

Der zweite Band der Akten des 34. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, das vom 7. bis 10. September 1999 am Fachbereich Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz stattgefunden hat, enthält die Beiträge zu den Sektionen Psycholinguistik, Soziolinguistik, Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft, Übersetzungswissenschaft, Kontrastive Linguistik, Pragmatik, Lexikographie und Computerlinguistik. Zusammen mit dem ersten Band, der sich schwerpunktmäßig mit syntaktischen, semantischen und phonetischen Aspekten der Linguistik beschäftigt, gibt das Buch einen breit gefächerten Überblick über den Stand der sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschung am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts.

This second volume of the Proceedings of the 34th Linguistics Colloquium, which took place September 7–10, 1999 at the Faculty of Applied Linguistics and Cultural Studies of the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz, contains contributions in psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, translation theory, comparative linguistics, pragmatics, lexicography, and computational linguistics. Together with the first volume, which mainly focuses on issues related to syntax, semantics, and phonetics, the book gives a broad overview of the state of the art in linguistics at the end of the 20th century.

Reinhard Rapp ist am Fachbereich Angewandte Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz in Forschung und Lehre tätig. Seine Hauptarbeitsgebiete sind die Computerlinguistik, die Psycholinguistik und die Informationswissenschaft.

Reinhard Rapp teaches linguistics and computer science at the Faculty of Applied Linguistics and Cultural Studies of the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz. His main research interests are in computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, and information science.

www.peterlang.de

LINGUISTIK INTERNATIONAL



SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT AUF DEM WEG IN DAS DRITTE JAHRTAUSEND

AKTEN DES 34. LINGUISTISCHEN KOLLOQUIUMS
IN GERMERSHEIM 1999

TEIL II: SPRACHE, COMPUTER, GESELLSCHAFT

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
REINHARD RAPP

PETER LANG
Europäischer Verlag der Wissenschaften

Italo-Albanians and Albanians: A Problematic Case of (Socio-)Linguistic Contact

Marta Maddalon, Giovanni M. G. Belluscio

The aim of our research is to investigate a type of sociolinguistic contact that we consider peculiar because of the nature of the two languages involved and their particular relationship, i.e.

- 1) they are genetically related;
- 2) Arbëresh is an example of a further development of a NEW variety, used by a minority group, living in a foreign country;
- 3) linguistic and cultural contacts between Albanians and Italo-Albanians have always been scarce, complex, and one way mainly: Arbëresh → Albanian.

From this starting point, in our present paper, we tackle some very general problems, on the one hand from a more 'social orientated' point of view, we consider in particular the cultural attitude towards Italy, and its influence on linguistic and socio-linguistic behaviour; on the other hand, we describe and comment some interesting examples of different developments in Arbëresh, showing a more or less precise chronology of certain structural and lexical changes in Albanian itself. This may well be another good example of "using the past to explain the present", as also the contrary. Finally, we present and discuss the more linguistically and socio-linguistically relevant events, at all pertinent levels of linguistic analysis, including a tentative description of the CS and CM models used by our speakers. The very last point involves the way in which many *young* Albanians learn Italian, no longer by direct contact but through the mass media, and how this determines performance as distinct from *erst-while* acquisition by direct contact with native speakers.

In our paper we describe some of the more interesting problems noted, as well as attempting a general comparison between the two systems in contact (Albanian and Arbëresh), pointing out the differences and the principal elements passed from one to the other, wittingly or not. Some tentative conclusions will be made to focus ethnic attitudes between the two groups involved, and the role of linguistic performance in this process. The other interesting aspect is the way in which many Albanians have learned Italian. In the past, when Albania was an Italian colony, many Albanians spoke Italian, but after World War Two, during the last regime, the international political relations with western countries were practically forbidden. Most people learned Russian at school. If we make an exception for older people who know Italian because of former Italian domination, most young people have learned it from Italian TV programmes that are very popular in the country. The role of television programmes in second languages acquisition is becoming more relevant at the present. From an oral communication from Uruguayan sources we learn that it is quite common for people in many South American countries to use Spanish + Portuguese at home because they have learned Portuguese watching Brazilian television.

Arbëresh/Italian: the first kind of sociolinguistic contact

The first migratory trend from Albania towards Italy approximatively four hundred and fifty years ago was provoked by the Turkish invasion that obliged Albanians to leave their Country and look for a new place to live peacefully. There were many successive migratory waves in the immediately following period and the social composition of the participants, as well as their different settlements, is connected with the complex history of Albanian migration in Italy.

