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TRANSLATION BETWEEN RELATED LANGUAGES IN ORAL DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF SOME ITALIAN DISCOURSE MARKERS OF REFORMULATION

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Abstract

The purpose of this contribution is to reflect on the translation of pragmatic markers in oral discourse and, in particular, on three Italian reformulation markers that present a rich variety of pragmatic values, as is the case of *diciamo*, *insomma* and *cioè*. We discuss the difficulty implied in the translation of these particles, the reasons for this difficulty, and the factors to be taken into account for translation (distribution, pragmatic functions, extralinguistic context, intonation) in order to attain an accurate translation, within the field of teaching Italian as a second language for Spanish speakers and the translation of related languages.

Of these markers, we will focus on the analysis of the translation of their non-prototypical values, that is, not so much of their metatextual values with a proper reformulation function, but of their metacommunicative and cognitive values, certainly more present in the oral discourse.

Keywords: Discourse markers. Reformulation. Pragmatic functions. Translation (Italian-Spanish). Related languages.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to outline some reflections on Italian discourse markers (DMs) in oral discourse and their translation (Italian-Spanish), specifically, regarding the difficulty that the translation of these particles poses, the reason or reasons behind this difficulty, the factors that have to be taken into account to guarantee an accurate translation (distribution, pragmatic functions, extra-linguistic context, intonation, etc.), within the field of teaching Italian as a second language for Spanish speakers and the translation of related languages.

Within Italian markers, we will focus on three reformulation particles: *diciamo*, *insomma*, and *cioè*. These markers have a rich variety of pragmatic values and native Italian speakers frequently use them in oral discourse. However, speakers of Italian as a second language use them much less so. Of these markers, we will discuss the translation of their non-prototypical values, that is, not so much their metatextual values that specifically have a reformulation function, but their metacommunicative and cognitive values, which are certainly more present in oral discourse.

In order to conduct this analysis, we based our work on a corpus of oral texts derived mainly from interviews and dialogues but also from language found in chats, blogs and internet forums.¹

2. Discourse markers in oral discourse

Orality is a complex phenomenon mainly characterised by the simultaneous presence and participation of people who take part in verbal communication.²

There are a series of elements that characterise orality: spontaneity and unpredictability, which create the text by means of the interaction of the

1. We based the analysis on an extensive corpus of oral texts: radio and television interviews, dialogues from oral texts and also from written texts (literary works) of a colloquial nature, as well as multi-managed written texts taken from chats, blogs and internet forums (characterised by dialogicity, spontaneity, with an interpersonal purpose, communicative immediacy and emotional participation).

2. Naturally, we refer here to secondary orality as proposed by Ong (1997: 20), orality in a culture that includes writing as another option for communicating linguistically.

participants, the intervention of codes other than the linguistic code, such as suprasegmental elements (tone of voice, pauses, intonation or pace), body language that has communicative value (facial gestures that express states of emotion, movements to maintain or regulate communicative exchange or to express attention to or agreement with what the speaker is saying), proxemic elements (spacial positioning and the distance between participants in communication), an abundance of implicit information that is easily recovered from the context. At the linguistic level there are features that characterise orality at all levels of language: abundance of repetitions and deictic references, minimum lexical density, combined and not hierarchical syntax, etc., and, in discourse, the use of markers is, undoubtedly, the most defining feature.³

DMs are perhaps the most noteworthy linguistic units in oral discourse because of their important role, in terms of how much they contribute to the development of the discourse (they reformulate, organise, focus, etc.), to regulating interaction between the participants in the conversation, to overcoming or mitigating the problems caused by the lack of planning of the discourse, and to guiding the interpretation, inferences, or marking the argumentative activity. In short, by providing texts with coherence and cohesion, these elements are extremely useful for guaranteeing efficient communication.

3. Difficulties that DMs pose when learning a foreign language and in the field of translation

While DMs are learned naturally in the mother tongue, learning these elements in a foreign language (to clarify: in a formal learning environment) offers a very different pace, perhaps because they are preferably incorporated at advanced levels of the interlanguage (IL), or because students only use specific values, or because some markers widely used by the native population offer a low percentage of use by SL learners.

There are several reasons behind students' difficulty in incorporating these elements into the IL. The supposed superfluous nature of DMs may mean that the foreign students do not consider them essential to communication, because they can communicate just as well without using them, as they do not provide any new information. However, as teachers and native speakers, we know that the information they transmit (generally subjective values) are factors just as important as the content of the message itself. Another reason is the students' tendency to monosemically reduce DMs, as they tend to favour

3. In relation to the characteristics of conversational discourse and colloquial variety, *vide* Briz (1998: 35-65).

a single value of a marker learned without taking into account the context in which the DM is pertinent, other nuances that it can transmit, or its syntactic distribution in the phrase.

The lack of attention paid to these elements by textbooks⁴ in second language teaching also means that they are more difficult to assimilate because, although they are present in oral and written samples of the language (readings, recordings, dialogues), few stop to explain them and propose activities to practise their uses and functions. The very fact that they relate to linguistic elements of a grammatical and pragmatic nature means that DMs are not straight-forward or easy points for the teacher to broach in the classroom, given that their explanation goes beyond grammar and lexicon, and the teachers have to previously have reflected in detail on the different discursive values of a marker and gathered a sufficient group of examples and activities to be able to teach them and practise them in the classroom.

In reality, the set of difficulties we have pointed out lies in the polyfunctionality of the DMs as one of the characteristics that best defines these elements is the relevance of the (linguistic and extralinguistic) context, which influences their use and correct interpretation.

A substantial part of the reasons behind the difficulty in learning and assimilating the DMs in a second or foreign language, as we have just pointed out, are common among the problems that usually arise in the translation of these particles. In addition to the foregoing, the limitations of dictionaries should be added, either because not all offer the contextual meaning that would be required to correctly understand the meaning, or because not all possible uses are detailed. In the case of translation between related languages, there is the risk of recurring to a literal translation because there is shared etymology, *diciamo* / 'digamos', *insomma* / 'en suma' and *cioè* / 'esto es', and, despite the morphological proximity, these equivalences are not always, or on many occasions, the best translation.

