The grammatically incorrect verb forms are marked with an asterisk in the translated quoted passage.)

In Example 2, the informant tells about a conversation in a situation where Spanish use was expected. This was a new experience for both the speaker of the example and for his friend, who was also present at the moment of the recording. The young men knew each other from Basque adult education classes and were used to interacting with each other in Basque. In the Basque Country, a local folk wisdom is that you rarely change the language in which you start a human relationship. The informant reports the words of his friend, who had never heard him speak Spanish before, even though Spanish is the dominant language of the surroundings.

Example 2:

Eta Ikerrek behin esan zidan: Hostias, tío, ¡qué raro! Nunca te había escuchado hablar en castellano (Karlos, 28).

And Iker told me once: Jeez, dude, how weird is that! I never heard you speak Spanish before!

Both Examples 1 and 2 are from informants who can be described as L2, non-native or “new” speakers of Basque (for a definition of the term *new speaker* see Kuusi/Kolehmainen/Riionheimo 2017). Overall, the examples in which the original language is explicitly mentioned and thus metalinguistically flagged are more typical in the speech of non-native Basque speakers, who have a tendency to maintain a separation between the languages (Lantto 2012). The native Basque speakers, “old Basques”, navigate between the languages more smoothly, as the next two examples will show. Most of the examples of reported speech with code-switching were found in the speech of the native Basque speakers who were brought up in a bilingual community.

In several interactions in the bilingual data, code-switching is used as a device for story-telling. Even though the language of the reported speech is the language of the original conversation in the following example, the boundaries between the story-telling frame and the dialogues are strengthened by the juxtaposition between the languages,

which serves as a clear contextualisation cue (Gumperz 1982) for listeners to the narrative. The informant tells the story of a guy who approached her at a party in Panama. The listeners are her two friends. The frame of the story, the background, is explained mostly in Basque with some code-switching to Spanish; the informant moves exclusively to Spanish to introduce the conversational turns (marked in italics both in the example and in the English translation). The Spanish turns represent both the speech of speaker herself and the voice of the other party in the discussion being referred to:

Example 3:

Eta ba, hori, *bueno*, ba, tipo bat hor *en plan superamable, bueno, y te doy esto* eta nik *que no, que no, y te doy esto y que no, ya me arreglo yo* eta ez dakit zer. *Encima*, eta gero gabaz...ta hori, dantzaz egiten eta hori, eta ni geratu nintzen bakarrik mahai batean eta agertzen da tipoa eta *si estás viviendo en La ciudad del niño*, eta ni, *pues sí, te conozco de algo y tal*, dino, *pues sí, yo he estado allí con la asociación esta* eta aa, *bueno*, ba tipo ona da, tipo majoa eta ez dakit zer eta holan, ba, bueno, gero latie emoten *un poco panameño*, baina *bueno*, ondo jauzi zidan” (Idoia, 29).

And er, that, *well*, er, the guy was there *like supernice, well, and I'll give this to you* and me *oh no, oh no, and I give this to you and oh no, I can manage* and don't know what. *On top of everything* and then during the night... and all, dancing and all, and I stayed there alone at a table and the guy appears and *do you live in La ciudad del niño*, and me, *well yeah, I know you from somewhere and all*, he says, *well yeah, I have been there with this association* and aah, *well*, he's a good guy, a nice guy and don't know what, *er, well, then pestering you a bit Panamenian*, but *well*, I liked him.

Note that in this example, the informant, before introducing the Spanish turns, uses several Basque introductory expressions, such as *eta nik/eta ni*, “and me”, *dino* “he says”. Sometimes, however, the only contextualisation cue of reported speech (for example in “*and do you live in La ciudad del niño*”) that is given by the informant is the code-switch from one language to another.

Code-switching can be used to emphasise the demarcation between reported speech and the speaker's own insights. Changing the code serves the purpose of distancing the speaker from the opinions expressed in the quoted extract (Frick/Riionheimo 2013). This is the case in Example 4, in which the original language of the previous situation (or text in this case) is maintained for the most part. Yet the boundaries are blurry, and the speaker moves back and forth between the languages. The languages are mixed in the final product; small parts of the original Spanish-language article, which appeared in a right-wing Spanish nationalist newspaper, are voiced in Basque, i.e. they are translated passages, whereas a part of the narrative frame and of the speaker's own side commentary are in Spanish.

