



## **BILINGUAL OFFICIAL POLICY AND IDEOLOGIES IN FORMAL INTERACTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PLURILINGUALISM AND INTERCULTURALISM IN INFORMAL INTERACTIONS AMONG THE YOUNG CROATIAN-ITALIAN BILINGUALS IN ISTRIA**

**Rita Scotti Juric and Nada Poropat**

*Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, Croatia*

The paper presents an overview of the Croatian-Italian bilingual policy and the practical perspectives of formal and informal language use and ideology in Istria. The Statute of the Istria County and other legislative regulations will be put into relation with the educational practice in Italian schools, taking into account the language-educational policy profiles of the European perspectives for the promotion of plurilingualism and intercultural education, particularly in border areas. After a brief review of the major theoretical perspectives related to the current state of bilingualism in Istria (Milani Kruljac 1990, 1992, 2003; Scotti Juric 1998, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2008; Filipi 1987, 1988-89; Orbanic 1989, 1990-1991; Bogliun Debeljuh 1989, 1992; and so forth), the uses of languages in contact will be presented through the exemplified formal and informal uses of Croatian and Italian standard languages, as well as the Istrovenetian dialect used in informal domains among croatian-italian bilingual/plurilingual speakers attending italian educational institutions. Linguistic strategies and typological features of mixed-language uses will be discussed, according to frequent interference and code-switching modes characterizing the diglossic stratification as appeals for discursive strategies with clear and distinct interactive pragmatic functions.

**Keywords:** Formal/informal, Bilingualism/plurilingualism, Interference, Code-switching.

### **Introduction**

Istria is perceived as a supranational European Region that includes italian, slovenian and croatian Istria<sup>1</sup>. In fact, the istrian peninsula is located between the Gulf of Trieste and the Bay of Kvarner and is shared by three countries: Croatia, Slovenia, and Italy<sup>2</sup>. Its multiethnic and plurilingual reality is made by the cohabitation of people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Considering the pluricultural and plurilingual status of Istria<sup>3</sup>, the territory is characterized by a regional bilingualism/plurilingualism.

---

<sup>1</sup> The paper is concerned only with the croatian parts of Istria, the largest peninsula in the Adriatic Sea.

<sup>2</sup> The *slovenian Istria* includes the coastal municipalities of Piran - Pirano, Izola – Isola, Koper - Capodistria, and municipality of Hrpelje-Kozina; while the Italian Istria includes Muggia and San Dorligo della Valle.

<sup>3</sup> In administrative terms the exact definition is 'Istria County' that is one of the counties of the Republic of Croatia. As the official translation of the Statute of the Istria County defines the area as the 'Region of Istria', both will be used as synonyms in the following chapters. For avoiding redundancy, only one denomination of the proper noun 'Istria' (italian version) will be used, by implying the croatian version (Istra), without writing it each time. Usually both are written at the same time (Istra/Istria: bilingual denomination). The area of the Istrian County is a unit of

Every citizen has the right to speak either Croatian or Italian in private domains, public life, public administration or in court. The relevance for increasing bilingual language policies reflects the role and importance of the area that has been a *bridge* between the Slavic and Romance world ever since. The secular conjoined life of different ethnicities affects and describes these cultures and languages in contact in the territory.

It is relevant to clarify the historical, demographic, cultural issues and linguistic policies, procedures and the position of educational institutions in relation to the forthcoming inclusion of Croatia in the European Union and its role in maintaining the Italian identity in Croatia. Before World War I and until World War II, the autochthonous Romance language speaking community in Istria was increasingly widening. Nowadays the Italian National Community<sup>4</sup> consists officially of around 15.000 inhabitants living in the Istrian towns and villages (2001 census<sup>5</sup>). The results of the last Census (year 2011) are still in progress of elaboration but as Table 1 shows, their number is decreasing over the years.

**Table 1.**

<i>Year</i>	<i>Istran population (total)</i>	<i>Italian nationality citizens</i>	<i>Italian mother tongue citizens</i>
1991	204.080	15.306 (7,5%)	19.861 (9,7%)
2001	206.340	14.284 (6,9%)	15.867 (7,7%)

### **Historical Overview: Ethnicities, Cultures and Languages in Contact in Istria**

The first inhabitants of Istria were the Histri, a Venetic Illyrian tribe. In 177 BCE till its fall (in the year 476), Istria was a part of the Roman Empire (X. Roman Region of Venetia et Histria). During the Roman era, Latin was accepted by the Illyrian and Venetic population of the territory, which was greatly Romanized. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Istria was pillaged by the Barbaric tribes (the Goths, the Ostrogoths, the Avars) and it was included in their kingdoms. It became a part of the Byzantine Empire (539 – 8<sup>th</sup> century). In the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries lots of incursions of Slavic peoples<sup>6</sup> happened. That fact influenced greatly the demographic situation of the territory and caused a decimation of the autochthonous population (Benussi, 1924: 31).

Before becoming a part of the Republic of Venice in 1267<sup>7</sup>, it was annexed to the Lombard Kingdom and the Frankish Kingdom (in 789). According to the Italian linguist Matteo Bartoli, all Romance inhabitants of the peninsula spoke a Rhaeto-Romance language prior to becoming a part of Venice. Other historians and linguists state that the Romance people spoke: a Rhaeto-Romance language similar to Ladin and Friulian in the north-west; while the natives probably spoke a variant of the Dalmatian language (in the south). From the 1149 the Istrian towns became vassals of the Republic of Venice

---

regional self-government that includes the following towns: Buje-Buie, Buzet, Labin, Novigrad-Cittanova, Pazin, Porec, Pula, Rovinj-Rovigno and Umag-Umago, and the territory of the municipality of Bale, Barban, Brtonigla-Verteneglio, Cerovlje, Fazana, Gracisce, Groznan-Grisignana, Karojba, Kanfanar, Kastelir-Labinci, Krsan, Rasa, Lanisce, Lizinjan, Lupoglav, Sveti Lovrec, Marcana, Medulin, Motovun, Sveta Nedelja, Opatlj-Portole, Pican, Sveti Petar u Sumi, Svetvincenat, Tinjan, Visnjan, Vizinada, Vodnjan, Vrsar, and Zminj. As can be seen, the bilingual towns and municipalities have a bilingual croatian-italian official denomination.

<sup>4</sup> Beside the most frequent denomination in the bibliography ('Italian National Community'), synonyms like 'Italian National Group', 'Italian minority' and others could also be found.

<sup>5</sup> All Census reports are taken from: [http://www.dzs.hr/default\\_e.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm).

<sup>6</sup> They settled in the northern parts of the Ancient Istria (Kras and surroundings of Ilirska Bistrica), while the Romance population represented the majority in the southern and western parts.

<sup>7</sup> The coastal parts of the peninsula went under the influence of Venice in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

(because of the trade connections). The peninsula happened to be divided between Venice and the Patriarchate of Aquileia (14<sup>th</sup> century). The same century included epidemics and the plague that decimated the population (particularly the Romance one, settled there from the past). For overcoming the problems of depopulation, Venice started settling speakers from the Italian Veneto region in the coastal towns, and Cakavian and partially Stokavian South Slavs from Dalmatia and today's Montenegro.

While the original Istrian Romance languages survived till our days (under the strong Venetian influences they transformed themselves into the modern Istriot dialects), the Romance population replaced the old Romance languages (either Rhaeto-Romance or Italo-Dalmatian) with the Venetian dialect of Italian (the Istrovenetian), causing a language shift. For centuries, during the rule of the Serenissima, the Venetian language flourished and it became the language of culture, administration and trade. The population of the towns by the coast was almost entirely Venetian-speaking. There were however Slavic-speaking persons in the inner part of the peninsula and in the north (bordering with the Austrian Istria).