Generally, from a linguistic point of view, it is important to consider the geographical distribution and the provenance of the majority of the first groups that arrived in Italy. As we know, in fact, Albania is linguistically divided in two main groups, Geg and Tosk, and of course in this case it is important to remember that the Albanians that left for Italy belonged to the Tosk group. The successive development of Italo-Albanian dialects is based on this variety. Of course, the knowledge and general use of Arbëresh differ from community to community, and depends on the age of speakers.

The repertoire

The main varieties possessed by Italo-Albanian speakers are Italian and Arbëresh, in the case of communities in which the language, as well as cultural traditions (i.e. the Orthodox rite from a religious point of view), are still vital. It would be more precise to use 'regional Italian', instead of 'Italian' tout court, and to add to those codes the local dialect, as well, genetically 'akin' to Italian in a broad Romance sense but in a strict phylogenetic sense and structurally 'more akin' to Roumanian and Sardinian etc. Since the Italo-Albanian problem is bedded into the more general one of the overall Italian repertoire, it would be easier to schematize the two sociolinguistic situations and make a rapid comparison:

Italian repertoire (spoken)

Regional Italian (H): formal, some degree of standardization, etc.

Regional Italian (L): informal, less standardized, especially if a regional (or sub-regional) koiné does not exist.

Dialect (1): more or less Italianized, especially in big towns.

Dialect (2): less Italianized and more local, especially in more isolated places and small villages.

Arbëresh repertoire (spoken)

Regional Italian (H): formal, some degree of standardization, etc.

Regional Italian (L): informal, less standardized, especially if a regional (or sub-regional) koiné does not exist.

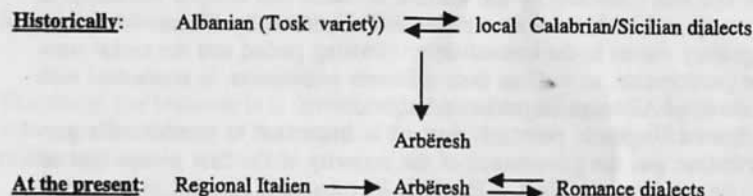
Dialect (1) more or less Italianized, especially in big towns.

Dialect (2) less Italianised and more local, especially in more isolated places and small villages.

Arbëresh: there may be relevant differences, both linguistically and in the different degree of Italianization.

(Scheme 1)

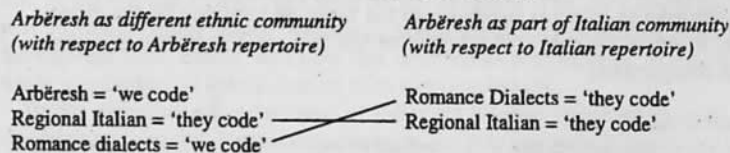
Considering the time and the kind of contact between Albanians and Italians, it is quite clear that the first and main linguistic relationship is an Albanian / local Calabrian dialect type. We can summarize the mutual linguistic exchange as follows:



(Scheme 2)

The particular situation of Arbëresh with respect to Italian as *Dachsprache* (with which it has no genetic relationship, unless in a broad I.-E. sense), together with no mutual understanding between their Albanian code and Italian, must be taken into account. In the case of Arbëresh the way in which they consider and use their language or Italian is based on the fact that Arbëresh is a "we code" and Italian is a "they code" in everyday, normal conversation¹. A further 'complexity' is due to the fact that, as already stated, their repertoire is completed by regional Italian and Calabrian dialect, that in its local varieties plays the role of "we code" vis-à-vis Italian, considered the "they code" in many linguistic exchanges.

'we code' - 'they code' scheme



(Scheme 3)

Determining what must be considered 'we code'/'they code' is always complicated because, apart from general considerations about common feelings towards a particular code, many other factors must be taken into account, a fact sometimes not completely clear to the speakers involved, either. Much field-work on very complex sociolinguistic situations, mainly because of the number and typology of relationships between the codes involved, has shown that a static definition is neither the more appropriate nor the most useful (cf. McLure-McLure 1988: passim). In our case, in fact, if we take into account the sociolinguistic position of Italo-Albanians, we can surely apply to their situation the well known Gumperz addage:

¹ It is interesting to note that in many Arbëreshë villages the speaker say *'fjasmì (alla) si na'* to indicate the Arbëresh code, i.e. 'let's speak as we (do)'.