Example 4:

Behin egin zen bat *sobre el gobierno vasco acaba de sacar la descripción del cerdo vasco auténtico*, o sea, zuk badakizu, *para ponerle el Euskolabel izan behar du genéticamente el cerdo vasco*, ba, deskribapena, ez?, *el cerdo vasco tiene que tener el lomo formando un ángulo de treinta grados con el jamón y no sé que gauzak pone el...*, ez dakit, *izterrekin con el muslo*, ta guztia, ez?, *y tiene que tener...* eta gero ja hasten zan *y seguramente el cerdo vasco es nacionalista*. *Joder, a parte del descojono total*, benetan, *y tiene carnet del PNV* (Arkaitz, 32).

Once they did one *about the Basque Government has come up with the definition of the authentic Basque swine*, I mean, you know, *to give it the Basque label it has to be genetically a Basque swine*, er, the description, right? *The Basque swine has to have a loin that is at an angle of thirty grades to the ham and I don't know what things they put the*, don't know, *with the thigh with the thigh* and all, right? *and it has to have...* and then he already started *and for sure the Basque swine is a nationalist*. *Christ, even despite of the total fucked-upness*, really, *and it has got a member card of the Basque Nationalist Party*.

In this example with mixed practices, the informant moves back and forth between the languages, and even though these moves primarily follow the separation between the quoted Spanish article and his own opinions, they do not do so entirely. The example shows some cases of rather intrusive intrasentential code-switching, such as the insertion of the Basque predicate *izan behar du*, “it has to be”, approximately in the middle of the quoted passage. The speaker also voices some of his evaluative opinions regarding the text, such as *joder, a parte del descojono total*, “Christ, even despite the total fucked-upness” in Spanish. He includes a reiteration, *izterrekin con el muslo*, “with the thigh”, in which the word is first introduced in Basque, then in Spanish. The Basque word can be considered a translated fragment of the original article, which is then repeated in Spanish.

One of the minimal conversational indicators of reported speech are the Spanish discourse markers that are often used to start a turn. The entire utterance does not need to be code-switched; the Spanish discourse marker *pues*, “well, in that case”, is often also used as a turn starter in Basque conversations. In Example 5, the discourse marker serves as an anticipatory contextualisation cue to signal that the narrator is moving from her own narrative to quoting the words of someone else. The language of the original conversation remains unclear.

Example 5:

Beitu barnetegian, gure klaseko batzuek beti Gaizkaren kontra: *pues esto, pues hau ez duzu ondo egin* (Igone 28).

See how there in the Basque language school some people in our class were always against Gaizka (a personal name): *well this, well this you didn't do well*.

Often even Basque conversations are quoted in Spanish. In the following two examples, Iratxe quotes the words of her interlocutor in two different reported conversations. In Example 6, she tells Edurne, a friend who arrives later to the scene, that another friend, Marta, had to leave early, but that Marta hopes that Marta and Edurne can meet another day. She goes on to indirectly quote Marta, who laments the fact that she hardly ever

sees Edurne. Even though the common language of the group is Basque, she quotes parts of Marta's message in Spanish.

Example 6:

Esan dau Martak joan behar zela konzertue entzuten eta que beste egun baten a ver geldituten garen. Que no te ve el pelo. Que no te ve el pelo (Iratxe, 29).

Marta said that (she) had to go listen to the concert and that let's see if we meet another day. That she doesn't see you at all. That she doesn't see you at all.

In Example 7, Iratxe quotes Alfonso, a non-native Basque speaker who usually is not eager to speak Basque. Alfonso is ashamed of his language skills, which he finds lacking. However, on the day of the reported narrative, Alfonso had had several drinks, which helped him to overcome his shame.

Example 7:

Eta hor egon zan menos mal que se me descongeló la sangre, verborrea bota zuen eta euskeraz (Iratxe, 29).

And there he was it's so much better now that my blood finally unfroze, he went on a massive rant and in Basque.

It is hard to say if the original remarks in the previous two examples were made in Basque or in Spanish – after all, as Basque is spoken in a bilingual mode, seemingly Basque speech often includes frequent code-switching to Spanish. In Examples 6 and 7, Iratxe may also not report the direct words of Marta and Alfonso. What she does is put herself in their role and describe their feelings in a way she sees as the most appropriate in the situation. Marta said earlier in the conversation that she almost never sees Edurne nowadays. The reported speech in Example 6, *que no te ve el pelo*, is a Spanish idiom meaning “that s/he doesn't see (even) your hair” (literal translation) or “that I don't ever get to see you” (meaning-equivalent translation), so it is logical that Iratxe would use it in Spanish instead of in a Basque loan translation. Iratxe does not report the exact words, but the content of what Marta said. In the process, she changes the language from Basque to Spanish. In Example 7, Alfonso's use of Basque is mentioned explicitly. It is unclear, however, if he actually said the reported part in Basque or even if he really said something along the lines of the quoted passage. Code-switching is often used for side-comments (Gumperz 1982; Auer 2000: 164), and without a recording of the original conversation, the reported part of that example can be interpreted as Iratxe's description of the change that occurred in Alfonso that day.