There was a short period of the Austrian control (1797-1805); then Istria became part of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1806–1810) and of the Illyrian provinces of the French Empire (1810–1813). From the beginning of the 19th century, the local Croats and Slovenes began their national revival, increasing the demands for national and linguistic rights and emancipation, that caused institutional conflicts. After the rule of the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) Empire (1814-1918) and the end of the war, with the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), the territory became a part of the Kingdom of Italy (1918-1945)<sup>8</sup>. The advent of Fascism made Italian the only language of education and administration and brought to a cultural and linguistic suppression of the Slavic expressions and an imponent Italianization of public practices and services, local and institutional denominations, and even toponyms, names, surnames, etc. Any use of languages other than Italian was prohibited. Among others, Croatian and Slovene schools were closed, the editorial production was banished and the religious practices in Croatian-Slovenian were forbidden.

After the World War II (and the Italian armistice of 1943), Istria became a part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945 – 1991). From 1945 Italians started leaving the territory, not being satisfied with the circumstances and the new authorities. By the agreement between the Yugoslav government and the Allied forces it was decided that Pula (Pola) and Muggia would be controlled by the Allied forces and the rest of the peninsula would belong to Tito's administration<sup>9</sup>. The political, economical, ideological and social atmosphere after the Peace treaty of 1947 (Pula was assigned to Yugoslavia) and the dissolution of the Free Territory of Trieste (1954), led to the fact that almost all Istria became part of Yugoslavia and the last wave of the tragic Istrian exodus took place. It decimated the number of Italians in Istria (particularly in the coastal parts) and changed the overall ethnic structure and the cultural and social life. Not only Italians but even Slaves chose to abandon the territory and emigrate/move to Italy and elsewhere, for different reasons. From this overview it is evident that the ethnic, cultural and linguistic composition of the peninsula has been mixed through the centuries (and it is confirmed by the past Census results)<sup>10</sup>.

In various towns and villages in today's Croatia and Slovenia, there is still a significant number of Italians (the 51% of the population of Groznjan - Grisignana, the 37% in Brtonigla - Verteneglio and nearly 30% in Buje – Buie) counting nearly 20,000 Istrian Italians in Istria (between Croatia, Slovenia and Italy), according to the 2001 Croatian census and the 2002 Slovene census<sup>11</sup>. The 2001 census reports that there are 206.344 inhabitants in Istria; the majority of them are the Croats (71,88%) and the 15.09%

<sup>8</sup> After World War I, the Austrian-Hungarian Empire was dissolved and Istria was given to Italy. In the year 1922 there was the Fascist takeover.

<sup>9</sup> The demarking line was the Morgan Line, set in June 1945.

<sup>10</sup> For a comparison with the Kvarner County, in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the city of Rijeka the 45% of the inhabitants spoke Italian, the 32% spoke Croatian and the other citizens (23%) were the Hungarians (7%), the Slovenes (9%), the Germans (5%), the Czechs, the Polish, the Romanians, the English.

<sup>11</sup> The 2002 Slovenian census indicates that the Izola - Isola, Piran - Pirano, Koper - Capodistria had a total of 56,482 Slovenes, 6,426 Croats and 1,840 Italians.

are minorities (while the 10,65% of the inhabitants did not stated their nationality, and some of those regarded themselves as *Istrians*<sup>12</sup>). Recently there has been a widening of a strong 'regional' identity (the Istrian one), including the mixture of the secular cultural and linguistic attributes, inherited and interiorized from birth<sup>13</sup>. The issue of ethnicity and nationality is not always clear when talking about the Istrian people. Both their ethnicity and nationality can be Croatian, Slovene, Italian or they can possess a double nationality and a more complex perception of ethnicity, in relation to identity and family background. Consequently, even more complex happens to be the combination of cultural and linguistic practices, attitudes, behaviours, etc.

The biggest minorities in Istria are the Italians (6,92) and the Serbs (3,2%), followed by the Bosniaks (1,49%). Other nationalities count less than 1% each. Among the immigrants, the 90,95% of inhabitants came from the countries of the former Yugoslavia: the Bosniaks (59,53%), the Serbs (24,95%), the Slovenes (12,22), the Macedonians (3,30%), summed to the immigrants from Albania, Montenegro<sup>14</sup> and so forth.

The Istrian Italians are the only legislatively recognized national minority by the Istria County; the others are considered to be ethnic groups. Historically they are regarded to be the descendants from the original Latinized population of Roman Istria, from the Venetian-speaking settlers who came to Istria during the Republic of Venice and from the Italianized South Slavic population. Today, besides the Slavic official language of Croatia (the Croatian language), in the Istria County even Italian is recognized as an official language of the autochthonous National Italian Community. In everyday communication, very important is the use of local dialects. The Stokavian dialect became the Croatian standard language. Beside it, the Cakavian dialect is spoken in Istria and there is a great influence of the Istrovenetian dialect (phonologic, morphologic, syntactic, lexical, semantic interference) upon the two standard languages and the Cakavian dialect (particularly in informal non monitored interactions). The Romance codes spoken are the standard Italian language, the Istrovenetian dialect, the Istriot and the Istro-Romanian. The latter two are listed in the UNESCO Redbook of Endangered Languages as idioms at a high risk of extinction in the next few decades. In fact the low number of speakers is limited to elderly people living in a few localities. The Istriot dialect is still spoken in the localities of Rovinj - Rovigno, Bale - Valle, Vodnjan – Dignano, Galizana – Gallezano, Fazana – Fasana, Sisan – Sissano; while a small community of people, the Istro-Romanians<sup>15</sup>, who speak an ancient dialect of Romanian, called Istro-Romanian, live in the east and north of Istria (in a few tiny villages of the Cicarija Mountains, like Susnjevica, Zejane and others).

### **Bilingualism and Legislative Regulations and Practices: The Statute of the Region of Istria**

The Memorandum of London (1954) provides a special Statute for the protection of the rights of minorities; the document of Helsinki (1992) proclaims the need to develop forms of cohabitation and cooperation in which the minorities would be respected and assume an eminent role. Today's Statute of the Istria County resumes a few basic ideas relevant for the legislative regulations and bilingual practices in Istria and the protection and valorization of bilingualism/plurilingualism. Article 6 of the Chapter I of the Statute states that the Croatian and Italian languages are in equal official use, regarding the self-governing domain of the Regional committees<sup>16</sup>. The Articles of Chapter III regard the protection of autochthonous, ethnic and cultural characteristics, such as autochthonous toponyms, and the preservation of local dialects (Cakavian, Istriot, Istro-Venetian, Istro-Romanian, and others) through education about the homeland and other contents. In fact, the Articles 22 – 33 state that the Region protects all the pluricultural and pluriethnic Istrian domains. The equal use of the Croatian and the Italian language is

<sup>12</sup> Category defined according to regional criteria, not recognized by the Census results (regarded as 'others').

<sup>13</sup> The Istrian multiethnos is fostered as a traditional expression of regional affiliation.

<sup>14</sup> The Montenegrin minority living in the Istrian town of Peroj, is another example of a multiethnic cohabitation.

<sup>15</sup> Defined as "the smallest ethnic group in Europe" in the UNESCO Redbook of Endangered Languages.

<sup>16</sup> Along with the flag of the Republic of Croatia and the Istrian Region, the flag of the Italian National Community is also displayed on special occasions and during the session of the representative bodies.

realized in the work of all bodies of the Region in the self-governing domain<sup>17</sup> and in the procedure before administrative bodies<sup>18</sup>. The Istrian Region guarantees its citizens bilingual issuance of public documents and forms used for the official purpose. Furthermore, legal persons with public license to perform works for the members of the Italian National Community can use only the Italian language in their direct contacts<sup>19</sup>. In addition, the right of consensus is guaranteed to the Committee for Issues and Protection of Rights of the Autochthonous Italian National Community, as a permanent working body of the Assembly<sup>20</sup>, in the self-governing domain of the Region<sup>21</sup>.

The Statute guarantees the equal official use of Italian and Croatian in all the areas (municipalities, towns and villages) where the members of the Italian National Community<sup>22</sup> live. They have the right to use publicly their language for preserving their national and cultural identity and establishing educational, cultural and other autonomous associations, informative and publishing activity. The members of the Italian National Community have the right of attending schools (kindergarden, pre-school, primary and secondary education - elementary and high school and two university departments<sup>23</sup>) in which all the subjects are taught in Italian and which have special programmes (in accordance with the Croatian Ministry of Education, Science and Sports) appropriately containing topics related to Italian history, culture and science, according the right for prominence to their national features.