Different authors have focussed on the topic of the difficulty in translating these particles.⁵ As early on as 1974, Bustorf, in reference to what are known

4. In this respect, we would like to highlight the importance of these works: the article by Pernas, Gillani and Cacchione (2011), which quite exhaustively analyses the attention given to these elements by textbooks for teaching Italian that are most used in Spain; and the volume by Zamora, Alessandro, Ioppoli and Simone (2006), dedicated to teaching the phraseological units and discourse markers used most in Italian.

5. Bustorf (1974), Bazzanella and Morra (2000), Calvo Rigual (2001), Portolés Lázaro (2002), Flores Acuña (2003), Calvi and Mapelli (2004), Fernández Loya (2004), Aijmer *et al.* (2006), Borreguero Zuloaga (2011), among others.

as *riempitivi italiani* –Italian fillers– (*allora, dunque, comunque, ecco, insomma*), advised taking the communicative and pragmatic function of said elements into consideration, including the semantic perspective, in order to be able to reach a systematic description of these particles, that traditional and generative grammar – according to the author – had not taken into account. To this end, he believed it necessary to take the following into consideration for their analysis:

la costellazione mentale, psicologica e sociale del parlante che, enunciando una frase o un testo, realizza appunto quel sistema di regole soggiacente, che domina l'uso delle parole in una situazione di comunicazione (1974: 22).

The article by Bazzanella and Morra (2000) reflects on the indeterminacy of translation in the case of DMs (specifically, in the translation of the English marker *well* to Italian). The authors insist on the fact that the translation of these particles has to be based on the context in order to preserve the functionality of the marker in question. They additionally recommend functional correspondence in the translation of these particles, using semantic equivalence as a starting point, while taking into account that there is a substantial amount of inferences that have to be considered for their decoding: in relation to *well*, they refer to the fact that we can find translations that are completely opposing, as in the case of *well*, which sometimes indicates agreement and is translated as 'd'accordo' or 'certo'. On other occasions, however, it can indicate disagreement and can be translated as 'ma via' or 'be'.

Calvi and Mapelli (2004) focus on translations of the markers *bueno*, *pues* and *en fin* in Spanish and Italian dictionaries. They refer to the difficulty posed by DMs when it comes to understanding a text in a foreign language, and the problems involved in its translation, and acknowledge that dictionaries do not always provide students with the help that they require because they, on occasion, lack pragmatic and textual explanations.

In addition, as a lexicographer, Calvo Rigual (2001) acknowledges that it is essential to carry out comparative studies of discourse markers (this article focuses on Italian DMs *bene/va bene*, *be'/va be'* and the Spanish markers *bien*, *bueno*). This is in order to, on the one hand, distinguish what they have in common and, on the other, everything that differentiates them and, in this manner, prevent bilingual dictionaries from continuing to offer merely approximate descriptions.

In his article referring to the translation of *infatti* and *en efecto*, Fernández Loya (2004) states that, when translating the DMs, a few variables have to be taken into account that are related to the type of text: whether it relates to an oral or written text, if the DM appears in monologue or dialogue format; to the type of register: formal/colloquial; to the pragmatic and semantic function

it performs: argumentative/illocutive function; and, lastly, to its location in the text. Taking these variables into account explains why the best translation of *infatti* is not always *en efecto*, either because the register of *infatti* in Italian is more colloquial and informal than that of *en efecto* in Spanish, or because the ironic meaning of the DM in one language (*infatti*) is not present in the other (*en efecto*), etc.

Flores Acuña (2003) offers similar considerations in relation to the translation of the DM *insomma*, which is not an equivalent in many cases of *en suma*. This Spanish DM is more appropriate of a higher register, while *insomma* may also appear in informal uses; the Italian DM can recapitulate opposing elements, whereas the Spanish DM cannot; in the case of *insomma*, the DM can make reference to implicit discursive members, whereas *en suma* does not permit said suppression (*en realidad* or *en definitiva* do).

Portolés Lázaro points out that “si es difícil encontrar equivalencias entre los léxicos conceptuales de dos lenguas, todavía será más difícil que las haya en un ámbito donde no se pretende denotar una realidad común” (2002: 156), as these particles have a sense of processing. This meaning, as the author asserts, can include an argumentative meaning but also reflects the informative structure of the discourse, the politeness of a culture (2002: 164), subtle instructions, in short, that the translator will have to discover, analyse and reflect in the target language as best as possible.

Aijmer *et al.* (2006) focus on the topic of the indeterminacy of the meaning of the discursive particles, clarifying that the fact that they lack propositional meaning does not mean that they lack meaning. In their translation methodology proposal for markers, they adopt the notion of core meaning (or basic meaning), to distinguish it from contextual implicatures (or pragmatic enrichments). For the authors, the core meaning is the central meaning that forms the basis of the pragmatic meanings that can be related to such; it concerns a fairly abstract notion that is not very specific. In addition, these elements are of a polysemic nature, which makes their translation more difficult. In their view, an appropriate model for the translation of markers must be based on the underlying core meaning at the semantic level and on the implicatures at the pragmatic level (2006: 105). According to Aijmer *et al.* (2006: 111):

the translations force one to account for the contextual factors that lead to particular choices. [...] Translators do not translate words and constructions in isolation but rather choose a correspondence for a linguistic element in a particular context.

The authors also claim that the interlinguistic approach makes it possible to discover the meaning of the DMs better than if these are tackled purely from

a monolingual perspective: “we believe that comparing translations of a text in different languages can help to reveal the meaning of markers which might be less accessible in a monolingual approach” (p.113).

Picking up on the concepts we have just outlined, Borreguero (2011) states that one of the main difficulties the translator has when looking for the equivalent of a specific marker is that of distinguishing what the core meaning is that will remain, and what the pragmatic values linked to the communicative situation are in which it appears. For Borreguero, it is important to take three points into account for the translation of these particles: to distinguish the core meaning value of the DMs and the pragmatic values that these acquire in a specific context; to understand the possible functions of a specific marker and discover which they perform in a specific text, and, lastly, take into account the DMs position, as this can determine its pragmatic value and discursive function.