Sometimes code-switching is used from Basque to Spanish, even though the reported conversation took place in a completely different language. In both cases, we are dealing with translated reported speech that is simultaneously a code-switch and that Álvarez-Cáccamo (1996) defines as code displacement (see section 2.1). The function of the code-switch seems to be separating the narrative frame from the dialogues. In Example 8, the speaker refers to a conversation that was explicitly said to have taken place in German using code-switching from Basque to Spanish. This example shows that even though the easiest go-to explanation of code-switching when reporting speech

is preserving the original, often code-switching in itself is an ad hoc translation, or, as stated in section 2.2 a performative interpretation of a reporter's recollection of what has happened. In Example 8, the translated reported speech entails turns uttered by the speaker himself, i.e. they are self-translations, and turns uttered by someone else present in the prior situation.

Example 8:

Eta berak, bera hasten da irakurtzen *justo* itzuli diot nire amari, ez, zer esaten zuen, ba *bueno*, gutxi gora-behera eta gero tipoa hasten da alemanez, *joder, y que soy de Offenburg, cerca de Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg. Y digo a, pues, mira los de Baden-Württemberg son mucho más majos que los de Baviera y dice sí, pero es verdad, claro, que vas a decirle tú,* eta egon gara hizketan (Arkaitz 32).

And him, he starts reading I *just* translated it to my mother, no, what he said, er *well*, almost, and then the guy starts in German: *shit, and I am from Offenburg, that's close to Freiburg, Baden-Württemberg. And I say, oh, well, see those from Baden-Württemberg are a lot nicer than those from Bayern and he says yes, but that's true, sure, what are you going to say,* and we were talking.

What makes this reported conversation even more interesting is that both of the persons present in the conversation knew German but were more used to communicating with each other in Basque or Spanish. For the purpose of the authentication of the original voice or for a performance, the use of German would have been more salient, and also as a conversational resource it would have had a stronger impact. However, the bilingual conversational mode seems to involve the juxtaposition of Basque and Spanish, but not any other language.

Even though all types of reported speech can be reproduced in Spanish, an originally Spanish utterance can also be translated into Basque. In Example 9, the informant quotes the words of a non-Basque speaker who told the informant's friend, who was not a Basque speaker, to go look for a flat elsewhere. The informant's friend and the original speaker of the reported speech were flat mates at the time, but did not get along very well. The reported speech here is reproduced in Basque and is, thus, an ad hoc translation from Spanish into Basque. Right before the reported extract, however, the informant introduces a Spanish discourse marker and, after the reported extract, he returns to Spanish to give his own evaluative side commentary of the friend's flat mate's behaviour. This shows that even though the informants in the metalinguistic conversations saw translation as a means to maintain a monolingual mode and linguistic purity, this is not always the case. In this example, the speaker resorts to Spanish immediately before and after the translated reported speech.

Example 9:

Hori nola esan daiteke hori, o sea, *zoaz pikutara, beste etxera. ¡Qué cabrona, Rosa!* (Ager 30).

That, how can you say that, *I mean, go to hell, to another house. What an asshole, Rosa!*

As highlighted in section 2.2, in all the cases including translated reported speech and even cases when reported speech is quoted in the original language of the utterance or the conversation, the prior words or messages are unlikely to be reported exactly as they were uttered originally. Reported speech, code-switching, or ad hoc translation, is only the speakers' interpretation of her or his memory of exactly what was said. In addition, reported speech does not necessarily even refer to what has been said, but to an imaginary conversation, "virtual" or "impersonal" voices like those described by Alfonzetti (1998) or "hypothetical situations" like those described by Muñoa (1997). In the following example, the speaker does an imitation of the history of the world leaders and players in international politics. The speaker starts quoting almost from the beginning (*nik agindu nahi dut...*). The initial part is quoted in Basque; the first stretch of reported speech in Spanish refers vaguely to George W. Bush, the second one perhaps to the terrorists of 9/11 and the third quotation to Christopher Columbus. The last quote refers to the words of an undefined "many", their language, nationality, and other qualities unknown. With regard to the terminology of Álvarez-Cáccamo (1996), such examples could perhaps be referred to as hypothetical code-displacements.

