



Ladin perspectives on language and identity in the Central Dolomites of Northern Italy

by

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Declaration

I, Anthony Thomas Connor, confirm that the Thesis is my own work. I am aware of the University's Guidance on the Use of Unfair Means (www.sheffield.ac.uk/ssid/unfair-means).

This work has not been previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university.

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Finally, to my school German teachers. At the age of 13, I was informed that I could not take German at school. For two years, however, with the support and encouragement of a very special, incredible, and dedicated Modern Languages teacher, Mrs (Moira) Atkinson†, to whom I owe so very much, I undertook to teach myself the then O' Level German curriculum. I then joined the final year O' Level class at 15 and the rest is history (or more accurately; Modern Languages and International Studies, Translation Studies, and Sociolinguistics!). Mr (Keith) Marsh†, the school Headmaster and Mrs (Judith) Marsh both continued the exceptional education experience with German. This thesis is testament to the dedication and professionalism of those teachers and it is to them, with heartfelt gratitude, that I dedicate this work.

Abstract

Following their partition in 1927, for the five historic Ladin valleys of the Central Dolomites in Northern Italy, a hierarchy of linguistic rights and protections has evolved reflecting the disparate multilevel systems of government under which the Ladin ethnolinguistic group has since been administered. Following analysis of 30 semi-structured interviews, this research investigates how respondents mobilise diverse conceptualisations of language to construct Ladin identity. In a region where Italian-, German- and Ladin-speaking ethnolinguistic groups coexist, minoritisation has rendered monolingualism an inviable option for Ladins. In its place, multilingualism has become a core facet of Ladin identity, which, respondents maintain, distinguishes them from other regional ethnolinguistic groups. Yet, respondents also describe how multilingualism inhibits their attaining a higher level of competency in Ladin and how the consequences of language contact affect how inherently Ladin the valley identities are perceived to be.

Division through partition is viewed as diminishing the sense of group identity. A universal standard, Ladin Dolomitan, was intended to redress this. However, its artificiality is considered a barrier to its universal acceptance, especially so compared to naturally acquired local varieties. This raises important questions. Does maintaining multiple varieties of a small language endanger its very survival? Is a standard necessary for constructing ethnolinguistic identity, forging unity, and securing a future? At the heart of these questions is the very notion of survival, a notion that cannot be understated for small languages and their speakership. Embracing the very notion of small languages (Dorian, 2012), this thesis highlights how language 'has other ways of being' that reach beyond the constraints of a minority-majority dichotomy (Pietikäinen et al., 2016) exploring language policy and planning, and minority

linguistic rights as increasingly informed from the bottom up, rendering the Ladin ethnolinguistic group an important and interesting case-study and an invaluable focus for sociolinguistic research.

Key words:

Ladin, identity, small languages, thematic analysis, multilingualism, standardisation, language policy and planning, minority language rights.

Ladin perspectives on ethnolinguistic identity in the Central Dolomites of Northern Italy

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Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|--|
| LD | Ladin Dolomitan (also referred to as Ladin Standard) |
| GR | Gherdëina (Val Gardena, Gröden) |
| VB | Badia (Val Badia, Gadertal) |
| AM | Anpezo (Cortina D’Ampezzo, Hayden) |
| FA | Fascia (Val di Fassa, Fassatal) |
| FD | Fodom (Livinallongo del Col di Lana, Buchenstein) |
| LLP | Language Policy and Planning |
| MLR | Minority Language Rights |
| UGLD | Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites |

Transcription Conventions

*Transcription conventions used in this research are adapted from:
Copland & Creese (2015), Richards (2003) and Jenks (2011).*

ROSE^{VB} respondent pseudonym and valley of residence:

| | | | |
|----|------------|---|-------------------|
| VB | Val Badia, | } | valley references |
| AM | Anpezo, | | |
| FD | Fodom | | |
| GR | Gherdëina | | |
| FA | Fascia | | |

artificial referenced quote

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Ladins <i>in</i> South Tirol | italics denotes emphasis |
| {sg. <i>Minderheitensprache</i> } | suggested meaning of previous word/sentence. |
| {sg} ¹ | several suggestions annotated |
| [<i>Handy klingelt</i>] | interruption event described |
| [//] | Interruption or break in interview flow |
| [...] | omission of preceding narrative |
| (...) | unintelligible speech |
| AC: | Interviewer |
| [AC: Dialekte im ladinischen?] | interjection |
| ! | denotes exclamation or surprise. |
| ? | denotes a question. |

Chapter One

Introduction

1. Introduction

This introductory chapter outlines the subject area and academic fields in which this study is situated. Section 1.1 sets out an introduction to the Ladin case-study and its contemporary situation with section 1.1.1 outlining an important distinction between minority and small languages. Section 1.2 positions the Ladin case-study more closely within the field of sociolinguistics; section 1.2.1 outlines Ladin linguistic diversity, 1.2.2 discusses Ladin multilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity and 1.2.3 describes the perceived evolution of Ladin division and disparity concerning Ladin language rights and protections that have resulted from the partition of the valleys. Section 1.3 outlines the motivation that inspired this research that then culminates in section 1.4 that presents the primary research question, three related lines of enquiry, and finally an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1. The Central Dolomites ‘historic’ Ladins

Today, the Central Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group of northern Italy is distributed across two regions (Trentino-Alto-Adige/Südtirol and Veneto), and three provinces (Bolzano/Südtirol, Trentino and Belluno). In Belluno, however, due to the act of Tripartition in 1927 under the Italian fascist regime of Mussolini, there is a distinction (cf. Chapter 3.1.4). The Ladins of the Cadore, Agordino and Zoldo areas in the province do not form part of this study by way of their ‘neo-Ladin’ status due to their not having formed part of the Austrian

Tirol under the Habsburgs unlike their ‘historic’ Ladin counterparts residing in the five valleys of Anpezo, Fodom, Gherdëina, Val Badia and Fascia¹ (Pallabazzer 2003; Campanale 2022).

For the Central Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group and eleven others in Italy, however, the notion of ‘historic’ national minority is applied and is defined in Law 482/99. The law ‘establishes a potential protection mechanism’ that acts ‘as a basis for the granting of genuine language rights’ at a local level (van der Jeught 2016, pg.63). Law 482/99 has more relevance for Ladins in Belluno, since it ‘does not affect special language protection rules that exist in regions with a special statute’ (van der Jeught 2016, pg.63) such as the autonomous provinces of Trent (Trento) and Bulsan (Bozen/Bolzano) which together form the autonomous region Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol). For the five historic Ladin valleys, the unique political realities of the provinces in which they reside have resulted in their having disparate political and cultural rights. In this context, a hierarchy of language rights and protections has evolved (cf. Chapter 3.3) that renders the historic Ladin valleys a particularly interesting and salient focus of sociolinguistic investigation. Of poignant contemporary relevance to this study is the referendum of October 2007 in which 80% of voters in the three historic Ladin municipalities in the province of Belun/Belluno, Anpezo and Fodom (incorporating Colle Santa Lucia and Livinallongo Del Col di Lana), decided 80% in favour of reunification with the autonomous province Alto Adige/Südtirol (cf. Chapter 3.3.5); the right of municipalities bordering two regions to migrate from one to another is a right enshrined in the Italian constitution. Despite the result, this has yet to be enacted. In stark contrast, in January 2018, following a similar referendum held in 2007, the minority German-speaking municipality of Pladen (Sappada),

¹ Ladin toponomy; cf. Chapter 3.4.2 fig. 2.1 for full Ladin, German, and Italian toponomy. The Ladin valleys will be referenced in this thesis by their names according to their valley variety).

officially transferred to Friuli-Venezia-Giulia (Matsiuk 2022, pp. 1513-1514).

Tripartition and the disparate language rights that have consequently evolved have both led to disparate degrees of importance attached to the role that language plays in the construction of Ladin identity across the valleys. In the contemporary European context, this thesis further explores the role of language in Ladin constructions of identity including in the context of language policy and how it may enhance or diminish political, cultural, and linguistic rights. Through thematic analysis of 30 semi-structured interviews, this thesis builds on existing sociolinguistic research, focussing on competing notions of authenticity in minority language groups (Jaffe 1993; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes 2011, Hornsby & Quentel 2013; Lacoste et al. 2014). The Ladin case-study highlights the influence of language contact and multilingualism as assessments of authenticity whilst underlining ingroup linguistic diversity. Similarly, respondents mobilise notions of 'purity' in assessing their own variety's and those of others in the group to construct degrees of 'Ladinness' relative to the perceived realities of linguistic practice (Vikør 2010) which, as Lange and Ness (2012) rightly claim, are indicative of wider social issues.

This thesis complements the quantitative survey research into Ladin undertaken by Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila (2005) on language use, adding a further dimension offering a more in-depth interrogation of how social actors perceive the relationship between language and identity through the analysis of rich qualitative data gained from as broad a spectrum of respondents as a collection of 30 in-depth interviews can provide (cf. Chapter 3.2.3). This thesis builds on research into the role of language standardisation in minority language contexts. Notions of inclusivity and exclusivity in the context of linguistic identity (Wright 2016) are explored as respondents express language protectionist attitudes to valley varieties over Ladin Dolomitan, the standard written form. Comparable to the Corsican case, the notion

of polynomy, in which several varieties are recognised as constituents of one language with no discrimination and equal in diversity, 'made diversity the cornerstone of linguistic identity' (Jaffe 2003, pg.517) which reflects well the polycentric nature of contemporary Ladin. Indeed, Videsott (2010, pg.180) posits that Ladin, in all its diversity, is 'the most important unifying bond between the individual valley communities as well as the most important distinguishing feature of the Ladins in general'. It is in this context that a more poignant comparison can be made through Blackwood (2011, pg.20) who summarises, 'polynomy does not mean that everything or anything is acceptable, especially not a blend of Corsicans', a notion very much reflected in the Ladin case and with which respondents who took part in this research readily agree. However, there are also external influences over which the Ladin ethnolinguistic group has little or no control that determine the success or failure of introducing Ladin Dolomitan as its standard written form such as the refusal of the administration in the autonomous province of Alto Adige/Südtirol to recognise it officially which rules out its adoption as the regional standard for Ladin (Bauer 2012).

The need to achieve an appropriate balance between dominant and minority languages has been interrogated as an important factor in promoting social and political cohesion, a notion endorsed in the OSCE Oslo Recommendations published in 1998 on the linguistic rights of national minorities. Furthermore, the linguistic and cultural rights of peripheral minority communities and their representation in or exclusion from the wider political process have been examined since their marginalisation in both the globalised as well as the protectionist world poses existential dangers for many minority communities. Language has long been considered a fundamental facet of cultural identity (Geertz 1963; Barth 1969; Armstrong 1982; Hobsbawm 1992; Gellner 2006; May 2012a) and as such linguistic protection has been a core consideration in the wider protection and survival of

ethno-cultural minorities. Such factors inform language policy and the safeguarding of minority linguistic rights and underpin the framework of this thesis.

1.1.1 Minority language or small language?

This thesis makes an important distinction between the term minority language and small language. Dorian (2012) describes small languages as having a close relationship with notions of language endangerment whereby notions of language decline and language loss feature prominently in their contemporary condition, concurrently exhibiting more difficulties with language maintenance and improvement than with 'achieved maintenance and revitalisation'. Distancing the definition of small from simply equating to numbers in terms of speakership, two criteria are suggested for fulfilling a more fitting definition: firstly, having 'a significantly smaller speaker base than at least one other language in the same polity' and secondly, at the same time, not being 'the official language of that polity'.

Using Slovenian as an example, Dorian (2012) highlights the viability of the definition. In the context of the former Yugoslavia, Slovenian was considered a small language and struggled against the dominance of Serbo-Croatian. However, following the succession of Slovenia from Yugoslavia in 1991, Slovenian became the language of the newly formed state and as such no longer fell within the definition of small language. However, it is important to note, as Dorian suggests, that the 'threats to the viability of the language have not disappeared, however, but have rather taken a different form' (2012, pg.253).

With sharp focus on the role of language in the construction of identity in the complex multilingual reality of the Central Dolomites, where definitions of majority and minority as well as territoriality are contested and fluid, the example of Dolomitic Ladin similarly

highlights the importance of the need for a distinction between the notions of minority and small languages. Two contexts in particular serve to underline how the distinction between ‘minority’ and ‘small’ functions and what value the distinction adds. The first context concerns the numerical size of the speakerships involved. In the case of Ladin, there is considerable numerical difference between the size of the speakerships. Relative to the dominant majority(-ies), Ladins are, in numerical terms, a considerably smaller group in all three provinces. Consequently, Ladins face certain issues that the neighbouring dominant majorities do not. Firstly, there is greater pressure on Ladins to acquire competency in the majority languages. Beyond the Ladin valleys, Italian and German are co-official languages in South Tirol and Italian in Trentino. For Belluno Ladins, only Italian is officially recognised. Secondly, Ladin is classified as an endangered language by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010) in stark contrast to both German and Italian.

An additional aspect of the designation ‘small’ relates to the viability of linguistic resources to meet the functional requirements of using Ladin in modern domains, such as science and technology. In this respect, Ladin is at a disadvantage when compared to both Italian and German. Furthermore, in the context of corpus planning, there is disparity between the Ladin varieties themselves. The Veneto varieties lag far behind those in Trentino – Alto Adige (Südtirol) due to the differing status of Ladin in those provinces and similarly to the disparity in language rights (cf. Chapter 3.3.3 – 3.3.5).

Any inequity that exists between the ‘historic’ minority languages of the Dolomites, those being Ladin and German, is obscured when both are simply labelled or described as minority languages. The designation ‘small language’ in the context of Ladin, however, facilitates to highlight the inequity that exists between the minority ethnolinguistic groups in contrastive contexts and further highlights the unviability of the term ‘minority’ in cases

where there is a layering of minority groups. As Pietikäinen et al. (2016, pg.3) similarly attest, the term 'small' allows us 'to go beyond presupposing the status and use of the focal languages'. The value added to the analysis and investigation is great, in that it clearly highlights the complexity of language realities beyond simple dichotomies of majority and minority since, as outlined above, the relationships between the Ladin-, German- and Italian-speaking ethnolinguistic groups fluctuate between majority and minority depending on the context of the administrative entity.

Much research has been undertaken that has examined small languages in socio-economic contexts whereby language and linguistic diversity have been viewed as and attributed to having acquired an economic value (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014; Del Percio et al., 2016). The commodification of language has been described as a product of the processes of globalisation. This more recent attribution of economic value to language has added an additional dimension to the more traditional socio-political contexts of language such as culture and society that sociolinguistic research has largely hitherto examined. Heller (2010) outlines how linguistic resources have increasingly become important commodities and importantly have been recognised as such by small language communities who are able to exploit their authenticity and multilingualism to their economic advantage.

Supporting this development has been the rapid evolution of language rights and their explicit inclusion in local, national, and supranational contexts. The Ladin valleys have, in part, greatly profited from this perspective, the degree to which albeit very much dependent upon the administrative system within which an individual valley finds itself. Pietikäinen et al. (2016) suggest that this new reality not only results from the global realities of the modern world but suggest that they are equally the result of changing 'local realities' where power

relationships have been redefined in terms of cultural 'pride' or economic 'profit' (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Jaffe 2019, Pietikäinen et al. 2016).

Territoriality is described as becoming ever less salient through the 'the new flows, mobilities and spaces of late modernity, late capitalism and a new world economic order' (Wilson 2012, pg.200). However, this assertion is now worthy of renewed scrutiny and challenge in the wake of new global trade wars, Brexit, and international sanctions which together indicate more a move toward isolationism and protectionism. Wilson (2012) does, however, recognise that even with the fluid mobility that globalisation facilitates, people, and in turn those who govern them, still subscribe to the sanctity and sovereignty of the nation, however broadly or narrowly defined. It is this view that is becoming ever more apparent and which has potential consequences for small language communities. The implications for social cohesion and social justice within complex multilingual and multicultural environments, as is the case in the Ladin valleys, are immense. This research seeks to explore these concepts within autonomous multilevel governance structures exploring multilingualism and the fluidity of language use in the Ladin valleys in the face of the contemporary changing global circumstances not only in terms of Ladin alongside Italian and German but also both Ladin and its many varieties.

Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011, pp.327-328) exemplify the Sami communities' journey from 'modern to post-modern, from local to simultaneously global, from regional to transnational' positing that the 'forces that have a particularly strong impact on the language situation are linked'; namely, on the one hand, linguistic rights and, on the other, the forces of globalisation. This has 'transformed Sami languages from community languages into endangered languages known only by a few people'. This thesis explores the ways in which members of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group are experiencing these social phenomena in the

Ladin valleys as well as the ways that language plays a key role as part of that experience since 'where actual people live and interact with one another ... the structure of people's repertoires and the patterns of multilingual language use, however, become less predictable and significantly more complex' (Blommaert 2010, pg.5).

The notion of language is complex and is understood in multiple contexts and domains. Describing it necessitates a deeper examination and understanding of the social realities within which it is situated, that is to say, how it is used, by whom, at what moment and under what circumstances. Notions of power (majority/minority/small), value (economic/cultural), and identity (ethnolinguistic/group/language community), structure (policy/power/society) and agency (individual/autonomy) understood in broader contexts of time (past, contemporary, modern, post-modern) and space (local/national/global) come together in varying ways to describe the (socio)linguistic reality within which language has been and/or now is situated.

1.2 Ladin and the Ladin valleys.

The Central Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group of northern Italy belongs to a broader Ladin ethnolinguistic group that claim autochthonous status as the first group to have settled the region over two thousand years ago (Margoni 2010, pg.75). Following episodes of population migration and conquest, Ladins have undergone periods of peaceful coexistence and integration as well as periods of aggression and domination (cf. Chapter 3). Today, the region is a crossroads in modern Europe at which Slavic, Germanic and Latin languages and cultures converge. In more recent history, the central Dolomites Ladins have often unwittingly found themselves caught up in the struggles of the larger neighbouring German- and Italian-

speaking ethnolinguistic groups. For the main part, the evolution of the contemporary multicultural, multilingual, and multi-ethnic reality has been shaped by compromise and consociation. However, both territorial and administrative boundaries misrepresent the true ethnolinguistic realities. The five Ladin valleys are administered under differing administrative frameworks, implemented at multiple levels from superstate (EU), to state (Italy), to region (autonomous and non-autonomous) to province (autonomous and non-autonomous), and to valley (Gherdëina, Badia, Fascia, Anpezo and Fodom; Ladin names). Consequently, an evident disparity has evolved in terms of linguistic, cultural, and identity protection resulting in some Ladin valley communities suffering more disadvantage than others (cf. Chapter 3.3). This makes for a particularly interesting and invaluable case-study and focus for sociolinguistic study. The following sections outline the key areas of sociolinguistic interest and importance and the contribution that this thesis makes to them.

Framed within the contexts of shared regional autonomy, intersecting territoriality, linguistic diversity and multi-layered minorities, this research draws on the constructionist approach to identity examining both internal and external tensions that arise. The central theme of investigation focuses upon how respondents who identify as Ladin construct and articulate Ladin identity in the context of the tripartite, ethnocultural and socio-political relationships between the Ladin, German, and Italian ethnolinguistic communities under both regional and provincial autonomy.

Italian state law 428/99 defines both the Ladin and German-speaking ethnolinguistic groups in the northern region Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol as historic minority groups. In Alto Adige/Südtirol, however, under provincial autonomy, the German-speaking ethnolinguistic group is the majority. For the Ladins in Gherdëina and Val Badia, this renders them a minority within a minority (cf. Rautz 2007). Under provincial autonomy, the primary dominant

German-speaking ethnolinguistic group exercises political power with reference to the inclusion and participation of both the Ladin- and Italian-speaking ethnolinguistic groups. Although Italians are a minority in the context of Südtirol provincial autonomy, unlike for Ladins, there is no official recognition of this status. Under disparate provincial administrative systems, the rights afforded to Ladins as a minority group differ greatly from province to province. Ladin minority status is further obfuscated by the status of the neighbouring Italian- and German-speaking ethnolinguistic groups; ‘minoritised majority’ for Italian-speakers in South Tirol and ‘majoritised minority’ for German-speakers both regionally in Trentino – Alto Adige (Südtirol) and nationally in Italy as a whole (Norrby & Hajek 2011: pp.210-211). Consequently, the value attached to the use of Ladin beyond the limits of the Ladin valleys becomes diminished for Ladin as a ‘small’ language (cf. Chapter 6.2.1). In this way, the term dominant majority serves to highlight more clearly the how the relative positions of the ethnolinguistic groups function in relation to each other in the context of structural power dynamics in majority-minority linguistic relations, underlining the fluidity of regional majority and minority constructs that reflect the diverse administrative landscape. Within the pluri-ethnolinguistic reality of the autonomous province of Alto Adige/Südtirol, the status of Ladins sets them apart from Ladins in the neighbouring valleys and challenges the traditional understanding of culture, identity, and language as bounded within homogenous territorial boundaries.

1.2.1 Linguistic diversity in the Ladin valleys.

Defining the term ‘language’ is a problematic undertaking since ‘no language is a precisely defined entity with a unique history and a closed set of linguistic features’ (Langer and Davies

2005). Indeed, such an endeavour is 'perhaps impossible' (Niedzielski 2005, pg.252). In the five valleys, Ladin refers to the language varieties spoken by the eponymous ethnolinguistic group. It is an umbrella term that brings together the five main and distinct varieties of what Videsott (2010) describes as 'a common Ladin'. Each valley has a distinct variety whose evolution has, through language contact, been influenced to some degree, great or small, by the language of the neighbouring dominant majority groups, German and/or Italian, or more precisely, the local and/or regional varieties thereof. This exemplifies how the Ladin varieties have themselves evolved; within close proximity to each other yet in relative isolation due to the natural environment which once greatly impeded intervalley contact. In more recent history, however, modern modes of transportation and communication have transformed the former reality.

Language variation, in the context of what some may describe as idiom or dialect, is an important feature of Ladin and the term 'Ladin' itself is used in many contexts. It describes the language spoken today, not only in the five valleys of the Central Dolomites, but it similarly serves to establish a relationship to other groups in Switzerland (western branch) and Friuli (eastern branch) describing Romansch and Furlan respectively. All are understood to originate from a common ancient autochthonous language with Rhaetic roots and, as such, are cited as the binding link between them. For the Ladins of the central Dolomites, the subject of this research, Ladin is an overarching term used to collectively describe the various varieties of language spoken throughout the five valleys. Today, the Ladin ethnolinguistic group exhibits great linguistic diversity, each valley with its own variety and two valleys, Val Badia (Alto Adige/Südtirol) and Fascia (Trentino) having multiple varieties; in this case each valley has a valley standard. Linguistic variety is so strongly defended that a standard written form, Ladin Dolomitan, has not been universally embraced and in large part, rejected by the general

population for reasons ranging from it being viewed as an attack on individual, valley, and pan-Ladin language varieties and identities, to the fear of it permanently replacing the existing valley varieties themselves (cf. Chapter 5.2). These issues are further exacerbated by the disparities in language rights that exist between the valleys due to their being under disparate administrative systems. This contributes to a perceived sense of disunity and disconnect, widely recognised by the valley communities (cf. also Richebuono 1982; Videsott 2010; Pergher 2012).

Ladin valley varieties similarly serve as distinct facets of linguistic identity linking language and place at the valley level. Collectively, they represent a pan Ladin linguistic identity. Videsott (2010) describes Ladin as *the* 'unifying bond' and 'distinguishing feature' of Ladin ethnolinguistic group. Similarly, valley varieties influence the degree to which Ladins are perceived to be Ladin by Ladins themselves. The natural development of Ladin varieties has been influenced by relative isolation and the geographical environment. The more contemporary context reflects wide and varied linguistic and cultural traditions that are influenced by neighbouring German and Northern Italian dialects (cf. Pescosta 2014, pg.190-194). Gherdëina and Val Badia have more contact with German-speaking communities whereas Fascia, Anpezo, and Fodom equally so with the Italian-speaking (cf. Dorigo 2020, pg.43). The result has been the divergent evolution of the Ladin varieties, exacerbated by Tripartition (Videsott 2010, pp.184-185). Moreover, contemporary valley varieties are the guarded concern of the valley-based cultural institutions where responsibility for their management and maintenance is concentrated and are similarly a fundamental facet of Ladin (linguistic) identity.

Although valley varieties are understood by some to be varieties 'of a common Ladin', this view is contested, in that valley varieties are also considered by others to be 'self-

sufficient languages'. Mutual intelligibility is often contested in defence of this position. Similarly, multiple Ladin linguistic repertoires in the context of diglossia or as an expression of multilingualism are uncommon. Such issues underline the salience of the role that language plays in constructions of identity. The symbolic values of history, culture and identity attached to valley varieties may seemingly outweigh any instrumental value.

1.2.2 Ladin multilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity.

Franceschini (2009, pg.29) posits that multilingualism 'denotes various forms of social, institutional and individual usage as well as individual and group competence, plus various contexts of contact and involvement with more than one language'. Societal multilingualism is understood as a natural evolution through contact between languages. Individual multilingualism, however, concerns language acquisition in natural contexts such as through family, or through informal social or community contact, as well as in a more formal context such as taught classes in an educational setting (cf. Chapter 2.3.1). The experience of language acquisition and language learning may be wide and varied and both may occur concurrently or at different times and in differing contexts (Franceschini 2009; Cenoz 2013).

Being multilingual is perceived to be a defining trait of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group not only by the group itself but also by the neighbouring dominant majorities (cf. Chapter 6.1 and 6.2). Ladin is seldom spoken by non-Ladins and reflects the status of Ladin as a minority language with lesser instrumental value beyond the valley limits. This is further complicated by there being several varieties of Ladin and no *universally accepted* standard form. Although a standard written form of Ladin does exist, known as Ladin Dolomitan, it has no 'official' status and is not widely used other than appearing in a section of the Ladin newspaper 'La

Usc di Ladins'. Similarly, Ladins interviewed maintain having little knowledge of other varieties of Ladin other than their own. This situation presented itself as particularly problematic regarding the recruitment process. It would have been unfeasible to produce information about the study for prospective participants in Ladin as this would have meant producing materials in several varieties. Furthermore, undertaking interviews in any variety of Ladin by the researcher was not possible and certainly not in several varieties. As such, German, Italian and English sufficed to this end (cf. Chapter 4.3).

As citizens of the Italian state, Italian is the most common second language acquired by Ladins. However, German is also widely spoken in some valleys due to the valley's historical ties, regional topography and, in part, to the valley's political administration. In Gherdëina, a valley within the German-speaking majority autonomous province of Südtirol, German is considered high status and is more widely used than Italian. This is particularly relevant for Gherdëina being in a province where the state German historic minority has become the autonomous provincial majority. In the same way, in Südtirol, the Ladins of Gherdëina and Val Badia are effectively a 'minority within a minority', a position that has arguably been largely beneficial in terms of language rights and protection compared to other valleys.

Notions of authenticity are often mobilised to frame criteria that authenticate what is perceived to be quintessentially Ladin as well as to define the boundaries that delimit it. In this process, the theme of linguistic purity is mobilised as a further means of authenticating Ladin and serves to highlight how Ladin is subject to ongoing cost-benefit analyses in both the public and private spheres. This contributes to determining either its acceptance or rejection as a first language of choice within the Ladin ethnolinguistic group at the valley level. To a greater degree, the authentication of Ladin is a recognition of the diverse consequences of (dis)empowerment across the five valleys due to Tripartition. A second consideration is the

status of the language itself as a marker of group membership or identity. In the context of Ladin linguistic identity, both language contact and Ladin multilingualism have left an indelible mark on the various valley varieties. The extent to which each of the larger neighbouring majorities' languages are perceived to have influenced the evolution of the valley variety, itself influences the degree to which members of the group assess the intrinsic 'ladinness' of others.

The notion of 'authenticity' is often referenced as a definitive facet of Ladin or a variety and as a measure of perceived 'ladinness'. In her study on language education and pedagogy, Jaffe (1993, pg.11) addresses the notion of authenticity in Corsican and draws attention to essentialist beliefs that are deemed to promote the construction of the Corsican language as 'the primary symbol of cultural identity' thus equating the notion of the native speaker to authentic speaker. Lacoste et al. (2014, pg.2) similarly posit that an essentialist view 'exemplifies a static perspective on authenticity in being intrinsic to the object or person', but importantly at the same time suggesting that authenticity can also be 'a dynamic process and/or a result of authentication and validation' (cf. also Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011).

Jaffe (1993, pg.104) further highlights how 'the fore-grounding of language as a marker of authentic cultural identity is fraught with conflict at all levels'. She describes how defining 'Corsicanness' in the context of language has the potential to manifest and promote insecurity or 'uncertainty' in language learners since defining 'Corsicanness' by 'a single authoritative, authentic, pure Corsican language or identity' is a measure that is not achievable. Similarly, respondents define the authenticity of Ladin, and by association 'Ladinness' according to perceptions of how 'pure' a variety is, since a strong connection is established between language (variety) and ethnolinguistic identity. The 'purity test' itself measures the degree to which a variety has been influenced by language contact. Often,

respondents will assess other valley varieties by qualifying them as either 'more German' or 'more Italian'. This qualification inevitably leads to internal group assessments of other valley Ladin identities as 'them' being 'practically German' or 'practically Italian'. As similarly described in Jaffe's (1993) account above, authenticity is a measure that is difficult to achieve given the degree to which multilingualism and language contact are a fundamental aspect of life in the valleys 'at all levels'.

Culture, broadly defined, is 'the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour' in many and varying contexts (Spradley 1979, pg.5). Culture is definitive of the group and its membership, who belongs and who is excluded and on what grounds. In the context of membership, of inclusion and exclusion, this is an important consideration in building and establishing relationships on an individual (interpersonal) as well as on a broader group (intergroup) level. It is, however, important to recognise that not all cultures valorise the different facets of culture in equal measure in as much as all group members of a given culture themselves attach an equal degree of value to those very same facets.

Language is cited an important facet of culture and similarly of cultural identity and ever more so for marginalised small language communities. The Corsican language, for example, as a representation of Corsicanness, 'was usually the primary symbol of cultural identity' and supporting the notion of native equating to authentic speaker (Jaffe 1993, pg.11). In the context of cultural linguistic identity, the notion of authenticity emerges as a mechanism that is invoked to define group boundaries and delimit group membership; inclusivity versus exclusivity. Similarly, relational processes of (de)authentication emerge 'at the interface between personal and social identities' (Coupland 2014, pg.19).

in essentialist terms, authenticity is considered as having both static and intrinsic qualities. Yet, it is equally dynamic and constituted as well as relationally constructed. Notions of authenticity, as well as notions of inauthenticity, are further negotiated discursively through social interaction using linguistic and/or semiotic repertoires (Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2010) whereby authentication may confer certain privilege or legitimacy and, conversely, deauthentication certain disadvantage or prejudice. Sociolinguists thus seek to address how authenticity drives behaviour as well as how its evaluation in socio-cultural contexts is negotiated through language (Lacoste et al. 2014). Bucholtz (2003, pg.408) posits that authenticity is 'achieved through the authenticating practices of those who use and evaluate language' and 'where authenticity presupposes that identity is primordial, authentication views it as the outcome of constantly negotiated social practices'. The processes of authentication that underpin authenticity are described in three sets of 'tactics of intersubjectivity'; similarity (adequation) in opposition to difference (distinction), authorisation (claiming or imparting a culturally recognised powerful status) in opposition to illegitimation (the denial or rejection of this) and authentication (genuity) in opposition to denaturalisation (artificiality). Identity is conditionally negotiated through structure and agency and closely related to the context(s) in which it is constructed (Bucholtz 2003).

Language is often considered a primary marker of authentic cultural and linguistic identity. Language policy and planning in Wales, for example, constructs authentic Welshness and notions of national authenticity through notions of language (Coupland 2014, pg.29). Cultural, and linguistic authenticity has, however, evolved other ways of being. As described above, in an ever more globalised economy, language has moved beyond the realms of identity politics and linguistic rights and over into the global marketplace as an economic resource (Pietikäinen 2010; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011). The commodification of

language that has evolved has similarly revealed linguistic hierarchies that have emerged within small language communities and which themselves have created hierarchies of authenticity. An analysis of the use of Sámi on tourist souvenir labels, for example, demonstrates how cultural and linguistic authenticity is constructed from within to exploit language as an economic resource that supports the broader global consumption of Sámi culture and language beyond the multilingual, transnational Sámi territory. Northern Sámi, the largest Sámi language, is used for this purpose, over and above the more local varieties of Skolt and Inari, which downplays internal Sámi multilingualism (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011) and which consequently distorts the true linguistic reality. Moreover, the larger Finnish and the more globally dominant English are strategically employed alongside the Northern Sámi to facilitate linguistic mobility. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011, pg.342) argue that this underlines multilingualism as necessary in minority language communities since 'mobility continues to be afforded through other languages', in one sense challenging its place in existing hierarchies, yet at the same time, reinforcing marginalisation (Kelly-Holmes 2005). Marginalisation is itself a consequence of the processes of linguistic deauthentication. In such realities, processes of authentication seek to reclaim lost notions of cultural and linguistic identity (Pietikäinen et al. 2016).

In some minority language contexts, authenticity is contested between new speakers and native speakers, 'ideologically invested' with focus on boundary construction and delimiting group membership (Hornsby 2015, pg.116), and more broadly contextualised in ideologies of place and identity (McLeod and O'Rourke 2015). Bucholtz (2003, pg.404) similarly describes how language ideology feeds into constructions of the authentic speaker. The notion of linguistic isolationism is exemplified as a contributing factor whereby authentication is constructed using notions of linguistic purity that results from having

experienced no external linguistic influence. However, it is rightly pointed out that equating authenticity to linguistic purity ‘overlooks the central role of contact in shaping almost all languages and varieties’ (2003, pg.405).

In the context of Gaelic, native speakers are perceived as having ‘a higher claim to linguistic authenticity and ownership’ by new speakers (McLeod and O’Rourke 2015, pg.169). Furthermore, the *delocalisation* of Gaelic from ‘traditional Gaelic speaking strongholds and on into spaces previously dominated by English unsettles the traditional ideology of sociolinguistic authenticity’ (Lacoste et al. 2014, pg pg.170). Essentialist views on language idealise the native speaker as authentic in which biology and culture authenticate the native speaker (McLeod and O’Rourke 2015). Under such circumstances, this has led to new speakers of Gaelic to question their place within the speech community as lesser or peripheral (2015, pg.169).

In stark contrast, rural Breton speech communities perceive their variety of Breton as somewhat lesser than standardised Néo-breton in viewing its speakership, in comparison, as intellectual and well-educated (Hornsby 2005, pg.195). In the context of Breton, new speakers (of standard[ised], Néo-breton) and native speakers (of historical, dialectal Breton) concomitantly creates a ‘plurality of authenticities’ rather than a competitive arena in which the right to claim to represent authentic Breton is contested (Hornsby and Quentel 2013, pg.76). Historic authenticity relates to language with historical depth that predates the effects of language contact (Pietikäinen et al. 2016) and similarly often closely linked to place (Lacoste et al. 2014, pg.9). In minority language contexts, corpus planning similarly brings notions of authenticity to the fore whereby neologisms are authenticated as historically bounded, whose etymological ‘essence’ is rooted in ‘old’ language forms or deauthenticated as so-called loanwords that are borrowed into the language from other dominant, majority

languages (Hornsby 2015, pg.113). Hornsby and Quentel (2013, pg.84) argue, however, that they are 'merely the manifestations of deeper, more intrinsic issues connected to Breton speakers' (and others') own attitudes and prejudices towards the Breton language'.

1.2.3 Division and disparity - Ladin language rights and protections.

Ladin linguistic rights and language protections occupy an important position in the context of Ladin (dis)unity. The degree to which each valley enjoys MLR is evidenced in agreements, laws, and statutes within which they are laid out and defined (van der Jeught 2016). At the lowest level are the valleys of Anpezo and Fodom where the internal group disconnect is felt most strongly, not least due to their partition from Südtirol and transferal to the province of Belun/Belluno in the Veneto region, a province and region with no special status or statute of autonomy. As such, MLR are only protected under Italian state Law 428/99 whereas the remaining valleys have additional rights enshrined into their statutes of autonomy. Disparate language rights have contributed to a sense of isolation in Anpezo and Fodom.

Yet, there are more subtle ways in which disunity finds expression and from which internal group tensions arise. In terms of the symbolic expression of Ladin identity, for example, respondents suggest that flying the Ladin flag has a more profound meaning for those in valleys where rights are fewer than for those where they are more comprehensive. This disparity is perceived to have had a profound and lasting effect on both the general sense of group unity as well as social cohesion. The need for community redress has been recognised and documented, not least by the UGLD. The 'reunification' of the Ladin valleys under one administrative entity is widely seen as a means to resolve the perceived disunity and improve broader social cohesion in that a unified administration would be best placed to

serve the wider community. It is similarly stressed that what this is not, is a call for the founding of a Ladin 'nation' but simply for a structure of governance that delivers equality and protection in equal measure across the valleys ending the partition that continues hinder wider Ladin unity.

The acceptance of and implementation of Ladin Dolomitan as a standard is viewed with some suspicion by the administration of the German-speaking majority in Südtirol and as a step towards broader Ladin autonomy which would see yet another redrawing of administrative borders along ethnolinguistic lines and ultimately a loss of territory for them. Language is perceived as a vehicle for Ladin unity and the founding of a greater 'Ladinia' posing a threat to the very autonomy of Südtirol itself and the supports the view that language 'can become an important element of proto-national cohesion' (Hobsbawn 1992, pg.59). This is indicative of the degree to which Ladins are disempowered when it comes to decision-making *by Ladins for Ladins*, in that such decisions in their finality often rest elsewhere. Notwithstanding, Anpezo and Fodom have no voice on this issue given that they lie beyond the regional limits of Trentino-Alto Adige (Südtirol) having no comparable status to Ladins there. Thus, the differing status of Ladin across the valleys hinders progress towards a comprehensive implementation of a standard unifying Ladin. Striking a balance between standard and local variety, the artificial and the natural, presents difficult challenges for both the individual and the collective alike and, for the most part, is rooted in and exacerbated by the differing political and administrative realities that Ladins find themselves in today, a consequence of the divide and conquer ideology of Tripartition (cf. Chapter 3).

The Ladin example raises important questions. On the one hand, does maintaining multiple varieties of minority or small languages, including the pursual of polynomy in lieu of implementing a standard form, endanger the very survival of those languages? On the other

hand, is a standard form a necessary construct, whether artificial or natural, around which to construct a uniform group ethnolinguistic identity, forge group unity and secure the future of the language itself? At the heart of these questions is the very notion of survival, a notion that cannot be understated for small languages and their speakership.

Investigating the relationship between language and identity and the salience of language in constructing notions of identity in small language contexts at both individual and group levels, the Ladin case-study facilitates an invaluable depth of analysis. In the context of this research, qualitative data reflects the views and perceptions of individual grassroots social actors across the valleys. It can be analysed comparatively according to valley and concomitantly as a whole in the local context of language policy and planning and disparate minority language rights whose creation and application are constrained by the limits of disparate administrative systems. This case study demonstrates from three perspectives the degree to which perceptions of (minority) language and constructions of (ethnolinguistic) identity are influenced by disparate minority language rights and as a consequence of division, that is to say, from the perspective of three differing provincial administrative frameworks and the perspective of three disparate levels of language rights.

1.3 Motivation.

I first came across Ladin and Ladins in the early 1990's whilst living in Germany and having undertaken an impromptu excursion by car into Western Austria. Seeing a sign for Brenner and Italy, a short detour over another border was tempting. For a young student of languages, the notion of borders, changing currency and, of course, language were all equally exciting prospects. However, the reality was far from the initial expectation. Driving through Northern

Italy (contemporary Südtirol), everything seemed so 'Germanic'; cuckoo-clock houses, both cattle and goat with jingling alpine bells around their necks and archetypal 'Onion Dome' (Zwiebelturm) churches dotted the mountainous landscape. Then there was the language – some Italian, mostly in the linguistic landscape, but much more German to be seen and heard. Further into the valleys beyond Bozen (Bolzano/Bulsan) and the first encounters with Ladin. This whole concept of a melting pot of languages was fascinating and deserved closer scrutiny and so the personal research into this intriguing new discovery began.

Many years later, I met a group of Südtiroler at a party in London, from Val Gardena (Gherdëina). I recognised they were Ladin from the language. There was great shock and surprise at my knowing about Südtirol and more so about Ladin. From then on, I spent many more years in the company of one of those families in Gherdëina. For a long time, I had assumed that Ladin, that is Gherdëina, was universal all over the five Ladin valleys until one conversation in which the whole Ladin situation began to unravel. Descriptions of Ladins as more Italian than Ladin, Ladins as 'real' Ladins by virtue of perceived language purity, Ladin languages (valley varieties) that are described as mutually unintelligible, 'they speak Ladin but I just don't understand it', 'they have lots of different words and expressions', 'they're not like us'. These were comments that were ever more thought-provoking since there were so few Ladins. How can thirty thousand Ladins be so different? How could such a small language have so many different forms? Why is this so? How have such small languages even survived? The questions kept on coming and the answers ever more interesting and intriguing. However, there was a lot more to this for me which came from a more personal perspective, that had little directly to do with Ladin and Ladins but a lot to do with small languages in small places and notions and constructions of identity and belonging.

These concepts were not so new to me although initially I had not joined the dots. My mother is Maltese. She speaks Maltese, for the main part with family members and indeed all close relatives. For the children, we were not speakers. What was the point? Nobody speaks Maltese here anyway, it is of no use, so the story went. It was, however, a convenience should the adults wish to talk about things not meant for younger ears. This was an advantage of Ladin, too, I used to be told. Yet, being half-Maltese and not speaking Maltese (only a smattering of general terms, phrases, words (but increasingly from more formal learning) made me question how we define our identity and its relationship to language? I speak English, was born in England so therefore I am English, seems to make sense but, equally, it was not enough. Am I more English, and less so Maltese; half-Maltese infers an equal measure but what is this measure and how do you 'measure' it. Not only that, who does the measuring and who the defining and to what end?

Another defining experience that brought questions of identity or ethnolinguistic identity to the fore was my time at University in Stuttgart, Baden-Württemberg (Schwaben/Swabia) in Southern Germany as part of my BA year abroad. One of my first memories, the third of October 1990, the date remembered precisely as it was quite literally 'Tag der Deutschen Einheit', the long-awaited and eagerly anticipated day of German Reunification itself. Having only just arrived, being out amongst the locals enjoying the celebrations, I remember mostly having no idea what people were saying to the degree, I thought I must be in another country! The local Swabian 'Schwäbisch' dialect of German was indeed for me another language. Again, the same questions, the same statements about identity, the same layering of identities only further fuelled my interest; different constructions of being 'German', but each mobilised in differing contexts. For Ladins, as respondents clearly demonstrate in this research, a similar multi-layering existed. This was all

very reminiscent of Malta and Maltese as I had come to understand it; localised identity (Haż-Żabbar), island identity Malta (or Gozo (Għawdex)), national identity, Maltese and each underpinned with an accompanying linguistic identity. It used to intrigue me when my grandmother would refer to the inhabitants of the next locality as 'different', constructing ingroup identities that were locality based and defined according to the way a 'different' Maltese was spoken when, in fact, the next locality was literally a street or so away, around a corner.

Those three experiences gave rise to my desire to understand what sociolinguistic factors influence how identity is constructed with sharp focus on the role of language. The Ladin valleys in all their diversity are an ideal case-study for such an endeavour. A case-study of this type is described by Smith (2009, pg.119) as 'the ethno-symbolists' preference', since it is 'illuminating and exploratory rather than hypothesis testing' and it 'may provide useful insights and broader understanding of ethnic and national phenomena' (2009, pg.119).

1.4 Research question and structure of the thesis.

Framed within the contexts of shared regional autonomy, linguistic diversity, and multi-layered minorities, locally and regionally shifting definitions of majority and minority as well as centre and periphery have had and continue to have profound implications for the circa 30,000 people who make up the Ladin minority ethnolinguistic group. This study contributes to a body of sociolinguistic studies that focus on small languages and seeks to examine the role that language plays in the construction of Ladin identity.

Against a wider backdrop of shifting linguistic power dynamics and disparities in the level of language rights and protections, the construction and articulation of Ladin identity

are closely examined in a region of intersecting territoriality where speakers of Italian, German and Ladin coexist. Constructions of identity are explored at both individual (valley), group (pan-Ladin valley) and broader regionally defined levels as well as in the context of the dominant neighbouring majority Italian and German speaking communities with sharp focus on the role that multilingualism plays in a world where Ladin monolingualism is considered no longer an option.

The central research question of this PhD thesis is formulated as follows:

What role does language play in the construction of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity?

It pursues three distinct lines of enquiry, asking:

1. How do respondents navigate the plurality of Central Dolomitic ethnolinguistic identity? How does this inform identity construction in relation to internal group identity(-ies) at the valley and pan-Ladin levels as well as in relation to non-Ladin ethnolinguistic groups?
2. Do respondents consider multilingualism to be an asset or a liability and what role does it play, if any, in constructing ethnolinguistic identity? Does multilingualism give rise to any tensions within or between valley groups?
3. How does language inform respondent construction(s) of a pan-Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in the absence of an official standard form? Do respondents perceive Ladin Dolomitan as a unifying or divisive force?

With the autochthonous Ladin ethnolinguistic group as its central focus, this thesis examines the construction of Ladin identity in the five Ladin valleys of Val Gardena (Gherdëina), Val Badia (Badia), Livinallongo del Col di Lana (Fodom), Cortina D'Ampezzo (Anpezo) and Val di Fassa (Fascia) in the northern Italian provinces of Südtirol, Trentino and Belluno with sharp focus on the current emergent importance and increasing cultural and economic value of small languages. Locally and regionally, shifting definitions of majority and minority have profound implications for minority ethnic groups, stateless nations, and speakers of small languages.

The thesis is presented over eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter Two explores the theoretical concepts which inform this research and position it within a broader research context. This research focusses on the salience of language in the construction of identity and its perceived relationship to notions of nation and nationalism investigating ethnic and cultural boundaries of belonging. The theoretical framework explores salient contributions made to scholarship on the concepts of nation and nationalism (Anderson 2006; Gellner 2006; Smith 1991; 1998; 2009) and explores their relationship to language (May 2012a; Krauss 2010), identity (Omoniyi and White 2006) and ethnicity (Joseph 2004). The chapter concludes with a discussion on language in relation to the organisation of social, economic, and political life examining language policy and small languages in late modernity. It considers language policy and planning (Ricento 2006; Shohamy 2009; 2015; May 2012a), the emergence of minority linguistic rights (May 2003; 2012; 2015) and power dynamics in the context of multilingualism (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014; Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011; Pietikäinen et al. 2016; Jaffe 2019).

Chapter 3 presents an overview of the sociolinguistic context of the Ladin valleys and offers a historical roadmap illustrating the journey of Ladin and Ladins from their origin in

prehistory to their current positioning within the Italian state. The second part of the chapter considers Ladin language and variety in both inter- and intravalley contexts and the Ladin relationship between language and identity including Ladin multilingualism. Finally, the chapter examines the role of minority linguistic rights and outlines how the post First World War partition of the Ladin valleys between two regions and into three provinces has created a hierarchy of Ladin minority rights where some valleys enjoy greater protection than others highlighting emerging tensions between the valleys that this reality has fostered.

Chapter 4 reviews research methodology as well as the research design and the framework within which this research was undertaken. The role of both the researcher and participant is examined, including the researcher-participant relationship, as well as presenting an overview of the recruitment and interview process. A breakdown of key participant data is given including an overview of and the rationale behind the method of analysis selected; the six-stage approach to thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006; 2012).

Chapter 5 investigates how respondents navigate Ladin identity at various levels mobilising notions of time, space, and family relationships in their constructions. Similarly, Chapter 5 examines how the notions of authenticity and linguistic purism are mobilised by respondents to describe the degree to which each valley is intrinsically 'Ladin' by constructing hierarchies of 'Ladiness'.

Chapter 6 examines the role of multilingualism as an additional facet of Ladin identity and how it is used to construct a distinct Ladin identity and position Ladins as the 'true' multilinguals of the three linguistic communities of the Central Dolomites. The chapter then assesses respondents' perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages that multilingualism brings to the Ladin ethnolinguistic group.

Chapter 7 explores the role of the standardisation of Ladin in the broader context of Ladin (dis)unity. It further examines respondents' perceptions on the role of standardisation in creating ever closer Ladin unity across the valleys. In particular, notions of apprehension and reluctance regarding the adoption of a standard written form, known as Ladin Dolomitan, are examined.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents a summary this research in three sections. In section 8.1, a summary review of the main findings is given that specifically relates to the main research question and the three lines of enquiry that are derived from this. Section 8.2 then outlines the contribution that this research makes to knowledge and its relationship to previous academic work. Finally, section 8.3 describes the limitations of the research that have been identified and suggests areas of interest for future research that follow on from and compliment this study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

2. Introduction.

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework underpinning the research project. It sets out the key theories and concepts drawn upon, examining key scholarly contributions that inform this work. Section 2.1 examines theories of nation and nationalism and the notion of (linguistic) minoritisation following the emergence of nations and nationalism in Europe. Section 2.2 examines theories of identity and ethnicity and the role language plays in the context of ethnolinguistic minority identity. Section 2.3 explores language in the broader European context and the notion of multilingualism. Finally, Section 2.4 explores language policy and planning (LPP) and Minority Language Rights (MLR). In particular, the notion of language standardisation is examined in the broader context of promoting the notion of (national or state) 'official' language as well as in the narrower context of small and minority languages.

2.1 Nation and Nationalism.

The terms nation, state and nation-state are neither synonymous nor interchangeable. Nation describes a people, a collective, a community, a society, or an ethnic group whereas the institution or the organised administration *of* the collective, described as the nation, into a polity describes the *state* and therein lies the fundamental distinction. The state, within which the 'national' constructed collective identity resides, is expressed as a polity that exhibits a

shared culture, a linguistic heritage, either mono- but equally multilingual, and a common history, myth, and symbolism. Similarly, it exercises full sovereignty within clearly defined territorial boundaries. However, the organised political society of the state does not always reflect *one* 'nation', in that the state may represent a union of *several* nations, such as the British state. Therefore, a nation-state is a state whose organised polity is, by definition, both state and nation; 'a state made up exclusively of a single nation' (Van den Berghe 1987, pg.61). Underlining the complexities involved in formulating precision definitions, Brubaker (2010, pg. 379) posits that '[s]tates may "belong" in theory to the nations for whom they are named; but they often belong in practice to a much narrower set of people'. The following section examines scholarship that describes the genesis of nation and the criteria that serves to define it.

2.1.1 Primordialist and Modernist paradigms.

Modernist academic scholarship broadly traces the genesis of the nation in Europe back to the Enlightenment and the period following the French Revolution, defining membership of the nation in the context of two distinct traditions; in the French tradition of *jus soli*² and in the German tradition of *jus sanguinis*.³ Ernest Renan (1882) in '*Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*', promotes the French 'civic' tradition, arguing that nations are not defined by ethnically 'pure' bloodlines but by the very fate of history and, as such, are neither timeless and nor do they

² *Jus soli* bestows upon any individual who is born within the sovereign territory of the state the right to acquire nationality or full citizenship at birth.

³ *Jus sanguinis* bestows upon the individual the right of nationality or citizenship solely based upon bloodline whereby individuals may automatically become citizens if a parent (maternal, paternal or both) is a citizen of the nation or state or have national identities of ethnic, cultural, or any other defined origin.)

persist in eternity. Consequently, he concludes 'that the will of the individual must ultimately indicate whether a nation exists or not' (Kedourie quoted in Hutchinson and Smith 1994, pp.53-54).

By contrast, Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1807-8) in his '*Reden an die deutsche Nation*' promotes the 'ethnic' nation. Fichte views nations as rooted in human evolution and defined according to ethnic ancestral bloodlines. Nations are a natural part of human existence and as such persist in eternity through descent (Abizadeh, 2005). It is this evolutionary ethnic view of the nation and nationalism proposed by Fichte that is widely considered to have been influential in the foundation of the primordialist approach to the study of nations and nationalism.

The primordialist paradigm describes nation in terms of pre-existing ancient ethnic bonds, suggesting the notion of a fixed, shared kinship. As such, Shils (1957) proposes that nations evolve through demonstrating a common ancestral bloodline to which individual members express 'ineffable' affinity. Geertz (1963, pg.109) interprets this as an expression of 'primordial attachments' which stem from 'the assumed 'givens' of social existence', beyond the fundamental bonds of kinship and into cultural aspects of race, language, territory, religion and custom. Similarly, van den Berghe (1987) proffers a *sociobiological* explanation, understood in terms of ancestry, environment, and culture, based on notions of 'kin selection' and 'inclusive fitness' and with a defined 'ethny' at its core (1987, pg.7-12.).

The modernist paradigm, however, embraces a constructionist philosophy that views nation and nationalism as social constructs with no pre-existing ethnic, racial, or cultural bonds. Nations evolved in response to the processes and demands of modernisation, definitive of a rapidly changing social order in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe (Anderson 2006; Gellner 2006; Hobsbawm 1992; Ting 2008). Anderson (2006, pp.5-7) views

the nation as 'an imagined political community' to which any individual or collective attachments can only emerge post-genesis and as such cannot be primordial.

In his definitive modernist thesis, Gellner (2006) contends that nations emerge because of and through nationalism and represent artificially fabricated 'social constructs' whose very existence is dependent upon society's will to perpetuate the fabrication. He posits that together with the processes of modernisation and the transition from agrarian to industrial society came a universal clerisy (2006, pp.8-18), arguing that universal education promoted a constructed identity and defined the culture to which the modernised society is loyal. In this way, nation and culture are intrinsically linked, a link that in the past, by contrast, 'was thin, fortuitous, varied, loose and often minimal' (Gellner 2006, pp.35-37). It is this that Gellner contends is the true nature of nationalism.

In a constructive critique of the modernist paradigm, May (2012a) highlights 'historicity' as a key weakness, describing the anchoring of modernism in a period covering two hundred years as restrictive since it excludes any investigation into processes that pre-exist the modernist genesis of nation. Broadly embracing the modernist approach, however, the ethnosymbolist paradigm investigates the genesis of nation into the more distant past, at the same time considering the notions of sociobiological and cultural evolution. Its innovation, however, lies in the view that nations are a reinterpretation of ethnic symbols, myths, memories, values, and traditions in response to the complex processes of modernisation. The primordialist timeless nature of nation, however, is not discounted but rather considered in terms of ethnic ties and memories over what is described as *la longue durée*, considered 'ethnosymbolic' rather than 'primordial' (cf. Smith 2009). Intrinsic to the emergence of nations in the modernist era is the notion of a homogenous culture. In particular, the implementation of an official language is considered instrumental for achieving

social cohesion. Indeed, Anderson (2006, pg.36) suggests language is as a key social, political, economic, and cultural driver of the period. In the following section, the role of language is examined in the context of nation and nationalism⁴.

2.1.2 Nation, Nationalism and Language.

Hobsbawm (1992, pg.59) recognises the role of language in the modernising process by outlining how language ‘can become an important element of proto-national cohesion’. Indeed, standardised official languages were considered a unifying instrument of communication and were widely promoted as high culture, high status, progressive and modernising and a force for social cohesion.

Modernists define the nation in terms of ‘a territorialised political community, a civic community of legally equal citizens in a particular territory’ (Smith 1998, pg.22) that exhibits ‘civic and territorial–political forms of nationalism common in Western Europe’ (Smith 2006, pg.67). In contrast, primordialists describe nation in terms of a ‘politicised ethno-cultural community, a community of common ancestry that stakes a claim to political recognition on that basis’ (Smith 1998, pg.22), whereby subsequent ‘ethnic nationalisms emphasised the importance of genealogical ties for national belonging, vernacular culture such as languages, customs and cults, a nativist ethno-history and shared folk memories, and popular mobilisation – the appeal to ‘the people’ as the ‘authentic’ voice of the nation’ (Smith 2006, pg.67). He posits that ethnicity should not be restricted to ties of ‘descent’ but should

⁴ *La longue durée*, postulated by the Annales school of French historiography, is applied to social processes as having developed over a significantly longer historical time-frame that may span a period of many centuries. The key distinction is that this period is considered to pre-exist the modernist constructionist period of modernisation whose beginnings are defined in the eighteenth century.

embrace the wider connotations of 'ethno-cultural' phenomena, emphasising that 'myth of descent, or presumed ancestry, rather than biological ties' is the important distinction for the ethnosymbolist (Smith 2006, pg.113).

Kymlicka (1995) describes the distinction between the ethnic and the civic nation in terms of inclusion and exclusion; that is integration 'into the common culture' being open to all rather than rendered inaccessible to some due to 'the absence of any cultural component to national identity'. Similarly, Kaufmann (2004, pg.38) posits that nations are under pressure to 'shift their self-definitions from narrow 'ethnic' exclusive criteria to broader inclusive 'civic' criteria'; multiculturalism in favour of cultural homogeneity and autonomy in favour of centralised, dominant government or, as Stilz (2009, pg.257) proposes, 'a political identity built around shared citizenship' whereby the civic nation 'need not be unified by commonalities of language or culture'.

Yet, as (May 2012a, pg.132) attests, language has played a pivotal role in the construction and maintenance of modern nation-states, functioning as one of most salient cultural elements that contribute to how nations are existentially defined. The 'one nation, one language' ideology that prevailed in several European states throughout the modernist era, adopted the language of the dominant majority group as the 'official' language of the nation(-state). Perceived as an instrument with which to promote national social cohesion and a national (linguistic) identity (Hobsbawn 1992), the reality simultaneously facilitated a process of minoritisation whereby the non-majority 'other' would, by definition, become the minority. The following section examines linguistic minoritisation in the context of the majority-minority relationship, exploring the notion of marginalisation.

2.1.3 Linguistic Minoritisation.

The notion of majority and minority is both 'relative and relational' (Eriksen 2002, pg.121). The notions are relational given that they can serve to underline or highlight a common comparative connection or function within a given context or defined domain and can be similarly considered in terms relative to one another. The notions serve to illuminate additional dimensions of analysis and understanding. In multilingual settings, for example, notions of majority and minority may demonstrate language situated relative to power, that is, language and ethnolinguistics groups in the context power; from the most powerful, to the less powerful, to the relatively powerless. It is not only a question of numerical analysis and comparison, but its distinction also lies in terms of equality relative to power, authority, or governance, to exercising or appropriating rights, or to social, economic, political, or cultural advantage. The majority-minority relationship is further dependent upon 'relevant system boundaries' (Eriksen 2002, pg.122). The definitions of majority and minority are thus fluid and are conditional on the construction of those 'relevant system boundaries' which typically reflect those of the state (Palermo 2015, pg.28).

The fluid definitions of majority and minority have profound implications for inter-group power relationships, often synonymous with the concepts of dominant and dominated which Smith (2004, pg.22) describes as 'dominant' and 'peripheral'. Similarly, the constructed nature of this relationship and the notion of minoritising 'reflects the understanding that minority status is neither inherent nor fixed' (Costa et al. 2017, pg.8). This adds further dimensions to the complex matrix of boundary relationships. Degrees of domination are dependent upon inter-group power differentials as well as upon the 'permeability of boundaries' (Wimmer 2004, pg.41).

Eriksen (2002, pp.122-124) suggests that a pluri-ethnic state operates in one of three ways. Firstly, through the integration of all groups into one 'national' group. Wimmer (2004) suggests that if successful, the pluri-ethnic nature of the state will cease to exist and identity boundaries would be redrawn and merged from which a universally homogenous ethnic group emerges. If unsuccessful, the imposed system is a potential precursor to conflict, elected or involuntary segregation, autonomy or complete secession, and the formation of a new state system.

Secondly, the domination of one group that Wimmer (2004) suggests may presuppose a degree of subordination or segregation. The existence of a dominant majority is less clear leading to co-existence in a consociational democracy. This encourages minority participation offering 'alternative outcomes to territorial nationalism and secession' (Nimni 2015, pg.72) and embodies the notion of non-territorial autonomy, maintaining social and political cohesion in multi-ethnic polities (Coakley 2016a; Coakley 2016b). The alternative is a system whereby a dominant *minority* exercises power and negotiates support in so doing (Wimmer 2004).

Finally, multiculturalism requiring ethnic and cultural symbiosis or the secession in full independence of what Eriksen describes as 'proto-nations' (2002, pp.122-124). Additionally, Wimmer (2004) suggests that a single élite ethnic group may exercise power as an authoritarian regime. A reinterpretation of complex identity boundaries takes place at multiple levels and at varying costs from complete loss of identity in full assimilation, to full sovereignty following secession. What lies between the two extremes is wide and varied, underlining the complex nature of the seemingly simple dichotomy. The following sections explore the notions of identity and ethnicity more broadly with focus on the role language

plays in their construction. The focus then moves on to a closer examination of ethnolinguistic identity in the context of linguistic minorities.

2.2 Identity, Ethnicity and Ethnolinguistic Identity.

Scholarship approaches the concept of identity in two ways. The essentialist approach suggests identity is a 'given' with primordial, atavistic characteristics (Geertz 1963; Van den Berghe 1987) whereas the constructionist approach suggests identity is a process 'in which individuals construct categorical belonging, both for themselves and for others with whom they come in contact' (Joseph 2004, pg.84).

Essentialism describes group cultural or group biological characteristics as facets of identity, an essentialised social construct, 'rigidly fixed' and 'other-ascribed' (Omoniyi 2006, pg.17) that 'could be explained by universal laws of behaviour' (Omoniyi and White 2006, pg.2) and 'believed to be inherent to the group' (Block 2006, pg.34). This approach is, however, problematic since it fails to account for pluriethnic identities or to recognise external factors that influence identity formation in the context of co-construction (Omoniyi 2006). Joseph (2004, pg.118, italics in original) suggests that nothing is more 'crucial or powerful than the claim that identity *is* in fact fixed and given, *is* imposed on us by birth and *does* remain essentially unchanged thereafter'.

Yet, however primal identity may *feel*, the constructionist approach suggests identity is constructed according to social and cultural processes and practices (Burke and Stets 2009; Dorian 1999; Fought 2006; Edwards 2009; Joseph 2004; Omoniyi 2006; Riley 2007). This is the dominant interpretation of identity in modern scholarship and, as McGarry (2001, cited in Edwards 2009, pg.167) states, 'no modern social scientist dissents from the view that

identities are constructed and contingent'. Formed according to a complexity of interacting social relationships, the essentialist and constructionist approaches address whether identity is a fundamentally perennial or social construction; static and entrenched *or* fluid and malleable (Phillipson 1999). These are described in the following section.

2.2.1 Essentialist and Constructionist paradigms.

The essentialist paradigm considers identity to be an 'essential or inborn' characteristic with its roots expressed in European Romanticism, particularly among Germans, Slavs and late-modernizing ethnic protest and liberation movements' (Fishman 1999, pg.160). It is described as primordial; an unchanging timeless 'given' of human existence and rooted in kinship (Geertz 1963; Van den Berghe 1987). Similarly, essentialists maintain that ethnicity, considered a marker of cultural identity, 'can be manipulated but not manufactured' (Van den Berghe 1987, pg.27). Furthermore, 'unless ethnicity is rooted in generations of shared historical experience, it cannot be created ex nihilo' (1987, pg.27).

The constructionist paradigm, by contrast, considers identity as 'contextually constructed' (Fishman 1999, pg.154) or as 'instrumental' whereby its essence is encapsulated by 'attitudes, perceptions and sentiments' which vary depending upon the individual and their situation at different points in time and in different contexts and places (Smith 1991, pg.20). Jenkins (1997, pg.46) describes this variability as the 'fluidity and flux of ethnic identification'. In contrast to the view that the subjective nature of essentialist accounts of ethnicity is problematic, 'the theoretical argument in favour of a constructionist view is too well founded' (Jenkins 1997, pg.46). Riley (2007, pg.83) similarly points to there being a wealth of evidence from a wide range of fields to support this supposition. The malleable

nature of ethnicity, therefore, serves as a useful instrument for achieving individual or collective advancement or seizing social, political, or economic power in the pursuit of individual or collective 'material self-interest' (Jenkins 1997).

Smith (1991, pg.24) expresses the ethnic community as an 'ethnie' ascribing to its key social, cultural, historical, and territorial attributes and posits that ethnic boundaries are open to revised definitions. Eriksen (2002, pg.11) posits that ethnicity infers that 'groups and identities have developed in mutual contact rather than in isolation'. Furthermore, Barth (1969) suggests that boundaries and the implementation of 'boundary mechanisms' by ethnic groups play a pivotal role in constructing ethnic identities together with 'markers of distinctiveness' (Eriksen 2002, pg.173). Ethnicity is defined as much by the internal group itself as by those external to it with key cultural markers defining exclusivity, primarily language and territory. At the same time, Eriksen (2002, pg.34) points out that 'cultural boundaries are not clear-cut, nor do they necessarily correspond with ethnic boundaries'. In contrast to 'nation', understood in the context of a politically organised unit, ethnicity is understood in the context of identity, as an indication of belonging to a socially distinct and organised group (Barth 1969). In this instance, it is not a given that the ethnic group should form a nation. It may equally exist as part of a pluriethnic nation, defined within the shared territorial boundaries of a single polity. Eriksen (1991, pg.263) posits that 'virtually every modern nation-state is to a greater or lesser extent ethnically divided'. Furthermore, ethnic affinity may be amplified in cases where an ethnic group is caught between two external, warring powers. Conflict is viewed as a 'crucible of ethnic cohesion' (Smith 1991, pg.20); 'Social identity becomes most important the moment it becomes threatened' (Eriksen 1991, pg.68).