The status and significance of the Italian Union as a representative of the members of the Italian National Community, is recognized by the Region. It secures funds in accordance with the possibilities of its budget for the work of the Italian Union and its institutions and promotes conditions for the realization of free return and acquisition of full status for all emigrants. Furthermore it promotes their connections with their homeland<sup>24</sup>.

Municipalities and towns with statutory regulation of bilingualism for students of Croatian schools (primary and secondary education), with lessons taught entirely in Croatian, encourage the study of Italian as the language of the social environment, so Italian is taught as a compulsory or optional language (subject) even in Croatian schools.

---

<sup>17</sup> The activities taking place in the domains of the Assembly and the Government of the Istrian Region are carried out in Croatian and Italian.

<sup>18</sup> The Region provides bilingual texts on stamps and seals (in the same font size), titles of the acts, bilingual signboards of the representative, executive, administrative bodies of the Region and authorized legal persons. Furthermore, the Councilor of the Assembly, the member of the Government, or the citizen is guaranteed bilingual submitting materials for the session of the Regional Assembly or Regional Government, bilingual publishing conclusions, official notifications and invitations of the representative, executive, and administrative bodies of the Region.

<sup>19</sup> Members of the Italian National Community have the same rights as in the proceedings before the bodies of state administration of first instance, in the procedure of first and second instance before the administrative bodies of the Region.

<sup>20</sup> Beside the legislative regulations concerning the educational practice in Italian School In Croatia, the Istrian Democratic Assembly. In Croatian it is called *Istarski demokratski sabor* (abbreviation IDS); in Italian: *Dieta democratica istriana* (abbreviation DDI) is a social liberal political party in Istria, constituted in the 1990. The party played a role in supporting and preserving the values of multilingual, multicultural and economical identity of Istria, as a multiethnic area characterized by the contacts of languages and cultures.

<sup>21</sup> The Committee has its President and four members, the majority of which are councilors from the ranks of the Italian National Community. The right of consensus can be used by one third of the members of the Assembly in the case when they consider that the regulation can harm the pluricultural and pluriethnic characteristics of Istria. The application of the consensus is defined by the Rules of Procedure and other acts of the Assembly.

<sup>22</sup> For realizing the equality of Croatian and Italian, the Region employs a certain number of staff proficient in both languages.

<sup>23</sup> The Department of Italian studies (Dipartimento di studi in lingua italiana) and the Department for the formation of teachers and educators (Dipartimento per la formazione di maestri ed educatori) at the *Juraj Dobrila* University of Pula.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Istrian Region promotes especially trans-border collaboration with the Istrian territories in the Republic of Slovenia and in the Italian Republic' (Statute: Chapter I, Article 10)

### **Educational Practice in Formal Interactions in Italian Schools in Istria: Linguistic Policies and Usual Procedures**

The linguistic repertoire of Istria is characterized by a 'vertical relationship' between the two official standard languages, Croatian and Italian. Being the official language of Croatia, Croatian is spoken in all interactive domains and covers all the functional spheres (from the most formal ones to the most informal ones). As Italian (beside Istrovenetian) is limited to certain domains, it is subject to the functional strength and prestige of Croatian. For instance, bilingual speakers have at their disposal two varieties that have different functional roles.

Beside Croatian, the romance repertoire of italophone speakers is made by the Standard Italian language, that covers only the most formal interactions, and the Istrovenetian dialect that is used in all other situations and domains, if it is not replaced by Croatian. Standard Italian is mainly the language of school (teacher-student interaction during the lessons), of the mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines), of formal meetings taking place in certain Italian institutions and the written language of documents and communications of Italian institutions. Italian happens to be limited predominantly to a passive input and its primary domain is the receptive one (except the active interactive lessons and meetings). Standard Croatian is set to be the L1 (first language) of the Croatophones. Italian has a specific status as the language of the social environment (L2 – second language) in Istria. As such, Italian is 'compulsorily' offered by all Croatian schools in the Istria County and the choice to learn it is optional and performed by parents who decide to let their children learn it at school or not. The mentioned facts about teaching Italian in Croatian schools confirm the importance given to Italian in the County.

The position of the study of Italian in Croatian schools is quite interesting and differentiated depending on the various areas. According to the researches (Scotti Juric, Ambrosi-Randic, 2010) Italian is taught as an optional subject (in the 68,6% of cases) or as a compulsory subject (27,5%) in four grade high schools and in bilingual areas where Italian is treated as the language of the social environment to all effects. Depending on the presence of the Italian National Community in each area, Italian is taught in the 17% of cases from the first grade of the primary school (six-seven years of age); in the 33,3% from the second grade (six-seven or seven-eight years of age) or from the fourth grade (ten-eleven) in the 37,3% of the cases. A percentage of 9,8 begins to learn Italian before the age of six.

A fact which lowers the motivation for studying Italian at school (and in general) is the more and more important request for English, so Italian happens to be in the second position among the languages offered. In addition to the integrative motivation, in Istria there is a strong instrumental motivation generally characterized by the desire to obtain something practical or concrete (Hudson, 2000; Dornyei, 2003) from the study of Italian. Thus, the motivation for studying a language lies on utilitarian basis (for gaining access to a particular school or university, for a wider range of job applications, in demand of higher rewards as a result of language skills, for reading and understanding technical material for specific sectors, for doing translations or dealing with other linguistic issues, for achieving a higher social status, and so forth).

As we said before, according to the Statute, the Italian National Community has the right to use publicly its language for preserving the national and cultural identity. So, different cultural and other associations were established in the past and operate nowadays. In particular way, relevant are the schools where all the subjects are taught in Italian (this is why they are called 'Italian schools'). According to the disposition of the Croatian Ministry of Research, Education and Sports, special programmes had been designed for these schools whose teachings include notions of Italian history, geography, music, arts, literature, grammar, science, etc. In the Republic of Croatia there are 14 Italian elementary schools<sup>25</sup> (with

---

<sup>25</sup> Compulsory education in Croatia consists of the elementary school (eight grades) that is attended by pupils after kindergarden and pre-school, from the age of six-seven to the age of thirteen-fourteen. After it, follows the secondary (high) school (three or four grades, depending on the typology of the school). Secondary education is provided by gymnasiums and vocational schools. Italian schools are located in the Istrian County and the city of Rijeka (Kvarner County, also called Gorski Kotar County).

peripheral sections) attended by 2,206 students, while in Slovenia there are 3 elementary schools with 6 peripheral sections (488 students in total)<sup>26</sup>. There are four Italian high schools with 13 different profiles (in Pula, Rovinj-Rovigno, Buje-Buie and Rijeka), attended by 820 students. In the Slovene territory, there are three high schools with 5 profiles (attended by 293 students in total). Italian schools are attended not only by children members of the Italian National Community<sup>27</sup> but even by the members of the Croatian majority and those coming from mixed families<sup>28</sup> (Croatophone father and Italophone mother, or viceversa), including other nationalities<sup>29</sup>.

Early bilinguals usually find no difficulty in passing from one language to another, without having to translate one into the other, considering the fact that they possess two linguistic systems independent and parallel. Even though they have a simultaneous control of two linguistic systems, the real achieving of a 'complete' or 'balanced' bilingualism is unlikely to happen in all the cases, taking into account its idealized component. Croatophone speakers happen to be predominant in Croatian, in almost all the cases. There is a great tendency of the dominance of Croatian even in the young Italophone generations, considering its predominance and functional strength in all linguistically productive communicative situations (except Italian school lessons and family or colleague interaction in certain cases).