Example 10:

Beti gaude holan: *nik agindu nahi dut, ez, nik, eta gero nik, eta gero beste bat eta gero beste bat, eta beste guztiak izorratzen denbora guztian: ahora voy a Irak por el petróleo y voy a no sé qué, voy a América y los mato a todos. Ala, y digo encima que la he descubierto, yo he descubierto América. Y pocos años después me he cargado a la mitad de la población de allí. ¡Qué orgulloso estoy! Bai, horrela askok esaten zuten larogeitahamabian: el descubrimiento de América* (Arkaitz 32).

We are always like that: I want to command, no, me, and then me, and then another one and screwing everyone else over all the time: now I'm going to Iraq for the oil and I go to don't know what, I go to America and I'll kill all of them. Yeah, and on the top of all that I'll say that I have discovered it, I have discovered America. And in a few years after that I've done in half of the population there. How proud am ! Yeah, that's what many people said in ninety-two: the discovery of America.

In sum, a continuum of varying reporting practices emerges from the bilingual data examined for this article. Reported speech may maintain the original language of the utterance or it may be a complete or partial ad hoc translation into the language of the ongoing conversation. The speakers' practices may also be mixed so that code-switching is not restricted to reported speech but may involve other parts of the utterance as well. Sometimes translating and code-switching coincide. This is the case when a speaker translates into a language that is neither the language of the ongoing conversation nor the language of the situation referred to. Even speech that originally was uttered in the language of the ongoing conversation, Basque, may be reported in Spanish. Finally, code-switching may be utilised as a "device" to mark hypothetical voices. An important new insight is perhaps the fact that code-switching and translation are not opposite strategies as seen by the bilinguals in the metalinguistic data, but they can become intertwined and even serve the same function; in cases of code-displacement, the translated reported speech is simultaneously a code-switch. This means that both ad hoc translation and

code-switching serve as contextualisation cues and mark the reported part. The main function of switching language when reporting speech seems to be what others, such as Alfonzetti (1998) and Muñoa (1997), have noted: creating voices, separating the narrative frame from the dialogues. It is not the original, authentic voice, but the authentication of a voice that does not belong to the narrator. In cases of code displacement, translation serves this same function. Translation or not, the voice presented as reported speech is always filtered. What the bilinguals in metalinguistic conversations considered as “telling it as it is, saying how it was said” is the speaker’s performance of the conversation or text; it might be translated, it might be imaginary, it might be a summary or an extended version, we will never know. Often reported speech involves dramatisation and exaggeration. The speaker modifies and edits the reported speech to a form that serves the conversational effect in that particular interaction. The speaker-reporter or the reporter-translator has the power of an editor.

## **6 Discussion and Conclusions: Openly Voiced Ideologies vs. Ideologies of Practice**

The Basque bilingual informants in the present study saw code-switching as a straightforward alternative strategy for translation in reported speech. They believed the use of code-switching maintained the original form and language of the utterance, in the way assumed in the earliest studies of conversational code-switching. As the examination of the bilingual conversational data has shown, sometimes this is the case, but there is a whole range of practices from maintaining the original language of the reported conversation to the reported speech in itself being an ad hoc translation. The boundaries of utterances and quoted extracts are often muddled, and the informants move back and forth between languages. The main function of both reported speech and code-switching, thus, seems to be the creation of voices and highlighting the heteroglossia in a narrative.

In the case described in which all participants were bi- or multilingual and had access to both Basque and Spanish, ad hoc translations were not needed to transmit a message. Even if left to the original language of the utterance, they would be understood by the participants. Like code-switching, ad hoc translation is a stylistic device chosen by the speaker-editor, and it can serve various purposes. For example, it may be used to hide the multilingualism of the original situation (when utterances originally said in Spanish or another language are translated into Basque in a Basque conversation) or to accommodate the multilingualism of the original situation to the sociolinguistic context of the conversation (when utterances in German are translated into Spanish in an otherwise Basque conversation). Ad hoc translation can also add heterogeneity to an originally monolingual situation if originally Basque conversations are quoted in Spanish.