May (2012a, pg.47) suggests that Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus and field' may help 'overcome the primordialist/constructionist divide'. Bourdieu (1986, pg.242) posits that

economic, cultural, and social capital account for the structure and functioning of the social world depending on the field in which it operates. May (2012a, pg.47) summarises 'habitus' is 'all the social and cultural experiences that shape us as a person', both subjective and objective. Habitus 'can be said to reflect the social and cultural position in which it was constructed' (May 2012a, pg.49). For the same reason, social and cultural experience are rooted in and shaped by history and as such reflect the time and space in which they were constructed. This underlines a potential social and cultural ancestry while recognising that ethnicity is also instrumental, in that it can be manipulated to access social and cultural capital. Given that ethnicity is a marker of cultural identity, the essentialist proposition, considered in terms of the generational, 'social' transmission of ethnic attachments in the context of ethnosymbolism, such language and culture, should not be disregarded.

In pluriethnic states, multilingualism and pluriethnic identities can have instrumental value for linguistic minorities. A means of securing individual advantage as well as access to the social and cultural capital of the dominant majority group, they may similarly facilitate greater individual agency through broadening opportunities to participate in social, political, and economic arenas as well as both access to and consumption of the arts, such as literature, theatre, and film (cf. Chapter 7).

Group values defined are twofold. Firstly, values are perceived to reflect the basic ideologies, beliefs and principles that are shared between group members and which are deemed fundamental to how the group forms attitudes that subsequently influence its actions. They may be recognised as essential expressions by way of their being considered intrinsic to the group as a whole; a generalisation or stereotypical notion. Subscription to social and cultural values becomes definitive of group belonging and broader group membership as representative of the basic tenets of being that underpin all aspects of culture

said to define the group. Linguistic culture, that is to say, language as a constituent facet of group culture, incorporates group beliefs, values, and attitudes towards, as well as interactions with, language. Linguistic values thus determine how social actors interact with, relate to, and assess notions of language.

Secondly, in the context of multilingualism, structure valorises language both directly as a consequence of the language ideological processes that emerge through LPP and MLR, as well as indirectly as a consequence of them. The higher value or status of standard languages is a result of the planned outcomes of state LPP initiatives which diminish the value of other existing languages. As May (2005, pp.334-335) argues, the instrumental value of minority languages 'is often constrained by wider social and political processes that have resulted in the privileging of other language varieties in the public realm'. Hierarchical value structures (cf. Jaffe 2012) and value-based assessments of language evolve in multiple, wide and varied contexts having social, economic, and cultural salience; social as an expression of both structure and agency, economic as an act of linguistic commodification where linguistic resources have gained salience and value (Heller 2010) and cultural as symbolic. Value conceptualised as relational emerges as a motivational factor in value-based linguistic transactions. In the following section, the role of language is examined in the context of constructing ethnic identities.

2.2.2 The role of language in constructing ethnic identity.

Jenkins (1997, pg.9) posits that ethnicity 'has become central to the politics of group differentiation and advantage in the culturally diverse social democracies of Europe and

North America'. In reference to Max Weber, he concurs that ethnicity is built on the belief of common ancestral descent.⁵ The key sentiment in this definition is 'belief' since its use rightly distances the definition from an objective notion to one that is quite subjective in nature. Moreover, the notion is clearly instrumental, in that it is employed to promote the collective interest in the pursuit of establishing a distinct ethnic identification (Jenkins 1997) in which language plays an important role. In this way, ethnicity permits access to cultural capital that has value for the individual (Eriksen 1991), a value termed 'ethnic identity capital'. In accessing this form of cultural capital, such as language, the individual subscribes to an ethnic (or ethnolinguistic) identity that returns a social, cultural, or economic advantage. This model is particularly poignant in highlighting the real and potential multiplicity of ethnicity in two distinct ways; firstly, in pluriethnic societies an individual may demonstrate a true and absolute affinity to multiple ethnicities. Secondly, as a voluntary, purposeful choice, an individual may subscribe to an ethnic identity that does not reflect a true and absolute affinity, simply to achieve a perceived or sought advantage. Ethnicity is, therefore, not restricted to a single, social identity but equally may be plural.

Smith (1998, pg. xiii) maintains 'ethnic identity and community is a major point of reference and a vital building-block for theories of nations and nationalism'. Ethnicity emerges as a key component of historic cultural identity and is 'central to the persistence of nation' in which memories, myths and symbols are 'reinterpreted' in the formation of national identities as well as ideological notions of nationalism (Smith 2009, pg.20). The conflation of nation with ethnicity as a facet of cultural identity, by definition, demonstrates

⁵ See Max Weber's *Economy and Society* first published in 1922 (1978: 385-98) in Weber, M (1978) *Economy and Society*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, Berkeley: University of California Press.

that an ethnolinguistic identity is primarily monolingual. However, as an ethnolinguistic minority in a pluriethnic state, a multilingual ethnolinguistic identity is equally viable for reasons described above. The role of ethnicity in the ethnosymbolist account clearly sets it apart from the modernist account while simultaneously establishing a consensus with the cultural primordialist approach.

The processes of modernisation described in modernist and constructionist scholarship (Anderson 2006; Gellner 2006; Hobsbawm 1992) as the principal prerequisites or contributors to the emergence of the nation and nationalism are, in fact, chance events in the development of societies that are exploited by those élites or groups who have gained the power to direct the perceived 'processes of modernisation' and 'catalysts of change' to propel the nation and the constructed identity of its membership into existence. Benjamin (2015, pg.563) concurs, positing that 'identity in this sense is a device for transcendentalising people's consciousness by deliberate cultural engineering – a subversion from the top down'. In whichever paradigm ethnicity is situated and in whichever way it is defined, ethnicity is 'neither blindly primordial nor completely manipulable' (Jenkins 1997, pg.169) and is essentially the 'most elementary dimension of identity in the construction of human society' (Haarmann 1999, pg.61). In the section that follows, ethnicity and the role of language is examined in the specific context of constructing ethnolinguistic identities in minority (ethnolinguistic) groups.

2.2.3. Language and Ethnolinguistic Identity in Minority Contexts.

Omoniyi and White (2006, pg.1) posit that 'the sociolinguistics of identity focuses on the ways in which people position or construct themselves and are positioned or constructed by others

in socio-cultural situations through the instrumentality of language and with reference to all those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members'. Thus, language as a core facet of identity as well as a means of communication together constitute what Wright (2016) describes as 'the duality of language'. It can act as a symbolic marker of community identity as well as of community boundaries (Cohen 1985; Darquennes 2012). Similar in nature and function to language boundaries, Fishman (1989) posits that identity boundaries must be noticed, interpreted, and implemented; both being arbitrary and manipulable. Importantly, Fishman recognises the existence of boundaries within ethnic groups as well as between them. The underlying processes and practices involved are understood as socially constructed (Suleiman 2006).

Kraus (2018, pg.96) asserts that 'our ability to develop multilingual repertoires shows that linguistic identities ... are malleable and layered'. Identities are projected as they are desired to be received by others through various linguistic means, such as phonetic features and syntax, and alongside a plethora of other culturally symbolic markers of identity. In the context of identity (or identities), language may reflect a singularity, a duality, or a multiplicity that in themselves reflect mono-, bi- or multilingualism. In turn, this allows for a 'complexity' of identity relationships (cf. Blackledge & Pavlenko 2004).

Wright (2016) highlights language as an instrument of both inclusion and exclusion. Blackledge & Pavlenko (2004) similarly describe language as 'sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination'. However, as a malleable facet of identity, language is not easily changed since this entails overcoming both cognitive and psychological barriers (Wright 2016). However, in so doing, access to other groups, its members and new frames of reference is gained and through this, identity is altered. This underpins Kraus' (2018,

pg.100) suggestion that ‘the linguistic identities that we may adopt as individuals always relate to a socially – and, in consequence, collectively – produced symbolic universe’.

Given that ‘language is the prime symbol system to enact, celebrate and ‘call forth’ all ethnic activity’ (Fishman 1989, pg.32), how language is perceived and managed in and by society, therefore, is of profound importance. The function of language in and its relationship to the state is defined and enacted in the broader context of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and Minority Language Rights (MLR) which are examined in the following sections.

2.3 Regional Languages in the broader European context

Speakers of autochthonous European languages once largely minoritised, marginalised, without recognition and lacking political representation acquired a voice, not only at a national level but equally at a European level through the Council of Europe’s European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages (ECRML) and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCPNM). Although the ECHR, the founding document of the Council of Europe, does not deal explicitly with linguistic rights (cf. McDermott 2017), several articles of the convention do, however, identify areas where minority language and culture play a central role in the safeguarding of more broadly defined human rights. Nonetheless, McDermott (2017, pp.610-612) argues that it still ‘fails to engage adequately with the role that cultural and linguistic exclusion can have on an individual’s ability to contribute to wider civil and political life’. In recognition of the inadequacies of the ECHR, the Council of Europe developed the ECRML to specifically deal with the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages

‘placing regional and minority languages on the European political and legal agenda for the first time’ (Climent-Ferrando 2018, pg.2).

The ECRML identifies language within a wider framework of human rights, giving autochthonous linguistic minorities in Europe a voice and providing a legislative mechanism with which to improve their fate not only at European but also at state level (McDermott 2017, pg.612). Soldat-Jaffe (2015, pg.373) argues an important distinction that ‘[w]hereas the ECRML seeks to protect minority languages from an overt language planning perspective’, that is, to protect the language rather than the speaker, the Council of Europe, and the European Union (EU) ‘seek to protect national minorities in terms of their universal – though not necessarily linguistic rights’. It is thus within the framework of the Council of Europe’s European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that the EU itself seeks to protect minorities.

Language or linguistic rights are further elaborated in the Council of Europe’s FCPNM ‘designed to promote the rights of national minorities and act as a critical voice against discriminatory practices’ and whose articles ‘are intended to guide policy-making at state level’ (McDermott 2017, pg.613). However, by failing to define ‘national minority’, its definition remains open to interpretation by signatory states (cf. Karlander 2020). For the central Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group and eleven others in Italy, the notion of historic national minority is defined in Law 482/99. The law ‘establishes a potential protection mechanism’ that acts ‘as a basis for the granting of genuine language rights’ at a local level (van der Jeught 2016, pg.63). Law 482/99 has more relevance for Ladins in Veneto, in the province of Belluno, since it ‘does not affect special language protection rules that exist in regions with a special statute’ (van der Jeught 2016, pg.63). This is the case in the autonomous

provinces of Trento and Bozen/Bolzano which together form the autonomous region Trentino-Südtirol (Trentino-Alto Adige).

2.3.1 Multilingualism

The 'one nation, one language' ideology of 18th and 19th century Europe promoted state monolingualism and language standardisation (Vogl 2012). The power and status of the majority in the emerging (nation)-states were reflected in the choice of the adopted standard. The subsequent institutionalisation of the standard, that is, the ubiquity of the standard in all areas of public life, legitimised it in terms of power, privilege, and prestige across a variety of social, cultural, and linguistic contexts both formal and informal. As a result, non-standard linguistic forms and their speakership(s) would undergo processes of minoritisation and marginalisation. Perceived as inferior to the legitimised standard, 'other' linguistic forms are excluded from the public sphere, often confined only to the private (May 2012b). Notions of linguistic diversity and multilingualism were thus perceived as threats to both national unity and social cohesion. Monolingualism promoted through the 'one nation, one language' ideology, however, espoused the development and maintenance of a homogenous national identity through national unity and social cohesion which enshrined notions of mobility, modernity, and progress.

A shift in direction from the monolingual ideology of European nationalism and nation-building of the preceding centuries began to emerge in the 1960's (Martin-Jones et al. 2012). Language, hitherto mobilised in the contexts of both national territory and national identity, is increasingly mobilised in more regional and local contexts constructed around ethnolinguistic belonging. A recognition of multilingualism and linguistic diversity was sought

which, May (2012b) argues, concomitantly gave rise to the development of minority language rights (MLR). Until 1990s, multilingualism in the EU was understood in terms of the national standard language, that is, as territorially bounded entities with equal rights, an approach that sought to protect and maintain language at a national level. Subsequent European policy has nurtured a shift in emphasis toward the promotion of individual multilingualism through (standard) language acquisition and socio-economic advancement. Societal multilingualism, in contrast, remained the concern of national policy. An exception was the ECRML developed by Council of Europe concerning language rights for autochthonous minority language communities (Vogl 2012; cf. Chapter 2.3).

Multilingualism itself, however, is a complex notion and as such is challenging to define. A starting point would be to define exactly what constitutes a language. The notion of language is contested. It is understood in two distinct ways; either as a fixed linguistic system, that is, as a fixed and bounded entity, or alternatively in terms of a linguistic repertoire, that is, a set of linguistic and semiotic resources as opposed to a count of individually bounded entities (Cenoz 2013). If language is contested as a bounded entity, researchers need to define how linguistic boundaries are drawn. This may be in terms of a political or cultural distinction, such as defining boundaries between language and variety, or in the context of diglossia, where two or more varieties are mobilised in disparate contexts that may conceal notions of prestige and status (Kemp 2009). Indeed, the social setting in which language practice takes place, in the contexts of both multilingual language use and multilingual language competency, blurs boundaries between languages. Similarly, notions of mutual intelligibility or crosslinguistic transfer blur linguistic boundaries in that an 'individuals' functional comprehension of input may not match sociolinguistic or variety boundaries' (Cenoz 2013; Kemp 2009).

In multilingual societies, where language use entails having to make choices 'about (where which) language (is) used', linguistic diversity can become a 'potential source of conflict' (Cooke and Simpson 2012, pg.116). In the same way, individual language choice may be an act of identity where multilingual speakers mobilise their language repertoires to negotiate identities (Cenoz 2013). The ability to negotiate identities, however, emanates from differing positions of power that is subject to dominant language ideology. Multilingual practice is thus complex and takes place in multiple contexts and is similarly situated in temporally and spatially defined contexts (local, provincial, regional, national, and global). Thus, language is understood as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries are products of social action (Martin-Jones et al 2012).

2.4 Language Policy and Planning and Minority Language Rights.

Historically, the emergence of research into language policy and planning as a field can be traced back to the 1950s when the Norwegian-American linguist Einar Haugen first coined the term *language planning*. Ricento (2000) outlines the evolution of research in this field in three distinctly definable phases grounded in macro socio-political, epistemological, and strategic considerations. In the first phase, linguistic diversity was seen as stifling national development whilst linguistic homogeneity promoted modernisation. The second phase recognised that the adoption of European languages across culturally and linguistically diverse territories, at the expense of local linguistic varieties, contributed to the marginalisation of minority linguistic groups and subsequently limited their role in the (re)construction of post-colonial national and social structures (Ricento 2000, pp.200-203). The third phase describes the

championing of linguistic (human) rights in a world of re-emerging national ethnic identities and languages following great social and political upheaval (Ricento 2000, pp.203-207).

Updating Ricento's (2000) overview, Ricento and Johnson (2013) add the ethnography of LPP to the historical trajectory, citing the ecology of language, discourse analysis of language policy and linguistic landscape analysis (cf. Shohamy 2015) as equally important theoretical developments, concluding that empirical findings from ethnographies of LPP have greatly informed an understanding and knowledge of global policy processes, supported by the contemporaneous growth of empirical data collection. Johnson (2013) suggests the ethnography of LPP establishes a balance between structure (policy makers) and agency (policy consumers). The agency of those once understood 'merely as policy implementers' are now repositioned as 'active policy interpreters, appropriators, and creators' (Johnson 2013, pg.2) recognising LPP at the 'community' level, referred to as bottom-up, is as equally important as the 'national' top-down. Indeed, while recognising that macro LPP from the government top-down has played an important role in the Americas, Hornberger (2012) posits that in many instances, micro LPP from the community bottom-up has had the greatest impact. Ricento (2006, pg.19) similarly recognises how 'legislators, educators, and businesses are greatly influenced by "bottom-up" social changes and practices'. Shohamy (2015, pg.156) similarly recognises the shift in LPP research to 'a more inclusive, bottom-up flow which considers and emphasizes justice and rights'.

"Language Planning" has come to refer to governmental or quasi-governmental activities, particularly in multilingual situations, designed to influence or solve linguistic problems' (Trudgill 1984, pg.3). Language policy, however, articulates the action plan envisaged to achieve the intended goals (Deumert 2009). Shohamy (2009, pg.185) posits that '[b]y and large, language policies have been viewed as statements meant to engineer people's

linguistic lives while the latter are expected to obey and follow these rules' underlining the power that LPP exerts over a given polity. 'Official language' affords a state-sanctioned legal status to an elected language variety. "National' languages are so called because they have been legitimised by the state and institutionalised within civil society, usually to the exclusion of other languages' and are invariably legislatively or constitutionally recognised (May 2012a, pg.159; italics in the original). The term 'national language' itself infers a direct relationship between language, territory, society, and culture. The status of national or official language is, therefore, understood primarily bounded within the defined limits of the [nation-]state.

Schiffman (2006, pg.112) views LPP as 'inextricably connected' to linguistic culture, defined as 'the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious structures, and all the other cultural "baggage" that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture', demonstrating the underlying constructed nature of official or national languages through LPP; reminiscent of the very same 'constructed' nature of nation and identity discussed in the sections above. Similarly, in the European context, the language variety of the dominant ethnic group has historically assumed the status of national or official language, often legitimated in the name of national social cohesion which, by extension, has resulted in linguistic domination going hand in hand with wider social and cultural domination (cf. May 2012a).

The notions national and official language are neither mutually exclusive nor interchangeable. Since the notion 'official' implies a language enjoys a state-sanctioned legal status, it does not necessarily follow that it is a language of the state. An official language may be either endoglossic, such as an indigenous language, or exoglossic, for example a European languages as 'official' languages in ex-colonial non-European states. A national language is, therefore, only endoglossic. In terms of sanctioning language as official in the context of

status, language or languages used in multilingual organisations, such as the EU or the UN, can only be official. The member-states of the aforementioned organisations may have both national and/or official languages. However, the organisations themselves can only have official languages. In the following section, LPP is examined, focussing on language ideology and language standardisation in the context of macro (structure) and micro (agency) identity construction.

2.4.1 Language Standardisation - Authenticity and Purism in corpus planning.

The acceptance of a standard form of language centres on the language users' perceptions of both authenticity and purism. The standard form needs to reflect their (ethno)linguistic identity and should not feel foreign to them in any way. If the latter is true, then acceptance and, by virtue, the success of implementation may be compromised.

Suleiman (2006, pg.53) describes languages as 'discursive projects' and standard languages as nothing more than 'the products of ideological processes'. In this respect, he rightly posits that languages are simply 'constructed units of self-definition' that have complex historical, political, and cultural contextual origins. The legitimacy and value of standard languages result from the planned outcomes of language policy and planning initiatives of the state and as such standardisation is 'inherently ideological' (McLelland 2021, pg.109). Indeed, 'language standardisation has essentially to do with the transmission and perpetuation of ideology' (McLelland 2021, pg.117) and as such 'best approached as an ideological phenomenon' (Gal 2017, pg.222). For emerging nations in the modernist era, not only was language standardisation seen as a means of promoting social cohesion, it similarly fostered state control (Gellner 1983; Kraus 2018). It legitimised the nation(-state) by

demonstrating a national group identity through a common standard language. This approach, by definition, promoted a monolingual reality reflecting a 'one nation, one language' ideology that rejects any notion, promotion, recognition, or tolerance of linguistic diversity as incompatible with the constructed hegemony of the nation(-state). Furthermore, an 'official' language is a defining facet of group membership and identity, however, it equally serves as an instrument of (state) control since only through using it is access to the nation(-state) and its institutions possible; the standard 'official' language is 'meant to represent a form of decontextualised, neutral, widely accessible and learnable language' (Costa et al. 2017, pg.5) embodying 'a universalised conception of correct communication and behaviour' (2017, pg.7). The 'one nation, one language' ideology, being founded on notions of oneness and uniqueness, represents a superficial, one-dimensional constructed reality behind which are hidden other groups who, because of their perceived deviation from the majority norm, are hidden by their being relegated to the margins, by their having diminished power in terms of structure and agency to wide and varying degrees. It may be one group or several groups, however, groups who, by definition, do not meet the criteria of majority group membership become 'the marginalised collective 'Other'' (Costa et al. 2017, pg.8) resulting in 'a substantially reduced scope for collective self-determination' (Kraus 2018, pg.92); marginalised is often synonymous with 'minoritised' and 'peripheralised' (Pietikäinen et al., 2016) and language with being the definitive factor in constructions of 'otherness'. In the context of language, the 'one nation, one language' ideology may foster a 'hidden multilingualism' which may be evident on several levels such as internal variation and non-standard language varieties, other non-standard languages, language acquired through formal learning and language through immigration (Vogl 2012).

Lane (2015, pg.267) suggests that language standardisation takes place in both formal and informal arenas and in top-down (macro level) and bottom-up (micro level) policy and planning activity respectively. In a shift in focus, more recent scholarship, however, has turned its attention to individual agency and social actors as active participants in and influencers of bottom-up language policy and planning. This research similarly focusses on agency since 'the scope and role of agency is central when investigating (minority) language standardisation' (Costa et al. 2017, pg.14).

Language standardisation for the majority group and language of the state takes place concurrently alongside other processes involved in constructing the nation-state whereas for linguistic minority groups, language standardisation takes place within already established and defined states in which the minority language and culture is considered lower status. Costa et al. (2017, pp.11-12) suggest that marginalisation may act as a catalyst for minority language standardisation as a way of improving the group's status. In both respects, there are fundamental language ideological differences. The nation-state is constructed to reflect a monolingual hegemony. In sharp contrast to multilingualism, the presence of which 'is usually erased or made to seem exceptional, [or] deviant', monolingualism is 'assumed to be a natural condition, the language fulfilling all functions and separated from other, parallel systems' (Gal 2017, pg.227). In sharp contrast, for minority language groups, multilingualism is the norm in which linguistic diversity is positively embraced and viewed as 'an asset'; (linguistic) 'diversity within minority speech communities appears to be a tenacious and perhaps essential feature' (Costa et al. 2017, pg.13; cf. also Chapter 6 below).

McLelland (2021, pg.110) posits that over the past two decades, ideology and multilingualism have received more prominence as fields of enquiry in the study of language standardisation and describes five ways in which multilingualism has played a role.

- (i) standard language ideology detracts from diglossia as an expression of multilingualism in the broadest sense of multiple linguistic repertoires.
- (ii) the post-colonial context of languages such as English and Spanish, as well as German in the context of European states, exemplifies how a 'conventionally named language' may have more than one standard, each orienting toward different centres. This can also apply in the context of an individual state 'for which the more inclusive notion of a 'polynomic' standard has been advocated' (2021, pg.111; cf. also Jaffe 2003).
- (iii) language purism surfaces as a consequence of contact-induced linguistic change in multilingual settings (cf. Chapter 5).
- (iv) new standard minority and/or minoritised languages in the contemporary context are often created for and maintained by new speakers who are viewed as important in the context of ensuring the survival of the language. This is considered as potentially marginalising native speakers whose own language practice is not reflected in the new standard (cf. Hornsby 2005; Hornsby & Quentel 2013).
- (v) language contact between multilingual groups has always been pivotal to 'the transmission of the standard language ideology and related ideologies to new languages, varieties, and contexts' (2021, pg. 112). However, a standard language ideology introduced into minority language contexts may result in reinforcing a sense of minority language speakers not being able to speak their language 'properly' (cf. Chapter 7).

An important concern regarding a new standard is whether users will accept it or identify with it. Although LPP is 'concerned primarily with issues on the macro level and the

interplay between standardisation and language policy', such concerns highlight the importance of the micro level and the wider interplay between standardisation and social actors, particularly regarding social cohesion (Lane 2015, pp.264-254). Whether users will identify with a standard is, at the individual level, an important consideration and one that is often cited by respondents in this study as *the* most important for them. The notion of acceptance, however, does not itself necessitate having to be able to identify with a standard. Users not seeing a reflection of their linguistic identity in a standard does not necessarily prevent or hinder its being or its evolutionary development to the point that over time it comes to be the only linguistic form or to have caused to loss of others. There are many examples that demonstrate how a standard(ised) language has come to replace other language forms. This has arguably had less to do with the notions of identification or acceptance and more to do with other sociolinguistic factors such as LPP, structure and agency or the varying hierarchies of value that are attached to language in similarly varying contexts (cf. section 2.2.1 above). Ricento (2000) highlights a deficit in LPP research at the micro level which Lane (2015, pg.268) suggests is ongoing in her view, stating that 'there is an urgent need for more sophisticated analysis of how social actors position themselves as users, and sometimes non-users, of language standards'.

Language standardisation seems to be a double-edged sword; potentially emancipatory yet equally exclusionary, empowering yet alienating. In the context of minority languages, however, it is a transformative process that 'reconfigures relations of dependence and independence' (Lane 2015, pg. 280). With greater focus on social actors at the informal level, this research similarly examines user positionality and agency with respect to standardisation (cf. Chapter 7) and takes a constructionist view of language as constructed and socially constituted. In the context of this research, notions of authenticity and purism

as well as assessments of instrumental value feature prominently in determining how social actors interact with, relate to, and assess a new standard against their native, 'naturally acquired' variety.

The notion of linguistic authenticity is rooted in perceptions of, as well as attitudes to, language that are socially constructed around linguistic realities that predominantly result from essentialist language ideologies and, as Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011, pg.326) attest, are 'subject to alterations and interpretations'. Departing from formerly prominent socio-political frameworks in which language is analysed and understood predominantly within the contexts of culture, society, and nation, language is increasingly analysed within socio-economic frameworks that clearly give language an economic value (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014). Heller (2010, pg.107) posits that linguistic variety has become an economic commodity in terms of skill (multilingualism) and authenticity (identity) and argues that alongside new global circumstances, this commodification 'confronts monolingualism with multilingualism, standardization with variability, and prestige with authenticity in a market where linguistic resources have gained salience and value'. Perrino and Pizzighella (2019) argue that the revalorisation of language is, in part but far from solely, a result of the evolution of language rights and their embodiment in agreements and legislation at both national and supranational levels. The 'small languages in new circumstances' described by Pietikäinen et al. (2016) are as much a result of 'local realities' as they are a result of the global realities of the modern world. Indeed, in constructing language as a core facet of identity, linguistic authenticity becomes an important aspect of ethnolinguistic identity, and arguably more so where ethnolinguistic groups are minoritised and/or marginalised (cf. Chapter 5). Bucholz (2003, pg.407) suggests the questioning of both how and why authenticity has come to be viewed as such, and by whom, 'brings together issues of social structure and individual

agency', and outlines two principle aims of the sociolinguistic study of authenticity as a notion that 'nearly every aspect of sociolinguistics' itself; to describe the authenticating practices of language users including those of sociolinguists, and to reveal the underlying ideologies that inform and shape the knowledge and understanding of both researcher and participant (2003, pg.398). Similarly, in their conventional authenticities' framework, describing "traditional' language–society inter-relations', Pietikäinen et al. (2016, pg.75) suggest that 'the academic goal is not to define the authentic but to identify the criteria that are mobilised in these processes to authenticate cultural and linguistic practices or products in particular moments/places'. In a study that extends across four small language sites, Pietikäinen et al. (2016) demonstrate how authenticity has become a commodity negotiated in transactions between local producers and tourist consumers.

Hornsby (2005) addresses the notion of authenticity in the Breton linguistic community that is debated between the revivalist Néo-breton speakership and the speakership of other older, more 'traditional' or 'dialectal' varieties of the language. This debate relates the commonly held perception of the authenticity of a linguistic form to that with greater or the greatest historical provenance. This is the expression of a belief that the older forms of language are more 'authentic' than the younger, more modern, and ever evolving forms (cf. Hornsby and Quentel 2013).

Alongside authenticity, notions of linguistic purism are equally commonplace within both large and small language communities and portray a generally conservative attitude to language (Dorian 1994). Dorian argues that introducing or prescribing changes to the way a language community uses its established language(s) in any way, such as through programmes of standardisation or revitalisation, is more prone to challenge and resistance than proposing new ways of using language that is yet to be established, such as in

programmes of language revival. This serves to underline the intrinsic relationship between prescriptivism, standardisation, and purism, in that each propose one form of language as 'the correct (or even 'perfect') form' (Walsh 2016; cf. also Langer and Davies 2005).

Thomas (1991) and Langer and Davies (2005, pg.3) posit that linguistic purism is 'concerned not only with the removal of (unwanted) linguistic features but also with the preservation of desirable elements' and is 'triggered by folk-linguistic perceptions' that relate to the condition of a language. They further summarise that this is not restricted to perceived 'foreign influences' but also to those within, such as 'dialectal features'. Notions of linguistic purity are thus subjective and may potentially be driven by other underlying less apparent motivations such as addressing wider social issues concerning the protection of culture or identity (Langer and Nesse 2012). In the case of Ladin, language contact is often perceived as having a negative impact on linguistic purity, in the same way that speakers believe language choice obscures the presence of Ladin and hinders its broader use. Both factors contribute to perceptions of Ladin as less pure and less authentic. However, factors such as the status of a language in relation to another cannot be overlooked as a contributing factor since perception and belief represent the subjective, as Langer and Nesse (2012) attest above, and may have no basis.

In a proposed typology of purism, Vikør (2005, pg.10) considers purist ideology against its resulting linguistic practice. The model describes three dichotomies at two levels. At the first level, 'national purism' rejects 'external' foreign influence at the lexical level whilst 'social purism' resists 'internal' influences into the standard language from other varieties or sociolects. The two remaining dichotomies constitute the second level and are described within the context of national purism. In the first dichotomy at this level, 'general purism' is a blanket approach applied to dealing with all foreign lexical imports whereas 'specific purism'

focuses on a particular language or languages. In this sense, purism becomes a defence mechanism that is mobilised to combat the perceived threat of the dominant language(s). The final dichotomy describes 'conservative purism' that seeks to maintain the status quo by retaining external foreign linguistic influences by virtue of their widely accepted incorporation into the language whilst a more radical 'regressive purism' seeks to eradicate them completely.

Theoretical frameworks that facilitate the understanding of Language Policy and Planning in the context of corpus planning, are increasingly important for promoting more broadly both social cohesion and social justice as well as for safeguarding (minority) linguistic rights. Minority Linguistic Rights and their relationship to status planning are examined more closely in the following section.

2.4.2 Language Minority Rights in late modernity.

Ricento (2000) describes a global revival in linguistic (human) rights as having re-emerged alongside the re-emergence of national ethnic identities and languages. May (2015, pp.42-47) contextualises this further by outlining a series of international covenants, declarations, charters, and conventions, that have come into being to address linguistic rights to varying degrees, over half a century post second world war. Linguistic rights are described as promotion-oriented or tolerance-oriented (Kloss 1971. 1977, cited in May 2015, pg.42). Promotion-oriented rights are described as collective and exercised in the public domain in areas such as education, the legislature and public administration. Conversely, tolerance-oriented rights reflect individual rights as exercised in private domains. Paoletti (2011, pg.6) proposes an alternative categorisation that describes linguistic rights in terms of 'expressive

rights' which seek to ensure 'the free and safe use to the mother tongue for minority groups as well as cultural reproduction' and 'instrumental rights' which seek to 'ensure that language does not become an obstacle in satisfying basic human rights and political participation'.

May (2012a, pg.246) argues that supranational organisations such as the EU, have been both 'catalysts and intermediaries in the promotion of other identities' and have been at the centre of international law supporting greater recognition of promotion-oriented language rights for minorities. This is further linked to the rise in regionalism through which greater devolution and autonomy at regional levels have been achieved across Europe to varying degrees and both of which inevitably 'provide considerably more scope and institutional space for fostering minority languages' (2012a, pg.246). The emergence of regionalism in Europe has been an important factor the development of MLR at local, regional, national, and supranational levels and the concomitant growth in the importance, visibility, and revitalisation of minority languages in these new late modern realities are well documented. (cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2016; May 2012a; Perrino, S. and Leone-Pizzighella 2019).

May (2005) describes issues of language, inequality, and social justice as the core concerns of the MLR paradigm, suggesting they are 'often, if not always, the result of wider social and political processes'. Proponents of MLR fundamentally challenge the notion of majority languages 'as inevitable, apolitical and unproblematic', considering more broadly the contemporary as well as the historical social and political contexts that have informed the processes of linguistic modernisation. May (2005) argues that a sociolinguistic approach that fails to recognise wider socio-political and socio-historical factors 'takes no account of human agency, political intervention, power, and authority in the formation of particular (national) language ideologies' and is, therefore, 'unable to identify the establishment and maintenance

of majority languages', which has 'disadvantaged minority languages and their speakers' (2005, pg.339).

Yet, MLR is not without opposition. Critics, often proponents of the merits of linguistic modernisation, view MLR as an unrealistic and unachievable proposition. May (2005, pp.322-327) argues that in this context, by definition, minority languages are constructed as 'irrelevant'. Failing to address that an official language results from a deliberate political act that is an advantage for the dominant majority but not for the minority language group(s) that are consequently constructed, linguistic hegemony is viewed as a natural evolution whilst the state sponsored language practices that lead to the social, cultural, and linguistic marginalisation of the minority are completely overlooked. Even recognising such practices, the resulting status quo is presented as a 'fait accompli' and as such hinders 'rethinking the nation-state in more culturally and linguistically plural ways, not least via the application of language rights for minority language speakers'. In so doing, both historical and contemporary examples of MLR being considered or successfully implemented are similarly overlooked (2005, pg.325).

May (2005) highlights the contested role of language in constructions of both personal and collective identity as either definitive or inconsequential. If the latter holds true then language loss should have no bearing on identity since adopting a new language in its place is a question of language choice/use and does not affect identity itself. He suggests that this may explain 'the exponentially increasing phenomenon of language shift' (2005, pg.329). Similarly, the notion of hybridity proposes 'social, political (and linguistic) identities are inevitably plural, complex, and contingent' and highlights the 'social and historical constructedness of language and culture over time and their associated fluidity and malleability' (2005, pg.329; Hornsby and Agarin 2012, pp.105-106). Language as contingent,

however, does not render it insignificant in constructions of identity, a position that, according to May, MLR critics often assume, describing it as 'problematic' since it fails to explain the significance of language issues in conflicts between states as well as within them (2005, pg.330).

With focus on the comparative instrumental value of majority and minority languages, critics argue the pursuit of MLR as regressive and limiting concerning mobility pointing to minority language having a lesser instrumental value vis-à-vis majority language. May (2005, pp.334-335) argues that the instrumental value of minority languages 'is often constrained by wider social and political processes that have resulted in the privileging of other language varieties in the public realm'. Darquennes (2012, pg.70) describes this as 'asymmetrical multilingualism' whereby both the social and linguistic 'power, prestige and status' of the majority dominate the minority. Consequently, minority language users see using the majority language as means of achieving social mobility and 'thus foster societal language shift'. The notion of MLR as limiting is 'predicated on a singular, exclusive and oppositional notion of linguistic identity'. Yet, MLR, as May (2005, pg.337) suggests, offers 'a far more pluralistic, open-ended interpretation of language and identity that is, the opportunity or potential for holding multiple, complementary, cultural and linguistic identities at both individual and collective levels' commensurate with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and, as Darquennes (2012, pg.72) relates, a broader 'supranational European discourse that supports 'multiple (regional, national and supranational) identities'.

Echoing the call for a shift in focus to bottom-up grassroots LPP research, May (2005) highlights a need in MLR research to focus on exploring 'the connections between the broader principles of the MLR paradigm and actual, multifaceted language values and use 'on the ground' in complex multilingual contexts' (2005, pg.338). This research presents insights from

social actors 'on the ground' on MLR in the context of the consequences of the partition of the Ladin valleys and the subsequent 'asymmetrical (language political) development of the provinces' (Darquennes 2012, pg. 74) between which they were divided. Moreover, it describes how varying MLR have shaped how the complexities of individual and collective identities are negotiated in 'complex multilingual contexts' and challenges the notions, outlined by May (2003, pg.104), of 'the collective nature of linguistic minority groups as given, the collective aims of minority groups as uniform, and the notion of collective rights as unproblematic'.

Chapter Three

Context

3. Introduction.

The following chapter outlines the research context and is divided into four main sections. Section 3.1 provides an historical overview of the Ladin valleys and is divided into key salient periods. Following on from the historical overview, section 3.2 goes on to describe how the Ladin language is defined and how it has contributed to the formulation of notions of Ladin identity both historical and contemporary. Finally, section 3.3 outlines how Ladin language, culture and identity are afforded protection examining more closely how it has come to be that minority rights and protections are enjoyed in some valleys, yet not in others. Finally, Section 3.4 describes the contemporary context of the Central Dolomites Ladin valleys.

3.1 Historical Overview

3.1.1 Prehistory and the Romans

The five Central Dolomite valleys of Anpezo (Ampezzo), Badia (Val Badia), Fascia (Val di Fassa), Fodom (Livinallongo del Col di Lana) and Gherdëina (Val Gardena), collectively referred to as Ladinia, are home to the Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group who today number approximately 30,000 (cf. Mercator 2016, pg.6). Here, the archaeological prehistoric record has revealed evidence of human occupation that dates as far back as the Mesolithic period, 9000 BC to 4000 BC, the oldest being located at Plan de Frea, in Gherdëina (cf. Angelucci et al. 1999, pg.448). The Alpine region had long been settled by Celtic tribes until they were

conquered by the Romans (Rautz 2007, pg.280). After their subjugation, in circa 15 BC, the territory was annexed creating the provinces of Rhaetia to the west and Noricum to the east (cf. Schmitz 2019, pg.38-40).

The region then underwent a long period of Romanisation during which time important aspects of Roman language and culture were interwoven into the lives of the autochthonous tribes. This included the introduction and gradual dominance of the Latin language. Through language contact, the Vulgar Latin of the conquering Romans and the indigenous Rhaetian languages gave rise to the evolution of Ladin (Pescosta 2014, pg.191). This evolving Rhaeto-Romance language variety occupied a vast area of the alpine region from modern day Switzerland to Western Austria and Northern Italy.

The later demise of the Roman Empire at the end of the 5th century AD, however, brought the arrival of Germanic tribes from the north and Slavic tribes from the east. Much of the alpine region underwent a lengthy and intense period of Germanisation whereby Rhaeto-Romance language varieties would only survive in more remote mountain areas. One of these areas is the core focus of this study; the five Ladin valleys of the Central Dolomites Sella Group. Several varieties of Central Dolomites Ladin survive here today even after centuries of Germanisation (cf. Richebuono 1980) and an even more recent period of Italianisation in the early to mid-twentieth century.

Between the 5th and 8th centuries AD, the Ladin valleys were settled by the Lombard and Bavarii Germanic tribes. Charlemagne, King of the Franks from 768, King of the Lombards from 774 and then Emperor of the Romans from 800, wrested control at the end of the 8th century AD after conquering the Lombard Kingdom. The valleys would next become part of the County of Tyrol, in turn becoming part of the Holy Roman Empire in 1140 until control passed to the Habsburgs in 1363.

3.1.2 Habsburg Monarchy and the Tirol.

The County of Tyrol became a crown land of the Austrian Empire in 1804. Two years later in 1806, however, during the Napoleonic period, Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria and by 1810 Napoleon had ceded the valleys of Fascia, Fodom and Anpezo to the Kingdom of Italy. This period was short lived and by 1813, the three valleys had reverted to the Tyrol under the Austrian Empire (Richebuono 1982, pg.96-98) and subsequently became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867.

Known as the December Constitution, the *Dezemberverfassung*, the Basic Law of 1867 became the constitution of the then Cisleithanian (Austrian) part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Enshrined within was national and linguistic equality for all ethnic groups across the Empire (Cohen 2007, pg.247); ‘an inviolable right to preserve and maintain one's nationality and language’ as well as recognising ‘the equality of all languages throughout the territory in school, office and public life’ (Pescosta 2014, pg.204). For the Ladin ethnolinguistic group this would be of little consequence since Ladin was neither officially recognised by the Austrian Empire as a ‘national language’ nor the people as ‘of old Austrian heritage’ (Brix 1985, pg.53). Moreover, the Ladins had not been able to develop ‘a comprehensive national community’ (1985, pg.53).

During this period, questions of national and linguistic identity dominated politics throughout the multi-ethnic Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as more generally across Europe. This was to continue with increasing vigour throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In the Tyrol, around the Ladin valleys, power struggles predominantly raged between the two neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups; the German-speaking to the north and the Italian-speaking to the south with the Ladin community unwillingly finding itself

caught in the middle (Pescosta 2014, pg.206). The relative isolation of the Ladin valleys allowed for some distance to be maintained from the perils of the brewing nationalist fervour of both German and Italian Tiroleans. However, this would not endure as the situation became ever more difficult to maintain; both sides beginning to question whose side the Ladins were on, using '*die Ladinische Frage*' or the Ladin Question as a reference point to seek out an answer (cf. Palla 1997, pp. 62-70).

Similarly referred to as the *Questione Ladina*, linguistics had long debated the origins and status of Ladin. Linguist Graziadio Isiaa Ascoli, in his *Saggi Ladini* (1873), first used the term 'Ladin' to describe three linguistic enclaves; Grisons, Dolomites Ladin and Friulian (cf. Battista Pelligrini 1987). Ascoli had suggested a relationship between Dolomites Ladin and Vulgar Latin but similarly attributed phonological and lexical features of the Raetic, Noric and Celtic languages that had pre-existed the period of Romanisation (Pescosta 2014, pp.190-191), a view shared by Richebuono (1982, pg.220) who posits that the Ladin areas must have been influenced by the Celts before Romanisation. In 1879, the linguist Theodor Gartner used the term Rhaeto-Romance in place of Ladin in recognition that area was once the former Roman province of Raetia.

Opponents of this view suggested Ladin to be an Italian dialect, maintaining that the Ladin valleys had been unoccupied until the eleventh century and that only thereafter they had been settled by Romanic peoples. Proponents of this thesis cite the lack of literary evidence of Ladin from this period. Such a view was held by nationalists and irredentists, such as linguist Prof Carlo Battisti and the politician Ettore Tolomei, 'father of the Brenner border and initiator of the policy italianisation in South Tyrol', predominantly for political and ideological reasons (cf. Pescosta 2014, pp.194-196; Fontana 1981: footnote 17). Battista

Pelligrini (1987, pg.295) describes the Ladins as the 'pre-Germanic ethno-linguistic stratum of the Alto-Adige'.

The nationalist struggles of their neighbours and compatriots forced Ladins to consider their own place as citizens of the empire. The Ladin Question sought to address Ladin cultural and linguistic affiliation; either belonging in the Romance family line, in which case together with the Italians, or 'Welschtiroler', or whether they are a distinct, third Rhaeto-Romantic regional ethnicity in which case, given their centuries long historical bond with Germanic tribes, would render them potentially 'pro-Austrian' and on the side of the 'Deuschiroler' (Pescosta 2014, pg.207). In 1902, a constitutional commission recommended Tyrol be divided into three autonomous sectors. The North (Nordtirol) administered from Innsbruck, the South (Südtirol) from Bozen and the Italian Tyrol (Trentino) from Trient. This was intended to ease growing tensions between the two groups but instead it led them into battle over control of Fascia (Pescosta 2014, pg.208).

During this time, the Ladins underwent what Pescosta (2014) aptly describes as a 'cultural spring' that hosted the awakening of a Ladin consciousness and a blossoming revival of a national identity. After the 1870 founding of 'Naziun Ladina' in Brixen, 1905 witnessed the founding of the Uniun di Ladins in Innsbruck giving further expression to a blossoming Ladin self-confidence and a journeying towards recognition as an independent ethnic group. In so doing, they would try to distance themselves from the ongoing struggles between the German and Italian Tiroler (Pescosta 2014, pg.213; Margoni 2010, pg.78; cf. Brix 1985, pg.67). However, the Gherdëina membership clearly declared that their sympathies lay with the Austrian Empire and that 'their Tirolean sentiment and sympathy for Austria are identical to those of the German Tiroleans, and that not a single person in the whole of Gherdëina sympathises with Italy' (Pescosta 2014, pg.211). The Uniun di Ladins became the Ladin section

of the Tiroler Volksbund, as well as the Bund der Dolomitenladiner, but nonetheless maintained their belonging to one Ladin national group (2014, pg.214).

Due to the overall fragile political situation, however, Ladins were careful to emphasise that their participation in and membership of the Tiroler Volksbund and Schutzvereine, the Austrian National Defence Associations, was not to be understood by the Italian Tiroleans that they considered themselves German (Margoni 2010, pp.69-70). Ladins maintained their autochthonous status as native settlers of the Tyrol; 'Urtiroler' or 'Alttiroler' (2010, pg.75) and as Brix (1985, pg.61) suggests, 'the Ladins wanted to *bind their fate* to the Tirol' (my emphasis). The Ladin 'cultural spring' would not endure. The consequences of the failure of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to effectively negotiate resurgent nationalism across its entirety would come to have devastating effects on the Ladin valleys and its population as Europe descended into the 1914-1918 Great War following the assassination of the heir to the Habsburg Empire, Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg, in Sarajevo in 1914 by Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb nationalist.

3.1.3 First World War.

At the outset of war, Italy had been allied with Austria-Hungary and Germany under the Triple Alliance of 1882. As differing interests between the signatories became apparent in talks held with Vienna, Italy entered into negotiations with the Entente (Britain, France and Russia) pursuing a foreign policy based on opportunism and national interest (cf. Merlicco 2018). This would lead to the eventual withdrawal of Italy from the Triple Alliance in 1915 (cf. Möcker 1985) in favour of the Treaty of London. In return for entering the war on the side of the Entente against Austria-Hungary, Italy was promised a future border at the Brenner Pass

(Suppan 2019, pg.229). Indeed, in the event of victory for the Entente, the Treaty of London would honour the claims of Italia Irredenta for the restoration of lands with majority Italian populations to Italy proper (cf. also Albrecht-Carrie, 1939; Howard 1941, pg.351). This now thrust the Ladin valleys centre stage in the theatre of war where the disputes between the 'Welschtiroler' and the 'Deutschtiroler' would culminate in bitter fighting along the Dolomite front, devastation of Ladin settlements and immense suffering for the people.

Towards the end of the war, some Ladin communities declared their express solidarity with the German Tyrol in stark contrast to earlier declarations surrounding membership of the Tiroler Volksbund and Schutzvereine (cf. above). In an appeal to the German Tiroleans shortly before the end of the Great War and the impending dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in October 1918, the Ladin community in Gherdëina, Val Badia, Fascia and Fodom declared their allegiance, affirmed their affiliation and reiterated their historic ties to the German Tyrol in opposition to any association with Italy; 'We are not Italians, we have never wanted to be counted among them and we do not want to be Italians in the future!', highlighting their credentials as 'the oldest native population in Tirol ... an independent people who determines its own destiny', that 'the fate the German Tirolean is also our fate! Your future is also our future!' and finally that 'we are Tirolean and we want to stay Tirolean!'. This text would later feature in a memorandum sent to President Wilson in early 1919. (cf. also Mumelter 1931, pp.24-26; Brix 1985, pp.60-61; Fontana 1981, pg.152).

After conceding defeat at the end of the Great War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was dissolved. At the Versailles Peace Talks and in accordance with the agreement reached in the Treaty of London in 1915, Italy demanded 'not only the Italian part of South Tyrol but also the district of Ampezzo populated by Ladinians' (Suppan 2019, pg.229; cf. Steiner 2007, pp.86-90) contrary to the principles set out in Woodrow Wilson's 14-point plan which foresaw borders

being redrawn along majority ethnic lines. The province of Trentino fulfilled this principle but Südtirol (Upper Adige) fell far short (Albrecht-Carrie 1939, pg.371). Point nine stated that ‘a readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognised lines of nationality’ (Reut-Nicolussi 1938, pg.371). Following the Treaty of Versailles, Italy annexed South Tyrol and Trentino in 1919.

3.1.4 Fascism and ‘die Option’.

Initially, the integration of the former Habsburg territory into the Italian state was effectively administrative. The democratic, liberal Italian government had pledged to respect cultural and linguistic rights as well as territorial autonomy. The Ladin community persisted to call for recognition as an independent ethnic group. Members of the community from all valleys demonstrated against their exclusion from the Paris peace treaty and their not having been granted self-determination at a rally on the *Jouf de Frea* on May 5th 1920. It was here that the Ladin flag was unveiled for the first time. (cf. also Fontana 1981, pp.157-164; Richebuono 1982, pp.109-111).

Italy’s initial liberal stance was drastically altered when in 1922, the democratic Italian government was replaced by a Fascist regime; autonomy was cancelled and a full and relentless program of Italianisation was ushered in (cf. also Weigend 1950, pp.368-369; Pergher 2012, pp.102-103; Fontana 1981, pp.164-168). Along with German-speaking Tiroler, the Ladins were excluded from public office. Schooling was imparted only in Italian and both groups were to be assimilated into Italian culture and tradition. Where only a year earlier, in the 1921 Italian Census, Ladins had been recognised on linguistic and ethnic grounds. Now, the Fascist regime considered Ladin as a mere dialect of Italian. Furthermore, a policy of mass

immigration of citizens from other regions of Italy was encouraged by the Fascist regime to speed up the Italianisation of both the German- and Ladin-speaking areas (Alcock 1992, pg.18; cf. Richebuono 1982, pp.111-113).

Where the Trentino and Südtirol had been incorporated into the Italian state as one provincial entity, the fascists now set about remapping existing administrative boundaries that had stood for centuries in further efforts to Italianise the area. Firstly, in 1927, in an attempt to weaken the Ladin minority, Fodom and Anpezo were ceded to the Province of Belluno. Then, in 1927, to further weaken resistance and opposition to Italian rule, the remaining annexed lands would now be divided into two new provinces; Südtirol and Trentino (Pergher 2012, pg.105). The Ladin valleys of Gherdëina and Badia under Südtirol, and Fascia under Trentino. Both acts became known as Tripartition. The partition of the Ladins was now complete (Rautz 2007, pg.280; cf. Richebuono 1982, pp.111-113).

Later in 1939, under an agreement reached between the national-socialist regime of Hitler and the fascist regime of Mussolini known as 'die Option', the German and Ladin populations were offered resettlement in the territories of the German Reich. Even though Ladins were considered 'Italians', they, and German-speaking Tiroler, were together considered *Allogeni* (or foreign-born inhabitants) of the Tirol. It was believed that the Tiroler could not be assimilated or Italianised and as such should leave Südtirol allowing Italians to take their place and facilitate 'the complete homogenisation of the region as Italian' (Pergher 2012, pg.1080). Fascia was excluded from 'die Option', however, in Gherdëina, 81% opted to leave, in Val Badia 32%, in Fodom 40%, in Col 20% and in Anpezo 4% (cf. also Rautz 2007, pg.281; Fontana 1981, pp.169-176; Richebuono 1982, pp.113-114; Palla & Demetz 1989, pg.69).

3.1.5 Post Second World War.

The end of the Second World War signalled a new era for the Ladin valleys, inextricably linked to the fate of the three provincial entities which were now their home following Tripartition. Within the framework of the Paris Peace Conference, the Gruber-De Gasperi agreement was reached between Austria and Italy in 1946 that aimed to address the desire 'to repair the ravages of fascism' (Alcock 1992, pg.20) guaranteeing linguistic equality between German and Italian, equal employment rights in public office in which employment was to be proportionally shared between the two groups (Woodcock & Pollini 1967). This also included autonomy for Südtirol after the borders of the 1919 annexation were reconfirmed. However, no explicit mention was made to the Ladin ethno-linguistic group in this agreement (Südtiroler Landesregierung 2009, pp.12-13).

The 'Unione Popolare Ampezzana' campaigned for the return of the Belluno Ladin valleys to Südtirol but to no avail. As a result, on the 14th of June 1946, they founded the pan-Ladin organisation 'Zent Ladina Dolomites' to champion the political will of the Ladins. One month later on the 14th July, on the Jof de Frea, at the very same place the Uniun di Ladins had gathered to demonstrate after the Great War some 26 years earlier (cf. above), Zent Ladina Dolomites gathered to protest continued Tripartition and to call for the reunification of all five Ladin valleys within the borders of the province of Südtirol as well as for self-determination and to reaffirm their destiny with that of the German-speaking Tiroler (cf. also Videsott 2008, pp.75-77; Richebuono 1977, pp.171-172; Richebuono 1982, pp.114-119).

3.1.6 Autonomy Statutes and the 'Südtirol Paket'

The 1948 Autonomy Statute created the region Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol by joining the eponymous provinces. Both region and provinces enjoyed legislative powers but the region would hold decision-making powers on the most important sectors of the economy. However, due to a population disadvantage, decisions would be taken by a regional parliament two thirds of whose deputies were Italian (Alcock 1992, pp.20-21). This failed to fulfil the Gruber-De Gasperi agreement and consequently Austria sought the arbitration of the United Nations; UN Resolution 1497 (XV) paved the way for nine years of negotiation between the two countries that would also include the participation of the Südtiroler Volkspartei which represented Germans and Ladins alike. As a result, the 'Südtirol Paket' was agreed, a package of 137 measures that amended the 1948 Statute and would lead to the second Autonomy Statute of 1972 (Alcock 1992, pg.25).

Primary, secondary, and tertiary legislative powers were transferred from the region (Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol) to the two Provinces of Trentino and Südtirol. (cf. Peranthoner 2015, pp.98-100) and ensured political representation for all ethnolinguistic groups including Ladins. In Südtirol, linguistic rights were guaranteed in public administration, law and education and in matters of public funding and employment in public office; this would be proportional to each group's population according to census records in which citizens would have declared their ethnic affiliation known as the *Zugehörigkeitserklärung*. Yet, this only applied to Ladins in Südtirol. Ladins in Anpezo and Fodom as constituent areas of Belluno enjoyed no such protections or rights.

Tripartition means that Ladins are divided across three provinces and two regions. This situation brings with it differing protections and rights and creates a 'rights hierarchy' in which

Ladins can be of a first-, second- or third-class categorisation (cf. section 3.3 Minority Linguistic Rights below). Finally, on a wider European administrative level, they together form the Tyrol–South Tyrol–Trentino Euroregion which extends across the territories of both EU member states, Italy, and Austria. The following sections will discuss in more detail some of the aspects outlined above, such as language, identity, and linguistic rights with sharp focus on the Ladin ethno-linguistic group and the relevance of those areas to them.

3.2 Language and Identity.

Under the Habsburgs, the ethno-linguistic identity of the Ladins was officially tied to the Italians as ‘italienisch-Ladinisch’, but not without protestation. Only in the 1910 census were Ladins first counted separately (Goebel 2018, pg.50; Battista Pelligrini 1987, pp.289-290). As a language, however, Ladin was considered *Umgangsprache* since it had no written standard in which case it would have been considered *Kultursprache* (cf also Dorigo 2020, pp.43-44; Pescosta 2014, pp.204-206). In the absence of an orthography and a single unifying variety to promote a similarly unified Ladin identity, Ladins instead promoted themselves and their destiny as intrinsically linked to the German-speaking *Tiroler as Tiroler* (cf. above section 3.1.3 *First World War*). The subsequent post-war annexation of the Tyrol by Italy in 1919 would result in cultural and linguistic oppression that would have consequences still evident today for both the German and Ladin speaking minorities.

Arguably, the single most important act that would have the most profound and lasting effect on the Ladins was *Tripartition* that, in 1923, saw Fodom and Anpezo removed from the hitherto administration of the region of Trentino-Alto Adige and ceded to province of Belluno in the neighbouring Region of Veneto and subsequently, in 1927, saw the division

of Trentino-Alto Adige into two separate provinces with Gherdëina and Val Badia in Südtirol, and Fascia in Trentino (cf. Videsott 2010). Tripartition was an attempt by the Italian fascist regime to quasi homogenise a population of diverse ethno-linguistic groups in an act of *divide et impera* ideologically motivated by a program of italianisation. For the Ladin ethno-linguistic group, this meant negotiating a tripartite political reality that now divided the formerly unified Ladin territory along administrative lines. There were diverse identity-related, cultural, and linguistic consequences for the Ladin populations which varied according to the differing administrative competencies exercised by each province (cf. Palaver & Steinacher 2006, pp.75-77).

3.2.1 The contemporary Central Dolomitic Ladin valley varieties.

Videsott (2010, pp.184-185) describes three areas in which differing administrative competencies across the three provinces directly affect the linguistic survivability of Ladin. Firstly, the presence of Ladin in education. Since 1948 this has been mandatory in schools in Südtirol as part of a system of joint German-Italian education. In Fascia, Ladin has been mandatory only since 1994 and in Fodom and Anpezo since 1999 and here only by agreement to teach Ladin classes that is reached between the school and the parents of its pupils. Secondly, the official recognition of Ladins as an ethno-linguistic minority; 1951 in Südtirol, 1976 in Fascia and 1999 in Belluno. Thirdly, the status of Ladin as an official language of administration or government; 1989 in Südtirol, 1994 in Trentino but as yet not achieved in Belluno. At this point we must address the use of the term *Ladin* as an umbrella term to reference language. This is somewhat misrepresentative of the linguistic reality and warrants further elucidation.

Tamburelli (2014, pg.252) describes how the endeavour of linguists during the twentieth century to define language and its relationship to dialect has led to a consensus that both are 'social constructs definable only in terms of socio-political status and breadth of use and are thus not independently identifiable structural entities'. Wells (2019, pg.243) concurs that 'the idea of a language as a separate and discrete identity is a political and social construct' and that as constructs 'named languages are ambiguous and arguably misleading'. Indeed, the classification of a speech variety brings with it 'real material consequences' (2019, pg.244). This is particularly evident in the case of Ladin as illustrated in the examples discussed above. Yet in simple terms and unlike Italian, which through socio-political processes has over centuries become the unifying linguistic medium of the Italian state (cf. Tamburelli 2014, pg.253), Ladin has undergone no such formal or comparable development and there is no one standard or spoken variety that has acquired the status of 'language' per se.

The Ladin of the Central Dolomites can be divided into five main varieties and are found in one of each of the five valleys. In Südtirol, Gherdëina has only one variety of Ladin but in Val Badia, there are three; in Upper Val Badia, *Ladin de Mesaval* in Central Val Badia and *Marô* in Lower Val Badia around Mareo. As in Gherdëina, Fodom and Anpezo have one variety each whereas Fascia mirrors the situation in Val Badia with three; *Cazet* in Upper Fascia, *Brach* in Central Fascia and Moenat in Lower Fascia around Moena (cf. also Pescosta 2014, pg.194; Bernardi 1999, pg.107; Videsott 1997(a), pg.193).

Figure 1.1: Three Provinces and the Ladin Valleys

Source: *Istitut Ladin, San Martin, 2008.*



Figure 1.2: Communes and Valleys where Central Ladin is spoken



<https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ladina>

Source: *(Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2005: 8)*

The individual development and survival of the Central Dolomites Ladin varieties can be attributed to their relative isolation and geographical environment. Historically, populations from the lower valleys had been increasingly driven to higher climbs to seek refuge and distance from violent, invading tribes such as the Barbarians. The geography of the higher, less accessible mountain valleys and peaks allowed for the natural development of Ladin varieties and cultural differences among the Ladins themselves (cf. Pescosta 2014, pp. 190-193). The contemporary situation reflects wide and varied linguistic and cultural traditions that have historically been and increasingly continue to be influenced by neighbouring German and Northern Italian dialects (cf. Pescosta 2014, pg.194).

3.2.2 Centre and periphery - Identity and the 'minority within a minority'.

Dunmore (2020, pg.1) posits that 'in modern sociolinguistic and anthropological scholarship, language is not generally regarded as an essential or determining feature of sociocultural identity'. Describing the historical trajectory of Cornish as a case in point, Dunmore underlines that language and identity are not mutually exclusive. However, revivalists 'put language at the very heart of their idea of Cornish distinctiveness' (2020, pg.14). Similarly, Perrino (2019, pg.34) describes the case of Venetan demonstrating how revitalising 'history, language, and sociocultural traditions goes beyond "language" revitalization itself', in that it bonds 'collective and intimate identities across spatiotemporal scales'.

The existence of a unique language is not a necessary prerequisite for the existence of a unique ethnicity or identity. The Ladin example underlines how a uniform spoken or written variety is not necessary to act as a symbol of a uniform Ladin identity as can also be seen in the case of Cornish (cf. Dunmore 2020, pg.17). Nonetheless, the role of language cannot

be understated. Gherdëina and Val Badia find themselves on the periphery of the centre German-speaking majority of Südtirol as well as the state majority Italians. That the German-speaking majority of Südtirol are a minority at both state and regional level, this renders the Ladins as a minority within a minority. This reality has been beneficial for those valleys socially, economically and in terms of ethno-linguistic rights. This is very much evident in language contact. Gherdëina and Val Badia have been and very much are influenced by German whereas Fascia, Anpezo and Fodom equally so by Italian (cf. Dorigo 2020, pg.43). Over time this has led to a divergent evolution of the Ladin varieties which, in more recent times, Tripartition has compounded (cf. above; Videsott (2010, pp.184-185); cf. below section 3.3 Minority and Linguistic Rights).

Darquennes (2012, p. 73) poignantly argues that the symbolic use of language as a means of demarcating boundaries 'is rather prominent in situations of language contact accompanied by asymmetrical societal multilingualism', further elaborating that where there is an absence of a consensus on a standard variety, group solidarity in some language minority contexts can be fractious. This is clear in the Ladin case which is amplified further under tripartite administration. The differing gravitational pulls that are exerted on the Ladin ethno-linguistic group socially, politically, economically, linguistically, and culturally across the five valleys due to Tripartition present a complex and challenging situation in which the Ladin population is forced to manage competing strategies 'aiming at demarcation, on the one hand, and a quest for solidarity on the other hand (2012, pp. 72-73). The result is a complex web of centres and peripheries which the Ladin ethnolinguistic group must navigate both internally and externally but without reference to a unified territory or centre of its own and in many ways reflective of the multi-layered multilingual reality of 'polycentric' Sámiland (cf. Pietikäinen 2010).

The Ladin reality is one of changing definitions that reflect spatiotemporal trajectories; protected, minoritised, centre, periphery, majority, minority, minority within a minority, 'historic' minority (cf. below section 3.3 *Minority and Linguistic Rights*) can be simultaneously applicable. Tripartite administration further obfuscates this polycentric reality which leads to an absence of direction and coordination that is otherwise necessary for navigating these polycentric environments. Instead, the Ladin valleys are quasi forced to take a valley-centric approach to managing language, culture, and identity but nonetheless ever with provincial oversight to varying degrees.

It is both this intra-Ladin and inter-Ladin reality that perpetuates the 'parish-pump politics' that favours 'the demarcation of and quest for solidarity within their own valley over a quest for pan-Ladin solidarity and the demarcation of the Ladin valleys from the surrounding majority' (Darquennes 2012, pg.80) but also together with what Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila (2011, pg.43) describe as 'the community's degree of acceptance of its linguistic alterity', which they attribute 'to the perceived need for self-identification and language maintenance'. This in a continuing system designed a century ago to weaken and divide.

Importantly, Videsott (1998, pp.170-172) describes the absence of a joint cultural and political centre and a unified Ladin autonomous administration or comparable territorial entity with the failure to develop and establish a naturally evolved written standard, a situation amplified by the areas' geography making intervalley physical connectivity itself difficult; a further dimension that establishes differing centres and peripheries. The reality of Tripartition is subsequently attributed to this situation as the most important reason for this failure (Videsott 2014, pg.36). The 'divide and conquer' ideology of past regimes, designed a century ago to weaken and divide, still triumphs today. Local valley identity, inextricably linked to local valley linguistic varieties, trumps a pan-Ladin identity since the complex

contemporary polycentric reality makes it difficult to realise a pan-Ladin identity across a territory that is divided administratively in the way that it is. The case of *Ladin Standard* further exemplifies this reality.

3.2.3 Valley variety and standardisation - Ladin Dolomitan

Historically, there has been scant need for a written standard amongst a population who have led a predominantly isolated and agropastoral (cf. Videsott 1998, pg.171) and there has been a prevailing tendency for each of the Ladin valleys to develop its own orthography. For some, such as Fascia and Val Badia, this meant bringing several clearly defined spoken varieties under one system (cf. Videsott 1997(b), pg.241). The older generation today has mainly experienced their Ladin variety as a spoken language and have reverted to either German or Italian as a written language.

Today, however, the situation is markedly different. Greater social mobility and new economic prosperity achieved through mass tourism, education, greater intervalley connectivity and reduced isolation, cultural institutes promoting language and literature together with modern communication methods such as television, electronic media, the internet, and other print media such as the pan-Ladin newspaper *La Usc di Ladins*, the provision of which is based on the provisions of State Law No. 103 of 14 April 1975 (cf. Rautz 2007, pg.285). Indeed, Ladin is much more prominent than thirty years ago and consequently this must 'have a positive effect on the idea of a common written language' (Videsott 2014, pg.37). However, this new socio-economic mobility has not only produced a positive linguistic yield. The sale of property as second homes to both Italians and non-Italians alike, particularly in Anpezo has had a negative impact on the local Ladin population with number of both

residents and speaker decreasing since the 1950s (cf. also Richebuono 1982, pg.125; Videsott 2010, pg.177; Elmi & Perlik 2014, pp.8-11). In Anpezo the effects are amplified by the reality of Tripartition.

Figure 1.3: Development of permanent dwellings 2001 – 2011 in the Dolomites provinces

| | 2001 | | | 2011 | | |
|---------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | Total number of dwellings | Permanent dwellings | Percentage of permanent dwellings | Total number of dwellings | Permanent dwellings | Percentage of permanent Dwellings |
| Belluno | 134.644 | 86.586 | 64% | 151.614 | 91.653 | 60% |
| Bolzano | 197.175 | 172.031 | 87% | 219.417 | 199.419 | 91% |
| Trento | 291.813 | 192.517 | 66% | 331.375 | 219.724 | 66% |

Source: *Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine, 102-3 | 2014*

The linguistic protection of Ladin, foreseen in the special autonomous statutes of Südtirol and Trentino, have facilitated language planning undertaken at valley level in Gherdëina, Val Badia and Fascia, overseen and promoted by the Ladin cultural institutes set up for this purpose. For Fodom and Anpezo this has not been the case. In 1984, the *Comisciun por l'unificazion dla grafia* was established at the behest of the *Union Generela di Ladins dles Dolomites*, charged with formulating a unified standard written Ladin (cf. also Bernardi 1999; Videsott 1997(b), 1998) 'to promote a recognition of the geo- and psycholinguistic relations in the Ladin valleys' (Darquennes 2012, pg.76). This was the first time since Micurà de Rù had published his *Versuch einer deutsch-ladinischen Sprachlehre* in 1833 (cf. also Craffonara 1994, 1995).