"The tendency is for the ethnically specific minority language to be regarded as 'we code' and become associated with in-group and formal activities, while the majority language serves as 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiff and personal out-group relations" (Gumperz, 1976:8).

However, they share living and social space with Italians and they share their repertoire as well, so local Romance dialects may become 'we code' and regional Italian 'they code', following general sociolinguistic Italian behaviour.

Social identity: some remarks

All problems involved in every kind of social and linguistic contact are 'peculiar', in some way or another. Starting from this quite obvious consideration, we tackle, in particular, some problems of determining ethnic identity, as far as some linguistic phenomena (in the widest sense) will guide us in that task; further on, we consider the different feeling towards Italian and its culture, whether shared or not by the two groups.

For Arbëresh Communities, in fact, it is quite obvious that one of the main problems was, and still is, the maintenance of their cultural identity. The way in which this happens, in every contact situation with minority groups living in a foreign country, is interesting in itself, and may enable us to find and comment the more useful strategies applied in such cases. In particular, for the Arbëreshë, we claim that the maintenance of their cultural identity, as well as of their language, the main medium for this maintenance, may well be their capacity to adapt, plus the acceptance of having to give up part of the so-called 'purenness' of their language and tradition, in favour of Italian culture and language (in Calabrian or Sicilian terms, etc.). "Tutto cambia perché nulla cambi", to summarize, in Gattopardo terms, is often a good survival strategy in an unfavourable situation.²

The choice of coming to Italy is surely due to the political crisis after the fall of Hoxha's regime and to the geographical proximity of Italy, but a great part of the decision is based on the hope of starting a new life exactly like the one they see on television. This is a case of complex interplay between cultural and linguistic aspects. In fact, the image of Italy they have from TV sources determines a positively biased attitude in general, even though grounded on false presuppositions; such a positive attitude usually encourages and facilitates language learning.

The sample

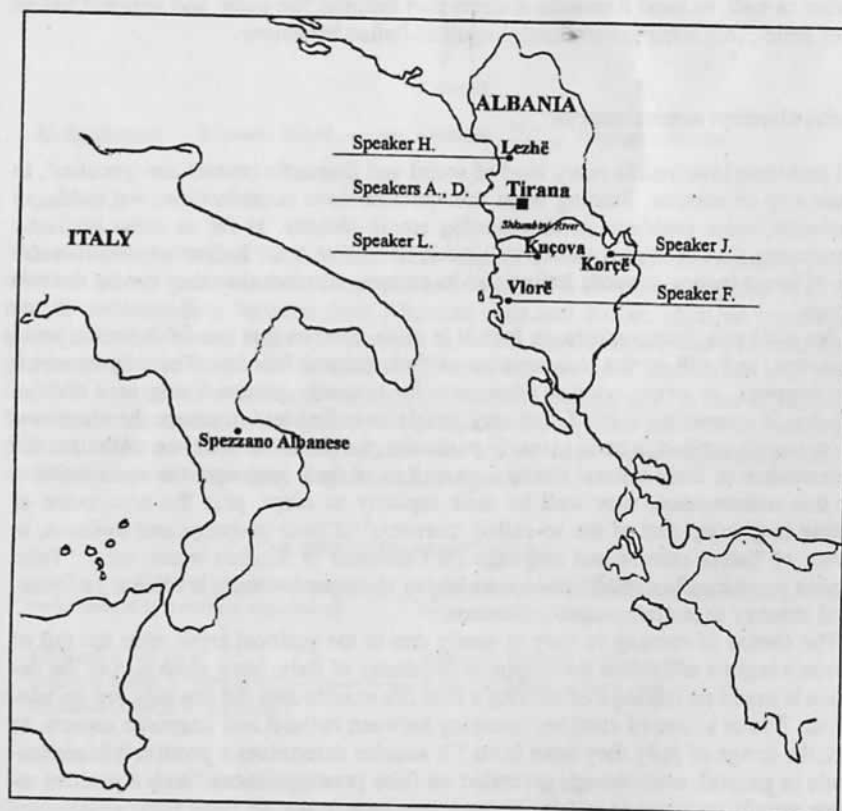
Our sample is composed of 12 speakers, males and females, 6 Italo-Albanians, from 28 to 65 years of age, living from birth in the Arbëresh village of Spezzano Albanese (in the province of Cosenza), and 6 Albanians, coming from different parts of Albania (see map 1), aged from 25 to 42, resident in Italy for different lengths of time.

