

**BILINGUALISM IN BOLZANO-BOZEN:
A NEXUS ANALYSIS**

by

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A thesis submitted to the University of
Birmingham for the degree of DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY

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Justice
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January 2016

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Abstract

This study is about discourses of bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen, Italy, and what they reveal about language, identity, hegemony and the production of social space.

The theoretical and methodological framework I use is Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics: approaches developed by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2004 and 2003, respectively). These approaches have revealed how and why place names, their public placement, Fascist-era monuments and bilingual education maintained a constant presence, under broader discourses on bilingualism, during the research period.

Nexus Analysis focuses on social action and Geosemiotics pays meticulous attention to fundamental aspects of signs, including where they are in the material world, and how social actors interact with them. This has led to an investigation of the historical past, and how this is represented, understood and indexed in the present by those who align (or not) to ideologies of language and nation. In the complex multilingual context of this study, this approach has revealed how such ideologies are mobilized to contest ownership of geographic place and to make social space.

I have traced discourses across disparate discursive genres, to reveal the complex interrelationships between language and other social semiotic data in discourses on bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen through time, and across space.

Dedication

To Sheila, Rick, Barbara and Frida – in the order that I got to know them.

And to Billy, wherever he may be.

Acknowledgements

There are many who have had an impact on what is contained within these pages: some directly, others indirectly. I would like to thank all those who have participated, listened (sometimes baffled) and shared their experiences, their lives, generously, in order to help me to understand. Special thanks go to those members of Polyglot, whose interventions and successes in the struggle to break down barriers and extend bilingual education in the Autonomous Province of Bozen-Bolzano are noteworthy.

Thanks also must go to Carla Giacamozi and Hannes Obermair of the Bolzano-Bozen City Archives, who gave generously of their time and knowledge – both of which I hold precious. From the academic world, first mention must also go to sociology lecturer Dai Jenkins (and his little black dress), who started me on the road to thinking about social issues, long ago at Dudley College of Technology. Others include Prof. Marilyn Martin-Jones, whose energy, passion and interventions have made a difference on more than one occasion; and Julia De Bres – who was a friend indeed, when I was in need.

But my final, warm and life-long thanks go to my supervisor, Prof. Adrian Blackledge. His interest, insight and willingness to engage have shown me what it is to be a scientist; his counsel, flexibility and approachableness made the most difficult periods of this journey bearable.

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CHAPTER ONE

BOZEN-BOLZANO & PROVINCE AS (SOCIAL) SPACE THROUGH TIME

1.0 Introduction

*Suso in Italia bella giace un laco,
a piè de l'Alpe che serra Lamagna
sovra Tiralli, c'ha nome Benaco.*

*High up, in lovely Italy, beneath
the Alps that shut in Germany above
Tirolo, lies a lake known as Benaco*

Inferno, XX, lines 61-3. Dante Alighieri. In Mandelbaum 1980

*For anyone living outside South Tyrol, it might prove difficult at times to
understand the heated debate that sometimes reaches the first pages of the
local newspapers concerning linguistic rights...*

Fraenkel-Haeberle 2008:259

The insightful comment above by Fraenkel-Haeberle provides a useful expression of what can be a weekly or even daily occurrence of linguistic controversy in the Province of Bolzano-Bozen. *Language ideological debates* (after Blommaert 1999) touch almost every aspect of the daily life of the people who live in the province of Bolzano-Bozen and

are governed by its laws, policies and regulations. Many of these have been hard fought over on all sides of a social divide which is presented as being about ethnicity, and yet is expressed in and through language. These cover issues from infancy, regarding kindergarten, through one's entire scholastic career; the Judiciary, law-making and law enforcement instruments of the state; housing; health; place names; (declared) linguistic identity and resultant employment possibilities.

To continue this opening, I turn now to an example of such a newspaper headline (see Appendix A for the full article):

PD & SVP: Preliminary Agreement Reached on Multilingualism

**Tommasini & Theiner: Working Group on language learning. On the
Fascist monuments, disempowering & historicising to go ahead.
Agreement also on toponymy.**

By Maurizio Dallago

(L'Alto Adige 1st March 2011. Front page. My translation)

I resist the temptation to pre-empt what comes later, suffice to say that by the time this article was published I had already begun focussing on the three issues indicated in the summary text under the article title, and it is these three issues which are each treated individually in the data chapters.

I confess, that at the early stages of research, as I participated in life in the province, living and working mainly in the provincial capital of Bozen-Bolzano, as I talked to colleagues (“native” and “imported”, like myself), as I trawled through public discourse, I found myself drawn especially to discourse on language and education. This rich area provided and would have gone on to provide much material from which to construct a thesis. However there was always the sense that there was more to be grappled with, themes which by themselves were not directly, or obviously linked (at least not to this naive researcher) to bi- and multilingualism but which were in some way contiguous with it. I reached a point at which I had to finally see the wood in the trees, so to speak, and accept that, if I wished to discuss bi-/multilingualism (most often the terms are used synonymously) in Bolzano-Bozen in any meaningful way, and not simply talk about language in education, I would have to embrace these elements: elements which might be considered beyond the traditionally linguistic object of study. Still being near the beginning of the ethnographic research process it was, as Blommaert and Dong wryly note, a scary thing indeed (2010:1).

1.1 The Research Question(s)

And so to the research question addressed in this thesis which emerged from the data; the formulation of which was a process which evolved over the period of data collection

and engagement with the spatio-temporal context of the study. My initial *pathfinder* question was quite simply: *What is going on in Bozen-Bolzano?* My initial answer was *something* to do with bilingualism. From there, I formulated the working question I really wanted to answer: *What does bilingualism “mean” in Bolzano-Bozen?* Or better:

During the period of research, when people have talked about bi- and multilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano, focusing their discussions on bilingual education, place names and Fascist-era monuments, what is being talked about? How and why are these themes not only connected, but central to discourses on bi- and multilingualism?

My interest as a sociolinguist is how these themes are not only connected, but central to discourses on bi- and multilingualism in the province. Everything which now follows is my attempt to unravel these knotted threads to answer the above question and see what this tells us about language in Bolzano-Bozen and South Tyrol-Alto Adige.

1.2 The Road Map for this Thesis

Altogether there are seven chapters in this thesis. In this chapter, I present the socio-historical context from which the data arrives: what Henri Lefebvre (1991) might consider the *social space*, through time.

In this chapter I provide a sketch of the city and province from which data has been collected. I begin with a snapshot from the present, in terms of physical geography and demography, the institutions and “social structures”: in the very broadest sense, the “here and now”. I then move swiftly to the historical: the “then and there”. I argue all of

these are elements which define the social space and give it form, or more accurately *forms*, in discourse and social action in the present.

I should state that I came to most of what is in this introductory chapter *ethnographically*, that is, I mostly began with the data in the chapters which follow and worked “outwards”, as I attempted to make sense of them. However at the time of commencement, I had no idea of all that had gone before. I arrived in Bolzano with imperfect language skills, but enough researcher intuition from my growing involvement with the context (see Verschueren 2012:21), and after previous research experience in the Bolivian Amazon, to realise that *something* was going on that I struggled to articulate clearly in my own mind. Thus, this entire chapter on the context of this study (the historical and present context) should not be seen simply as a prelude, or introduction to the main body of research that follows in later chapters. It is an integral part of the research and key to understanding the linguistic spaces that exist, their trajectories through time, and the continuing conflicts over language issues and the interpretation of the responses of participants. Instead, after Silverstein and Urban (1996:4), context, in the way it reconfigures “text”, and by the same token is reconfigured by it, should be very much taken as co-text.