In short, it relates to particles that have a sense of processing, which means that they serve as a guide and that they limit the inferences of the discursive sequences in which they appear. Consequently, their translation must be defined on the basis of their communicative values.⁶ We must take into account that, for the translation of the markers, dictionaries offer assistance although it is sometimes limited, as they do not always detail pragmatic and textual explanations or all the possible uses. In any case, the importance of the context is decisive (both linguistic as well as extra-linguistic) in the translation of these elements. The translator will have to take the position of the DM, its intonation, the register (formal, informal, colloquial, neutral, etc.), and most importantly, the function performed by the marker in the specific context in which it appears, into account in each statement. It is worth adopting a functional correspondence, using the semantic equivalence as a basis, and distinguishing the *core meaning* of the marker and the pragmatic values that it acquires in a specific context.

4. The Italian reformulation DMs *diciamo*, *insomma*, *cioè*: grammatical, lexical and functional considerations for their translation

Taking into account the aforementioned observations, we will analyse the translation of the three reformulation markers selected: *diciamo*, *insomma* and *cioè*. Various authors have studied these three DMs, some from a contrastive

6. *Vide* the observation proposed by Aschenberg and Loureda Lamas in the introduction to the volume that they edited (2011: 11-19) regarding the description of the content of the DMs and their lexicographic definition.

perspective too: Flores Acuña (2003) and Solsona Martínez (2011) focused on the DM *insomma* (both Italian-Spanish contrastive contributions); Ferrini (1985) and Solsona Martínez (2014; this contribution is also from an Italian-Spanish contrastive perspective) focused on the DM *cioè*; and Hölker (2005) and Khachaturyan (2011) focused on the DM *diciamo*, the latter author, contrasting with French.

In the following, we will focus on the characterisation of the grammatical, lexical and functional aspects of these three DMs and analyse how they influence their translation.

4.1. Grammatical aspects

The three markers bear a series of similarities. They are very unrestricted in terms of their distribution as they can appear in the three positions (beginning, middle and end).⁷ Let us examine a few examples with the DM *cioè*:

- (1) *Cioè* vieni o no?
¿*Qué*, vienes o no? / ¿Vienes o *qué*?
- (2) Beh, come si è potuto intuire ho preso ispirazione da questa serie, ho *cioè* deciso di scrivere un blog, come fa la protagonista
(<http://m.damn-mind.webnode.it/archive/news/>)
'Bueno, como se ha podido intuir me he inspirado en esta serie, *en fin* / *vamos*, que he decidido escribir un blog, como hace la protagonista'
- (3) Non posso sapere come andrà a finire perché non ho il dono della divinazione. Non lo so *cioè*
(<http://spettacoli.tiscali.it/socialnews/politica/Lobina/11081/articoli/Riflessione-sui-partiti-e-sul-loro-futuro-necessari-alla-societ-civile.html>)
'No puedo saber cómo acabará porque no poseo el don de la adivinación. No lo sé, *la verdad* / *Vamos*, que no lo sé'

7. The examples are given with their translation into Spanish (in inverted commas), and highlight the translation of the DMs in italics. In addition we have noted their source in brackets. The translation, in addition to having an exemplary value of contrastive interest, is a translation that has a functionalist focus (Reiss 1971, Vermeer and Reiss 1984), in which the text and communicative function occupy a central position. You will see that, in some cases, compensation, inversion, transposition, amplification or other translation strategies have been resorted to, in the understanding that translation is a cognitive process in which, in addition to superficial processing, a deeper process takes place to resolve problems based on techniques and strategies (Mayoral 2001). To translate the full sense of the statements made in the examples offered we have taken the entire discourse into account, which comprises the communicative situation, the intention of the discourse and the different registers of the language.

These markers constitute tone groups. In oral texts, the intonational force varies depending on the DM.⁸ The suprasegmental (intonation, for example) and paralinguistic features (such as facial expression) can help to clarify what value the DM conveys between two existing ones; in other words, in example 4, whether it relates to (a.) ‘no mucho’ (*mica tanto*), first interpretation, or, in contrast, to (b.) ‘parece que sí’ (*abbastanza, mi sa*), second interpretation:

- (4) -È molto grave la cosa?
 -a. *Insomma...* // b. *Insomma!*
 -‘¿Es muy grave?’
 -a. *Bueeeno...* // b. *Pueeees...hombre...*

In oral texts they frequently appear accompanied by other markers, forming chains that serve as elements of articulation in the core of the intervention, as conversational support, or to give time to the speaker to develop their discourse (functioning as *riempitivi*, fillers; on many occasions, not as a single function):

- (5) *ma tu cioè insomma sei come dire fidanzata?*
 ‘... pero tú, o sea, en fin, pues esoooo... ¿tienes novio?’

As can be observed throughout the examples, all three are used in initial as well as reactive interventions. In addition, all three are used very frequently in Italian as a first language, both verbally and in writing.

Eliminability is one of the characteristics of markers, and of these too. We can eliminate them from the discourse and their deletion does not have any effect at a semantic level, but does have an effect on the pragmatic level, as nuances of a different type would be lost, such as irritation. See examples 6a and 6b, or the modalisation, see examples 7a and 7b.⁹

8. In the case of *insomma*, in non-preferred reactive interventions, the prosodic curve of the marker is suspensive, usually emitted in a low volume and followed by a long pause, normally with an elongation of the tonal vowel (intonational force which is perceived in its translation as ‘Bueeeno...’) and which is different to the anticadent toneme that this same marker presents when it performs the function of a conclusive marker. In the case of *cioè*, in oral texts, it is perceived with an intonational force that varies depending on the reformulation in question (objective or subjective), who carries it out (self or hetero-reformulation), depending on whether the reformulation is made explicit or left implicit and, naturally, in accordance with the value the DM assumes in a specific context. In the case of *diciamo*, this feature of constituting a tone group is also very clear, with a real or virtual pause before and after the DM.

9. Real example 7 includes the statement present in 7a, from which the markers included in 7b have been eliminated; see how, with such elimination, modalising nuances have been lost.