By 1988, the official Ladin cultural institutes of *Micurà de Rù* in Südtirol and *Majon di Fascegn* in Fascia, tasked Swiss Prof. Heinrich Schmid to formulate the guidelines for a new written standard Ladin following the success of the standardisation of Romansch in Grisons.

The guidelines, entitled *Wegleitung für den Aufbau einer gemeinsamen Schriftsprache der Dolomitenladiner* were created on the principle of majority weighted criteria that would reflect the broad spectrum of pan-Ladin linguistic traditions in the areas of phonetics, morphology, lexical items and syntax (cf. also Videsott 1988, pg.177; Videsott 1997(b), pg.240; Videsott 1997(a); Bernardi 1999). In 1994, following the conclusion of this work, the *Servisc de Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz Ladin* (SPELL) project was founded, ‘a permanent office for the standardisation of Ladin’ in a ‘first effort towards a common Ladin language development policy’ facilitating ‘closer cooperation between different cultural organisations’ (European Parliament 2002, pg.153).

The project was cofounded by *Majon di Fascegn* and the *Union Generela di Ladins dles Dolomites*. *Micurà de Rù* and the *Istitut Pedagogich Ladin* joined a year later, their membership running until 2004 when they both reached a joint decision to leave the project (cf. Videsott 2014, pg.36). This followed a decision a year earlier by the Province Südtirol to only give official recognition to *their* provincial varieties of Gherdëina and Val Badia, effectively side-lining the new standard written Ladin hereinafter referred to as *Ladin Dolomitan* (Videsott 2010, pg.186).

The project was greeted positively by some but with suspicion by others. Videsott (2014) raises some interesting observations in his outline of the difference of feeling towards the project across the five valleys. Val Badia, which he describes as having the ‘strongest Ladin consciousness’ had already reached a compromise on a standard valley variety from its own three variations and thus was most willing to welcome a pan-Ladin standard. Fascia was equally welcoming. The greatest resistance came from Gherdëina with Anpezo and Fodom once again forced to watch from the side-lines since, due to the absence of any degree of autonomy, the official use of Ladin is not an issue (Videsott 2014, pg.34).

Opponents attacked the inferiority, artificiality, and lack of authenticity of Ladin Standard which they argued was an existential threat to the purity, legitimacy and authenticity of the naturally evolved valley varieties which risked being usurped by it through an act of interladin language shift. In an ethno-linguistic group where, in and of itself, Ladin, in all its diversity, is 'the most important unifying bond between the individual valley communities as well as the most important distinguishing feature of the Ladins in general' this argument has great purchase (Videsott 2010, pg.180). After all, as Berruto (2004, pg.296) argues, the relevance and meaning of variation is not [only] linguistic' since it also reveals 'extra-linguistic information about the speakers, their intentions and representations, about the structure of society and interaction'. To this argument it is important to add a distinction; artificial standard forms are created from artificial languages. Ladin Dolomitan, however, it is best described as a new *compromise* (*Kompromissprache*) since it is formulated on existing, naturally evolved linguistic variations (Videsott 2011, pg.19; cf. Bernardi 1999, pg.114).

In this context, the effects and contemporary reality of Tripartition become ever more salient. Contemporary advocates of Tripartition reject the idea of a Ladin nation in favour of the continued integration of Ladins into the political and social structures of the respective German or Italian majority and there is a fear that Ladin Dolomitan is a step in such a direction (Videsott 2014, pg.37). This is also highlighted by Wells (2011, pg.118) who posits that what Bourdieu (1991) describes as linguistic capital is 'linked to processes of state formation that create a unified linguistic market dominated by one official language'.

In 1991, the forms for the declaration of linguistic affiliation were published in Ladin Dolomitan (cf. section 3.3 *Multilingualism* below). In response to ensuing protests, in January 2003 the Südtirol Provincial government passed resolution No. 210 that decreed '[t]he unified Ladin of Val Badia and Gherdëina are the official varieties of Ladin in the Province of Südtirol'

whereby ‘alongside German and Italian alternating between the Ladin of Val Badia and Gherdëina’ and moreover ‘an equal presence of both idioms must be ensured’ (Autonome Provinz Bozen - Südtirol, ©2011; cf. Videsott 2014, pg. 35). The omission of Ladin Dolomitan from the Ladin language competency examinations in Südtirol, however, excludes but also potentially marginalises, speakers of other Ladin varieties within their own community (cf. section 3.3 *Multilingualism* below).

Videsott (2014, pg.39) presents a further example of the tripartite exclusion of Fodom and Anpezo that also underlines Ladin linguistic divergence; in 2010, Ladins in Südtirol and Trentino acquired the right to use Ladin on identity cards. Ladin Dolomitan was suggested in place of valley variation. Fascia approved the move, however, Gherdëina and Val Badia improvised a fusion of their relative varieties that in effect created yet another variation alongside the existing six. Videsott (2014, pg.39) draws a positive from what he describes as ‘such seemingly absurd’ situations since it is difficult to continue to argue for linguistic equality with the majority language when you reject the very prerequisite for the implementation of these rights itself; language standardisation.

Further contradictions are also evident. In a pan-Ladin collaboration in 1998 that involved the *Istitut Cultural Ladin ‘Majon di Fascegn’*, the *Istitut Cultural Ladin ‘Micurà de Rü’*, the *Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites* and the *Autonome Region Trentino-Südtirol* (cf. also Iannàccaro & Dell’Aquila 2005, pg.5; Siller-Runggaldier 2010, pg.193), a survey on the use of language was conducted in the five the Ladin valleys; *Usi linguistici nelle Valli Ladine*. Iannàccaro and Dell’Aquila (2005) compiled the resulting data in the *Survey Ladins* which reported that ‘for the great majority of the Ladins, Ladin still refers to the local variety of Ladin’ (Darquennes 2012, pg.80). Darquennes (2012, pp.77-79) reported the varying results by valley relating to questions 69 – 72 on Ladin Dolomitan.

Question 69 addresses the way in which the respondents assess the existence of a unified written variety of Ladin for the future of Ladin;

Figure 1.4: *% of respondents who – for the future of Ladin - consider a unified written variety of Ladin to be;*

| | Useful | partly useful | neither useful, nor harmful | harmful |
|------------------|--------|---------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| Badia | 49% | 14,5% | 16% | 5,5% |
| Gherdëina | 27% | 21% | 18% | 20% |
| Fascia | 41% | 17% | 19% | 7% |
| Fodom | 34,5% | 13,5% | 20% | 4% |
| Anpezo | 21,5% | 15% | 29% | 4% |

Source: Darquennes (2012, pg.77)

Question 70 addresses the way in which the respondents assess the existence of a unified written variety of Ladin for the various Ladin varieties;

Figure 1.5: *% of respondents who consider the influence of a unified written variety of Ladin on the existing varieties as;*

| | enrichment | without meaning | danger |
|------------------|------------|-----------------|--------|
| Badia | 48,5% | 15% | 13% |
| Gherdëina | 29% | 20,5% | 29% |
| Fascia | 47% | 17,4% | 12,5% |
| Fodom | 31% | 20% | 12,5% |
| Anpezo | 28% | 21,5% | 14% |

Source: Darquennes (2012, pg.78)

Question 71 asks the respondents which variety they would evaluate to be the best unified written variety of Ladin;

Figure 1.6: *Which would be the best unified written variety of Ladin?*

| | LD* | one of the idioms | none | other | don't know |
|------------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Val Badia | 33% | 23% | 19% | 1,5% | 22,5% |
| Gherdëina | 16% | 13% | 43% | 2% | 25,5% |
| Fascia | 31,5% | 18,5% | 22% | 2% | 26% |
| Fodom | 21,5% | 21% | 30% | 1% | 31% |
| Anpezo | 15,5% | 16% | 32% | 3% | 33,5% |

Source: Darquennes (2012, pg.78)

**(Ladin Dolomitan)*

Question 72 asks the respondents whether they would consider to take a course in Ladin Dolomitan.

Figure 1.7: *Willingness to attend a course in Ladin Standard?*

| | Willing | Not Willing |
|------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Val Badia | 25% | 50% |
| Gherdëina | 11% | 72% |
| Fascia | 37% | 39% |
| Fodom | 27% | 39% |
| Anpezo | 20% | 55% |

Source: Darquennes (2012, pg.79)

Considering all four questions together, Gherdëina is by far the least accepting of Ladin Dolomitan. Indeed, there seems to be no convincing acceptance in any of the valleys at all.

In a further act of entrenchment, the pan-Ladin cultural umbrella organisation and one of the main proponents of Ladin Dolomitan, the *Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites*, has been, intentionally or otherwise, excluded from the decision-making process through a revision of the Statute of Autonomy 2001 in which the autonomous provinces of Südtirol and Trentino bestowed with the authority to develop language policy for their respective Ladin varieties (Videsott 2014, pg.35)

The view of Ladin in education is similarly far from positive. Research in 1990 reported that in Gherdëina and Val Badia, only 5% of parents considered Ladin one of the most important subjects at school whereas the percentage rose above 50% for both German and Italian. The trend was similar among pupils (Videsott 2018, pp.213-214). This may be a reflection of Darquennes' (2012, pg.70) argument that 'language minority members striving for upward social mobility favour the use of the majority language over the use of the majority language and thus foster societal language shift', reflecting a situation of 'asymmetrical rather than symmetrical multilingualism' that is maintained by the differences in the status and development of the minority and majority language.

Without a standard written form there is a danger that the valley varieties could evolve along differing trajectories that would undermine the work and efforts of the past 120 years and more. Fundamental existential questions remain unanswered concerning pan-Ladin community cohesion and identity and belonging that additionally encompass linguistic rights, where the close family of Ladin communities may become ever more estranged from one another and end up distant relatives. Ladins have been forced into administrative divergence against their will and have sought on several occasions to converge again. Yet at the same

time, albeit arguably due to this very enforced situation of administrative divergence, it seems that Ladins wish to maintain linguistic divergence.

3.2.4 Ladin Multilingualism.

Cenoz *et al.* (2011, pg.83) describe the nuanced difference between linguistic diversity and multilingualism as the number and variation of languages versus the use of and proficiency in more than one language respectively. Both concepts are salient in the Ladin valleys and multilingualism is measured, to varying degrees, in Südtirol and Trentino but not so in Anpezo and Fodom. Notwithstanding, in the Ladin valleys 'multilingualism amongst the population is, on the whole, very high' (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2005, pg.10).

Multilingualism has been a part of life in the Ladin valleys for centuries being as they are nestled between their two neighbouring regional majority languages, German, and Italian. The Ladin valleys of Südtirol live in an official trilingual reality whereas Fascia in an official bilingual reality. Fodom and Anpezo are officially monolingual Italian but nonetheless Ladin stands, and arguably competes for recognition alongside the regional Venetan dialect (cf. Wells 2011, pp.118-122). However, unlike Venetan, Ladin culture and language is afforded some protection under the Law 482/99 as a declared 'historic' minority, (cf. also above and section 3.3 *Minority Linguistic Rights* below). Together with all language variations, Ladin linguistic diversity is also confronted by globalisation whereby competition is also extended to languages beyond their borders, in the first instance English, which threatens both language and culture (cf. Klump 2004, pg.84).

In Südtirol, as outlined in section 3.2.2 *Centre and Periphery* above, the Ladin ethno-linguistic group is a minority within a minority. This status has enabled the Ladin ethno-

linguistic group to secure greater protections alongside their German-speaking minority as has been possible in other Ladin valleys (Perathoner 2015, pg.107); in 1988 the Ladin became the third official language in administration in Gherdëina and Val Badia and in 1993 the second official language in administration in Fascia (cf. Videsott 2014, p.32).

In Südtirol, minority protection measures extend to the self-declaration of linguistic affiliation through the *Spachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung* whose data inform a proportional system for the allocation of posts in public administration that reflects the ethnic make-up of the province, *Proporz*. To ensure equality, public sector posts, the composition of local public bodies and financial allocations for culture, social care and other social purposes are allocated according to the population percentage resulting from declared affiliation. Although intended to strengthen the individual's ethno-linguistic group, critics argue that in a multilingual and multi-ethnic setting, it is problematic to opt for one group only (Hiebl 2016, pg.23). Moreover, it may be perceived as advantageous to affiliate to a particular group even if this does not reflect the 'ethno-linguistic' reality.

Running in parallel with this are the language competency examinations managed through the Agency for Bi- and Trilingualism. Through this system, candidates are required to prove a level of competency that has been set for a role in public administration that covers Ladin, German, and Italian in Südtirol and Ladin and Italian in Fascia. There are no equivalents in Anpezo and Fodom. However, exams are open to all but not in the Anpezan or Fodom varieties and, in Südtirol, not in Ladin Dolomitan. Not only does this demarcate the minority from the majority, it also discriminates and marginalises at the linguistic level within the Ladin community itself (cf. Darquennes 2012, pg.73). This reality is a consequence of disparity in linguistic rights that exists across the valleys as a result of the 1927 act of Tripartition and the

valleys being subsequently administered under widely differing systems of government. Both points are discussed more closely in the following section.

3.3 Minority Linguistic Rights.

The Ladin population of approximately 30,000 extends over one state (Italy), two regions (Trentino-Südtirol and Veneto), and three provinces (Südtirol, Trentino and Belluno). The unique political situation of each province has resulted in varying political, cultural, and linguistic rights for the minority Ladin community. In this context, a broader examination and analysis of provincial autonomy and minority linguistic rights in relation to wider regional issues, EU language policy and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) is considered.

The tripartite division of the Ladin Valleys similarly reflects degree to which each valley enjoys minority and linguistic rights and protections. It may be argued that the Ladins of Südtirol (Gherdëina and Val Badia) have fared best out of all the valleys in terms of rights and protections. Linguistic rights were first secured under the first Autonomy Statute of 1948 following the Gruber-De-Gaspari Agreement of 1946 guaranteeing protections for the 'Austrian minorities in Südtirol' (Perathoner 2005, pg.106) and further measures promoting Ladin were included in the second Autonomy Statute of 1972. The Ladins in Fascia fared less favourably at the outset taking until the 1990s before they would enjoy similar linguistic privileges and protections as the Ladins in Südtirol. For the Ladins of Fodom and Anpezo, however, the situation was markedly bleak in comparison being very much left behind. The province of Belluno had no special autonomous statute and in this sense minority cultural and linguistic rights are markedly more limited. (Darquennes 2000, pg.74; Videsott 2010, pp.184-

185). However, at a national level, the Italian constitution does make provisions for its 'historic' minorities under Law 482/99.

3.3.1 The Italian Constitution and Law 482/99.

In 1999, Italy passed the national Law 482/99. Citing Italian as the official state language of Italy, the law is enacted to valorise and promote the language and culture of an additional twelve named 'historic linguistic minorities' to which the law applies that includes the Ladin ethno-linguistic group. The law complies with the provisions of article 6 of the Italian Constitution in which '[t]he Republic safeguards linguistic minorities by means of appropriate measures', and is 'in harmony with the general principles established by European and international bodies' (Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana 1999, pp.4-9; Senato della Repubblica 1947, pg.6; cf. Wells 2011, pg.122). This bestows the Ladin ethno-linguistic group a separate and distinct characterisation. Something that other equally worthy European ethno-linguistic minorities have sought for themselves within the national context but have failed to achieve or have been denied, such as Cornish in the UK (cf. Pengelly 2012). Nonetheless, as positive as this may seem on the surface, the reality of Tripartition paints a different picture for the Ladin valleys.

3.3.2 The Council of Europe and the European Union.

The European Union leaves language policy in the competence of member-states (Guerini 2011, pg.121) but views linguistic diversity as a fundamental value that is recognised in Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Cenoz *et al.* 2011, pg.85). Together with the

European Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1998), the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1998) provides for a European standard for the protection and promotion of regional minority languages (Cenoz *et al.* 2011, pg.85).

The charter is aimed at the protection and the promotion of the historical *regional* or *minority* languages of Europe. Member states are free to decide the languages to include, however, the definitions of regional and minority are not elaborated with immigrant languages explicitly excluded. Moreover, the degree to which protections are ascribed is down to each member state (Cenoz *et al.* 2011, pg.85). Leaving the definition of the key concepts involved including the language to which they apply open to interpretation and choice has implications for access to linguistic rights (cf. Tamburelli 2014, pg.255) since 'the maintenance of multilingualism and speakers' access to language rights hinges on such distinction' (Tamburelli 2014, pg.265).

The classification of *regional* and *minority* language, themselves 'ambiguous and arguably misleading constructs', thus comes from a position of power in top-down language policy and planning, 'carrying with it real material consequences' (Wells 2019, pg.244) since it has been the state that has historically played a huge part in 'sanctioning and legitimizing such constructs' (Wells 2019, pg.245). Italy ratified Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities in 1997 but has still yet to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

3.3.3 Ladin Minority Rights in Südtirol - 'Division 1'.

Südtirol represents less than 1% of the Italian population and less than 1.5% of the national territory (Palermo 2007, pg.49). As a 'minority within a minority', Ladins have been able to achieve a higher degree of rights and protections through closer alignment and close cooperation with the German minority than has been achieved by Ladins in the other provinces (Perathoner 2015, pg.107; Rautz 2007, pg.279).

The 1948 Regional Autonomy Statute for the Trentino -Südtirol defined divergent rights for the Ladins in each province but provisions were made for Ladin in primary schools, for Ladin toponymy and the promotion of Ladin culture. The second, 1972 Autonomy Statute further enhanced legal protections in both provinces. The Ladins in Südtirol received the rights through a system of proportional representation in public administration, a quota system known as *Proporz* (cf. also Lantschner & Poggeschi 2007; Rautz 2007, pp.284-285). The Quota system ensures that the allocation of public resources for welfare, social and cultural spending (Rautz 2007, pg.225) as well as public sector employment is proportional to group population (2007, pg.220)⁶. Quotas are determined by the declaration of linguistic affiliation, the '*Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung*', in which respondents declare affiliation to one of the three major linguistic groups (Ladin, German or Italian) once every ten years. As Lantschner & Poggeschi (2007, pg.232) posit, 'linguistic censuses are also useful to organize language policies and, in some cases, to foster the use of official languages'. Those who not wish to affiliate to a linguistic group can, however, chose to be allocated to a desired

⁶ German speakers, who represent 69.15% of the overall population, hold 69.20% of posts in the civil service. Italian speakers, holding 27.3% of posts, are slightly above their 26.47% in the population, whereas Ladins (4.38% of the population) still lag a bit behind, filling only 3.5% of public posts (Lantschner & Poggeschi 2007: 222)

preference (Hiebl 2016, pg.23; Lantschner & Poggeschi 2007, pp.226-229)⁷.

Administrative trilingualism is a feature of everyday life in Gherdëina and Val Badia. German has been the official language since 1949 with the official status of Ladin coming in 1989 (Videsott 2010, pp.184-185); Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2005, pg.9). Alongside German and Italian, the Statutes of 1948 and 1972 provided for Ladin instruction at nursery, primary and secondary levels. Education 'as the most important instrument of identity-building for a minority' (Rautz 2007, pg.283), is delivered in Südtirol under a system of parity between Italian and German (12 hours of instruction each) with Ladin taught for two hours and additionally as a language of instruction in Religious Education and Music (Videsott 2018, pg.214; Perathoner 2005, pg.103).

Legal process also operates within the realms of trilingualism. In civil proceedings, procedural files are not produced in Ladin, except before the Courts of Justice in Brixen, which is responsible for the Ladin of Gherdëina, and in Bruneck, which is responsible for the Val Badia (Perathoner 2015, pg.101). Indeed, in Ladin areas, Ladin is provided in verbal and written communication with public bodies and in administration elsewhere in the province where competence is predominantly in the interest of the Ladin community (Perathoner 2015, pg.102). Regionally, legal provisions and circulars must also be made available in Ladin (2015, pg.103).

3.3.4 Ladin Minority Rights in Fascia - '*Division 2*'.

The Special Autonomous Statute of Trentino-Südtirol is designed to ensure equal protection

⁷ The 2011 census data: 26.06% Italian (decrease of 0.41% on 2001), 69.41% German (increase of 0.26% on 2001) und 4.53% Ladin (increase of 0.16% on 2001). [2001 census data: 26.47% Italian, 69.15% German and 4.37% Ladin]. Data available at: <https://astat.provinz.bz.it/de/volkzaehlung-wohnungszaehlung-2011.asp> (cf. also Hiebl 2016: 21-22)

for Ladins in Trentino as for those in Südtirol. Although not achieving the same equality of rights as the Südtiroler Ladins (Rautz 2007, pg.286), Ladins in Fassa are afforded rights in education, media and in the public sector (Walder *et al.* 2010, pg.185). The 1972 Autonomy Statute further enhanced legal protections and in 1975 the regional authorities set up the Istitut Cultural Ladin 'Majon di Fasceng' in Fascia to promote Ladin language and culture. Only in 1994, in the wake of Südtirol, did Fascia enact legislation that renders it bilingual Italian-Ladin. (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2005, pg.9). The revised 2001 Autonomy Statute assures Ladin representation through one parliamentary seat, Ladin language teaching and the provincial funding for the cultural, social and economic development of the Ladin for Fascia according to population and specific (Rautz 2007, pg.286). Similarly to Südtirol, in Ladin areas, Ladin may be used in verbal and written communication with public bodies and in administration elsewhere where competence is predominantly in the interest of the Ladin community (2007, pg.287). The gap between Südtirol and Trentino for the provision of minority rights for the Ladins is becoming increasingly narrower but for Anpezo and Fodom, there is still a long way to go.

3.3.5 Ladin Minority Rights in Anpezo and Fodom - '*Division 3*'.

From the outset, the Ladins of Anpezo and Fodom had been afforded no official status until the entry into force of Law No. 482/99. Speakers have diminished greatly in Fodom while in Anpezo, Italian immigration has weakened the autochthonous Ladin population (Walder *et al.* 2010, pp.185-186). Pending the full application of law 482/99, providing for official language status alongside Italian, Ladin is only an acknowledged and recognised dialect

(Iannàcaro & Dell'Aquila 2005, pg.9). Nevertheless, Ladin is still not used in public administration.

In public education, Ladin is taught on a voluntary basis in nursery school whereas in primary schools, extra-curricular activities are organised in Ladin. Unlike in the other valleys, Ladin is absent at secondary level. Whereas the Statutes of Autonomy provide for the use of Ladin in education in Gherdëina, Val Badia and Fascia, Anpezo and Fodom look to the Law 482/99. Article 4 allows for Ladin, alongside Italian, to be used as a 'medium for delivering educational activities' in pre-school and in primary and secondary as a medium of instruction. Article 5 assigns responsibility for defining the general criteria to enact Article 4 to the Ministry of Public Education (Gazzetta Ufficiale della Repubblica Italiana 1999, pp.5-6). For the valleys left-behind, this does, at least, signal 'a clear move away from the stigmatisation of minority and local languages to a more active promotion of their use (Wells 2019; 257).

In 2007, three Ladin municipalities within Belluno, Cortina D'Ampezzo (Anpezo), Colle Santa Lucia and Livinallongo Del Col di Lana (together Fodom), held a referendum⁸ for the reunification with the province of Bolzano-Bozen (Südtirol) to undo the acts of Tripartition of 1923 and 1927. Although historically belonging to the Dolomites Ladin ethnic and linguistic minority group, the Ladin population of Belluno province have not enjoyed the same rights as their compatriots in Trentino and Bolzano-Bozen (Südtirol) underlining the diverse and complex political, cultural and ethnic anatomy of the region: 'The absence of any recognition of a Ladin minority in Veneto compelled the three municipalities to request the Provincial Autonomy in Trentino and Südtirol results in the Ladin communities of these two provinces

⁸ The absence of any recognition of a Ladin minority in Veneto compelled the three municipalities to request their return to the province of Bolzano-Bozen (Südtirol) in 1947, 1964, 1973, 1974 and 1991. The October 2007 referendum returned a result of 79.87% in favour of a return to the province of Bolzano-Bozen (Südtirol).

(in the valleys of Badia, Gardena and Fassa) having certain political, linguistic and cultural rights: These rights began with Ladin radio programming in 1946 and then with television in 1988. Ladin became compulsory in schools from 1948 with a Ladin provincial school authority being set up in 1975. Recognition as a linguistic minority group was achieved in 1951 and the use of the Ladin in administration began in 1989. Provincial political representation came in 1972 and the allocation of public posts according to the principle of ethnic quotas in 1976’⁹.

A decade later, on the 22nd of October 2017, voters in the province of Belluno, a province in the Veneto region of Northern Italy, held a micro-referendum in which voters were asked whether they wanted to greater autonomy from the region.¹⁰ The micro-referendum was held concurrently with a regional referendum in which voters were asked whether they wanted greater autonomy from the Italian state.¹¹ The Italian constitution provides for regions to hold referenda on questions of autonomy. Although the result is not binding, it does provide for the initiation of the process necessary to facilitate negotiations with Rome for the devolution of powers sought. The Venetan regional referendum is binding, however, and both returned a resounding ‘Yes’.

The Veneto region referendum results or more autonomy from the Italian State. ¹²

| | Turn-out | Yes | No |
|------------------------------|----------|-------|------|
| Region of Veneto Total | 57.2% | 98.1% | 1.9% |
| Province of Belluno Total | 51.4% | 97.4% | 2.6% |
| <u>Ladin Municipalities</u> | | | |
| Cortina d’Ampezzo | 54.8% | 97.8% | 2.2% |
| Colle Santa Lucia | 43.2% | 97.6% | 2.4% |
| Livinallongo del col di Lana | 27.9% | 96.5% | 3.5% |

⁹ <http://www.uniongenerela.it/en/history>

¹⁰ Ballot question: Belluno

"Do you want the specificity of the Province of Belluno to be further strengthened with the recognition of additional functions and related financial resources and that this is also implemented within the framework of the State / Region agreements for greater Veneto autonomy pursuant to art. 116 of the Constitution? "

¹¹ Ballot question: Veneto

"Do you want the Veneto Region to be given additional forms and special conditions of autonomy?"

¹² <http://referendum2017.consiglioveneto.it/sites/index.html#!/riepilogo>

The province of Belluno referendum results [for more autonomy from the Veneto region] ¹³

| | Turn-out | Yes | No |
|------------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| Province of Belluno Total | 52.25% | 98.67% | 1.33% |
| <u>Ladin Municipalities</u> | | | |
| Cortina d'Ampezzo | 58.15% | 97.86% | 2.14% |
| Colle Santa Lucia | 41.92% | 98.15% | 1.85% |
| Livinallongo del col di Lana | 30.66% | 98.45% | 1.55% |

Varying degrees of minority protection across the three provinces obfuscates efforts to set and agree common objectives not least for the reunification of the Ladin area (Rautz 2007, pg.288). Alongside the varying degrees of Ladin usage in everyday life, the reality of an ever-globalising world, ever more complex multilingual relationships are increasingly exacerbated where tourism is the main economic driver in all Ladin valleys (2007, pg.288).

Gherdëina and Val Badia have profited from their status as a 'minority within a minority' which Rautz (2007, pg.290) describes as 'a side-effect of the high degree of protection granted to the German-speaking minority' which brings with it the support, the funding, and the instruments to ensure a healthy active cultural and linguistic life. Fascia is very much hot on the heels of the Südtirol Ladins in achieving comparable minority rights and protections. Law 482/99 offers some hope for the Belluno valleys in terms of minority rights but without addressing the fundamental issues that Tripartition has created, notably the absence of a cohesive, unified, equal, and inclusive pan-Ladin decision-making process, Anpezo and Fodom, in the absence of protections that the autonomous statutes of their Ladin neighbours enjoy, risk being left further behind.

¹³ [http://www.provincia.belluno.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=9566&tt=belluno Tabella riassuntiva esito referendum.pdf](http://www.provincia.belluno.it/nqcontent.cfm?a_id=9566&tt=belluno_Tabella_riassuntiva_esito_referendum.pdf)

3.4 The contemporary Central Dolomites Ladin valleys.

3.4.1 Geography and Topography.

The five Ladin valleys at the centre of this research are situated in the Dolomites Mountain range in north-eastern Italy and link together to encircle the central Sella-Massif. The mountainous geography of the region creates a series of natural borders that separate the valleys from one another where access between each is gained by traversing high mountain passes or by circumventing them by means of much of longer, more low-lying routes. The topographical reality of the region renders communities in the higher altitudes much more inaccessible during the harsh, cold winter months which in some cases can lead to communities being cut off and isolated from other more low-lying communities. Historically, this situation has contributed to the way in which the valleys have been able to develop along divergent linguistic and cultural lines, yet at the same time have been able to maintain a common shared linguistic and cultural Ladin identity.

At regional administrative level, the five valleys are distributed between two regions of contemporary north-eastern Italy; Trentino-Alto Adige lying to the west and Veneto lying to the east. The Trentino-Alto Adige region has an Autonomous Statute, one of five such regions in total in Italy, whereas Veneto has an Ordinary Statute, along with fifteen other Italian regions. Trentino-Alto Adige itself is divided into two provinces, Südtirol and Trentino, both of which have special autonomous statutes, a situation unique to both provinces in Italy. No other Italian province has been bestowed this status. The Veneto (Venet) region, on the other hand, is divided into seven provinces, one of which, Belluno (Belun), is home to the two Ladin valleys of Ampezzo (Anpezo) and Fodom. Of the remaining three Ladin valleys, two are

found in Südtirol (South Tirol), Val Badia and Gherdëina, and the remaining valley, Fascia, in Trentin (Trentino).

3.4.2 Language and Toponymy.

At this point, it would be appropriate to outline the naming conventions relating to the regions, provinces, and the valleys themselves given the diverse ethnic and linguistic make-up of the areas under study. The Ladin valleys, in which the dominant language of everyday use is one of nine Ladin varieties, are, broadly speaking, bordered to the north by German and to the south by Italian. Language contact has, therefore, lead each of the Ladin valley communities to develop a distinct variety of Ladin; Gherdëina, Fodom and Anpezo have one common variety each whereas Val Badia and Fascia have three as well as an adopted valley standard form. This linguistic reality, born of an interesting and complex history and a unique topography, has led to a rich and vibrant toponymy that has in the recent past been shaped by improving promotion-oriented linguistic rights and protections that have been embodied in national, regional, and provincial statute. The names that will be used throughout this research reflect the names used in Ladin where these exist.

Each valley is further divided into constituent municipalities. Similarly, toponymy exists in all three language groups. Whereas much of the toponymy is historically based, much of the Italian toponymy of the area was 'created' under fascism in the immediate post First World War period as Italy moved to 'Italianise' the former Habsburg territory that it had not long since annexed. Italian names would follow more closely the Ladin toponymy hence Urtijëi in Gherdëina would become Ortisei in Val Garden, the German equivalent being Sankt Ulrich in Gröden.

The table below (fig. 2.1) outlines the names of the regions, provinces, and municipalities in Ladin, German, and Italian.

Figure 2.1: Ladin, German, and Italian toponymy.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--|-------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| | Region | | | Region | | |
| <i>Ladin</i> | Trentin-Südtirol | | | <i>Ladin</i> | Venet | |
| <i>German</i> | Trentino-Südtirol | | | <i>German</i> | Veneto | |
| <i>Italian</i> | Trentino-Alto Adige | | | <i>Italian</i> | Veneto | |
| | Province | | | Province | | |
| <i>Ladin</i> | Provinzia autonoma de Bulsan – Südtirol | | | <i>Ladin</i> | Belun | |
| <i>German</i> | Autonome Provinz Bozen – Südtirol | | | <i>German</i> | Belluno | |
| <i>Italian</i> | Provincia autonoma di Bolzano – Alto Adige | | | <i>Italian</i> | Belluno | |
| | Valley | | | Valley | | |
| <i>Ladin</i> | Val Badia | Gherdëina | Fascia | <i>Ladin</i> | Anpezo | Fodom* |
| <i>German</i> | Gadertal | Gröden | Fassatal | <i>German</i> | Hayden | Buchenstein |
| <i>Italian</i> | Val Badia | Val Gardena | Val di Fassa | <i>Italian</i> | Cortina d'Ampezzo | Livinallongo del Col di Lana |
| | | | | <i>Ladin</i> | Còl | |
| | | | | <i>German</i> | Verseil | |
| | | | | <i>Italian</i> | Colle Santa Lucia | |

* incorporates the municipality of :

The names of the valley municipalities names are shown in the table below (fig. 2.2) and grouped according to region, province, and valley.

Figure 2.2: Municipal Toponymy

Municipal Toponymy.

The names of each of the Ladin municipalities is given with their Italian and German equivalents. Valley names are given in Ladin.

| Region | Province | Valley | Ladin Toponymy Municipality | Italian Toponymy Municipality | German Toponymy Municipality | |
|-------------------------------|----------|-----------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Trentino-Alto Adige /Südtirol | Südtirol | Val Badia | Badia | Badia | Abtei | |
| | | | Corvara | Corvara | Kurfar | |
| | | | La Val | La Valle | Wengen | |
| | | | Mareo | Marebbe | Enneberg | |
| | | | San Martin de Tor | San Martino in Badia | St. Martin in Thurn | |
| | | Gherdëina | Santa Cristina Valgardena | St. Christina in Gröden | | |
| | | | | Selva | Selva di Val Gardena | Wolkenstein in Gröden |
| | | | | Urtijëi | Ortisei | St. Ulrich in Gröden |
| | | Trent | Fascia | Ciampedèl | Campitello di Fassa | Kampidel im Fassatal |
| | Ćianacëi | | | Canazei | Kanzenei | |
| Mazin | Mazzin | | | Mazzin | | |
| Moëna | Moena | | | Moena | | |
| | | | San Jën* | San Giovanni di Fassa - Sèn Jan* | - - - | |
| | | | Sorëga | Soraga | Überwasser | |
| Veneto | Belun | Anpezo | Cortina d'Ampezzo | Hayden | | |
| | | Fodom | Colle Santa Lucia | Verseil | | |
| | | Fodom | Livinallongo del Col di Lana | Buchenstein | | |

* San Giovanni di Fassa - Sèn Jan was formed on 1 January 2018 after the merger of the former communes of Pozza di Fassa and Vigo di Fassa.

| | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Ladin | Italian | German |
| Poza | Pozza di Fassa | Potzach im Fassatal |
| Vich | Vigo di Fassa | Vig im Fassatal |

Source: <https://www.istat.it>

Classificazioni statistiche-e-dimensione-dei-comuni 30/06/2019

In a 2014 study of language use and linguistic identity was undertaken, the results of which are compiled in the *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer*, the attitude of the Ladin community towards multilingual toponymy. In particular, three questions were posed on toponymy in the study's supporting questionnaire. The results demonstrate that toponymy is an important issue for around half of the Ladin ethnolinguistic population questioned. The reported results are shown in fig. 2.3 below (cf. *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer 2014*, pg.187).

Figure 2.3: Ladin community attitude towards multilingual toponymy – 2014

Expressed as a percentage of respondents (%)

| | | |
|-----|--|-------|
| (a) | Toponymy is an important topic for me | 45.0% |
| (b) | Toponymy should be bilingual (or trilingual in Ladin localities). | 53.7% |
| (c) | The naming of new localities should be bilingual (or trilingual in Ladin localities). | 53.2% |

Source: astat: Südtiroler Sprachbarometer 2014 - Tab. 6.9: pg 187

3.4.3 Population

Together, the valleys cover a geographical area of 1,195 km². The largest valley is Anpezo covering 252.80 km² and the smallest, half the size in comparison, is Gherdëina with 112.32 km². The following table (fig. 2.4) below shows the geographical area of each municipality and the total area that the Ladin valleys occupy in each province and in each region.

Figure 2.4: Geographical area in Km²

Geographical area.

The figures given in brackets express the total land area in km squared.

The end column shows the total area of the given municipality.

| Region | Province | Valley | Ladin Municipality | Km sq. |
|---|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Trentino-Alto Adige /Südtirol (827.14) | Südtirol (509.31) | Val Badia (396.99) | Badia | 83.07 |
| | | | Corvara | 38.84 |
| | | | Mareo | 160.23 |
| | | | San Martin de Tor | 75.94 |
| | | | La Val | 38.92 |
| | Gherdëina (112.32) | Urtijëi | 24.16 | |
| | | Santa Cristina Gherdëina | 31.92 | |
| | | Sëlva | 56.24 | |
| | Trentino (317.83) | Fascia (317.83) | Ciampedèl | 25.02 |
| | | | Ćianacëi | 67.02 |
| Mazin | | | 23.63 | |
| Moéna | | | 82.59 | |
| Sorèga | | | 19.74 | |
| San Jèn* | | | 99.82 | |
| Veneto (368.15) | Belluno (368.15) | Anpezo (252.80) | Anpezo | 252.80 |
| | | Fodom (115.35) | Col | 15.34 |
| | | | Fodom | 100.01 |
| Total: | | | | 1,195 |

* Sèn Jan was formed on 1 January 2018 after the merger of the former communes of Pozza di Fassa and Vigo di Fassa.

| | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Ladin | Italian | German |
| Poza | Pozza di Fassa | Potzsch im Fassatal |
| Vich | Vigo di Fassa | Vig im Fassatal |

Source: <https://www.istat.it>
 Classificazioni statistiche-e-dimensione-dei-comuni 30/06/2019

3.4.4 The Ladin ethnolinguistic group and population statistics

The total population of the valleys in 2019, which includes all ethno-linguistic groups, both autochthonous and allochthonous, numbers 38,119. A breakdown of total population by municipality is illustrated below (fig. 2.5) with total valley populations in each province and region also given.

Figure 2.5: Ladin population statistics

Population size.

The figures in given in brackets express the total population of the given area.

The total population of each municipality is shown in the end column.

| Region | Province | Valley | Municipality [Ladin] | Population |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Trentino-Alto Adige /Südtirol (30,647) | Südtirol (20,592) | Val Badia (11,120) | Badia | 3,505 |
| | | | Corvara | 1,378 |
| | | | Mareo | 3,081 |
| | | | San Martin de Tor | 1,767 |
| | | | La Val | 1,389 |
| | Gherdëina (9,472) | Urtijëi | 4,869 | |
| | | Santa Cristina Gherdëina | 1,974 | |
| | | Sëlva | 2,629 | |
| | Trentino (10,055) | Fascia (10,055) | Ciampedèl | 713 |
| | | | Ćianacëi | 1,887 |
| Mazin | | | 579 | |
| Moéna | | | 2,644 | |
| Sorèga | | | 692 | |
| San Jèn* | | | 3,540 | |
| Veneto (7,472) | Belluno (7,472) | Anpezo (5,820) | Anpezo | 5,820 |
| | | Fodom (1,652) | Col | 360 |
| | | Fodom | 1,292 | |
| Total: | | | | 38,119 |

* San Giovanni di Fassa - Sèn Jan was formed on 1 January 2018 after the merger of the former communes of Pozza di Fassa and Vigo di Fassa.

| Ladin | Italian | German |
|-------|----------------|---------------------|
| Poza | Pozza di Fassa | Potzach im Fassatal |
| Vich | Vigo di Fassa | Vig im Fassatal |

Source: <https://www.istat.it>

Classificazioni statistiche-e-dimensione-dei-comuni 30/06/2019

The census population data in both the autonomous provinces of Südtirol and Trentino are disaggregated by ethnolinguistic group. In the table below (fig. 2.6), the total percentage of Ladin population is given in each valley according to the result of the census. Disaggregated data in the national census is not available for the Ladin valleys in Belluno as this is not collected in the same way. The total percentage of the Ladin population is indicated by municipality, valley, province, and region.

Figure 2.6: Ladins as a % of total population

Percentage of the population who are Ladin.

The figures in given in brackets express the total Ladin population as a percentage of the total population (2011 Census data)

| Region | Province | Valley | Municipality [Ladin] | % Population [Ladin] | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------|
| Trentino-Alto Adige /Südtirol (4.02) | Südtirol (4.53) | Val Badia (94.05) | Badia | 94.07 | *cf. (a) |
| | | | Corvara | 89.70 | |
| | | | Mareo | 92.09 | |
| | | | San Martin de Tor | 96.71 | |
| | | | La Val | 97.66 | |
| | Gherdëina (88.44) | Urtijëi | 84.19 | *cf. (b) | |
| | | Santa Cristina Gherdëina | 91.40 | | |
| | | Sëlva | 89.74 | | |
| | Trentino (3.50) | Fascia (81.70) | Ciampedèl | 82.50 | *cf. (b) |
| | | | Ćianacëi | 79.90 | |
| Mazin | | | 77.10 | | |
| Moéna | | | 79.00 | | |
| Sorèga | | | 85.50 | | |
| San Jèn* | 85.15 | | | | |
| Veneto (-) | Belluno (-) | Anpezo (-) | --- | *cf. (c) | |
| | | Fodom (-) | --- | | |
| | | Fodom | --- | | |

* San Giovanni di Fassa - Sèn Jan was formed on 1 January 2018 after the merger of the former communes of Pozza di Fassa and Vigo di Fassa.

% Ladin (2011 census)

Poza 82.60%

Vich 87.70%

* (a) Source: *astat: South Tyrol in figures 2018* (2011 census data)

<https://astat.provinz.bz.it/de/suedtirol-in-zahlen.asp>

* (b) Source: <http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/statistiche/societa/popolazione/> (2011 census data)

Servizio Statistica della Provincia autonoma di Trento - Comunicazioni - Marzo 2014

Rilevazione sulla consistenza e la dislocazione territoriale degli appartenenti alle popolazioni di lingua ladina, mòchena e cimbra (15° Censimento generale della popolazione e delle abitazioni - dati definitivi)*

* (c) Census data in Veneto/Belluno does not collect data on Ladins.

3.4.5 Language use and Linguistic identity

As outlined above, the *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer* (2014) examines language use and linguistic identity across the province. This demonstrates the importance and weight given to these areas in the multilingual, multi-ethnic province. A sample population of 1514 persons is selected from the resident population register, representing a total resident population aged 16 years and above of 422,000. Analysis is derived from data collated from the 1514 completed and returned surveys.

Residents with Ladin mother-tongue in Gherdëina is reported at 82.2% and in Val Badia over 10% higher at 93.6% (Südtiroler Sprachbarometer 2014, pg.21). From the population census (2011), reported in the publication South Tyrol in figures (astat 2018, pg.15), Ladin speakers at provincial level declaring both belonging and affiliation are reported in the table below (fig. 2.7). Affiliation expresses those who do not declare as belonging to the Ladin ethnolinguistic group but who instead express their affiliation to it, such as those from allochthonous populations other than the Italian or German ethno-linguistic groups.

Figure 2.7: Ladin Declared Linguistic Affiliation

Language group declaration - Population Census 2011

| <i>Language Group</i> | <i>Declarations of which language group belong to</i> | <i>Declarations of which language group affiliated to</i> | <i>Total valid Declarations</i> |
|---|--|--|--|
| Ladin | 20,126 | 422 | 20,548 |
| <i>Percentage composition by type of declaration</i> | | | |
| Ladin | 97.95 | 2.05 | 100.00 |
| <i>Percentage composition by language group</i> | | | |
| Ladin | 4.52 | 5.53 | 4.53 |

Source: *astat: South Tyrol in figures 2018*
<https://astat.provinz.bz.it/de/suedtirol-in-zahlen.asp>

In the valley of Fascia in Trentino, the data is similarly reported using 2011 census data. From this, 81.7% of residents declare themselves as belonging to the Ladin speaking population, '*appartenenza alla popolazione di lingua ladina*', and in the rest of the province excluding Fascia this equates to 2.0%. At the provincial level, Trentino is home to a declared Ladin-speaking population of 3.5% in total. Taking data from both *South Tyrol in Figures* (2018) and *Servizio Statistica della Provincia autonoma di Trento – Comunicazioni* (2014), both of which derive data from the 2011 census, the tables below (fig. 2.8) show the Ladin population

at regional level, at the level of both autonomous provinces, at the individual Ladin valley level as well as at the level of municipality within the valleys.

Figure 2.8: Ladin population at regional, provincial, valley and municipal levels

Ladin population by municipality, valley, province and region (census 2011)
Data only available for VAL BADIA, GHERDĒINA and FASCIA

| | | <i>Municipality</i> ^[a] | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Val Badia | Badia | | 94.07 | 5.93 |
| | Corvara | | 89.70 | 10.30 |
| | La Val | | 97.66 | 2.34 |
| | Mareo | | 92.09 | 7.91 |
| | San Martin de Tor | | 96.71 | 3.29 |
| | | Valley Total | 94.05 | 5.95 |

| | | <i>Municipality</i> ^[b] | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|--------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Fascia | Campitello di Fassa-Ciampedel | | 82.50 | 17.50 |
| | Canazei-Cianacèi | | 79.90 | 20.10 |
| | Mazzin-Mazin | | 77.10 | 22.90 |
| | Moena-Moena | | 79.00 | 21.00 |
| | Pozza di Fassa-Poza | | 82.60 | 17.40 |
| | Soraga-Soraga | | 85.50 | 14.50 |
| | Vigo di Fassa-Vich | | 87.70 | 12.30 |
| | | Valley Total | 81.70 | 18.30 |

| | | <i>Municipality</i> ^[a] | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Gherdëina | Urtijèi | | 84.19 | 15.81 |
| | Santa Cristina Gherdëina | | 91.40 | 8.60 |
| | Selva | | 89.74 | 10.26 |
| | | Valley Total | 88.45 | 11.55 |

| | | <i>Provincial Breakdown - Trentino</i> | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|----------|------------------------------------|--|---------|-------------|
| Trentino | Living in Fascia | | 81.70 | 18.30 |
| | Living in the rest of the Province | | 2.00 | 98.00 |
| | Provincial Breakdown | | 3.50 | 96.5 |

| | | <i>Provincial Breakdown - Südtirol</i> | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|----------|------------------------------------|--|---------|-------------|
| Südtirol | Living in both Ladin Valleys | | 91.95 | 8.05 |
| | Living in the rest of the Province | | 0.60 | 99.40 |
| | Provincial Breakdown | | 4.53 | 95.47 |

| | | <i>Regional Breakdown Trentino - Alto Adige/Südtirol</i> | % Ladin | % Non-Ladin |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------|-------------|
| Trentino Alto Adige Südtirol | Living in 3 regional Ladin Valleys | | 86.83 | 13.17 |
| | Living in the rest of the Region | | 1.30 | 98.70 |
| | Regional Breakdown | | 4.02 | 95.98 |

^[a] **Source** : astat: South Tyrol in figures 2018
<https://astat.provinz.bz.it/de/suedtirol-in-zahlen.asp>

^[b] **Source** : <http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/statistiche/societa/popolazione/>
Servizio Statistica della Provincia autonoma di Trento - Comunicazioni - Marzo 2014
Rilevazione sulla consistenza e la dislocazione territoriale degli appartenenti alle popolazioni di lingua ladina, mòchena e cimbra*
(15° Censimento generale della popolazione e delle abitazioni - dati definitivi)

No data is collected specifically regarding Ladin population size or numbers of speakers in Veneto. However, in stark contrast to the data above reported in respect of the three Ladin valleys of Gherdëina, Val Badia and Fascia, data collected in the Survey Ladins (cf. Iannàccaro G., & Dell'Aquila 2006, pg.196) in Fodom and Anpezo (cf. fig. 2.9 below) indicates that Ladin speakers are a significantly smaller proportion of the population. Based on data returned in the *Survey Ladins*, in Fodom, Ladin speakers would equate to 53.0% of the population, whereas in Anpezo they would equate to a mere 15.6%. The results are based on a return of questionnaires in each valley from 13.46% (n=251) of the population in Fodom (n=1865) and 4.75% (n=314) of the population in Anpezo (n=6630) according to valley populations based on the 2001 census. This gives only an indication of the vitality of Ladin in

Veneto. If those results were consistent across the population, then, at provincial level in Belluno, the Ladin population would represent approximately 32.2% of the total and at the regional level of Veneto a mere 1.5% compared to 4.0% of the total regional population of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol.

Figure 2.9: Ladins in Veneto

Question 8: What do you consider your mother tongue?

| | Population (P) census 2001 | Respondents (R) | Ladin | Ladin Variety | Repsondents with mother- tongue Ladin | Repsondents with mother-tongue Ladin Variety | Total | Approx. Ladin speaking population | Approx. % Ladin- speaking population |
|---------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-------|------------------|---|--|-------|---|---|
| Fodom | 1,865 | 251 | 43.8 | 9.2 | 110 | 23 | 133 | 988 | 53.0 |
| Anpezo | 6,630 | 314 | 5.5 | 10.1 | 17 | 32 | 49 | 1,035 | 15.6 |
| Belluno | 208,191 | 565 | 22.5 | 9.7 | 127 | 55 | 182 | 67,063 | 32.2 |
| Veneto | 4,500,000 | 565 | 22.5 | 9.7 | 127 | 55 | 182 | 67,063 | 1.5 |

Source: (cf. Iannàccaro G., & Dell'Aquila 2006: 196)

3.4.6 Definitions of Identity

Reported in the Südtiroler Sprachbarometer (2014, pg.70), this data illustrates that it is far from true to say that identifying as a Ladin language speaker equates to defining your identity as 'Ladin' in any other capacity whether ethnic, territorially bound or in terms of an expressed 'national' identity. The declarations of the Ladin ethno-linguistic group in Südtirol, as an example, underlines how language is not the sole definition of identity used amongst them. Those who declared themselves as belonging to the Ladin linguistic group in Südtirol thus defined their identity in diverse ways. The table below (fig. 2.10) presents a summary of those expressed. It is also important to note that respondents may have used more than one of the definitions listed as a marker of their identity.

Figure 2.10: Ladin ethnolinguistic group in Südtirol 2014

Territorial, ethnic and national belonging - 2014

| <i>Ladin Language Group</i> | % |
|--|------|
| Ladin | 84.6 |
| Ladin-speaking South Tirolean | 29.6 |
| South Tirolean | 20.1 |
| Italian | 13.7 |
| European | 12.7 |
| Global citizen | 10.1 |
| Tirolean | 3.6 |
| Upper Adigean | 2.6 |
| Italian-speaking South Tirolean | 2.1 |
| Questions of Identity do not interest me | 1.8 |
| German | 1.1 |
| Austrian | - |
| Other | - |

Source: *astat: Südtiroler Sprachbarometer 2014*

This chapter has presented a comprehensive overview of the Ladin valleys' historical trajectory into the modern day outlining the key events that have shaped and defined the Ladin ethnolinguistic group. Ladins have always been subsumed into the historically fluid territorial limits of the larger, more dominant German- and Italian-speaking ethnolinguistic groups. Each has left their mark on both the cultural and linguistic evolution of Ladins across the five valleys and to varying degrees, depending on the valley in question. However, in terms of language, it is the period from the end of the First World War to the present day that has had a significant impact on the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as a whole. The 1923 and 1927 acts of Tripartition, instigated by the Italian fascist regime of Mussolini, has resulted in the Ladin valleys following three separate and distinct administrative trajectories with divergent political, social, economic, and linguistic outcomes particularly in the context of MLR. Consequently, this reality has contributed to a deep sense of disconnect and disunity across the valleys. After a century of enforced partition, there is a now a desire for the rediscovery

and recovery of Ladin unity, for all the valleys to reconnect, and in particular by means of unifying through language. The importance of and need for Ladin unity is widely recognised by Ladins. However, one of the principal means foreseen to achieve this, the standardisation of Ladin, Ladin Dolomitan, has not been positively received or widely accepted across the valleys for reasons outlined and discussed more closely in the chapters that follow (cf. Chapter 7).

The following chapter describes the methodological approaches undertaken in the compilation of this thesis encompassing the research design, the data gathering process and the analysis of the data.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological approaches, decision-making processes, and the rationale for having selected the related method of analysis. Section 4.1 outlines a theoretical overview of the research paradigm and the questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology leading into an account of quantitative and qualitative research methods. Sections 4.2 considers the researcher–participant relationship, researcher reflexivity and the representation of data. Section 4.3 describes the interview and recruitment process considering further the researcher–participant relationship as well as a summary presentation of key participant data. Section 4.4 outlines transcription and the process of transcribing respondent interviews including the transcription conventions used in the analysis chapters of this study. The final section 4.5 presents a brief summary of the chapter.

4.1 Research – Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology

Johnstone (2000, pp.20-22) posits that research sets out to answer a set of specific questions in a systematic manner using specific and appropriate methodology maintaining that it is this systematicity that distinguishes research from casual observation. For the large part, sociolinguistic research involves field research that seeks to elicit data through participant engagement, subject observation, or both, and as such presupposes a course of investigation or inquiry that involves rigorous planning and design. Goodson and Phillimore (2004, pg.37)

suggest that research should take ontology, epistemology and methodology into account which together combine to formulate the researcher's inquiry paradigm. This facilitates transparency in order that the consumer of the research is better able to account for and understand how the author's choices, values and judgements have influenced their work as well as from what ontological, epistemological, and methodological standpoints and considerations this has been achieved. Transparency about the 'process and the practice of method is vital' to evaluate research (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.80) and a fundamental consideration in reflexive thematic analysis, discussed in section 4.7.1 below, in which 'reflexivity, theoretical knowingness and transparency' should be made explicit (Braun and Clarke 2019, pg.592).

Ontological issues are defined by Bryman (2008, pg.19) as those that are 'to do with whether the social world is regarded as something external to social actors or as something that people are in the process of fashioning'. Ontology reflects two main theoretical positions; objectivism and constructivism. On the one hand, objectivism maintains that social phenomena exist independently of social actors whereas on the other, constructivism maintains that social phenomena result from social interaction and indeed, 'the researchers' own accounts of the social world are constructions themselves' (Bryman 2008, pg.33).

Epistemological issues, however, have 'to do with what is regarded as appropriate knowledge about the social world' (Bryman 2008, pg.19) and epistemology reflects two main theoretical positions; positivism and interpretivism. Positivism (realism) reflects a certain rigidity to research and 'claims that science provides us with the clearest possible ideal of knowledge' (Cohen 2007, pg.11). Such an approach attempts to produce conclusive results and does not account for any preconceptions that may affect analysis and interpretation. Interpretivism (relativism or nominalism), on the other hand, rejects this rigidity and views

the world as ever-changing and a world in which meanings are constructed and therefore subject to constant evolution. This study embraces the latter defined approach.

Cohen (2007, pg.7) best describes the distinction when he states that '[t]he view that knowledge is hard, objective and tangible will demand of researchers an observer role, together with an allegiance to the methods of natural science; to see knowledge as personal, subjective and unique, however, imposes on researchers an involvement with their subjects and a rejection of the ways of the natural scientist'. Thus, methodology is viewed as nomothetic (objective) or idiographic (subjective). Cohen (2007, pg.7) concludes that 'to subscribe to the former is to be positivist; to the latter, anti-positivist'. In the social sciences, two types of research strategy through which knowledge is sought are categorised as quantitative or qualitative research methods.

4.1.1 Quantitative research methods

Given (2008, pg.713; italics in original) posits that '[t]he term *quantitative research* refers to approaches to empirical inquiry that collect, analyse, and display data in numerical rather than narrative form'. Quantitative strategies draw upon positivist ontologies and are prominent in scientific, empirical research and pursue a nomothetic approach in which research is claimed to be undertaken 'from within a value-free framework' and 'emphasise the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes' (Denzin and Lincoln 2013, pg.17).

Hammersley (1992) contends that the principal challenge to the validity of quantitative methods is centred on the role of researchers who bring with them their own interpretations of and beliefs about the workings of the social world. The consequent

structured nature of the data collection itself infers that social phenomena is clearly defined and that individual actions are 'mechanical products of psychological and social factors' (Hammersley 1992, pg.12). Furthermore, being reliant upon 'what people say about what they believe and do, without also observing what they do, is to neglect the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour' (Hammersley 1992:11; italics in original). Qualitative research methodology seeks to address this shortcoming.

In the social sciences, data can be organised into two categories; individual attribute data and cultural data (Bernard 2006, pg.146). Individual attribute data extend to data such as age and gender and require probability sampling whereby a sample is 'selected using random selection so that each unit in the population has a known chance of being selected' (Bryman 2008, pg.187). It is 'the main way in which researchers seek to generate a representative sample' (Bryman 2008, pg.176). Accurate sampling requires a clear understanding of the general population under study. Such data are typically gleaned from large scale datasets, such as those compiled by the ONS (Office for National Statistics) in the UK and ASTAT (Landesinstitut für Statistik) in Südtirol, through annual population censuses, for example. Such data fits well within quantitative methodology whereas cultural data is best understood within qualitative methodology which is outlined in the following section.

4.1.2 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative research methods embrace the subjective, naturalistic, and phenomenological. The qualitative approach to research is considered to draw upon interpretivist ontologies and pursue an idiographic approach whose work emphasises 'the value-laden nature of enquiry' (Denzin and Lincoln 2013, pg.17). They further suggest that 'qualitative researchers stress the

socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape enquiry' (2013, pg.17).

Qualitative data is usually descriptive or narrative and takes the form of textual data such as interview transcripts, field notes, primary documents, and participatory observation. Subsequent analysis 'involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data' (Cohen 2008, pg.461) and aims to group or code into categories or themes to proffer an interpretation. Guba and Lincoln (1994, pg.106) argue that qualitative data can provide both 'context' and 'rich insight' into human behaviour that quantitative approaches can overlook. In research on nations and nationalisms, Smith (2009, pg.119) expounds 'the ethno-symbolists' preference ... for a series of historical and contemporary case studies, which can be illuminating and exploratory rather than hypothesis testing' providing 'historical context ... so lacking in quantitative analysis'. Describing what they term the 'nomothetic/idiographic disjunction', Guba and Lincoln (1994, pg.106) argue that 'generalizations, although perhaps statistically meaningful, have no applicability in the individual case', suggesting that qualitative data 'can help to avoid such ambiguities'.

As outlined above, Bernard (2006, pg.146) suggested two principal categories of data; individual attribute data and cultural data. Collecting cultural data requires interaction with participants who can share and describe cultural knowledge and experience. This necessitates nonprobability sampling methods, such as chain referral, which includes snowball sampling and respondent-driven sampling. Bernard outlines three reasons for this: (i) a low or limited number of respondents spread over a large geographic area; (ii) stigmatised and reclusive groups; and (iii) members of an élite group who are not concerned about research data (Bernard 2006, pg.192). He further describes that 'dealing with a relatively small population of people who are likely to be in contact with one another ... then snowball sampling is an

effective way to build an exhaustive sampling frame. Once you have an exhaustive sampling frame, you can select people at random to interview. In this case, snowball sampling is one step in a two-step process for getting a representative sample' (Bernard 2006, pg.192). Interaction with participants will inevitably involve conducting in-depth interviews on a one-to-one basis or in a group or focus group setting as well as undertaking observations. In such an event, an ethnographic approach to research is also an appropriate way of collecting qualitative data.

4.1.3 Ethnography

Johnstone (2000, pp.80 – 81) broadly defines ethnography as 'the study of culture' whose primary research technique is 'participant observation' or 'the description of cultures'. Blommaert and Jie (2010, pp.5 -6), however, argue that ethnography equates to 'more than just description' and equally is more than 'a complex of fieldwork techniques'. Having its roots in anthropology, they contend that ethnography 'involves a perspective on language and communication, including ontology and an epistemology, both of which are of significance to the study of language in society, or better, of language as well as of society' (2010, pp.5-6; italics in original). Reeves et al. (2008, pg.512) suggest that '[t]he central aim of ethnography is to provide rich, holistic insights into people's views and actions, as well as the nature (that is, sights, sounds) of the location they inhabit, through the collection of detailed observations and interviews'. The subjects of interest at the centre of this naturalistic method of inquiry are people; from either the individual or group level perspective as an organisation, community or society and understood in the context of both the public and private spheres of life (cf. Cohen and Manion 2007, pp.170-171). Heller et al (2018, pg.2) describe the

ethnographic approach as 'in-depth, situated explorations' that seek to describe and explain how processes work and why and what their place and meaning is in people's lives 'using representative or telling cases to illustrate broader processes'. In a sociolinguistic context, this is described as 'how language matters, socially, politically and economically'.

Hammersley (1992, pg.11) posits that 'the rationale for ethnography is based on a critique of quantitative methods, notably survey and experimental, research'. It is essentially a qualitative approach that reflects a realist paradigm that 'typically takes a phenomenologically oriented research approach' (Fetterman 1998, pg.20). Ethnography seeks a holistic perspective whose central focus is on inquiry that reaches beyond macro-level generalisation, including beyond any broadly defined assumptions drawn from such inquiry, and more deeply into the micro-level experience which is described by Fetterman (1998, pg.20) as the 'emic perspective – the insider's or native's perspective of reality'. It is important to note that ethnography is understood to work 'from empirical evidence towards theory, not the other way around' (Blommaert and Jie 2010, pg.12). Essentially subjective, it demonstrates complexity and produces hypotheses that 'can be replicated and tested in *similar, not identical, circumstances*' (Blommaert and Jie 2010, pg.17; italics in original), rather than through objective generalisation achieved through the 'simplification and reduction of complexity' (Blommaert and Jie 2010, pg.11). It produces theoretical statements, not facts nor laws (Blommaert and Jie 2010, pg.17). Thus, the emic describes investigation from an ideational or phenomenological stance that is essentially from within the system under investigation (Fetterman 1998, pg.22). Holmes and Hazen (2014, pg.77) describe this as 'researcher-oriented'. Conversely, the etic describes things from a materialist, positivist and philosophical stance that is essentially external to the system under investigation or the 'external, social scientific perspective on reality' (Fetterman 1998, pg.22) which Holmes and

Hazen (2014, pg.77) describe as 'participant-oriented'. Fetterman (1998, pg.22) maintains, however, that 'good ethnography requires both emic and etic perspectives'. In this way, Blommaert and Jie (2010, pp.12-17) position ethnography as 'an inductive science' that uses case studies as a methodology to demonstrate theory through 'interpretive research in a situated, real environment based on interaction between the researcher and the subject(s)'. By 'situated' Heller et al. (2018, pg.2) aim to 'attend to the specific conditions and contexts in which the processes we are interested in unfold'.

Heller et al. (2018, pg.2) highlight that 'questions of power and inequality' also reside at the centre of inquiry. Cohen and Manion (2007, pg.186) define critical theory as 'concerned with the exposure of oppression and inequality in society with a view to emancipating individuals and groups towards collective empowerment'. Building on this, Heller et al. (2018, pg.2) suggest that critical ethnography examine 'what resources are important to whom' as well as how the social processes under scrutiny can have consequences not just for the individual, organisations, or communities but also for specific social practices themselves. In this way, 'questions of legitimacy, power, values in society and domination and oppression' are foregrounded (Cohen and Manion 2007, pg.187).

4.1.4 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method that offers a theoretically flexible approach to discovering, analysing, and reporting themes in data either across the entire data corpus, from within a derived data set for a more targeted analysis or from within an individual data item derived from the data set or data corpus, such as an interview. This method allows us to 'make sense of others' sense-making' (Attride-Stirling 2001, pg.402) and is 'best suited to

elucidating the specific nature of a given group's conceptualization of the phenomenon under study' (Joffe 2012, pg.211). The type of data used in thematic analysis is fundamentally verbal or textual being sourced from interviews, focus groups or the printed media. It is neither theory nor methodology but is a qualitative paradigm or method into which theory can be built (Braun and Clarke 2006; Clarke and Braun 2018).

Qualitative analytic methods can be categorised in two ways; 'those tied to, or stemming from, a particular theoretical or epistemological position' and those methods that are 'essentially independent of theory and epistemology and can be applied *across* a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches' (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.78; italics in original). Thematic analysis thus resides firmly in the latter and its independence means it can be equally applied as an essentialist, a constructionist, or a contextualist method in analysis.

Thematic analysis can be divided into three broad schools; Small q qualitative research undertaken within a positivist framework and Big Q qualitative research undertaken within a qualitative paradigm (Terry et al. 2017). Small q thematic analysis essentially exposes pre-existing explicit themes in data whereas Big Q thematic analysis supports the evolution of implicit themes through a creative rather than a technical process. A third 'codebook' approach combines the 'structured coding procedures of small q TA with the underlying philosophy of Big Q TA' and is referred to as medium Q thematic analysis (Clarke and Braun 2018; Braun and Clarke 2019).

There are two primary ways of identifying themes; in an inductive 'bottom up' data-driven or a deductive 'top down' theory-driven way (Braun and Clarke 2006; Joffe, 2012). Whereas deductive analysis is theory-driven, inductive analysis is viewed 'a process of coding data *without* trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame, or the researcher's analytical preconceptions' (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.83; italics in original). Either or both methods

together can be applied. This flexibility facilitates 'high-quality qualitative work', in which the researcher 'goes to the data with certain preconceived categories derived from theories' and at the same time is 'open to new concepts that emerge' (Joffe 2012, pg.210).

Themes are then identified at two levels; the semantic (explicit, manifest, or descriptive) and the latent (interpretative, underlying, or conceptual) (Braun and Clarke 2006; 2012; 2019; Clarke and Braun 2018). Semantic level themes are defined as domain summaries and describe explicit or surface level meaning (cf. Braun Clarke 2019, pp.592-594) and fundamentally lack any central, unifying message or story. At the latent level, however, themes expose what lies beneath a simple description, summary or observation and describe a central, unifying message or story that unifies the theme. This is defined as a fully realised theme. They capture underlying, abstract, implicit meaning organising disparate data into a central, unifying idea. Themes, therefore, should 'connect logically and meaningfully, and, if relevant, should build on previous themes to tell a coherent story about the data' (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.69). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe this tradition as a predominantly but by no means exclusively constructionist paradigm.