There is no equity in the domains of use of Croatian and Italian (entirely replaced by Istrovenetian in all the informal spheres). Furthermore, there is none fact that could guarantee a growth and development of a communicative environment, natural or constructed, thanks to which we could expect an equal possibility to use both languages in spontaneous interactions. As Blagoni states (2002, 2005), there is a big difference between the 'right to' speak a language and the 'possibility to'. For instance, even though the statutory acts enounce the 'right' to use Italian, the 'possibility' for doing so is very low, if not inexistent. In fact, the wishes (of a Croatophone student, learning Italian at a Croatian school) to interact with Italophone peers in Italian are likely to remain unsatisfied. Italophone bilingual speakers use the Istrovenetian dialect with other Italophone speakers and Croatian with the Croatophone ones. As we already wrote, the standard Italian belongs to formal spheres (specifically during school lessons). All interactions, except the teacher-student ones, are performed in Croatian and Istrovenetian (even during the breaks among lessons or the silent chit-chats with other students during the lessons).

In the Istrian schools the study of both Croatian and Italian is promoted with a monolingual and monocultural vision. Teachers remain anchored to the teaching of traditional grammar models, made exclusively of phonology, morphosyntax and textual grammar and it makes it difficult to understand the way the original structures of Croatian and Italian relate from a functional point of view. The real everyday use of the two languages, interference and code switching does not seem to concern teachers and remains outside the sphere of their interest. So the educational purpose seems to lie in the narrow description of the language competence of a speaker rigorously in terms of grammar. However, this is not a full report of what a speaker has to know in order to be able to behave appropriately in communicative terms. Corder (1983) highlights a series of elements which go beyond theoretical linguistics such as the situational content in which the data are produced, the relations between speakers and listeners, their social characteristics, the results of their speech, the paralinguistic behavior that accompanies it, and so forth. Hymes (1979) states that linguistics possesses the tools to go beyond these limits. A native speaker should be able to produce and understand not only utterances grammatically *well-formed*, but also

<sup>26</sup> In the County of Istria there are 111 primary schools with a total of 17,564 students: in nine major towns there are 63 primary schools with 13,510 students; in 29 municipalities there are 48 primary schools with a total of 4054 students. As for high schools, there are 23 secondary schools following different formative profiles, with a total of 9029 students: in seven (out of nine) towns there are 22 secondary schools with 8986 students and one medium-sized town has a private high school.

<sup>27</sup> For an overview of studies on bilinguals from an educational point of view, see Milani Kruljac 1995; (ed.) 2003; Milani Kruljac & Orbanic 1988-1989; Monica 1990-1991; Scotti Juric 1994-1995, 2008a, 2010; Scotti Juric-Ambrosi Randic 2010; Scotti Juric & Stokovac 2009.

<sup>28</sup> Not only bilingual, but even monolingual parents are able to raise up a bilingual child.

<sup>29</sup> The mixed tissue of the student population with different language backgrounds and competences is an important issue for Italian school teachers, regarding the appropriate teaching modalities.

*appropriate* to the context in which they are uttered. The followers of the *communicative competence* (Bachman 1990) support the thesis that even the communicatively appropriate utterances contribute to the formation of a competence of language, exactly as the grammatical ones. The most serious problem is the fact that Italian cannot be exercised in real situations in the Istrian environment, because, as we highlighted, the communication between the population and the environment takes place in the Istrovenetian dialect and not in the Standard Italian language.

To build a situation in which languages are distinct and circumscribed, the habit to draw from real linguistic inputs should be developed and particularly authentic linguistic material mastered during faithful communicative act sharing. Otherwise, Italian is threatened and could become a language rut, unable to convey thought and modern culture.

### Linguistic and Discursive Strategies in Informal Interactions

The issues regarding the uses of languages among bilingual speakers in Istria and Kvarner County had been (and is being) studied by several researchers (Blagoni 1999, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2009; Bogliun Debeljuh 1992a, 1992b; Borme, 1990-1991; Filipi 1987, 1988-1989, 1989, 1990, 1996, 2005; Jahn 1998-1999; Milani Kruljac, 1985, 1990, 1990-1991, 1992, 1995, 2003; Milani Kruljac & Orbanic 1988-1989, 1989, 1991; Orbanic 1990-1991; Scotti Juric 1994-1995, 1996-1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2011; Suran 1992, and so forth). As the linguistic situation is changing rapidly over the years the results of the researches are not universal and definite. Beside the sociolinguistic perspectives and the linguistic structural perspectives<sup>30</sup> of language learning (concerning the morphosyntactic and semantic forms), even the pragmatic-communicative sphere<sup>31</sup>, concerning the use of language which relates to the illocutary and discursive factors is being studied by Scotti Juric and associates. These separate undertaken visions employ different attitudes towards the languages of bilingual/plurilingual speakers.

The members of the Italian National Community consider the Istrovenetian dialect as their mother tongue (L1), and as such it replaces the standard Italian both in school, family<sup>32</sup>, other informal domains, and even in some formal situations. The Italians identify themselves with the Istrovenetian dialect and they recognize the cultural uniqueness of their autochtony in the dialect's originality (Scotti Juric, 2001). As we wrote in the previous chapters, the possibilities to use the standard Italian are very limited, while Croatian is more and more frequently preferred as a means of communication among the young bilinguals (in the public-administrative sphere, with friends, colleagues, acquaintances, etc.). Istrovenetian is vivid only inside the italophone community (with small exceptions of croatophone speakers that use it with italophone peers, colleagues, and so forth) and has a very low expressive strength outside it. So it is limited mainly to the in-group interactions.

What is usually defined as 'Istrian bilingualism' is in fact a diglossic stratification<sup>33</sup>. Therefore, the situation of diglossia stems from a sociolinguistics opposition: it regards the ethnic group or the individuals as part of a linguistic community. It manifests when the ethnic group or individual appeals to a language which is not the one used in daily conversation, to participate in public life (Milani, 1985). In Ferguson's conception (1959) 'diglossia' is the contemporary use of two varieties of the same language in

<sup>30</sup> They regard language as a system and formal methods are adopted for studying it. Therefore, there is a strong presence of interference, code switching, borrowings, calques, etc. that are erroneously interpreted as violation of grammatical rules and causes of an 'interfered communication'.

<sup>31</sup> This perspective is focused on the use of language and therefore promotes an analysis of communication through communicative approaches. So all the phenomenology of bilingualism is seen from the point of view of the functionality of language.

<sup>32</sup> See Musizza Orbanic - Orbanic 1992; Bogliun 1989a, 1989b, 1992a, 1992b, 1994, 1995; Scotti Juric 2007, 2008b.

<sup>33</sup> Milani (1989) states that it can be defined as 'double diglossia', considering the presence of Croatian beside Istrovenetian and Italian, or even 'poliglossia' (Platt, 1977).

one community (a standard language and a dialect)<sup>34</sup>. The two varieties are in a vertical relationship: the dialect belongs to a 'low' level, which corresponds to non-formal sociolinguistic situations and family domains, while the standard language is considered to be the "high" form, usually learned by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes.. For instance, the two varieties are not equally used in every situation, since different functions are performed by each of them. Considering the fact that they are complementary, there is no conflict between them.

Sometimes in the linguistic behavior of bilinguals a *replacement of code* or a *shift of systemic dominance* is activated: while grammar (precisely morphosyntax) presents a maximum resistance to change (phenomena of *transgrammaticalization*<sup>35</sup>), phonology presents an average resistance (phenomena of *transphoneticalization*<sup>36</sup>). For example, the young Croatian-Italian bilinguals communicate with the support of a metasystem<sup>37</sup> which lasts since childhood and works according to the analogue phenomena of the two languages. The parallels of the actions of mental systems act on linguistic structures and generate interlanguage<sup>38</sup> with certain rules in common, and other specific to each variety, but however following systematic norms. During language acquisition, these structures are transitional (such as interference, that generates the transfer of a structure or linguistic content), hypothetical (as they take place within the single act of language) and are intended to be abandoned with the support of the environment and the context. In this case these expressions will be corrected and will not undertake the risk of the multiplication and the occurrence of individual interference that would originate the stabilisation of the transfer.

In some cases, the phenomena of bilingualism are consciously and voluntarily used by bilinguals as additional expressive tools. For instance, one of the main distinctive specificities of the linguistic outputs produced by young bilinguals<sup>39</sup> in informal situations<sup>40</sup> are the conscious or unconscious hybrid

---

<sup>34</sup> Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as 'a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation'.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the student utters the incorrect form: 'io sono visto' instead of the correct one: 'io ho visto' from the Croatian 'ja sam vidio' (meaning 'I am seen' instead of 'I have seen').