Many factors may have influenced communicative exchanges analysed, in particular the different degree of acquaintanceship between participants³, the difference

² G. Tommasi di Lampedusa, *Il Gattopardo*, Feltrinelli 1957.

³ In a longer version we describe the social networks in which they participate.

in sex, age and social position, notwithstanding the tendentially artificial nature of the situation, a sort of an 'interview', even if topics were undirected. From a diastatic point of view, at any rate, the sample is quite homogeneous since all the informants share a good cultural level; as already said, diatopic differences must be taken into account, as explained.



(Map 1)

Linguistic phenomena

We group together and comment conversations on the basis of the length of Albanian speakers' residence in Spezzano, as well as on their knowledge of the codes involved. We have taken into account all levels of linguistic analysis (that will be commented in a longer version): the present paper, however, concentrates on the phonetic and the lexical levels, considering dialectal differences internal to Shqip (Albanian). We make a first distinction between general observations on the similarity and the differences between Albanian and Arbëresh, and the mutual influence when they are used

in the same linguistic exchange. On the other hand, we must take into account, and try to insert our consideration on CS examples in a more general analytical model for this phenomenon. Both aspects are very complex to analyse; in particular in the second case, considering recent developments in CS definition and analysis, we limit ourselves to a general description of some examples. We group together and comment conversations on the basis of the length of Albanian speakers' residence in Spezzano, as well as on their knowledge of the codes involved.

Lexical level

- a) Verbs remodelled on the Calabro-Italian form, and conjugated according to the Arbëresh/Albanian model, i.e.: *e kapipte* (= *e kuptove* 'I understood'), *sa të sistemarem* (= *për të u rregulluar ~ sistemuar*, 'to settle, down'), *abituari* (= *mësohemi* 'we get used') *sa të guadhanjar* (= *sa të fitoj* 'to earn'), or typical Arbëreshë verbs: *shërbej* (= *punoj* 'to work'), *i kalluan* (= *i vodhëtin* 'they stole')⁴;
- b) Arbëreshë nouns or Italian arbëreshized nouns: *katund* (= *fshat* 'village'), *frigë* (= *punë* 'job, work'), *purtun* (= *derë e madhe* 'door'), *domandet* (= *pyetjet* 'questions'), *me komunën* (= *me bashkinë* 'with the Town Council'), *kriaturët* (= *fëmijët* 'the children'), etc.;
- c) Arbëreshë adjectives or Italian arbëreshized adjectives: *një cik* (= *pak* 'a little, some'), *pakund* (= *shumë* 'many, much, a lot of'), *më diversu* (= *më i ndryshëm* 'more different'), *më pexhu* (= *më keq* 'worse');
- d) Arbëreshë adverbs or Italian arbëreshized adverbs: *papanë* (= *edhe një herë* 'again'), *njëmend* (= *tani* 'now'), *nani* (= *tani* 'now'), *ndëç* (= *nëqoftë se*, 'if'), *mai* (= *kurrë* 'never'), *mungu* (= *as* 'neither'), etc.;
- e) phrases such as: *një xhoj shpi* (= *një shtëpi tepër të bukur* 'a very nice house'), *shpi me qfit* (= *shtëpi me qirë* 'a house to let'), etc.

In some cases, words whose precise Italian equivalent is not known are rendered by words not understood by the Arbëresh, who use other lexical items in their stead (*kocka* 'bone', Arbëresh: *asht*); the form *asht* is common to both Albanian and Arbëresh, while the first is not, so in this case the lexical choice works (apparently) against mutual understanding. Other phenomena found in our interviews are false starts, in the case of Albanians mainly, but not exclusively; the direction is more often Italian → Albanian and the reasons are linked to the difficulty in finding the right Italian word, but in many cases it is also a sign of 'good will' and cooperation: to go back to a common linguistic source or 'common Albanian', which includes Diaspora varieties, notwithstanding obvious differences and historical distance, as an ethnically significant act. This consideration seems to contrast with the observation on the use of Italian as a 'lingua franca', already commented. It is worth noting that in some cases speakers decide to translate elements from Italian into Albanian or to present