Braun and Clarke (2006, 2012) outline a six-stage approach to thematic analysis. Firstly, familiarisation with data is the foundation stone upon which the analysis is built. Following on from this, codes are generated and 'will almost always be a mix of the descriptive and interpretive' (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.61). In the next stage, codes are arranged into themes whereby themes are generated or constructed rather than discovered (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.63). Themes are then refined undergoing a two-phase theme review. Firstly, coded data extracts are reviewed for coherency at the thematic level but should not be 'forced' into coherence (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.65). Secondly, the validity of themes should be assessed, as they should be accurate and representative of the data. At this stage

‘patterning has to be identified *across* your dataset – not just within a single data item’ (Terry et al. 2017, pg.28; italics in original). In the penultimate stage, themes are further refined, defined, and named ‘identifying the essence of what each theme is about (as well as the themes overall), and determining what aspect of data each theme captures’ (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.92). Themes should firstly not ‘try to do too much’ and have ‘a singular focus’. They should be ‘related’ but not ‘overlap’ thus avoiding repetition or duplication, however, they ‘may build on previous themes’. Finally, they should ‘directly address’ the research question, in that ‘data must be *interpreted* and connected to your broader research questions and to the scholarly fields within which your work is situated’ (Braun and Clarke 2012, pg.67). According to Terry et al. (2017, pg.30), ‘there is a fine balance between making sure that themes are distinct from each other, and ensuring that they relate to each other’. The final stage is reporting production the ‘product of deep and prolonged data immersion, thoughtfulness and reflection, something that is active and generative’ (Braun and Clarke 2019, pg.591).

Since ‘rigid rules’ are not conducive to thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.82), reflexive thematic analysis seeks to emphasise researcher subjectivity by sponsoring an evolving, flexible, and fluid analytical process. Quality in and of itself rests with the analyst as a reflection of their depth of engagement, creativity, and interpretive competencies. ‘Quality reflexive TA is not about following procedures ‘correctly’ (or about ‘accurate’ and ‘reliable’ coding, or achieving consensus between coders), but about the researcher’s reflective and thoughtful engagement with their data and their reflexive and thoughtful engagement with the analytic process’ (Braun and Clarke 2019, pg.594).

Big Q ‘is characterised by (genuine) theoretical independence and flexibility, and organic processes of coding and theme development’ (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.20) and

recognises the central role of the researcher in the production of knowledge (Braun and Clarke 2019, pg.592). Thematic analysis 'serves as a useful tool to illuminate the process of social construction' (Joffe 2012, pg.211) which 'can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data' (Braun and Clarke 2006, pg.78). As such, this research embraces the Big Q reflexive approach to thematic analysis in a constructivist framing, with a predominantly inductive orientation and a latent coding.

4.1.5 Thematic Analysis – Process

The process of analysis undertaken in this study followed the Braun and Clark's (2006, pp.15-24) six phases of thematic analysis: (i) Familiarisation with data; (ii) Generating initial codes; (iii) Searching for themes; (iv) Reviewing themes; (v) Defining and naming themes and (vi) Producing the report.

The first phase, Familiarisation with the data was undertaken in two ways; firstly, listening to the respondent interview recordings in their entirety one at a time. The average length of an interview was approximately an hour and a half. Therefore, each interview was listened to in its entirety but never more than two in any given day to avoid fatigue and overload of information contained within. Everyone has a preferred, most efficient way of doing this. Some retain information more easily visually, either reading, visual textual, or in a visual production such as film. Others may prefer audio over visual. In my case, I much preferred audio to visual/textual and more easily identified initial emerging themes in this way than through transcription and reading alone. Indeed, listening to interviews, as a kind of 'podcast', was extremely beneficial and enhanced and facilitated the processes of coding and the generating of themes from the analysis of the transcribed interviews as text.

The next phase entailed the transcription of the interview data (cf. 4.7.2 below). This was a challenging task given that transcription was undertaken in three languages, English, German and Italian and of interviews that in some cases were up to two hours in length. The initial six interviews that were undertaken in phase one were transcribed by listening to the interview and then writing up the conversation. The second phase of interview data was transcribed from Skype interviews, undertaken as such due to being in lockdown during the initial period of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. I managed to devise a system using dictation whereby I listened to the interview using headphones and then repeated the conversation verbatim into dictation software (in English, German and Italian). The result of this was then reviewed over again by listening and then concurrently following the transcription text in a comparative way by eye for accuracy and resolution. This was invaluable as it sped up the process immeasurably compared to the first six interview transcriptions and was, particularly in the case of Italian, invaluable for accuracy where I had found it difficult to decipher what had been said in some instances.

Generating initial codes was completed electronically, with close reference to the research questions and by colour-coding text in relation to codes. The initial codes were derived according to the main subject area that the segment of transcript referred. This was an iterative process whereby it became clear that some codes could be grouped into a more precise, meaningful, overarching code and so forth until there was a final, distinct set of codes that could no longer be merged or grouped. This process likens the process of data normalisation in structuring database management systems which similarly aims to facilitate optimal data querying and analysis. As such, the final set of codes were closely matched to as well as related to both the research question and the distinct lines of enquiry. From this point,

the emergent themes were more readily identified. Themes were then reviewed and defined to inform the subsequent analysis which is presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

4.2 Researcher and participant relationship

Spradley (1979, pp.3-5; italics in original) defines ethnography as ‘the work of describing a culture’ from the perspective of the ‘native’ informant, defining culture as ‘*the acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behaviour*’ and critically underlining the key distinction that ‘rather than *studying people*, ethnography means *learning from people*’. Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.1) further describe how people construct and define their realities as ‘highly variable and locally specific’. Historically, ethnography has entailed long-term studies being carried out over more extensive periods of time in terms of years, rather than of months or weeks, and sought to address broader and more far-reaching aspects of cultural knowledge. Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.5) suggest that contemporary ethnography has evolved to focus on more specific and finite aspects of culture in part due to constraints of time and given that ‘contemporary ethnography tends to be problem oriented’. Spradley (1979, pg.11) posits that ‘ethnography offers an excellent strategy for producing ‘theories grounded in empirical data of cultural description’. Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.8) describe its principal and most important characteristic as being ‘rooted in the concept of culture’ whose end-product ‘constitutes a theoretically informed interpretation of the community, group or setting’.

In describing the key characteristics or ‘hallmarks’ of ethnography, Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.18) proffer that since ethnography is ultimately guided by the concept of culture and ‘frames all human behaviour and belief within a socio-political and historical

context', contextualisation is of central importance where 'context refers to elements in a setting that influence the behaviours of individuals and groups'. Culture is thus described through a partnership relationship between researcher and participant in uncontrived settings 'in which responses to interventions are solicited, obtained, or measured' (Schensul & LeCompte 1999, pg.10). The relationship between researcher and participant involves building rapport and relations of trust which, according to Heller et al. (2018, pg.65), 'underlie all ethnography'. Building trust and rapport fosters an environment in which the authenticity of the voices, views and opinions gathered can be best assured, emphasised by what Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.13) describe as 'multiple voices, polyvocality, or intragroup diversity' which ought to be evident in ethnographic texts. Thus, Schensul & LeCompte's (1999) characterisation of ethnography leads us to consider, evaluate and manage the relationship between researcher and participant in an ethical manner before, during and after data collection and particularly regarding reflexivity, researcher positionality, and the co-construction of data between researcher and participant more closely. Furthermore, consideration is also given over to how the data itself is represented through analysis. These points are discussed in the sections that follow.

4.2.1 Reflexivity

Phillimore & Goodson (2004, pg.36) underline the importance of framing the contextual position of knowledge through exploring its place relative to its 'temporal, geographical or social moment'. Maintaining that 'the strengths of qualitative approaches lie in attempts to reconcile complexity, detail and context', Hantrais and Mangen (2007, pg.20) further argue that the 'integration of reflexivity' is equally both critical and integral to the research process.

Reflexivity 'denotes all efforts to critically expose the social context in which knowledge is created, developed, and assessed' (Sousa 2010, pg.490) enabling researchers to 'explore their own assumptions' and to expose how these 'shape their research activities, their interpretations, and the generation of knowledge' (Somekh 2008, pg.6). Reflexivity, therefore, embodies the fundamental notion that the 'researcher's backgrounds, interests, skills, and biases necessarily play unique roles in the framing of studies and in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data' (Miller 2008, pg.754). Markham (2005, p. 800) posits that as researchers, 'we have the opportunity and responsibility to reflexively interrogate our roles, methods, ethical stances, and interpretations'. This self-reflexivity 'brings to consciousness some of the complex political/ideological agendas hidden in our writing' (Richardson & Adams St Pierre 2005, pg.964) and in so doing, critically exposes 'the social context in which knowledge is created, developed, and assessed' (Sousa 2010, pg.490).

Krippendorff (2004, pp.88-89) suggests that qualitative researchers advocate reflexivity as an alternative to reliability and validity acknowledging, at the same time, that the reasoning behind this approach is difficult to assess. It is unclear whether this position is due to it being 'extraordinarily difficult' to verify interpretations of intersubjective data or whether it is due to it being difficult to make 'abductive inferences from texts'. In whichever instance, at the very least, it does allow the consumer of research outputs to better judge the content and analysis of the research data presented.

There is broad consensus that the application of reflexivity should be across the entire research process (Hantrais & Mangen 2007; Hiles 2008; Markham 2005; Miller 2008; Somekh 2008). In so doing, 'transparency and reflexivity' can complement each other since 'without transparency, reflexivity is undermined; at the same time, reflexivity obviously promotes transparency' (Hiles 2008, pg.891). However, the researcher does need to be conscious of

striking a considered balance between reliability, transparency, and reflexivity. Miller (2008, pg.754) presents the argument that 'attempts to demonstrate reliability are counterintuitive to much of the work that emanates from the qualitative domain' suggesting that 'the interpretive subjective nature of qualitative work ... can be undermined by rigid reliability concerns'.

Reliability, transparency, and reflexivity play a central role in assessing the overall validity of qualitative research. The validity of any study or research itself concerns the integrity of the methodology applied and the accuracy of the findings made from the data gathered. Transparency entails a researcher-centric evaluation of their impact on the research and addresses the need for open disclosure through reflexive self-awareness of the decision-making processes involved in both analysis and design. The impact of the personal experiences, values and beliefs of the researcher are examined introspectively and more broadly in the context of their impact on both analysis and design as well as the researcher-respondent relationship. Reliability, however, seeks to demonstrate consistency and is 'the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out' (Kirk and Miller 1986, pg.19). In qualitative research, demonstrating reliability requires the researcher to provide a comprehensive overview of the methodologies, strategies and techniques drawn upon throughout the research process that recognises the role they play in analysis and design as well as the accuracy of the final conclusions (Braun and Clarke 2006). This includes accounting for personal bias that may have influenced the final conclusions. The concept of bias is an equally important consideration since according to Bernard (2006), 'selection bias in choosing participants is a major confound to validity' (Bernard 2006, p. 116) that is 'the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research' (Bryman 2008, p.47).

Transparency and reflexivity regarding respondent recruitment is similarly of importance. Semi-structured interviews were carried out in two phases. The first phase took place face-to-face in the Ladin valleys with five respondents who were recruited through two cultural institutes and one respondent personally recruited from the wider community. The second phase of twenty-four interviews took place six months later electronically over Skype from the UK. This was a change of plan due to the Covid global lockdown. This allowed for a comparative assessment to be made between the two phases (cf. discussion on Skype versus face-to-face). Recording interviews facilitates unlimited access to data for both analysis and review as well as data auditing that together assure the validity and the integrity of research findings. A further choice that such recordings facilitated was the use of more substantial data extracts. This affords a broader overview of the context of the discussion between the researcher and respondent to better assess both the thematic as well as the contextual validity of the selected data, as being true to the subject and purpose of analysis, and that it was not a random selection resulting from any unconscious researcher bias.

It is also important to note the limitations of the research. As a doctoral thesis, there were both time and size constraints that had an impact on the study. In particular, due to the word count limits on size, not all themes that arose could be considered and as such the three most evident themes were selected. Similarly, although there were thirty respondents, not all respondents were cited in extracts. Extracts were selected whereby they were selected according to their relevance and as being representative of the broader dataset.

Finally, an important consideration is presented by Dowling (2008, pg.748) in highlighting the danger of reflexivity becoming a box ticking exercise used to 'make a qualitative study appear more rigorous' arguing that to avoid this, qualitative researchers need to be 'explicit in their actual practice of reflexivity'. As a qualitative research project and

drawing upon the notion of reflexivity in the discussion above, the following section presents a personal profile that informs the fundamental practice of researcher reflexivity in the context of this study (Miller 2008; Markham 2005).

4.2.2 Positionality and Co-construction

Wooffitt & Widdicombe (2006, pg.43) suggest that 'the analysis of interview data often overlooks the interactional basis of data production and this has implications for the interpretation of that data'. Researcher-participant interaction during data collection is thus viewed as obscured since it is not often considered in the analysis of data, the formulation of conclusions or in the transcription of interviews. This sentiment reflects a growing recognition in contemporary social research scholarship of the salient yet often understudied role that the personal values and beliefs of both researcher and participant play in the gathering, construction, and analysis of data in much qualitative research (Dean et al., 2018; Manderson et al. 2006). Such a position is exemplified in the notion that 'doing fieldwork is as much a personal experience as it is an invitation to challenge objectivity and evaluate our subjectivity in relation to the Other' (Pastor, 2011, pg.188; capitalisation in original).

Cultural influence, attitudes, values, beliefs of both respondent and researcher affect perceptions and behaviours in the interview underlining the complex relationship between attitudes and behaviour (cf. also Hammersley 1992; Chapter 4.1.1). Consideration needs to be given to the notion of power that includes the perceived power dynamics between researcher and respondent. Perceptions of expert and non-expert as well as with whom control of the interview process itself resides may invoke circumstantial responses that reflect cultural values and their related constructed social hierarchies. In this way, the complex

relationship between attitudes and behaviour plays out whereby researcher-respondent interactions are duly influenced by socially constructed hierarchies of power which themselves have an impact upon the data gathering process and equally upon the interpretation of data in the analysis. Cultural values that affect behaviours may be related to cultural sensitivities regarding to age and gender, social standing, class, being an insider or an outsider. Similarly, dress, both formal and informal, and the language used, both in terms of variety and register, may similarly have an impact.

In exercising reflexivity, the personal values, beliefs, truths and realities of both researcher and participant are closely examined not only individually but also in relation to each other and, furthermore, in relation to the very research processes in which they have participated. Positionality, therefore, aims to expose, examine, and deconstruct how the self is evident in and has itself influenced the data hitherto often obscured or omitted in the analysis. It presents a deeper understanding of data which according to Adu-Ampong & Adams (2019, pg.1) addresses 'reflexivity, intersubjectivity, and the (de) colonization of knowledge'.

Dean et al. (2018, pg.275) rightly point out that different researchers interpret 'the same issue of phenomenon' in different ways and that 'despite the acknowledgement of this variety of interpretation, rarely are interview transcripts available for wider analysis from different researchers, unlike large quantitative data-sets'. Similarly, Mann (2011, pg.21) argues for a more critical and transparent approach to qualitative interviewing whereby researchers need to 'negotiate a wider dissemination of at least some of the data' where data are neither sensitive, deductively revealing or without necessary permissions. Therefore, exposing positionality in and of itself leads to a deeper understanding of the co-construction

of data between researcher and participant which ultimately informs the formulation of a more comprehensive final analysis.

Manderson et al. (2006, pg.1332) underline the salience of what they describe as the 'structural relations' that create a unique power dynamic between researcher and participant and the fluidity of which is continuously negotiated by researcher and participant in the co-construction of data since they 'predetermine the relationship of interviewer and interviewee' which then 'shapes what is asked and how stories are told' (Manderson et al. 2006:1333). Philipps and Mrowczynski (2019, pg.13; italics in original), however, challenge 'the assumption that the *entire* authorship of meaning is exclusively attributable to the interactive system emerging between the interviewee(s) and the interviewer(s)'. Building on the work of Bohnsack et al. (2010), Philipps and Mrowczynski (2019, pg.13) propose using comparative sequential analysis described as a core aspect of documentary method of interpretation (DMI). They outline how a comparative analysis of segments of participant data 'on similar topics in different interviews' can help to reconstruct distinct frames of orientation enabling researchers to 'interpret interviewer accounts in relation to the interviewee's implicit knowledge'.

Since participants in this study are those who identify as Ladin, interviewing in a language other than Ladin may affect the quality of the data gathered and comes with language-ideological considerations for speakers of small and minority languages. Jaffe (1999, pg.216) posits that language ideology is represented in a 'wide range of phenomena'. Two of those outlined by Jaffe are of salience to this study, namely, 'hierarchies of linguistic value' and 'how specific language codes or forms are connected to identities (both individual and collective at all levels) as well as sociocultural roles and stances' (Jaffe 1999, pg.216; cf. Chapter 5). Equally, any subsequent translations into English add a further layer to the argued

diminishment of the quality of the data. To address this issue, both original and translation will be quoted in analysis. Therefore, data as a *product of translation* must also be taken into consideration (cf. Temple & Koterba, 2009).

A further consideration is the situation or environment in which the interview takes place. The surroundings themselves may also play a part in creating bias the interview process. In the context of this study, surroundings played an interesting role when comparing the five face-to-face interviews conducted in person in a formal setting at the cultural institutes, an interview conducted in person in an informal home setting and the majority of interviews that were not conducted in person but over Skype from the homes of respondents and researcher alike. Interviews at the institutes were held in a large hall at a table with a laptop and dictation recorder. Having the electronics present and rooms at the venues themselves (in an institute) both created a very formal atmosphere which created a feeling of an examination rather than an interview. This was evident in the length and depth of response to questions. The one interview held in the informal private home setting, however, stood in stark contrast. The interview was considerably more relaxed, in part due to having formed a more informal relationship over the time spent in the valleys on the first data-gathering fieldtrip, and the responses to were much more involved and were lengthier and more in-depth.

In interviews held over Skype, the respondent-researcher relationship was markedly different. In the first instance, from the shared experience of lockdown, the period during which Skype interviews were held, a sense of solidarity emerged which helped diminish any sense of formality. The familiarity of the home environment and surroundings also contributed to this. Moreover, having no time constraints, contributed to respondents and researcher being more relaxed. Together, the surrounding, setting and environment in

general similarly contributed to a greater richness and depth of data gathered. Surroundings certainly count and should be given a measure of consideration.

Language is, however, but one element in what Cormier (2018, pg.329) similarly describes as 'the complexity of identity' which encompasses aspects of class, gender, ethnicity, race, or religion as well as additional linguistic characteristics such as variety and accent. Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman (2017, pg.383) acknowledge that these 'can be perceived in complex ways by respondents' since 'research interactions are shaped by the social context of the interview or other research encounter' (Manderson et al., 2006, pg.1318). Described as 'structural factors', Manderson et al. (2006, pg.1333) argue that 'such social relationships are shaped by structural and ideational factors that are not readily controlled' suggesting that little consideration has been afforded to 'the subjective production of meaning in interviews that derives from individual and structural factors' in 'discussions of the representativeness or 'hardiness' of qualitative data' (Manderson et al. 2006, pg.1330). An understanding, awareness, and consciousness of the complexity of perception thus 'not only illuminates field dynamics' but also results in a better representation of the data (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017, pg.383).

In the same way, Cormier (2018, pp.328 - 332) underlines the importance of linguistic positionality as a form of power that is dynamic in nature and dependent upon the researcher being either a 'linguistic insider' or a 'linguistic outsider' whereby common linguistic repertoires and/or cultural knowledge may or may not be shared with participants and each coming with its own perceived advantages and disadvantages (Adu-Ampong & Adams, 2019; Cormier, 2018; Hult, 2013). Power can manifest itself and be expressed in varying ways. Razon and Ross (2012) describe power as an expression of knowledge through expertise, the construction and fluidity of identity and who dictates the interview process whereas Wooffitt

& Widdicombe (2006, pg.42) describe both translation and interpretation as forms of linguistic power 'that can have a direct impact on the validity of data collected' and 'should be reflected upon before the onset of data collection' since 'researcher positionality, translation and interpretation add complexity to the research process' (Cormier, 2018, pg.338).

In their Credibility and Approachability framework, Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman (2017, pg.380, italics in original) conceptualise credibility and approachability as 'both performed behaviours *and* perceived characteristics' which allows for 'the researcher's positionality, the standpoint of the researched, and the power-laden particularities of the interaction' to be incorporated in data-analyses and fieldwork reflections. They set out both 'active and passive strategies of *credibility* and *approachability* that qualitative researchers can use to gain and maintain access in multi-ethnic settings' (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman 2017, pg.378, italics in original). Drawing on Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman's (2017) conceptual framework, Adu-Ampong & Adams (2019, pg.3) examine the insider/outsider role of the researcher describing credibility and approachability as 'characterizations of how a researcher intentionally behaves in the fieldwork encounter as well as how the researched perceives the behavior of the researcher' citing linguistic positionality as an advantage where 'fluency in the local language served as a marker of cultural credibility and the establishment of trust' (Adu-Ampong & Adams 2019, pg.4) defining the notion of insider as 'conducting research at home' and outsider as those 'conducting research away from home' where home is understood as both 'geographical' and/or 'linguistic' (Adu-Ampong & Adams 2019, pg.1). They argue, however, that such a binary description of home (insider) and away (outsider) comes with limitations which are, in part, due to the complexities of multiple intersecting identities and the varying definitions and

perceptions of home by both researcher and participant. This argument is also presented by Razon and Ross (2012) who describe the complexities of building interviewer-interviewee alliances whilst simultaneously negotiating complex fluid identities. They outline how the question 'where are you from?' arose in every interview they undertook in their research and which itself concealed an array of embedded questions that had a far-reaching influence over interviewer-interviewee interaction.

Considering the context of class in the interview setting, Mellor et al. (2014, pg.138) posit that power relations are both complex and 'multidirectional, with various stages of research – from recruitment to dissemination – involving differing power distribution between the researchers and the researched'. Indeed, Manderson et al. (2006, pg.1319) posit that interviews 'are shaped, therefore, not only by where but by how and by whom they are conducted' and that each 'is the unique outcome of the characteristics of individuals and the uniqueness of the time and place in which they interact'. Wooffitt & Widdicombe (2006, pg.42) concur with this view affirming that the interview is overlooked as 'a period of social interaction' and describe a tendency to treat language itself as 'a passive medium for the transmission of information' or as 'a canvas which merely reflects the influence of sociological variables such as the participants' relationship, class, gender, status and so on'. Cormier (2018, pp.331-338) best concludes, however, that whether 'static, fluid, on a continuum, or context dependent' positionality has a significant impact in and 'add[s] complexity to the research process' whereby through the application of reflexivity 'a more insightful and transparent analysis than the descriptive practice of listing a researcher's personal characteristics' is produced (Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman, 2017, pg.391).

4.2.3 Researcher reflexivity and positionality

In the context of the principal research areas of enquiry, I consider my position to be somewhere between somewhat of an outsider, since in the context of identity construction, I am not a member of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group nor competent speaker of Ladin and yet insider, since I have had close personal and intimate experience of belonging to and participating in the group as an 'addition' or member through familial relationships. This consideration is borne of the awareness that my participation in and experience of the Gherdëina Ladins will have and indeed has influenced my broader understanding and perception of the ethnolinguistic group. Similarly, it is a recognition that being objective as an outsider, in the sense of being free from any bias, requires an awareness of being subjective as a result of having participated within the group, in the sense of participation having played a role in the construction of my beliefs, perceptions and opinions.

A deep awareness, understanding and knowledge of the local contexts under study was an invaluable advantage in building relationships across the valleys and in securing the participation of respondents in the research. It was evident that, in opposition to the conclusion of my own self-reflection as occupying a space between outsider and insider, even with a broad knowledge of research contexts and intimate experience of Ladin 'life', I was considered an outsider, a researcher, an Englishman and in the most hospitable and respectful Ladin way. Data collection was undertaken during the Covid pandemic and meant that interviews had to be carried out on Skype. The shared experience of the Covid pandemic and worldwide lockdowns facilitated establishing a good rapport between researcher and participant. This was in stark contrast to the 6 face-to-face interviews undertaken on an

earlier fieldtrip some months before. Being in familiar surroundings at home made for a much more relaxed process.

In conducting cross-language sociolinguistic research, linguistic positionality plays an important role since it is recognised that language choice may affect the quality of the data collected particularly in a multilingual setting. However, interviewing in German and Italian, too, facilitated a good rapport through the perceived shared experience of being non-native speakers. Indeed, in the case of using English, it was viewed as a good opportunity for practice. When the language of choice posed a problem for participants, the option of falling back on another languages-in-common, and on rare occasions, Ladin, was used.

I was often asked about how I came to be researching the Ladin ethnolinguistic group and for what reasons. I made a conscious decision to keep my responses as short as possible so as not to compromise or influence the responses to my interview questions. My connections to Gherdëina and other personal views about language and identity were also questioned in relation to the interview questions as they arose. In such cases, I would answer any questions after the conclusion of the interview, again so as not to exert any influence over the participant.

4.3 Interview and Recruitment Process

Fina and Perrino (2011, pg.1) posit that 'given the centrality of interpretative and qualitative research paradigms in sociolinguistics, ethnography, linguistic anthropology, and narrative studies, the interview has acquired an even more prominent place for investigation in these disciplines'. Data for this study is gathered through a planned series of sociolinguistic interviews that are in and of themselves ethnographically grounded. This is so defined in line

with the definitions offered by Heller et al. (2018, pg.2) whereby sociolinguistic describes ‘all kinds of investigations into how language matters, socially, politically and economically’ and whereby ethnographic describes ‘in-depth and situated explorations’ that illustrate ‘broader social processes’ and contextualise ‘the specific conditions involved’ therein. Ethnographically grounded is a considered description of the interviews undertaken in this study specifically to acknowledge and to make the distinction that, due to the time constraints of this study, a truly ethnographic methodological approach was not feasible in the sense of ethnography being ‘fundamentally about examining social practice **as it unfolds**, while it happens’ (Schensul & LeCompte 1999, pg.8; bold in original). Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.27) posit that ‘one of the strengths of ethnography is that the methods used produce a picture of cultures and social groups from the perspectives of their members’ which is a core aim of this study. Furthermore their comprehensive definition of seven key characteristics or ‘hallmarks’ of ethnography fit comfortably with the methodological approach of this study.

In electing for an ethnographically grounded, sociolinguistic interview, the participant should feel that they are participating in a conversation instead of participating in an interrogation. Building a comfortable rapport between participant and interviewer is central to a productive outcome, described by Schensul & LeCompte (1999, pg.10) as ‘gaining trust’ and within the context of Mayorga-Gallo & Hordge-Freeman’s (2017) Credibility and Approachability conceptual framework. In this way, the participant should feel comfortable in imparting their experiences and, at the same time, the interviewer will be better placed to elicit a more thorough insight into both the views and experiences shared.

This research was complicated by the polynomic nature of Dolomites Ladin and the researcher’s not being able to carry out interviews in Ladin. Ladin as a language of use in the interview process would have meant using several varieties (cf. Chapter 3.2.1). This was not

possible so in the multilingual valleys the choice then extended to Italian and German. Researcher competency in both was sufficient to undertake interviews. However, the level of competency was greater in German than in Italian and this facilitated a more confident approach to interviews in German. Using the pre-formulated descriptive interview questions to encourage conversation on broader social aspects of respondents' lives, for example, was useful to a degree in Italian, but formulating additional follow-on structural questions to examine more deeply the relationships within those aspects was more challenging. English was also offered as an option which some respondents elected. In this instance, similar issues arose concerning capability to best answer questions. As a consequence, both respondent and researcher used code-switching to convey meaning, that is, used language as an unbounded resource where appropriate as opposed to languages as separate and bound entities (cf. Chapter 2.3.1).

Translation was essential element of this qualitative research for both data-gathering and analysis as well as respondent recruitment regarding the dissemination of information about the study and respondent participation consent forms (cf. Appendices 1-5). The quality of translation is of the utmost importance and since translation is not a simple exercise of equivalence since there are linguistic complexities of idiom and cultural variation, interview data extracts were presented in both translated and original format in order to demonstrate reliability and validity. Regarding Ladin, however, since respondents often described it as the language in which they are best able to express themselves without issue, it is without doubt that undertaking interviews in the other languages offered may have had an impact on data quality in this respect.

Data gathered from an accompanying language use questionnaire is intended to serve as an additional means of contextualising interview data and providing supplementary

background information on the participants' self-assessed language competencies. Hoffman (2014, pg.37) suggests that this approach 'has the advantage of ensuring consistent data for and about all speakers'. It will provide a basic overview of participants' general attitudes to language that may both better illuminate participant positionality and consequently better inform the analyses of the interview data. It ultimately serves as an additional source of data and layer of analysis. This triangulation of data is foreseen as a way of uncovering knowledge that may otherwise may be concealed in considering individual qualitative interview data alone.

Participants have been sought in two ways; firstly, through contacts I have made with people who are actively involved in Ladin cultural organisations active in the Ladin valleys. This cohort of participants has, in turn, recommended and referred others to the project, a method described as 'the "friend of a friend" or snowball technique' (Hoffman, 2014, pg.31). Finally, I have recruited people to participate in the project with whom I have been able to build a sufficiently good rapport during fieldwork.

4.3.1 Participant Data

The following section describes the cohort of participants who have taken part in this study. It presents fundamental social data as well as information about the interviews themselves. In figure 3.1 overleaf, Basic overview of participants and interview, the first columns represent some basic background information about participants such as their valley of residence or heritage, which also directly corresponds to the Ladin idiom spoken, gender, age and profession. Additionally, information is provided which relates to the interview itself; when the interview took place, the language used in interview, the length of the interview,

how the interview was conducted, either face-to-face or via Skype, and the method of participant recruitment. This is discussed in further detail below.

Participants hail from all five Ladin valleys. Most participants are residents of Val Badia (19/30) in the autonomous province of Südtirol. One of those participants, who identifies as a Ladin of Val Badia, resides in the neighbouring valley, in Pustertal bordering Val Badia, which is not a Ladin majority valley but a majority German speaking valley also in Südtirol. The remainder are residents of Gherdeina (5/30) also in Südtirol, residents of Fascia (3/30) in the autonomous province Trentino, and, in the province of Belluno, two residents of Anpezo (2/30) and one resident of Fodom (1/30). See also ‘Graph 3 – Valley’ below.

Figure 3.1: Basic overview of participants and interview

| <i>Id</i> | <i>Valley</i> | <i>Pseudonym</i> | <i>Gender</i> | <i>Age</i> | <i>Profession</i> | <i>Interview Date</i> | <i>Language</i> | <i>Length</i> | <i>Skype or F2F</i> | <i>Recruitment Method</i> |
|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Fascia | Soreghina | F | 39 | Administration | October 2019 | English | 1h46m | F2F | Direct |
| 2 | Fascia | Don Camillo | M | 39 | Craftsman | October 2019 | Italian | 0h51m | F2F | Direct |
| 3 | Badia | Berner | M | 31 | Craftsman | October 2019 | German | 1h26m | F2F | Direct |
| 4 | Badia | Elisa | F | 48 | Translator | October 2019 | German | 1h08m | F2F | Direct |
| 5 | Badia | Lupa | F | 50 | Administration | October 2019 | German | 1h19m | F2F | Direct |
| 6 | Badia | Bardascia | F | 28 | Administration | October 2019 | German | 1h41m | F2F | Direct |
| 7 | Badia | Silvius Mariangel | F | 29 | Administration | March 2020 | German | 1h37m | Skype | snowballing |
| 8 | Badia | Morvëia | F | 45 | Administration | March 2020 | German | 2h17m | Skype | snowballing |
| 9 | Gherdeina | Lene | F | 50 | Administration | March 2020 | German | 1h04m | Skype | snowballing |
| 10 | Badia | Dolasila | F | 62 | Retired | March 2020 | German | 1h52m | Skype | snowballing |
| 11 | Badia | Momo | M | 18 | Student | March 2020 | German | 1h28m | Skype | snowballing |
| 12 | Badia | Lucia | F | 48 | Hospitality | April 2020 | German | 1h42m | Skype | snowballing |
| 13 | Badia | Grace | F | 26 | Student | April 2020 | German | 2h06m | Skype | snowballing |
| 14 | Badia | Rose | F | 24 | Education | April 2020 | English | 1h48m | Skype | snowballing |
| 15 | Badia | Tessa | F | 44 | Education | April 2020 | English | 1h51m | Skype | snowballing |
| 16 | Badia | Salvan | M | 51 | Hospitality | May 2020 | German | 1h45m | Skype | snowballing |
| 17 | Gherdeina | Sofy | F | 25 | Education | May 2020 | English | 1h45m | Skype | snowballing |
| 18 | Badia | Susanna | F | 20 | Student | May 2020 | German | 1h35m | Skype | snowballing |
| 19 | Gherdeina | Moidl | F | 33 | Education | May 2020 | German | 1h48m | Skype | snowballing |
| 20 | Gherdeina | Musnata | M | 63 | Retired | May 2020 | English | 1h55m | Skype | snowballing |
| 21 | Badia | Badia | M | 55 | Administration | May 2020 | German | 1h22m | Skype | Direct |
| 22 | Badia | Tommaii | F | 47 | Administration | May 2020 | German | 1h18m | Skype | Direct |
| 23 | Badia | Aga | F | 36 | Education | May 2020 | German | 2h19m | Skype | snowballing |
| 24 | Badia | loja | M | 46 | Translator | May 2020 | German | 2h26m | Skype | Direct |
| 25 | Gherdeina | Elena | F | 21 | Student | May 2020 | German | 1h39m | Skype | snowballing |
| 26 | Fodom | Dilan | M | 33 | Senior Management | May 2020 | Italian | 1h40m | Skype | snowballing |
| 27 | Badia | Sonne | F | 54 | Administration | May 2020 | German | 1h09m | Skype | snowballing |
| 28 | Fascia | Chel | M | 53 | Craftsman | May 2020 | Italian | 2h08m | Skype | snowballing |
| 29 | Anpezo | Conzapeles | M | 64 | Retired | May 2020 | German | 2h12m | Skype | snowballing |
| 30 | Anpezo | Berto | M | 44 | Graphic Design | June 2020 | English | 1h45m | Skype | snowballing |

The ages of participants range from the youngest participant who is 18 years old and the eldest participant who is 64 years old. The average age across all participants is 40 years old. See also 'Graph 1 – Age' below. In this graph, participants have been divided into groups of age by decade. Most participants are in their 30s, 40s or 50s (18/30). Two thirds of participants are female (20/30) and one third is male (10/30). See also 'Graph 2 – Gender' below.

All participants completed a secondary education (30/30). Most participants completed a course of study in further education (18/30) and roughly half of all participants completed a university education (15/3). See 'Graph 4 – Education' below.

Figure 3.2: Number of Respondents by Age

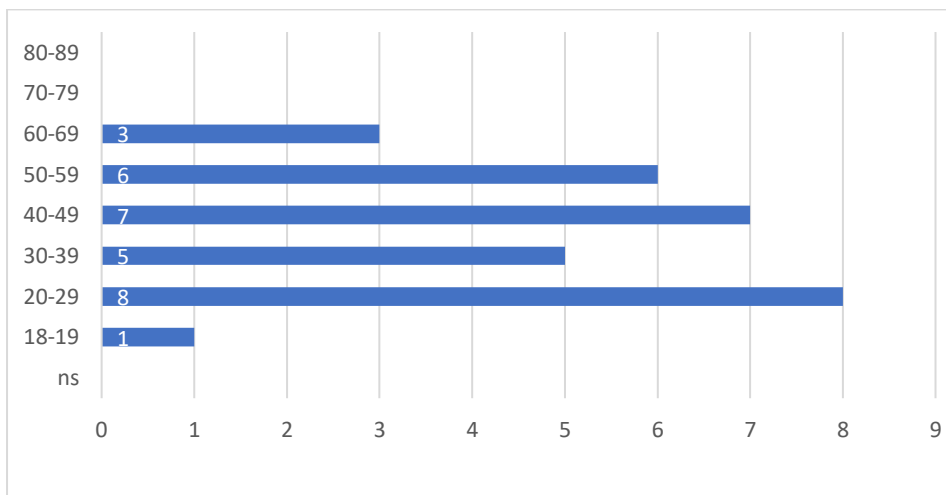


Figure 3.3: Number of Respondents by Gender

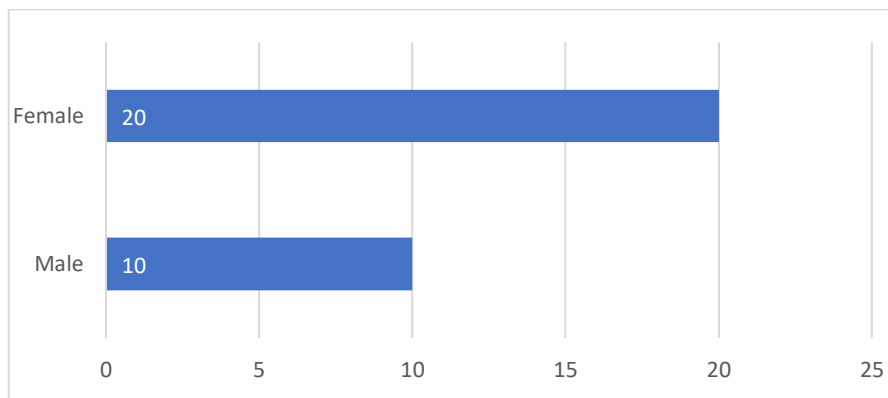


Figure 3.4: Number of Respondents by Valley

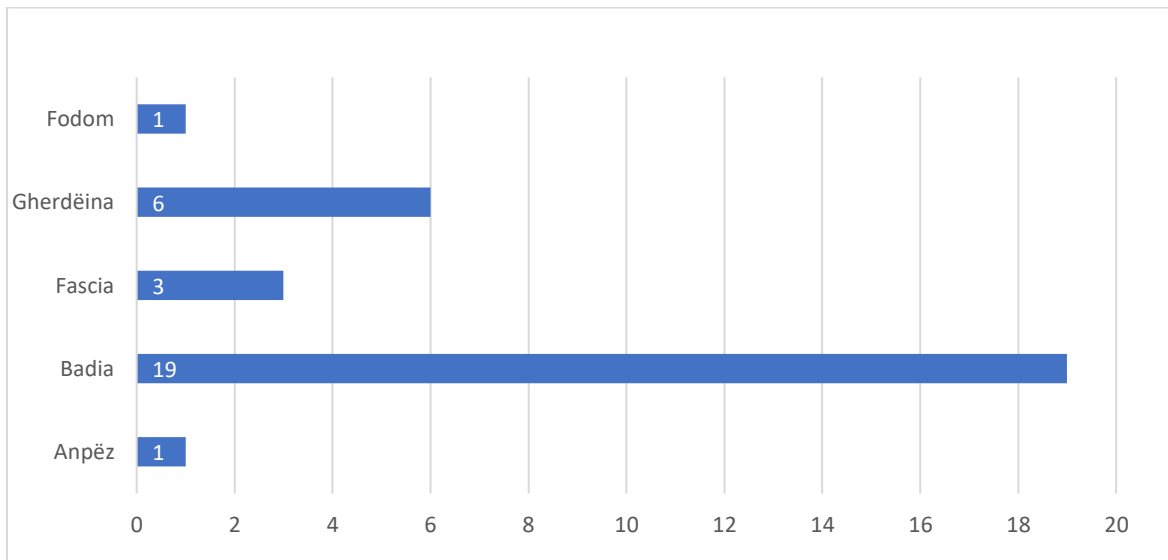
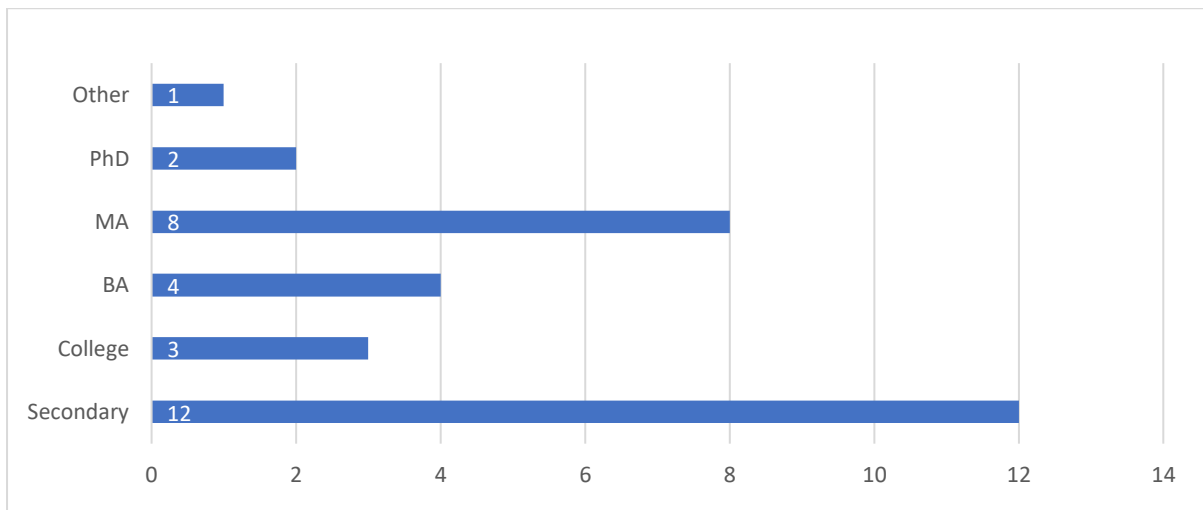


Figure 3.5: Number of Respondents by Education



Most participants are in skilled employment (23/30) both white collar workers (18/30) and blue-collar workers (5/30). Participants can be divided into those who work in administration (9/30), in education (5/30), as craftsmen (3/30), in hospitality (2/30), as translators (2/30), in graphic design (1/30), and in senior management (1/30). The remaining seven participants are either students in full-time education (4/30) or are retired (3/30). The

precise occupations disclosed by participants have been grouped into the broader categories reported above to maintain anonymity.

Participant recruitment and interviews took place in two phases. The first phase took place during fieldwork in October 2019. The first participants were recruited through contacts made at the two Ladin cultural institutes in Val Badia (3/30) and Fascia (2/30). One participant in Val Badia was directly recruited in the community (1/30). The second phase took place in between April and June 2020. Although a second fieldwork visit had been planned for this period, it had to be cancelled due to the Covid-19 pandemic health crisis and the ensuing lockdown measures. As a result, a fundamental rethink was necessary concerning participant recruitment. Using existing contacts made across the Ladin valleys (3/30) and after having secured revised ethics approval, participants were recruited to participate in interviews via Skype. From this base and through snowballing, additional participants were then recruited from among participants' families, colleagues, and acquaintances (22/30). Interviews were thus carried out in two ways; in person face-to-face (6/30) and via Skype (24/30) which took place in October 2019 (6/30), March 2020 (5/30), April 2020 (4/30), May 2020 (14/30) and June 2020 (1/30). The average length of an interview is one 1 hour and 41 minutes. The shortest interview lasted 51 minutes and the longest interview 2 hours and 26 minutes.

In terms of language, most participants declared Ladin as their first language (28/30). The remaining participants declared German (1/30) and Ladin & German dialect (1/30) as their first language. See Graph 5 – Participant First Language below. As a result, only two participants were interviewed in their declared first language (2/30). Participants were then given a choice as to which language they preferred to use in interview other than Ladin, as the researcher is not sufficiently competent in Ladin to carry out interviews. As a result, participants were interviewed in German (21/30), English (6/30) and Italian (3/30). Therefore,

most participants were not interviewed in their declared first language (28/30); cf. Fig.3.7 – Interview Language below.

Figure 3.6: Participant First Language

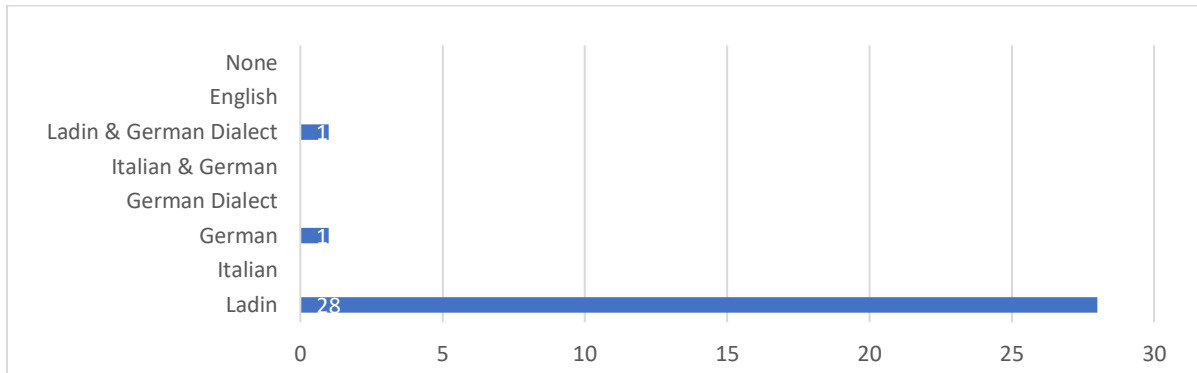
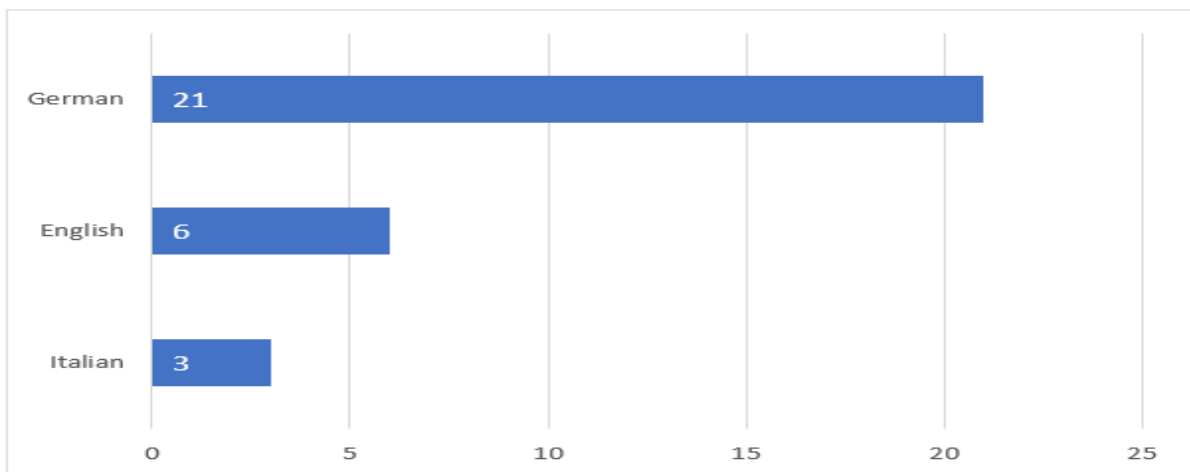


Figure 3.7: Interview Language



4.4 Transcription – Process

As Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012; 2019), Lapadat (2000, pg.215) similarly contends that ‘it is advantageous for the researcher to be close to the data’ and one way of doing this is to transcribe interviews or to listen to recordings over and over again ‘the process through which details become visible’ (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999, pg.69). This facilitates the researcher’s

'seeing' and as such the researcher should 'be explicit and purposive about transcription decisions from the start, and to trace the decisions that evolve' (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999, pg.214). Jenks (2011, pg.13) posits that '[t]ranscripts should not be seen as documents that are independent of personal, methodological, and/or disciplinary interests'. That is to say that purpose and intent influence analysis and interpretation (Lapadat 2000; Lapadat and Lindsay 1999).

Transcription is undertaken in three key stages. Each interview is transcribed verbatim to firstly facilitate both data familiarisation and secondly, the coding of the transcripts. This is undertaken manually without the aid of computer software. For each data extract, described by Braun and Clarke (2006, pg.79) as an individual coded chunk of data, which has been identified within, and extracted from, a data item'. Lapadat (2000, pg.205) posits that '[r]esearchers' transcription systems need to reflect their data and their purposes' and suggest that this is why there are many ways of doing transcription. Having identified a candidate data extract, a decision needs to be made about what amount of information is to be conveyed in the transcription and using what conventions.

Jenks (2011) describe transcripts as 'research constructs' that are 'created through the analytic lens of a data analysis methodology' being tools constructed 'according to academic and personal interests and biases, as well as what a data analysis methodology is capable of investigating' (Jenks 2011, pg.11). He further states that 'a transcript is neither atheoretical nor completely free of predisposition' and describes a transcription continuum that situates open transcripts on the one end and closed on the other. Open transcripts exhibit a large amount of detail with 'little analytic prejudice' in which "every' feature of talk and interaction is transcribed to fully capture what is heard and seen in the data recording.' Closed transcripts, at the opposite pole, exhibit lesser degree of detail where assumptions are made

about what features of talk and interaction are important and assist in the analysis of data (Jenks 2011, pp.11-12). For the purposes of this research, transcripts or data extracts will tend toward the closed whereby paralinguistic and nonverbal information is not conveyed in any detail since this is not the focus of analysis. However, where this is deemed an important facet of the extract, attention will be drawn to this. Lapadat (2000, pg.216) suggests keeping an audit trail of decisions made during the transcription process together with any transcription conventions adopted. This is conveniently conducive to the spirit of transparency in thematic analysis.

4.4.1 Transcription – Conventions

Transcription conventions used in this research are adapted from:

Copland & Creese (2015), Richards (2003) and Jenks (2011).

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| ROSE ^{VB} | respondent pseudonym and valley of residence: |
| VB Val Badia, AM Anpezo, FD Fodom | valley references |
| GR Gherdëina and FA Fascia | |
| artificial | referenced quote |
| Ladins <i>in</i> South Tirol | italics denotes emphasis |
| {sg. <i>Minderheitensprache</i> } | suggested meaning of previous word/sentence. |
| {sg} ¹ | several suggestions annotated |
| [<i>Handy klingelt</i>] | interruption event described |
| [//] | Interruption or break in interview flow |
| [...] | omission of preceding narrative |
| (...) | unintelligible speech |
| AC: | Interviewer |
| [AC: Dialekte im ladinischen?] | interjection |
| ! | denotes exclamation or surprise. |
| ? | denotes a question. |

4.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the qualitative constructivist research methodology that has informed this research. It has offered insights into the decision-making processes undertaken as well as the rationale for having elected this approach. In order to gather the data that would underpin the analysis in the following chapters and be commensurate to best addressing the research questions, respondent interviews were deemed the most appropriate way of achieving this. The questions that formed the basis of the interviews themselves were built around (i) the central research question;

What role does language play in the construction of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity?

and then further around (ii) the three distinct lines of enquiry that asked;

1. How do respondents navigate the plurality of Central Dolomitic ethnolinguistic identity? How does this inform identity construction in relation to internal group identity(-ies) at the valley and pan-Ladin levels as well as in relation to non-Ladin ethnolinguistic groups?
2. Do respondents consider multilingualism to be an asset or a liability and what role does it play, if any, in constructing ethnolinguistic identity? Does multilingualism give rise to any tensions within or between valley groups?
3. How does language inform respondent construction(s) of a pan-Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in the absence of an official standard form? Do respondents perceive Ladin Dolomitan as a unifying or divisive force?

Through thematic analysis of the resulting dataset, the following three chapters were compiled and describe respondent perspectives on the role of language in constructing Ladin identity that reflect the three most prominent key themes. Chapter five explores the notion of Ladin identity as multi-layered; chapter six the examines Ladin multilingualism and its role as a core facet of Ladin identity construction culminating in chapter seven which explores examines respondents' perceptions on the role of standardisation in creating ever closer Ladin unity across the valleys, considering notions of apprehension and reluctance regarding the adoption of a standard written form, Ladin Dolomitan in place of the individual valley varieties.

Chapter Five:

The Ladin Matryoshka - *Navigating multi-layered Ladin ethnolinguistic identity.*

5. Introduction

Respondents primarily construct Ladin identity using three key concepts; history (time), territory (space) and ethnolinguistic kinship (relationships). In a historical context and with a history spanning two millennia, respondents broadly describe Ladins as descendants of the autochthonous people of the Alpine region of Central Europe. In a contemporary context and similarly constructed within spatiotemporal dimensions, respondents describe Ladins as an ethnolinguistic group of the Central Dolomites. Through notions of kinship and autochthony, spatiotemporally bound to the very same autochthonous people and ancient Rhaetic language, Ladin ethnolinguistic group belonging is more broadly constructed to include western Switzerland (Romansh) and eastern Italy (Friulian). Constructed as survivors of a once greater territorial continuum, they now remain the only three isolated islands of Ladin occupation. Finally, reference to culture and tradition also finds its place in constructions of Ladin identity whose legitimacy, however, is in part contested as shared with other Alpine groups, such as the Tirolean or Italian, in stark contrast to language which, explicitly and unconditionally, is Ladin title.

In this chapter, section 5.1 examines the notions of space and time in constructions of Ladin identity in which respondents emphasise the autochthony of Ladin(s) in their perception of their pre-existing all other groups. Section 5.2 investigates Ladin more closely with sharp focus on the notions of authenticity and linguistic purity in respondents' perceptions of

'Ladinness'. Valley linguistic identity(-ies) are explored against a background of valley-centric language protectionism. Finally, section 5.3 presents a summary which highlights insights gained from the analysis presented in the preceding sections of the chapter.

5.1 Delimiting Ladin - Spatiotemporal constructions of belonging.

Examining the notions of space and time in constructions of Ladin identity, the following section is divided into three parts. Section 5.1.1 examines notions of an ancient, common, shared Ladin ethnolinguistic identity from which all contemporary Ladin ethnolinguistic identities have subsequently evolved. Section 5.1.2 then examines the notion of kinship that binds together three contemporary 'islands' of Ladin and ethnolinguistic identity exploring the notions of isolation and survival in the context of historic non-Ladin expansionism. With sharp focus on the broader Central Dolomitic 'island', section 5.1.3 examines the relationships between valley and valley variety(-ies) of Ladin in the context of multi-layered identity.

5.1.1 The origins of Ladin - Historicity and the construction of Ladin in space and time.

Respondents construct Ladin ethnolinguistic identity using history as a primary referential focal point that is defined by notions of having an ancient past, of their being autochthonous inhabitants of a defined space in which they pre-exist all other groups and who, as a result of various episodes of movements of people over a long historical trajectory, have come to occupy the same space. The beginnings and subsequent evolution of the Ladin language and Ladins alike is firmly anchored in reference to unique Rhaetic and Celtic roots.

The history of Ladins as an ethnolinguistic group is fundamentally constructed along clearly defined spatiotemporal lines. Constructions are often built on seemingly incontestable foundations with historic and linguistic integrity bound to and readily evidenced in history. Respondents often use superlative language to describe an evolutionary trajectory spanning two millennia and their inhabiting a space that over time has diminished; a former territorial continuum reduced to a collection of Ladin enclaves whose title is firmly claimed on grounds of ancient ancestry, notions of kinship and continuous occupation and evidenced through and in the Ladin language. Historical mobility and movements of people(s) are cited as a way of foregrounding their Rhaetic and Celtic roots in opposition to others. The following extracts illustrate how history is used to legitimise Ladin spatiotemporally. SALVAN^{VB} constructs Ladin identity as autochthonous through notions of ancience and primacy with roots that reach back into antiquity.

Extract 1. SALVAN [VB]

Ladinisch ist eine ethnische Minderheitssprache. Sie wurde, wir hier haben **ganz uralte Einflüsse**, eigentlich die ersten Befunde, ökologische Befunde, was wir hier, was wir hier gefunden haben. Diese kommen sogar von der Bronzezeit, irgendwie geht das ganz hinten. Natürlich hat das auch eine sehr starke Einfluss gehabt, dass, da wir, wie Südtirol allgemein, in Südtirol, unter, unter 's österreichische, österreichische Kaiserland waren, nicht? Und, und, und das hat auch ein sehr starkes Einfluss gehabt. Aber wir sind **noch älter, wir sind die älteste ethnische Minderheitssprache** in Südtirol, das heißt **wir waren schon früher da als vor alle anderen**, ja.

Ladin is an ethnic minority language. It was, we have here **very ancient influences**, the very first finds actually, archaeological finds that we here, that we have found here. These even go back to the Bronze Age, somehow it goes way back. It has, of course, had a very strong influence that, because we were, like all of South Tirol, in South Tirol, under, under the Austrian, Austrian Empire, you see? And, and, and that has had a very strong influence. But we are **even older, we are the oldest ethnic minority language** in South Tirol, which means **we were already here before anyone else was**. Yeah.

SALVAN^{VB} foregrounds Ladin as an ethnic minority language with ‘ancient influences’ citing the archaeological record as providing evidence in support of his claim. The use of the first-person plural pronoun ‘we’ clearly positions the participant as belonging to the Ladin ethno-linguistic group and as such infers speaking from a position of authority. Further comparative historic reference is made to the Ladins’ former inclusion in the Austrian Empire.

However, SALVAN^{VB} differentiates the Ladins from the Austrian Tiroler, by foregrounding them as ‘even older’, establishing a temporal boundary as a mechanism to legitimise Ladin. Ladins are presented as pre-existing all others, here defined ‘in South Tirol’; ‘we were here well before anyone else was’. ‘We’ is subsequently attributed to language in ‘we are the oldest ethnic minority language’, additionally constructing boundaries of belonging along linguistic lines, in terms of them and us (Barth 1969) and using superlative language.

DOLASILA^{VB} similarly foregrounds their autochthony, the anciency of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group and the primacy of Ladins as the ‘original inhabitants’ or ‘native population’ with ancestral links to ‘the Raeti’ who are ‘of Celtic descent’.

Extract 2. DOLASILA [VB]

Aber es ist, weiß ich nicht ob es wissenschaftlich ganz richtig ist, es ist diese Sprache, die entstanden ist von der **Urbevölkerung**, das waren **die Räter**, die **hier im Alpenraum** gelebt haben, die Räter. Die sollen **keltischer Abstammung** sein. Die Räter, die wurden dann von den Römern erobert und in der Nachbarschaft oder in Zusammenleben hat sich die Sprache der Räter [*Handy klingelt*] **romanisiert**. sorry [././] ich wollte das abstellen aber ich habe’s nicht geschafft. [*Lachen*] Gut! Jetzt bin ich drausgekommen. Ja, hat sich die Sprache der Räter **romanisiert** also durch das Zusammenleben, diese alte lateinische Sprache der Legionär. So wurde das gesprochen, **das hat sich erhalten**. Also das hat man zuerst was im ganzen Alpenraum gesprochen aber dann durch **die Völkerwanderungen** und so wurden viele Teile **germanisiert**, so genau wie auch in Südtirol hier, und **sie hat sich erhalten in den fünf Dolomitentälern, in Friaul und in der Schweiz**. Ja, dabei sind wir eben, das Gadertal ist **eines von diesen fünf Dolomiten Tälern**.

But it is, I don't know whether it's scientifically right to say, it is this language that originated from the **indigenous population**, who were the **Raeti**, who lived **here in the Alps**, the Raeti. They are said to be of **Celtic descent**. The Raeti were then conquered by the Romans and so living nearby or together, the language of the Raeti was [*mobile phone rings*] **romanised**. Sorry [././.] I meant to turn it off but I didn't get round to it. [*laughter*] Right! Now I've lost my thread. Yes, the language of the Raeti was **romanised** as a result of living together, this old Latin language of the Legionnaires. That's what was spoken and **it has survived**. So, that's what used to be spoken across the whole of the Alps but then due to population **migrations** and such, many areas were **germanised**, just like here in South Tirol, and **it has survived in the five Dolomites' valleys, in Friuli and in Switzerland**. Yes, we're part of that, Val Badia is **one of these five Dolomites' valleys**.

DOLASILA^{VB} introduces the 'Celtic' concept as a construct of ancient provenance that legitimises the roots the Ladin ethno-linguistic group temporally over a long and ancient historical trajectory pre-dating the Roman conquest of the area some two millennia ago. The use of 'said to be' in this legitimation, 'are said to be of Celtic descent', illustrates historicity. The Ladin language itself is presented as having developed as a result of language contact. Roman conquest and the resulting coexistence of the Raeti and the Latin speaking legionnaires brought about the Romanisation of the Rhaetic inferring the linguistic domination of Latin. The theme of language contact and linguistic domination is continued with further references to 'population migrations' and a Germanisation that is spatially attributed to South Tirol. Indeed, the spatial boundaries are immediately expanded to include the five Ladin valleys of the Dolomites as well as Italian Friuli and finally, Switzerland.

DOLASILA^{VB} once again foregrounds the notion of survival as a salient factor in the historical trajectory of the Ladin language. This is an equally common theme employed in constructing the legitimacy of Ladin spatiotemporally and is elaborated below (cf. 5.1.2). In the following extract, CONZAPELES^{AM} constructs Ladin identity through language in two ways. Firstly, he does this by constructing an internal layers of Ladin identity through a connection

to a common 'old language'. Secondly, he does this by constructing Ladin identity in opposition to external others through notions of pre-existing and predating them.

Extract 3. CONZAPELES [AM]

Das einzig typische, ich wiederhole es wieder, ist ja **die eigenartige Sprache, die älteste Sprache**. Das sagen auch die Schweizer. Dieses Rätoromanisch ist die vierte Sprache in der Schweiz auch auf den Banknoten, ist auf jeder Seite eine andere Sprache mit **Rätoromanisch oder Rumansch, wie es sie dort nennen**, und sie sagen ja ok wir sind die kleinste Sprache in der Schweiz aber **die älteste**. Das ist **bei uns hier** dasselbe. Wir sind **die älteste Sprache**, wir sind **das Überbleibsel von dieser alten Sprache** und es gibt Wörter im Ladinischen, die nicht lateinisch sind. Wörter, die **älter** als Lateinisch sind. Also das sind **rätische** oder **keltische** Wörter, die **die Latinisierung überlebt** haben. Und wenn diese Wörter dann verschwinden, dann ist auch diese. Vielleicht sind sie ein Handvoll oder zwei Hände voll Wörter, **noch älter als 2000 Jahre**, die dann auch aussterben und nicht benutzt werden.

The only typical thing, I'm repeating myself, is really **the unique language, the oldest language**. That's what the Swiss also say. This Rheato-Romansh is the fourth language in Switzerland and it's also on the banknotes, on each side there is another language including **Rheato-Romansh or Romansh, as they call it over there**, and they say, yes, ok we are the smallest language in Switzerland but **the oldest**. That's the same **for us here**. We are **the oldest language**, we are **the remnants of this old language** and there are words in Ladin that aren't Latin. Words that are **older** than Latin. Those are Rhaetic or Celtic words that have **survived Latinisation**. And if these words were to disappear, then this language would, too. There are maybe one or two handfuls of words, **even more than 2000 years old**, which might die out and fall out of use.

CONZAPELES^{AM} constructs Ladin as a 'unique language' and on two occasions superlatively as 'the oldest language' establishing a direct relationship between Ladin in the Dolomites and Swiss Romansh. An *internal* linguistic boundary is inferred by highlighting their different names in a 'them' and 'us' dichotomy. Similarly for Romansh 'over there', Ladin is what has survived historical language contact and 'Romanisation', as DOLASILA^{VB} similarly states above, or 'Latinisation', as CONZAPELES^{AM} references it here. In both extracts, we see a salient reference to Ladin as a survivor by constructing it as 'the remnants of this old

language' and the direct use of 'survives' itself. The historical trajectory is constructed over two millennia which gives greater gravitas to the notion of survival. The defining construction lies specifically in the use of the term 'the remnants' and the further affirmation of 'Rhaetic' together with the introduction of 'Celtic' to the mix that have both 'survived Latinisation', similarly described by DOLASILA^{VB} above. Respondents often construct Ladin around the notion of survival to legitimise Ladin spatiotemporally, spanning over two millennia, and across a broadly defined alpine region.

In the following section, the notion of survival is examined further in constructions of kinship through the notion of isolation.

5.1.2 Ladin as a survivor - Constructing Ladin in kinship through isolation.

Set in the context of survival, notions of historically defined kinship are constructed that serve to point to a wider imagined Ladin community (cf. Chapter 3 above). The spatiotemporal evolution of the Ladin language(s) is constructed in terms of more historic episodes of language contact using notions of importation, conquest, being non-indigenous or contaminating (cf. section 5.2 below). Binding these elements together foregrounds the foundations, evolution and plurality of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity at a macro level, often described as the 'Ladin islands' of Grisons, the Dolomites and Friuli. Their geographic and topographic realities historically hindered mobility and fostered an existence in isolation. However, language is constructed as binding them together in a Ladin identity that is described by respondents in terms of kinship.

In the following extract 4, CONZAPELES^{AM} constructs the contemporary pan-Ladin reality as a result of language contact and historic population migrations that has resulted in there becoming three distinct Ladin ‘islands’.

Extract 4. CONZAPELES [AM]

Also, Ladinisch ist eine neue Version des Populär- also des Volkslateinischen. Man vermutet, dass hier im ganzen Alpenraum, vor den Römern, eine andere Sprache war, eine rätische Sprache und dann sind die Römer, haben die Römer das ganze Gebiet besetzt und haben **dieses Volkslatein da hineingebracht** und wir haben dann auch diesen Volkslatein, dieses Ladinisch geerbt dann. Die Gegend, wo dieses Latein gesprochen wurde, war natürlich **riesengroß**, über ganz Europa. Ladinisch hat sich **über die ganzen Alpen verbreitet** und hat sich dann im Laufe der Jahrhunderten immer eingengt und jetzt gibt es diese kleine, ladinische Inseln. Die eine ist die Grischuns in der Schweiz. Dann sind wir hier in den Dolomiten mit ungefähr 30.000 Leuten. Und dann gibt’s eine viel größere Gemeinschaft im Friaul drüben in der Provinz Udine und Gorizia, wo viele, wo auch ladinisch gesprochen wird. Das sind immer ladinische Varianten auch.