- (6) a. La pianti, *insomma*? // b. La pianti?
a. '¡Ya está bien o qué!' // b. '¿Paras ya?'
- (7) -Complessivamente quanto hai dedicato alla preparazione degli esami?
-Un mesetto... un mesetto per fare... per preparare tutti e tre...
-Ok e è stato costante lo studio, quindi magari tutti i giorni, alle stesse ore?
a. -*Diciamo*... mi sono ridotta un po' all'ultimo mese *ecco*... perché ho avuto problemi, *insomma*.
b. -Mi sono ridotta un po' all'ultimo mese ... perché ho avuto problemi.
(interview taken from the book *Studio e comprensione dei testi universitari. Monitoraggio delle matricole e indagine sui percorsi di studio* by Guido Benvenuto, Roma, Nuova Sapienza, 2014: 153)
a. '*Bueno, la verdad es que* lo dejé un poco para el último mes, *sí*, porque, *en fin*, *pues eso*, tuve problemas'
b. 'Lo dejé un poco para el último mes, porque tuve problemas'

However, they can also be differentiated into a series of aspects. These are markers that belong to different grammatical categories: *insomma* is an adverb, *cioè* – according to grammar guides and dictionaries used for reference – is a conjunction or an adverb, and *diciamo* is a verb (which has been lexicalised in the first p.p. of the Spanish present subjunctive). Another difference is that the markers *cioè* and *insomma* can appear autonomously, on their own when it is the person's turn to speak; although this is not the case for *diciamo*:

- (8) -Alla fine non mi presento all'esame
-*Cioè*?
-Al final no me presento al examen
-¿Y eso?'
- (9) -Ti è piaciuto il film che hanno dato ieri sera in tv?
-*Insomma*...
-¿Te gustó la película que pusieron ayer por la tarde / noche en la tele?
- ¡Puff...! / No mucho, la verdad'

4.2. Lexical aspects

Although they can all be categorised as reformulation markers, their core meanings are different: in the case of *insomma*, its value is that of 'summary, conclusion'; in the case of *cioè*, its core meaning value is that of 'clarification', and, in the case of *diciamo*, of 'approximation'.

What lexicographical treatment do these three markers receive? Let us begin with *insomma*.

The thirteen monolingual Italian dictionaries consulted¹⁰ give three meanings for the term *insomma*. The first of them is that of recapitulator, with synonymous definitions that offer alternative expressions for *insomma* to express conclusion, closure, summary: *tutto sommato, in conclusione, in breve, infine, finalmente, riassumendo, in fin dei conti, in definitiva, alle corte, dopotutto, in poche parole, in sostanza*. The second value provided is that of interjection to express impatience, reproach or irritation, although not all give that pragmatic information nor do they all offer examples; Pittano, De Mauro and Battaglia offer *allora* and *dunque* as equivalents. The third value (in the dictionaries that offer it, nine out of thirteen) is that used in responses to express a neutral or hesitant attitude, or one of low appreciation and the following expressions are offered as synonyms: *così così, né bene né male, mediocrement, più o meno*. The Treccani dictionary includes the DM in an interrogative manner as a request for a response. The online dictionary Garzanti points out a fourth value, that it can be used without a specific meaning to make a pause while an attempt is made to remember something or to reorganise the discourse.

Let us take a look at the equivalents that the nine bilingual (Italian-Spanish) dictionaries consulted for the marker *insomma* offer.¹¹ The value of reformulator and of organiser of information (closing marker) is the first they detail, and they provide the following expressions as equivalents in Spanish: ‘en suma’, ‘en definitiva’, ‘en fin’, ‘al fin y al cabo’, ‘después de todo’, ‘en resúmenes’, ‘en resumen’, ‘en conclusión’, ‘por fin’, ‘total’, ‘brevemente’, ‘por último’, ‘todo bien considerado’. The second value – that of interjection – is only detailed by five: ‘bueno’, ‘hombre’, ‘vaya’, ‘ya vale’, ‘pues’ and ‘en fin’ are the different equivalents offered in Spanish. The third value used in responses to indicate low appreciation is only detailed by four and they provide the following equivalents in Spanish: ‘bueno’, ‘así, así’, ‘ni bien ni mal’. At most then, monolingual and bilingual dictionaries offer three meanings for this marker (four, in the case of Garzanti).

With regard to *cioè*, the monolingual dictionaries consulted offer two to four meanings. The first function is that of declaratory and explanatory, with synonymous definitions that offer alternative expressions for *cioè* to offer a clarification or explanation of what has just been said: *intendo dire, vale a dire, in*

10. Battaglia (1973), Battisti and Alessio (1975), Cortelazzo and Zolli (1999), De Mauro (2000), Devoto and Oli (1990), Gabrielli, A. (1969), Gabrielli, G. (1993), Garzanti, Palazzi (1979), Pittano (2006), Sabatini-Coletti (2011), Treccani, Zingarelli (1995).

11. Ambruzzi (1973), Arqués and Padoan (2012), Calvo and Giordano (2011), Carbonell (1986), Lavacchi and Nicolás (2003), Martínez Amador (1965), Sañé and Schepisi (2005), Tam (1998), Tam (2006).

altre parole, ossia, ovvero, questo è; all of the monolingual dictionaries consulted mention this value. The second function pointed out is that of corrector; in other words, *cioè* can be used to rectify a previous affirmation, and equivalent expressions of *cioè* with this value are offered, such as: *ossia, ovvero, o meglio, (o) piuttosto, (o) per meglio dire, anzi* (almost all of the dictionaries mention this second value). The third function is that it is used autonomously by the speaker (only during speaking time) in an interrogative phrase (*Cioè?*) to ask for an explanation or clarification from the issuer regarding what has just been said (half of the dictionaries state this). Only three dictionaries detail the fourth value, which is the emphatic function (that is what De Mauro calls it in *GRADIT*), or the function as discursive marker (as named in Sabatini-Coletti), which Garzanti also details, and refers to the role performed by *cioè* in moments of doubt, when the person starts to speak or when the speaker is looking for the right word or the way to continue with their discourse.

The declaratory and explanatory value is the one that all bilingual dictionaries mention and they provide the following expressions as equivalents in Spanish: ‘esto es’, ‘eso es’, ‘a saber’, ‘es decir’, ‘o sea’. The second value of *cioè* –that of corrector– is mentioned by less than half of the dictionaries: ‘mejor dicho’, ‘o mejor’, ‘o más bien’ are the different equivalents offered in Spanish. The third value that we have pointed out (in an interrogative phrase) is only detailed by Tam and Arqués-Padoan and they provide the following Spanish equivalents: ‘¿o sea?’, ‘¿y qué?’, ‘¿perdón?’. The last value, relating to emphasis, is only mentioned in the Arqués-Padoan dictionary, with ‘esto’ as an equivalent in Spanish.