<sup>36</sup>For example 'septembre' (september) from the Croatian correct form 'septembar/rujan' instead of saying 'settembre' (the correct form in Italian): the phonological set is transferred from Croatian to Italian.

<sup>37</sup> The metasystem is intended as a set of rules that encompass and dominate the two languages simultaneously. It includes three general rules: the rules of universal grammar as a general characteristic of the human being, genetically guaranteed; common rules of the two languages (core grammar) and the specific rules of each language.

<sup>38</sup> Hypothetical construction submitted to verification during the interaction with interlocutors, having some rules in common with the standard language and other specific rules. Their duration is temporary and they are usually abandoned during the cognitive development.

<sup>39</sup> When the speaker perceives the contradiction between his own production and that of the native speaker, a destabilisation starts implementing and new instructive and selective hypothesis arise (Milani, 1990-91). If this comparison does not happen and language learning is not facilitated and supported by memorized elements and prepackaged routines heard by native speakers, the incorrect form will be established and will become an uncomfortable linguistic baggage inherited from childhood. Partially, almost all the bilinguals are accustomed to live with these 'wastes' (or 'residual traces'), for which they build a superimposed identity, in the sense that they will pass from one language/culture to another depending on the occasions, affective priorities, addressed invites, momentaneous influences, without apparent difficulty (Desinan, 1997). The competence of those who possess a metasystem differs from that provided to each speaker for a single language (monolingual speakers). This is the original bilingual competence, which could not be reduced to a simple addition of two monolingual competences (Grosjean, 1982). On the basis of this underlying metasystem, the bilingual speaker runs two codes, using the language means on his own: the various forms of mixture constitute an analytical report whose communicative value not only is not lower than that of a monolingual, but is revealed to be particularly effective for certain aspects, specifically when it is used among bilinguals.

<sup>40</sup> Particularly in formal situations (such as lessons and teacher-student interactions, in our case) the bilinguals manage to keep separated and well controlled the Croatian and Italian phonological, morphological, syntactic and

structures made of different languages or language varieties included in their repertoire. As 'bilinguals are not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals but have a unique and specific linguistic configuration' (Grosjean 1995: 259), there has been a great interest for studying the bilingual phenomena. Auer (1988) defines transfers as the transit of single structural units from the L2 to the L1, and states that there are structural, lexical and phrasal transfers. Furthermore, in bilingual settings there is a strong tendency to switch from one code to the other for different reasons. According to Weinreich (1953) the tendency to switch from one code to another is a characteristic of persons exposed to a daily contact with two or more languages (and cultures). It is realized through the use of elements of one language with the elements of the other language. 'The ideal bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topics, communicative aims, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence' (Weinreich 1953:73), even if it is evident that it can occur at a phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical level or at a discourse level<sup>41</sup>.

Today the alternate use of two or more languages (or dialects) is regarded as a usual feature of daily bilingual spoken interactions (even though still a lot of negative prejudice persists), while in the past it was seen as a weakness, ignorance or even a sort of linguistic 'corruption'. There are distinct definitions for borrowing or the usage of loanwords (that occurs usually on the lexical level) and code-switching (morphosyntactic level) (Gumperz 1982; Poplack & Sankoff 1984; Muysken 1995). It is stated that certain morphosyntactic rules and links are applied in the alterations through code-switching, but there is not a definite list of them, accepted by all linguists (Bhatt, 1995). Grosjean (1995) makes a difference between language borrowings and speech borrowings. Language borrowings refer to borrowings between languages intended as systems (the 'langue' in saussurian terms). Speech borrowings belong to the 'parole' and do not become fixed in the system of the other language.

As the lexic is less rigidly structured than phonology, morphology and syntax, it is *par excellence* the domain of borrowings. For instance, in many cases Croatian has the most visible condensation of meanings related to experiences and concepts typical of the social context. So within Italian and Istrovenetian utterances lots of Croatian terms related to different fields (see the list below)<sup>42</sup> are borrowed in informal communicative settings. The reported examples from our corpus show the use of Croatian borrowings placed in Istrovenetian utterances.

a) Sociopolitical and legal field:

- El *sabor* (Cro) gaveva la *sjednica* (Cro) sul primo programma e lui non me lasciava guardar el film sul secondo.  
The *parliament* (Cro) had a *meeting* (Cro) on the first channel and he did not let me watch the film on the second (implied: channel).
- Si, de sicuro anderemo votar sto anno per i *izbori* (Cro).  
Yes, surely we will go to vote this year for the *elections* (Cro).
- Mia nona paga la *pricuva* (Cro), miga mi!  
My granny pays the *reserves* (Cro), not me!
- Troppo alte xe le *rezije* (Cro) che dovemo pagar ogni mese!

---

lexical systems. The exceptions are represented by unconscious, occasional and quite rare unmonitored Croatian-Italian (or Istrovenetian-Italian) interfered utterances in such situations.

<sup>41</sup> However, there is a greater resistance to interference at the level of phonology, morphology, and syntax and less resistance at the lexical level.

<sup>42</sup> The examples we report are noted from the interaction taking place among bilinguals attending Italian educational institutions (high school students and university students). Many authors like De Houwer (1990), Grosjean (1982), Romaine (1989), Saunders (1982), Taeschner (1983) and others, state that a significantly more frequent occurrence of transfers happens in bilingual-bilingual interactions.

- Too high are the *directings* (Cro) that we have to pay every month!
- Bah, el parlava della decision de certi *izvrnsni odbori* (Cro).  
Bah, he talked about the decision of certain *executive committees* (Cro).
  - Ti credi che la *vlada* (Cro) de Milanovic la saria meo de questa qua'?'  
Do you think that Milanovic's *govrenment* (Cro) would be better than this one?
  - Venerdi' anderemo insieme alla *priredba* (Cro) de mio fradel.  
Friday we will go together to my brother's *show* (Cro).
  - Finalmente la ga cepado sto *rjesenje* (Cro), dopo centinaia de secoli.  
Finally she received the *decision* (Cro), after hundereds of centuries.
  - Ma no, alla fine del film iera la *parnica* (Cro) e lori ga vinto.  
Well no, at the end the of the film there was the *litigation* (Cro) and they won.
  - Tuo pare te ga ciolto el *vlasnicki list* (Cro)?  
Did you father take you the *proprietary confirmation* (Cro)?
  - Ti pensi che perderia la *vozacka* (Cro) cusi' facilmente?  
Do you think that I would loose the *driving licence* (Cro) that easilly?
  - I ga organizzato el *sastanak* (Cro) el mese scorso.  
They organized the *meeting* (Cro) last month.
  - Immagina che goduria co go savudo per la *kazna* (Cro).  
Imagine the enjoyment when I knew about the *penalty* (Cro).
- b) Administrative field:
- Me tocca andar in *opcina* (Cro) cior la *potvrda* (Cro) per la Martina.  
I have to go to the *municipality hall* (Cro) to take the *certificate* (Cro) for Martina.
  - Lori ga dito che sti dati ghe servi per el *djecji doplatak* (Cro).  
They said that they need these data for the *child allowanace* (Cro).
  - Mamma mia, tutti 'sti *porezi* (Cro) de tutte le parti.  
Oh my God, all these *taxes* (Cro) everywhere.
  - Ti dovevi portar anche ti el *rodni list* (Cro)? Va ciorlo in *maticni ured* (Cro).  
You should have taken even the *birth certificate* (Cro)? Go to take it to the *Registrar's office* (Cro).
  - Luka ga ditto che in *zavod za zaposljavaenje* (Cro) ghe ga spiegado come funsiona le robe.  
Luka said that in the *employment bureau* (Cro) they explained him how things work.
  - Per l'iscrizion ghe serviva la *domovnica* (Cro), solo 'sta roba so.  
For the registration he needed the *certificate of citizenship* (Cro), I know only this.
  - La *tajnica* (Cro) del direttor me gaveva risposto.  
The director's *secretary* (Cro) answered me.