So, Ladin is a new version of Popular or Vulgar Latin. We suspect that there was another language here in the Alps before the Romans arrived, a Rhaetic language and then the Romans, the Romans occupied the whole region and **brought this Vulgar Latin with them** and we then inherited this Vulgar Latin, this Ladin. The area where this Latin was spoken was, of course, **huge**, all over Europe. Ladin **spread all over the Alps** and over the course of the centuries receded and now there are these small, Ladin islands. One is Grisons in Switzerland. Then there’s us here in the Dolomites with about 30,000 people. And then there’s a much larger community over in Friuli in the province of Udine and Gorizia where many [speak it], where Ladin is spoken. These are also varieties of Ladin.

CONZAPELES^{AM} foregrounds Ladin spatiotemporally and additionally as a consequence of language contact through which the indigenous Rhaetic language was mixed with the dominant Vulgar Latin that the Romans brought with them. Over a long historical temporal trajectory, the wider territorial realm of the Ladin speaking areas is constructed as historically ‘huge’, having once extended across the entire Alpine region, ‘spread all over the Alps’, but since has receded to these contemporary ‘small’ Ladin islands where varieties of Ladin are spoken today.

At its broadest level, the linguistic partition of the broader contemporary Ladin speaking area into three 'islands' is thus constructed as a consequence of external expansionism. The Ladin 'macro' construct that comprises of the three 'islands' transitions down into more narrowly defined 'micro' constructs through the foregrounding of Ladin 'varieties'. Although each so-called island has a distinct variety of Ladin, CONZAPELES^{AM} concomitantly highlights the close linguistic relationship shared between them. The transition into the micro in this way is equally applicable when the macro is considered either more broadly as all 'islands' together or more narrowly as one island alone demonstrating the multi-layered nature and plurality of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity.

In the following extract, SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} describes Ladin referencing historic notions of Ladin (im)mobility and isolation. Here, a further layer of Ladin identity is described whereby the boundaries of Dolomitic Ladin and group membership are constructed according to valley and the valley variety of Ladin.

Extract 5. SILVIUS MARIANGEL [VB]

Also, jetzt geschichtlich gesehen ist ladinisch entstanden als die Römer eben **in unseren Gebieten hergekommen sind** und ihr Latein, also wie sagt man jetzt, ihr Soldaten Latein mit unserem, mit unserer Sprache vermischt worden ist und eben daraus ist Ladinisch entstanden und **hat sich eben konserviert, weil wir ebenso in diesen Tälern eingeschlossen waren. Wir haben auch Verwandte**, das heißt Ladinisch oder eine Variante vom Ladinischen wird auch im Friaul gesprochen und in der Schweiz.

[...]

und hier in **Ladinien, also hier in Italien**, haben wir eben verschiedene Idiome vom Ladinisch, das heißt wir haben Grödnerisch, wir haben Fassanisch, Ampezzanisch und was habe ich jetzt vergessen? Gadertalerisch und Ampezzanisch glaube ich habe gesagt? Fodom in Buchenstein aber wir können es nicht sprechen, das heißt ich spreche Gadertalerisch aber z.b. Gröden kann ich nur manche Worte sprechen, also **wir können gegenseitig nicht das andere Ladinisch sprechen** oder ganz wenige können das gut.

So, from a historical perspective, Ladin originated from the time the Romans **arrived in our lands** and, how do you say, mixed their Latin, their soldier's Latin {sg. Vulgar Latin} with ours, with our language and from this, Ladin emerged and **survived because we were also trapped within these valleys. We also have relatives**; I mean Ladin or a variety of Ladin is also spoken in Friuli and Switzerland. [...]

and here in **Ladinia, that is here in Italy**, we have various idioms of Ladin, that is we've got Gherdëina, we've got Fascegn, Ampezzan and, what have I forgotten? Badiot and Ampezzan, I think I said that one? Fodom in Livinallongo del Col di Lana but we don't know how to speak it. I mean Badiot or, for example, Gherdëina, I only know a few words of, so **we don't how to speak each other's Ladin** or at least only a few people know how to do it well.

SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} maintains that through Roman mobility and subsequent language contact, Ladin evolved as a hybrid. In contrast, historic Ladin isolation and immobility, resulting from being 'trapped inside these valleys', saliently foregrounds Ladin as a survivor. SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} constructs historic external group boundaries, concomitantly establishing Ladin autochthonous provenance, in asserting 'they came into *our* areas'. The notion of spatial plurality expressed in '*our* areas' is subsequently exposed by SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} through the construction of internal group boundaries. Firstly, claiming that 'we also have relatives' employs the notion of kinship to construct internal group relationships that extend to include Friuli and Switzerland whereas the Romans are expressly external to all. SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} exposes a further layer of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity by shifting the focus to 'Ladinia, that is here in Italy', whereby the subsequently described Dolomite valleys are the individual component parts of the broader 'Ladinia'. Through this lens, Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic identity is constructed according to linguistic difference which contests the notion of intervalley Ladin mutual intelligibility in stating that 'we can't speak each other's Ladin', or at least 'few people can'. Ladin identity is thus constructed as multi-layered in which context is similarly a salient consideration. The context of linguistic difference (variety) is employed here as an individual defining facet of a broader Dolomites

Ladin identity whereas Dolomites Ladin itself is an individual defining facet of the broadest Ladin identity described by respondents as comprising the ‘Ladin islands’ of Grisons, the Dolomites and Friuli.

In the following extract MUSNATA^{GR} similarly describes Ladin in terms of belonging to a wider family. However, MUSNATA^{GR} questions the contested notion of mutual intelligibility that SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} introduces above which, he argues, leads some to believe that valley varieties are ‘self-sufficient languages’. MUSNATA^{GR} rejects this view and instead sees them simply as ‘varieties of a common Ladin’.

Extract 6. MUSNATA [GR]

Yes. Like our cousins in Switzerland, we also have five different varieties and so each valley has its own dialect, say. Dialect is perhaps too much because differences are not so relevant *in my opinion* but people who are not accustomed to have many contacts to other valleys mean they are {sg}^{*} **self-sufficient languages**, let's say. In my opinion, they are just **varieties of a common Ladin**.

** ‘mean they are’ here means ‘think they are’ or ‘define them as self-sufficient languages’ when it is contended that they are not so but are just varieties of a common Ladin’.*

MUSNATA^{GR} contests the degree to which some people construct internal linguistic boundaries attributing it to a lack of familiarity with the other valleys and general contact between them. This draws our attention to a shift from an apparent consensus in which variety is understood to be ‘variety of a common Ladin’ to a tension that contests this understanding and instead understands varieties as ‘self-sufficient languages’. The realities of mutual intelligibility, to which SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} refers, is a common theme that respondents raise particularly in defence of maintaining valley varieties over introducing a standard form such as Ladin Dolomitan (cf. Ch.7).

The notion of family and kinship is similarly referenced by TESSA^{VB} who describes the three ‘islands’ of Ladin, here ‘the three big groups’, as constituting the totality of the contemporary, surviving Ladin ethnolinguistic group at the broadest level.

Extract 7. TESSA [VB]

- T So, let me start from **the three big groups**; East, Central and Western Ladin. So, these three groups, one group is spoken in Switzerland, this is usually what people think of when they hear the word *Rumantsch* {sg. *Romansh*} and there's Central Ladin or Dolomitic Ladin which is spoken around the Sella group of mountains in Val Badia, Val Gardena, Val di Fassa, Ampezzo and Fodom. And then there's also this other group in Friuli, Furlan. **They all belong to the same big family.**
[...]
- A When you talk about Ladin or let's talk about Ladin in the five Valleys around Sella, what Ladin is spoken in those areas?
- T It's Central Ladin, Dolomitic Ladin; Badiot, Gherdëina, Fodom, Fascegn and Anpezan.

Just as MUSNATA^{GR} describes ‘our cousins in Switzerland’ and SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} ‘relatives’ in Switzerland and Friuli, TESSA^{VB} similarly constructs the relationship between Friuli, the Dolomite valleys and Switzerland at the macro level explicitly as belonging to ‘the same big family’ consisting of three main groups; Eastern, Central and Western Ladin. Central or Dolomitic Ladin is constructed as a linguistic subgroup, a variety of Ladin related to but different from the Ladin of both Grisons and Friuli. TESSA^{VB} constructs Central or Dolomitic Ladin, described by MUSNATA^{GR} as ‘common Ladin’, as comprising the Dolomites Ladin valley varieties, which MUSNATA^{GR} refers to as the ‘varieties of a common Ladin’. The discussion of valley varieties and linguistic variation as a facet or layer of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity is examined further in the following section.

5.1.3 The Ladin Matryoshka - Unifying layers of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity.

Ladin ethnolinguistic identity can be likened to a Matryoshka, the wooden Russian doll within which is concealed a series of additional dolls, one inside the other decreasing in size with each doll. The term Ladin encapsulates an ancient history within a defined territory whose primary identity is linguistic. Today, the evolution of the Ladin ethnolinguistic identity can be seen in the many varieties of Ladin that have been described by respondents. The degree to which variety is perceived as ‘variety of a common Ladin’ or something more is, as MUSNATA^{GR} describes above, contested. From the extracts presented thus far, Ladin has, both in terms of language and identity, many different meanings. In this section, respondents describe their perceptions of variety and how they relate to Ladin identity in both its broadest sense as well as in its more local or valley(s)-specific sense.

In the following extract, GRACE^{GR} describes various varieties of Ladin and exemplifies the reluctance of respondents to pass judgement on mutual intelligibility with little or no experience of it.

Extract 8. GRACE [GR]

- G Und deswegen ist halt die Sprache erhalten geblieben und das ist halt was ich weiß von der ladinischen Sprache. **Deswegen spricht man halt auch in der Schweiz und in Friaul Ladinisch**, war das eben über die ganzen Alpen.
- AC Also, wo wird Ladin gesprochen überhaupt?
- G Also, in Gadertal, Groeden, Arabba also Buchenstein, und Cortina und Fassatal. **Rumantsch** in der Schweiz und in Friaul auch. Aber gut, **bei denen jetzt weiß ich nicht genau wie es bei denen da funktioniert**, also ich schau mal im Fernsehen auch auf Schweizer Fernsehen, wo die **ladinischen Sendungen rausbringen**, aber es ist schon **schwer zu verstehen**, aber es ist **schon anders**.

G And that's why the language has survived and that's what I know about the Ladin language. **That's why they also speak Ladin in Switzerland and Friuli**, it used to be spoken all over the Alps.

AC So, where is Ladin spoken then?

G Well, in Val Badia, Val Gardena, Arabba, that's Livinallongo del Col di Lana, and Cortina and Val di Fassa. Romansh in Switzerland and in Friuli, too*. But **those ones, I don't really know what those ones are like**, I mean I sometimes watch TV, Swiss TV, too, **when they air Ladin programmes but it's quite difficult to understand, it's quite different**.

* *what is meant here is 'Romansh in Switzerland and {another variation of Ladin} in Friuli, too' and not Romansh in Switzerland and Romansh in Friuli, too.*

Just as linguist Graziadio Isiaa Ascoli in his *Saggi Ladini* (1873), GRACE^{GR} uses Ladin as an inclusive umbrella term to describe (the) language(s) across all three defined spaces (cf. Battista Pelligrini 1987). Ladin is subsequently defined in terms of the Dolomite valleys only but then as Romansh, in Switzerland. The Ladin of Friuli, *Furlan*, remains nameless. However, a clear distinction is made between the groups by way of labelling. The linguistic construction that GRACE^{GR} presents brings Ladin back to Friuli and to Switzerland again. GRACE^{GR} is reluctant to pass judgement on Furlan as she has no experience upon which to draw, although Romansh is accessible through television. However, describing it as 'difficult to understand' and 'quite different', GRACE^{GR} establishes a linguistic relationship while simultaneously constructing clear boundaries of difference at this broader, macro level. This is not only restricted to the more broadly defined macro level. Respondents similarly construct such boundaries at the micro level as ELISA^{VB} demonstrates in the following extract.

Extract 9. ELISA [VB]

[...] aber jetzt vielleicht für viele Jahre war's vor allem eine gesprochene Sprache und deswegen gibt es auch mehrere Varianten und so. **Selbst im Tal gibt es viele Unterschiede** zwischen Hochabteital oder dem südlichen Teil des Tales beziehungsweise dem nördlichen Teil des Tales oder **auch zwischen den einzelnen Tälern selber** und **das Sellamassiv gibt es doch ziemlich große Unterschiede**.

[...] but for many years it was mainly a spoken language and that's why there are several varieties and all. **Even within the valley there are lots of differences** between Upper Val Badia or the southern part of the valley and the northern part of the valley or **even between the individual valleys themselves**, and **there are really big differences across the Sella-massif**.

ELISA^{VB} constructs boundaries in distinctions of 'really big' difference not only at the micro level, here the Sella (Dolomite) Ladin valleys, but equally so within the valleys themselves whereby the micro becomes the macro uncovering an additional layer of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity. Respondents' views vary concerning mutual intelligibility between the Dolomitic valley varieties. In the following extract, MOIDL^{VB} contests her mother's perception of the neighbouring valley's variety.

Extract 10. MOIDL [GR]

M [...] und ja die Dialekte sind auch dann sehr verschieden, weil ...

AC Dialekte im Ladinischen?

M Ja, ja und wirklich finde ich, also meine Mutter sagt manchmal, hört sie im Radio **Gadertalerisch** und dann sagt sie, 'Ma! **Eigentlich finde ich es schwierig halt zu verstehen**'. Man muss sich ein bisschen ein Ohr bilden, kommt mir vor.

M [...] and yes the dialects are also really very different, too, because ...

AC Ladin dialects?

M Yes, yes and I really think, I mean my mother sometimes says, if she hears **Badiot** on the radio, she then says, 'Blimey! **I really do find it quite difficult to understand**'. I just think you need a little time to get used to it.

In this short extract, MOIDL^{GR} foregrounds how, according to her mother, Badiot, a variety spoken in Val Badia, is difficult to understand from the perspective of a speaker of Gherdëina, a variety spoken in Val Gardena. In contrast, MOIDL^{GR} suggests that it's perhaps just a question of exposure, as MUSNATA^{GR} suggests above attributing it to the valley communities having little contact between them.

On neighbouring Furlan, BERTO^{AM} suggests that the degree of variation between his valley variety, Anpezan, and Furlan is just as great as between Anpezan and the other Central Dolomitic valley varieties.

Extract 11. BERTO [AM]

B [...] There is also another variety of Ladin language in the Friuli which is not far away from here, which is east of the Veneto region.

A If you listen to that dialect or that variety of Ladin, do you understand the Ladin of Friuli?

B **Yes, I understand everything.** I mainly understand what they say but there are differences, there are different words or they have the same words pronounced in different ways so **there are similarities but also differences**. It's the same differences, you have the same differences in the Ladin we speak in Ampezzo compared to the Ladin they speak in the other four valleys in the Dolomites.

The comparison made by BERTO^{AM} likens the '**similarities but also differences**' in Furlan to the same degree of variation evident between the Dolomitic varieties themselves. Similarly, CONZAPELES^{AM} claims that with a little practice and effort speakers of both Ladin

(Ampezzan) and Romansh, ‘were able to understand each other really well’ and further foregrounds how ‘similar they actually are’.

Extract 12. CONZAPELES [AM]

Ich konnte in Engadin keine italienische Führung finden, nur deutsche Führung. Also italienische Führung gab es nicht. Deutsch verstehen unsere Leute nicht. Dann habe ich mich, habe ich gewagt einen rätoromanischen Führer zu engagieren und das war hochinteressant für alle zu sehen **wie ähnlich das doch ist**. Er blieb zwei bis drei Tage mit uns und **wir haben uns dann recht gut, mit ein bisschen Übung, mit ein bisschen Konzentration, recht gut verständigen können**.

I couldn’t find an Italian-speaking guide in Engadin, only German. There just weren’t any Italian-speaking guides. Our people don’t understand German. So, I, I took a chance on engaging a Romansh-speaking guide and that turned out to be really interesting for everyone to see **how similar it all actually is**. He was with us for two to three days and **with a little practice and with a little concentration we were able to understand each other really well**.

Respondents offer up very diverse interpretations and perceptions of variation from across the broadly described Ladin linguistic spectrum. However, respondents tend to offer similar narratives on what constitutes spatiotemporal constructions of Ladin and equally on boundaries of group membership where Ladin identity is understood as multi-layered. Language is evidently at its most salient as facet of identity when considered by respondents at a more localised level where space plays a prominent role and whose limits are largely determined by local topography. As such, respondents exhibit a strong sense of loyalty to their particular variety. In the following section, constructions of both inter- and intra-valley linguistic identities are investigated against a background of what can be described as valley-centric variety protectionism.

5.2 Navigating the plurality of Central Dolomitic linguistic identity - Variety as a facet of identity and perceptions of 'Ladinness' through notions of authenticity and purity.

The following section 5.2 investigates Ladin more closely with sharp focus on the notions of authenticity and linguistic purity in respondents' perceptions of 'Ladinness'. Valley linguistic identity(-ies) are explored against a background of valley-centric language protectionism. Divided into three parts, section 5.2.1 examines how Ladin is constructed as a unifying bond, a conceptual singularity that serves to unify the plurality of Ladin since each valley has its own recognised distinct variety and, in some valleys, multiple sub-varieties. Section 5.2.2 then examines how competing authenticities in the Ladin valleys are assessed according to the perceived influence of Italian or German on the valley variety or sub-variety(-ies) alongside other factors such as language choice and code-mixing. Section 5.2.3 focusses on how respondents evaluate linguistic purity in terms of the degree to which the German and/or Italian language is present in the valley varieties offering respondent perceptions on the condition of valley varieties, pointing to wider social issues that are not only language related.

5.2.1 Variation and variety in constructions of Ladin - Valley variety(-ies) in constructions of Ladin linguistic identity(-ies)

Section 5.1. underlines the important role that Ladin plays as a unifying bond of pan-Ladinness at a macro level (Videsott 2010, pg.180). All varieties of contemporary Ladin are understood to originate from a common ancient autochthonous language with Rhaetic roots and as such are cited as the binding link between the three Ladin 'islands'. This connection is used in the construction of a pan Ladin identity at its broadest, macro level in terms of historicity (time), of territory (space) and of ethnolinguistic kinship (language and belonging). In this section,

the focus shifts to the level beneath exploring Ladin valley varieties as distinct facets of linguistic identity as well as together as Central Dolomitic Ladin in the context of Ladin as the ‘unifying bond’ and the ‘distinguishing feature’ of the Ladins described by Videsott (2010).

In terms of language, Ladin is broadly understood to be a unifying bond but in equal measure, each valley variety is strongly defended as an integral distinguishing feature of a unique valley identity. Although recognising a broader, shared cultural belonging, primarily as distinct from the German- and Italian-speaking neighbouring dominant majorities, at the valley level itself, participants construct distinct valley identities through notions of space and language. Space is delimited by valley geographic boundaries and subject to internal subdivision where a valley is said to have sub-varieties. Language is referred to or described by participants in different ways; a mother tongue, a variety, a specifically named variety, an idiom, a dialect. The way in which valley varieties are described in relation to the group is an important consideration. In support of claims to its heritage, respondents describe Ladin as a member of a broader family of Rhaeto-Romanic *languages*. As such, the use of the term dialect is universally rejected by respondents as a de-authentication of Ladin in favour of idiom or variety. The Ladin varieties are authenticated on the basis of group similarity (adequation) in opposition to their difference (distinction) to the neighbouring German and Italian (cf. Bucholtz 2003).

In the following extract, ELENA^{GR} describes Ladin as a Rhaeto-Romanic *language* and emphatically rejects the notion of Ladin as a dialect. In particular, the rejection of the notion of Ladin as a dialect (of Italian) serves to underline further the notion of difference (distinction).

Extract 13. ELENA [GR]

- A Also kannst du mir ein bisschen von der Ladinischen Sprache erzählen?
- E [...] und da musste ich halt immer ja erklären was das Ladinisch eigentlich ist, weil man ja weiß nur, dass **es ist eine rätoromanische Sprache**. Man kann das ein bisschen vergleichen mit dem Rumantsch in der Schweiz. Das kennen die meisten Leute, habe ich so das Gefühl, also unser Ladinisch kennen sie weniger also das in Südtirol, weil das sind insgesamt in Italien hier bei uns fünf Täler die ladinisch sprechen und in Südtirol sind zwei davon, Gadertal und Gröden, und man muss sich das so vorstellen, dass es kein einheitliches Ladinisch gibt, das alle Täler sprechen sondern jedes Tal hat so sein eigene Variante herausgebildet so deswegen ist es eigentlich ein bisschen **zersplittert** aber **das ist eben eine Sprache**, die wir auch in der Schule lernen. Das ist **noch wichtig zu betonen**, weil **die meisten denken es wäre ein Dialekt oder so** aber das ist schon wichtig das zu erzählen dass es **eine Sprache ist** und es gibt nicht so viele Sprecher etwa 30.000 glaube ich und, und was kann man da noch sagen?
- A [...] so, can you tell me a little about the Ladin language?
- E [...] and I always had to explain what Ladin actually is because they only know that **it is a Rhaeto-Romanic language**. In some ways, it can be compared to Romansh in Switzerland. I think most people know that but less so our Ladin of South Tyrol because all together, here in Italy, there are five valleys that speak Ladin and in South Tyrol there are two of them, Val Badia and Val Gardena, and you have to realise that there isn't a unified Ladin that all the valleys speak but each valley has evolved its own variety and so it's really a little **fragmented** but **actually it is also a language** that we learn at school. **It is important to emphasise** this because **most people think it's a dialect** or something but it's important to say that **it is a language** and there are not so many speakers, about 30,000 I think, and, and what more can I say?

Ladin is presented as an umbrella term that describes all valley varieties of Central Dolomitic Ladin. Ladin is, however, without a unifying form, which renders it as somewhat fragmented but nonetheless a language. Its status as a language is emphasised here largely by virtue of its place in education, here in the context of South Tyrol; this underlines the importance of its recognition and practical application in the public sphere, as well as the private, despite a relatively small speakership. Understood in context, size plays an important

role given that Ladin coexists alongside and competes with two significantly larger dominant linguistic majorities.

Comparing Ladin with Romansh, ELENA^{GR} confirms a broader linguistic group membership that transcends the borders of the valleys. However, Dolomites Ladin is instantly brought into focus as a linguistic entity in its own right. However, in the absence of a spoken unified form of Ladin, distinct from the standard written form Ladin Dolomitan (cf. Chapter 7), valley varieties are often interpreted as ‘dialects’, a notion that respondents commonly refute. Although linguistic identities are constructed at the valley level, a pan-valley Dolomites Ladin identity is similarly constructed.

In the following extract, we are introduced to a further layering whereby, in some cases, a valley itself has subvarieties.

Extract 14. IOJA [VB]

Also, Ladin oder **Ladinisch ist ein Oberbegriff**, das heißt, okay **es ist eine Sprache, die aber doch einige Idiome hat, also Sprachvarianten**. Also z.B. ist die Sprache im Gadertal in letzter Zeit doch ziemlich zusammengewachsen. Aber vor nicht allzu langer Zeit, das heißt vor vierzig oder fünfzig Jahren hat man noch von fünf idiomatischen Varianten im Gadertal gesprochen und **heutzutage meint man, oder sagt man, dass es noch drei bzw vier Varianten gibt**. Also in Hochabtei gibt’s eine Variante, im mittleren eine andere, im unteren Tal noch eine andere und noch eine zusätzliche in Rina [*Ladin toponym*] oder Welschell [*German toponym*], das ist so ein mehr abgelegenes Dorf wo praktisch ein Mix zwischen der unteren, der Variante im unteren Tal und der mittleren Variante zustande kommt nur, um beim Gadertal zu bleiben. In **Gröden ist es, geografisch gesehen, ziemlich also noch ziemlich eine Einheit**, nicht? Und **deswegen sind starke Unterschiede von einem Dorf zum anderen nicht so groß**. Anders ist es wieder im Fassatal wo es drei Varianten gibt, Buchenstein zwei, wobei die Unterschiede nicht so groß sind, und im Ampezzanischen eigentlich eine Variante aber es gibt in mehreren Tälern, gibt es mehr als eine starke Variante.

So, **Ladin is a generic term**, that is to say, okay it’s **one Ladin language but with several idioms, or varieties**. For example, in recent times, the language in Val Badia has kind of homogenised. Not so long ago, let’s say forty or fifty years ago people would speak of there being five idiomatic varieties in Val Badia but

nowadays they say that there are three or four varieties left. So, sticking with Val Badia, in upper Badia there is one variety, in the centre of the valley another and in the lower valley yet another and one in Rina or Welschell as well, that's a more remote village where practically a mix of the lower, the variety in the lower valley, and the more central variation occurs. **Val Gardena is, geographically speaking, to some extent one unitary entity,** isn't it? **That's why the differences are not so great from one village to the next.** In the Fassa valley, however, things are different, in that there are three varieties, in Livinallongo del Col di Lana two, where the differences are not so great, and in Cortina d'Ampezzo there's really only one but there is, in some valleys, there is more than one dominant variety.

IOJA^{VB} similarly describes Ladin as a generic term that unifies the Central Dolomitic valley varieties. IOJA^{VB} goes further and describes linguistic diversity at valley level. Geography is signposted as an important contributing factor whereby in some valleys but not in all, local topography hinders access to and contact between communities, as in the example of Rina (Welschell) being 'more remote'. This has fostered linguistic diversity whereby the confines of the valley sub-varieties are constructed along geographic delimitations of space such as upper, central or lower valley which in turn define group belonging and linguistic identity.

In extract 15, BARDASCIA^{VB} describes the Ladin language as her mother tongue and similarly to Videsott (2010), maintains that it is the five main valley idioms that give Ladin its uniqueness.

Extract 15. BARDASCIA [VB]

- AC Was ist eigentlich Ladinisch in dem Fall?
- B Ja, die **Muttersprache**.
- AC Ok, und gibt es ladinische Dialekte oder Idiome und wie würden Sie sie beschreiben?
- B [...] **es gibt die ladinische Sprache** und wenn wir da auch den Dolomiten Ladinern vermelden dann gibt's **fünf Idiomen**;
[...]

Man muss noch dazu sagen, ich komme aus [*dorf im unteren Val Badia*]. Das Ladinische, dass wir [*dort*] reden ist **komplett anders** als das Ladinische, dass man hier in St. Martin oder in Corvara redet.

AC What actually is Ladin in this case?

B Well, my **mother tongue**.

AC Ok, and are there any Ladin dialects or idioms and how would you describe them?

B [...] **there is the Ladin language** and in the case of Dolomites Ladin then **there are five idioms**;
[...]
I have to say, I come from [*village in lower Val Badia*]. The Ladin we speak [*there*] is **completely different** to the Ladin they speak here in St Martin [*central Val Badia*] or in Corvara [*upper Val Badia*].

'*The*' Ladin *language* in terms of the Central Dolomitic is constructed as a conceptual singularity that serves to unify the plurality of Ladin that is all valley 'idioms' and any sub-varieties therein. Similarly to IOJA^{VB}, BARDASCIA^{VB} points to the diverse linguistic reality of Val Badia in which valley varieties are described as 'completely different' and are constructed within boundaries dictated by topographic delimitations.

Respondents claim that topography similarly determines which of the two regional dominant majority languages, German or Italian, influence the linguistic evolution of the variety. This reality is a determining factor in how respondents view Ladin varieties in terms of authenticity and purity which in turn serves to assess who is deemed either more or less Ladin. Moreover, in the absence of a standard Ladin form, when respondents evaluate or compare their variety, they do so against several others and not against a single standard. It is in this context that notions of authenticity and purity are framed in which language (variety) and identity (as an expression of variety) are assessed and from which a hierarchy of 'Ladinness' evolves.

Respondents broadly concur that the Badiot variety of Ladin constitutes the ‘purest’ Ladin since it is perceived to have been least influenced by the more dominant German or Italian compared to other varieties (see below). Additionally, since Val Badia, is, to a greater extent, encircled by the other valleys, it is seen as having enjoyed a relative degree of protection from external language contact. Other varieties, in contrast, are perceived to have been impacted by the effects of the linguistic domination of both German, predominantly in Gherdëina, and Italian to varying degrees in Anpezo, Fodom and Fascia.

Perceptions of authenticity and linguistic purity are seen as closely aligned to the notion of ‘Ladinness’, which is understood to be the degree to which anything Ladin is judged as being intrinsically so. Two interview questions in particular elicited respondent perceptions of authenticity and purity. The first question, ‘Would you describe all Ladins as equally Ladin?’ is followed by a second question asking, ‘Can one valley be any more or any less Ladin than any other?’ In response to these questions, respondents compare their variety of Ladin to any identified intra- as well as extra-valley varieties invoking narratives of linguistic competition to ascertain which valley variety of Ladin is perceived to be any more or any less authentic than any other. Linguistic purity is similarly used to evaluate authenticity. Both the notions of authenticity and purity are examined in the following sections.

5.2.2 Authenticating Ladinness - Constructing Ladin ethnolinguistic identity through competing notions of authenticity.

Assessing authenticity implies having made a comparative judgement between an ideal and a perceived reality (Lacoste et al. 2014). In the Ladin valleys, authenticity is assessed by the degree to which varieties, through the dynamic processes of language contact, are perceived

to have been influenced by neighbouring dominant majority languages. In so doing, linguistic diversity is constructed not only between different ethnolinguistic groups but similarly within an ethnolinguistic group itself (Jaffe, 1993). The most pertinent way that respondents construct internal linguistic diversity as a measure of authenticity is by assigning dominant majority linguistic characteristics to Ladins themselves in a de-authentication or corruption of their Ladinness that extends beyond linguistic concerns; 'die sind schon ein bisschen eher Deutsch'- they're already slightly more German or 'die sind ziemlich italienisiert worden' - they've become really Italian. In this way, linguistic boundaries within the Ladin ethnolinguistic group are constructed by defining Ladin varieties in terms of the dominant linguistic groups.

Notwithstanding, there are two identifiable issues at play. Firstly, there is the issue of the use of the dominant majority language within the Ladin community itself in preference to and in place of Ladin as the first language of choice which can be interpreted in terms of language shift. Secondly, there is the issue of the mixing of the dominant majority language into the valley variety itself which is perceived as diminishing authenticity whereby the act of using dominant majority language renders the speaker less Ladin but similarly the purity of Ladin is diminished whereby the language itself is replaced by dominant majority language (cf. Chapter 5.2.3 below). These are processes described in an inter-valley context, that is, comparisons are made across the five valley varieties, and equally in an intra-valley context. In the following extract, perceptions of the degree to which other valleys have been influenced by neighbouring dominant majority languages is expressed as a means of authenticating Ladinness and constructing diverse, valley-centric Ladin linguistic identities. The processes involved are also brought to the fore such as the '*italianisation*' of three valleys

Fodom, Fascia and Anpezo, code-switching and language choice in Gherdëina and code-mixing in Val Badia.

Extract 16. MOMO [VB]

Die Grödner, die sind schon ein bisschen eher Deutsch also die sprechen schon ladinisch aber eher ein bisschen Deutsch. Auch in **Fodom, auch in Fassa und Anpez, die sind ziemlich italienisiert worden**. Also die sprechen auch viel unter sich schon italienisch und **das Gadertal ist noch das Tal, wo, das Tal, wo die ladinische Sprache wohl am besten bewahrt wurde**. Aber auch im Gadertal können wir wirklich erkennen, **das untere Gadertal ein bisschen deutscher** ist, also näher an den deutschen, und **das obere näher an den Italienern**. Das erkennt man auch wenn man spricht, dass man manchmal die deutschen oder italienischen Wörter benutzt.

The Grödner [from Gherdëina] they're a bit more German, I mean, they do speak Ladin but they'd sooner speak German. **In Fodom, too, in Fascia and Ampezzo, they've all been quite Italianised**. They do speak a lot of Italian amongst themselves but **Val Badia is still the valley where, the valley where the Ladin language has been best preserved**. But in Val Badia, too, we can see **the lower valley is a little more German**, that is closer to the Germans, and **the upper valley closer to the Italians**. When people speak, you notice they sometimes use German or Italian words.

Widely perceived by respondents across all valleys as the most Ladin in terms of both language and identity, MOMO^{VB} similarly perceives Ladin in Val Badia as better maintained than the others, however, concomitantly concedes that it has by no means escaped the consequences of language contact whereby both Italian and German words are finding their way into Ladin speech.

In an examination of competing authenticities in Breton, Hornsby and Quentel (2013) describe how Néo-breton had been viewed as 'French in disguise' (Le Dû and Le Berre (1995, pg.15), cited in Hornsby and Quentel (2013, pg.73)). This sentiment is a common feature of narratives in the Ladin ethnolinguistic community where respondents describe their perceptions of other Ladin varieties in terms of being more or less Italian or German. Similarly,

as MOMO^{VB} demonstrates, competing authenticities in the Ladin valleys are assessed according to the perceived influence of Italian or German on the valley variety or sub-variety along with other factors such as language choice and code-mixing.

In the following extract, the relationship with neighbouring dominant language groups is expressed by SALVAN^{VB} in a much stronger way suggesting Ladin identity is authenticated not according to intrinsic ‘Ladiness’ but according to their perceived relative closeness to either the German or Italian identity. This is from the viewpoint of a Ladin from the upper valley of Val Badia, which according to MOMO^{VB} in the previous extract, leans more towards Italian, which SALVAN^{VB} himself confirms; ‘Wir sind die Ladiner, was auch Italiener scheint’.

Extract 17. SALVAN [VB]

Wir sind, sagen wir, mehr **italienische Ladiner** irgendwie. Mehr, die Gröden sind mehr **die deutschen Ladiner**. Das hört man auch in der Sprache. Die, sagen wir so, **die von Fassa, die sind mehr Italiener als Ladiner**. Die sind Italiener was Ladiner sind, die sind Italiener. **Wir sind die Ladiner was auch Italiener scheint** und die von Fassa sind italienisch was auch ladinisch sein, so meine ich das und ebenfalls die von Ampezzo oder Fodom.

We are, let’s say, **more Italian Ladins** somehow. The Grödner (from Gherdëina), they’re **more German Ladins**. You hear it in their speech. Those, let’s say, those from **Fascia, they’re more Italians than Ladins**. They’re Italians who are Ladins, they’re Italians. **We are the Ladins who also appear to be Italians** and those from Fascia are Italian who are also Ladin, that’s what I mean and that goes for Anpezo and Fodom, too.

Although predominantly an assessment of perceived linguistic practices, it is important to recognise the significant role that the essentialist language ideology of Tripartition has played in shaping the contemporary realities that have influenced them (cf. Chapter 2).

In the following extract, DILAN^{FD} assesses authenticity not only in terms of language but additionally in terms of symbolic capital and language rights, in that authenticity is ‘the

outcome of constantly negotiated social practices' (Bucholtz 2003). In so doing, he contests Val Badia as being more Ladin since Ladinness is never up for discussion, is taken for granted and is inalienable. Authenticity 'presupposes that identity is primordial' (2003, pg.408).

Extract 18. DILAN [FD]

- AC Descriverebbe tutti i Ladini come altrettanto Ladini?
- D Parliamo della Ladinia storica però?
- AC Sì, delle cinque Valli.
- D Sì, sì, ovviamente. [...] È ovvio ad oggi lo direi per esempio la Val Badia e la valle più ladina ma nel senso che è una valle in cui la ladinità non viene messa in discussione.
- AC Ho capito il Val Badia è la più ladina di tutte le valli o come?
- D Per certi aspetti direi che sì
- AC Quali aspetti, per esempio?
- D Allora, più ladina dal punto di vista gli vuole imparare il ladino, meno Ladinia dal Punto di vista identitario perché loro tutti i diritti un gran parte dei diritti richieste, no so, 100 anni fa dal popolo ladino, loro gli hanno raggiunti e loro non devono difendersi da nessuno perché sono loro gli abitanti della Val Badia. Per esempio, la bandiera Ladina che è l'aspetto identitario principale è molto meno presente. È vissuto i Ampezzo la bandiera Ladina sito aunqueperché'è un modo per dire noi ci siamo. Invece la Val Badia non ha bisogno di dire noi ci siamo perché oramai ...
- AC Ho capito. Ed anche in Val Gardena?
- D La Val Gardena, sicuramente lei sa, è un po' più delicata perché ha questa forte divisione, ancora secondo me, fra Ladini e tedeschi. No, c'è una forza componente anche di chi è nato e cresciuto in Val Gardena che preferisce parlare il tedesco e preferisce dichiararsi tedesco piuttosto che ladino. Quindi questo è un aspetto un po' particolare.
- AC Would you describe all Ladins as equally Ladin?
- D Are we talking about historic Ladins then?
- AC Yes, the five valleys.

- D Yes, yes, clearly. [...] It is clear that nowadays I would say, for example, Val Badia is the most Ladin in the sense that it is a valley in which ladinity is not questioned.
- AC Did I understand that correctly, that Val Badia is the most Ladin of all the valleys?
- D In some aspects, I would say so.
- AC What aspects, for example?
- D Well, more Ladin, in that they want to learn Ladin, less Ladin in terms of identity because they got all the rights they wanted, a large part of the rights that the people asked for 100 years ago, or so, and so they don't need to defend themselves against anyone because they are the inhabitants of Val Badia. For example, the Ladin flag, the foremost symbol of identity, is much less evident. The Ladin flag can be seen all over Ampezzo because it is a way of saying we are here. Instead, Val Badia doesn't need to say 'we are here' because now [//]
- AC I understand. And what about in Val Gardena?
- D Val Gardena, as you probably know, is a little trickier because in my opinion there is still this strong division between Ladins and Germans. No, there is an element of those born and raised in Val Gardena who prefer to speak German and would sooner declare themselves German than Ladin*. So, this is a little peculiar.

* (cf. Chapter 3.2.4; a reference to the declaration of linguistic affiliation)

DILAN^{FD} refers to Ladin as being 'everywhere'; if you want to live in Val Badia, you will have to learn Ladin. In terms of identity, DILAN^{FD} sees Val Badia as less Ladin on account of their having won the linguistic rights they had long fought for. As a result, he argues that there is no longer a need to exert their existence or presence through symbolic means, for example, such as flying the Ladin flag, whereas in Fodom and Ampezzo this need is still strong for the opposite reason. Authenticity is, on the one hand, mobilised in linguistic practice and on the other hand through the application or use of symbolic capital. Thus, 'ladiness' in Val Badia is perceived as de-authenticated by virtue of having achieved the long fought-for linguistic

rights. DILAN^{FD} views Gherdëina as much more delicate as there is an element of the Ladin population who prefer to speak German and officially declare themselves as German rather than Ladin (cf. Chapter 2.2.4).

Notions of authenticity are rooted in perceptions of, as well as attitudes to, language that are socially constructed and influenced by the realities that predominantly result from the essentialist language ideologies of Tripartition. However, as Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011, pg.326) attest, they are ‘subject to alterations and interpretations’. In the following section, perceptions of the ‘purity’ of the valley varieties are examined as a measure of Ladinness.

5.2.3 Purity as a measure of Ladinness - Constructing Ladin ethnolinguistic identity through competing notions of purity.

Respondents evaluate purity in terms of the degree to which the German and/or Italian language is present in the valley varieties. It is an evaluation in which the purest is deemed the least German and/or the least Italian, depending upon the valley in question and, in some cases, upon which part of the valley is in question. Linguistic isolationism has been cited as a factor in constructing notions of the authentic speaker where language is authenticated through notions of linguistic purity. However, equating authenticity to linguistic purity ‘overlooks the central role of contact in shaping almost all languages and varieties’ (2003, pg.405; cf. Chapter 1.2.2). At first glance, this is clearly related to perceptions of the condition of a variety itself. However, a deeper analysis of the data reveals the wider social issues that Langer and Nesse (2012) suggest are equally at play and that are not only language related.

SILVIUS MARIANGEL^{VB} exemplifies Val Gardena and Ampezzo on the one side and Livinallongo del Col di Lana and Val Badia on the other whereby in parts of Val Gardena more German is spoken and in Ampezzo more Italian. However, on the whole in Val Badia and Livinallongo, Ladin is much more an evident linguistic reality.

Extract 19. SILVIUS MARIANGEL [VB]

AC Kann ein Tal mehr Ladin oder weniger Ladin als jenes andere sein, also von den fünf Tälern?

SM Ich glaube schon. Ich glaube, dass Gadertal und Fodom, halt Buchenstein, vielleicht ladinischer sind, weil eben manche Teile von Gröden z.b. auch sehr viel Deutsch sprechen, auch im Alltag einfach sowie auch in Ampezzo halt mehr italienisch gesprochen wird. Im alltäglichen Leben also ich würde schon sagen, dass ladinisch in Gadertal und Buchenstein vielleicht präsenter ist im Alltag.

AC Can one valley be any more or less Ladin than any other, so of the five valleys?

SM I think so. I think that Val Badia and Livinallongo, Livinallongo del Col di Lana, are perhaps more Ladin because in some parts of Val Gardena, for example, they speak a lot of German in daily life just like in Ampezzo, they just speak more Italian. So, I would say that, in everyday life, Ladin in Val Badia and Livinallongo perhaps features a lot more in everyday life.

Language contact is frequently cited as a process that either leads to or has led to the deterioration in linguistic purity directly or that introduces language choice which dilutes somewhat the visibility and use of a given variety which in effect renders the linguistic reality overall as less pure, less authentic, and detrimental to the linguistic vitality of Ladin and the various sub-varieties that exist.

It is a common perception amongst respondents that Ladin in Val Badia is the 'purest' Ladin. Purism in this sense is to a greater extent defined in terms of the infiltration of foreign linguistic features into the various valley varieties. Nonetheless, it is not to say that the Ladin

varieties of Val Badia do not exhibit any evidence of language contact. Indeed, the geography of the valley and the proximity of its three defined constituent parts (lower, central, and upper valley) are arguably testament to the effects of language contact in the wider pan-Ladin context. The lower valley, bordering the majority German-speaking Pustertal, is more influenced by German. The central valley, whose variety, *Ladin de mesa val*, has been adopted as the valley standard, is less influenced by German and equally less by Italian. The upper valley, bordering what are perceived to be the more ‘italianised’ valleys, is itself more influenced by Italian.

Similarly, as seen in the extracts above, SOREGHINA^{FA} articulates clear perceptions of and beliefs about the status and use of Ladin in other valleys.

Extract 20. SOREGHINA [FA]

I think Gherdëina [*Ladin variety of Val Gardena*], it's very germanised. I don't even think that, I don't know in how many families they still speak Gherdëina and not German because you can hear it from everything. They really like German, I think. They like tourists from Germany, they like everything which is German and probably **they don't even feel the usefulness of Ladin**, I think, because for them is German the useful language. I think, but I'm not an expert in this. Ampezzo, a me dispiace [*I feel sorry*] for them because I think they didn't have the possibilities and the opportunities we had for keeping and safeguarding our language so I think there, there is very little of Ladin. Maybe more idea than actually what is still there, there is. Fodom, I think Fodom is very Ladin. Of course, they are few. They don't have the opportunities that we have in Trentino-Adige but on the other side the language is very conservative, it's very interesting and, but I don't know many people from there so I don't really know how is there, how it is there.

Gherdëina is closely aligned to German and quite particularly so in the private sphere where it is indicated that German is even preferred to Ladin since ‘they don't even feel the usefulness of Ladin’. It is German that is the ‘useful’ option there. In stark contrast, there is very little Ladin in Ampezzo for which sorrow is expressed and the absence of linguistic rights

is cited as the reason for this. Finally, Fodom (Livinallongo del Col di Lana) is cited as the most Ladin of the valley varieties mentioned. The fact that 'they are few' contributes to the language being very 'conservative' which here is understood in terms of linguistic purity. The Fodom valley variety has conserved the linguistic qualities that are perceived as particularly and intrinsically Ladin. In the following extract SUSANNA^{VB} perceives Val Badia to be the 'the most Ladin valley'. However, she also draws our attention to the Val Gardena where, although the overwhelming perception among respondents is that the status of German is potentially higher than Ladin, there are those who not only speak Ladin but who do so in the 'purest' possible way.

Extract 21. SUSANNA [VB]

- AC Also kann ein Tal, also von den fünf Tälern jetzt, kann ein Tal mehr Ladin oder weniger Ladin sein als jedes andere?
- S Ganz heikle Frage! Ich würde vom persönlichen Empfinden ja sagen. Wie gesagt Gröden, Gadertal und ich meine das **Gadertal ist das Ladinischste Tal** weil wir am meisten noch von unserer Sprache und Kultur (...) Die Grödner, da gibt's zwei Spalten; die, **die ganz fixiert auf ladinisch** sein, so ganz richtig **das puristische ladinisch** herauszuarbeiten und es gibt dann andere, die nur mal Deutsch reden. Also, ich habe viele Freunden im Grödental und die reden deutsch und nicht mehr ladinisch, was ich sehr schade finde. Hingegen, in den anderen Tälern die, die eben nicht so geschützt worden sind wie z.b. Ampezzo, das ist **schon fast italienisch eher ladinisch** aber ist auch damit bedingt, dass hier nicht so beschützt sind wie wir, nicht? Aber das kann man nicht so sagen, denn sie sind schon auch Ladinier.
- AC So, can one valley, that is of the five valleys now, can one valley be any more or any less Ladin than any other?
- S Quite a tricky question! My personal feeling is yes. As I said, Val Gardena, Val Badia and I mean **Val Badia is the most Ladin valley** because we (...) the most of our language and culture. Val Gardena residents, there are two sides; those who are quite fixated on Ladin, who really tease out **the purest of Ladin** and there are then others who only speak German. So, I have many friends in Val Gardena and they speak German and not

Ladin anymore and I think that's a shame. On the other hand, in the other valleys, who haven't been so protected like Ampezzo, for example, which is **practically Italian more than Ladin** but this is do with the fact that over there isn't as protected as we are, is it? So, you can't really say that since they are all Ladins.

SUSANNA^{VB} recognises the Ladin-German duality in Val Gardena described by respondents above. On the one side there are those who orient towards a German linguistic reality, described as those who 'just speak German', but there are also those who are on the opposite '*Ladin*' end of the linguistic spectrum who are 'fixated on Ladin' and who really tease out 'the purest of Ladin' in their everyday speech. Ampezzo is seen as 'practically Italian rather than Ladin' and as SOREGHINA^{FA} argues, the differing degrees to which linguistic rights have been achieved inform this perception.

In the final extract, AGA^{VB} summarises three categories of Ladins and describes the attitude towards the Ladin language that members of each category present. Ranging from no particular views on language at all, to those with a very rigid, conservative, and almost fundamental attitude. She also describes a middle ground occupied by those more or less 'forced' to have an attitude by virtue of the importance of using Ladin in their everyday lives. Similarly, like SUSANNA^{VB}, she also refers to those for whom purity is an important measure of being Ladin or ladinness.

Extract 22. AGA [VB]

AC So thinking of Ladin, of being Ladin, would you describe all Ladins as equally Ladin?

A No, but what do you mean by equally? Equally in the sense of?

AC In the sense of being Ladin?

- A No, I don't think so. I think that there are a few categories of being Ladin. So, there are people who are Ladin just because they are Ladin without thinking about being Ladin. That means they were born here and that's it. And then you have the category of people who use the Ladin language every day because they need for the job so they have to deal with Ladin in another way with the culture of the language even. And then you have the category of people I call them '*puristi*', so the purists can you say?
- AC *Puristi*, purists yes.
- A Which would sell their lives for Ladin, which would die for the language.
- AC Fundamental Ladins!
- A Yes they are, all them! In Italian 'i puristi illusi' so the purists ...
- AC Illusionary? [*note: actual, more accurate translation is 'deluded'*]
- A Yes, who do a lot for the language but maybe they are too ...
- AC Overly Ladin?
[*note: from the German 'über' meaning overly, too much, excessively*]
- A Yes, they are 'over Ladin' but they think that **if you speak Ladin with, if you do code-mixing when speaking Ladin, then you are not what a good Ladin speaker [is]** then you don't know the language. So, these are these 'grammar Nazis', so, you know, these people who feels that knowing a language means languages to help you communication so this is the other category that is very yes very rigid even in their relation to Ladin yes there are a lot of categories to being Ladin [...]

Just as there have been described three classes of Ladin which relate to the level of language rights that Ladins enjoy according to their valley and its system of administration (cf. Chapter 3.3), AGA^{VB} describes three categories of being Ladin which relate to language attitude and language use. Whereas the degree to which Ladins enjoy language rights relates to a defined group, namely by valley, the categorisations put forward by AGA^{VB} are attributed at an individual level whereby any one category of Ladin can be found in any valley. This typology is, to some degree, similar to Vikør's (2005, pg.10) consideration of purist ideology

against its resulting linguistic practice in which three dichotomies are described, national, general, and conservative purism (cf. Chapter 2.3.3).

The first category described denotes those who have a neutral attitude, in that they neither actively nor purposefully express any formal attitudes to language. They neither actively think, nor evaluate, nor assess their own positionality in being Ladin, they simply are by virtue of birth. In contrast, the second category suggests a group who have a greater awareness of language, and language matters since they belong to a group who use Ladin on a daily basis, such as in the workplace. AGA^{VB} suggests that this position promotes some degree of self-reflexivity in relation to the ladinness of the self in terms of identity as well as the ladinness of the language. The final category suggests an extreme described as ‘deluded purists’, those who exhibit a rigid attitude to language rejecting non-Ladin influences such as code-mixing. Language choice is, essentially, unequivocal. This group is perceived to be the determinants of how linguistic purity is defined.

5.3 Summary

As demonstrated above, Ladin is understood by participants to be a cover label that unifies several varieties of Central Dolomitic Ladin as well as the eponymous ethnolinguistic group. Furthermore, it is used to describe a wider linguistic group of autochthonous Alpine Rhaeto-Romanic languages. This framing of Ladin within a broader linguistic provenance is mobilised by respondents to give status and recognition to Central Dolomitic Ladin varieties in a wider context that extends beyond the immediate geographical boundaries of the five valleys alone. Yet, at the same time, Ladin means different things to different people depending upon the

valley from which they originate or the valley variety of Ladin they speak. It is in this context that the inter-Ladin linguistic boundaries are constructed and membership thereof defined.

In the absence of consensus on and universal acceptance and adoption of a standard variety (cf. also Chapter 3; Chapter 7), group solidarity in language minority contexts can be fractious (Darquennes 2012, pg.73) as respondent perceptions demonstrate. As a result, in the Ladin context, internal group boundaries are in part more strongly defined in terms of variety, exacerbated by the effects of Tripartition and by the varying administrative systems of governance to which the Ladin valleys are subjected since the universal acceptance and adoption of Ladin Dolomitan as the intervalley standard leaves vacant a tangible, recognisable unifying bond, currently only understood by the cover label 'Ladin' which in turn, as described above, means different things to different people. It is in this multi-variety interladin context that respondents construct Ladin identity in relation to notions of authenticity and in so doing go on to authenticate Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in relation to notions of perceived purity.

In the context of this study, the notion of authenticity has been mobilised by respondents to frame criteria that assess what is perceived to be quintessentially Ladin in linguistic terms and in addition to defining the boundaries that delimit it. Respondents seemingly agree that the Ladin spoken in Val Badia is the more 'authentic' by virtue of the perception of its being 'the purest'. In this process, the theme of linguistic purity is readily mobilised as a means of authenticating Ladin and is used to highlight how Ladin is subject to ongoing cost-benefit analyses in both public and private spheres. This goes to determine its acceptance or conversely its rejection as a first language of choice within the Ladin ethnolinguistic group at the valley level. This is, to a greater degree, attributed to a recognition by respondents of the diverse consequences of (dis)empowerment across the five

valleys that has resulted from the diverse administrative realities in which Ladins live today and the varying degree to which language rights exist.

In Veneto, in Anpezo and in Fodom, Italian is necessary as Ladin is not a language used in administration. In Trentino, only in Fascia is the use of Ladin a right but elsewhere it is Italian and in Südtirol only in the Gherdëina and Val Badia valleys is the use of Ladin a right but elsewhere either German or Italian. This reality has contributed to the way in which the Ladin language itself has developed and evolved in each valley over time. The linguistic reality is a consequence of the political reality of Tripartition in which varying degrees of linguistic rights have empowered or disempowered the Ladin linguistic communities to such a degree that it has had an adverse effect on language choice as well as on the perceived linguistic purity of Ladin. Therefore, a direct link is established by respondents between perceptions of linguistic *impurity* and the diverse level of linguistic rights that are enjoyed in each valley. Multilingualism thus plays an important role in constructions of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity since Ladins cannot escape the multilingual reality in which they live. As many respondents have attested, it is not possible to get by in life with Ladin alone. In the following chapter, the role of multilingualism and the influences of the dominant majority languages, German and Italian, are examined as an additional defining factor in constructions of Ladin identity.

Chapter Six:

Ladin perspectives on multilingualism.

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| IOJA ^{GR} | ‘einsprachig kann man sich als Ladiner nicht mehr leisten zu sein’ <i>Ladins can no longer get away with being monolingual</i> |
| TESSA ^{VB} | ‘All my languages are part of my identity’ |
| SUSANNA ^{VB} | ‘dass ich so viele Sprachen jetzt kenne also eine Bereicherung eindeutig’. <i>without doubt, being able speak so many languages is an asset</i> |

6. Introduction.

Several respondents drew attention to fact that monolingualism within the Ladin community is no longer evident. Ladin monolingualism had only been described as having been evident in the older generations, particularly in grandparents, and more so in those families who reside in the more remote communities of the Ladin valleys. In contrast, the vast majority of respondents were able to describe the evolution of multilingualism and how it has become the norm for the Dolomites Ladins today.

Several factors have been attributed to the evolution of multilingualism having become the linguistic reality across the Ladin valleys of the Central Dolomites and whose beginnings can be traced to the post First World War period (cf. Chapter 2). Building on this, respondents go on to position the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as the ‘true’ multilinguals of the three linguistic communities that coexist across the wider region. Indeed, being multilingual is held as something that separates or distinguishes the Ladin linguistic group from other groups in the construction of Ladin identity and the establishment of group boundaries. In further support of this claim, respondents recount that the neighbouring

dominant linguistic majority groups similarly view them in this way and perceive them to be a group of naturally skilled linguists. It has become a key definer of Ladin group membership and an intrinsic facet of Ladin identity, whilst at the same time, it is considered extrinsic to both the neighbouring Italian- and German-speaking dominant linguistic majority groups.

In this chapter, the focus of the analysis is centred on the broadly positive perceptions of Ladin multilingualism and the advantages and disadvantages that are perceived come with it. In stark contrast to the perception of Ladins as exhibiting a high degree of competency in the languages spoken by both dominant neighbours as well as Ladin, members of the neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups are perceived to have limited, if any, competency in Ladin or in the language of the other dominant group. For the Ladin ethno-linguistic group, however, respondents believe that although Ladins have a high degree of competency in the languages of their dominant majority neighbours, this is at the expense of their being masters of any one language, including Ladin itself. This chapter provides an analysis of how linguistic competency across all three language groups is used as one of the ways in which boundaries, group membership and notions of belonging are constructed.

In Section 6.1. the role of multilingualism is examined as a core facet of Ladin identity and how it is then further used to construct and position Ladins as the ‘true’ multilinguals of the three linguistic communities of the Dolomites. Section 6.2. explores the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the presumed high degree of multilingualism among Ladins, with particular emphasis on the importance of tourism to the local economy, access to culture and as an instrument of social inclusion. The section then considers the perceived disadvantages that multilingualism presents; primarily the notion that multilingualism hinders Ladins from mastering any one language, including Ladin itself, and secondly the perception that, in the context of multilingualism, Ladin is seen in a lesser light and as such indirectly

assigns Ladin a lesser status in relation to others. Finally, Section 6.3 summarises the findings made in the chapter.

6.1 Multilingualism as a core facet of Ladin Identity.

6.1.1. Multilingualism as a means of defining group boundaries and belonging.

Scholarship contends that identity is a product of social interaction, that is, identity and similarly language are constructs that are tied to social structure (May 2012a; Burke and Stets 2009; Riley 2007; Omoniyi 2006). Language is a symbolic marker of community identity as well as of community boundaries (Cohen 1985) and linguistic identities 'exert considerable influence, both individually and collectively, in the world today' (May 2012a, pg.324). As such, being confronted with multilingualism from an early age has contributed greatly to Ladins being conscious of the significance of multilingualism to small language communities.

Although multilingualism is a common reality for Ladins (cf. Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2005), this reality is, however, experienced in different ways from valley to valley according to the administrative region within which each valley is situated; from an official trilingual reality in the Südtirol valleys, a bilingual reality in Trentino and official monolingualism in Anpezo and Fodom. The following extracts demonstrate how Ladins understand multilingualism in terms of their identity as well as showing how multilingualism is used to construct Ladin identity. Multilingualism is thus offered up as a way of defining the boundaries of Ladin group membership.

In extract 23 below, ELENA^{GR} describes the role of language in the construction of Ladin identity and group membership in one of the Ladin valleys where all languages, that is

Ladin and both languages of the neighbouring dominant majorities, are present in the education system. ELENA^{GR} contests that Ladins speak all three languages, yet members of the dominant majority groups do not understand Ladin. It is interesting to note that it is common for respondents to refer to German-speaking dominant majority as ‘the Germans’ or ‘German’, ‘**die Deutschen**’ or ‘**Deutsche**’ and the Italian-speaking dominant majority as ‘**die Italiener**’ or ‘**Italiener**’ where in both cases the terms are meant solely in reference to those relevant linguistic communities who are only resident in the autonomous region of Trentino-Alto Adige. ELENA^{GR}, in this extract, self-corrects her own use of the aforementioned references and specifically redefines those groups into the more accurate definitions ‘**so deutschsprachige und italienischsprachige besser gesagt**’, ‘better put German-speaking and Italian-speaking’.

Extract 23. ELENA^{GR}

[...] also in Südtirol, ich würde sagen **der wichtigste Punkt bei den Identitäten ist also wir Ladiners verstehen ja grundsätzlich drei Sprachen**. Wenn man jetzt vom ideal ausgeht, wachsen wir also **in den Schulen hier lernen wir drei Sprachen**, das heißt, wir verstehen alle Sprachen. **Natürlich die Italiener und die Deutschen, die in Südtirol wohnen, verstehen uns, also das ladinische praktisch, nicht umgekehrt**. Also, wir verstehen alle, also das wäre dann ein Blick von außen, den ich nur abschätzen kann, weil ich ja die Innensicht habe, aber ich denke in Südtirol wohnen halt also **Deutsche und Italiener, so deutschsprachige und italienischsprachige besser gesagt**, in ganz Südtirol verstreut und ein kleiner Teil sind halt diese Ladiners, die **in ihren zwei Tälern Südtirols wohnen, so geographisch gesehen ist das auch ein bisschen getrennt**.

[...] well, I would say **the most important thing in terms of identities is that, well, we Ladins basically understand three languages**. Thinking about the ideal then **at school we grow up learning three languages** that is we understand all languages. **Conversely, of course, the Italians and the Germans who live in South Tirol don't understand us, well Ladin basically**. So, we understand everyone, that's an outsider's view that I can only assume is so, as I speak as an insider, but I think that **Germans and Italians, or better put, German-speaking and Italian-speaking people** live strewn across all of South Tirol and just a small

number are these Ladins who live **in their two South Tirol valleys, even in terms of geography, too, there is somewhat of a disconnect.**

ELENA^{GR} sees language as ‘the most important thing’ in constructing identity and group belonging. The overwhelming majority of respondents similarly apply the same factors in the construction of Ladin identity which cements a strong bonding relationship between identity and *languages*; languages in the plural is clearly described in stark opposition to the use of language in the singular in reference to a single language or simply Ladin itself; ‘we Ladins basically understand three languages’. This is, in part, in the case of South Tirolean valleys, attributed to the experience of having exposure to a multilingual education; ‘at school we grow up learning three languages’. Thus, in the Ladin valleys of Südtirol, respondents commonly cite multilingualism to be an intrinsic facet of their identity as a result of their exposure to a multilingual education.

In contrast, group boundaries between the German- and Italian-speaking communities are similarly constructed using language by underlining that fact that although Ladins speak both German and Italian, those other linguistic groups do not speak Ladin; ‘Conversely, of course, the Italians and the Germans who live in South Tirol don’t understand us, well Ladin basically’. The geography of South Tirol is cited as a contributing factor to this linguistic reality. The German- and Italian-speaking communities are spread all across South Tirol, whereas the small Ladin community predominantly reside ‘in their two South Tirol valleys’.

The use of ‘of course’, is also noteworthy as it serves a dual purpose in this extract. There is no expectation from the Ladin linguistic community that members of the neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities speak Ladin or any variation of Ladin and this is meant with no underlying negative intention or connotation. Respondents commonly express

the view that as a small language, there is little need for non-Ladins or those who do not fit within the defined group boundaries to learn or speak Ladin unless, perhaps, you live in a predominantly Ladin-speaking area. Therefore, little instrumental value is afforded to Ladin since Ladin is only prevalent in the Ladin valleys and since Ladins are multilingual, it is still not seen as a necessity (cf. Section 6.3. below). Respondents themselves express the view that the responsibility of gaining competence in the languages of the neighbouring dominant majorities lies with the Ladin ethno-linguistic group and, therefore, in so doing do not expect the dominant majority groups to have any competence in Ladin. Most respondents are content, however, just to see members of the neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities simply learning just a few phrases of Ladin by way of acknowledgement of the existence of the Ladin linguistic community as well as the Ladin language itself.

In Extract 24, ELISA^{VB} builds upon the relationship between multilingualism and Ladin identity describing the everyday multilingual reality that is experienced by Ladins. This is a construction that is similarly presented to us by way of defining group boundaries and group belonging.

Extract 24. ELISA^{VB}

AC Wie unterscheidet sich ihre Gruppe oder Identität von anderen Gruppen oder Identitäten?

E Ich glaube vor allem, dass man wirklich tagtäglich mehrere Sprachen spricht und hört. Ich glaube das kommt nicht so oft vor, also man hat zwar, man spricht, weil ist halt mit der ladinischen Sprache, auch gesprochen, aber schon von klein auf. Sofort auch Deutsch können, Italienisch sprechen oder man durfte es hören oder durfte es reden. Ich glaube **das ist das typische von uns, also nicht nur das Ladinische. Wirklich, dass man von klein auf mit drei Sprachen konfrontiert wird.**

AC Konfrontiert? So, das sind in der Umgebung?

E Ja, **man hört sie und man spricht sie, man liest sie.**

- AC How is your group or identity different from other groups or identities?
- E More than anything, I think it's that you really do hear and speak several languages on a daily basis. I don't think you generally find that very much at all, so you just speak, because the Ladin language is spoken, too, from a very young age. At the same time you [learn to] speak German and Italian, too, or you might hear or speak it. **I think that's typically us, I mean, not just speaking only Ladin. Really, you've got three languages to deal with from a very young age.**
- AC Dealing with? So, they are all around you?
- E Yes. You hear them and you speak them, you read them.

ELISA^{VB} describes how the Ladin, German and Italian languages are omnipresent in everyday life in all their forms; being spoken (oral), being heard (aural) and being written (visual); 'You hear them and you speak them, you read them'. For the Ladin ethnolinguistic group, language in all its forms is something that they are confronted with from an early age, whether Ladin, German or Italian. This is a reality that is understood to be and described to us as unusual but a reality that is *typical* for Ladins; 'I think that's typically us'. This is what respondents believe distinguishes Ladins from the neighbouring dominant linguistic majority communities and is thus used to construct a facet of a uniquely and typically Ladin identity.

In Extract 25, this view is also expressed by CONZAPELES^{AP} who further contends that it is this early exposure to language that contributes to the Ladins' being able to learn foreign languages more easily.

Extract 25. CONZAPELES^{AP}

[...] und die Leuten, die in der Oberschule in Südtirol sind, die sagen, bestätigen, bestätigen immer wieder, vielleicht haben Sie das auch gehört, dass **die Ladiners mit den Fremdsprachen viel leichter kommen**, viel bessere Schüler für Fremdsprachen sind, weil sie von Kind auf gewohnt sind an den Sprachen, auch zu können [...].

[...] and the people, the people at secondary school in South Tirol, they say, they affirm and do so again and again, you might have heard this, too, that **Ladins find learning foreign languages a lot easier**, they're better language learners at school because they are used to languages from an early age, used to speaking them, too [...]

Here, CONZAPELES^{AP} contends that the Ladins' high degree of linguistic competency, in that *'Ladins find learning foreign languages a lot easier'*, is rooted in the Ladins being accustomed to experiencing other languages as well as through a high degree of exposure to them from a very early age. The multilingual reality in which Ladins are raised sets them in good stead for learning foreign languages. This is given gravitas through its being confirmed by professionals in the sector, the school teachers themselves, to whom he refers as *'the people at secondary school in South Tirol'*.

In Extract 26 below, LENE^{GR} further expands upon this notion. She directly links multilingualism to her identity as a Ladin and cites the post-war development of the education system as a contributing factor to this reality to the degree that Ladins routinely grow up as multilinguals.

Extract 26. LENE^{GR}

AC Also, Sie bekennen sich als Ladinerin?

L Ja, eigentlich schon.

AC Aus welchen Gründen bekennen Sie sich als Ladinerin?