So, everything that follows is about bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen: directly or indirectly.

To summarise, my interest is in discovering what bilingualism *means* in Bozen-Bolzano, or perhaps how language has been made to mean something in Bozen-Bolzano. In the broadest sense it is a discourse-orientated ethnography which looks beyond language and in which social action rather than language provides the starting point, for “unpeeling” this particular “onion” (after Ricento and Hornberger 1996). In German, the name of the

city is *Bozen*, in Italian it is *Bolzano*. Here, and throughout, I have chosen to use the names *Bozen-Bolzano* and *Bolzano-Bozen* as randomly and even-handedly as possible. The city is the capital of the Autonomous Province of Bozen-Bolzano, which is also called South Tyrol (or Südtirol)-Alto Adige. As I have already briefly shown, the naming of place is a sensitive issue in the autonomous province.

In chapter 2 I discuss the theoretical choices made and methodological approaches used, together with my reasons for doing so. Broadly, these fall within Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics: two related forms of ethnography developed by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2004 and 2003 respectively).

After these initial discussions I then move on to the data in chapters 3 to 5, following largely the contours of the newspaper article, presented above, to look individually at each of the three themes mentioned, in order to answer the research question.

Chapter 3 is concerned with discourses about bilingual education. Chapter 4 looks at how place names have been contested. Chapter 5 interrogates one particular Fascist-era monument – *Monumento alla Vittoria* – and its place in discourse about language in the province. By nature of the fact that these are three quite different data sets, requiring sometimes different analytic instruments and treatment, the discussions in these data chapters goes beyond presentation. Perhaps the one conceptual-analytic theme throughout these three chapters relates to historicity: this is a thesis in which the *historical* plays a fundamental part.

In chapter 6, I draw together the individually presented data sets to provide a composite analysis and an over-arching answer to the over-arching research question. I look to

interrogate the relationship between language (or what social actors hold language to be) and social space.

The final chapter, chapter 7, is a reflection on my journey through the entire research process itself. Here I seek to highlight what I have learnt as a researcher along this path, indicating strengths and weaknesses. I also indicate the possible future directions for further research on bi/multilingualism in the context of South Tyrol-Alto Adige and what might be gleaned for other contexts, characterised by long periods of contact and conflict between speakers of what are considered to be different languages and with which speakers orientate to different socio-cultural worlds.

1.2 Bozen-Bolzano Here & Now

In recent years there has been scholarly interest in language-related issues in the province specifically, or as part of broader projects on language-learning or minority protection and rights. The following is by no means exhaustive, but I would argue they are worth mentioning since they give an idea of the type of research undertaken and the type of contiguous research questions asked thus far.

The most extensive are the Sprachbarometer-Barometro Linguistico or *Linguistic Barometer* 2004 and 2014 (ASTAT 2006 & 2015 respectively). Published by the provincial office for statistics, it is a rich quantitative (questionnaire-based) survey that is subtitled 'language use and linguistic identity in the Province of Bolzano-Bozen'. Therein one finds data related to language attitudes, how and in which type of school the second language

was learned, together with impressions of this process and linguistic life in general in the province.

Baur, Mezzalana and Pichler (2008) provide a comprehensive survey of provincial language and education policy since 1945. Abel, Vettori and Forer (2012) present the results from KOLIPSI, a quantitative research project undertaken jointly by linguists from the Bolzano-Bozen based research institute EURAC and social psychologists from the University of Trento, to assess the language competences of German- and Italian-speaking high school students (explicitly referencing the Common European Framework of Reference for Language). The project was also concerned with what it referred to as extra-linguistic 'psycho-social' factors which impact on language learning, presenting itself as the first piece of research of its kind conducted in the province. Methodologically speaking, the project involved some 1,200 questionnaires, together with language assessment testing for participants. Thus the project was very much concerned with language competence and the factors which affect this.

Forer, Paladino, Vettori and Abel (2008) discuss the more qualitative pilot research which set the direction for the KOLIPSI project. Forer et al. (*ibid*) describe how the questions asked in the KOLIPSI project are outcomes of a series of semi-structured interviews with sixteen 'privileged observers' of the South Tyrolean education system (consisting of politicians, journalists, teachers, academic staff and public servants), which formed the basis for the questions asked in the questionnaire survey administered in the KOLIPSI project.

However, what is missing in our understanding in the study of language in education in Bozen-Bolzano, I would strongly argue, is any serious ethnography which empirically examines what discourses on language index as composite parts of broader discursive economies. So whilst the chapters in Woelk, Palermo and Marko (2008), to cite another example, provide a comprehensive survey of many of the contextual complexities of life in the province, very much from a minority rights perspective, the volume is still very much compartmentalised between traditional disciplinary perspectives such as political science, sociology or international jurisprudence.

The aim of the following section of this chapter is to provide the *present* context in which members of each linguistic group officially recognized in South Tyrol must live. As will be demonstrated further on, the link between the past and the present is inescapable. It not only influences the attitudes and perceptions of and towards the *others*, i.e. the speakers of the other legally-recognised languages, it governs the political, and thereby the social life of the province. These wide-ranging issues have a direct bearing on the lives of everyone who lives in South Tyrol, who must navigate their way through the constantly evolving complex arrangements that are in place to protect the linguistic, ethnic and cultural rights of each group. It should also be carefully noted that these rights are not applied to *individuals*, but instead apply to *groups*, defined in law by language spoken, and they are rights that were only obtained through the international mediation of the United Nations.

To understand the present situation Fraenkel-Haeberle (2008:259) is explicit that this is only possible through an understanding of the historical developments, especially since

the beginning of the 20th century. Whilst broadly agreeing with this, I would argue that the residue of a more distant past is often not far below the surface of discourse and social action in the present, and should very much be considered in analysis.

What follows is an orientation to the geography, demography and institutions which make the province and the city. These elements will be returned to and built on and approached from different perspectives as the data are presented and analysed. I begin by locating the city and the province in the physical world.

1.2.1 Geographic Considerations

The city of Bolzano-Bozen is the provincial capital of the Autonomous Province of Bozen-Bolzano, and is the northernmost in the Republic of Italy. Somewhat confusingly, the province is also known as Südtirol (South Tyrol) in German and Alto Adige (Upper Adige) in Italian. The Autonomous Province of Bozen-Bolzano is in turn part of the Region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol. It is an Alpine province which borders Austria to the north, Switzerland to the west and covers a surface area of 7,400km². Internal to the Republic of Italy, the Province has its sister province Trentino to the south, Lombardy in the west and Veneto to the east (see the map in Figure 1)

1.2.2 Demographic Considerations

At the last census (2011), the population of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen stood at 504,643, with the population of the city of Bozen-Bolzano at 102,575 (Benvenuto & Gobbi 2013:8). It is a province in which three languages are recognised as official: German, Italian and Ladin. The speakers of Ladin, also known as Rhaeto-Romansche, are concentrated in a zone on the west of the province.