- No, i *rokovi* (Cro) te xe solo in febbraio e luglio.  
No, the *examination periods* (Cro) are only in February and July.
- Ma cossa? Dovemo giusto andar in *referada* (Cro)?  
What? Do we really have to go to the *student office* (Cro)?
- Faro' *prijavit* (Cro) *l'ispit* (Cro) forsi domani.  
I will *register the exam* (Cro) maybe tomorrow.
- La *studentska sluzba* (Cro) lavora fin le tre, me par.  
The *student service* (Cro) works till three o'clock, I guess.
- El *natjecaj* (Cro) xe sul giornal de lunedì'. Saria bel ciapar 'sta *stipendija* (Cro).  
The *competition* (Cro) is in Monday's newspaper. It would be great to receive the *scholarship* (Cro).

These concepts are expressed in Croatian because the correspondents words are not known in Italian or Istrovenetian, are not widely used or the words in Croatian appear to be the only ones to tell precisely what is intended to be said (Milani Kruljac, 1990: 103). Transfers may happen in a bidirectional way (Croatian to Italian or Istrovenetian; Italian or Istrovenetian to Croatian). We report a few of the most significant phonologic, morphologic and syntactic adaptations uttered by croatophone speakers who are included in Italian institutions. Italian words or expressions are transferred to utterances in Croatian and are adapted according to the rules of the arrival language<sup>43</sup>. Regarding the phonologic interference when Istrovenetian and Italian are basic languages with interference of Croatian, one of the most frequent cases is the pronunciation of the (dental)alveolar fricatives [s] and [z] as they were palatal-alveolar (like in Croatian).

c) Phonologic adaptations (with implicit morphologic adaptations):

- (s→ž) Ako se sjecas kad smo ono iz *dizenja* zajedno *dizenjivali*: adaptation of the noun 'disegno' (It) and the verb 'disegnare' at the indicative mood, past imperfect tense (It) (we were drawing).
- (s→ž; ge→đ) Ja bas ne kuzim to sto nas stalno na nesto *costrindiva*: adaptation of 'costringere' at the indicative mood, present tense with progressive meaning (It) (is forcing us to).

d) Morphologic adaptations<sup>44</sup>:

- Mi hodamo po *marciapiedeu* kad me je neki lik s *motorinom* skoro pokupio: 'marciapiede' (It) + genitive case (Cro); 'motorino' (It) + instrumental case ending (Cro).
- Sve od *italijana* cu ti donesti: 'italiano' (It) + genitive case ending (Cro).
- Jos je rekla da trebamo par stvari dodati *seminariju*: 'seminario' (It) + dative case ending (Cro).
- Sa *manualeom* sam mogla odgovarati: 'manuale' (It) + instrumental case ending (Cro).

e) Syntactic adaptations:

- *Mi je dala dva*: from 'mi ha dato due' (It), instead of 'dala mi je dva' (Cro).
- *Ga citamo svaki sat...dosta mi ga je vise*: from 'lo leggiamo ogni ora...' (It), instead of 'citamo ga svaki sat...'.
- *Ona ima neki riassunto jako dugi*: from 'lei ha un riassunto molto lungo', instead of 'ona ima jako dugi riassunto'.
- *Imala je salabahter...joj ga je uzeo cim je vidio*: from '...glielo ha preso...' (It) instead of '...uzeo joj ga je...' (Cro).

<sup>43</sup> These examples are made in the opposite direction; till now we have reported examples uttered in Italian or Istrovenetian as matrix languages, with the interference of Croatian structures or linguistic elements.

<sup>44</sup> Unlikely Italian, Croatian has morphological cases, so the adaptations are in most cases related to them.

To report a few examples of interference related to grammatical features, we can mention the transfer of prepositions like in the case of 'sono andato *sulla* lavagna' ('I went *on* the blackboard') from the Croatian 'išao sam *na* ploču' instead of 'sono andato *alla* lavagna' ('I went *to* the blackboard'); the transfers of pronouns like in 'noi *si* giochiamo' ('we play' expressed in the reflexive form) from the Croatian 'mi *se* (reflexive) igramo' or from the Istrovenetian 'noi *se* gioghemo', instead of 'noi giochiamo' ('we play'); or they may refer to the lexic-syntax interface, like in the borrowed verbal structures which are treated as 'verb to do + infinitive of the verb in Croatian'. An example is 'fa izbrisat' ('do delete') composed by the Italian verb 'fare' (second person singular) summed to the infinitive of the Croatian verb 'izvrisat(i)', instead of 'cancella' in Italian.

There is evidence of the juxtaposition of the other language into the utterances of the 'matrix' language. There are lots of criteria for such choices like the clear intentions of the bilingual speaker, his communicative purposes and expectation, the addressees (interlocutors), the topic, etc. The choices are always motivated by a pragmatic strategy that has interactional purposes and therefore speech phenomena with pragmatics functions take place. A few examples noted from students reflect the adoption of the strategy for linguistic economy reasons, quotation of direct speech, for gaining stylistic or humorous effects, filling the different types of gaps and so forth. As for the discourse strategies that bilinguals adopt when dealing with linguistic difficulties during the conversation, their typology is interlingual and goes beyond those intralingual<sup>45</sup>. The following examples show the usage of Croatian words or expressions used in Istrovenetian utterances.

a) Linguistic economy:

- Devo prender la *domovnica* (Cro).  
I have to take the *certificate of citizenship* (Cro).
- La me gaveva fatto le *sarme* (Cro).  
She prepared for me the *cabbage rolls*<sup>46</sup> (Cro).
- Comprime quella *Cedevita* (Cro) in bottiglia se ti va in bottega.  
Buy me that *Cedevita* (Cro) (selled) in the bottle if you go to the store.

b) Quotation of direct speech:

- La siora in posta la me torna la lettera e la fa: '*ako hocete preporuceno za Ameriku ne smijete zatvoriti pismo*' (Cro).  
The lady in the post office returns me the letter and says: '*if you want to send as registered mail to America you must not close the letter*' (Cro).
- I ga ditto: '*morate ispuniti crvenu prijavnicu zbog kvara u sustavu*' (Cro).  
They said: '*you have to fill the red application form because of the system malfunction*' (Cro).

c) Gaining stylistic or humorous effects:

- E co gavemo finido, lui ga ditto che non xe bastansa lungo...*kuzis ili ti moram nactati* (Cro)?  
And when we finished, he said that is was not long enough...*do you understand or I have to draw it down for you* (Cro)?
- Ma bom bom, *nema veze* (Cro), te contaro' ben un'altra volta.  
Well ok ok, *never mind* (Cro), I will tell you another time.
- Si si, iera giusto una bella *ceremonija* (Cro).  
Yes yes, it was a great *ceremony* (Cro).

d) Filling the different types of gaps:

- Ma no, te servi la *uputnica* (Cro) se ti vol che i te lo daghi.  
Oh no, you need the *medical demand* (Cro) if you want them to give it to you se.

<sup>45</sup> The intralingual ones will not be addressed in this paper.

<sup>46</sup> Sarma is a Croatian dish similar to the cabbage rolls filled with minced meat.

- Andero' comprarlo in *kiosk* (Cro).  
I will go to buy it in the *kiosk* (newsstand) (Cro).

In the first case (a) the use of loans is evident for names of typical Croatian objects, forms (like 'domovnica'), aliments or dishes ('sarma'), (branded) beverages ('cedevita'), conceptions and realities in general, unknown in Italy. Adopting the linguistic economy as a strategy, enables the speaker to fill an objective gap in one language with an expression in the other. The loan happens to be phonetically integrated, and it is a part of the current use among many bilinguals of the community (it is almost never occasional). A further case (b and d) of clear intention of bilingual speakers to change the code is present in the loan with value of citation, literally containing words, expressions and utterances in the other language, or ways of saying strongly related to situations in the other language.