L Einmal, weil ich hier aufgewachsen bin und weil ich die Eigenheiten der Gegend mich verbunden fühlte und sicher auch sprachlich gesehen, obwohl ich das sprachlich gesehen nicht unbedingt als einsprachig oder ladinisch sehe, sondern auch als mehrsprachig, und **hier heutzutage ist die Entwicklung für uns Ladiner eher die mit dem Schulsystem, dass wir seit Nachkriegszeiten haben, dass wir automatisch zum mehrsprachigen heranwachsen [...]**

AC So, you identify as Ladin?

L Yes, I do.

AC What are the reasons for your identifying as Ladin?

L Firstly, because I grew up here and because I feel connected to the particularities of the area, certainly from a linguistic perspective, too, although in terms of language I don't necessarily consider things as monolingual or just Ladin but as multilingual **and nowadays for us Ladins here, progress, in that multilingualism is second nature to us, is due more to the post-war education system we have.**

LENE^{GR} constructs a clear link between identity and multilingualism. Ladin group membership is not viewed as constructed around monolingualism, that is through Ladin alone, but more so around multilingualism. Broadly speaking, respondents believe that the vast majority of the German- and Italian-speaking communities speak neither each other's language and nor do they speak Ladin. This serves to define group membership for those communities as being constructed solely on one language, demonstrating a monolingual one-to-one relationship between language ethnolinguistic group membership and belonging. In contrast, this is not readily accepted by LENE^{GR} to be a true reflection of the Ladin experience. She perceives there being more of a one-to-many relationship whereby Ladin is not *necessarily* the only language that defines Ladin group membership. Indeed, she goes on to describe being multilingual as having become routine or *natural* for Ladins today.

Similarly, and in accordance with the extracts above, this is attributed to the post-War education system '**and nowadays for us Ladins here, progress, in that multilingualism is second nature to us, is due more to the post-war education system we have.**'. It is also offered as something particular to the Ladin group '*for us Ladins*', that is to say, the education system is hailed as a, if not *the*, contributing factor to multilingualism having become natural or second nature, '*automatisch*', to Ladins under this system. This concept is solely

constructed around the Ladin ethnolinguistic group 'wir', 'we' and is evident in the vast majority of respondent interviews, particularly in those from the trilingual valleys of Gherdëina and Val Badia. The following section looks more closely into the theme of multilingualism being a '*natural*' phenomenon and how this is constructed to be a core facet of Ladin identity.

6.1.2. Multilingualism constructed as 'automatic' or 'natural' to Ladins.

As described at the end of the previous extract above, respondents often refer to multilingualism as *natural* or as something that develops or comes *automatically*. Indeed, they describe how multilingualism for the Ladin community has become an unquestionable norm, a feature of daily life and something that, for them, in contrast to their neighbouring majority linguistic groups, *comes naturally*. Respondents often refer to multilingualism as natural or as something that develops automatically. Simply put, multilingualism *goes without saying*. As outlined in section 6.2.1 above, multilingualism is unavoidable. It is an omnipresent reality for Ladins as speakers of a small language encircled by two dominant linguistic majorities. Since those groups do not speak Ladin, it is believed, then, that it rests with the Ladins as the minority ethnolinguistic group to learn to speak the others' languages. The following extracts illustrate what factors respondents believe have contributed to multilingualism being a natural reality for Ladins.

In the following extract 27, SUSANNA^{VB} foregrounds how much multilingualism is for her a normal part of everyday life. Moreover, SUSANNA^{VB} describes her own multilingualism as being especially important to her in a personal sense having had the opportunity to learn to speak several languages from birth.

Extract 27. SUSANNA^{VB}

- AC Also wir haben gerade davon gehabt aber ist Italienisch oder Deutsch einen wichtigen Bestandteil ihrer Identität?
- S Auch, weil es mich doch ausmacht dass ich so viele Sprachen kann von der Geburt weg dass ich so viele Sprachen lernen konnte und für mich ist das **so normal** dreisprachig, wenn nicht mehr. Das ist für viele, 'was, du kannst drei Sprachen'. Also Huh! ja **logisch!**
- AC We were just talking about this but is Italian or German an important part of your identity?
- S Yes, because it does mean a lot to me that I can speak so many languages from birth, that I have been able to learn so many languages and for me trilingualism, if not more, is **so normal**. For a lot of people, it goes like this 'what, you can speak three languages?'. Well, duh! **Of course!**

SUSANNA^{VB} describes her being trilingual as '*so normal*' and further hints at having additional languages in her repertoire. Respondents are keen to acknowledge that in addition to the three regional languages that are spoken across the valleys, other languages are also present. For example, the tourist economy brings with it the need for a knowledge of English which, indeed, most admit to having. SUSANNA^{VB} concludes that where for many people being multilingual is concept to marvel at, for her it is natural and it simply goes without saying.

This sentiment is reflected in the next extract in which SONNE^{VB} clearly constructs group membership around trilingualism. Similarly, English is explicitly cited as a more recent addition to the linguistic repertoire, that, as is the case with both Italian and German, is a consequence of developments in Education policy. In the context of individual multilingualism, both natural (family) and formal (teaching) language acquisition 'often occur side by side or are mingled together to various degrees in the biography of speakers' (Franceschini 2009: pg.50). Being 'natural' (to a multilingual), as SUSANNA^{VB} attests, comes

from a position of advantage in that multilinguals have linguistic awareness, experience, and repertoire at their disposal that monolinguals do not have (Cenoz 2013b).

Extract 28. SONNE^{VB}

AC Und wie wichtig ist es Ihnen dass die Kinder italienisch können?

Ja, das muss man auch also **hier bei uns**. **Wir** sind dreisprachig, das ist dann **automatisch**, auch dann in der Schule, dass man Italienisch und Deutsch lernt, also in der Volksschule schon, und jetzt wird so auch Englisch und meine Kinder können daneben also vier sprachen locker.

AC And how important is it to you that your children can speak Italian?

S Yes, you need to be able to do that **here where we live**, too. **We** are trilingual so **it goes without saying**, even at school, that you learn Italian and German, well certainly at primary school, and nowadays English, too, and so my children can speak four languages, no problem.

The term '*hier bei uns*' is used to construct the group boundaries by location and here is in reference to Val Badia. Group membership is then defined by way of being trilingual which again is described as being a normal or a natural situation, in that 'it goes without saying', it's '*automatisch*'. It is evident from respondent interviews that education is viewed as playing a vital role in establishing and promoting multilingualism as a/the norm for Ladins, particularly in the valleys of Südtirol, as demonstrated in the extracts above. It is the foremost reason given by respondents for multilingualism having become a core facet of Ladin identity and around which group membership and belonging is constructed.

In the following extracts 29[i] and 29[ii], BADIA^{VB} describes how multilingualism is the norm in Val Badia, explaining further how schools promote this to be a matter of survival for the Ladin ethnolinguistic group.

Extract 29. BADIA^{VB} [i]

- AC Wenn sie Kinder haben oder hätten Sie wichtig ist es Ihnen dass die ladinisch können?
- B Ich habe zwei Kinder und haben mit ihnen immer ladinisch geredet und für sie **ist es auch automatisch dass sie ladinisch reden** .Das ist für sie überhaupt kein Problem während sie jetzt schon Englisch und Deutsch und Italienisch gelernt haben, **wie das normal ist bei uns**, und so ist das **Ladinisch ganz normal**. Sie würden es auch nicht wegdenken können.
- AC If you have or were to have any children, how important is it that they are able to speak Ladin?
- B I have two children and have always spoken Ladin with them and **for them it's natural to speak Ladin**. It's not an issue at all for them as they've now learnt to speak English, German and Italian, **which is common here where we live**, and so Ladin is quite normal. They wouldn't have it any other way, either.

Extract 29. BADIA^{VB} [ii]

- AC Ist Italienisch oder Deutsch ein wichtiger Bestandteil ihrer Identität als Gadertaler und Ladinier?
- B Ja, als Ladinier, Gadertaler sowieso als Ladinier sowieso, weil um zu überleben muss man das. **Wir sind so eingestellt in der Volksschule schon, dass du ohne diese Sprachen nicht überlebst deswegen ist das ganz normal**.
- AC Also, das ist in dem Fall ein Muss, man muss das lernen, man muss diese Sprachen lernen?
- B Praktisch gehört das zu uns weil wenn man's Fernseh' anmacht, hat man schon diese Sprachen.
- AC Is Italian or German an important part of your identity as Badiot and Ladin?
- B Yes, as Ladin, Badiot, in any case as a Ladin, anyway because you need them to survive. **Already at Primary school, it is drummed into you that you won't survive without these languages and so this is quite normal**.

- AC So, in that case it's a must, you have to learn them, you have to learn these languages?
- B **In a practical sense, it's part of us because when you turn on the tv, these languages are already there.**

In the first part of the extract 29 [i], BADIA^{VB} describes how speaking Ladin is natural '*automatisch*' for her children. She then further elaborates that, in addition to Ladin, her children have also learnt to speak English, German and Italian. This is presented as normal for Ladins in Val Badia, 'which is common here where we live' and is consistent with other respondent constructions of the Ladin linguistic reality. In the second part of the extract 29 [ii], following on from extract 29 [i], BADIA^{VB} recounts how both Italian and German are equally important facets of Ladin identity.

Whereas most respondents describe developments in the education system or education policy as being catalysts for and important factors in the evolution of multilingualism in the Ladin ethnolinguistic group, here we learn more specific reasons why this has come to be so. BADIA^{VB} comments on the notion of needing both German and Italian to survive being drummed into you at primary school. BADIA^{VB} then goes on to concede that it is indeed the case in reality and that therefore *in a practical sense, it's part of us*, that Ladins learn the languages of their neighbouring majority linguistic groups due to their profile and presence in the media or on television.

If you were not able to get by in life, or survive, with Ladin alone, then Ladin monolingualism would threaten the very survival of Ladin itself. Given that the neighbouring majority linguistic groups do not speak Ladin, the Ladin ethnolinguistic group would become an isolated group. In this respect, multilingualism is understood to offer a guarantee for the survival of both the Ladin language as well as the ethnolinguistic group itself. Thus, the

importance attached to multilingualism as a core facet of Ladin identity or as intrinsic to constructions of Ladin identity cannot be underestimated, so much so that in extract 29 [ii], BADIA^{VB} describes this as being ‘drummed’ into Ladins as early as at primary school. The survival of Ladin as a language, as a small language, is particularly salient since, in the Ladin valleys beyond South Tirol, language loss has already taken place whereby since the end of the Great War, as Italian replaced German as the official language of administration, the use of German was gradually lost in both the public and private spheres.

Although the parameters within which Ladin identity, group membership and their relevant boundaries have been clearly described by respondents, there is still an underlying sentiment of qualifying Ladin identity and language in terms of uniqueness and difference but at the same time in terms of sameness and similarity such as describing Gherdëina as Ladin on the one hand but then ‘practically German’ on the other hand, for example, and even the Ladins of Gherdëina themselves as ‘German’. A contributing factor to this is the position of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group being sandwiched between the two dominant majorities and, in some respects, the necessity to assimilate as a small language community, primarily, as described by respondents above, in order for both the group and the language to survive. However, on the Ladins’ journey from poor, isolated, monolingual communities of the past to the affluent, integrated, multilingual communities of today, through a period of time when the neighbouring dominant majorities were following a path of (mono)linguistic and cultural protectionism, even at some points to the extent of seeking to linguistically homogenise the region, in the face of this, the Ladin community was beginning to recognise the socio-economic value of multilingualism and the benefits that this brought to the valley communities. In the following sections 6.2 and 6.3, an examination of the perceived

advantages and disadvantages of multilingualism is undertaken to illustrate how respondents view multilingualism in terms of cost and benefit.

6.2. Multilingualism - Perceived advantages and disadvantages.

In the following section, multilingualism is explored in the context of advantage and disadvantage. The analysis demonstrates how respondents perceive multilingualism as an important contributor to the local economy as well as being an instrument of social inclusion which similarly grants access to the broader cultures of both the German and Italian speaking worlds. Following on from this, perceptions of disadvantage are also discussed, examining the notion that multilingualism hinders Ladins from mastering any one language, including their own variety of Ladin. The perceived status of Ladin is similarly considered in relation to the neighbouring dominant languages in the context of both provincial and regional multilingualism.

6.2.1. The instrumental value of multilingualism among Ladins.

Research over the past decade has examined small languages in socio-economic contexts in which language and linguistic variety has been both viewed as, as well as associated with, having gained an economic value (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014; Del Percio et al., 2016). The commodification of language that has been described, has been understood as being a product of the processes of globalisation. This more recent attribution of economic value to language has added an additional dimension to the more traditional socio-political contexts of language, such as culture and society, that sociolinguistic research has largely hitherto

examined. Heller (2010) outlines how linguistic resources have increasingly become important commodities and importantly have been recognised as such by small language communities who are able to exploit their authenticity and multilingualism to their economic advantage.

Pietikäinen et al. (2016) suggest that this new reality not only results from the global realities of the modern world but suggest that they are equally the result of changing 'local realities' where centre and periphery power relationships have been redefined in terms of cultural 'pride' or economic 'profit' (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Jaffe 2019, Pietikäinen et al. 2016). Framed within these contexts, the following extracts demonstrate how Ladin respondents perceive the advantages that multilingualism brings to them as a small language community.

In the case of the Ladin valleys, even in those valleys where German has been lost as a language of everyday communication, the importance and high status of the German language in the wider area and in the regions beyond is very much recognised and appreciated. In the following extract 30, the importance of the instrumental value of multilingualism to small language communities is examined whereby DILAN^{FO} describes how Ladins in Fodom recognise and seek to exploit the potential economic benefits that multilingualism can bring to the community.

Extract 30. DILAN^{FO}

- AC È importante anche che possano parlare il tedesco?
- D Allora qui c'è una parte della popolazione chi è però secondo me è una minoranza che ritiene che il tedesco sia fondamentale questo più dal punto secondo me più di un punto di vista però turistico e lavorativo faccio un esempio Arabba è un piccolo paese che però il capoluogo dal punto di vista turistico ha molte famiglie negli anni che hanno portato i loro bambini a scuola non è nelle scuole nel comune del Livinallongo.. ma

in Val Badia proprio perché c'è il trilinguismo. E Arabba è vero quel posto più vicino alla Val Badia però è anche il posto turisticamente più importante e quindi nel turismo sapere una lingua in più è molto importante soprattutto il tedesco. [somebody at the door ...] ecco! Scusi.

AC Is it also important for them to speak German?

D Well here, there is a section of the population that is, but in my own view, a minority that believes that German is essential and this comes more, in my opinion, from the point of view of tourism and employment, let me give you an example: Arabba is a small village but in terms of tourism the most popular destination, it has many families who over the years have sent their children to school but not to school in Fodom but to school in Val Badia because there is trilingualism there. Moreover, Arabba is situated really close to Val Badia and is also the most important tourist destination and so in tourism knowing how to speak several languages is very important especially German. [somebody at the door ...] There they are! Excuse me.

In Fodom, through its historical links to and shared history with Südtirol, DILAN^{FO} describes how a part of the Ladin population, who he believes to be a minority, recognise the additional importance of German in the Ladin linguistic repertoire. Indeed, this is a strongly held view given that German is described as *'fondamentale'* or essential in this sense. The economic value of multilingualism, here described in terms of trilingualism (Ladin, Italian and German), is realised through work in the tourism sector and other work areas generally where German is advantageous. The 'essential' nature of having language competency in German is so strongly held that over the years many families in Fodom have elected to send their children to schools in Val Badia above those in Fodom purely and simply due to the fact that trilingualism is prevalent in Val Badia (Südtirol). Given the importance of tourism to the economies of the five valleys as a whole *'sapere una lingua in più è molto importante, soprattutto il tedesco'* so knowing an additional language is very important, especially German'. In Gherdëina, one of two Ladin valleys situated in the autonomous Südtirol, where

German is the language of the dominant majority, the importance of German in addition to Italian and Ladin is clear. As DILAN^{FO} in the extract above, in the following extract 31, ELENA^{GR} similarly links the primary instrumental value of multilingualism to tourism but further goes on to say that although you can enjoy vocational success with a knowledge of German alone, the trend today is more towards multilingualism that includes Italian but also English.

Extract 31. ELENA^{GR}

- AC Ok und welche Sprachen wenn überhaupt denkst du man muss können um beruflich erfolgreich zu sein und wir denken jetzt an Gröden.
- E Genau. Wenn Sie an Groeden denken, dann würde ich sagen, man muss alle, also Ladinisch Italienisch und Deutsch, können und wahrscheinlich also eigentlich auch noch, ich glaube man kommt da nicht drumherum. Natürlich kann man auch nur beruflich, kann man auch erfolgreich sein, wenn man vielleicht nur deutsch spricht aber tendenziell, tendenziell denke ich einfach es ist wichtig alle drei Sprachen zu sprechen. Wir arbeiten hier viel mit Tourismus. In den Hotels müssen ohnehin Italienisch und Deutsch für Gäste empfangen werden und auch andere Gäste mit denen man halt Englisch sprechen kann und ladinisch würde ich dazu nehmen, weil es einfach die Sprache ist mit der man sich im Tal verständigen kann und den Austausch zu den Tal bewohnern sozusagen gut aufrecht erhalten kann. Ich würde das sogar also auch dazu nehmen.
- AC Ok and so which languages, if any, do you think you must be able to speak in order to be successful at work and we're thinking now about Ghërdeina.
- E Exactly. If you mean Ghërdeina, then I would say you have to be able to speak all of them, that is Ladin, Italian and German and probably, well actually, I don't there's any way around it. Of course, you can be only professionally, you can also be successful if you only speak German but I just tend to think it's important to speak all three languages. Here, we work a lot in tourism. In hotels, Italian and German in any case for welcoming guests and also other guests with whom you can only speak English and I would also add Ladin to that because it's basically the language you use to communicate in the valley and to keep abreast of what's going on with valley residents, so to speak, so I would even add that to it.

ELENA^{GR} views multilingualism in Gherdëina as a necessity since you will not get on without not being able to speak Ladin, Italian and German. She assesses that although you can get away with just German and Ladin in terms of enjoying success in your work life, it is becoming ever more important to be able to speak all three languages. Importantly, Italian and German are seen in terms of having economic value, that is to say, for employment. Particularly so since tourism is important to the local economy. However, Ladin is evaluated in terms of having a more social value, as the language to be used for everyday social interaction and day-to-day communication with valley residents. In so doing, the instrumental value of multilingualism is described in both social and economic terms.

Building on the instrumental value of multilingualism in a social context, in the following extract 32, SONNE^{VB} describes how the importance of multilingualism became apparent to her mother through personal experience. The social interactions described in the extract occurred in a more remote setting in Val Badia, the other Ladin valley situated in the autonomous Südtirol, where, as outlined above, German is the language of the dominant majority.

Extract 32. SONNE^{VB}

- AC Warum war es deiner Mutter wichtig, dass Sie Deutsch lernen?
- S Sie hat sich schwer getan bei uns. Wir waren auf einem Bergbauernhof. Dann sind manchmal Gäste vorbei und die haben sie angesprochen. Sie konnte nicht antworten dann musste sie immer sagen, ich kann nicht deutsch und deutsche Gäste konnten nicht gut italienisch und manchmal hat sie sich dann nicht verständigen können und **das hat ihr so gestört** und sie wollte dass wir also auch Deutsch lernen. Sie hat verstanden, dass es wichtig war.

AC Why was it important to your mother that you learnt German?

S She found it difficult where we lived. We lived on a mountain farm. Sometimes visitors would come by and they would speak to her. She wasn't able to respond and she had to say, I can't speak German and German visitors couldn't speak Italian very well so sometimes they just couldn't understand each other and **that really bothered her** and so she wanted us to also learn German. She understood that it was important.

SONNE's^{VB} family lived and worked on a mountain farm in a more secluded, rural setting. German-speaking holiday-makers who were staying in nearby hostelrys, in passing would address SONNE's^{VB} mother in German. Her mother did not speak German and conversely, the German-speaking holiday-makers spoke little Italian. That in these interactions nobody could understand one another, really bothered her mother, **„das hat ihr so gestört“**. It was through these interactions that her mother understood the importance of multilingualism, which in this case meant the addition of German to Ladin and Italian. This small extract offers a good insight into the evolution of multilingualism in the Ladin valleys. The development and growth of tourism as a cornerstone of the both the Ladin and wider regional economy has rendered the once more rural, secluded, cut-off communities, often in the higher reaches of the valleys, much more accessible and with it, multilingualism has become a necessary part of everyday life for the Ladin linguistic group to the extent that, as respondents have recounted, Ladin monolingualism is no longer evident. Furthermore, it has become an instrument through which to capitalise on the growth of tourism in the Dolomites.

Finally, the instrumental value of multilingualism is described as an important means of providing access to many aspects of culture. Respondents often highlight how areas of culture, such as literature and film, are very restricted in Ladin whereas German and Italian, on the other hand, provide access to a greater cultural offering. In the following extract 33,

TOMMAI^{VB} describes how multilingualism offers a means of access to culture that Ladin alone could not as well as being a means of promoting inclusion where monolingualism would only serve as an instrument of exclusion.

Extract 33 TOMMAI^{VB}

AC Und inwieweit ist italienisch oder Deutsch einen wichtigen Bestandteil ihrer Identität?

T Also wie ich schon vorhin gesagt habe **wir müssen Deutsch und Italienisch können damit die anderen uns verstehen**. Das ist auch schön italienisch und deutsch zu können damit wir auch lesen können. **Es gibt ja viel mehr Bücher in deutscher Sprache oder in italienischer Sprache. In Ladin eigentlich gibt es nicht so viele Möglichkeiten**. Da auch **verschiedene Kurse werden nur in den anderen Sprachen angeboten da wären wir ausgeschlossen**.

AC And in how far is Italian or German an important part of your identity?

T So, as I said earlier, **we have to able to speak German and Italian so that the others can understand us**. That's also to a competent level so that we can read, too. **There are so many more books in German or in Italian. In Ladin there are actually not so many. Since various courses are only offered in the other languages, we would be excluded**.

In the first instance, TOMMAI^{VB} sees the instrumental value of multilingualism in interpersonal communication with the dominant majority German and Italian linguistic groups. Supporting the notion that Ladins are the true multilinguals of the three linguistic groups, it is inferred that without Ladin multilingualism, communication would be difficult since Ladins have to speak German and Italian in the absence of those linguistic groups speaking Ladin; **'wir müssen Deutsch und Italienisch können damit die anderen uns verstehen'**. TOMMAI^{VB} goes on to outline benefits and advantages that Ladin multilingualism brings with it; namely access to culture that Ladin alone cannot support and greater inclusion

in areas where language plays an important role such as here, in this extract, in education. In terms of literature, there are far fewer books in Ladin than in German and Italian , **es gibt ja viel mehr Bücher in deutscher Sprache oder in italienischer Sprache. In Ladin eigentlich gibt es nicht so viele Möglichkeiten**’. Similarly, various courses are only offered in German or Italian as means of instruction. Without competency in these languages, Ladins would find themselves excluded from such programmes. Multilingualism, therefore, is described as an instrument of accessibility and inclusion.

Respondents overwhelmingly describe multilingualism in positive terms and are keen to outline the perceived advantages that it brings. However, they do also describe disadvantages which will be outlined in the section that follows.

6.2.2 Language competency - Jacks of all languages, masters of none.

Alongside perceived advantages of multilingualism come also the perceived disadvantages. The most common theme encountered across respondent interviews relates specifically to how they individually assess their level of competency in each of the languages they speak and then equally rendering this assessment applicable to the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as a whole. The common assumption made and conclusion drawn is that Ladin multilingualism inhibits the *mastering* of any one language, including Ladin itself, rendering them, as the expression goes concerning skills or trades, ‘jacks of all languages, but masters of none’. It represents a somewhat harsh and self-critical analysis of their general linguistic competencies that notably stands in stark contrast to the strong sense of pride exhibited by respondents concerning their general linguistic abilities as accomplished multilinguals. Respondents believe that their linguistic competencies are not perfect, in that they do not speak Italian or

German to the same degree of competency as native speakers in either of those linguistic groups.

Respondents measure notions of language competency in the context of linguistic deficit. In this context, language(s) is (are) perceived as fixed, bounded, and static. Traditionally, an atomistic view of multilinguals' linguistic competencies considers language in this way assessing language skills against the ideal benchmark of the native speaker (Cenoz (2013). This approach similarly reflects the assessment regime of language competency examinations managed by the Agency for Bi- and Trilingualism in the region of Trentino-Alto Adige (Südtirol), a regime which demarcates the minority from the majority whilst concomitantly discriminating and marginalising at the linguistic level within the Ladin community itself (cf. also Chapter 3.2.4; Darquennes 2012). However, this is at the expense of assessment taking a holistic approach to multilingualism which recognises the notion of linguistic repertoire in which linguistic boundaries are 'blurred' as well as recognising that multilingual speakers navigate between languages in the context of a broader communicative repertoire and across wide and varied social contexts (Cenoz 2013).

The distinction between competence and repertoire thus highlights 'repertoire' as 'something that already exists' rather than 'competence' as 'something that has to be achieved' (Cenoz and Gorter 2019, pg.132). The overwhelming perception of Ladin respondents very much befits the latter distinction. Yet, the dynamic social contexts of multilingualism are salient since speakers acquire language through language practices that are situated in distinct social contexts. Competency is equally determined by 'the cultural norms of interaction within a given social context' constituting the broader communicative repertoire (Cassels and Johnson 2021, pg.22). It is important to take into consideration that 'multilingual speakers use different languages, either in isolation or mixed, according to their

communicative needs and their interlocutors' (Cenoz 2013). Deficit as an expression of linguistic competency is very much anchored in notions of language as fixed and bounded entities and measured against the benchmark of native speaker.

Jaffe (2012) describes hierarchies of value relating to linguistic competence and practice amongst Corsican speakers and the resulting experience of linguistic insecurity. Linguistic insecurity is expressed not only in the context of the expert or native speaker (formal) benchmark but similarly in the context of vernacular (informal) use of minority language and by both vernacular speakers as well as learners of Corsican. These frames of evaluation highlight a competition between value and authority, that is an 'authentic Corsican' defined within informal domains versus formal, academic forms of language. Additionally, notions of linguistic balance come into play. A balanced multilingual is defined by the notion of having equal competency in all languages whereas an unbalanced multilingual, however, describes differing competency in each language (Cenoz 2013). Jaffe (2012) expands on the notion of imbalance as an expression of differentiated practices, competencies and values of Corsican and French in both individual and societal repertoires that results from the experience of both language shift and language revitalisation. Balanced multilingualism does not, however, account for the multiple levels of competence in a multilingual repertoire.

In the extract that follows, extract 34, SONNE^{VB} introduces the notion that using one language more may have an adverse effect on competency in another.

Extract 34. SONNE^{VB}

AC Und wenn sie sagen wir sind dreisprachig was meinen Sie mit 'wir'?

- S Also die Leute die im Tal Leben, wir alle, also wie gut das ist hängt auch von jedem ab also **wir können ja alle verstehen also ladinisch italienisch und deutsch** weil man das schon in der Volksschule lernt und immer weiter geht's immer mehr dann entweder mit italienischer Uni oder einer Deutschen deswegen die drei Sprachen beherrschen wir fast so wie gut. **Dass ich spreche hauptsächlich ladinisch, deswegen deutsch kann ich nicht so gut oder aber verstehen, sagen wir**
- AC Sagen alle Ladiner, Deutsch kann ich nicht gut und es ist ja perfekt!
- S Also ich habe auch deutsche Schule gemacht aber ich bin schon zufrieden wie es geht also was ich kann.
- AC Ich wäre froh wenn ich auch so gut Deutsch könnte.
- S Also Sie können schon Deutsch!
- AC Mit ihrem Deutsch kann man das nicht vergleichen! Die Ladiner sagen das immer auch ‚mein Deutsch ist nicht so gut‘ und ‚mein Italienisch ist nicht so gut‘ und das ist alles ja wortwörtlich perfekt, komisch!
- S **Perfekt vielleicht nicht aber wir verständigen uns und das ist wichtig.**
- AC And when you say we are trilingual, what do you mean by ‚we‘?
- S Well, the people who live in the valley, all of us, so how well that depends on the person, but we can all understand Ladin, Italian and German because you learn it at school and you continue to, more and more, then either off to an Italian University or a German one, that's why we speak the three languages almost equally well. **That I primarily speak Ladin, that's why I can't speak German so well or understand, let's say.**
- AC All Ladins say, I can't speak German well and it's actually perfect!
- S So, I went to German school but I'm happy with how it's going, what I can speak.
- AC I'd be happy if I could speak German so well.
- S But you can speak German!
- AC It doesn't compare to your German! Ladins always say ‚my German's not so good‘ and ‚my Italian's not so good‘ and it's all actually word perfect, strange!
- S Perhaps not perfectly, but we can communicate and that's important.

SONNE^{VB} explains that residents of the valley, Val Badia, understand three languages; Ladin, Italian and German. This is particularly true of Gherdëina and Val Badia since they form part of Südtirol with its German-speaking dominant majority. Again, as described in the extracts above, the education system is foregrounded as an important sponsor of multilingualism for residents of the valley, in this instance described from high school to university by which time, it is inferred, you will have chosen between Italian and German as a language of choice to enter into further education. Education is thus presented as a core contributing factor for there being Ladin multilingualism in the valley. This resonates well with all respondents and reflects a general consensus regarding the role of education. Yet, almost immediately after having described how members of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group have evolved into competent multilinguals through a multilingual education, linguistic competency is qualified comparatively and measured in terms of habitual use; **Dass ich spreche hauptsächlich ladinisch, deswegen deutsch kann ich nicht so gut oder aber verstehen, sagen wir.** In this instance, German suffers as a consequence of her primarily speaking Ladin. The sentiment that respondents do not speak German or Italian well is a quite common. This is concluded, again comparatively, by measuring their linguistic competency against native speakers of each language and in so doing set the bar high. Setting such high standards reflects the importance that respondents assign to language in the construction of Ladin identity since multilingualism and language are core facets in the construction of Ladin identity and are themselves constructs that go to define group boundaries as well as group membership.

With multilingualism being a core facet of Ladin identity, a facet that is viewed as one of the unique characteristics that sets the Ladin ethnolinguistic group apart from their neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities, where respondents comparatively evaluate

linguistic competency in ways in which render them proficient multilinguals but by no means masters of any one language, it is often related that although they may not speak any language 'perfectly', they do at least succeed in making themselves understood '**Perfekt vielleicht nicht aber wir verständigen uns und das ist wichtig**'. This qualification is viewed as important since it is a factor that positions Ladins as the true multilinguals of the three linguistic groups.

In the following extract 35, SALVAN^{VB} similarly describes the notion of 'jack of all languages but master of none' with the common accompanying qualification of at least being able to make yourself understood.

Extract 35. SALVAN^{VB}

Ja, nur Ladiner, sagen wir so, wenn einer einen publiks Platz möchte, nicht? Wenn einer für z.b. Doktor machen möchte, ja?, und er kommt aus Bozen z.b., dann kann man ihm nicht sagen so jetzt, um diesen Arbeitsplatz zu haben sollst du dann ladinisch lernen. Nein das ist nicht recht. Er soll, sagen wir so, es ist viel gescheider, dass jeder kann, **auch ich, ich kann auch** deutsch und italienisch **vielleicht nicht immer grammatikalisch perfekt**, weil da haben wir viele Lücken, das muss man sagen, **wir haben viele Lücken in anderen Sprachen** aber **einer kann sich verständlich machen durch Italienisch und Deutsch** und von mir aus gesehen andere, die, sagen wir so, nicht Ladiner sind, vielleicht eine offene Stelle haben, **Ladin lernen müssen? Nein, das sehe ich nicht ein.**

Yes, only Ladins, let's say, if someone wants to get a job in the public sector, you see? If someone wants to work as a doctor, for example, yes?, and he's from Bozen, for example, then you can't now say to him, to get this job then you should learn Ladin. No, that's not right. They should, let's say, it's much more sensible, that everyone can, **me too, I can also speak** German and Italian, **perhaps not always grammatically perfect** because we have a lot of gaps, you have to say, **we have a lot of gaps in other languages** but **you can make yourself understood in Italian and German** and as far as I'm concerned others, let's say, who are not Ladin, perhaps in a vacant position, **must learn Ladin? No, I don't agree with that.**

SALVAN^{VB} supports the notion that those wishing to take up employment in the public sector should not do so on condition that they learn Ladin. He believes that it is more sensible an approach that everybody speaks Italian and German, as does he. Great importance is attached to being grammatically 'perfect' as some kind of marker of linguistic accomplishment. He then immediately follows by making us aware that although he speaks Italian and German, here described using the first person singular '**auch ich, ich kann auch'** thus referencing this to himself only, it may not always be grammatically correct '**vielleicht nicht immer grammatikalisch perfekt'**, he then immediately switches to the first person plural, '**wir**', here now implying the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as a whole, where he feels obliged to point out that Ladins have many gaps in their knowledge of other languages, '**wir haben viele Lücken in anderen Sprachen'** but points out, at the same time, that they can at least make themselves understood through Italian and German, '**eine kann sich verständlich machen durch italienisch und deutsch'**.

Although there is a perception of not being able to speak other languages flawlessly, that is, without grammatical errors, this is not understood to be negative in any way. As in the previous extract above, respondents often point to the fact that Ladins can at least make themselves understood, whether grammatically perfect or not. This is also expressed in the final extract 36, in which BARDASCIA^{VB} puts great emphasis on and therefore attaches more worth to being able to communicate, than in being grammatically correct.

Extract 36. BARDASCIA^{VB}

- AC Und was bedeutet es Ihnen Ladinerin zu sein?
- B Ladinerin zu sein bedeutet **dass man sich leichter Sprachen macht, dass man sich anpassen kann, dass man alle versteht** das ist vielleicht schon ein großer Pluspunkt auch hat wieder damit zu tun mit dem Schulsystem weil **wir können nicht alle Sprachen perfekt** aber wir können uns schon

wir können schon damit kommunizieren und das sehe ich schon als positiv.

AC And what does it mean to you to be Ladin?

B To be Ladin means that you find Languages easier to learn, that you can fit in, that you understand everyone, that's already perhaps a huge plus which again has something to do with the education system because we don't speak all languages perfectly but we really can, **we really know how to communicate in them and that, I see that as positive.**

BARDASCIA^{VB} constructs Ladin identity and group membership around the commonly described facets that underpin Ladin multilingualism; the ability to learn other languages easily, the ability to assimilate and thus being able to understand everyone '**dass man sich leichter Sprachen macht, dass man sich anpassen kann, dass man alle versteht**'. Although in this extract these facets are imparted as innate abilities that go to define a particular Ladin identity in opposition to other group identities, in other respondent interviews these facets are imparted more as necessities than innate abilities. That is to say, the reality of Ladin multilingualism is born more of necessity and the need or the will for the language to survive than of a more romantic notion of characteristic innate ability. This is indeed constructed around the notion that in order to survive in today's world, monolingualism is not a viable option for Ladins (cf. section 6.2 and extract 12 above).

There are, however, other perceived language related costs involved with the need to be multilingual. One of the most frequently mentioned disadvantages of multilingualism for the Ladin ethno-linguistic group is perceived to be a resulting inability to master any one language, '**wir können nicht alle Sprachen perfekt**'. Yet, at the same time, this is not necessarily held in such a wholly negative light. The ability to simply be able to communicate in any language, or at least be able to make yourself understood, is considered to be what actually matters and as such is assigned a greater importance than mastering or perfecting

grammatical accuracy **‘wir können schon damit kommunizieren und das sehe ich schon als positiv’**. This linguistic trade-off is widely attested by participants to be equally to the detriment of their competency in their variety of Ladin as well as both German and Italian.

6.3 Summary

As has been demonstrated, being members of a small language community means Ladins can no longer afford to be monolingual, particularly in a region of intersecting territoriality in which the Ladin ethnolinguistic group is not only a minority in the context of the state but also in the autonomous province of South Tirol, thus comprising a minority within a minority where the provincial majority German-speaking group is a state minority itself. As such, a command of the language(s) of the neighbouring dominant majority ethnolinguistic group(s) is very much described as a necessity to be able to exist and navigate everyday life. Italian, as the official language of the state, is viewed as necessary for all whereas German depends on the valley. In the autonomous province of South Tirol, the dominance of German renders it a necessary asset in the linguistic repertoire. For those valleys lying beyond the limits of the province of South Tirol, German is perceived as important in a wider regional context; in economic terms an important, and for some an essential, instrument by which to capitalise on the growth of tourism in the valleys since the vast majority of visitors to the area come from Austria and Germany. In support of this, some respondents describe how some Ladin children are sent to schools in South Tirol on account of the trilingual education, such is the importance attached to multilingualism and the socio-economic value it brings to the community.

Respondents do, however, often note that neither of the other ethnolinguistic group speaks Ladin and seldom each other's language. Therefore, as a small language and minority group, they feel that the onus is on them to be able speak either Italian or German otherwise they would not be able to communicate at all. Equally, since German and Italian enjoy higher status across the entirety of the region unlike Ladin, which depending on valley, only enjoys a higher recognition or status within the limits of the valley or it may be used in official capacities such as in government or administrative communication and in other public services such as in the courts, it is clear that the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as a minority, small language community, being subjected to the language dominance and the resulting pressures of having two neighbouring dominant majority ethnolinguistic groups, it is perhaps clear to see the salience of multilingualism to and for them. Equally, that multilingualism has become a defining facet of Ladin identity is understandable in this context.

However, the perception of Ladins as polyglots or 'natural' linguists who as a group learns other languages easily, as valid and as true as this perception may be, respondents clearly demonstrate that multilingualism stems more from necessity and need than from any innate linguistic talent. In addition to the reasons outlined above, multilingualism is coveted for ensuring access to other cultural aspects, such as the more extensive literature of both German and Italian, that Ladin monolingualism would preclude. Similarly, as well as greater inclusion and participation in those areas in which language plays an important role, such as in education, multilingualism promotes integration into the wider society where monolingualism would present a hindrance, if not a solid barrier, which would foster marginalisation and do little to champion language rights or protection.

Supporting the development of multilingualism has been the rapid evolution in the promotion and development of language rights and their explicit inclusion in local, national,

and supranational contexts (cf. May 2012a). The Ladin valleys have, in part, greatly profited from this perspective and some more so than others. The degree to which this has been achieved has been very much dependent upon the administrative system within which an individual valley finds itself (cf. Chapter 3). The reality of Ladins having been partitioned and their now living under differing political administrations has had a toll on Ladin unity, particularly regarding language. In this respect, the development, introduction, and implementation of a standard form of written Ladin for use across all valleys has proved to be a contentious issue. Together with differing levels of language rights and protections, measures to implement and encourage the wider use of a standard written form of Ladin, Ladin Dolomitan, itself intended to forge closer unity and community cohesion, has, however, given rise to internal group tensions which are explored in the following chapter.

Chapter Seven:

Standardisation - Bridging the gap or widening the divide?

7. Introduction

The standardisation of Ladin was carried out by SPELL, Servisc de Planificazion y Elaborazion dl Lingaz, a project founded by the UGLD, the Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites, and the cultural institute of Fascia, Majon di Fascegn (Videsott 1995a). The result of this work was Ladin Dolomitan. Although broadly acknowledged by respondents as a necessary means for achieving closer Ladin unity, it also attracts some suspicion. In this context, and due in large part to its perceived *artificiality* as an ‘invented’ language, Dolomitan is viewed as ‘foreign’ in stark contrast to valley varieties which are considered *naturally* evolved with historic spatiotemporal linguistic provenance. As such, Dolomitan is sometimes perceived by respondents as an existential threat to valley varieties arousing fear that its use will lead to the eventual demise of the valley varieties. Striking a balance between standard and variety, the artificial and the natural, presents difficult challenges for both the individual and the collective alike and for the most part rooted in and exacerbated by the differing political and administrative realities that Ladins find themselves in today, a consequence of the divide and conquer ideology of Tripartition (cf. Chapter 3.).

Standardisation was seen as a means of redressing the disunity that evolved as a consequence of Tripartition and forging an ever-closer pan-Ladin unity. In the following sections, Ladin Dolomitan is examined in the broader context of Ladin (dis)unity. Section 7.2. examines how respondents view the role of key public bodies in the promotion of Ladin,

exploring how Tripartition shapes Ladin dis(unity) and allows for disparities between the valleys in areas of language rights and protections. Section 7.3 then examines respondents' positive perceptions of Dolomitan in the context of Ladin (dis)unity including notions of apprehension and reluctance that respondents commonly employ as caveats. Section 7.4 shifts the focus onto negative perceptions of Dolomitan and notions of scepticism and danger constructed around the fear that Dolomitan may lead to the demise of the valley varieties, the very foundation stones upon which Ladin identity is constructed. Finally, section 7.5 presents a summary of the chapter.

7.1 The perceived 'institutionalisation' of Ladin language promotion - Ladin Dolomitan in the public context.

In this section, the role that public bodies have played in the promotion of Ladin and the perceived contribution that they make to Ladin linguistic dis(unity) is examined in the context of the disparities in linguistic rights and protections that exist across the valleys and highlighting tensions that have subsequently arisen. The ramifications of Tripartition on the Ladin ethnolinguistic group are far-reaching and continue to shape attitudes to language. In the following extracts, respondents describe how the differing political administrations under which Ladin communities are governed as well as the independent ways in which the valley cultural organisations and other pan-Ladin organisations operate shape Ladin (dis)unity with sharp focus on what this has meant for the introduction of a common written standard.

In the first extract, extract 37, CHEL^{FA} describes how regional politics continues to polarise and divide in matters concerning language and identity but equally how the Ladin community itself is perceived as far from united on questions of language and language promotion.

Extract 37. CHEL (FA)

[...] Volevo, Anthony, farti una precisazione che è molto importante, che purtroppo **le due lingue ladino ed italiano si sono sovrapposte all'appartenenza politica** cioè **Il ladino rappresenta** tutte le persone che sono nel **posto** che sono per le **tradizioni** mentre **l'italiano rappresenta** un po' tutte le persone che sono venute **da fuori**. Allora questo, **la politica**, è felice che ci sia questa idea di divisione perché questo **ha permesso a dividere la comunità di Fassa**. Infatti, noi oggi non abbiamo un partito che riesce a raccogliere tutta la valle di Fassa, ma ci sono due partiti che si dividono i voti dei ladini italiani e dei ladini fasani.

[...] Anthony, I wanted to clarify something for you that is very important, that unfortunately **both languages, Ladin and Italian, are each attached to a political affiliation** whereas **Ladin represents** all those **here**, those on the side of **tradition** whilst in a small way, **Italian represents** those who have come from **elsewhere**. So this, **politics** that is, is happy with the notion of division since it **has allowed division within the community of Fassa**. In fact, today we don't have one party that unites the Fassa valley as a whole but we have two that split the vote of the Italian Ladins and the Fassa Ladins.

CHEL^{FA} introduces the notion that language has been politicised to signify cultural and political affiliation. This reflects an essentialist approach (Geertz 1963; Van den Berghe 1987), employing language as an instrument of both inclusion and exclusion (Wright 2016) and as a symbolic marker of community identity (Cohen 1985). In contrast, CHEL^{FA} takes a constructivist approach considering the whole valley community as Ladin primarily defined in terms of inhabiting space (within defined valley boundaries) whereby language becomes a secondary consideration; the Italian-speaking valley community as Italian-Ladins who coexist alongside the valley Ladin-speaking community. Italians are considered here as equally Ladin as those from within which rejects the essentialist notion that to be Ladin you must be able to speak Ladin. However, it is broader regional politics that is charged with fostering division based on linguistic identity defining one community in opposition to the other in a 'them and us' dichotomy (Barth 1969). This is perpetuated by two political parties that split the valley

vote along linguistic lines; one representing the Italian- and the other the Ladin-speaking communities.

CHEL^{FA} continues by introducing notions of division and disunity across the five Ladin valleys offering up an example of what he sees as a lost opportunity for coming together and acting in unity.

Extract 38. CHEL (FA) continued ...

A: Allora secondo lei, dove sarebbe utile il ladino standard nella vita quotidiana per esempio?

C: Nella vita sarebbe importante in tutto quello che è l'amministrazione, tutto quello che è scritto. Purtroppo però, ad esempio, La Usc di Ladins, che tu conosci, che potrebbe usarlo molto di più. Anthony, Anthony, un piccolo esempio, un piccolo esempio. Adesso, c'è il corona virus e abbiamo, abbiamo da un mese, questo oggetto, questa nella lingua Ladina è nuovo [*showing me a face mask*]. Allora, io ho guardato sulla Usc di Ladins, sulla televisione, ho pensato La Usc di Ladins userà una parola unica per tutti invece non è successo. I Fassani in Fassa dicono 'chori boccia' per coprire la bocca. In Gardena, 'mascherot' ed in Badia 'maschera' e su TRAIL 'maschera'. Allora, dico anche nei Ladini bisogna fare chiarezza. **Questa era una occasione fantastica unica per dare un nome, un neologismo, nuovo e non è successo, abbiamo tre parole.**

A: So, in your view, where would Ladin Standard be useful in everyday life, for example?

C: In life, it would be important in all areas of administration, everything that is written. Unfortunately, for example, La Usc di Ladins, which you are aware of, could use it much more. Anthony, Anthony, a small example, a small example. Now there is this corona virus and we have, we have had it for a month now, this thing, which is new in the Ladin language [*showing me a face mask*]. So, I saw in La Usc di Ladins, on TV, I thought La Usc di Ladins would have one single word for everyone but they didn't. The Fassani in Fassa say 'chori bocci, for covering the mouth. In Val Gardena, 'mascherot' and in Val Badia, 'maschera' and on TRAIL [television], 'mascera'. So, I say Ladins also need to clarify things for themselves. **This was a great, unique opportunity to create a new name, a neologism, but we failed, we have three words.**

The salience of this example, and precisely what sets it apart, is that this matter lay wholly within the competence of the Ladin community and was in no way dependent or reliant on any other, nor did any politico-administrative reality have any external power to exert. Although the failure is attributed to the Ladin valleys' inability to work together and on a matter that the reality of Tripartition had no bearing, it is important to recognise the role of language as a symbolic marker of community identity (Cohen 1985) since identity boundaries exist within ethnolinguistic groups as well as between them (Fishman 1989). As often demonstrated in this chapter, this example underpins how very much the valley variety is the guarded concern of the valley institution charged with its management and maintenance as well as how important it is as *the* fundamental facet of Ladin (linguistic) identity. This lost chance for action in unity exemplifies the degree to which valley varieties continue to evolve independently of one another by way of their being maintained by valley-centric institutions which is compounded by their operating under differing administrative systems of government as a consequence of Tripartition. Indeed, in the following extract, CHEL^{FA} links how the cultural institutes struggle to work together to their having to operate in different (autonomous) provinces.

Extract 39. CHEL (FA) continued ...

A: C'è un organismo ufficiale per la lingua ladina, per questo, per esempio?

C: Certo, ci sono **gli istituti culturali ladini** che però **faticano a lavorare insieme** perché penso il **problema** è che **siamo due province**. Ci sono cose nei ladini che funzionano bene.

A: Allora nella regione Trentino-Alto Adige ed anche c'è il Belluno.

C: Sì, è più Belluno. Ci sono tre istituti culturali ladini. Sono questi che dovrebbero elaborare i neologismi e dire in prima pagina questo, oggi lo chiamiamo con questa parola, è lo stesso per me, è lo stesso, **però una parola**.

A: Is there an official authority for the Ladin language, for this, for example?

C: Of course, **there are the Ladin cultural institutes that do, however, struggle to work together** because I think **the problem is that we are two provinces**. There are some things that work well between the Ladins.

A: So, in the region Trentino-South Tirol and there's also Belluno?

C: Yes, there's Belluno, too! There are three Ladin cultural institutes. They are supposed to come up with neologisms and say from the outset that today we will refer to this using this word, which includes me, the same, **but just one word**.

Political and administrative separation, being divided between three provinces, two of which autonomous, means that at least to some degree the cultural institutes have to work independently of one another in fulfilment of their roles as defined under autonomous provincial and regional statutes. The reality of Tripartition seemingly sponsors the sense of language (variety) protectionism that hinders the introduction of a standard. In those valleys where multiple varieties of Ladin exist, namely Fascia and Val Badia, the introduction of a valley standard has been successful and accepted. In these cases, it is noteworthy that political and administrative separation has not presented an issue.

It is similarly noteworthy that on many occasions throughout the interview process, there has been a need to mention to and remind respondents of the province of Belluno, home to the former Tirolean Ladin valleys of Ampezo and Fodom. This additional element of division created under Tripartition saw them removed from South Tirol and into the province of Belluno (Veneto region) and further highlights the distance that has come to exist between the valley communities.

In the final part of the extract from CHEL^{FA}, he describes a stronger sense of unity within the Ladin communities, that is to say, in the private sphere, in sharp contrast to the perception of disunity that prevails in the public sphere.

Extract 40. CHEL (FA) continued ...

A: Pensa che i Ladini sono uniti nella 'Street'?

C: Nella 'Street', nella vita invece **sono poco uniti nell'amministrazione, nella scuola, nelle istituzioni** li non sono molto uniti. Però se io vado in Gardena ,se io vado in Badia trovare i miei amici artisti, miei amici contadini, i miei amici della musica, **tantissimo senso di uguali. Siamo uguali però siamo anche diversi.**

A: Do you think that 'on the street' Ladins are united?

C: On the street, but in life, on the other hand, **we are only a little united in government, in education, in institutions, in those cases were not very united.** However, if I go to Val Gardena, or if I go to Val Badia to meet my artist friends, my friends from the country, my musician friends, [there is] **an overwhelming sense of equality. We are equal, but we are also different.**

CHEL^{FA} perceives Ladins in the public sphere to be not very united citing government, education and 'the institutions', that is to, say valley cultural institutes, as examples. However, in the private sphere, ordinary Ladins or Ladins 'on the street' are portrayed as being equal across the valleys with there being a great sense of equality citing friend groups of differing backgrounds as examples. CHEL^{FA} equally recognises that Ladins are also 'different' across valleys highlighting a sense of diversity in equality.

The sense of disunity described above between the institutions of Trentino-South Tirol is felt more strongly in neighbouring Veneto. Moreover, language rights and protections that exist in Trentino-South Tirol do not in Veneto and decisions made regarding Ladin Dolomitan in the autonomous provinces have nevertheless had repercussions for Ladin Dolomitan in Veneto. In the following extract 41, DILAN^{FD} highlights this case.

Extract 41. DILAN (FD)

Poi, lei probabilmente sa, se ha parlato con altri, che **ladino standard è una questione politica**, di conseguenza quando **la Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano non ha sostanzialmente accettato il ladino standard**, ma come ladino ha riconosciuto o il gadenese o il badiotto in quel momento probabilmente **le sorti della ladino standard insomma già state insegnate**.

So, you probably know, if you have been speaking with other people, that **Dolomitan is a political issue** and as such when the **Autonomous Province of South Tirol essentially rejected Ladin Dolomitan**, only recognising either Gherdëina or Badiot as Ladin, **the fate of Ladin Dolomitan was now basically sealed**.

DILAN^{FD} highlights how the writing was on the wall for Ladin Dolomitan by virtue of the decision of South Tirol in 2003 to recognise both Gherdëina and Badiot as official languages in provincial administration. This has made the adoption of Ladin Dolomitan as an official language 'practically impossible' (Bauer 2012). Described as a broader 'political issue' DILAN^{FD} turns the focus to the distance that stands between Fodom and Anpezo and the other Ladin valleys which it is felt greatly contributes to a sense of disunity and how the unification of the cultural institutes as well as the reunification of the Ladin valleys as a whole is mooted as a goal for the future.

Extract 42. DILAN (FD) continued ...

Il primo problema della comunità Ladina ed è il motivo per cui, se magari il punto di vista identitario, io parlo per fodom, c'è un sentimento ancora forte per tutto il resto, noi siamo molto indietro, indietro dal punto di vista lessicografico, la ricerca linguistica, dal punto di vista scolastico istituzionale. Noi ci basiamo solo su quello che lavora che può fare nostro Istituto, istituto molto piccolo però non abbiamo nessuna base giuridica su cui muoversi. Ecco perché noi speriamo che un passo alla volta, per esempio, unificazione dei tre istituti culturali, secondo me è un obiettivo che dobbiamo porci per il future. E poi c'è sempre l'aspetto politico-amministrativo perché noi avevamo questo referendum fatto in 2007 che la costituzione italiana dovrebbe riconoscere, che ha riconosciuto come valido, però non ha attuato e noi siamo convinti che solo la riunificazione dei ladini a punto di vista amministrativo per tutto l'area altrimenti, **altrimenti siamo destinati a scomparire**.

The main problem for the Ladin community and also, perhaps the reason, even from the point of view of identity, I speak for Fodom, there is still a strong feeling amongst the rest of them that **we are far behind**; behind in terms of lexicography, linguistic research, in terms of education. **We depend on the work of our institute**, our very small institute, **that has no basis in law**, though. This is why we hope, one step at a time, for example, to see the unification of the three cultural institutes, which, in my opinion, is a goal that we must set ourselves for the future. And then there are the political and administrative dimensions because we had this referendum in 2007 that the Italian constitution should recognise, it has recognised it as valid but not implemented it, and we are convinced **that only the reunification of the Ladins from an administrative point of view for the whole area [will do] otherwise, otherwise we are destined to disappear.**

Citing a perceived weaker Ladin identity and a having a linguistically less developed valley variety, DILAN^{FD} describes how he feels that Fodom lies far behind the others. Language promotion in Fodom lies with its cultural institute which, in stark contrast to the valleys in Trentino-South Tirol, has no basis in law. This division, disunity and disconnect, the legacy of Tripartition, is seen as a clear threat to the Ladin community in Fodom which DILAN^{FD} fears is ‘destined to disappear’. It is well documented that since Tripartition, there has been a marked decline in the Ladin speakership in Fodom and Anpezo, although exact numbers are not readily available since, unlike in the provinces of Trentino-South Tirol, the Ladin community is not counted in census or represented in population statistics.

What is similarly evident in this extract is the notion of hierarchy. As discussed in Chapter 5, respondents assess varieties in a hierarchy of perceived ‘Ladiness’. In terms of rights and protections, a similar hierarchy is exposed (cf. Chapter 3.3). In this case, DILAN^{FD} demonstrates how deficient linguistic rights threaten the very survival of linguistic minorities (De Vries 1984). Not only is it felt that the unification of the three Ladin cultural institutes into one would go some way to promote Ladin unity but additionally ‘only the reunification of the Ladins from an administrative point of view’ will ensure the survival of the Ladin community

in Fodom itself potentially giving rise to a levelling up of language rights and protections for the Ladin ethnolinguistic group as a whole seen from an internal, inter-Ladin perspective. However, the external perspective, outlined by MUSNATA^{GR} in the following extract, focuses on how Ladin linguistic unity is politicised externally, revealing how Ladin language policy is greatly reliant upon the will and consent of the neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities.

Extract 43. MUSNATA (GR)

A: Right, so what's the main problem with its acceptance?

M: [...] the other one is the political reason because now that sounds a little bit too problematic but, in some ways, **those political representatives who are more related to the German majority suspect it could be a vehicle for a future Ladin province** and so it's just perhaps a way of, as we called it separate identity, sharing identity between Tirolean and Ladin so it's a purely political question.

That of the province is one of the weapons used by those who want to avoid Ladin unity because you have to declare yourself as belonging to Bolzano, Trento or Belluno. So swinging sides and borders, that's perceived as a great threat to the specific autonomy of the provinces of Bolzano and Trento and nobody wants to give up chunks of their territory because it's the beginning of the end of autonomy towards the Italian state and so it's very sensible [meaning 'sensitive' – from German 'sensibel'] **and you have to move on a line of recognition of the same rights, so without changing borders and switching territories, you have to try to achieve the goal of the same level of protection on the highest possible level. That is the only possible way nowadays.** The last time the Ladins had the opportunity to unite was at the end of the Second World War and they didn't achieve it on account of the general situation of the contest between Austria and Italy for South Tirol and so on. It was part of the problem but as we know, as **we are 2000 years old, we can also wait some 100 years.**

Language standardisation as an instrument of unity and social cohesion has been linked by modernist theorists with the emergence of nations and nationalism (Anderson 2006; Gellner 2006; Hobsbawm 1992). Similarly, political representatives from the German dominant majority linguistic group view Ladin Dolomitan as a threat to the territorial integrity of South Tirol since, as MUSNATA^{GR} describes, it is viewed as a 'vehicle for a future Ladin

province'. Ladin Dolomitan would divide the unique Tirolean identity they both share by constructing a separate Ladin Tirolean identity around Ladin Dolomitan and around which all Ladin valleys would unite. Moreover, the perceived threat to territorial integrity and Tirolean identity endangers the very autonomy of South Tirol itself, leading to full subsumption into the Italian state. In response, MUSNATA^{GR} suggests Ladins seek recognition as coexisting partners with equal rights and protections negating any perceived threat to Tirolean identity, territorial integrity, and provincial autonomy. Furthermore, current disparities between Ladin valleys in terms of language rights and protections would be similarly redressed. Unity, therefore, can be achieved through achieving equal rights and protections.

Having attributed part of the failure of Ladin unity to their historically having been unwittingly caught up in power struggles between the German- and Italian-speaking dominant majorities, in the following extract MUSNATA^{GR} reveals an internal perspective on Ladin dis(unity) describing how language promotion and culture has been wrested from its traditional home within Ladin grassroots movements and into the realms of more formalised institutions.

Extract 44. MUSNATA (GR) continued ...

A: What negative developments have there been in your lifetime regarding the culture and language of the Ladins?

M: Negative developments, kind of **bureaucratisation of cultural activity**. It was **more institutionalised**. That's positive but on the other hand it became an interest of bureaucrats and experts and so the idea or dimension was reduced, so also the 'engagement' from the basis then political manipulation. Very many achievements of the Ladin movements, the grassroots movements of Ladins, were occupied by the institutions and so it was **more formalised** but it had **not the same moral and idealistic content of the beginnings**. But it may also be seen as a positive development because it was **recognised from a formal point-of-view** and so **the danger is people get out of touch with the goals of the promotion of Ladin language and culture** and say yes, it's **institutionalised, we have not to care**

about maintenance in families and so there are very many examples of language switching. Also, that's a negative development so people sometimes use other languages at home and say well they will learn it at school or in kindergartens and **that's very dangerous**.

Here, the institutionalisation of language promotion and culture is viewed as a 'very dangerous' development for Ladin. It is argued that before formalised public bodies existed, the promotion of Ladin language and culture lay in the private sphere, as a family matter and more broadly the concern of grassroots, community organisations such as the various valley 'Unions' that would later be united under the umbrella organisation known today as the Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites, (cf. Ch 2). Alongside playing an important role in pan-Ladin affairs regarding language, culture, and traditions, being the publisher of the pan-Ladin newspaper 'La Usc di Ladins' [*The voice of the Ladins*] and having been the co-principal sponsor and advocate for Ladin Dolomitan, the Union Generela di Ladins dla Dolomites (UGLD) is *the* pan-Ladin organisation which represents the general interests of all Ladins and works to promote community cohesion.

However, in a shift away from former grassroots control, the described 'bureaucratisation of cultural activity' that since developed has led to a fundamental change in attitudes to language. Seen as managed by 'bureaucrats and experts' in a more 'formal' arena that lacks the 'moral and idealistic content of the beginnings' when, it is suggested, the community was more engaged and in touch with the goals of language promotion, such institutionalisation means people are becoming 'out of touch', seeing the responsibility of maintaining Ladin no longer the remit of the family unit but instead the remit of the cultural institutions and the education system. The unfortunate consequence of this is that language choice in the home favours the dominant linguistic neighbour which, MUSNATA^{GR} argues, potentially endangers Ladin.

There is a broad consensus among recipients that the future of Ladin is in danger and that closer Ladin unity can be achieved with Ladin Dolomitan which in turn would go some way to ensuring its future. However, accompanying such expressions of acceptance come expressions of apprehension and reluctance which are examined in the following section.

7.2 Standardisation - closer Ladin unity and the future of Ladin - Expressions of apprehension and reluctance in positive perceptions of Dolomitan.

Interview data reveal an underlying fear that in today's globalised world Ladin is in danger of being lost. The rationale for this varies from valley to valley. However, the most common shared beliefs are principally rooted in the competition to Ladin that the neighbouring dominant languages pose as well as the use of English as a global language of communication. Older participants believe that there has been a decline in the standard of Ladin compared to the Ladin spoken by their parents and grandparents. They believe this to be a consequence of language contact and more borrowing in from both Italian and German and to a lesser extent English. They perceive the younger generation as preferring using either Italian or German over Ladin. For their part, the younger participants do, however, express great pride in Ladin but are more accepting of Ladin evolving and see its evolution in this way as necessary and natural to be fit for the future and to ensure its survival. Similarly, they are much more open and receptive to the adoption and use of Ladin Dolomitan. The linguistic unification of the Ladin valley varieties is, nonetheless, not only considered by most respondents as a means of forging closer Ladin unity but similarly as a means of ensuring its future survival.

In the following extract, CHEL^{FA} links unity to the future survival of Ladin. Ladin Dolomitan is seen as progressive, modern, and unifying and it is through unity that Ladin can be assured a future.

Extract 45. CHEL (FA)

Allora io sono sempre stato dell'idea che ci vuole il ladin dolomitan perché se vogliamo salvare questa lingua, **dobbiamo stare con i tempi e per salvare una lingua, bisogna anche unità, bisogna essere in tanti non in pochi**. Purtroppo, poi l'esperienza del ladin dolomitan si è arenata perché **è entrata la politica dove doveva stare la cultura**. Io l'ho avuto per anni esperienze e le ho ancora oggi di poeta, scrittore. Io collaboro ancora oggi con un gruppo di giovani scrittori e volentieri cerco di usare il ladin dolomitan cerco di usarlo Però siccome non c'è stata scolarizzazione il mio diventa in poesia ... Io spesso uso parole di altri idiomi Gardena Badia ma anche quando scrivo le mail **anche quando parlo**.

So, I've always held the view that we need Ladin Dolomitan because in order to save this language, **we have to keep up with the times and to save a language you need unity, you need to be many, not a few**. Unfortunately, the Ladin Dolomitan experiment ran aground because **politics came in where culture should have been**. I've been playing around with it for years and I still do today as a poet, a writer. Today, I'm still working with a group of young writers and I gladly try and use Ladin Dolomitan, I try to use it but since there was no schooling, mine becomes poetry. I often use words from the other varieties Gherdëina, Badiot but also in emails, **even when I speak**.

In this extract, CHEL^{FA} views Ladin as an endangered language and considers Ladin Dolomitan as a lifeline that could ensure that Ladin (in its multiplicity) has a future. The fragmented nature of the present linguistic reality is evidenced by CHEL^{FA} in his reference to the need for unity and to standing together as one larger group as the many 'in tanti' in place of the fractious disunity that the current political and administrative reality supports by favouring smaller, independently functioning valley-centric groups of the few 'in pochi'. Ladin Dolomitan is thus foregrounded as both unifier and saviour that will greatly contribute to

ensuring the survival of Ladin into the future fulfilling CHEL^{FA}'s third and final requirement for the survival of Ladin, the need to keep up with the times '**dobbiamo stare con i tempi**'.

In the following extract, ELENA^{GR} similarly expresses the need for unity since the fragmentation of Ladin, conceptualised as the existence and use of valley variety or valley standard in lieu of a unifying single pan-valley standard, is perceived as a problem for the survival of such a small language. In this sense, Ladin Dolomitan is embraced as a means by which the valley communities can be brought closer together through a common standard and in so doing ensure the survival of the language.

Extract 46. ELENA (GR)

Ich habe nicht das Gefühl, die Auswirkung von dem Ladin Dolomitan zu spüren weder in den Medien noch also in dem Alltag, sowieso nicht. Man hört, dass man sich, ab und zu spricht man davon oder so und mir kommt vor, die Meinung kommt eher, dass es etwas ist was nicht unbedingt beim einzelnen ankommt zum Alltag aber ich finde es doch sehr wichtig, weil die Zersplitterung die also **die innere Zersplitterung vom ladinischen ist halt schon ein Problem für den Fortbestand einer Sprache die ohnehin so klein ist, also ein Schritt zu einer Vereinheitlichung ist von mir aus gesehen nie falsch**, obwohl er momentan bei der Bevölkerung halt nicht angekommen ist.

Anyhow, I really don't feel that Ladin Dolomitan has had any impact either in the media or even in everyday life. You hear it mentioned from time to time and it seems to me that it is something you come across in your daily life but I do think it's important because the fragmentation, that is **the internal fragmentation of Ladin already poses a problem for the continued use of such a small language so a step in the direction of unity is for me not a bad thing** although this hasn't quite taken hold in the general population as yet.

As most respondents commonly testify, ELENA^{GR} describes the absence of Ladin Dolomitan as an established presence in everyday life. Notwithstanding, its potential contribution to both the Ladin community and language is not undersold. Describing the current language reality as 'the internal fragmentation of Ladin', ELENA^{GR} sees this as somewhat problematic and a threat to the very survival of Ladin, especially so as a small

language. The notion expressed above by CHEL^{FA} that the Ladin communities need to come together is similarly expressed here by ELENA^{GR}. Ladin Dolomitan is thus viewed as a unifier that would resolve the issue of 'internal fragmentation', the perpetuation of which stands as an obstacle to the very survival of Ladin into the future.

Complementing the perception of Ladin Dolomitan as a means of unifying the Ladin valley varieties under a single standard, in the following extract ROSE^{VB} outlines how it could similarly promote community cohesion which the division of the Ladin valley across differing administrative systems has evidently weakened.

Extract 47. ROSE (VB)

A: Why did it [Standardisation] happen in the first place? What made somebody think we need or there is a need for Ladin Standard or Ladin Dolomitan?

R: Yeah, I think it's really because we really need to feel united as one single community inside the five valleys because we know we are divided, three provinces and two regions, so in order to make sure also maybe not to lose Ladin or to, yes **to understand each other better as a community**. So, I think the thought behind it was good, so maybe to give us strength somehow, I imagine, but that's just my opinion.