Figure 1 Map of the Republic of Italy with the geographic area in question circled (adapted from mapsopensource.com)

1.2.3 “Ethnolinguistic” Considerations

According to the *Barometro Linguistico* 2014 (ASTAT 2015), in terms of language speakers, in the city of Bozen-Bolzano 73.8% are declared Italian-speakers, 25.5% German-speakers and just under 0.7% are Ladin-speakers. In the Autonomous Province of Bozen-Bolzano as a whole the figures are somewhat different, with just over 69.41% being declared German-speakers, 26.06% Italian-speakers and 4.53% Ladin-speakers. This means that out of a total population for the province of 504,643, 131,510 are declared Italian-speakers and of these 75,700 live in the city of Bolzano-Bozen., or almost 58% of all Italian speakers in the province.

The *knowing* of ethnolinguistic proportionality is through the results of the Italian national census, conducted every ten years. In the census carried out in South Tyrol, there is a section in which residents, over the age of eighteen, must declare their linguistic affiliation. The legal basis for this declaration is the Special Statute of Autonomy (1972), although this has been amended/extended five times since 1972 (1976, 1981, 1991, 2002 and 2005. Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008:226-7). The two most recent amendments allow greater data protection for respondents. As of 2005, the declaration of linguistic affiliation consists of three copies. The first copy is a personal declaration (i.e. containing the respondent’s name), kept at the Court of Bolzano in a sealed envelope. Under the law DL 99 of 2005, this envelope may only be opened when the person who made the declaration is applying for a job in the public administration and must demonstrate her linguistic affiliation to ascertain *linguistic* eligibility, under the system of proportionality which governs employment in the public sector. The law strictly pronounces that the envelope may not be opened other than in situations foreseen

under the law DL 99 (2005). The second copy, i.e. the anonymous declaration, is collected by the province (via the municipalities) and the data used in compiling statistics and ascertaining the ethnolinguistic mix of the province. The third copy is kept by the person who made the declaration. Up until the reform of 2005, residents had to reassert their 'official' linguistic identity with every national census (i.e. every ten years). The innovation of the 2005 reform is that today only the anonymous declaration is obligatory. Residents do not have to declare their linguistic affiliation anew; the declaration made in the 2001 census (and held by the courts of Bolzano) will continue to be valid as long as the respondent does not wish to make changes. Residents of the province are, however, free to change their linguistic affiliation on the following national census. If this is the case, the sealed envelopes held by the Court of Bolzano will be replaced by the updated declaration. Residents of the province may also change their personal declaration outside the national census framework. Although it should be pointed out that this will have no effect on the officially recognized ethnolinguistic mix of the province (i.e. the statistics used for deciding the allocation of financial resources between the language groups). Individuals are free to change their personal declaration after five years: that is, a new declaration is possible after three years, but will not come into effect for another two years after date of delivery. This delay mechanism is to minimise individuals making opportunistic declarations to obtain funding specific to a language group or engineering eligibility for public administration employment opportunities. Exceptions to the timeframes above are when a person reaches the age of eighteen, or when a person moves to the province. In these cases, the person has one year to declare themselves and the declaration comes into force immediately (Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008:227-8).

Another innovation of the 2005 reform was the addition of the possibility to make a personal declaration of one's linguistic affiliation as *other* (i.e. not Italian, German nor Ladin). However, for the purposes of allocation of resources, it is still obligatory to declare to which group (i.e. Italian, German nor Ladin) one wishes to be considered associated with. This was seen as a means of protecting individuals' freedom of expression, whilst at the same permitting the continuance of the quota system of distributing resources and public jobs and even in the allocation of appointments to the province's political executive.

Although making conflicting declarations, or modifying declarations outside what one would consider to be a truthful representation are not encouraged, no sanctions exist for such actions. Thus, a person could make up to four different declarations as to their linguistic affiliation (*ibid:230*).

For residents of South Tyrol who are under eighteen, it is possible to make a declaration as early as fourteen under parental guidance. In situations where parents disagree as to the young person's language group, the parents can decide not to make a declaration until the person reaches eighteen and can legally decide for themselves (*ibid:229*).

Freedom to declare (or not) ones linguistic affiliation, as discussed above, has different effects on an individual's rights when a person wishes to stand for public office. In these cases, an individual must disclose which language group they have declared themselves to belong to before election. The reasoning behind this, as mentioned above, is that appointments to the political executive must adhere to the quota/proportional system. This situation has provoked recourse to the courts, one of the most notable cases being

that of Alexander Langer in 1995. Langer, a leader of the Green Party and vigorously active in promoting inter (linguistic) group relations in South Tyrol, was not permitted to stand as Mayor of Bolzano because he had refused to declare his linguistic affiliation in the 1991 census (Peterlini 2007:278-9). In 2005, election laws were modified to allow declarations at the moment of candidature. Regardless, the structure of legislation can be seen to have a detrimental effect on the individual's privacy and at least impede their right to stand for public office (Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008:229-30).

One final aspect which should be born in mind relates to the early years of life of residents of the province, thrown into relief by the Barometro Linguistic-Sprachbarometer (2015:39). As Figure 2 shows, whilst there nearly all German and Ladin speakers spent their early years in the autonomous province, this figure falls to a little less than 2/3 for Italian speakers, indicating that a sizeable proportion arrived from other parts of Italy. The term "mother-tongue" is the one used by the *Barometro*. The final figure, for people who described themselves as "mistilingue" ("mixed-language, i.e. from bilingual homes) falls somewhere between the two. It should be remembered here that *describing* and *declaring* are not synonymous: there is no way to legally *declare* oneself bilingual under the Statute of Autonomy (1972).

1.2.4 Immigration

In recent years the immigrant "community" (i.e. those originally from outside Italy), from 136 different countries (Benvenuto & Gobbi 2013:10 – ASTAT Info 17/2013), has grown considerably: approximately seven-fold, to around 42,500, or 8.3% of the population, over the previous twenty years (ASTAT 2013:2. See figure 3). Almost 14,000 of these live

in the city of Bolzano-Bozen (ibid 48). "Community" is a clumsy descriptor, in that the immigrant population is made up of people from different parts of the world including Africa, the Indian sub-continent and Western and Eastern Europe.