In the case of *diciamo*, as it is a DM from a conjugated form of the verb *dire*, there are few monolingual or bilingual dictionaries that detail it and if they do, it is always under the lemma *dire*. With regard to monolingual dictionaries, Battaglia mentions a value for *diciamo*: indicating the approximate use of a term; Garzanti, also offers one use: to express doubt when someone is looking for the right word or phrase or when information is given that the speaker does not consider to be the most appropriate and it gives the following as equivalents: *come dire?* and *diciamo così*; Sabatini-Coletti details two uses of the form *diciamo*: such as *riempitivo* and as a correction marker, and states that it is used in the spoken language.

Of the bilingual dictionaries, only Calvo-Giordano offers a translation, which is ‘pongamos’, and Arqués and Padoan, who register it as familiar and offer ‘es un decir’ as a Spanish equivalent.

4.3. Functional aspects

All three markers bear the characteristics of discursive multifunctionality or polyfunctionality. They can assume different functions depending on the context in which they appear, their position in the discourse, the intonation with which they are expressed or other contextual elements (*paradigmatic polyfunctionality*, pursuant to Bazzanella 2001: 47). *Syntagmatic polyfunctionality* also arises when there is a convergence of values at a functional level, in a single text. This is quite common and, when it arises, a translation will need to be found in the target language that takes into account and grasps these values (not always on the basis of a marker).¹²

Based on the classification into three macro-functions (metatextual, interactive and cognitive) developed by Bazzanella (2005) and López Serena and Borreguero (2010),¹³ we will now analyse the functions that the three markers, which are the object of this study, and their translations, perform.

4.3.1. Metatextual macrofunction

All three markers share the reformulation function.¹⁴ In (10), by means of the marker *cioè*, an objective reformulation takes place whose subject is Monti.

- (10) Le elezioni le considera un orpello fastidioso. Così a New York mister Mario Monti, *cioè* il capo del governo italiano, ha fatto sapere che se glielo chiedessero sarebbe disposto a un secondo mandato, ma senza passare per la sfida delle urne. (<https://www.facebook.com/GrilliAresini/posts/453605741357384>)
'Las elecciones las considera un oropel molesto. Así, en Nueva York, el señor Mario Monti, *es decir*, el jefe del gobierno italiano, ha declarado que si se lo pidiesen estaría dispuesto a un segundo mandato, pero sin pasar por el desafío de las urnas.'

In (11) it relates, in contrast, to an evaluative subjective reformulation in a news headline, with the same subject – Monti –, which provides arguments

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12. The translations we offer try to carefully reflect the most appropriate sign for each marker depending on the communicative context in which such appear, in order to show the meanings that each particle adopts and what their equivalent is in Spanish. Of course, we assume that our translation is not the only possible one.
13. Among discourse markers, Bazzanella (1995, 2001) distinguished between interactive and metatextual functions; in Bazzanella (2005) she incorporated the cognitive functions. Based on the work of this author, López Serena and Borreguero (2010) developed the classification of the functions of the markers, distinguishing the interactive, meta-discursive and cognitive macro-functions. This is the approach that we have taken in this study.
14. In the case of *cioè* (above all) and of *insomma*, this value is among the most common. In Solsona (2011) we focus on the metatextual functions performed by *insomma*; in Solsona (2014) on the metatextual functions of *cioè*.

in favour of the person who was the prime minister at that point in time rather than his predecessor (Berlusconi); we have resorted to the figure of the *antonomasia* for the translation of the segment where the DM appears, using modulation and transposition as translation strategies:

- (11) «Monti, *cioè* sobrio»

È questo l'aggettivo più usato per definire il nuovo premier. E 'sobrio' è il contrario di ubriaco. Quindi, se le parole sono importanti, il riferimento è ai 15 anni di sbornia berlusconiana. E a due modelli antropologici opposti...

(<http://espresso.repubblica.it/visioni/cultura/2011/12/20/news/monti-cioe-sobrio-1.38563>)

'Monti o la *sobriedad*

La cualidad de sobrio es la más utilizada para definir al nuevo primer ministro. Y 'sobrio' es lo contrario de borracho. Por tanto, si las palabras son importantes, la referencia es a los 15 años de borrachera berlusconiana y a dos modelos antropológicamente opuestos...'

In (12), it continues to relate to reformulation, in this case of a corrective nature, based on the DM *diciamo*, which also performs a modalising function:

- (12) Salve a tutti sono nuovo, ehhlhmmm, hemmm, *diciamo* quasi nuovo

(<http://www.finanzaonline.com/forum/messaggi-archiviati-fol/781056-salve-tutti-sono-nuovo-ehhlhmmmm-hemmmmm-diciamo-quasi-nuovo-3.html>)

'Hola a todos! Soy nuevo, ehhlhmmm, hemmm, *bueno*, casi nuevo'

In addition, within this macro-function, the three can perform the function of discursive coherence (*riempitivi*), which helps to create cohesion between the elements that compose the oral text along the way, filling in pauses created in the development of the discourse. In (13), we can see different markers that perform this function (*cioè*, *voglio dire*, *insomma*, *dico*, *che dire*), which, in turn, contribute towards highlighting the phatic aspect:

- (13) Buongiorno! *cioè* *voglio dire*... è pur vero che ho detto di non fare la brava... però, *insomma*, no, *dico*, *cioè* *vediamo un attimino*, ehmmmmmm *ok ok che dire*...

(<http://blog.libero.it/DarksideofMars/commenti.php?msgid=13139524>)

'¡Buenos días! *Bueno*, a ver... aunque es verdad que dije que no me portaría bien... *en fin*, no, *bueno*, o sea, a ver un momentito, ehhlh, *esto*, a ver *qué* digo'

The markers selected can also perform a demarcative function, which is more evident in *cioè* – when opening an argument – and in *insomma* – to introduce a recapitulation or conclusion –; and, lastly, that of a focussing mechanism, to emphasise or highlight an element of the discourse that the speaker considers more relevant or on which they want to insist, as in (14), an example which we have translated using transposition and inversion as strategies:

- (14) -Complessivamente quanto hai dedicato alla preparazione degli esami?
 -Eh parecchio parecchio... perché ho studiato davvero tanto! Ci tenevo che questi esami andassero bene, infatti ho avuto infatti ottimi voti ecco...
 -Ok e più o meno *diciamo* in mesi, settimane?
 (interview taken from the book *Studio e comprensione dei testi universitari. Monitoraggio delle matricole e indagine sui percorsi di studio* by Guido Benvenuto, Rome, Nuova Sapienza, 2014: 153)
 [...] ‘Vale, y más o menos, en meses, en semanas, ¿cuánto sería...?’