Since the valleys are spread over three provinces and two regions, as ROSE^{VB} points out in the extract above, the status of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group and their linguistic rights greatly differ under varying administrative systems. It is in this context that Ladin unity is fragmented and so Ladin Dolomitan is widely viewed as a means of reconnecting the valley communities and of providing something around which they can all unite. ROSE^{VB} sees this not only in terms of ensuring the survival of Ladin itself but equally in terms of promoting social cohesion through fostering better understanding 'of each other as a community' and

thus giving Ladins strength in unity, a sentiment similarly echoed in other extracts discussed above.

In the following extract, AGA^{VB} comments on the role of Ladin Dolomitan in the newspaper 'La Usc di Ladins', the pan-Ladin weekly newspaper published by the UGLD. She describes Ladin Dolomitan as being firmly rooted in notions of inclusivity which she views as 'very symbolic'. As the official language of the UGLD, Ladin Dolomitan is used as a means of addressing the Ladin community collectively in articles that concern all valleys alike. It occupies the first section of the publication after which sections dedicated to the individual valley varieties follow.

Extract 48. AGA (VB)

[...] **every Valley has its own space in this journal** and this is a good idea that everybody has a space, that everybody writes in its variety, but the first part is the general part and it is written in the standard language and is **very symbolic** and means **the standard language includes all varieties and includes the whole community**. So, this is a context where I would use, where nothing as [but] a standard language is used. This would be so context where I would use Ladin [Dolomitan], where Ladin when you write **something for the whole community** or when you want to include all the varieties in your statement, in what you are writing. [...]

However, in 'La Usc', Ladin Dolomitan is also represented and is intended as a means by which to reach all communities where the message of the article is intended for the whole community. AGA^{VB} demonstrates the unifying and cohesive facets of Ladin Dolomitan in two respects that demonstrate the notion of inclusivity; firstly, in the respect of its having been created using all Ladin valley varieties and secondly, in its application across the community as a whole, that is to say 'something for the whole community'. The notion of bringing together or unifying the valley communities under one standard is also closely aligned to

respondents' perceptions of its potential to promote greater efficiency in activities involving the production of language particularly in the field of translation.

In the following extract SONNE^{VB} demonstrates how Ladin Dolomitan could provide positive economic outcomes for the Ladin valleys in terms of the cost, time and effort involved in the provision of language services such as producing translations.

Extract 49. SONNE (VB)

A: Wissen sie etwas über Ladin Standard oder Ladin Dolomitan?

S: Ja, man wollte das. Für mich wäre das eigentlich auch interessant, weil so muss man, **jedes Tal, jedes Tal muss seine eigenen Bücher herausgeben. Dadurch will jedes Tal sein Idiom beibehalten** aber als Ladin Standard wäre es vielleicht schon interessant.

A: Und was halten Sie davon persönlich, von so etwas?

S: Also, **da wird vieles eingespart, Zeit und Geld kommt mir vor**, aber niemand ist so bereit das zu lernen und dass das in Kraft tritt, das ist auch ein bisschen politisch. Ich weiß nicht aber für mich, **ich würde es schon als positiv ansehen.**

A: Do you know anything about Ladin Standard or Ladin Dolomitan?

S: Yes, that's something people wanted. I also find that interesting because you have to, every valley, **every valley has to publish its own literature.** In this way, **every valley gets to maintain its own variety** but [with] Ladin Standard, that would be interesting.

A: And what do you personally think of that, of such a thing?

S: Well, **you'd save a lot of time and money, I think**, but nobody's prepared to learn it and for it to come into use is a little political. I'm not really sure but as far as I'm concerned, **I see it as a positive thing.**

In the first part of the extract, SONNE^{VB} clearly describes what the fragmentation of Ladin represents. Operating independently of one another, each valley is responsible for the production and publication of its own literature in its own variety whether an original work

or a work that is the product of translation. In this way, each valley seeks to both maintain and protect its own variety(-ies) above all others. Such a protectionist approach is well documented by respondents as it is equally related to the protection of individual as well as valley collective identity whereby valley variety is considered by respondents as intrinsically linked to identity (cf. 7.1 above).

In the following extract TOMMAII^{VB} similarly concedes the benefits of efficiency that Ladin Dolomitan offers in lieu maintaining several varieties. However, TOMMAII^{VB} concomitantly questions its legitimacy on a personal level by clearly distancing herself from having any personal connection to it and describing it as ‘rather foreign’.

Extract 50. TOMMAII (VB)

T: [...] also meine Meinung dazu ist, es wäre für einige Fälle **eigentlich sehr günstig**. Ich denke an Übersetzungen, die wir zum Teil auf Badiot und auf Grödnerisch machen müsste. Das würde sich ergeben und man würde eine einzige Übersetzung machen und es wurde sich erledigt.

A: Was gewinnt man daran? Aus finanziellen Gründen oder aus zeitlichen Gründen?

T: Aus zeitlichen Gründen und aus finanziellen Gründen **obwohl ich das Ladinisch Standard als nicht mein ladinisch empfinde**. Es ist ja schon **ziemlich fremd** sagen wir so.

T: [...] well in my opinion in some respects it would actually be **very convenient**. I’m thinking about translations that we have to do, partly in Badiot and partly in Gherdëina. It would mean simply doing one single translation and that would be that.

A: How would you benefit from that? Financially or in terms of time saved?

T: Both in terms of time and money although **I don’t consider Ladin Standard to be my Ladin. It is quite foreign**, if I can put it like that.

As SONNE^{VB} above, TOMMAII^{VB} also sees Ladin Dolomitan positively in terms of efficiency savings and with particular reference to the provision of translation services as an

example. The positive endorsements that respondents give to Ladin Dolomitan are commonly accompanied by references to the reluctance of the wider community to adopt Ladin Dolomitan as a standard as can be seen in the extracts above. In this extract, however, TOMMAII^{VB} refers to her own less positive view of Ladin Dolomitan (here referred to as Ladin Standard). This exemplifies the internal tensions that respondents experience when evaluating the benefits and the costs of adopting a standard against continuing to use their own variety and in so doing perpetuating the fragmentation of Ladin. TOMMAII^{VB} recognises the benefit of Ladin Dolomitan for the wider community even though she considers it ‘quite foreign’.

In the final extract 51, MOIDL^{GR} sees the benefit of Ladin Dolomitan as a means of affording Ladin higher status. However, MOIDL^{GR} also admits that she could perhaps equally make the effort to learn or even read text in Badiot, the neighbouring valley variety.

Extract 51. MOIDL(GR)

A: Was hältst Du persönlich davon, eine Einheitssprache oder in diesem Fall ein Ladin Standard?

M: Ja, **ich finde es schon spannend** so etwas zu haben, weil es vielleicht auch eine, wie könnte man sagen, eine Basis geben würde, irgendwie die Sprache mehr Wert geben würde. Andererseits finde ich, **bin ich sehr skeptisch** allgemein bei solchen Verallgemeinerungen, weil ich denke irgendwie ich kann mich auch bemühen einen Gadertaler zu verstehen oder einmal einen Text auf gadertalerisch zu lesen oder so und **ich muss mich nicht deswegen weniger Wert fühlen, weil es nicht genau mein Dialekt ist.**

A: What’s your personal view of it, this standard, in this case Ladin Standard?

M: Yes, **I think it’s quite exciting** having something like this because it would give, how can I put it, somehow would give the language more value. On the other hand, **I think, I am, on the whole, quite sceptical about things like this** because I think I could actually make an effort to understand someone from Val Badia or to read a text in Badiot or so and **I shouldn’t feel any less worth just because it’s not quite my own variation.**

Although MOIDL^{GR} expresses a sense of excitement at the prospect of having a common standard, she almost immediately counters this excitement with scepticism. She feels that she should perhaps make the effort to learn and read Badiot without feeling inferior because it's not her own valley variety. Indeed, respondents commonly admit that they have little to no knowledge of other Ladin valley varieties and often say that they do not understand them at all or complain that they are either more or practically German or Italian. As MOIDL^{GR} demonstrates, it is often the case that respondents will express their positive perceptions of Ladin Dolomitan but will then counter them all by articulating the most common underlying fear that a standard form will eventually lead to the demise of their own valley variety. Even as just a common *written* standard. This possibly represents the greatest obstacle to the adoption of a standard form from within.

In the following section, this fear is explored through an analysis of respondents' less favourable perceptions of Ladin Dolomitan as well as the resulting tensions and sense of disunity that arise.

7.3 Standardisation - Scepticism and fear - Tensions arising from a common standard Ladin.

Positive perceptions of Ladin Dolomitan are commonly accompanied by views expressing an underlying sense of scepticism and fear, the most common being that Ladin Dolomitan could potentially lead to the demise of the valley variety. Furthermore, as a fundamental facet of identity, language is not easily changed since this entails overcoming both cognitive and psychological barriers (Wright 2016). In stark contrast to the valley variety, which is considered a fundamental construct of their Ladin (linguistic) identity and moreover a

'naturally' evolved and acquired language, Ladin Dolomitan is perceived as foreign, for the most part due to the 'artificiality' of what is viewed as an invented language, and as such do not consider it part of their (linguistic) Ladin identity.

In the following extract, SOFY^{GR} acknowledges the value that a standard would bring in terms of interladin communication. However, she also suggests two problems that would hinder its implementation; the first has wider regional political roots and the second with more local, valley- (variety-) centric concerns attached.

Extract 52. SOFY (GR)

A: So, there are lots of variations, let's say, of Ladin in other valleys and within those variations there are variations. Is there a standard all-embracing Ladin?

S: Ja, they created a Ladin standard and there is also a dictionary about this language but **the problem is in Bolzano**, [they] **didn't accept this language** so the whole project broke down and I think that that's a pity because it is **a language that is not made for speaking, it is concepted for writing** but people are **afraid** that this language will be spoken and so the whole project broke down. I think it's a pity because, for example, if you write something, for example, if you do a homepage for all the Ladin valleys, that would be very, yeah, it would be necessary to have a language that all the people comprehend and understand and so I think it wouldn't be a bad idea but a lot of people are **afraid that this language will be, will take over**.

As a resident of Gherdëina, SOFY^{GR} refers to 'Bolzano' as a problem. The reference is to the broader administration of the autonomous province of South Tirol which, for reasons MUSNATA^{GR} describes above (cf. Chapter 7.2), has failed to recognise Ladin Dolomitan but only officially recognises the use Gherdëina and Badiot. SOFY^{GR} then moves the focus on to the fear that Ladin Dolomitan, although a written standard, may eventually become a spoken form and 'will take over' and replace the valley varieties which has greater purchase than the instrumental value of a written standard that SOFY^{GR} describes.

A further reason cited by participants for its rejection as a unifying standard is its perceived artificiality as a language. SOFY^{GR} describes this artificiality in its inception as ‘a language that is not made for speaking’ but that ‘it is conceived for writing’. Participants view with some scepticism the value of a language they see as invented. This stands in sharp contrast to views regarding individual valley varieties to which participants invariably attach great symbolic value. They view valley varieties as having evolved *naturally* over a long period of time. MUSNATA^{GR} describes this perception in the following extract.

Extract 53. MUSNATA (GR)

A: Right so what's the main problem with its acceptance?

M: [...] because the local varieties have been elaborated in the course of time and so they have been developed with their own literature, Ausbausprache [*standard*], let's say, modern terms [*neologisms*] and so on and that's why people mean [*say*] it would be a shame to give it up [ref. *valley variety of Ladin*] for **a language they don't see or accept as a proper natural language that has developed itself** and so it is a kind of **repulsion towards a standard** they see as an artificial one.

What MUSNATA^{GR} describes as a ‘*repulsion towards a standard*’ is presented as founded in its perceived artificiality as an ‘invented’ language. Most striking, however, is the perception that adopting a standard means ‘giving up’ the valley variety. As *La Usc di Ladins* newspaper itself demonstrates, this is neither intension nor desire, however, the popular perception is just that. Therefore, for ‘**a language they don't see or accept as a proper natural language that has developed itself**’ to replace a language (variety) that has evolved and survived over millennia and against all odds is a difficult pill to swallow. The symbolic values of history, culture and identity that participants attach to their valley varieties, as exemplified in the preceding chapters, fuel the ‘**repulsion towards a standard**’. The symbolic value of

language far outweighs any instrumental value. In this way, unity is equated to (potential) language loss which gives rise to tensions which surface in the extracts that follow. The resulting dissonance goes to achieve quite the opposite of the initial intention of strengthening broader Ladin unity.

In the following extracts, respondents argue against Ladin Dolomitan and in favour of the continued use of valley varieties rather than adding something new into the linguistic mix. This reflects the notion of a polynomic language. Jaffe (2003) describes how Corsican was promoted as a polynomic language ‘defined both by its internal variation’ and ‘by speakers’ recognition of linguistic unity in diversity’. In this case, ‘the notion of polynomy made diversity the cornerstone of linguistic identity’ (2003, pg.517) which reflects well the polycentric nature of contemporary Ladin. Moreover, polynomy promotes inclusivity and rejects any notion of internal linguistic hierarchy since all varieties are considered equal (Blackwood 2011). Resonant with respondents’ views on the artificial and invented nature of Dolomitan, as a ‘blend’ of valley varieties, is that, as Blackwood (2011, pg.20) summarises in the case of Corsican, ‘polynomy does not mean that everything or anything is acceptable, especially not a blend of Corsicans’. LENE^{GR} argues that for Gherdëina and Badiot, an additional written standard is far from necessary.

Extract 54. LENE (GR)

A: Was halten Sie davon, von einer Schriftsprache in dem Sinn?

L: Ich glaube, wenn es darum geht, sich gegenseitig zu verständigen und zu verstehen, wäre es wichtiger vielleicht miteinander die eigene Sprache zu verwenden **und suchen die eigene Sprache mit den anderen verständlich zu machen**. Ich z.b., da habe ich viel mit dem Gadertal zu tun, weil wir dort auch einen Sitz haben. Ich spreche nur Grödnerisch und die Kolleginnen antworten mich auf Gadertalerisch und wir verstehen uns eigentlich ohne Probleme; **da brauche ich eigentlich keine Schriftsprache**. Ja, ja, wenn es ja

auch geschrieben. **Für mich wäre es besser, die Eigenheiten und die Gleichheiten zwischen den Idiomen zu stärken**, das Idiom zu stärken.

A: What do you think of a written standard in that sense?

L: I believe that if it's a question of effective communication and understanding, it would perhaps be more important to use our own language and **try to make our own language intelligible to others**. For example, I have a lot to do with Val Badia because we have an office there. I only speak Gherdëina and my colleagues reply in Badiot and we actually understand each other without any problem; **I really don't have any need for a written standard there**. Yeah, yeah, even if it's just written. **As far I'm concerned, it would be better to strengthen the particularities of and the similarities between the idioms**, strengthen the idioms.

LENE^{GR} sees greater value in strengthening the valley varieties themselves than introducing a standard. In the case of the South Tirol valley varieties, LENE^{GR} sees no need for a standard where mutual intelligibility presents no issues. This argument, however, is based only on two valley varieties of Ladin and on spoken communication. Although LENE^{GR} acknowledges the difference between the spoken and the written, the perception of a written standard having a link to the evolution of the spoken in the future is clear. The perceived threat to the established varieties is evident and therefore support for maintaining and strengthening valley varieties is championed over standardisation.

SUSANNA^{VB} goes further in the extract that follows by stating that she would never '*give up*' her local variety of Ladin, Marô, clearly linking standardisation to the loss of the valley variety.

Extract 55. SUSANNA (VB)

A: So, vom Dolomitan, vom Ladin Standard, was halten Sie davon persönlich?

S: Also, an sich **eine gute Idee** aber **ich würde nie mein ladinisch, also das Marô, würde ich nie aufgeben** für eine gemeinsame Sprache, damit sich die anderen besser verstehen. Ich habe, wie schon gesagt, viele Freundinnen

auch vom Fassatal, vom Grödnertal und rede mit ihnen ladinisch. Okay, wir haben Schwierigkeiten aber wir finden immer, also wir können miteinander reden. Also das ist nicht so schwierig. Man muss sich halt ein bisschen mehr anstrengen aber es geht. **Es wird ja immer besser.**

A: So, Dolomitan, Ladin Standard, what's your personal opinion of it?

S: Well, in itself **a good idea** but **I'd never give up my Ladin, Marô**, for a common language just so that the others understand better. As I said, I have many friends from Fascia, from Gherdëina and I speak with them in Ladin. Okay, we have some difficulties but we always find [a way], well we can still talk to each other. So, it's not that difficult. You just have to try a little bit harder but it's fine. **It gets better and better.**

The cause-and-effect relationship between the introduction of a standard and subsequent variety loss is an extremely common and tangible fear. SUSANNA^{VB} is very clear about this from the outset acknowledging the instrumental value as 'a good idea' but countering this with a clear and forthright commitment to and defence of the valley variety stating that she would never give up *her* Ladin, Marô, whereby the symbolic value of the personal, local variety far outweighs any instrumental value that a standard may bring. The relationship between identity and language is similarly foregrounded. 'My Ladin, that is, Marô' is set against the indefinite 'a common language' establishing a sense of distance between them, the personal and the impersonal. The link between identity and language plays an important role in how a common standard is perceived by respondents. The perceived *artificiality* of an *invented* standard, albeit devised from and inextricably linked to *all* valley varieties, is often cited as something in which respondents do not see their (linguistic) identity reflected.

In the following extracts, the importance of identity through and in, as well as an expression of language is foregrounded by respondents. This is expressed through the perception that Ladin Dolomitan does not reflect personal, individual linguistic identity.

Extract 56. DOLASILA (VB)

A: Was halten Sie persönlich davon?

D: Vom ladinischen Standard?

A: Ja.

D: Ja, ich tue mich sehr schwer, weil ich habe es nie ausprobiert. Irgendwie, ich muss immer zuerst damit arbeiten, um welches sagen zu können. Ich denke mir **,die Leute hätten das schwer akzeptiert.**

A: Wieso?

D: Ich denke mir, es, vielleicht würde ich irgendwann sagen, es ist, es **wäre sehr notwendig gewesen** aber die Sprache hat **irgendetwas sehr individuelles, sehr intimes** auch und dass man dann, dann müssen **anders schreiben oder anders lesen, anders sprechen**, das hätte sehr viel Mühe gekostet denke ich mir. Es ist einfach die **Mühe sich damit auseinanderzusetzen**, das denke ich mir aber vielleicht in einem Paar Jahren, wenn Sie mich fragen, denke ich anders aber ich könnte mir jetzt vorstellen, das zur Weiterführung, zur Weiterentwicklung des Ladinischen, könnte ich mir vorstellen, könnte es vielleicht schon notwendig sein, denn ich habe auch schon öfters gesehen **wie schwierig es ist eine Publikation zu machen, wenn man auch die anderen erreichen will.**

A: What's your personal opinion?

D: of Ladin Standard?

A: Yes.

D: Yes, I struggle because I've never tried it out. I need to work with it a little at first, to be able to say anything. **I think people have struggled to accept it.**

A: How come?

D: I think it, perhaps would have to say at some point, it is, **it would have been quite necessary** but language is **something very personal, very intimate as well** and that you now have to **write differently or read differently, speak differently**, that takes a lot of effort, I think. **It's just the effort needed to get to grips with it**, that's what I think but perhaps in a couple of years, if you were to ask me again, I may think differently but I could well imagine for the continuation of, the further development of Ladin, I can imagine it could be very necessary, **as I've often seen how difficult it is to produce a publication, if you also want to reach the others.**

DOLASILA^{VB} recognises the instrumental value of having a common written standard particularly in terms of accessibility and efficiency. As other respondents have attested, she relates how difficult it is to produce material that reaches all communities, ‘the others’. As exemplified by other respondents above, DOLASILA^{VB} similarly turns our attention to the symbolic value of language and its relationship to identity. Describing language in terms of being something personal and intimate, in sharp contrast Dolomitan is presented as being quite foreign or different with which a greater element of ‘hassle’ is attached. This creates some distance between (linguistic) identity constructed around a naturally acquired valley variety, reflecting the personal and the intimate, and an artificially created standard that has instrumental merit but lacks any symbolic and thus fails to be readily embraced.

In the following extract, LENE^{GR} similarly highlights the symbolic value of language and the perception that reconciling the ‘emotional’ or sentimental connection one has to one’s ‘own’ language with an invented standard, intended only as a written form, is somewhat problematic.

Extract 57. LENE (GR)

A: Wissen sie etwas über Ladin Standard?

L: Ja, das wäre die Einheitssprache. Das ist die Einheitssprache, die man versucht hat zu schaffen und man hat da versucht aus den fünf Idiomen die numerische Mehrheit erst geltender Formen alle herauszuholen aber das war nicht unbedingt glücklich. Es ist nicht oft leicht, wenn man die Mehrheit mit Sprachen, die vielleicht kleiner sind und weniger Verwendung haben und dann die Wörter draus kommen, die man eventuell verwenden sollte. Das ist nicht so schwierig, **nicht so einfach!, emotional mit der eigenen Sprache zu vereinbaren**. Natürlich der Grundsatz, dass man es vielleicht als Schriftsprache verwendet, wäre nicht ganz falsch aber das ist nicht so leicht anzuwenden. Das heißt dann schon Schriftsprache; spricht man das nicht. **Wer spricht das? Wer lernt das? Wo lernt man das? Wann lernt man das?**

A: Do you know anything about Ladin Standard?

L: Yes, that would be the standard form. It's the standard they've tried to create and they tried, based on numerical majority, to find the most common valid form from all five idioms but it didn't do that well. It's not the easiest thing to come up with majority words to potentially use from languages that are smaller and are used less. That's not so difficult, **not so easy [I mean]! to reconcile this with your own language on an emotional level.** Of course, the basis for using this as a written language would be a bad thing but it's not that easy to use. It is only a written language; you don't speak it. **Who speaks it? Who learns it? Where do you learn it? When do you learn it?**

LENE^{GR} links language directly to emotion and sentiment, reflecting a very personal, individual element of linguistic identity. This sentimental connection, the symbolic value attached to language, renders the acceptance of Dolomitan as a common standard, with instrumental value attached, somewhat problematic. Furthermore, LENE^{GR} describes Dolomitan as difficult to use on account of its intended use as solely a written form. The four questions posed at the end of the extract serve to highlight the deficiency of any level of identity attached to it; who is going to speak it or learn it? Where and when are you going to learn it?

In the final extract 58, MORVEIA^{VB} highlights the salience of the symbolic value of language attributed to local varieties and describes the perception that Ladin Dolomitan, in contrast, far from reflects personal or individual linguistic identity.

Extract 58. MORVEIA (VB)

Ich denke, dass dieses Projekt, es war wirklich **eine gute Idee**, meiner Meinung nach, so eine Koine Sprache zu entwickeln, weil **wir haben viele Idiomen** und auch in Gadertal, als Tal selbst, einziges Teil gibt es **mehrere Unteridiomen**, nicht? Und das ist schon **wichtig, dass man sich auch gut fühlt mit dem Dialekt** und mit der Sprache. Aber es ist **auch wichtig**, dass wenn uns z.b [inaudible], dass man eine offizieller **Standardsprache benutzen** könnte, weil das, meiner Meinung nach, hätte das positive Effekte auf der Dauer. Also man könnte vielleicht dann wirklich nur eine Ladin Sprache, schriftlich mindestens,

weiterbringen. Ich denke, das ist auch mit den anderen großen Sprachen passiert, nicht? Dass aber es gibt einen, eine Besonderheit, und das muss man auch also anschauen als **Problem**, dass die Leute, die wollen nicht diese Standardsprache, weil sie sie **nicht als Identität Sprache fühlen, nicht sie sehen und hören sie**, sehen diese Sprache als **ein bisschen zu weit entfernt vom Persönlichen** und dann **man kann das nicht also ignorieren** und muss also, das hat, es ist nicht sehr gut mit dieser Sprache gegangen, weil **wahrscheinlich die Ladinler haben sie sich nicht drin erkannt, weil die Leute, das ist sehr emotional, nicht?**, die Sprache, und ich denke es ist von einem Jahr zum anderen und so oder auch eine Generation, das ist nicht leicht, dass sich die Leute gut fühlt in einer neuen Sprache, weil die Gadertaler z.B. haben also mit der Leute so, ganz einfach zu reden, haben gesagt **viele haben gesagt, na das ist mehr Fassa, das ist mehr Gröden, das verstehe ich nicht, das ist nicht so leicht mit der flexibel zu werden.**

I think that this project was a really good idea in my opinion, to develop a common language because we have many idioms and even in Val Badia, even as just a valley, there are several idioms within, aren't there? And it's important that you feel comfortable with your dialect and with language. But it is also important, that if we [inaudible], that we are able to use a standard form because in my opinion that would have a positive effect in the long run. So, you could perhaps eventually just promote one Ladin language, at least in written form. I think that's what's happened with the other big languages, hasn't it? But there is also something that's considered a particular **problem**, that people don't want this standard language because **they don't feel it's [part of] their linguistic identity, they don't see it, they don't hear it**, they see it as **a little too far distant from the personal** and that **cannot be ignored** and you also have to, well things haven't turned out well for this language because **perhaps Ladins don't recognise themselves in it because people, it's emotional, isn't it?**, language, and I think from one year to the next or so even a generation, it's not so easy for people to feel comfortable with a new language because the Badiot for example, to put it simply, have said, **a lot of people have said, well that's more Fascegn, that more Gherdëina, I don't understand that, it's not easy to adapt.**

MORVEIA^{VB} summarises well the views and arguments that are commonly expressed by respondents above about Ladin Dolomitan. Its instrumental value is readily acknowledged as 'a good idea' given the many varieties of Dolomites Ladin that are in use across the five valleys. MORVEIA^{VB} shines a positive light on both valley variety and a standard form. However, the question of linguistic identity and the relationship between the individual and valley variety is once again brought into focus. MORVEIA^{VB} describes the broader rejection of

Ladin Dolomitan as unequivocally related to issues of linguistic identity. Dolomitan is viewed as quasi-invisible, not seen, and as a written form, not heard, but importantly, it is viewed in terms of distance. It is described as 'a little too far from the personal' which cannot be ignored. People simply do not 'recognise themselves' in Dolomitan, fail to nurture and develop a relationship with the language on a symbolic level and simply view it as something foreign to them.

7.4 Summary.

Tripartition and the resulting fragmentation of the Ladin valleys into three provinces with differing systems of administration has been a major contributing factor to the emergence of disunity between the valley communities. This is most evident in matters concerning language and particularly so in the failure to implement a standard written form across the valleys.

Respondents have broadly acknowledged the need for the introduction of a standard form of Ladin that would not only serve to unify the valleys linguistically but more broadly make a valuable contribution to forging better intervalley relations and community cohesion. Standardisation in and of itself is seen as a means through which Ladin unity can be achieved and the disunity that has developed post Tripartition can be redressed. Yet, despite the broad consensus, respondents have overwhelmingly rejected the written standard in favour of the valley varieties. Respondents evaluate Ladin Dolomitan as inauthentic on the grounds of its perceived artificiality. Bucholtz (2003) describes this as the process of denaturalisation, whereby the processes of authentication and denaturalisation are tactics of intersubjectivity in which identity is conditionally negotiated and closely related to the context in which it is constructed. In essence, the relationship between the perceived genuine and the perceived

artificial expressed as the authentic and the inauthentic since authenticity is 'achieved through the authenticating practices of those who use and evaluate language' (2003, pg.408). Respondents find it difficult to reconcile using a form of Ladin that they perceived as an invention over the continued use of their valley variety that is perceived to be naturally evolved. The relationship between language and identity lies very much at the heart of this problem and underlines just how salient language is to respondents in constructions of identity. The closer that constructions of identity relate specifically to the individual, such as valley variety, the more likely it is that tensions will arise, should any facet of those constructions come into question or be subject to change, such as valley variety through standardisation. The most commonly cited example of this is how respondents fear that a standard form of Ladin could potentially replace their valley variety to the point of it disappearing altogether. Indeed, it is at this valley layer of identity construction that tensions become apparent as respondents tend to express a more protectionist, valley-centric attitude to language issues over a pan-Ladin approach which itself is contrary to the aims of standardisation and incompatible with moves to forge closer unity. Respondents view closer unity as a means to ensure the survival of Ladin into the future and that together the community is a stronger force, particularly as a small language minority group that is under pressure from not just one but two neighbouring dominant majority linguistic groups. However, where identity is perceived to be compromised, tensions arise and the perceived artificiality of Ladin Standard is seen as a real and existential threat to the existing natural valley varieties. This perception is not only felt in those valleys where language protection is weaker and where, as a result of Tripartition, the use of Ladin has diminished to the extent to which its survival into the future is felt very much in danger, but also in those valleys where Ladin language protection is strong and its use common in both private and public spheres.

Similarly, the rejection of a common standard is attributed to the wider regional political reality alongside the differing administrative systems that account for the varying levels of language rights and language protection that the valleys enjoy. The failure of the majority German-speaking administration in the special autonomous province of South Tyrol to accept Ladin Dolomitan in place of the valley varieties of Gherdëina and Val Badia sealed the fate of standardisation since this decision meant that it was ruled out for the region even though accepted in Trento. Finally, in lieu of a single pan-Ladin cultural institute, each valley presides over its own autonomous cultural institute which acts as custodian of its valley variation(s) and linguistic tradition. However, the significance of the role of each institute differs greatly from valley to valley. Furthermore, some respondents feel that this has led to the institutionalisation of Ladin away from the grassroots which presents its own set of issues such as the perception that the responsibility for language acquisition now rests in the public sphere, with the institutes and the education system, and now less the concern of the private sphere, the family.

The rejection of Ladin Dolomitan compounds the already fractious linguistic reality of the Ladin valleys. The Ladin ethnolinguistic group has sought to protect individual valley variations over a common unifying written standard based on a complex array of issues that are attributed to the effects of Tripartition and to the different political and administrative realities under which the Ladin ethnolinguistic group is governed. The perception of disunity that has resulted from the inequalities that exist in language rights and protections and the lack of unity and consensus on the adoption of a standard form of Ladin compromise the will to redress the effects of Tripartition and restore pan-Ladin unity. Consequently, tensions arise between the valley communities themselves which are most evident in matters concerning language, the fundamental facet around which respondents construct identity.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

8. Introduction.

The following chapter presents a summary of this research in three sections. In section 8.1, a summary review of the main findings is given that specifically relates to the main research question and the three lines of enquiry that are derived from this. Section 8.2 then outlines the contribution that this research makes to knowledge and its relationship to previous academic work. Finally, section 8.3 describes the limitations of the research that have been identified and suggests areas of interest for future research that follow on from and compliment this study.

8.1 Summary of main findings.

In the context of small languages and with the (historic) Ladin ethnolinguistic group of the Central Dolomites in northern Italy as its central focus, this thesis explores respondent perspectives on the role language plays in constructions of Ladin identity as well as how respondents themselves mobilise diverse conceptualisations of language to this end.

Together with the German-, and Italian-speaking ethnolinguistic groups, Ladins inhabit an area of intersecting territoriality that encompasses the autonomous provinces of Bolzano/Südtirol and Trento, and the ordinary province of Belluno. The three provinces form part of two regions of northern Italy; both autonomous provinces together combine to form the autonomous region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, and Belluno is a constituent province

of the ordinary region of Veneto. In a consociational approach to administration, multilevel governance structures accommodate ethnolinguistic diversity through varying degrees of regional and provincial autonomy granted by the Italian state. Unlike their dominant majority neighbours, however, Ladins do not form a majority group at either regional or provincial level where notions of majority and minority are fluid and largely defined according to regional and provincial borders. Ladins only enjoy numeric majority within the limits of the five Ladin valleys, although by individual valley, and the Ladins in Anpezo are no longer the majority group and nor is Ladin spoken by the majority of residents (cf. Videsott 2010).¹⁴

Historically, borders have been redrawn to reflect shifts in power and dominance following episodes of conflict between the German- and Italian-speaking ethnolinguistic groups. For the Ladin ethnolinguistic group, the result was their subsequent involuntary incorporation into newly defined territorial entities in which the Ladin language had little recognition and a low status. As such, multilingualism has come to play an important role for Ladins who, only over the past century, have been able to secure some degree of linguistic rights and protections for themselves although neither universally across all valleys, nor at equal level (cf. Chapter 3.3.3 – 3.3.5). Ingroup tensions between the valleys on matters concerning language have emerged that can be attributed to the emergence of this disparity and for the most part as a result of the Ladin valleys being partitioned and divided between three provinces that operate under varying administrative statutes. The lack of a centrally coordinated political and autonomous Ladin administrative entity is blamed for there not being a standard Ladin language (Videsott, 1998). Exacerbated by the challenges that regional

¹⁴ Population census in the province of Belluno does not provide for the disaggregation of population data that allows for the counting of the Ladin population.

geography presents, this similarly contributes to the contemporary perception of an intervalley disconnect and general sense of disunity (Videsott 2010).

Each valley oversees the development of its own valley variety of Ladin under the auspices of its established cultural institute. However, under the varying administrative systems, the full remit and indeed the status of the institutes also vary along with language protections and linguistic rights. The independent functioning of the cultural institutes from one another together with the enforced division of the Ladin valleys are perceived to sponsor the disconnect and disunity between the valleys that is recognised by both the Union Generela di Ladins dles Dolomites (UGLD) and research respondents alike (cf. also Videsott 1998). Indeed, the UGLD has sought the restoration of Ladin unity through the codification and implementation of a standard written form of Ladin, Ladin Dolomitan, for use across all valleys (cf. also Bernardi 1999; Videsott 1997(b), 1998). However, the German-speaking dominant linguistic majority administration in Südtirol stymied this project by refusing to recognise Ladin Dolomitan and continuing instead to recognise on equal terms both Südtirol valley varieties, Gherdëina in Gherdëina/Gröden and Badiot in Val Badia/Gadertal. In stark contrast, in the autonomous province of Trento, Ladin Dolomitan has been recognised by the provincial administration. In Belluno, this is not up for discussion as Ladin is not an officially recognised language of administration (cf. Chapter 1.1; Chapter 3.2.3).

In a sociolinguistic context, the languages of the dominant majority groups continue to play a significant role in defining inter-group power relationships. As such, formalising or enacting linguistic matters concerning Ladin is dependent upon the will and agreement of one or both dominant majority neighbours. For example, despite it having been adopted by the majority Italian-speaking autonomous partner province, Trento, the failure of the administration in the majority German-speaking autonomous province of Südtirol to adopt

Ladin Dolomitan, means that it cannot be adopted at the autonomous *regional* level, in Trentino Alto-Adige/Südtirol. Anpezo and Fodom were excluded from any participation in the decision-making process as constituents of Veneto which itself has no special autonomous status (Videsott 2014: 34). The wider implications of the disempowerment of Ladins in the decision-making process on matters relating to the Ladin language has meant that little progress has been made towards the introduction and implementation of Ladin Dolomitan even despite its being widely viewed as a much-needed unifying measure that would make a valuable contribution towards building a stronger Ladin community across the five valleys as well as promoting a stronger shared sense of identity. In broad terms, such realities are widely attributed to the very consequences of Tripartition (Videsott 2014).

The on-going political struggle for dominance between the German- and Italian-speaking groups has long affected the fate of Ladins. This is particularly evident in issues concerning language. Arguably very much the legacy of the partition of the Ladin valleys in the inter-war period, intra-group unity on language issues has become similarly fractious and poses a threat to the unicity of the Central Dolomitic Ladins. With no single unitary cultural institute with oversight of a single standard language, each valley continues to champion its own variety(-ies) at a local level. This has given rise to intra-group tensions that respondents have articulated through the expression of protectionist language attitudes that favour their own valley variety over the implementation a unifying standard written form of Ladin. This stands in stark contrast respondents similarly recognising that there is a need for a standard Ladin not only to forge ever closer Ladin unity, widely understood to have weakened in the period following Tripartition, but similarly to ensure the future of Ladin itself. Given that respondents construct their primary linguistic identity in terms of their valley variety of Ladin, the relationship between identity and language in this context is ever more salient.

Notwithstanding their being sandwiched between two dominant linguistic majorities, multilingualism has come to play an increasingly important role in constructions of Ladin identity and to the extent that respondents have come to perceive it as a core facet of Ladin identity and importantly, a facet of Ladin identity that separates them from other regional ethnolinguistic groups.

Regional intersecting territoriality together with its rich regional ethnolinguistic diversity puts multilingualism at the very heart of everyday life. For Ladins, as a national, regional, and provincial minority group, and in some instances a minority within a minority, multilingualism is central to understanding the sociolinguistic context of the Ladin valleys. The implications of this are wide and varied. For Ladins today, unlike their dominant majority neighbours, choosing a path of monolingualism, for example, is not a viable option. It would simply complicate everyday existence and compromise what Paoletti (2006, pg.6) describes as instrumental linguistic rights which seek to 'ensure that language does not become an obstacle in satisfying basic human rights and political participation'. This puts an additional strain on an already delicate language situation, in that Ladin has a significantly lower status than both neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities. In Anpezo, the speakership has diminished to such an extent that the valley variation is in danger of extinction. This has already happened in areas beyond the present-day valley limits where Ladin was once thriving. It is, however, important to note that it does not necessarily follow that with the death of Ladin, or variety thereof, as a linguistic tradition, a Ladin identity dies along with it. Indeed, some respondents have equated Ladin identity with territory in opposition to language. There is no universal perception that to be Ladin, you must speak Ladin. Ladins, whose families were relocated under the 'Option' to lands beyond Italy and remained there

after the conclusion of the Second World War, for example, are very much perceived to be Ladin even though they no longer speak it (cf. Chapter 3.1.4).

In the context of the emergent prominence and recognition of linguistic rights at local, regional, and state levels, this thesis demonstrates how multilingualism is understood, accommodated, and practised by respondents including how it is subsequently mobilised in constructions of Ladin identity. Similarly, this thesis explores the role of language in the context of both intracommunity and intercommunity contact, investigating the relative roles they play in shaping how participants negotiate and construct linguistic identity(-ies) both from an in-group comparative perspective as well as from an out-group perspective. Multidimensional constructs are similarly explored in which out-group linguistic identities are appropriated as facets of in-group linguistic identity in a region where traditionally defined borders and boundaries are nebulous.

Broadly formulated, the central research question of this PhD thesis asks;

What role does language play in the construction of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity?

It pursues three distinct lines of enquiry, asking:

1. How do respondents navigate the plurality of Central Dolomitic ethnolinguistic identity? How does this inform identity construction in relation to internal group identity(-ies) at the valley and pan-Ladin levels as well as in relation to non-Ladin ethnolinguistic groups?
2. Do respondents consider multilingualism to be an asset or a liability and what role does it play, if any, in constructing ethnolinguistic identity? Does multilingualism give rise to any tensions within or between valley groups?

3. How does language inform respondent construction(s) of a pan-Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in the absence of an official standard form? Do respondents perceive Ladin Dolomitan as a unifying or divisive force?

Respondents construct Ladin identity through notions of space and time in which the perception of the autochthony of Ladin(s) is emphasised as pre-existing all other groups. This construction is exemplified using language as the primary focus, in particular referencing remnants of Rhaetic, the traces of ancient *linguistic DNA*, that today's Ladin varieties exhibit. In linguistic terms, it is this that respondents describe as separating or distinguishing it from its neighbouring Latin and Germanic language varieties and as such its speakership as a distinct ethnolinguistic group from any other.

In relation to the first sub-question, this research has identified several levels at which Ladin ethnolinguistic identity is constructed. At its broadest level, Ladin is defined in the context of endemism, embracing notions of unequivocal anciency, primacy and autochthony. The Rhaetic roots of the Ladin language are presented as evidence, a kind of linguistic DNA that serves to legitimise the claim. At this level, Central Dolomitic Ladin is linked to the western Romansch Ladin of Switzerland to the eastern Furlan Ladin of the Italian region of Friuli, all now described as islands of Ladin, the remaining pockets of what once was a greater unitary territory.

At the second level, Ladin is described in the context of the islands which, for respondents in the context of this research, is the area of the Central Dolomites. Ladin is used as an umbrella term that brings several local varieties of Ladin under one roof and which describes the language of the Central Dolomitic ethnolinguistic group, one of twelve recognised historic linguistic minorities in Italy under Law 482/99 (cf. Chapter 3). At this level,

Ladin, in all its diversity, is defined as 'the most important unifying bond between the individual valley communities as well as the most important distinguishing feature of the Ladins in general' (Videsott 2010, pg.180).

Ladin identity constructed at the third level describes a valley centric linguistic identity that is removed from the former pan-Ladin identities. Ladin takes on a more precise definition that is attributed to a specific named valley variety. At this level, it becomes evident that the role of language in constructing identity is perceived to increase in importance with each level. Indeed, the relationship between language and identity becomes ever closer whereby valley varieties are very much defended by respondents especially against the introduction of a standard, Ladin Dolomitan. It is at this level that intervalley and intra-group tensions begin to emerge.

With the autochthonous Ladin ethnolinguistic group as its central reference, this thesis describes how 30 respondents from across the five historic Ladin valleys of the Central Dolomites mobilise notions of language in constructing Ladin identity in the context of a regional minority group and small language community, considered both together as the Central Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group and additionally as individual valley groups. Valley groups demonstrate an individual, independent, and distinct linguistic identity that has the valley variety of Ladin as the central focus and as a definitive facet of ingroup constructions. Ladin identity is, therefore, understood by respondents as being a distinct identity that is constructed in opposition to other regional ethnolinguistic groups at a pan-Ladin level. Similarly, within the Ladin ethnolinguistic group itself, an additional layer of Ladin identity is constructed with sharp focus on the valley variety of Ladin. Respondents' constructions of (linguistic) identity, therefore, evolve from the broadest of group constructions into ever more sharply focussed individual constructions. In this way, the

multidimensional, multilayered nature of constructions of Ladin identity is analogous with a Matryoshka, a wooden Russian doll within which are nested several more dolls that decrease in size with each layer revealed.

Not only is identity constructed in opposition to defined outgroups, such as the neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities in the context of non-Ladin (ethnolinguistic) identities, but equally in opposition to defined ingroup identities concomitantly demonstrating the various ways in which language is mobilised to inform as well as legitimise them. As such, the complex nature of Ladin intra-group and inter-valley relationships, including those with the neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities, reflects the contemporary multidimensional realities that respondents negotiate with others. The most salient finds expression in the regional and provincial multilevel governance structures that, because of the act of Tripartition, vary according to valley. Similarly, in the context of language, regional ethnolinguistic diversity presents a similarly diverse multilingual reality that varies in its constitution from valley to valley (cf. Chapter 2, Chapter 3, and Chapter 6).

At its broadest level, Ladin identity and group membership is constructed to include other groups who are similarly described as Ladin. The group relationships at this level are defined within spatiotemporal dimensions, in terms of kinship and through notions of both survival and of a common shared linguistic provenance (cf. Chapter 5). The most salient facet of Ladin identity that respondents cite at this level centres on the notions of primacy and of autochthony. Respondents construct identity through the establishment of legitimacy. Although today understood as an ethnolinguistic group, small in number and a minority group whose unity has been compromised as a result of the long and on-going power struggle between two neighbouring dominant majority ethnolinguistic groups, respondents revert to historicity as a means of strengthening or emphasising their gravitas and as a means of

increasing their visibility and stature in support of claims to primacy and of their being the autochthonous inhabitants of the region that itself extends to a much larger space than remains today and that spans a time expressed not in terms of centuries but in terms of millennia. Such a construction fits well within the ethnosymbolist paradigm and the contention that the 'myth of descent, or presumed ancestry' is more important than biological ties (Smith 2006, pg.113). In line with the ethnosymbolist paradigm, respondents construct identity referencing a period of two millennia, a period that far pre-exists the era of modernism. This supports May's critique of modernism in which he describes the restriction of modernism to a short period of two centuries as a weakness (May 2012a).

Respondents refer specifically to language as the evidential link that binds them to this construct and which emphasises the notion of survival. Respondents are unequivocal in constructing a wider group inclusivity whereby linguistic identity is foregrounded and spatiotemporally legitimised around notions of similarly unequivocal autochthonous provenance. What remains today are described as 'the three islands' of Ladin; the western Swiss Romansch, the Central Dolomitic and the eastern Furlan. These provide the foundations upon which secondary, micro level constructions of identity are formulated.

Identity and in-group membership is defined within the delimitation of each island of Ladin foregrounding them using the notion of survival. This research examines Ladin respondents' perceptions of language and identity in the context of the Central Dolomitic 'island' (cf. Chapter 5.1). Respondents speak as Ladins belonging to the Central Dolomitic group which comprises five Ladin valleys with historic ties to the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the context of the contemporary Italian state, they are referred to as historic Ladin valleys and historic minority group. Constructions of identity and group membership are formed around a conceptualisation of Ladin as one language but recognising a unique

diversity in the plurality of varieties that are spoken across the valleys today – one Ladin, in many varieties (cf. Videsott 2010). Respondents recognise a shared common group identity but, similarly to language, recognise strong perceptions of difference. Both differences in language and other non-language related areas are expressed in terms of equivalence to or comparability with neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities (cf. Chapter 3.1.3). However, group identity and group membership of the Dolomites Ladin ethnolinguistic group are constructed by respondents in opposition to their neighbouring dominant linguistic majorities referring to language as the key definitive facet of identity that separates or distinguishes them from one another. Respondents strongly align cultural identity with that of their German-speaking neighbours; a common, shared *Tirolean* identity, strongly tied to place and rooted in a common shared history. No respondents expressed any affinity to or shared cultural identity with the Italian-speaking neighbours in this or any comparable way, just as Ladins had jointly declared in 1918 shortly before the end of the First World War (cf. Chapter 3.1.3; Pescosta 2014).

Similarly, Ladin identity is constructed in opposition to the related ‘islands’ to the east and to the west. In this context, a strong relationship is formed in the context of belonging to Rhaeto-Romanic language group expressed in kinship terms. The relationship is constructed in terms of a distant relative and each island as being ‘survivors’ of a common linguistic ancestry from the distant past. The role of language is salient as linguistic difference, such as mutual intelligibility, is a factor mobilised by recipients to construct their Ladin identity in terms of Dolomitic Ladin in opposition to their Romansch and Furlan relations. Identity is similarly constructed within clearly delimited confines of the five valleys as a continuous consolidated space.

The tertiary level of identity is constructed at the valley level, where identity is very much constructed around language, the definition of which is expressed in terms of valley variety or valley sub-variety. Perceived as indexical of origin, of local community or of valley belonging, yet as an equally important constituent part of a more broadly defined Central Dolomitic Ladin ethnolinguistic group, the valley variety is strongly defended, particularly in the face of the perceived threat that a common written standard Ladin could potentially bring with it. The worst-case scenario is the belief that Ladin Dolomitan could lead to the eventual demise of the valley varieties themselves. Whereas respondents speak from a common standpoint in the primary and secondary constructions, in the context of the tertiary level of identity construction, the notion of respondent positionality becomes particularly salient. Valley identity and its associated linguistic identity, tied to the valley variety, is constructed at a more local level in which language assumes a deeper meaning through its being associated at a personal, individual level than at a common, group level. In this intra-Dolomites context, constructions of identity, particularly in relation to language and linguistic identity, tensions begin to surface. The emerging tensions centre around two key issues; the role of and the disparity in linguistic rights across the valleys and the debate on the introduction of a common written standard for official communication.

Respondents perceive the level of linguistic rights and language protection that the individual or valley enjoys, informs the degree to which a Ladin identity, or the presence of a Ladin identity, is expressed. The visibility of a Ladin identity across the valleys, particularly expressed symbolically, diminishes and is less evident as the level of rights and protections increase. The higher the level of language protection or the higher the level of linguistic rights, the lesser the perceived need to express or assert a Ladin identity. The opposite is true for those with comparatively diminished protection(s). Tensions are evident between those in

valleys with more comprehensive and wide-ranging rights than in those with fewer. Respondents link the expression of Ladinness to the degree to which individual or valley identity is perceived or assessed to be Ladin (cf. Chapter 3.3.3–3.3.5). In those valleys where comprehensive, long established linguistic rights and language protections exist, there is a perception of complacency on issues concerning language, which is itself perceived as a threat to Ladin identity. Respondents argue, for example, that where language rights allow for Ladin to be part of the school curriculum, Ladin suffers in the private sphere because the responsibility for acquisition is now perceived to be the remit of the public sphere; ‘they’ll learn it at school’. Respondents view this as a danger to the survival of the language as it creates an environment that promotes Ladin as low status and of a lesser instrumental value which in turn may eventually lead to language loss.

The disparity in the level of rights and protections similarly gives rise to tensions in the context of intervalley solidarity and wider Ladin unity. Valleys that are still fighting for a level of linguistic rights and protections perceive that there is a lack of solidarity from those valleys where they have already been achieved. Those with linguistic rights fear that voicing support for those without may jeopardise the rights that they fought long to achieve. They describe how they perceive that the dominant majorities see this as Ladins on their way to demanding the establishment of a separate, autonomous Ladin territory, an autonomous Ladinia, which in turn may threaten their own autonomous status. The rejection of Ladin Dolomitan as the Ladin standard in Südtirol, is understood in part to reflect the view that it gives the five Ladin valleys a cause around which to unify and a later call for Ladin autonomy. Conversely, those respondents in valleys with a lesser rights and protections feel a sense of abandonment and disconnect that contributes to the more broadly perceived sense of disunity across the valleys.

The examples outlined above demonstrate how fundamentally salient the relationship between language and identity is and how the legacy of Tripartition is recognised as the catalyst that led to this contemporary reality (cf. Chapter 2). Divided and under varying administrative systems at provincial and regional levels, disunity is seen as informing the fracturing of the broader ethnolinguistic group identity. There is an evident conflict in constructions of identity that highlights the point; on the one hand, at both the primary (three islands) and secondary (Dolomitic) levels of identity, a pan-Ladin identity is constructed in each case and a sense of belonging to this constructed group identity is very much expressed by respondents. On the other hand, constructions of identity at the valley level are similarly salient, however, valley linguistic identity trumps both pan-Ladin identities specifically in terms of language which has far-reaching implications for notions of Ladin unity, social cohesion, and the implementation of common standard, Ladin Dolomitan.

Respondents construct in-group valley identity, understood as distinct from or in opposition to other valleys, in terms of the neighbouring dominant majority groups by appropriating German or Italian ethnicity to Ladins as well as assessing the valley linguistic variety in terms of being either German or Italian. In this way, language is mobilised by respondents as a way of expressing that their Ladin or their being Ladin is essentially more authentic than another. As described above, language is a particularly important facet of in-group constructions since in other terms respondents see Ladin cultural identity as strongly allied to a broader Tyrolean cultural identity that is shared with the neighbouring German-speaking dominant linguistic majority through centuries long historical ties to the Habsburg Empire.

Tension similarly arises concerning how respondents perceive the closeness of the valley variety to neighbouring dominant majority languages. This reality is more deeply rooted

in perceptions of both the Germanisation and/or Italianisation of both Ladin (language) and Ladins (identity). As a core facet of in-group constructions of identity, respondents assess variety in two ways: its closeness to what is perceived to be 'authentic' Ladin, which is largely and often expressed in terms of how 'pure' a variety is perceived to be. This finds expression in how respondents view the extent to which Italian or German has been borrowed into the variety. Local topography generally dictates to which dominant majority sphere of influence a valley gravitates which in turn dictates which dominant majority language has influenced which valley variety through language contact. Respondents often equate the notion of topography and borders with the direction of gravitation a valley orients to; more to Rome (Italian) or more to Vienna (German). Valley group identities are, therefore, assessed by other valley groups at varying degrees of being 'German' or 'Italian'. In more extreme examples, respondents go as far as to say that a variety or group is as good as or 'practically' so. This has been the dominant perception of Gherdëina Ladins and the Gherdëina variety more than any other valley in describing their variety as being 'practically German' as well as the Ladins themselves.

In relation to the third question, Videsott (1998) contends that the reason for the absence of standard form of Ladin is that historically there has been little need for one given the former isolation of the valleys from each other due to the high mountainous geography of the area and the agropastoral way of life that Ladins once followed. As a result, each valley had developed its own orthography(-ies). Only since 1984, with the founding of the *Comisciun por l'unificazion dla grafia* at the behest of the *Union Generela di Ladins dles Dolomites* (cf. Bernardi 1999), has the need for a common standard been formerly recognised. Attempts to standardise Ladin is broadly perceived as an attack on what respondents hold to be a deeply personal facet of their identity. In stark contrast, a standard is perceived as not bearing any

relationship to individual perceptions of constructions of their 'own' personal Ladin (linguistic) identity. Respondents feel that they are unable to form a meaningful personal connection with Ladin Dolomitan because it is not representative of their linguistic identity, in that their variety is simply not (sufficiently) evident within. Respondents view the artificiality of Ladin Dolomitan as a barrier to its being embraced as a common shared linguistic form and especially so compared to the naturally acquired local variety that is so closely and intrinsically linked to Ladin identity at a very focussed, personal level.

Yet, even in the absence of a common standard form, respondents attest, as Videsott (2010), that Ladin is *the* bond that unifies them. This research demonstrates that this is not just the case at the valley level but similarly respondents mobilise Ladin to be the bond that unifies them in a common constructed identity that is shared amongst the three described 'islands' of Ladin (cf. Chapter 5). In this sense, a pan-Ladin identity at both levels is constructed by respondents with 'Ladin in all its diversity' at its core, as Videsott (2010) described in relation to the Central Dolomitic valleys alone.

This research similarly demonstrates how respondents mobilise the notion of multilingualism as an important defining facet of Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in which the languages of the German and/or Italian dominant neighbours are similarly perceived as constituent parts of Ladin 'linguistic' identity alongside Ladin, however, with a lesser degree of importance. Only in Gherdëina is German perceived by some as equally, if not, more important. Respondents there readily describe other members of their valley group as attaching more importance to German, in effect affording to it a higher status than Gherdëina Ladin.

May (2012a) contends that language is one of most salient cultural elements contributing to how nations are existentially defined (cf. also Chapter 2.1.3). In the traditional

definition of one nation, one language, where a universal standard form is adopted as a means of achieving national social cohesion, France and French being a particularly salient example of this, respondents have demonstrated an aversity to this notion, not only in expressing suspicion in the face of attempts to introduce a standard form of Ladin but equally in the one-to-one relationship between nation and language. A pan-Ladin identity is thus constructed including notions of multilingualism described as a core facet thereof. Italian and/or German are thus constructed as equally important facets of a pan-Ladin identity (cf. Chapter 6). Whether German or Italian and to what degree is very much dependent on the valley in question and similarly on the geography of the valley which dictates language contact and the subsequent degree of influence of German or Italian on the valley varieties. Since monolingualism is universally perceived by respondents to be an impractical or indeed an impossible linguistic reality to pursue, the mobilisation of multilingualism in constructions of identity are equally salient. It is important to emphasise at this point that it is the notion of multilingualism itself that is mobilised and not specifically the individual languages of German or Italian (or both) since, as described above, perception of multilingualism and its definition may differ from valley to valley. Mobilising language in this way in constructions of Ladin identity supports the position held by Kaufmann (2004) that nations have been under pressure to 'shift their self-definitions from narrow 'ethnic' exclusive criteria to broader inclusive 'civic' criteria'; multiculturalism in favour of cultural homogeneity and autonomy in favour of centralised, dominant government' (pg.38) as well as the proposition of Stolz (2009) that the civic nation 'need not be unified by commonalities of language or culture' (pg. 257), in this sense, multilingualism in favour of monolingualism. Although it may be argued that this is borne of necessity, it is equally borne of choice.

8.2 Thesis contribution and relationship to previous research.

The role language plays in the organisation and functioning of society is of fundamental concern to this research both in terms of social anthropology and sociolinguistics. Scholarship cites language as an essential aspect of culture that binds people together (Geertz 1963) and serves as an important constituent marker of and factor in definitions and constructions of ethnicity and identity (Armstrong 1982, Barth 1969, Eriksen 2002, Jenkins 1997). Smith (2009, pg.40) describes a modernist tendency to overlook investigation of the cultural and symbolic dimensions of nations and nationalism. This thesis sets out to explore the role of language in constructions of identity in the spirit of the ethno-symbolist 'preference' (cf. 2009, pg.119) by entering 'into the 'inner world' of the members of national communities' and focussing on 'social and symbolic elements to supplement, and where necessary, amend predominantly political and economic models' (2009, pg.40). This thesis makes a broad contribution to the field of sociolinguistics that is concerned with the relationship between identity and language in the context of small and minority language communities. It contributes to a body of research that explores language through the lens of agency and social actors as members of the Central Dolomitic Ladin ethnolinguistic group at the grassroots level. From an individual perspective, the qualitative nature of the research data offers meaningful insights into perceptions that inform how notions of language and identity are negotiated (consumed) and constructed (produced).

An analysis of the accounts of thirty members of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group is presented that considers the social, cultural, and symbolic elements described by Smith (2009) examining how they are perceived to play a central role in constructing Ladin ethnolinguistic identity in the context of nation and nationalism as defined in the theoretical

framework (cf. Chapter 2). In so doing, this thesis contributes to ethnosymbolist research through an investigation into respondent perceptions and understanding of the Central Dolomites Ladin 'ethnie' whose constructions of identity reflect a long trajectorial evolution spanning two millennia and which are underpinned by cultural, social, and symbolic elements with a strong focus of linguistic capital.

Conversi (2007, pg.23) maintains that a Basque 'sense of shared ethnic distinction could be preserved for millennia without supportive state institutions', which is equally true of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group. Indeed, it is arguably a consequence of the stresses put upon them by external, larger, and more powerful dominant majority groups that a reawakening of the Ladin ethnic consciousness was brought about, as the research has demonstrated, and to which respondents similarly attest. However, it has only been over the past century, in the face of Italian state repression under the fascist regime of Mussolini in the 1920s and 1930s following the annexation of the former Austro-Hungarian territories following the First World War, that Ladins have organised as a unified group in response to their language and identity coming under renewed attack (cf. Chapter 2), similarly described by Conversi (2007, pg.23) in the case of both the Basque and Catalan ethnolinguistic groups' awakenings in the face of Spanish state repression.

Scholarship contends that identity is a product of social interaction and is a construct that is tied to social structure (May 2012a; Burke and Stets 2009; Riley 2007; Omoniyi 2006). Language is similarly described as a social construct, a symbolic marker of community identity as well as of community boundaries (Cohen 1985) and linguistic identities 'exert considerable influence, both individually and collectively, in the world today' (May 2012a, pg.324). The act of naming a language itself is described as an act of legitimisation by the state of that language to exist, to be used and to be favoured over others in a societal context 'usually to the

exclusion of other languages' (May 2012a, pg.159) introducing with it processes of minoritisation and marginalisation that lead to the emergence of the categorisation of majority and minority languages and ethnolinguistic groups.

The Ladin minority ethnolinguistic group meets the definition of minority at every administrative level other than within the defined limits of the valley itself except for Anpezo where they have gradually become a minority in their valley over the past seventy years. The Ladin ethnolinguistic group lives alongside two neighbouring dominant majority groups, the Italian-speaking, and the German-speaking ethnolinguistic groups, in a multilingual regional, consociational reality. Notions of majority and minority are fluid and defined by the borders within which multiple levels of administration operate. The German-speaking ethnolinguistic group is a majority group in the autonomous province of Südtirol, yet regionally and nationally is a (historic) minority. Here, Ladins are in effect a minority within a minority. Particularly in the context of multilayered minorities, the further diminishment of language into a position that the term minority no longer does justice to its reality, language needs to be evaluated and understood in a context that better reflects this, which the notion of small language fulfils (cf. Chapter 2.1.3) and as Pietikäinen et al. (2016, pg.3) attest, allows us 'to go beyond presupposing the status and use of the focal languages' (cf. Chapter 2.4).

This thesis contributes to sociolinguistic research on language and identity, in the context of small languages. This thesis explores the salience of language in constructions of identity from an internal, intra-group comparative perspective examining perspectives from respondents from all five valleys and across a wide demographic range in order to represent the sociolinguistic context of Ladin valleys today most accurately. As Jaffe (2019, pg.24) describes, 'the collective endorsement of language as heritage is the glue that holds the Corsican people together', a view held by Videsott (2010) in relation to Ladin in its being the

ethnolinguistic group's 'unifying bond' and its 'distinguishing feature'. This is demonstrated by respondents in their constructions of Ladin identity.

This research offers a descriptive and analytical approach to investigating language as a core facet of identity in the context of minoritised language groups. It embraces a qualitative methodology in which the actual voices of respondents are considered foremost in analysis. The cohort of respondents, whilst not exhaustively representative of the Ladin ethnolinguistic group, does however, and intentionally so, exhibit representation from all Ladin valleys in the context of this study, those valleys described as 'historic Ladin valleys' (cf. Chapter 3). As such, this study offers insight into the sociolinguistics of identity construction with sharp focus on language as a core facet thereof and contributes to the field of language and identity in small language contexts.

Respondents' constructions of identity at multiple levels where geography and borders play a salient role (pan-Ladin, pan-Valley and local valley) and as multidimensional (across space and time) describes all aspects of boundary construction and delimits group membership. Across each level and dimension, the role of language takes centre stage. Kinship ties were equally salient in establishing the most broadly defined group level membership where a common language was often referenced in terms of its DNA imprint across all varieties of Ladin today. This similarly reflects the historically fluid nature of their borders through invasion and conquest and through language contact developed with a strong influence of vulgar Latin. At a more local level, notions of isolation due to local geography contributed to the survival of the language and, at the same time, fostered the evolution of divergent valley varieties as well as valley identities. This research demonstrates how notions of linguistic authenticity and linguistic purism are mobilised as markers of the degree to which a valley is perceived to be intrinsically Ladin by other valleys. Related to this

is the perception of the degree to which language contact has influenced the development of valley varieties. In this way, group boundaries are further defined in relation to the dominant majority linguistic neighbour as either being 'more Italian' or 'more German'. This study contributes to research on small languages, language contact, authenticity, and linguistic identity.

Set against culture, society, and nation, language is increasingly analysed within socio-economic frameworks which places economic value on language in the post-modern, globalised world (Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014). Heller (2010, pg.107) describes how language has become economic commodity in terms of skill (multilingualism) and authenticity (identity) and argues that alongside new global economic circumstances, this commodification 'confronts monolingualism with multilingualism, standardization with variability, and prestige with authenticity in a market where linguistic resources have gained salience and value'. This has reduced the distance that dominant ideology had placed between standardised language and linguistic variation, but importantly the production, circulation and value of linguistic resources remain under the control and ownership of the speakers, resulting in a shift in power dynamics, with implications for social difference and social inequality (2010, pg.107). However, Heller (2010, pg.545) posits that even constitutive multilingualism develops 'means of distinguishing just which language should prevail over just which political territorial units', citing the example of Switzerland. This study contributes to research on multilingualism offering an insight into the role of language for small language communities in the context of autonomous multilevel governance structures demonstrating that 'linguistic identities are not monolithic blocks, but are malleable and layered, instead' (Krauss 2018, pg.96).

This study demonstrates the 'shift to grassroots activities that revalorize language on local terms' (Perrino and Leone-Pizzighella 2019, pg.3); a shift from a top-down to a bottom-up approach to language policy which, in the Ladin case, is perceived as righting the wrongs of Tripartition and rediscovering a stronger sense of Ladin unity through language (Videsott 2010). It similarly demonstrates how '[m]onolingual speakers of the state language are usually outpaced by speakers of minority languages in areas where regional/minority languages are on an equal footing with the state/national language.' (Hornsby and Agarín 2012, pg.107) given the testament of respondents that where Ladins are perceived as the 'true multilinguals' of the three ethnolinguistic groups, the dominant linguistic majorities exhibit little to no competency in any variety of Ladin, and similarly so in each other's having 'implications for the framing of language-based civic identities' (Kraus 2018, pg.103). This study further addresses Perrino and Leone-Pizzighella's (2019, pg.3) call for language revitalisation initiatives be studied not just linguistically but through a socio-cultural lens as well as Hornsby and Agarín's (2012, pg.106) view that '[t]he earlier understanding of relations between linguistic, cultural and national communities needs to be reconsidered in the face of an increasingly multilingual European citizenry'.

The changing circumstances of the late modern world has led to a re-evaluation of matters concerning language. Gone are the days of poverty in isolation and arrived have the days of interconnected valleys, instant communication, and easier transportation, opening up a new world to the once cut-off group. Formerly perceived as unnecessary, new circumstances have forced a rethink on standardisation, in particular hailing it as a force for unity and a champion of language survival and equally as a means to undo the damage to unity and cohesion that caused by Tripartition. This research, therefore, contributes to a growing body of research on small languages in new circumstances (Perrino and Leone-

Pizzighella 2019; Hornsby and Agarin 2012; Krauss 2018; Pietikäinen et al. 2016; Heller 2010; Heller et al. 2014).

Research has been able to demonstrate that since the founding of international organisations, MLR have improved in international jurisdictions, in particular in the EU. May (2012a, pg.246) highlights how supranational organisations, like the EU, have been both ‘catalysts and intermediaries in the promotion of other identities’ and how they have been at the centre of international law supporting greater recognition of promotion-oriented language rights for minority groups. The emergence of regionalism in Europe has been an important factor the development of MLR at local, regional, national, and supranational levels and the concomitant growth in the importance, visibility, and revitalisation of minority languages in these new late modern realities are well documented. (cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2016; May 2012a; Perrino & Leone-Pizzighella 2019). May (2005) argues that a sociolinguistic approach that fails to recognise wider socio-political and socio-historical factors ‘takes no account of human agency, political intervention, power, and authority in the formation of particular (national) language ideologies’ and is, therefore, ‘unable to identify the establishment and maintenance of majority languages’, which has ‘disadvantaged minority languages and their speakers’ (2005, pg.339). This study contributes to sociolinguistic research that addresses those factors outlined by May in the context of MLR.