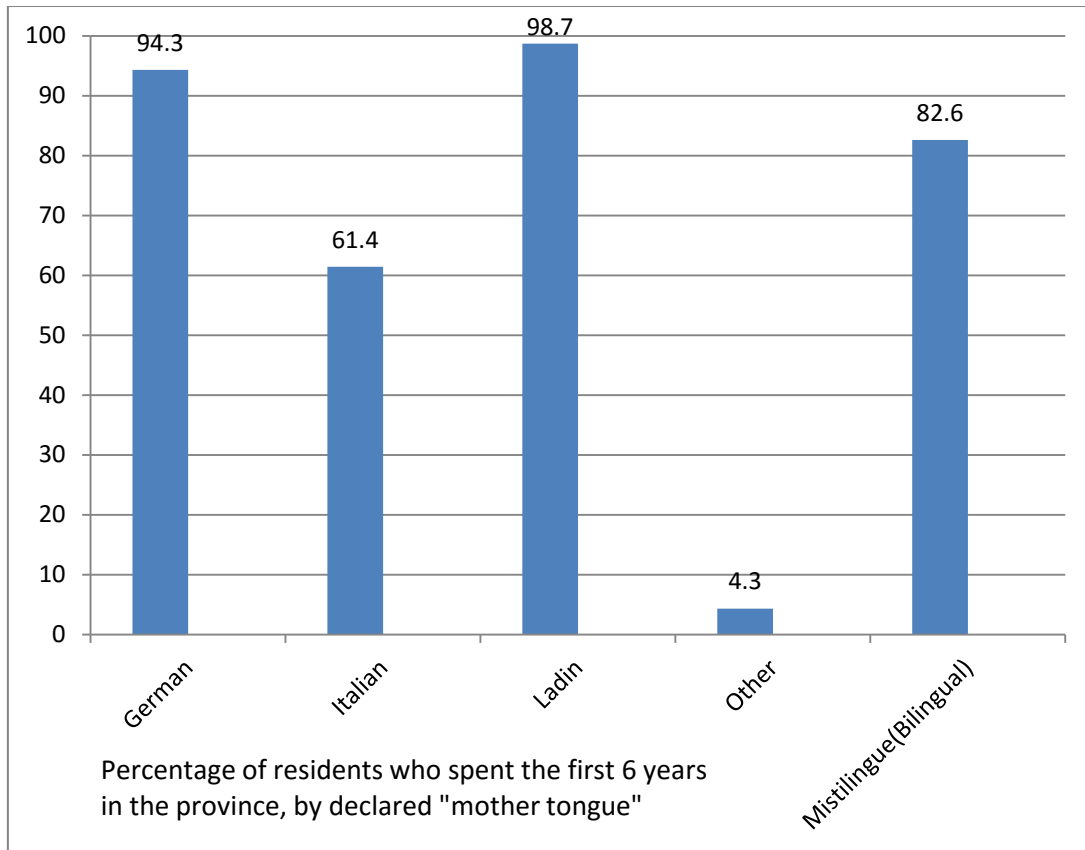


Figure 2 Percentage of residents who spent the first 6 years in the province, by declared "mother tongue"

(Adapted from Barometro Linguistico-Sprachbarometer 2014 (2015:38-39))

Although making up a small but growing minority, the assimilationist nature of life in the province means that their impact on linguistic matters appears minimal, for example there are no facilities for mother tongue education, nor is there much in the way of institutional facilitation that allows for public discourse in the *non-official* languages of

South Tyrol (Italian, German and Ladin). As an aside, when taken together, the largest number of in-migrants is from German-speaking countries (Austria and Germany. See figure 4).

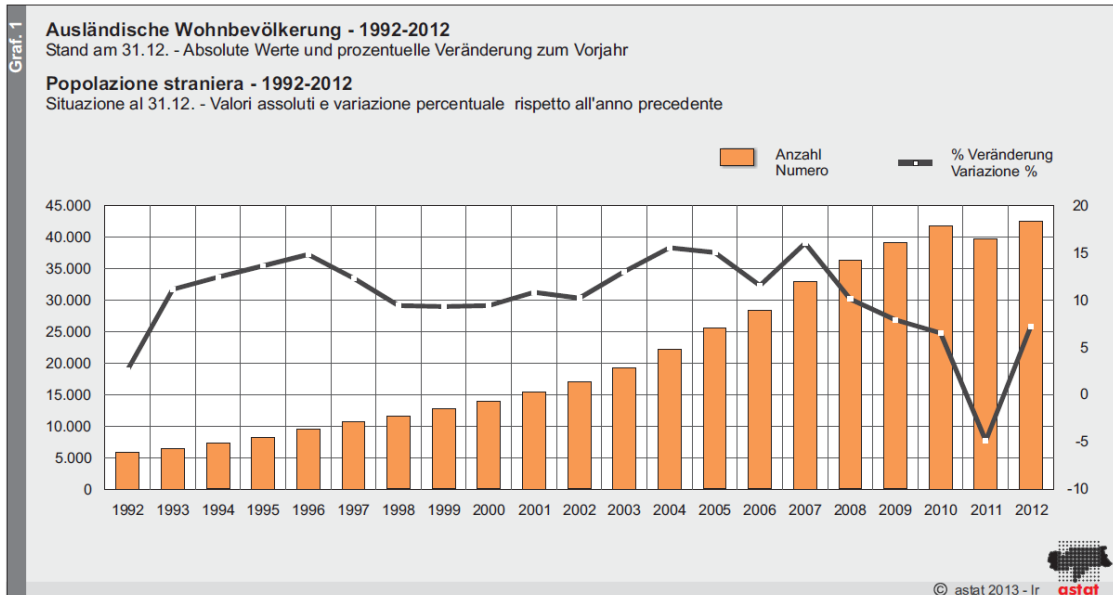


Figure 3 Foreign residents by citizenship in 2012 (adapted from ASTAT Info 71 09 2013:2)

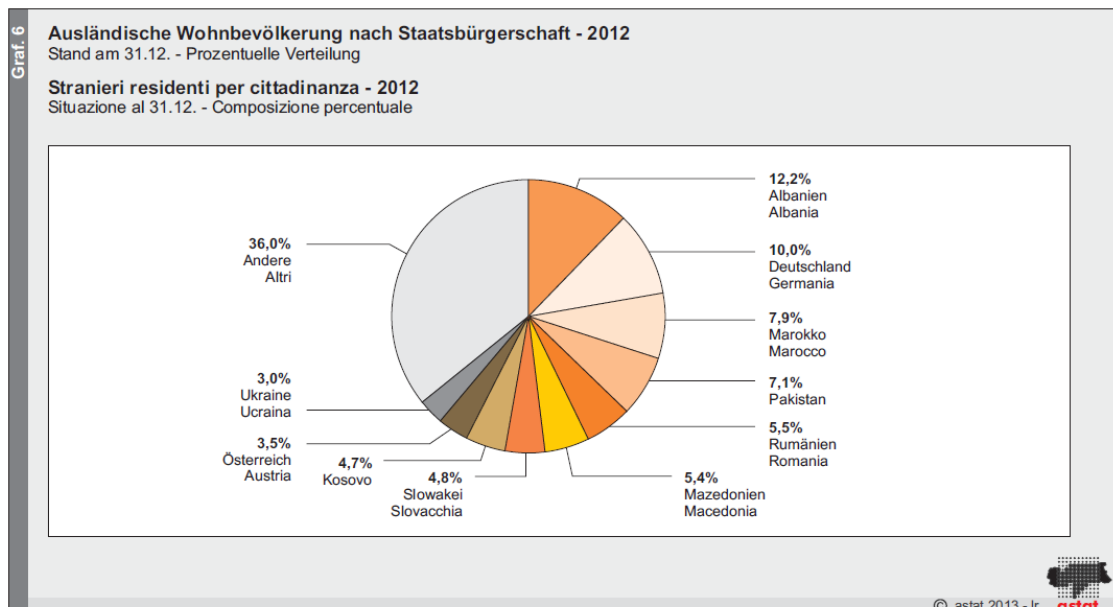


Figure 4 Foreign residents by citizenship in 2012 (adapted from ASTAT Info 71 09 2013: 10)

In this thesis, I have elected to not focus on issues of language and migration, nor the Ladin linguistic minority. To exclude these two extremely important, and indeed interesting areas of study, was a difficult decision to make. I justify the exclusion of Ladin, for the simple reason there is little presence in the city of Bolzano. Excluding language and migration is more difficult to justify, however the situation with established minorities, that is, German and Italian-speakers, is so complex that there is an issue of space and focus in this thesis. The added complexity of language and migration require, I would argue, focused study in its own right (see final chapter for future research directions).