⁴ On the role and the differences in the usage of past tense and present perfect in Arbëresh, cf. Altamari (1994). We think that a contrastive analysis on the differences between their use in different regional Italians (differences exist also among different parts of Calabria region) and Italo-Albanian varieties would be very useful.

together the Albanian and the Arbëresh version of the same word (see below). In some cases, it is clearly a choice based, more or less consciously, on a shared ethnicity.⁵

The heart of the matter is that in this case a great anomaly exists in the relationship between a language and one of its varieties, developed not in the same sociolinguistic context, but far away in time and space, a variety that has, moreover, an evident diglossic relationship with *another* language (Arbëresh repertoire). We think that, if we are going to talk about old and new ethnicity⁶ (cf. Gumperz 1982) and to discuss conversational cooperation strategies⁷ (Heller 1982, 1988), we must take into account many factors, some of which are new and different vis-à-vis the classical situation investigated.

Since the way in which a people or a group calls itself is internally meaningful, it will be useful to observe the relationship between the different names adopted to indicate themselves or the *others*; the words used are: *Shqiptar* – *Arbëresh* – *Albanez* (only in one case was there an explicit request by an Arbëresh speaker (conversation 2) to point out the exact origin of the word 'gjegji'⁸). Arbëreshë never use the term *Shqiptar* to call Albanians (it is the common Albanian word for 'Albanian'; it must have become 'common' for 'inhabitant of Albania' after the Diaspora). The Arbëreshë extensively use *Albanez*, and the same Albanians agree to adopt this name to indicate themselves, as a sort of cooperation signal, as an alternative to *Shqiptar*. There are no problems in the opposite direction, because Albanians always use *Arbëresh* for Italo-Albanians, never *Gjegji*, either because it would be a pointless phatic expression, without sense for them, or they would have already grasped its cultural, ergo negative, valency.

Code choices, code-switching and code-mixing examples

Apart from clearly defined situations, in which code choices are, for example, due to external factors such as the need for mutual understanding, or to 'declare' a certain ethnic *belonging*, in most cases it is very difficult to elicit not only the reasons for a particular phenomenon, but also to have a complete picture of what is actually going on in conversational exchanges. The unequal knowledge of the codes surely plays a

⁵ Similar situations are often described by authors, cf. Scotton (1983 and 1988) *inter alia*.

⁶ On the argument of differences between old and new ethnic ties, we may compare the description given in Gumperz (1982), where he points out the change of focus: "the old ethnic ties found their linguistic expression in loyalty to a language other than that of the major society. The new ethnic identities rely on linguistic symbols to establish speech conventions that are significantly different." (Ibid.:6). This seems to be very appropriate in the case of the relationship between Arbëresh and regional Italian, as is quite clear observing the code-mixing phenomena between the two.

⁷ As observed by Heller (1982:109) "it [sc. negotiation] is made up of implicit and explicit strategies for seeking the kind of information that seems necessary in order for the participants to hold a conversation, and that information is information not only about what a person's mother tongue is, but also *what his or her ethnicity is*" (our italics).

⁸ It is the autochthonous term used to indicate Italo-Albanians by Calabrians and Sicilians: it would appear to be the imperative of the *gjegjenj* 'listen' verb used phatically (*gjegji këtu* 'listen here!') as an explicit incipit to conversation, or *gje*! (for *gjegjinj/gjegjem*) to answer for a call.

role in the choice and adds some complexity to our analysis. We limit our considerations to few examples, but not without bringing attention once again to the fact that Arbëresh is the historical result of a (socio-) linguistic contact and that, as noted in Gardener-Chloros (1995:69): "Any mixture sooner or later is associated with a new identity". Arbëresh is in itself a 'living' source of the main phenomena we are dealing with, such as borrowings, code-switching, code-mixing, interferences etc.

Commenting Albanians' performance, taking into account their lack of knowledge of Italian, in some cases, we notice a certain trend towards a clear separation between the two codes in most conversations. For Arbëresh, the situation appears more complex, considering the number and the role of the codes in their repertoire. In their performance we often find whole clauses in Italian, mixed with Albanian words.

Text 1.