Similarly, the research presented in this thesis demonstrates the validity of Krauss’ (2018, pg.94) contention that ‘the commitment that members of a language community exhibit towards ‘their’ language will vary greatly depending on contextual factors’. For Ladins, the disparity in the levels of language rights from valley to valley bears a close relationship to the differing administrative systems by which the valley is governed.

8.3 Limitations of the current study and suggestions for future research.

This research is constrained by the number of respondents who participated in the interview process as part of the data gathering process. Similarly, it is constrained by the numbers of respondents from any given valley of the five Ladin valleys at the heart of this study. Given the research site, the five Ladin valleys, it was necessary to undertake the research in three languages and as such the products of transcription and translation placed added limitations on space. A total of sixty hours of qualitative data was gathered from thirty interviews which rendered the inclusion of every theme resulting from analysis to be impracticable. Only data that was relevant to addressing the research questions were selected.

The central focus of this thesis has been the five historic Ladin valleys that formerly formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Tirol but today are partitioned according to differing provincial and regional administrative borders. In addition to the five historic valleys (Gherdëina, Badia, Fascia, Fodom and Anpezo), further to the east in the province of Belluno, into which the valleys of Fodom and Anpezo were integrated after being removed from Südtirol by the fascist Italian regime in the 1920s, are the Cadore, Agordino and Zoldo, areas that historically belonged to the Republic of Venice, then briefly to the Austrian Empire and from 1866 to the Kingdom of Italy. Here, under the provisions of Law 482/99, the *'Istituto Ladin de la Dolomites'* was set up in the late 1990s and since then there has been a growing interest in matters concerning Ladin language and culture. Using funding that has been made available through mechanisms relating to the state legislation, the promotion of Ladin language and culture through various local associations has been making headway. This area of the Dolomitic Ladin group is often referred to as the 'neo-Ladin'. Research into the relationship between language and identity within this Ladin group would be a logical next

step that would create a more comprehensive comparative framework to support a fully inclusive pan-Dolomitic Ladin study.

While carrying out this research, interviews undertaken with respondents revealed tensions in respect of the neo-Ladins in the province of Belluno, which are primarily rooted in issues pertaining to language. The neo-Ladin areas have undergone language loss, which is in stark contrast to their neighbours to the west where Ladin has survived to varying degrees. As this research demonstrates, Ladin as a survivor is an extremely important and definitive aspect of Ladin identity in the historic valleys. The notion of language as a necessary or core facet of identity is clearly challenged by neo-Ladins in this instance. Many respondents stated that language competency in Ladin was not necessarily a prerequisite of being able to identify as Ladin, at the very least active participation in the community and promoting Ladin culture were. However, in the case of the neo-Ladin community, a prominent dismissal of their Ladinness by respondents in the historic Ladin valleys was based on their no longer speaking Ladin despite initiatives to revitalise. The relationship between language and identity would merit further research through a qualitative approach with a large number of participants from the neo-Ladin areas. It would further complement this research as well as contribute to a body of sociolinguistic research on minority and small language communities with similar 'neo' groups (cf. Hornsby, M. and Quentel, G., 2013; Jaffe, A., 2015 and O'Rourke, B. and Walsh, J., 2015) and particularly in the contexts of language reintroduction, language revival and new speakerships where authenticities are challenged in the contexts of both speakership and of language.

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APPENDIX 1.1

Language Use Questionnaire:

This questionnaire is part of the project conducted by Anthony Connor on the role and importance of the Ladin language to Ladin identity. The aim of this questionnaire is to understand how Ladin residents communicate in their everyday lives and what language(s) they use.

Please enter a pseudonym or alias: _____.

Answer all of the questions below. You may fill in more than one answer for a question, and if there are questions that you do not want to answer you can leave them blank.

By completing the questionnaire, you will be giving your permission to Anthony Connor to work with your anonymised data for analysis, presentations at conferences, teaching and publications. Anthony Connor will keep this information completely confidential.

If you have any questions or comments, please contact me by email at atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Thank you for your willingness to participate in this project and for completing the Language Use Questionnaire.

1:

Personal background

| | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Year of Birth | | Age | |
| Gender | Male <input type="checkbox"/> | Female <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| | Ampezzo | Val Badia | Fascia | Val Gardena | Fodom | other |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Language Group | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | | |
| Place of Birth (in) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | | |
| Education in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | | |
| Profession | | | | | | |
| Resident of (Valley) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

2:

Education

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|--|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> | College <input type="checkbox"/> | [University] | Bachelor's Degree <input type="checkbox"/> | Master's Degree <input type="checkbox"/> | PhD <input type="checkbox"/> | Other <input type="checkbox"/> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|--|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|

3:

Information about the languages/dialects that you know

| Language / dialect [Ladin, German, Italian or Other] | Age that you first learnt it. | Where did you learn it (i.e. at home, school, work etc.?) |
|--|-------------------------------|--|
|--|-------------------------------|--|

(a)

| First language /dialect | | | |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|
|----------------------------|--|--|--|

(b)

| Second language /dialect | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|
|--------------------------------|--|--|--|

(c)

| Third language /dialect | | | |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|
|----------------------------|--|--|--|

(d)

| Other language /dialect | | | |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|
|----------------------------|--|--|--|

Other languages that are used where you live or where you work but which you do not know:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

4:**Information about the languages/dialects that you use or used to use***Put a cross (x) in the appropriate column.*

| | Ladin | German | Italian | Other |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| With your spouse or partner | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your children | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your mother | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your father | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your siblings | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your grandparents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your other relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| With your neighbours | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At work | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At the shops | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At the local council | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At primary school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At high school | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| At university | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reading books | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reading the newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Reading the magazines | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listening to the radio | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Watching TV | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Listening to music | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5:

Information about the languages/dialects that your family use or used to use

Put a cross (x) in the appropriate column.

| | Ladin | German | Italian | Other |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mother | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Father | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maternal grandmother | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Maternal grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Paternal grandmother | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Paternal grandfather | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6:

Do you agree with the following statements?

Do you agree with the following statements? *Put a cross (x) in the appropriate column.*

| (a) | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither/nor | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| It is important to me to speak my parent's language. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| It is important to me to speak my native (local) language. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| My children should speak my first language. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| It is not polite to use my local language around people who do not understand it. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| If a person is not fluent in my local language, it is best that they not use it at all. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| It seems old-fashioned to use local languages. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| It is important to master foreign languages other than English | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| (b) | Ladin | German | Italian | English | other |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| If people want to succeed in the workplace they should be able to speak | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | |
| It is important to me to be able to speak | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | |
| In order to move forward and succeed in the future, a person must be able to speak | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | |
| In order to understand the increasingly globalizing world, a person must be able to speak | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>If other, please state:</i> | | | | | |

This form was completed:

ON (Date)

AT (Location)

Any additional information that you would like to include?

-- Thank you for your time and participation --

APPENDIX 1.2

Persönlicher Hintergrund und Einstellung zum Sprachgebrauch

Dieser Fragebogen ist Teil eines von Anthony Connor durchgeführten Projektes zur Rolle der ladinischen Sprache bezüglich ladinischer Identität, das verstehen will, wie sich Ladiner im täglichen verständigen und welche Sprachen sie dazu gebrauchen.

Bitte ein Pseudonym oder einen Aliasnamen geben: _____.

Bitte beantworten Sie alle folgenden Fragen. Sie können gegebenenfalls mehrere Kästchen ankreuzen. Bei Fragen, die Sie nicht beantworten möchten, bitte lassen Sie sie leer.

Beim Ausfüllen dieses Fragebogens verstehen Sie, daß Anthony Connor Ihre Daten in Publikationen, Berichten, Webseiten sowie in anderen Forschungsmedien verarbeiten und zitieren kann. In solchen Fällen, soll Ihr Name nicht zitiert werden ohne Ihre vorherige und ausdrückliche Erlaubnis einzuholen.

Sollten Sie noch Fragen haben, nehmen Sie bitte mit mir per Email unter atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk Kontakt auf. Danke für Ihre Mitarbeit und fürs Ausfüllen dieses Blattes.

1:

Persönlicher Hintergrund

| | | | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Geburtsjahr | | Alter | |
| Geschlecht | Männlich <input type="checkbox"/> | Weiblich <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| | Ampezzo | Gadertal | Fassatal | Gröden | Buchenstein | sonstig |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sprachgruppe | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Wenn sonstig, bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | | |
| Geburtsort in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Wenn sonstig, bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | | |
| Schulbildung in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Wenn sonstig, bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | | |
| Beruf | | | | | | |
| Einwohner in (Tal) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

2:

Bildung

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sekundar- schule | Berufsschule | [Universität] | Bachelor- abschluss | Master- abschluss | Promotion PhD | sonstig |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3:

Information zu den Sprachen bzw. Dialekten, die Sie können:

| Sprache / Dialekt [Ladin, Deutsch, Italienisch oder andere] | In welchem Alter haben Sie die Sprache bzw den Dialekt gelernt? | Wo haben Sie sie/ihn gelernt? (zu Hause, in der Schule, bei der Arbeit?) |
|---|---|--|
|---|---|--|

(a)

| Hauptsprache / Dialekt | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--|--|
|---------------------------|--|--|--|

(b)

| Zweite Sprache / Dialekt | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|

(c)

| Dritte Sprache / Dialekt | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|

(d)

| sonstige Sprache / sonstiger Dialekt | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
|---|--|--|--|

Andere Sprachen oder Dialekte, die im Wohnort oder am Arbeitsplatz gesprochen werden aber die Sie selbst nicht können:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

4:**Information zu den Sprachen bzw. Dialekten, die Sie verwenden.***Gegebenfalls Kästchen ankreuzen (x)*

| | ladin | deutsch | italienisch | Sonstig |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| mit Ihrem Partner / ihrer Partnerin | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Ihrem Kind / Ihren Kindern | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Ihrer Mutter | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Ihrem Vater | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Ihren Geschwistern | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Ihren Großeltern | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Verwandten | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| mit Nachbarn | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| bei der Arbeit | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Einkaufen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Gemeinderat | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| in der Grundschule | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| in der Hochschule | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| an der Uni | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Lesen von Büchern | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Lesen von Zeitungen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Lesen von Zeitschriften/Magazinen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Radiohören | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Fernsehen | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| beim Musikhören | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5:

Information zu den Sprachen bzw. Dialekten, die Sie und Ihre Familie gebrauchen.

Gegebenfalls Kästchen ankreuzen (x)

| | ladin | deutsch | italienisch | sonstig |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mutter | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Vater | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Großmutter mütterlicherseits | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Großvater mütterlicherseits | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Großmutter väterlicherseits | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Großvater väterlicherseits | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6:

Stimmen Sie den folgenden Aussagen zu?

Gegebenfalls Kästchen ankreuzen (x)

| (a) | voll und ganz zustimmen | eher zustimmen | Weder / noch | eher nicht zustimmen | überhaupt nicht zustimmen |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Es ist mir wichtig, die Sprache meiner Eltern zu sprechen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es ist mir wichtig, meine Muttersprache zu sprechen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Meine Kinder sollen meine Muttersprache können. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es ist unhöflich, meine Muttersprache zu sprechen im Beisein von denen, die sie nicht können. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Wenn jemand meiner Muttersprache nicht mächtig ist, soll er sie auch nicht verwenden. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es kommt mir altmodisch vor, regionale Sprachen zu verwenden. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Es ist wichtig, andere Fremdsprachen zu lernen außer englisch. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| (b) | ladin | deutsch | italienisch | englisch | sonstig |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Um beruflich erfolgreich zu sein, muß man die folgende(n) Sprache(n) können: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>sonstige bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | |
| Es ist mir persönlich wichtig, die folgende(n) Sprache(n) zu können: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>sonstige bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | |
| Um künftig voranzukommen und erfolgreich zu sein, muß man die folgende(n) Sprache(n) verwenden: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>sonstige bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | |
| Um die immer globalisiertere Welt zu verstehen, muß man die folgende(n) Sprache(n) verwenden: | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>sonstige bitte beschreiben:</i> | | | | | |

Der Fragebogen wurde ausgefüllt:

Am (Datum)

Zu (Ort)

Zusätzliche Informationen, die Sie weitergeben möchten:

- Vielen Dank für Ihre Zeit und Teilnahme -

APPENDIX 1.3

Questionario: Utilizzo della lingua.

Questo questionario fa parte della ricerca di Anthony Connor. Il questionario ha lo scopo di porre domande che cercano di comprendere come i residenti ladini delle cinque valli ladine comunicare nella vita quotidiana e quale lingua o lingue loro usano.

Si prega di inserire uno pseudonimo: _____.

Si prega di rispondere a tutte le domande. Può compilare più di uno dei campi e se non si desidera rispondere a una domanda, può lasciare i campi in bianco.

Completando il questionario sottostante, lei da a Anthony Connor l'autorizzazione all'uso dei dati personali anonimi per la trascrizione, l'analisi, le presentazioni in occasione di convegni, l'insegnamento e nelle pubblicazioni. Tutti i dati personali saranno resi anonimi e tutte le informazioni personale raccolte nel corso del progetto rimarranno strettamente confidenziale.

Si prega di contattarmi con domande supplementare o richieste di chiarimenti più approfondite. Lei ha la possibilità di contattarmi direttamente per e-mail all'indirizzo: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk.

Grazie per partecipare e per completare il questionario sottostante.

1:

Trascorso personale

| | | | |
|-----------------|--|---|--|
| Anno di nascita | | Età | |
| Genere | <i>maschile</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | <i>femminile</i> <input type="checkbox"/> | |

| | Ampezzo | Val Badia | Val di Fassa | Val Gardena | Livinallongo | altro |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lingua | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | | |
| Luogo di nascita | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | | |
| Educato/a in | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | | |
| Mestiere | | | | | | |
| Residente di | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | |

2:

Istruzione

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Secondaria | Collegio | [Università] | baccalaureato | laurea | dottorato | altro |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

3:

Informazioni sulle lingue/ sui dialetti che può parlare

| Lingua/ dialetto (<i>ladino, tedesco, italiano o altro</i>) | L'età in cui ha imparato la lingua o il dialetto | Dove l'ha imparato/a (<i>per esempio a casa, a scuola ...</i>) |
|--|---|--|
|--|---|--|

(a)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|
| prima lingua /primo dialetto | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|

(b)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| seconda lingua/secondo dialetto | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|

(c)

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|
| terza lingua /terzo dialetto | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|--|

(d)

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|
| altra lingua / altro dialetto | | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|--|

Altre lingue che sono utilizzate dove abite o dove lavora ma che non può parlare:

| |
|--|
| |
|--|

4:

Informazioni sulle lingue/sui dialetti che utilizza o sapeva parlare*Contrassegnare le pertinenti caselle (x)*

| | ladino | tedesco | italiano | altro |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| con il suoi sposo | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con i suoi figli | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con la sua madre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con il suo padre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con i suoi fratelli | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con i suoi nonni | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con i suoi parenti | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| con i suoi vicini | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Al lavoro | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nei negozi | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| All'ufficio locale del Consiglio | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Alle elementari | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Alle superiori | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| All'università | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Leggere libri | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Leggere il giornale | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Leggere riviste | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sentire la radio | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Guardare la televisione | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ascoltare musica. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5:

Informazioni sulle lingue/sui dialetti che utilizza o sapeva parlare la sua famiglia

Contrassegnare le pertinenti caselle (x)

| | ladino | tedesco | italiano | altro |
|---------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Madre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Padre | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nonna materna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nonno materno | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nonna paterna | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nonno paterno | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6:

È d'accordo con le seguenti affermazioni

Contrassegnare le pertinenti caselle (x)

| (a) | fortemente d'accordo | leggermente d'accordo | Né in accordo né in disaccordo | leggermente in disaccordo | fortemente in disaccordo |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Per me è importante poter parlare la lingua dei miei genitori. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Per me è importante poter parlare la mia lingua madre locale. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I miei figli devono poter parlare la mia prima lingua. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Non è educato usare la mia lingua locale quando sono con persone che la non capiscono. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Se qualcuno non parla correntemente la mia lingua locale, è meglio che la non usa affatto. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sembra all'antica da usare le lingue locale. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| È importante padroneggiare lingue straniere diverse dall'inglese. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Contrassegnare le pertinenti caselle (x)

| (b) | ladino | tedesco | italiano | inglese | altro |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Per avere successo sul posto di lavoro, deve poter parlare | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | |
| Per me è importante poter parlare ... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | |
| Per aver successo e progredire nell'avvenire, una persona deve poter parlare ... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | |
| Per capire un mondo sempre più globalizzante, una persona deve poter parlare ... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <i>Se Altro, si prega di specificare:</i> | | | | | |

Questo questionario è stato compilato:

il (data)

in (luogo)

Eventuali informazioni supplementari che vuole fornire?

-- Grazie per aver compilato questo questionario --

APPENDIX 2.1



Anthony Connor
Postgraduate student
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
United Kingdom
Email: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk
Date: 1st October 2019

Information sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research project that examines the role of the Ladin language in relation to Ladin identity. Before you decide to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being undertaken and what it involves. Please read and review the information contained in this sheet carefully and contact me with any questions you have via email at: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the project's purpose?

This project is part of a postgraduate university PhD qualification and aims to look at what role the Ladin language plays in constructing Ladin identity from two key perspectives: the first perspective examines how official bodies, such as the Ladin cultural institutes, use Ladin to promote Ladin identity. The second perspective explores how residents of Ladin valleys, who identify as Ladin, view the relationship between the Ladin language and Ladin identity. Both perspectives are investigated in the context of regional multilingualism whereby Ladin coexists alongside German and Italian as well as in the context of Ladin linguistic diversity within the Ladin language community itself.

Who can take part?

The project aims to interview people who identify as Ladin and live in one of the Ladin valleys of Fascia (Val de Fascia) in Trentino, Val Gardena (Gherdëina) and Val Badia in South Tyrol, and Livinallongo (Fodom) or Ampezzo (Anpezo) in Veneto. The interviews will take place in 2020.

What do I have to do?

You will be asked to participate in a one hour interview undertaken in either English or German. The interview will take place at a venue and time mutually agreed by both the participant and Anthony Connor and will be electronically recorded and stored on a university password protected drive. All data recorded will be anonymous and all the information collected about you during the course of the project will be kept strictly confidential.

Do I have to take part?

Participation is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. By signing the consent form, you will be giving your permission to Anthony Connor to work with your anonymised data for transcription, analysis, presentations at conferences, teaching and publications.

Can I withdraw from taking part?

You can withdraw from the project at any time without any negative consequences. You do not have to give a reason. If you wish to withdraw from the project, please contact atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Whilst there are no immediate benefits for those people participating in the project, it is hoped that this work will contribute to understanding the role and importance of language to small language communities and their identity.

The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. This project has been ethically approved through the University of Sheffield's Ethics Review Procedure administered by the School of Languages and Cultures. If for any reason you wish to make a complaint about the interviewing procedure, please contact my research supervisor Dr Kristine Horner directly via email at k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk or by telephone: +44 (0) 114 222 4909

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering to participate in this project.

APPENDIX 2.2



Anthony Connor
Doktorand
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
Großbritannien
E-mail: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk
Datum: 1. Oktober 2019

Informationsblatt

Sie sind zur Teilnahme an einem Forschungsprojekt eingeladen, das die Rolle der ladinischen Sprache im Verhältnis zur ladinischen Identität untersucht. Bevor Sie sich zur Teilnahme entscheiden, sollten Sie verstehen, nicht nur warum das Projekt durchgeführt wird, sondern auch was die Teilnahme am Projekt einschließt. Nehmen Sie sich bitte genügend Zeit, dieses Informationsblatt sorgfältig durchzulesen und den Inhalt völlig zu verstehen. Auf jeden Fall, nehmen Sie sich bitte reichlich Zeit, um sich zu entscheiden, ob Sie am Projekt teilnehmen möchten oder nicht. Sollten Sie noch irgendwelche Fragen haben, können Sie mit mir per Email unter atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk Kontakt aufnehmen.

Was ist das Ziel des Projektes?

Das Projekt ist Teil eines Postgraduiertenabschlusses (PhD), das die Rolle der ladinischen Sprache bei der Konstruktion ladinischer Identität untersucht. Die Studie wird aus zwei wesentlichen Blickwinkeln angegangen. Der erste betrachtet wie offizielle Stellen, wie die ladinischen Kulturinstitute, die ladinische Sprache zur Förderung ladinischer Identität thematisieren. Der zweite handelt sich darum, wie die Einwohner(-innen) der ladinischen Täler, die sich als Ladiner(-innen) bezeichnen, die Beziehung zwischen ladinischer Sprache und ladinischer Identität einschätzen. In einer Region, in der die ladinische, die deutsche und die italienische Sprache alle zu Hause sind, werden beide Aspekte nicht nur angesichts regionaler Mehrsprachigkeit untersucht, sondern auch sprachlicher Vielfalt innerhalb der ladinischen Sprachgemeinschaft selbst.

Wer kann teilnehmen?

Das Projekt zielt darauf ab, Leute zu interviewen, die sich als Ladiner(-innen) bezeichnen und die auch gleichzeitig in einem der ladinischen Täler ansässig sind: Fassatal im Trentino, Gröden sowie Gardertal in Südtirol und Buchenstein sowie Ampezzo in der Provinz Belluno. Die Interviews werden in 2020 stattfinden.

Was wird bei der Teilnahme passieren?

Sie werden zu einem ungefähr einstündigen Interview eingeladen, das nach Ihrem Wunsch auf entweder Englisch oder Deutsch durchgeführt wird. Der Zeit- und Treffpunkt des Interviews legen Interviewer, Anthony Connor, und Teilnehmer(-innen) einvernehmlich fest. Das Interview wird mit einem Aufzeichnungsgerät aufgenommen und ausschließlich auf mit Passwort geschützten Universitätsfestplatten gespeichert. Die im Laufe des Projektes erhobenen personenbezogenen Daten werden anonymisiert und sie werden zusätzlich demgemäß streng vertraulich behandelt.

Muß ich teilnehmen?

Ihre Teilnahme am Projekt ist vollkommen freiwillig. Sollten Sie sich zur Teilnahme entscheiden, werden Sie darum gebeten, eine Einverständniserklärung zu unterzeichnen. Durch Unterzeichnung der Einverständniserklärung erklären Sie sich damit einverstanden, daß Anthony Connor Ihre anonymisierten Daten für weitere Transkriptions-, Analyse-, Präsentations-, Dokumentations- oder Lehrzwecke verarbeiten kann.

Kann ich mich aus dem Projekt zurückziehen?

Sie können sich zu jeder Zeit aus dem Projekt zurückziehen und zwar ohne Angabe von Gründen und ohne nachteilige Folgen. Sollten Sie sich entscheiden, sich aus dem Projekt zurückzuziehen, bitte nehmen Sie mit mir Kontakt auf unter atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Obwohl es keine unmittelbaren Vorteile für die Teilnehmer(-innen) gibt, wird erhofft, daß dieses Projekt zur Kenntnis und zum Verständnis der Rolle und Bedeutung von kleinen Sprachen für Sprachgemeinschaften und ihre Identität beiträgt. Die Universität Sheffield wird als Daten-Controller dieses Projektes agieren und ist demgemäß dafür verantwortlich, Ihre Daten zu betreuen und sie ordnungsgemäß zu verwenden. Das Projekt wurde gemäß dem ethischen Prüfungsverfahren der Universität Sheffield gebilligt, das von der School of Languages and Cultures verwaltet wird. Wenn Sie aus irgendeinem Grund eine Beschwerde bezüglich des Interviewprozesses anzubringen wünschen, können Sie direkt mit der Projektbetreuerin, Dr Kristine Horner, per Email unter k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk oder telefonisch unter +44 (0) 114 222 4909 Kontakt aufnehmen.

Vielen Dank für das Lesen dieses Informationsblatts und für Ihr Interesse an einer eventuellen Teilnahme am Projekt.

APPENDIX 2.3



Anthony Connor
Dottorando
School of Languages and Cultures
The University of Sheffield
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield
S3 7RA
Il Regno Unito
E-mail: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk
Data: 1 Ottobre 2019

Foglio Informativo

Lei è invitato a partecipare a un progetto di ricerca accademica che esamina il ruolo che svolge la lingua ladina in relazione all'identità ladina. Prima di decidersi a partecipare, è importante capire perché il progetto di ricerca viene effettuato ed anche che questa comporterà. Si prega di dedicare il tempo sufficiente alla lettura del seguente foglio informativo. Si prega di contattarmi per qualsiasi domanda supplementare, o anche richieste di chiarimenti più approfonditi per particolari problemi. Lei ha la possibilità di contattarmi direttamente per e-mail all'indirizzo: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Si prega di dedicare il tempo sufficiente per decidersi se si vuole partecipare.

Che sono gli obiettivi di questo progetto di ricerca?

Il progetto è parte di una tesi di dottorato e ha lo scopo di investigare il ruolo che gioca la lingua ladina nella costruzione dell'identità ladina considerato da due prospettive fondamentali: La prima prospettiva esamina come gli organismi ufficiali, come gli Istituti ladini di Cultura, utilizzano la lingua ladina per promuovere la identità ladina. La seconda prospettiva esplora come gli abitanti delle valli ladine, che identificano come ladini, valutano il rapporto tra la lingua ladina e la identità ladina. Le due prospettive sono esaminate non solo nel quadro del multilinguismo regionale, poiché la lingua ladina coesiste con la lingua tedesca e la lingua italiana, ma anche nel quadro della diversità linguistica nella stessa comunità linguistica ladina.

Chi può partecipare?

Il progetto intende intervistare le persone che identificano come ladini e chi sono abitanti delle cinque valli ladine; Val di Fassa in Trentino; Val Gardena o Val Badia in Alto Adige; e Val di Fodom (Livinallongo del Col di Lana) o Valle d'Ampezzo in Belluno. Le interviste si svolgeranno in 2020.

Che cosa devo fare per partecipare?

Lei sarà invitato a partecipare a un'intervista della durata di un'ora circa in inglese o in tedesco. L'intervista sarà tenuta in una sede da concordare mutualmente fra il intervistatore, Anthony Connor, ed il partecipante nel momento concordato dalle parti. L'intervista sarà registrata con un registratore digitale vocale e sarà unicamente salvata su un disco rigido della università protetto da password. Tutti i dati personali saranno resi anonimi e tutte le informazioni personale raccolte nel corso del progetto rimarranno strettamente confidenziale.

Devo partecipare al progetto?

La partecipazione è una decisione individuale e del tutto volontaria. Se si decide di partecipare, vi sarà chiesto da firmare un modulo di consenso. Con la firma del modulo di consenso il sottoscritto da a Anthony Connor l'autorizzazione all'uso i dati personali anonimi per la trascrizione, l'analisi, le presentazioni in occasione di convegni, l'insegnamento ed nelle pubblicazioni.

Posso decidere di ritirarmi dal progetto?

Può decidere di ritirarsi dal progetto in qualsiasi momento, senza conseguenze negative e senza fornire alcun motivo. Se si decide di ritirarsi dal progetto, si prega di contattarmi direttamente per e-mail all'indirizzo: atconnor1@sheffield.ac.uk. Benché non esistano benefici immediati dal partecipazione al progetto, si deve sperare che questo progetto possa contribuire alla comprensione del ruolo e del significato della lingua per le comunità delle lingue piccole e le loro identità.

L'università di Sheffield agisce in qualità di titolare del trattamento per questo progetto. Tutto questo significa che l'università è il responsabile della gestione delle sue informazioni personali e per utilizzarle in maniera legale e corretta. Questo progetto è stato approvato eticamente secondo le procedure per l'esame etico applicate dalla School of Languages and Cultures. Se per qualsiasi motivo si desidera presentare un reclamo sulla procedura dell'intervista, si prega di contattare direttamente la mia supervisore di ricerca Dr Kristine Horner per e-mail all'indirizzo: k.horner@sheffield.ac.uk o per telefono: +44 (0) 114 222 4909

Grazie per aver dedicato del tempo alla lettura del presente foglio informativo e per aver pensato anche all'eventualità di partecipare.

APPENDIX 3.1



Ladin Language and Identity Project Participant Consent Form

*Tick the
Appropriate
Box*

| Taking Part in the Project. | Yes | No |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 01/10/2019 or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you answer No to this question, please do not proceed with completing this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include completing a short Language Use questionnaire and taking part in a recorded interview that will last approximately one hour. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer wish to take part and there will be no adverse consequences should I choose to withdraw. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| How my information will be used during and after the project. | | |
| I understand that my personal details, such as name, contact number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed and will be kept strictly confidential. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



**Ladin Language and Identity Project
Participant Consent Form**

*Tick the
Appropriate
Box*

| | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| In order that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers: | | |
| I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| Name [Print] | Signature | Date |
|--------------|-----------|------|
| | | |
| Name [Print] | Signature | Date |
| | | |

Project contact details for further information:

Anthony Connor
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1 Upper Hanover Street
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Prof Jan Windebank
Chair of School
School of Languages and Cultures
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S3 7RA
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E-mail: j.windebank@sheffield.ac.uk

The template of this consent form has been approved by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee and is available to view here:

<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/further-guidance/homepage>

APPENDIX 3.2



Ladinische Sprache und Identität Projekt Einverständniserklärung

*bitte
Zutreffendes
ankreuzen*

| Teilnahme am Projekt. | Ja | Nein |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ich habe das Informationsblatt vom 01. Oktober 2019 durchgelesen und dessen Inhalt völlig verstanden <i>oder</i> das Projekt ist mir mündlich völlig erläutert worden. (wenn <i>Nein</i> , bitte füllen Sie diese Einverständniserklärung nicht weiterhin aus, bis Sie davon völlig bewußt sind, was die Teilnahme an diesem Projekt mit sich bringt. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich habe die Gelegenheit gehabt, zusammenhängende und sachbezogene Fragen zum Projekt zu stellen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich willige in die Teilnahme am Projekt freiwillig ein. Ich verstehe, dass die Teilnahme am Projekt folgendes einschließt: einen Fragebogen ausfüllen sowie die Teilnahme an einem ungefähr einstündigen Interview, das mit einem Aufzeichnungsgerät aufgenommen wird. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich verstehe, dass die Teilnahme am Projekt völlig freiwillig ist und dass ich mich zu jeder Zeit aus dem Projekt zurückziehen kann ohne jegliche Gründe geben zu müssen und ohne nachteilige Folgen zu tragen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Wie meine persönlichen Daten während sowie nach dem Projekt verwendet werden. | | |
| Ich verstehe, dass meine personenbezogenen Daten wie etwa Name, Kontaktnummer, Adresse und E-mail-Adresse nicht veröffentlicht werden und sie werden demgemäß auch streng vertraulich behandelt. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich verstehe, dass meine Worte eventuell in Publikationen, Berichten, Webseiten sowie in anderen Forschungsmedien zitiert werden können. In solchen Fällen, soll mein Name nicht zitiert werden ohne meine vorherige und ausdrückliche Erlaubnis einzuholen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich verstehe und stimme zu, dass andere autorisierte Forscher Zugriff auf die Daten erhalten und zwar ausschließlich im Falle ihrer Übereinstimmung der Wahrung der im Rahmen dieser Einverständniserklärung anerkannten Vertraulichkeit der im Laufe des Projektes erhobenen Informationen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Ich verstehe und stimme zu, dass andere autorisierte Forscher in Publikationen, Berichten, Webseiten sowie in anderen Forschungsmedien meine Daten verwenden können und zwar ausschließlich im Falle ihrer Übereinstimmung der Wahrung der im Rahmen der Einverständniserklärung anerkannten Vertraulichkeit der Informationen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



Ladinische Sprache und Identität Projekt
Einverständniserklärung

bitte
Zutreffendes
ankreuzen

| | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Damit die von Ihnen gelieferten Informationen gesetzlich von Forschern verwendet werden können. | | |
| Ich erkläre mich damit einverstanden, jegliche von mir vorbehaltenen Eigentums- und Urheberrechte bezüglich jeglicher im Rahmen des Projektes erzeugten Materialien an die Universität Sheffield zu übertragen. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

| | | |
|---------------------|--------------|-------|
| Name [Druckschrift] | Unterschrift | Datum |
| | | |
| Name [Druckschrift] | Unterschrift | Datum |
| | | |

Weitere Projektinformationen erhalten Sie unter:

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Die Dokumentvorlage dieser Einverständniserklärung ist von der Forschungsethik-Kommission der Universität Sheffield gebilligt worden und ist auf folgender Webseite zu finden:
<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/further-guidance/homepage>

APPENDIX 3.3



Progetto sulla Lingua e sull'Identità Ladina Modulo di Consenso per Partecipanti

Selezionare la casella appropriata

| Partecipazione al progetto. | Si | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ho letto e capito il foglio informativo del 1 Ottobre 2019 o il progetto mi è stato completamente spiegato. (Se ha risposto No , per favore non continuare a compilare il modulo di consenso fino a quando si conosce pienamente il significato della partecipazione al progetto.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Mi è stata offerta l'opportunità di porre domande sul progetto. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Convegno di partecipare al progetto. Capisco che la partecipazione comporterà la compilazione di un questionario sull'uso della lingua ed anche la partecipazione a un'intervista della durata di un'ora circa. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Capisco che la mia partecipazione è assolutamente volontaria e che posso ritirarmi dal progetto in qualsiasi momento; non devo fornire alcuni motivi del mio ritiro e non subirò alcune conseguenze negative. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Come verranno utilizzate le mie informazioni durante e dopo il progetto. | | |
| Capisco che i miei dati personali, come nome, l'indirizzo di residenza e/o email o i numeri di contatto per esempio, non verranno comunicati e devono rimanere strettamente riservati. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Capisco che le mie parole possono essere quotate in pubblicazioni, rapporti, pagine web ed altre diverse modalità di condividere dei risultati del progetto. Capisco che il mio nome non deve essere pubblicato in queste pubblicazioni salvo che ciò sia espressamente richiesto da me. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Capisco e sono anche d'accordo che altri ricercatori autorizzati avranno accesso a questi dati solo se accetteranno di garantire la riservatezza dell'informazione indicata e richiesta nel presente modulo. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Capisco e sono anche d'accordo che altri ricercatori autorizzati possono utilizzare i miei dati in pubblicazioni, rapporti, pagine web ed altre diverse modalità di condividere dei risultati del progetto solo se accetteranno di garantire la riservatezza dell'informazione indicata e richiesta nel presente modulo. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |



Progetto sulla Lingua e sull'Identità Ladina
Modulo di Consenso per Partecipanti

*Selezionare la
casella
appropriate*

| | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Affinché le informazioni fornite possono essere utilizzate legalmente dai ricercatori: | | |
| Accetto di cedere i diritti d'autore a l'Università di Sheffield in relazione ai materiali prodotti nell'ambito del progetto. | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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| | | |
| Nome [in stampatello] | Firma | Data di Firma |
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Il modello di questo modulo è stato approvato dal Comitato di Etica di Ricerca dell'Università di Sheffield figura nella seguente pagina web:
<https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/further-guidance/homepage>

APPENDIX 4.1

Ladin language and identity.

Ladinische Sprache und Identität.

La lingua e l'identità ladina.

[A] Personal Background

[A] Persönlicher Hintergrund

[A] Trascorso personale

Tell me a little something about yourself, your family, where you live and the work you do?

- *Where do you live?*
- *Have you always lived in your current location?*
- *What other places have you lived?*
- *How many generations of your family have lived in your current location?*
- *What work do you do?*

Erzählen Sie mir ein bißchen von Ihnen, Ihrer Familie, wo Sie wohnen und Ihrer Arbeit?

- *Wo wohnen Sie?*
- *Haben Sie immer an Ihrem gegenwärtigen Wohnort gewohnt?*
- *Wo haben Sie sonst noch gewohnt?*
- *Wie viele Generationen Ihrer Familie haben an Ihrem gegenwärtigen Wohnort gewohnt?*
- *Was machen Sie beruflich?*

Raccontami un po' di lei, della sua famiglia, di dove vive e della sua lavora?

- *Dove vive lei?*
- *Dunque ha vissuto tutta la vita là?*
- *Nei quali altri posti ha vissuto?*
- *Quante generazioni della sua famiglia hanno vissuto là?*
- *Che lavoro fa?*

Tell me a little about your local community?

- *Who lives in your local community?*
- *Is it a close-knit community?*
- *How well do you know your neighbours?*
- *What language(s) are spoken in your community?*
- *Which language is the most widely spoken in your community?*
- *Do you like living in your local community?*

Erzählen Sie mir ein bißchen von Ihrer Gemeinschaft?

- *Wer wohnt in Ihrer Gemeinschaft?*
- *Ist Ihre Gemeinschaft eine enge, zusammengewachsene Gemeinschaft?*
- *Wie gut kennen Sie Ihre Nachbarn?*
- *Welche Sprachen werden in Ihrer Gemeinschaft gesprochen?*
- *Welche Sprache wird in Ihrer Gemeinschaft am häufigsten gesprochen?*
- *Gefällt es Ihnen in Ihrer Gemeinschaft zu wohnen?*

Raccontami un po' della sua comunità locale?

- *Chi vive nella sua comunità locale?*
- *È la sua comunità compatta e familiare?*
- *Quanto bene conosce i suoi vicini?*
- *Quali lingue si parlano nella sua comunità locale?*
- *Quale lingua è la più parlata nella sua comunità?*
- *Le piace vivere nella sua comunità locale?*

[B] Language – Sprache – Lingua

Can you tell me a little about the Ladin language?

- *What is Ladin?*
- *Where is Ladin spoken?*
- *Are there any Ladin dialects or different forms of Ladin?*

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?
Se ha o avesse dei figli, quanto è o sarebbe importante per lei che poter parlare il ladino?
 - *potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- If you had or have any children, how important is it to you that they speak German?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Wenn Sie Kinder haben oder hätten, wie wichtig ist oder wäre es Ihnen, dass sie deutsch können?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Se ha o avesse dei figli, quanto è o sarebbe importante per lei che poter parlare il tedesco?**
 - *potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- If you had or have any children, how important is it to you that they speak Italian?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Wenn Sie Kinder haben oder hätten, wie wichtig ist oder wäre es Ihnen, dass sie italienisch können?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Se ha o avesse dei figli, quanto è o sarebbe importante per lei che poter parlare l'italiano?**
 - *potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- Are there any other languages that you think that it important for them to speak?**
 - *If so which ones? Can you explain why?*
- Denken Sie, daß es andere Fremdsprachen gibt, die auch wichtig sind, um zu können?**
 - *Wenn ja, welche wären das? - Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Pensa che ci sono altre lingue che sono importanti di poter parlare?**
 - *In caso affermativo, quale? Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- Which language(s), if any, do you think you need to be able to speak in order to be successful [at work]?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Welche Sprache(n), wenn überhaupt, denken Sie, man muß können, um beruflich erfolgreich zu sein?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Che lingua/che lingue, se mai ce ne sia/siano, pensa che dovrebbe poter parlare per avere successo nella vita professionale.**
 - *Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- Which language(s), if any, do you think are not useful in order to be successful [at work]?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Welche Sprache(n), wenn überhaupt, denken Sie, sind nicht praktisch, um beruflich erfolgreich zu sein?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Che lingua/che lingue, se mai ce ne sia/siano, pensa che non è/sono utile per avere successo nella vita professionale.**
 - *Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- Which language(s), if any, do you consider old-fashioned?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Welche Sprache(n), wenn überhaupt, denken Sie, sind altmodisch?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Che lingua/che lingue, se mai ce ne sia/siano, pensa che è/sono all'antica?**
 - *Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*
- Which language(s), if any, do you consider modern?**
 - *Can you explain why?*
- Welche Sprache(n), wenn überhaupt, denken Sie, sind modern?**
 - *Können Sie mir erklären warum?*
- Che lingua/che lingue, se mai ce ne sia/siano, pensa che è/sono moderna/moderne?**
 - *Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?*

PROMPT CARDS [1] – LADIN BEER LABELS [language specific]

No4 MEDIA & No9 DICTIONARY

- reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview.

Have you ever seen this beer campaign?

Haben Sie je diese Werbekampagne für Bier gesehen?

Ha mai visto questa campagna promozionale per birra?

- show the interviewee the 2 beer labels noted above [on .ppt screen without descriptions]

What do these images [labels] say/mean to you?

- Can you explain why?

Was bedeuten für Sie diese Etiketten?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Che significano per lei queste etichette?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

-allow the interviewee to address them/pick out what they want to comment on.

[i] [Show images on .ppt screen now with all language descriptions]

Allow interviewee some time to read the accompanying text

[ii] What are your own thoughts on what these labels portray?

- Which language(s) did you read?

- [if more than one]: Which was the first language that you read?

Was halten Sie von diesen Etiketten?

- Welche Sprache(n) haben Sie gelesen?

- [wenn mehrere]: Welche Sprache haben Sie als erstes gelesen?

Cosa ne pensa di queste etichette?

- Che lingua/lingue ha letto?

- [se più di una]: Che era la prima che ha letto?

PROMPT CARDS [2] – MIES PRÖMES PARORES article.

Have you seen this project before?

- What do you think about this?

- Is this a good thing?

- Can you explain why?

Haben Sie dieses Projekt schon mal gesehen?

- Was halten Sie davon?

- Ist das etwas Positives?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum

Ha mai visto questo progetto

- Cosa ne pensa?

- È una cosa positiva?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[C] Identity – Identität - Identità

How would you describe your identity?

- Such as in terms of nation, language [state, people, region]?

Wie würden Sie Ihre Identität beschreiben?

- wie beispielsweise Nation, Sprache [Staat, Volk, Region]?

Come descriverebbe la sua identità?

- ad esempio in termini di nazione, lingua [stato, popolo, regione]?

What are reasons for leading you to identify as Ladin?

- Factors such as family/economic/linguistic/political/cultural/historical.

- Can you explain why?

Aus welchen Gründen bekennen Sie sich als Ladin(er)in?

- Faktoren wie beispielsweise Familie/Wirtschaft/Sprache/Politik/Kultur/Geschichte.

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali sono le ragioni per cui si identifica come ladino/a?

- fattori ad esempio in termini di famiglia/economia/lingua/politica/cultura/storia

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What has most influenced you to identify as Ladin?

[Note: it is a prerequisite of participation that the interviewee identifies as Ladin]

- Such as economics/politics/environment/history/language/culture/education.

-Can you explain why?

Was hat Sie am meisten beeinflusst, sich als Ladin(er) zu bekennen?

[Es ist eine Voraussetzung des Teilnehmens, sich als Ladin(er) zu bekennen]

- wie beispielsweise Wirtschaft/Politik/Umwelt/Geschichte/Sprache/Kultur Bildung.

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Che cosa l'ha maggiormente influenzato/a di identificarsi come ladino/a?

[Si prega di notare che è un prerequisito di partecipazione identificarsi come ladino/a]

- ad esempio in termini di economia/politica/ambiente/storia/lingua/cultura/istruzione.

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Who has most influenced you to identify as Ladin?

- Such as family members (internal), teachers/politicians/historical figures (external) ...

Wer hat Sie am meisten beeinflusst, sich als Ladin(er) zu bekennen?

- wie beispielsweise Familienmitglied(er) (interne), Lehrer/Politiker/historische Persönlichkeiten (externe)

Chi l'ha maggiormente influenzato/a di identificarsi come ladino/a?

- ad esempio membri della famiglia (interno), insegnanti/politici, personalità storiche

What other groups or identities are there in ... (region/area/valley)?

- Do you also feel ... or ... (any participant-named other identity)?

- Can you explain why?

Was für andere Gruppen oder Identitäten gibt es ... (in der Region/in der Ortschaft/im Tal)?

- Fühlen Sie sich auch als ... oder ... (andere vom Teilnehmer erwähnte Identität)

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali altri gruppi o quale altre identità ci sono (nella regione, nel territorio, nella valle)?

- Si sente anche come ... o ... (altre identità nominate dal partecipante)

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What makes your group different from other groups in ... (region/area/valley)?

- Can you explain why?

Wie unterscheidet sich Ihre Gruppe von anderen Gruppen ... (in der Region/in der Ortschaft/im Tal)?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Perché il suo gruppo è diverso dagli altri ... (nella regione, nel territorio, nella valle)?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

How important is it to belong to your group?

- Can you explain why?

Wie wichtig ist es Ihnen, zu dieser Gruppe zu gehören?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quanto è importante per lei di appartenere a questo gruppo?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

How important is your identity to you?

- What does it mean to you be Ladin?

- Can you explain why?

Wie wichtig ist Ihre Identität für Sie?

- Was bedeutet es Ihnen, Ladin(er) zu sein?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quanto è importante per lei la sua identità?

- Quanto è importante per lei di essere ladino/a?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

If you are a member of a group that has its own language, do you think you should

- [i] have the right to speak and use that language in everyday life?
- Can you explain in what circumstances and why?
- [ii] be able to speak that language?
- Can you explain why?

Wenn man einer ethnischen Gruppe gehört, die eine eigene Sprache hat, denken Sie, man solle

- [i] das Recht haben, diese Sprache im alltäglichen zu sprechen oder zu verwenden zu dürfen?
- Können Sie mir erklären unter welchen Umständen und warum?
- [ii] diese Sprache zu können?
- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Nel caso in cui si appartiene a un gruppo etnico con una propria lingua, pensa che dovrebbe

- [i] avere il diritto di parlare o di usare questa lingua nella vita quotidiana?
- potrebbe spiegarmi in quali circostanze e perché?
- [ii] di poter parlare questa lingua?
- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What qualifies someone as being able to claim to be Ladin?

- Can you explain why?

Aus welchen Gründen ist man berechtigt, sich als Ladin(er)/in zu bekennen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Per quale motivo la qualifica poter identificarsi come ladino/a?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What excludes someone from being able to claim to be Ladin?

- Can you explain why?

Aus welchen Gründen ist man nicht berechtigt, sich als Ladin(er)/in zu bekennen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Per quale motivo la non qualifica poter identificarsi come ladino/a?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

In how far is the Ladin language a necessary/required component of Ladin identity?

- Can you explain why?

[Probing matters of inclusion, exclusion, acceptance or rejection]

Inwiefern ist die ladinische Sprache einen notwendigen/wesentlichen Bestandteil ladinischer Identität?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

In che misura la lingua ladina fa parte necessaria/richiesta dell'identità ladina?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Would you describe all Ladins as equally Ladin?

- Can you explain why?

Würden Sie alle Ladin(er) als gleichermaßen Ladinisch beschreiben?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Descriverebbe tutti i ladini come altrettanto ladini

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Do you believe that all Ladins are equal?

- Can you explain why?

Glauben Sie, alle Ladin(er) sind gleich(berechtigt)?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Pensa che tutti i ladini sono uguali?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Can one valley be any 'more Ladin' or any 'less Ladin' than any other?

- Can you explain why?

Kann ein Tal 'mehr Ladin' oder 'weniger Ladin' als jenes andere sein?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Può una valle essere 'più ladina' o 'meno ladina' di qualsiasi altra?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What factors/things shape Ladin identity in particular?

- What are the characteristics of Ladin identity?

- Can you explain why?

Welche Faktoren insbesondere prägen ladinische Identität mit?

- Welches sind die Eigenschaften der ladinischen Identität?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali sono i fattori che forgianno l'identità ladina?

- Quali sono le caratteristiche dell'identità ladina?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Do you think language defines your identity?

- Can you explain why?

Denken Sie, die Sprache definiert Ihre Identität?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Pensa che la lingua definisce la sua identità?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Is a linguistic identity important?

- Can you explain why?

Ist eine sprachliche Identität wichtig?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

È un'identità linguistica importante?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Is [Italian or German] an important part of your identity?

- Can you explain why?

Ist [italienisch oder deutsch] einen wichtigen Bestandteil ihrer Identität?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

È l'italiano o il tedesco una parte importante della sua identità?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[Specific to Südtirol but to be asked to all]

[Declaration of Linguistic Affiliation or Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung.]

Can you tell me about the Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung?

- Do you think it is important to choose an identity?

- Can you explain why?

- What factors were important to you/did you take into account when choosing linguistic affiliation?

- Can you explain why?

- What was the most important factor that influenced your decision?

- Such as economics/politics/environment/history/language/culture/education.

- Can you explain why?

Können Sie mir etwas über die Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung erzählen?

- Denken Sie, es ist wichtig eine Identität zu wählen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

- Welche Faktoren haben für Sie eine wichtige Rolle gespielt beim Wählen einer Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeit?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

- Welcher Faktor hat die wichtigste Rolle bei Ihrer Entscheidung gespielt?

- wie beispielsweise Wirtschaft/Politik/Umwelt/Geschichte/Sprache/Kultur/Bildung/Demografie.

Può raccontarmi un po' della dichiarazione di appartenenza ovvero di aggregazione ad uno dei gruppi linguistici tedesco, italiano o ladino?

- Pensa è importante scegliere un'identità?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?
- Quali erano i fattori i più importanti sulla sua decisione di scegliere di appartenere ad uno dei gruppi linguistici particolare?
- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?
- Qual era il fattore il più importante sulla sua decisione?
- ad esempio in termini di economia/politica/ambiente/storia/lingua/cultura/istruzione/demografia.

[Specific to Südtirol and Trentino but to be asked to all]

[The Agency for Bi- and Trilingualism Exams (Servizio esami di bi- e trilinguismo or Dienststelle für die Zwei- und Dreisprachigkeitsprüfung)]

Can you tell me about the Zwei- und Dreisprachigkeitsprüfung?

Können Sie mir etwas über die Zwei- und Dreisprachigkeitsprüfung erzählen?

Può raccontarmi un po' dei esami di bi- e trilinguismo?

Do you think that it is important or necessary to prove your linguistic competency [in order to work in the public sector]?

- Can you explain why?

Denken Sie, es ist wichtig oder notwendig Ihre Sprachkompetenzen beweisen zu müssen [um im öffentlichen Sektor zu arbeiten]?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Pensa che è necessario o importante di dovere dimostrare le competenze linguistiche [per poter lavorare nel settore pubblico]?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Non-language specific culture and Identity

Can you tell me a little something about the Ladin culture?

- What are the things that make Ladin culture 'Ladin'?

- Can you explain why?

- Are there any particular symbols, myths, memories/history, values and traditions you can describe?

- Can you explain what makes them particularly Ladin?

Können Sie mir etwas über die ladinsche Kultur erzählen?

- Was macht die ladinsche Kultur 'ladinisch'?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

- Gibt es bestimmte Symbole, Mythen, Geschichten, Werte und Traditionen, die Sie beschreiben können?

- Können Sie erklären, warum sie insbesondere oder vor allem ladinisch sind?

Può raccontarmi un po' della cultura ladina?

- Che sono le cose che fa la cultura ladina particolarmente 'ladina'?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

- Ci sono in particolare simboli, miti, storie, valori e tradizioni che può descrivere?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché sono soprattutto o particolarmente 'ladini'?

PROMPT CARD [3] – LADIN BEER LABELS [cultural/history specific]

No1 WW1; No2 EGGS; No3 FANES; No5 St UJOP; No6 BEAR; No7 K LANZ; & No8 FLAG.

[History, Tradition, Myth, Religion, Science, Symbolic Figure, Symbolic]

[These include both references to Language, Identity and wider culture. Cross-reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview].

Let me show you some other beer campaign labels.

Erlauben Sie mir Ihnen andere Etiketten der Werbekampagne für Bier zu zeigen.

Mi permetta di mostrarle dell'etichette della campagna promozionale per birra.

- show the interviewee the 7 beer labels noted above [on .ppt screen without description]

-allow the interviewee to address them/pick out what they want to comment on.

What do these images [labels] say/mean to you?

- Can you explain why?

Was bedeuten Ihnen diese Etiketten?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Che significano per lei queste etichette?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[i] *[Show images on .ppt screen now with all language descriptions]
Allow interviewee some time to read the accompanying text*

[ii] **What are your thoughts on what these labels evoke?**

- Which language(s) did you read?

- [if more than one]: Which was the first language that you read?

Was sind Ihre Gedanken in Bezug darauf, was sie hervorrufen?

- Welche Sprache(n) haben Sie gelesen?

- [wenn mehrere]: Welche Sprache haben Sie als erstes gelesen?

Che pensa lei delle etichette e che loro provocano?

- Che lingua/ lingue ha letto?

- [se più di una]: Quale lingua ha letto per prima?

What other cultures are there in ... (region/area/valley)?

Was für andere Kulture gibt es ... (in der Region/in der Ortschaft/im Tal)?

Quale altre culture ci sono (nella regione, nel territorio, nella valle)?

What do you think makes your culture different from any other cultures in ... (region/area/valley)?

- Can you explain why?

Wie unterscheidet sich Ihre Kultur von anderen Kulturen ... (in der Region/in der Ortschaft/im Tal)?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Perché la sua cultura è diversa dalle altre culture ... (nella regione, nel territorio, nella valle)?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[note: potential links to Werner's comments about Italian/German affinities]

What characteristics does your culture share with others?

- Can you explain why?

Welche Eigenschaften teilt Ihre Kultur mit anderen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali caratteristiche condivide la sua cultura con le altre?

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[note: potential links to Werner's comments about Italian/German affinities]

Do you also feel any affinity to ... or ... (any participant-named other culture)?

- Can you explain why?

Empfinden Sie eine Affinität zu ... oder ... (einer anderen vom Teilnehmer erwähnten Kultur)

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Si sente qualche affinità con ... o ... (una altra cultura nominata dal partecipante)

- Potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

[D] Toponymy / Linguistic Landscape / Territoriality

[shaping/constructing/affirming identity]

How important is it to see Ladin in the environment (such as place names/and on signage)?

- Can you explain why?

Wie wichtig ist es, Ladinisch in der Sprachenlandschaft (zB Ortsnamen u/o Beschilderung) zu sehen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quanto è importante di vedere il ladino nello scenario linguistico (come la toponomastica o/e la segnaletica)

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

PROMPT CARDS [4] – PLACE NAMES.

- show the interviewee the signage from the linguistic landscape [on .ppt screen without description]
- include signage from all provinces

- Is there anything about any of the signs that you would like to comment on?
- Wollen Sie Kommentare darauf geben, was die Beschilderung angeht?
- Vorrebbe soffermarsi sulla toponomastica?

[the order of language – **don't push or probe further here** (this comes last as a question) – want to see if this is noticed without prompting. Answers will be different in different valleys due to different laws/protections].

Where would you say is it important to see or use Ladin? (Home, school, government, environment ...)

- Can you explain why?

Wo, würden Sie sagen, ist es wichtig, ladinisch zu sehen oder zu verwenden? (Zu Hause, Schule, Regierung/Amt, Umwelt...)

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Dov'è importante, pensa, vedere o usare il ladino? (a casa, scuola, governo/amministrazione, ambiente...)

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

In what language order should place names appear on multilingual signage?

- Can you explain why?

In welcher Reihenfolge sollen die Ortsnamen auf mehrsprachiger Beschilderung erscheinen?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

In quale ordine i nomi del luogo devono apparire nella segnaletica plurilingua?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What does the term 'Ladinia' mean?

- Where is Ladinia?
- Can you tell me something about Ladinia?

Was bedeutet der Begriff 'Ladinien'?

- Wo ist Ladinien?
- Können Sie mir etwas über Ladinien erzählen?

Che significa il termine 'Ladinia'?

- Dov'è Ladinia?
- Può raccontarmi un po' di ladina?

... and finally, und schließlich, e finalmente

What positive developments have there been for the Ladin language and/or culture in your lifetime?

- Can you explain why?

Welche positiven Entwicklungen bezüglich der ladinischen Sprache u/o Kultur sind während ihres Lebens stattgefunden?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali sviluppi positivi vi sono stati concernente la lingua e/o la cultura ladina durante la sua vita?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

What negative developments have there been for the Ladin language and/or identity in your lifetime?

- Can you explain why?

Welche negativen Entwicklungen bezüglich der ladinischen Sprache u/o Kultur sind während ihres Lebens stattgefunden?

- Können Sie mir erklären warum?

Quali sviluppi negativi vi sono stati concernente la lingua e/o la cultura ladina durante la sua vita?

- potrebbe spiegarmi perché?

Finally, what made you decide to participate in the project?

Schließlich, warum haben Sie sich entschieden, am Projekt teilzunehmen?

Finalmente, perché ha deciso di partecipare a questa ricerca?

- END -

Ladin Language and Identity – English Version

[B] Language

PROMPTCARDS [1] – LADIN BEER LABELS [language specific]

No4 MEDIA & No9 DICTIONARY

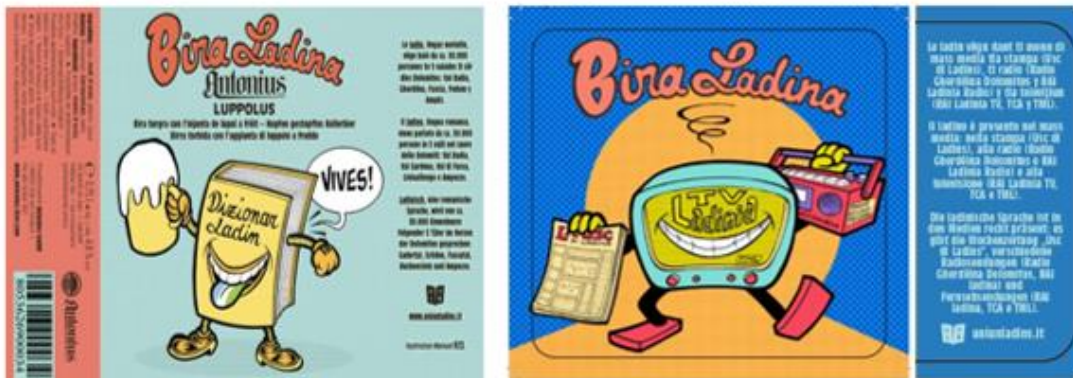
- reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview.

Question 14:

Have you ever seen this beer campaign?

- show the interviewee the Antonius 3 bottle campaign image then
- show the interviewee the 2 beer labels noted above.





Question 15:

What do these labels mean to you?

- Can you explain why?

- Which language(s) did you read?

- [if more than one]: Which was the first language that you read?

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 str. Stufles 20, 39030 San Martin de Tor, tel. 349/2150164, info@uniunladins.it
 Le ciantun dla Uniun
 UNIUŊ LADINS VAL BADIA
 Lingua y cultura

“Mies prömes parores” ti vëgn scinché a düc i scolaris dl pröm ann

La Cassa Raiffeisen Val Badia ti scinca a düc i mituns y a dötes les mitans dla Val Badia y da Fodom che va te pröma le liber “Mies prömes parores”

Con chësta azion accompagnä la Cassa Raiffeisen Val Badia i mituns y les mitans te chëc so vare dla vita tan important. Ara i fej inaciö na gran ligretta al mituns y da la grë n sostëgn concret al arricchimënt cultural dandän partì fora n liber che fej

güi vëta da imparé i lingas, dantadöt le lingas ladins. Vëgni scolar y scolaris po jì cunt le bonn ciutë por posta y iu ciutë tres la scora a se tö debann la scinconda pro öna dies portines dla Cassa Raiffeisen fina ala fin de otober 2014.

I onun porchëll tö focalim da ringrazié la Cassa Raiffeisen Val Badia por la sensibëlità devers di lingas y dla cultura y por le sostëgn al'atività d'Uniuŋ Ladins Val Badia.

Michael Moling
President



PROMPT CARDS [2] – Mies Prömes Parores

Question 16:

Have you seen this project before?

- What do you think about this?

- Is this a good thing?

- Can you explain why?



Ladin Language and Identity – English Version

[D] Linguistic Landscape

Toponymy signage

PROMPT CARDS [3] – SIGNAGE [language specific]

- show the interviewee the signage from the linguistic landscape - include signage from all provinces

[Of interest is the order of language – don't push or probe for this here (this comes last as a question) –see if this is noticed without prompting or probing. Answers may be different in different valleys due to different laws/protections].

Question 40:

Is there anything about any of the signs that you would like to comment on?

[A]



[B]



[C]



[D]



[E]



[F]





Ladin Language and Identity – English Version

[E] Culture

PROMPT CARDS [4] – LADIN BEER LABELS [culture specific]

No1 WW1; No2 EGGS; No3 FANES; No4 St WJOP; No5 K LANZ; & No6 FLAG.

[History, Tradition, Myth, Religion, Symbolic Figure, Symbolic]

[These include both references to Language, Identity and wider culture. Cross-reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview].

- reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview.

Let me show you some other beer campaign labels...

- show the interviewee the 6 remaining beer labels noted above.

APPENDIX 5.1

Bira Ladina Antonius KELLERKRAUT
 Birra targa invecchiata con erbes – Auf Kräutern gelagertes Kellerbier
 Birra torbida invecchiata e aromatizzata alle erbe

Antonius

0,75l e ac. 100. 4,8 % vol.

8053626900065

www.antonius.it

Illustrator Manuel RIZ

Catarina Lanz d'Al Pian, loco conosciuta scöliche "Jona de Spiner", è l'eroina ladina dies batalles di 1797 di tirolesc contra la Francia.

Catarina Lanz di San Vigilio di Marebbe, anche nota come la "ragazza di Spinga", è l'eroina ladina ð delle battaglie per la libertà del Tirolo contro la Francia nel 1797.

Katharina Lanz aus St. Vigil in Ebnoberg, bekannt auch als "Heldensmädchen von Spinger", ist eine Symbolfigur der Tiroler Freiheitskämpfe gegen Frankreich im Jahre 1797.

Bira Ladina Antonius HOLZHACKER
 Birra targa invecchiata con roo – Auf Eichen gelagertes Kellerbier
 Birra torbida invecchiata e aromatizzata in rovere

Antonius

0,75l e ac. 100. 4,8 % vol.

8053626900058

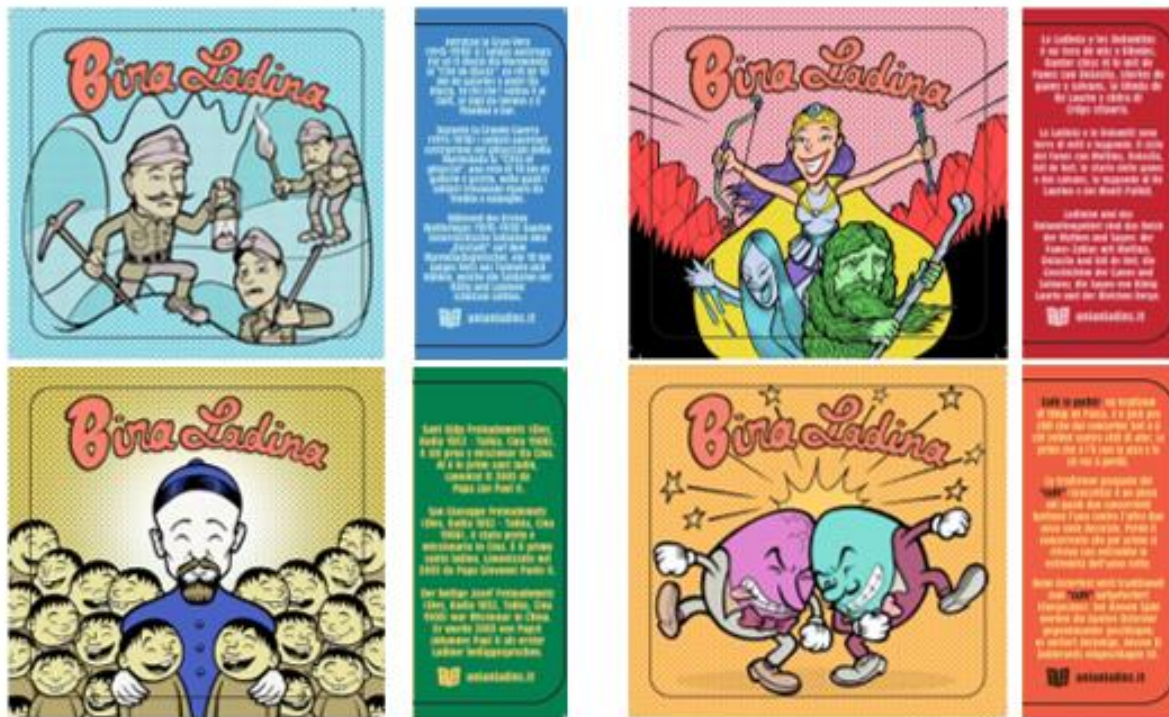
www.antonius.it

Illustrator Manuel RIZ

La bandiera ladina nasc di 1920 canche 70 rappresentac ladins v'ò abiné per proteste contra la despartizion di grup linguistich ladins in 3 provincies, se damaan le dirt de autodeterminazion. La bröc rappresente la cil, la bianch la alü y la vürt i pra.

La bandiera ladina nasce nel 1920 in occasione di una protesta di 70 rappresentanti ladini contro la divisione del gruppo linguistico ladino in 3 provincie, chiedendo il diritto all'autodeterminazione. Il celeste rappresenta il cielo, il bianco la neve e il verde i prati.

Die ladinische Fahne wurde 1920 eingeführt, als 70 ladinische Vertreter gegen die Aufteilung der ladinischen Sprachgruppe in 3 Provinzen protestierten und ein Recht auf Selbstbestimmung forderten. Die Farbe Blau steht für den Himmel, Weiß für die Schnee und Grün für die Wiesen.



Ladin Language and Identity – English Version

[E] Culture

PROMPTCARDS [4] – LADIN BEER LABELS [culture specific]

No1 WW1; No2 EGGS; No3 FANES; No4 St LUOP; No5 K LANZ; & No6 FLAG.

[History, Tradition, Myth, Religion, Symbolic Figure, Symbolic]

[These include both references to Language, identity and wider culture. Cross-reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview].

- reference and analyse the answers given here with related questions elsewhere in the interview.

Question 44:

What are your thoughts on what these labels evoke?

- Can you explain why?

- Which language(s) did you read?

- [if more than one]: Which was the first language that you read?