1.2.5 Political System & Institutions

The political system in South Tyrol-Alto Adige is one of complex power sharing, developed due to the particular nature of the past ethnic conflict and the intervention of the international community. In political science, the system, or model of government in the province is known as *consociational democracy*, which followed after a process of *dissociative conflict resolution* (see Markusse 1997, Wolff 2008 Pallaver 2014).

Dissociative refers to the process of separating conflictual groups in order to find a “negative peace”, one in which there is an absence of personal violence and where groups are socially and spatially separated (Pallaver 2014:2-3). *Consociational* refers to an approach to governance developed to avoid territorial break up in places where there are inter-ethnic conflicts (Markus 1997:77). As Markus describes it, ‘[t]he theory on consociational democracy describes a type of political and societal order enabling the

accommodation and control of seriously conflicting interests in so-called plural or culturally segmented societies.' (1997:78). As applied in Bozen-Bolzano, there are four key features:

- The legally recognised language groups are represented in the autonomous provincial government and subordinate organisations;
- Linguistic groups retain decision-making autonomy in relation to questions not of common interest;
- The presence of each language group is present in political organs and (provincial) public administration through a system of proportional representation; and
- Each language group retains the power of veto to defend their vital interests

(Adapted from Pallaver 2014:6-7)

As Fraenkel-Haeblerle underscores, these rights pertain to groups rather than individuals (2008:274) and, as we have seen, the notion of ethnicity is conflated with language.

The provincial government is controlled by Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP), who holds an absolute majority. SVP, according to the party's constitution, represents the interests of the German and Ladin speaking groups. The nature of the political system in the Province of Bolzano can be defined as *ethnoregionalist*, that is, people generally vote along ethnic lines. In the case of Italy, although the term *ethnic* is used to describe minorities, the correct legal term, under the law DL 482/1999, is *linguistic minorities*. Thus the ethnic and cultural nature of politics in South Tyrol this is defined through linguistic identity (Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008:226-7; Pallaver 2014). The mechanisms to safeguard the rights of each linguistic group in the Province of Bolzano mean that SVP must include at least two Italian speakers in the eleven person provincial cabinet. Thanks to a law

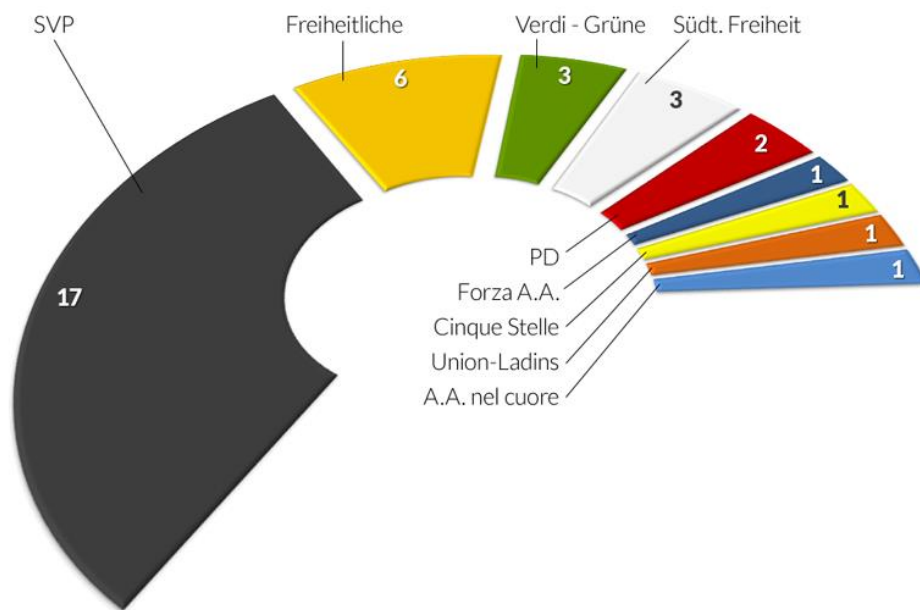
introduced 31st January 2001, Ladins may be included, even if their appointment proportionally over-represents them with regards to their numerical presence in the territory.

Table 1 shows how the main political parties are seen by Pallaver (2009), a political scientist who specialises in the province's political system. He divides the main parties by whether they have a presence in the national political scene (i.e. fielding candidates in other places in Italy) or are solely based in the province and region. It should be noted however that these regional parties may still send deputies and senators to the national parliament in Rome, as Südtiroler Volkspartei does. Pallaver also differentiates between those who aim themselves at particular language groups and those who seek to appeal across the ethnic/linguistic boundaries. The only regional party aimed specifically at Italian-speakers is Unitalia.

Regional/National Concentration			
		Regional	National
Ethnic (linguistically) Orientated	Yes	Südtiroler Volkspartei, Freiheitliche, Süd Tiroler Freiheit, Union für Südtirol, Unitalia	
	No	Grüne Verdi Verc, Lega Nord	Popolo della Libertà, Partito Democratico/Demokratische Partei

Table 1 The Political Parties of South Tyrol Alto Adige. Adapted from Pallaver 2009:248

Table 2 shows how these main political parties fared in the 2008 election and the number of seats won for the period 2008-2013. Of the thirty-five seats in the autonomous provincial council, Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) won eighteen out of thirty-five, giving it a simple majority. However the complex arrangements described above mean that SVP must choose a coalition partner which has elected representatives from the Italian-speaking minority, although not necessarily from the party which gained the most seats. As such, SVP chose Il Partito Democratico (PD), a centre-left Italian party.



Party	Seats
SÜDTIROLER VOLKSPARTEI	18
DIE FREIHEITLICHEN	5
IL POPOLO DELLA LIBERTÀ BERLUSCONI	3
PD PARTITO DEMOCRATICO	2
VERDI GRÜNE VĚRC BÜRGER LISTE CIVICHE	2
SÜD-TIROLER FREIHEIT	2
UNION FÜR SÜDTIROL	1
LEGA NORD SÜDTIROL	1
UNITALIA MOVIMENTO INIZIATIVA SOCIALE	1

Table 2 Seats won by political party - Provincial Council 2008-2013. Adapted from www.retecivica.bz.it

1.3 From Then & There to Here & Now

Concepts can only be understood within the context of their times. This is even more true of whole perspectives, whose concepts have their meaning primarily in terms of each other, of how they make up a set.

(Wallerstein 2004:1)

In this section I look to present key events and people, from the distant past to the historical present. Or following Wallerstein above, I seek to identify the '*concepts...within the context of their times*', found during research, in discourse about language (but also territory) in the province. The aim is to illuminate what follows in the data chapters, rather than provide a chronological history of the geographic region, as interesting as that may be. I discovered and came to include this historical information in broadly two ways and although I cover the methodology in greater depth in the following chapter, it is worth a brief mention here. The first approach was through background reading at and near the beginning of the research process. The second approach was *ethnographic*, that is, by interrogating the data in the chapters that follow. This means that there is an emphasis, especially as we move closer to the present, on discourses and social action through time which focus on language and/in education, place names and the Fascist-era monuments which still stand in the province and city of Bolzano-Bozen.