Stylistic and humorous effects (c) are also frequent in the bilingual communication, specially among close friends. Their interactions are full of code switching that colors the speech making it innovative and creative. Many times the same word produced in the language of the speaker does not have the same stylistic effect in the other language. Quite often the speakers have the need to correct their gaps with self-corrections and repairs (d).

## Conclusion

Within the more general framework of linguistic and cultural policy, the Istrian Region encourages the promotion of pluralism as a response to the intrinsic cultural and linguistic diversity<sup>47</sup> that characterises the Istrian community as a whole. Considering the pluricultural and plurilingual status of Istria, it was relevant to clarify the ongoing linguistic policies, ideologies and procedures in relation to the forthcoming inclusion of Croatia in the European Union and the maintenance of the native Italian identity, culture and language. The evident advantages of the existing language policy are in accordance with the implementation of intercultural acceptance towards the European aim of promoting a global and coherent approach to plurilingual language learning and teaching (Committee of Ministers on 'The use of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages').

The Region of Istria is an example of authentic, peaceful and harmonious coexistence and advanced forms of ethno-linguistic and cultural evaluation with the compenetration of cultural and linguistic spheres, representing a living example of a secular ongoing enrichment derived from diversity and deep mutual respect. In this sense, schools have a fundamental task in allowing the continuation of educating and fostering new generations with feelings of respect towards other realities for the promotion of knowledge and skills that will enable a proactive broadening of an open mental set. By accepting the challenge of change, schools might become the privileged place for a peaceful coexistence and dialogue between people of different languages and cultures, enlightening the richness and relevant value of their formative aims. For instance, the European 'Framework' states that the main objective of language education is to "promote a favorable development of the whole personality of learners and their sense of identity in response to the experience of language and culture diversity" (2001: 1). Speaking of intercultural education, it is important to deepen, revise and introduce new educational categories including topics related to difference, pluralism, respect and dialog. The fundamental role of the school, the school leaders and the Region itself is to encourage plurilingualism and cultural development since nursery school, individualizing in its own past the pluriethnic/pluricultural outcomes of the civil living.

Now that the protection of the Italian Minority in Istria is guaranteed by solid legislative acts, we can only hope for a step ahead from a linguistic society composed of monolingual isolated islands to a plurilingual society, replacing functional and compulsory plurilingualism with the spontaneous and widespread one, practiced by citizens with naturalness, with a greater commitment from the institutions.

<sup>47</sup> It is also relevant the aspect of preserving and protecting the local dialects, expressions of diverse cultural traditions linked with the valorization of peculiar marks of the Istrian pluralistic autohtony and symbols of the self-awareness and identification.

All that is needed for pleasing the increasing demands for a new quality of language teaching and formative offer able to respond to a broader range of functions, related to social areas of linguistic competence. Communicative competence in Italian language of young users in the territory represents a cultural investment as a path to a direct contact with the Italian culture. It is also a formative training for those who intend to attend Italian educational institutions like schools and universities (it is enough to think of the major projects of international student mobility), as well as the activity in the touristic, business-economic field and in the professional fields centered on the Italian language (translators, teachers of Italian, cultural mediators in a multicultural environment, researchers, journalists, etc.).

From a wider perspective, the Istrian language and cultural policy is trying to encourage the promotion of pluralism as a response to cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes the whole community. Bilingualism/plurilingualism and biculturalism/pluriculturalism surely represent a richness and openness to the world, not a limitation. In this context there should be no worry about the bilinguals' lack of a fully balanced and harmonious mastering in their two languages in any occasion of public and private domains. The languages are designed for communicating and thus the school has, in this process, a fundamental role in promoting knowledge and skills for its effective use.

## References

1. Antolini, N. (2006) Slavi e Latini in Istria tra cinquecento e novecento: origini storiche e problemi del contesto multietnico istriano, *Storicamente*, 2.
2. Auer, J.C.P. (1988) A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer, in M. Heller (ed.) *Code-switching*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 187–214.
3. Bachman, L. F. (1990) *Fundamental Considerations in Language Testing*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Bartoli, M. (1919) *Le parlate italiane della Venezia Giulia e della Dalmazia*, Tipografia italo-orientale, Grottaferrata.
5. Benussi, B. (1924) *L' Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Treves-Zanichelli, Trieste.
6. Bhatt, R. M. (1995) Code-switching and the functional head constraint, in J. Fuller et al., *Proceedings of the Eleventh Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, Ithaca, NY: Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, 1–12.
7. Blagoni, R. (1999) O nekim aspektima lingvističkog atlasu u okvirima znanosti o jeziku, *Annales, Series historia et sociologia*, 16, 29–44.
8. Blagoni, R. (2002) Status sociale e status istituzionale dell'italiano lingua minoritaria in Croazia. Note per un approccio diverso nella tutela dell'italofonia in Istria, *Plurilinguismo*, 1, 9, 299–306.
9. Blagoni, R. (2004) Pola città plurilingue? Possibilità, risorse e convenienze linguistiche tra ilari curiosità e proverbiale pessimismo, *Città plurilingui. Lingue e culture a confronto in situazioni urbane*, *Multilingual cities. Perspectives and insights on languages and cultures in urban areas*, Bombi, R & Fusco, F., (eds.), Udine: Forum, 73–86.
10. Blagoni, R. (2005) Eteroglossia in Istria tra gerarchia linguistica e ordine sociolinguistico, *Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata*, 34, 425–430.
11. Blagoni, R. (2009) Na tromedi jezika, identiteta i etnicnosti, *Zbornik u cast sedamdesetgodisnjice prof. Miroslava Bertose*.
12. Blagoni, R. (2010) Unpublished PhD thesis, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb.
13. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1989a) L'Istria pluriethnica e plurilingue (Riflessioni sull'integrazione culturale), *Quaderni del CRSR vol. 1*, 88-95, Rovigno.
14. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1989b) Identità etnica nell'Istria, *Jezi i kulture u doticajima*, *Zbornik I. Medunarodnog skupa odrzanog u Puli 14–15. listopada 1988.*, Talija, Novi Sad, 13–16.

15. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1992a) Identita' etnica della comunita' italiana dell'area istro-quarnerina, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 2, Rovigno.
16. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1992b) Proposta di realizzazione graduale del bilinguismo nell'area regionale istriana, in *Annales: Annali del Litorale capodistriano e delle regioni vicine*, 2, 329–332.
17. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1994) L'identita' etnica: Gli Italiani dell'area Istro-Quarnerina, Rovigno-Trieste, Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno, Etnia 5.
18. Bogliun Debeljuh, L. (1995) Istrianita', il continuum di un'identita' pluri-etnica, *Jezici i kulture u doticajima*, Zbornik II. Međunarodnog skupa održanog u Puli 11–12. listopada 1990., Talija, Novi Sad, 13–16.
19. Borme, A. (1990-1991) Bilinguismo e biculturalismo integrali: meta raggiungibile o chimera da vagheggiare? (Legittimita' e fattibilita' di un progetto sociolinguistico per l'area istro-quarnerina), *Quaderni del CRSR vol. 2*, Rovigno, 74–81.
20. Corder, S. P. (1983) *Strategies of Communication*, in Faerch, C. & Kasper, G. (eds) (1983) *Strategies in Interlanguage Communication*, London: Longman.
21. De Houwer, A. (1990) *The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
22. Desinan, C. (1997) *Orientamenti di educazione interculturale*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
23. Dornyei, Z. (2003) Attitudes, orientations and motivations in language learning: Advances in theory, research and applications, *Language Learning*, 53(1), May, 3–12.
24. Eberhard, J.J (1998-1999) Lingue in contatto e plurilinguismo in Istria. La situazione etnolinguistica del Gruppo Nazionale Italiano, *Ricerche Sociali*, 8–9, Centro di Ricerche Storiche, Trieste-Rovigno, 135–181.
25. Ferguson, C. (1959) Diglossia, *Word* 15: 325–340.
26. Filipi, G. (1987) Alcuni aspetti diacronici del bilinguismo, *Scuola nostra* 19, 171–179.
27. Flipi, G. (1988-1989) Situazione linguistica Istro-Quarnerina. *Quaderni – Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno*, vol. 9, str. 153–163.
28. Filipi, G. (1989) Koine' istriana, *Jezici i kulture u doticajima*, Zbornik I. Međunarodnog skupa održanog u Puli 14–15. listopada 1988., Talija, Novi Sad, 156–160.
29. Filipi, G. (1990) Diachronical aspects of bilingualism, Filipovic, R. & Bratanić, M. (eds.). *Languages in contact*, Zagreb: Institute of linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, 288–294.
30. Filipi, G. (1996) Dialettologia istriana, *Scuola Nostra* 26, Edit, Rijeka, 113–121.
31. Filipi, G. (2005) The linguistic diversity in the Istro-Kvarnerian area. V: Ureland, P. S. (ed.). *Integration of European language research*, (Studies in eurolinguistics, v. 2). Berlin: Logos, 2005, 549–562, zvd.
32. Gumperz, J. J. (1982) *Discourse Strategies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
33. Grosjean, F. (1982) *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism*, Cambridge et al.: Harvard University Press.
34. Grosjean, F. (1995) A psycholinguistic approach to code-switching: the recognition of guest words by bilinguals, in L. Milroy & P. Muysken (eds.), *One Speaker, Two Languages: cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 259–275.
35. Hudson, G. (2000) *Essential Introductory Linguistics*, London: Blackwell.
36. Hymes, D. (1979) *Soziolinguistik: zur Ethnographie der Kommunikation*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
37. Milani, Kruljac, N. (1985) *La comunita' italiana in Jugoslavia tra diglossia e bilinguismo*, PhD thesis, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb.
38. Milani, Kruljac, N. (1990) *La comunita' italiana in Istria e a Fiume fra diglossia e bilinguismo*, in Etnia, Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno, Rovigno.