(A=Albanian speaker, B=Arbëresh speaker; Italian words are underlined)

Po, e martuar.	A. Yes, married.
E!	B. E!
E ... <u>quan</u> ... kur filloi <u>guerra</u> lufta <u>in Albania</u>	A. And ... <u>when</u> ... when started <u>the war</u> <u>in Albania</u>
Ah!	B. Ah!
Là ... atje ishte mot...	A. <u>There</u> , there it was time...

Text 1.

Ah ... <u>In Grecia sono</u> ... ho sentito io al ... <u>nel telegiornale</u> , <u>quando era</u> ... kur isha në <u>Albania</u> , që jan më shumë <u>albanez</u> në <u>Grecia</u> se në ... se <u>in Italia</u> . Però, mia cognata për shembull, per esempio ... për shembull, shkoj <u>in Albania</u> , shkoj <u>in Grecia</u> <u>perché lei c'ha due</u> ... <u>tre sorela là</u> . <u>Una sorela e ka in Italia</u> , <u>due sorela sono in Grecia</u> , <u>che c'hano cinque ani che lavorano</u> .	A. Ah ... <u>In Greece there are</u> ... I heard it at the ... at the <u>telegiornale</u> (= news programme), when I was ... when I was in <u>Albania</u> , that there are many more <u>Albanians</u> in <u>Greece</u> ... than in <u>Italy</u> . But, my sister in law, for example ... for example for example went to <u>Albania</u> , went to <u>Greece</u> because she has two ... three sisters there. One sister she has in <u>Italy</u> , two sisters are in <u>Greece</u> , that have five years that work (i. e. = they work there since five years).
Lavorano anche in Grecia.	B. <u>They work in Greece, too</u> .
Eh! ... Çë shërbejn <u>in Grecia</u> . Kështu që ajo vajti tek <u>sorelat</u> e sua, e <u>io</u> ... un erdha tek <u>mia mama</u> .	A. Yes! ... That work (Arbër.) <u>in Greece</u> . So she went to her <u>sisters</u> , and I ... I came to my mum.

- Considering most of the examples of translation and repetition, they seem to indicate that Italian is often chosen by speakers as a linguistic 'common ground', to guarantee understanding, especially when Albanian or Arbëresh might fail (feedback function). This happens following two possible directions: the first 'internal' or functional: to be sure that the message has been understood properly; the second, an external one, that concerns conversational cooperation: offering the participants a wide *gamut* of code choices.
- Shqip (Albanian) speakers in general were often worried about the possibility of not being understood; this, of course, favours Italian.

- Passing from one code to another, using alternative forms for the same term, etc. favours metalinguistic comments, that make the speakers more conscious of linguistic differences between Albanian and Arbëresh.⁹
- The problem of ethnic sharing between the two groups and the degree of reciprocal social acceptance are not easy to comment, but are also very interesting from a sociolinguistic point of view. In our conversation samples, we found some showing what Italo-Albanian communities feel towards new incoming Albanians, e.g.:

Text 2.

(D=Albanian speaker, C=Arbëresh speaker)

Doja t'ju bëja un tani një pyetje. E ... çfarë opinioni keni ju për shqipëtarët që ... jetojnë këtu në Spixan me ju?
 Nëng të kapipte!
 Allora te lo traduco. (S). E...cosa pensate voi per gli albanesi che vivono qua a Spezzano tra di voi?
 Allora ... u pënxarinj se ... jan persone come noi, che hano bisogno di aiuto...[hm] e che [in albanese] kam i ndihmi, [hm...] però ... non t... non tutti e ... pënxarnjën kështu [hm hm]. U njoh pa ... pakund albanesi, [hm hm] shurbenjin puru me mua e son ... jan delle brave persone, e ... tutte istruite. lo questo penso pënxarinj këre. E ... non ho trovato hm ... per esempio, un albanese che ... non ... cioè non era socievole, [hm hm] e ... No ...