The events, characters and ultimately ideas which are presented here have become deeply semiotic. They enter discourse, index something and *mean* something. However

what they *mean* today when compared to the past – what is remembered or forgotten, backgrounded or foregrounded – provides insight into the itineraries of certain discourses (after Scollon 2008), and the discourse processes themselves, as social action and discourse in the present index social action and discourse in the past, as exemplars of Bakhtinian chronotopes (Bakhtin 1981).

1.3.1 From the Roman Empire to the *Holy Roman Empire*

As John Cole and Eric Wolf note, in their classic ethnography *The Hidden Frontier* (1999), the earliest documented contact between the Germanic and Latin social worlds in the geographic area of this study can be pinpointed to 15 B.C. (Cole & Wolf 1999:29. See Appendix B for a timeline overview of the history of the region within the context of European history). In this year the Roman general Drusus Germanicus halted the Germanic tribes' southward push in what is now South Tyrol-Alto Adige (Alcock 1970:3). Although, as Cole and Wolf note (*ibid.*), the region was to become for the Romans *Rhaetia Secunda*, named after the predominant indigenous Rhaetian population. Drusus established a settlement and bridge, to be known as *Pons Drusii*. Colonists from Rome populated the zone, and the indigenous Rhaetian population absorbed Roman cultural influence and their language adapted to Latin, becoming Rhaeto-Romanic and later Ladin (Alcock 1970:4).

From around the 6th century A.D., after the fall of Rome, the region was increasingly inhabited by Germanic tribes, with the Latin (Ladin) population pushed into the Dolomite valleys (Cole & Wolf 1999:30).

The House of Tyrol flourished in the Middle Ages, gradually increasing its powerbase, from its provincial seat *Schloss Tirol* (Tyrol Castle, 40km from Bozen-Bolzano) until by the end of the 13th century, they controlled the entire *Tyrol* region, north and south, stretching to Trento, some 50km to the South of Bozen-Bolzano (Alcock 1970:5). By 1363 the Habsburgs, as Dukes of Austria *and* now also as the titular Counts of Tyrol specifically, gained control of the territory. Their dominion continued (almost) uninteruptedly until Austro-Hungary's collapse in 1919, at the end of the First World War (*ibid*: 6).

As we move into an era closer to our own, the 1600s take on particular significance. The work of rebuilding trade between Italy and Germany after the thirty years war was greatly facilitated in the 1630s through the particular intervention by the Archduchess of Tyrol, Claudia de' Medici (of the Florentine de' Medici dynasty). De' Medici is credited with instituting the *Magistrato Mercantile/Merkantilmagistrat* in Bolzano, in effect, a bilingual courts system (Alcock 1970:8). This progressive legal body was charged with the settling of trade disputes, especially between Italian- and German-speaking merchants. It was granted special legal and administrative powers, and was unique in that when the head of the court, the *Console*, was a German speaker, his two assistants, or *Councillors* had to be Italian speakers, and vice versa, with roles alternating periodically (*ibid*).

At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries the Habsburg Emperor attempted unsuccessfully to make German to the official language of the Empire, a situation which settled into a compromise whereby officials were required to speak the dominant language of the area they worked in and be bilingual in mixed areas (Alcock 1970:9). This period of imperial reform was complicated further in the Tyrol. As

Laurence Cole also notes (2000:481), the late eighteenth century was also a period in which the socio-political balance between the Tyrol's majority German-speakers and Italian-speaking minority (standing at around 16-17%) came under pressure, as Italian speakers sought to increase their own voice (including trade rights but also the use of Italian in education, legal and administrative contexts), effectively creating a three-way struggle. In fact, Cole argues (*ibid*) that the 1790s can be identified as the period in which the territorial identity of the Tyrol began to be discursively contested.

1.3.2 From the 19th Century to 1946: Italy, Tolomei and the Making of Italian *Social Space*

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Napoleon Bonaparte's expansion of the French Empire pushed into Habsburg territories in the north of Italy (Alcock 1970:9, Cole & Wolf 1999[1974]:47). After ceding the Tyrol to Napoleon, a rebel army, under the leadership of Andreas Hofer inflicted a number of defeats on Napoleon and his allies in 1809. Hofer was caught and executed at Mantua in 1809, becoming an iconic Tyrolean folk hero in the process. Yet as Hobsbawm points out, Hofer led a militia whose ranks included German, Italian and Ladin-speaking volunteers (1990:65). Not only, but the Tyroleans who took up arms, did so against Napoleon's German-speaking allies the Bavarians (*ibid.* 51)

As the nineteenth century progressed, there was a transformation in nationalist thinking and action resulting particularly from the earlier philosophical ideals of the French Revolution, placing the conservative catholic Habsburg Empire under considerable strain

(*ibid*: Chapter 4). Yet here we must be cautious in our interpretation of *nationalism*, as the new historiography of the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century is beginning to show (see for example Riall 2009, Banti 2009a). Specific to the Tyrol, Laurence Cole argues:

German-Tyrolean patriotism during this period was indeed firmly influenced by baroque Catholicism and a corporate, historically rooted, territorial sense of identity; yet through the expression of that patriotism and the experience of mobilization in the 1790s, new levels of regional and national consciousness were articulated. **This should not be taken to mean that the contemporary usage of 'nation' equates with what we understand under that term today: what we see instead is the emergence of a 'language of nationality', in which the import and significance of the national idea was multi-valent.**

(2000:497 my emphasis)

And if the language of nationality was beginning to find its way into discourse, it was also period where language itself became increasingly important for defining national and ethnic identity especially, Hobsbawm notes, in the Italian and German-speaking worlds (1990:102-103. See also Gal & Woolard 1995).

The Kingdom of Italy had only been founded in 1861 and the Italian *Risorgimento* (the *resurrection* or *resurgence* of Italy nationalist sentiment) continued beyond this (see Riall 2009). In fact Riall's (2009) monograph, *Risorgimento*, reaches broadly similar conclusions about the multi-valency of the language of nationalism, showing how it was adopted by conservatives and liberals, monarchists and republicans in the making of Italy as a political entity.

The nationalist sentiment which was growing and maturing in Europe, described by Hobsbawm, above, had specific implications in the southern part of the Habsburg Tyrol. With the advent of the twentieth century, as Grote shows, the southern Tyrol became a flashpoint for German and Italian-speaking nationalists within the Habsburg Empire into the early twentieth century, with attempts by German-speaking nationalist groups, such as the Tiroler Volksbund, to Germanise Italian speakers (2012:10-14). Figure 5 is a Tiroler Volksbund postcard from 1905, showing a sturdy hiking boot kicking out Italian nationalist ideas.