4.3.2. Interactive macrofunction

In addition, the three can perform different functions within the second macrofunction that we have pointed out, the interactive one, such as: turn-taking, turn-maintenance, to highlight the phatic aspect of communication (more evident in *cioè* and *diciamo*), or to ask the speaker for agreement or confirmation. This latter function with *cioè* and *diciamo* tends to be coupled with the modalising function, such as in example 15, whose modalising function is both of approximation and of politeness; in the translation we used amplification and transposition as strategies:

- (15) -Certo capitano. Mi dica quando ha tempo per ricevermi. Anch'io ho qualche cosa da riferirle.
 -Bene. Domattina prende un caffè con me? *Diciamo* alle dieci?
 -Perfetto capitano
 (*L'unguento delle streghe*, by G. Marchionna)
 -‘Por supuesto, capitán. Dígame cuándo me puede recibir. Yo también tengo algo que contarle.
 -De acuerdo. ¿Tomamos mañana un café? ¿A las diez *por ejemplo*? / ¿*Le parece bien a las diez*?
 -Perfecto, capitán’

Example (16) relates to a fragment of the interview that Claudio Fabretti (CF) holds with British musician Joe Jackson (JJ). The main function of the marker is reformulative and conclusive, but it also performs the functions of asking for confirmation and contributing to the granting of the turn; in translating the statement where the marker appears, we resorted to the strategies of inversion, transposition and amplification:

- (16) -(JJ) Sì, per me quei dischi suonano semplicemente come “Londra 1979”, la città in cui vivo. Li rivivo con una punta di nostalgia...
 -(CF) *Insomma*, sei ancora affezionato al suono di “Londra 1979”...
 -(JJ) Sì, perché a quel tempo vivevo lì, ero giovane ed era un bel periodo della mia vita...
 (<http://www.ondarock.it/interviste/joejackson.htm>)

-‘Sí, para mí esos discos suenan simplemente como “Londres1979”, la ciudad en la que vivía. Los recuerdo con una cierta nostalgia...

-*Vamos, que te sigue gustando el sonido de “Londres 1979”, ¿no?*

-Sí, porque en esa época yo vivía allí, era joven y estaba en un bonito momento de mi vida...

These markers can function, in addition, as a mechanism of interruption; in the case of *cioè*, generally neutral; in the case of *insomma*, in contrast, in imperative phrases in which the interlocutor is encouraged to do something or, in contrast, to stop doing something, the irritation, impatience or unease of the speaker remains evident (17):

(17) -Si va beh, lasciami continuare. Ha un viso che non potrei definire bello, guardandolo tutto in una volta...

-Tutto in una volta? Perché tu le facce le guardi a pezzettini?

-Oh, *insomma*, smettita di interrompermi

(*L'amore in ogni cosa*, by M. Morocutti, p. 197)

-‘Sí, vale, déjame seguir. Tiene una cara que yo no diría que es bonita si la miro toda de una vez...

-¿Toda de una vez? Pero ¿es que tú las caras las miras a trocitos?

-Uf, *por Dios / por favor*, deja ya de interrumpirme’

This function (interruption mechanism) is also present in some cases of hetero-reformulation in which the interlocutor interrupts the speaker with the intention of checking what they have just said, reformulating it. In (18), the DM *cioè* helps the interviewer (Bernardo Iovene, BI) to go back to the discourse of their interlocutor (Letizia Moratti, LM, madam mayor of Milan) with the intention of re-interpreting it, and this marker too performs a consecutive, logical and argumentative function (within the cognitive macro-function). In addition, he uses it as a mechanism of interruption and to take his turn, and to request confirmation from the interlocutor with the indication of the expression of an attitude of surprise and disapproval:

(18) -(BI) Addirittura minacce insomma, nei confronti di queste persone che sono state obbligate ad andare in pensione

-(LM) Non sono state obbligate perché hanno firmato...

-(BI) *Cioè* Lei dice che questa cosa non è vera. *Cioè* che loro si sono inventati tutto?

(interview between Bernardo Iovene and Letizia Moratti, Report “Cara Politica” 19/11/2006)

-(BI) ‘Hubo incluso amenazas, vamos, hacia estas personas, a las cuales se obligó a jubilarse

-(LM) No se las obligó porque firmaron...

-(BI) *¿Así que / Me está diciendo que lo que le digo no es cierto, que estos señores se lo han inventado todo?*

The three DMs can perform the function of showing, on the part of the interlocutor, partial and qualified agreement with the speaker, although the nuances and the linguistic structures of the text in which each marker appear are different. In the case of *cioè* and *diciamo*, after the sentence headed by these DMs, followed by expressions that indicate agreement (*va bene*, *hai ragione*, etc.), there is another sentence headed by *ma*, *tuttavia* or *però* which qualifies that agreement as can be appreciated in (19):

- (19) -Ragazzi stasera ho organizzato una festa a sorpresa x le mie migliori amiche, che sono gemelle e compiono 16 anni! secondo voi va bene uno striscione con la scritta: Noi solamente noi, ci comprendiamo bene ormai... e sentiamo un'esigenza sana che tre come noi non si lasceranno mai !!... e poi vabbe' Buon compleanno ecc. Aiutatemi...va bene ?
 -Bè si *diciamo*...va bene ma poi agli altri invitati li lasci un pò spiazzati poichè non fanno parte del gruppo... ti proporrei "Vi adoro, siete stupende, buon compleanno con tutto il cuore da" così è una cosa personale ma speciale... poi decidi tu... (<https://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20120318094854AATGDNI>) [...]. -Bueno sí, vale, pero *lo que pasa es que* a los otros invitados los dejas un poco colgadillos ¿no? porque no forman parte del grupo... yo te pondría...'