Some informants noted that the practice of reporting speech in Spanish seems to be typical when speaking Basque, but this does not happen when the conversational frame is Spanish. As seen in the examples in section 5, it is common to create voices of reported speech using code-switching to Spanish within the Basque conversational frame.

The conversational data observed in this article had mostly Basque as its base language, so it did not allow a comparison in the opposite direction. Nevertheless, based on earlier research on bilingual communities (Matras 2009: 59, 98) and the Basque context (Lantto 2015) it is easy to speculate why reporting speech in Basque in otherwise Spanish conversations does not function as a conversational resource in the same way, and the explanation is deeply connected to the sociolinguistic power dynamics of the context of this particular language contact situation. All Basque speakers on the Spanish side of the Basque Country are bilingual, whereas the Spanish speakers are not. When there is no communicative reason to maintain the language boundaries, i.e. all participants understand both Basque and Spanish, Basque can be spoken in a bilingual mode (for “bilingual mode”, see Grosjean 1997), using the resources of both languages and not suppressing any of the languages. This is reflected in a bilingual speech style where resorting to Spanish as a contextualisation device is easily conventionalised as a conversational routine in conversations that are generally labelled and understood as “Basque” by the bilingual speakers (Lantto 2015).

The power dynamics of the revitalisation context are also reflected in the way different Basque speakers’ language practices are interpreted according to their sociolinguistic profiles and the context of language acquisition. Echoing the native language ideology described by Doerr (2009), some informants of the metalinguistic conversations assumed that native and non-native Basque speakers would have different mental schemas, and that true Basque speakers would have no need to resort to Spanish in their speech. Other informants disagreed and claimed that native Basque speakers use more code-switching in reported speech than non-native Basque speakers. In the bilingual data, the native Basque speakers *do* use all types of code-switching more than the non-native speakers. The reported speech of non-native Basque speakers is often metalinguistically flagged, perhaps to show that they are aware of trespassing language boundaries. However, reported speech is one of the most typical functions of code-switching also for non-native Basque speakers, who otherwise maintain language boundaries more clearly. Reported speech seems to be one of the most easily accessible and accepted pragmatic functions for code-switching for all speakers and is partially exempt from purist language norms.

From the perspective of Translation Studies, the most important finding of this study concerns the identification of a new function that has not previously been associated with translation in the study of professional translation. In cases of code-displacement when translated reported speech is at the same time a code-switch, translation serves the same function that has been associated with code-switching. It functions as a contextualisation cue, separates the reported part from the story-telling frame, and authenticates the voice of the original or hypothetical reported passage. In other words, translation and code-switching seem to be somewhat parallel devices, and the division of labour between these two practices is not as clear as the bilingual informants of this study assumed. On the whole, this study has shown that the types and functions of ad hoc translation in ordinary multilingual speakers’ everyday practices deserve to be described



and examined. From the point of view of code-switching research, the translational perspective, as such, is new and shows where co-operation between the two fields of research may be beneficial.

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#### Redaktion

Leona Van Vaerenbergh  
University of Antwerp  
Arts and Philosophy  
Applied Linguistics / Translation and Interpreting  
S. D. 225, Prinsstraat 13  
B-2000 Antwerpen  
Belgien  
[Leona.VanVaerenbergh@uantwerpen.be](mailto:Leona.VanVaerenbergh@uantwerpen.be)

Klaus Schubert  
Universität Hildesheim  
Institut für Übersetzungswissenschaft  
und Fachkommunikation  
Universitätsplatz 1  
D-31141 Hildesheim  
Deutschland  
[klaus.schubert@uni-hildesheim.de](mailto:klaus.schubert@uni-hildesheim.de)

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### Authors

Hanna Lantto is a post-doctoral researcher at the University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu. Her research interests include code-switching and language contact, language ideologies, and new speakers of minority languages.

Email: [hanna.lantto@uef.fi](mailto:hanna.lantto@uef.fi)

Leena Kolehmainen is professor of German at the University of Turku. Her research interests include the study of grammatical phenomena, the comparative and corpus linguistic study of languages and translated texts, and the contact-linguistic study of translation. She is the (co-)editor of several collective volumes and special issues of journals, e.g. on the methodology of cross-linguistic comparison (2013), on non-professional translation (2015), on the interconnections between translation and code-switching (2016), and on the linguistic analysis of literary translations (2016). She heads the project "The unexplored contexts of language contact: translation and interpreting" (Emil Aaltonen Foundation, 2015-2018).

E-mail: [leena.kolehmainen@utu.fi](mailto:leena.kolehmainen@utu.fi)

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