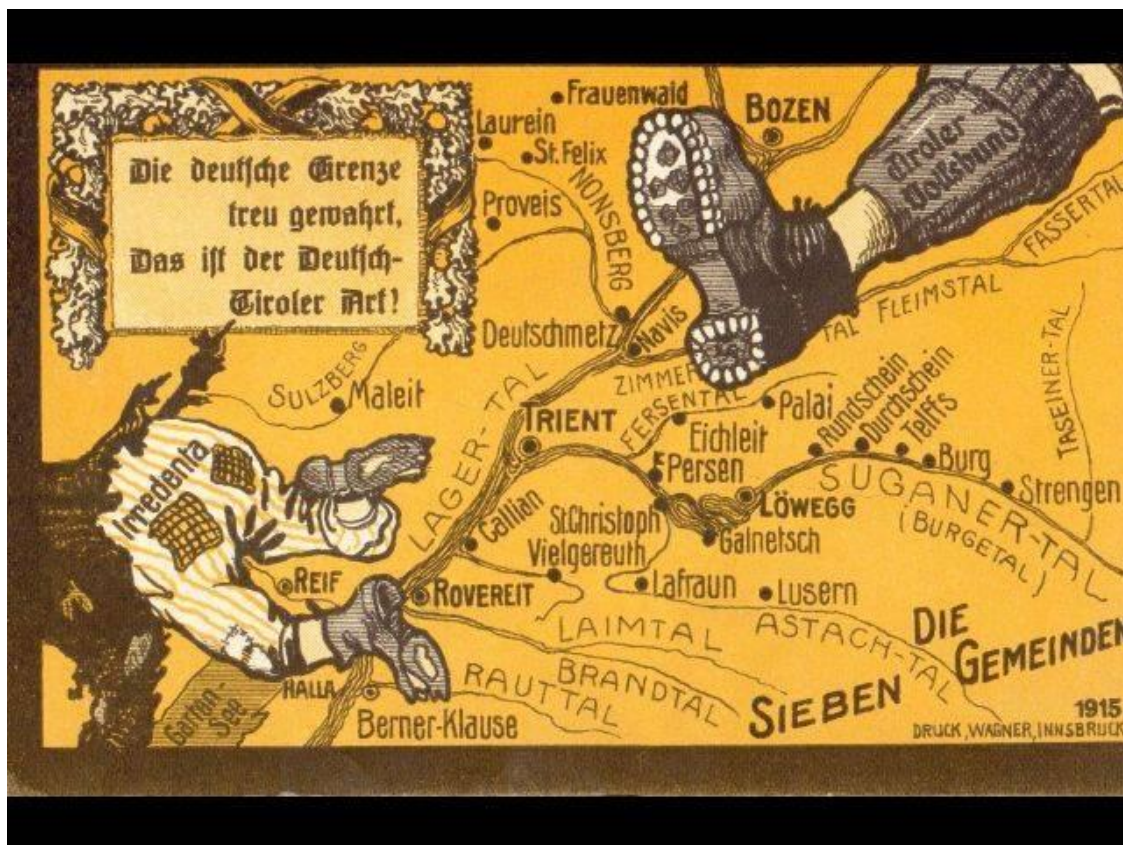


Figure 5 Tiroler Volksbund postcard showing from 1905. The caption reads: Die deutsche Grenze treu gewahrt, Das ist der Deutsch-Tiroler Art! The German [sic.] border respected, that is the German-Tyrolian profession! My Translation. From www.consiglio.provinci

3.2.1 Ettore Tolomei & the Discursive Construction of Alto Adige

Discussions thus far have focussed on broader issues and the development of discourses and events which led to reconceptualisations of nations, nationalism, and the placing of language within such discourse. Now I move to discuss one individual of particular significance in the context of this thesis: Ettore Tolomei (1865-1952). The motivation for such a move is that, as we shall see repeatedly in the data to be presented, Tolomei's name appears, reappears, is venerated and contested very much into the present. As I show later, attitudes towards Tolomei, his ideas and actions index directly the different positions and perceptions of the past and present in discourse of social actors today. His name, as we shall see in the data becomes deeply chronotopic (Bahktin 1981) by itself.

To understand what Tolomei did and said, it is necessary to look, at least briefly, at his habitus (after Bourdieu 1977) or historical body (after Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004) and to understand, at least summarily, the socio-political context he lived in. It was a period in which nationalism was particularly strong in Austro-Hungary and Italy and in which, certainly in Italy at least, nationalist discourse merged with those of revolutionary romanticism and social Darwinism (Grote 2012:15). A key concept from this period is irredentism, or the "redemption" of lands which should "rightfully" belong to a nation-state. Born into an Italian-speaking family in the then Austro-Hungarian controlled Rovereto, to the south of Bolzano-Bozen, Tolomei was extremely familiar with the southern part of the Tyrol, spending time moving between the German and Italian-speaking worlds (Grote 2012:15. See also Benvenuto & von Hartungen 1998 for a deeper treatment). As an Austro-Hungarian citizen, he completed his military service in the

Imperial Austro-Hungarian army, in Vienna, afterwards studying history and geography at the Italian University of Florence. During this time he became associated with the culturally nationalistic Dante Alighieri Society in Rome (Steininger 2004:14). He then taught at schools in Tunis, Salonika, Smyrna and Cairo from 1888 until 1901, when he returned to Italy and a job in the Italian Foreign Office's Inspector General of Italian Schools Abroad (*ibid*). According to the records of the Italian Senate (notes9.senato.it accessed 19th June 2011) Tolomei was a senator in the Kingdom of Italy from 1923 until 1943, during the period known as the *ventennio* (the twenty years of Fascism), with his profession listed as journalist. From 1922, he is listed as a member of the Italian Geographical Society.

A geographical theory which became central to Italian irredentist claims to the southern Tyrol at the time was that of the Italian geographers G and O Marinelli. In 1890, the Marinellis, applying the idea that nation-state territories should coincide with natural geographic features (such as rivers or mountain ridges, put forward their thesis that the "natural" border of Italy should be at the Brennerpass-Passo Brennero, well within the frontiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Alcock 1970:14-15). However, the political (nationalist) discursive framework for such an idea had already been laid. As Grote shows, Giuseppe Mazzini, a key figure in Italian nationalism (and indeed nationalism itself), had already asserted in 1866 that the area "rightfully" belonged to Italy, supporting this with the dubious claim that only 20% of the population were German speakers and would be easy to italianise (2012:9).

Ettore Tolomei took up the Marinellis' idea the year it was published, and coupled this notion of "rightful" Italian space with his thesis – first put forward in his publication *La Nazione Italiana* (The Italian Nation) and then, from 1906 in *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige* (The Archive for Alto Adige) – that the German-speaking inhabitants of the zone were in fact germanised Italians. Alcock (1970:15. see also Grote 2012:9) is quick to point out that whilst Gaetano Salvemini, 'Italy's leading historian', dismissed Tolomei's idea (also foreseeing a 'German minority problem'), it became the official position of the Fascist Italian state: a position which became the justification for Italianisation under Fascism and which had a continued effect after the Second World War. The late 19th and early twentieth centuries also saw the rise of Austrian nationalist discourses, articulated in particular in the Tyrol by the Tiroler Volksbund organisation, who argued for the germanisation of Italian speakers in the region and sought to impose German language and culture in Italian-speaking areas (Grote 2012:12&14).

Thus, in a natural histories of discourse sense (Silverstein & Urban 1996), *La Nazione Italiana* and *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige* can be seen as both products of context and articulations of nationalist discursive positions which were used as argument for entry into the First World War. Afterwards, italianisation was attempted of both those living in the territory and the territory itself, through the imposition of place names, or the making of Italian the social space (Lefebvre 1991).

However both *La Nazione Italiana* and *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige* also continued an Italian tradition of localised publishing of research conducted by historical societies, outside of universities, that had developed since the mid-1800s (Moretti 1999: 114). This is

important, since it places Tolomei's actions and publications within a contextual framework of Italian nation-building. As Verschueren (2012:47-49) shows, such approaches to history across Europe during that period were less than immune to patriotic tendencies; although they appear strongest in those places which were in the process of nation building, such as the relatively young Kingdom of Italy.