39. Milani Kruljac, N. (1990-1991) L'acquisizione del linguaggio e lo sviluppo della competenza comunicativa nei bambini degli asili in lingua italiana: metasistema e interlinguaggio, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 2, Rovigno.
40. Milani Kruljac, N. (1992) Componenti metalinguistiche e bilinguismo, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 2, Rovigno.
41. Milani, Kruljac, N. (1995) Bambini slavofoni, *Jezici i kulture u doticajima*, Zbornik II. Medunarodnog skupa odrzanog u Puli 11–12. listopada 1990., Talija, Novi Sad, 166–168.
42. Milani, Kruljac, N. (ed.) (2003) *L'italiano fra i giovani dell'istiro-quarnerino*, Pietas Julia-EDIT, Pola-Fiume.
43. Milani Kruljac, N. et al. (ed.) (1995) *Identita'/Alterita'*, Fiume-Rijeka, Edit.
44. Milani Kruljac, N., - Orbanic, S. (1988-89) *Lingua interferita e comunicazione disturbata*, Quaderni del CRSR vol. IX, Rovigno, 107–135.
45. Milani Kruljac, N., - Orbanic, S. (1991) *Italoфония nel triangolo istro-quarnerino*, in G. Padoan, U. Bernardini (ed.), *Il gruppo nazionale italiano in Istria e a Fiume oggi*, Ravenna, 79–100.
46. Milani Kruljac, N., - Orbanic, S. (1989) *Jezicni i kullturni metasistem (pocetna razmisljanja)*, *Uporabno Jezikoslovlje*, I. Strukelj (ed.), Ljubljana, 334–341.
47. Monica, L. (1990-1991) *Con chi e quando parlo italiano? Rispondono gli alunni delle scuole elementari dell'Istria e di Fiume*, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 2, Rovigno.
48. Musizza Orbanic, N. & Orbanic, S. (1992) *Gruppo familiare mistilingue e comunicazione bilingue*, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 2, Rovigno.
49. Muysken, P. (1995) *Code-switching and grammatical theory*, in L. Milroy & P. Muysken, *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives on Code-switching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 177–98.
50. Orbanic, S. (1990-1991) *Competenza bilingue autonoma tra la logica della teoria e la logica dei fatti*, Quaderni del CRSR vol. 2, Rovigno, 64–74.
51. Platt, J. T. (1977) *A model for polyglossia and multilingualism (with special reference to Singapore and Malaysia)*, *Language in Society* 6, 361–78.
52. Poplack, S., Sankoff D. (1984) *Borrowing: the synchrony of integration*, *Linguistics* 22 (269): 99–136.
53. Romaine, S. (1989) *Bilingualism*, New York: Basil Blackwell.
54. Saunders, G. (1982) *Bilingual Children: Guidance for the Family*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
55. Scotti Juric, R. (1994-1995) *La competenza linguistica dei bambini a livello morfosintattico*, *Ricerche sociali*, Centro di Ricerche Storiche, 5, Rovigno, 63–79.
56. Scotti Juric, R. (1996-1997) *Incidenze sociolinguistiche sulla competenza linguistica dei bambini*, *Ricerche sociali*, CRSR N. 6–7, 145, Rovigno.
57. Scotti Juric, R. (1998) *Problemi di bilinguismo nel territorio istro-quarnerino*, in *Studium Educationis, Lineamenti di Didattica*, Giorgio Cian & Diega Orlando (ed.), N.4, 786–794, CEDAM, Padova.
58. Scotti Juric, R. (2001) *Il dialetto istroveneto: puo' diventare un problema?*, in *Tabula, casopis Filozofskog fakulteta u Puli*, br. 4, str. 115–124, Pula.
59. Scotti Juric, R. (2003) *Bilinguismo precoce: usi e funzioni linguistiche*, Edit, Pietas Iulia, Rijeka.
60. Scotti Juric, R. (2004) *Jezik i komunikacija u dvojezicnoj Istri i Rijeci*, u *Rijecki Filoloski Dani*, Zbornik radova 5, str. 471–480, Rijeka.
61. Scotti Juric, R. (2007) *Interkulturalna komunikacija u Istri: koezistencija identiteta*, Zbornik radova Hrvatskog Drustva Primijenjene Lingvistike (ed.Granic), Split, str. 559–568.
62. Scotti Juric, R. (2008a) *Didattica della comunicazione in classi bilingui. Teorie e contesti sociali*, Rijeka: Edit, Pietas Iulia, Sveuciliste Jurja Dobrile u Puli.

63. Scotti Juric, R. (2008b) Jezicni identitet kroz kontekstualnu analizu istarsko-kvarnerskog knjizevnog podneblja, Rijecki filoloski dani/Srdoc-Konestra, Ines; Vranic, Silvana, editor(s), Rijeka: Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci, 655–668.
64. Scotti Juric, R., Ambrosi Randic N., (2010) Italiano L2. Motivazione all'insegnamento/apprendimento della lingua italiana, Rijeka, Edit.
65. Scotti Juric, R. (2010) Conoscenza delle lingue per una comunicazione interculturale nell'istria, Atti A.I.S.L.L.I., XIX Congresso Internazionale Civilta' Italiana Geografie d'Europa, Trieste, Capodistria, Padova, Pola, 19–24 settembre 2006, Edizioni Universita' di Trieste, a cura di B. M. Da Rif, 293–295.
66. Scotti Juric, R. (2011) Elementi formali/informali dell'apprendimento linguistico: per una continuita' dell'identita' italiana nell'Istria bilingue, in Russi R. (ed.), L'Italia vista dagli altri, Atti del I. Convegno Internazionale, Banja Luka 12–13 giugno 2009, Franco Cesati Editore, 115–128.
67. Scotti Juric, R., Stokovac T. (2009) La scuola su misura delle classi multiethniche e plurilingui: teorie linguistiche implicite, in Skola po mjeri, Kadum V. (ed.), Sveuciliste Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 233–246.
68. Suran, F. (1992) La minoranza nazionale italiana tra demagogia e democrazia, Ljubljana: Institut za narodnostna vrsanja v Ljubljani, from: Razprave in gradivo; vol. 26–27 (1992), 253–262.
69. Taeschner, T. (1983) The Sun is Feminine: A Study on Language Acquisition in Bilingual Children, Berlin et al.: Springer.
70. Weinreich, U. (1953) Languages in contact, Mouton.