Within this macro-function (the interactive one), the following functions are exclusive to *insomma*: to give a fairly unenthusiastic evaluation in interventions reacting to questions, both full and partial (20):

- (20) -Come è andato l'esame?
 -*Insomma!*
 -¿Qué tal ha ido el examen?
 -Pssaa.... / Pufffff....'

Also, to suspend a possible disagreement with the opinion assumed to be held by the speaker, the DM tends to be preceded by *ma*, *boh*, *beh* and expresses resignation or certain reservation before a conclusion that can even remain implicit, as in example 21 (yo no lo llevaría al veterinario):

- (21) Direi che è abbastanza inutile portarlo dal veterinario... oh.. poi vacci se ti senti meglio... o non ce la fai a fare una fasciatura decente... boh *insomma*... vedi te... (<http://allevamentokiwi.forumfree.it/?t=54724428>)
 'Creo que no te merece la pena llevarlo al veterinario, bueno, si te vas a sentir mejor, llévalo... o si no puedes hacerle un vendaje decente... bueno, *no sé, en fin*, tú verás...'

In the same vein, the request made to the speaker for an explanation are exclusive to *cioè*, accounting for the attitude of the interlocutor, which can be one of surprise, impatience, or incredulity as in (22):

- (22) -Sai? Quell'antipatico di Edoardo si sposa
 -Cioè?
 -¿Sabes que el antipático de Edoardo se casa?
 -¡¿Quéeee?! / ¡¿Eeeehh?! / ¿En serio?

4.3.3. Cognitive macro-function

In this third macro-function, the three DMs can indicate logical and argumentative, inferential and modalising relationships. Both *cioè* as well as *insomma*, and even *diciamo*, can indicate the logical and semantic relationship existing between the connected statements, that can be consecutive, conclusive or causal (based on the reformulation value).¹⁵ In (23), the logical and argumentative relationship that *cioè* indicates is of a causal and consecutive nature:

- (23) Ragazze ma sono l'unica impaziente? ... tra dolori alle gambe e schiena, peso, gonfiore, tachicardia e narcolessia (prima insonnia ora narcolessia) non ce la faccio più *cioè*
 (http://forum.alfemminile.com/forum/mamanmars/_f46617_mamanmars-Non-ce-la-faccio-piu.html)
 'Chicas, ¿pero es que soy yo la única impaciente? ... entre dolor de piernas y de espalda, peso, hinchazón, taquicardia y narcolepsia (primero taquicardia y ahora narcolepsia) yo, *la verdad / qué queréis que os diga*, ya no puedo más'

In addition, they can connect explicit textual content with information derived from the communicative situation or the extralinguistic context shared by the interlocutors, which the person addressed can deduce guided by the marker (inferential function). In (24), with *insomma* (which is repeated twice), the presenter (Lilli Gruber) wants to mention a delicate topic (*di questo, di questa parte della tua vita*) that she will broach later in the interview (singer Tiziano Ferro's homosexuality), and she uses the marker to, on the one hand, hint at this topic, urging inference and, also, to develop an attenuating modalising function:

- (24) E adesso parliamo di questo, di questa parte della tua vita perché *insomma* è una parte molto importante che *insomma* che ti ha fatto anche molto soffrire, molto lavorare su te stesso, però prima volevo chiederti...
 ('Otto e mezzo', 24/02/2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y6TNS9SAU5s>)
 'Y ahora hablemos de este tema, de esta parte de tu vida porque *bueno* es una parte muy importante que, *ciertamente*, te ha hecho también sufrir mucho, trabajar duro contigo mismo, pero primero quería preguntarte...'

15. Based on the theory of *argumentation within language* (Anscombe and Ducrot 1983), we would say that the speaker uses these DMs to give an argumentative value to that expressed in the statement and provoke, in this manner, a specific interpretation.

All three can perform a modalising function which is, undoubtedly, more evident and common in the case of the DM *diciamo*. The modalising function highlights the relationship between the speaker and what they have said and the affinity they establish with the person addressed by means of that stated. Within this function, the DMs serve different sub-functions. They can be used to indicate the lack of a perfect adaptation of that said with what is intended to be said, or the lack of precision in the formulation of the propositional content of that stated (*cioè* and *diciamo* mainly), as in (25):

- (25) *ero timida diciamo fino a 15 anni poi poco a poco crescendo ho capito che le persone sono come me e non meglio di me*
 (<https://www.facebook.com/MedicinaLive/posts/466023576764356>)
 ‘fui tímida *más o menos* hasta los 15 años, después poco a poco al crecer entendí que las personas son como yo y no mejores que yo’

In other cases they are used with an attenuating function, when they contribute towards mitigating the illocutive force of a statement (often in conjunction with other mitigating procedures, such as use of the conditional, formulas that have an impersonal sense, diminutives, adverbs expressing doubt), in this way not putting the interlocutor in a compromised position (negative politeness, *face-saving*), or by making the statement less categorical, more subjective and open to possible disagreements with the participants in the communication and, sometimes, also as positive politeness, as the speaker makes their statement with the aim of being approved (*cioè* and *diciamo* mainly).

In (26) and (27), *diciamo* is used to attenuate an impact that is foreseen as negative for the interlocutor (negative politeness; in 26, the act of being able to violate the intimacy of the interlocutor), mitigation that takes place too on the basis of other linguistic procedures; the diminutive in *domandina* and the choice of the adjective *delicata* in (26); the marker *bèè*, the use of litotes *non è tanto bello* in (27). In the translations we offer, the mitigation leads us to use strategies such as transposition, amplification and compensation:

- (26) *è una domandina diciamo delicata rivolta alle donne...*
 (<https://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20111016111538AAzb53F>)
 ‘es una preguntilla, *como decir / como podríamos decir, un tanto* delicada, dirigida a las mujeres...’
- (27) *Mi sono innamorata .. di un ragazzo .. bèè diciamo brutto non è tanto bello...*
 (<https://es.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110930104552AArBPI6>)
 ‘Me he enamorado ... de un chico... bueno... *feíllo / feíco, que...* no es muy guapo vamos... / la verdad’