D. I'd now like to ask you a question. What's your opinion about Albanians who are now living in Spezzano with you?
 C. I didn't understand!
 D. Then I'll translate it (for you). (Yes). Er ... What do you think about Albanians who are now living in Spezzano among you?
 C. Well ... I think that ... they are people like us, who need help...[hm] and that [In Albanian, please] we have to help them [hm...] but ... not a ... not all people do ... think so [hm hm]. I have met a lot ... many Albanians, [hm hm] they work with me and are ... are decent people, and ... all with a good educational level. This is what I think this is what I think. And ... I've never met hm ... for example, an Albanian who wasn't ... I mean, who wasn't very

⁹ This is an example of a linguistic exchange in which the speakers use alternatively the Arbëresh and Albanian word for 'October'. Beyond the comments on the different usage, it is interesting to notice the graduality among codes: 1) ['meze o'tobre] = Italian but with Arbëresh phonetic realization, plus a partial morphological adaptation '(il) mese (di) ottobre'; 2) ['muaji o'tobrit] = Arbëresh 'month + October + gen' (but the genuine form would had been 'muaji shën mitrit'); 3) ['muaji te'tor] = Albanian.

Text 3.

(F=Albanian speaker, E=Arbëresh speaker)

...im shoq ka ... ha ... në tetor bën katër vjet [hm...], e kam pure...

Tetor ... ç'është tetor?

Tetor është ottobre.

Mese (l'meze) tobre, mese (l'meze)

otobre, muaji otobrit.

Muaj ... muaj neje...

Na thomi ottobre se, ormai [si] e thomi si

italiano. (S), italiano; ne i themi...) Tetor

[tetor] Tetor [muaj tetor].

F. My husband, has ... has ... in October, IT IS four years (that he has been here) [hm...], and I have also ...
 E. Tetor ... What is tetor?
 F. Tetor is October.
 E. The month of October, the month of October, the month of October
 F. The month ... the month we ...
 E. We say October because now [yes] we say it like in Italian [Yes, Italian, we say ...] Tetor [tetor] Tetor [month 'tetor'].

non mi so ... non mi so spiegare, nëng di
 r'spiegare, comungue
 sono...hm...aspetta. Non so dire ...

sociabile [hm hm] and ... No...I don't know
 ... I don't know how to explain myself, I
 don't know how to explain, however
 I'm...hm...hang on...I can't say ...

As already stated, the analysis of the contact studied needs more indepth treatment, since the situation types seem to be still fluid and change still ongoing. Our research along the lines indicated continues.

References

- ALTIMARI F. (1994): La distribuzione del passato presuntivo nell'albanese d'Italia. In: Altimari, F.; Savoia, L. (eds.): I dialetti italo-albanesi, Bulzoni Editore, Roma, 211-21.
 — (1991): Alcuni etnici di origine albanese nei dialetti della Calabria. In: Zjarri XX.33, 151-6.
 AUER, P. (1988): A conversation analytic approach to code switching and transfer. In: Heller: 187-213.
 BLOM, J. P.; GUMPERZ, J. J. (1968): Fattori sociali determinanti del comportamento verbale. In: Rassegna Italiana di Sociolinguistica IX, 301-328.
 GARDNER-CHLOROS, P. (1995): Code-switching in community, regional and national repertoires: the myth of the discreteness of linguistic systems. In: Milroy, L.; Muysken, P. (eds.): One speaker, two languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 68-88.
 GUMPERZ, J. J. (1982): Discourse strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 — (ed.) (1982): Language and social identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (Studies in interactional sociolinguistics 2).
 — (1976): The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. In: Cook-Gumperz; Gumperz (eds.): Papers on language and context. Working Paper 46, Language Behaviour Research Laboratory, Berkeley.
 HELLER, M. (ed.) (1988): Code Switching. Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspective. Berlin: Mouton - De Gruyter.
 MCCLURE, E.; MCCLURE, M. (1988): Macro-and micro- sociolinguistic dimensions of code-switching. In: Heller: 25-51.
 ROMAINE, S. (1989): Bilingualism. Oxford: Blackwell.
 SCOTTON, C. M. (1988): Code Switching as indexical of social negotiation. In: Heller, 151-186.
 — (1983): The negotiation of identities in conversation: a theory of markedness and code choice. In: International Journal of Sociology of Language 44, 115-136.
 TRUMPER, J. B. (1984): Language variation, code switching, S. Chirico Raparo (PZ) and the migrant question (Konstanz). In: Auer, P.; Di Luzio, A. (eds.): Interpretive Sociolinguistics. Tübingen, 29-54.
 TRUMPER, J. B.; Maddalon, M. (1988): Converging divergence and diverging convergence. The dialect - language conflict and contrasting evolutionary trends in Modern Italy. In: Auer, P.; Di Luzio, A. (eds.): Variation and convergence: studies in social dialectology. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 217-259.