In (28), *diciamo* performs various functions: cognitive inferential, modalising (voluntary lack of correct adaptation) and mitigating, not so what is being said but what is not:

- (28) Volevo solo presentarmi. Mi chiamo Annamaria, compirò 59 anni a luglio. Sono vedova da 17 anni e non ho figli. Da 6 anni vivo con la mia mamma 97enne e relativa badante ucraina. La mia vita è un po' triste e solitaria: sono in pensione da quasi 2 anni e ancora non mi sono abituata. Lasciare il lavoro mi è dispiaciuto, ma sono stata obbligata a farlo poichè la ditta chiudeva. Ora sono praticamente agli arresti domiciliari in quanto la mamma è abbastanza..... *diciamo* esigente. Vabbè, mi consolo pensando che mi sto guadagnando il paradiso.....
(<http://forum.grey-panthers.it/archive/index.php/t-772.html>)
'Ahora estoy prácticamente bajo arresto domiciliario debido a que mi madre es bastante *digámoslo así / por decirlo de alguna manera / para que me entendáis...* exigente'

Example (28) above is taken from an internet forum; the marker *diciamo* makes it clear that the adjective *esigente* used by the protagonist has to be understood in a particular way and there is an invitation to infer what she really wants to say (and cannot, does not want to, or should not say). The expression chosen, *è abbastanza diciamo esigente*, is the one that is appropriate to the communicative situation (a euphemism), as the evaluations are expressions that require mitigators, above all when relating to comments that can be perceived as negative. In any case, the inference (the mother is much more than 'demanding') is interpreted correctly by the woman who responds to her in the forum (and who expresses herself in the following manner: *so benissimo quanto una mamma anziana possa essere molto impegnativa, le persone anziane sono come piovre, vogliono tutta la tua attenzione*):

Ciao Annamaria, sono Adriana, innanzi tutto benvenuta nel forum, prendiamo insieme un caffè, parlando del più e del meno. Sono un po' più vecchia di te, e mi prendo la libertà di darti alcuni consigli: so benissimo quanto una mamma anziana possa essere molto impegnativa, ed una persona sarà certamente di grande aiuto, specialmente per non assorbire tutto il tuo tempo. Le persone anziane sono come piovre, vogliono tutta la tua attenzione, ma pur amandola tanto cerca di mantenere i tuoi spazi, lo dicono anche gli esperti che si occupano dei familiari.

'Hola Annamaria, soy Adriana, lo primero de todo, bienvenida al foro, tomemos un día un café para hablar de todo un poco. Soy algo mayor que tú, y me tomo la libertad de darte algunos consejos. Sé muy bien lo exigente que puede llegar a ser una madre mayor, y una persona te será, sin duda, de mucha ayuda, sobre todo para que no te absorba todo tu tiempo. Las personas mayores son como sanguijuelas, quieren que las atiendas todo el tiempo pero, aunque la quieras mucho, intenta mantener tu espacio, lo dicen hasta los expertos que se ocupan de los familiares.'

Although the mitigating function is more common in the case of *diciamo* there are cases in which the marker does not mitigate but rather reinforces what is intended to be said, as in (29), where the speaker emphasises their opinion about an argument regarding which they later ask others for their opinion on, or, as in (30), where the speaker, with the use of the marker, accentuates what they say and highlights that what has been said is in line with the truth. In these two examples, as we can see, the translations of the DM are quite different to the previous ones:

- (29) Dunque, *diciamo* ... non sopporto quelle persone perbeniste che davanti a tutti ti coccolano, stimano, apprezzano e poi dietro ti prendono in giro e ridono di te. Voi che ne pensate... ditemi...
(<https://es.toluna.com/opinions/713349/Come-si-spiega-che-molte-persone-sono-false>)
'A ver, *yo es que* no soporto a esas personas hipócritas que delante de los demás te miman, te estiman, te aprecian, y después, por detrás, te toman el pelo y se ríen de ti. Vosotros qué pensáis, decidme...'
- (30) un consiglio... anche io ero timida, *diciamo* che lo ero molto, ma con alcuni anni (adesso) sono diventata molto più socievole
(<https://it.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20100426091131AAiLmps>)
'un consejo... yo también era tímida, y *mucho / muy tímida, la verdad*, pero con los años (ahora) me he hecho mucho más sociable'

5. Conclusions

Due to the complex phenomenon of orality (its characteristic unpredictability and spontaneity, the paralinguistic elements that intervene in it, the abundance of implicit information, the rules of taking turns, politeness, etc.), the translation of these particles, as we have seen throughout the examples commented upon, requires a detailed analysis of all of the factors that intervene in the act of communication. Their translation also requires knowledge that goes beyond the meaning and the corresponding words that dictionaries offer, to be able to determine the effects of the sense of the DM in a specific text and the strategies necessary to attain the most precise equivalent in the target language.

As Jäger (1975) said, translated words always lie, but translated texts only lie when they are poorly translated. That is why a translator's work with DMs is much more complex and profound than it may seem. The translator will have to take into account that the DMs behave in the conversation as *indici relazionali* (Stame 1999: 173), on signalling the position of the speaker compared to their interlocutor or depending on the type of relationship that the speaker wishes to mark or modify throughout the conversation. These indications

may take place in the target language by means of a marker but, also, as we have been seeing throughout the 30 examples analysed, by means of other linguistic procedures. We must not forget that as Portolés (2002: 163) said, “los marcadores no son un fin en sí, sino un medio para lograr comunicar mejor lo que se desea”, i.e., they are a means but not the only one, and each language and each specific context can require different and quite removed solutions from those that, for these three markers, we could initially assume: *diciamo* / ‘digamos’, *insomma* / ‘en suma’, *cioè* / ‘esto es’.

Given all of the above, before offering the final version of a translation, the translator will have to analyse a series of factors in relation to these elements. These include the main and secondary pragmatic function that the marker performs in the specific context in which it appears, the modality, tone, register, intonation, topic, communicative situation, communicative intentions of the speakers, implicatures, and politeness used. This analysis will enable the translator to, subsequently, propose a faithful translation (both in relation to the SL as well as to the TL) of the meanings, words, collocations, register, enunciation and emphasis. To this end, it is very advisable to have high contrastive textual skills and a certain ability to understand the cognitive process that motivates the use of a specific marker in each specific context.

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