This point is elaborated further with regard to Italy by Moretti (1999). As much as history became an important instrument in nation-building in the years following the unification of Italy, it was poorly represented at university level. Further, Moretti (ibid: 111-112) argues that the first wave of post-unification historians came from diverse academic backgrounds, were largely self-taught, appointed directly by the Minister of Public Instruction and were very much political appointees. Even within the academy, Moretti (ibid: 114) notes a tension between the political desire to create a historical pedigree for unified Italy and the desire to make Italian historical enquiry a rigorous, internationally respected endeavour. With all this decidedly in the background, the experience of the historical past mostly came into public life through '...journalistic-literary, celebratory, monumental, iconographic and scholastic fields.' (ibid: 111)

Tolomei's publications became the key source by which Italians, largely ignorant of Italian-speakers living in this area of the Habsburg Empire or the geography itself for that matter, received their information (Grote 2012:17). It is clear that for Tolomei and his adherents that the southern Tyrol was Italian and "rightfully" belonged to Italy, with Italians (i.e. Italian-speaking Austro-Hungarians) in need of liberation, even if this meant

the suppression of German language and culture and the remaking of the people and territory in Italy's image.

To recall, at the time Tolomei began publishing *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige*, South Tyrol, and Trentino to the south, were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. To illustrate, figure 6 shows a map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Sheppard 1911:168), with Bolzano-Bozen circled in red.

What makes the map interesting in this discussion is that the map is entitled "The Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary" (shown vertically on the right). The approximate area of interest is highlighted with a red circle. What we see here is how "races" is taken mean linguistically defined (see the key to the bottom left of the map). Whilst there is little space to discuss this map fully, there are three points worth noting in this discussion. The first is that language is taken to mean nation, as defined by language, but is not here conflated with statehood. The second point is that the area in question for Tolomei is one inhabited by "Germans" (i.e. German speakers) and borders an area of Austro-Hungary inhabited by "Italians" (i.e. Italian speakers). Thirdly, this was a period in which Austro-Hungary struggled with the rise in nationalist discourse within the empire articulated by Mazzini, as *every nation a state and every state a nation* (Hobsbawm1990:101).

The most clearly defined actions which resulted from this discursive struggle were the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, the First World War which followed and the subsequent and the large-scale restructuring of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Europe itself (Hobsbawm 1995:21-35). Thus, given the historical

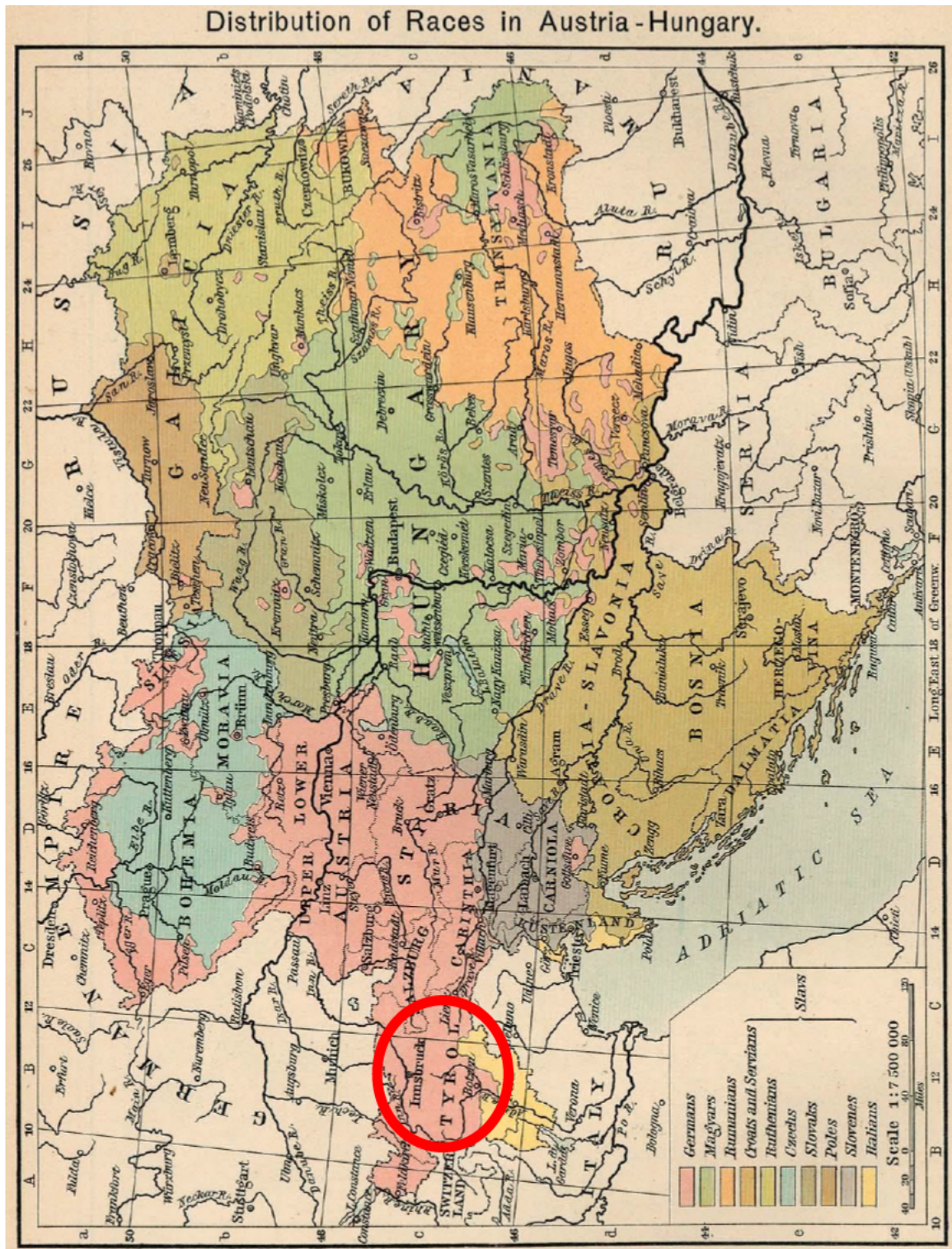


Figure 6 Map of Austro-Hungary, 1911, showing the 'Distribution of Races'. Bozen-Bolzano circled in red (from Sheppard 1911:168)

moment in which this map was produced, it can be seen as a snapshot of discourses on nation-state ideologies which did not come to fruition until Woodrow Wilson's interventions at the Versailles Peace Conference, following the First World War (Hobsbawm 1995:131-4). Having set the context a little, I now turn to Ettore Tolomei and his "scientific" journal publication *Archivio per l'Alto Adige*.

1.3.3 L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige: Making South Tyrol into Alto Adige

In the very first issue of *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige* in 1906, Tolomei opens by laying out the programme for the publication (see Appendix C). In it, he begins by stating that the region incontestably belonged to geographical Italy and that its Italian history should be restored (1906:5). First, we see the superimposition of the political onto physical space, reflecting G & O Marinellis' "natural borders" theory we saw earlier. It is also striking because southern Tyrol is documented to have been part of the Habsburg dominion since 1364, and traced further back to the Carolingian Holy Roman Empire of the 8th century, well within the German-speaking sphere of influence (Alcock 1970:4-6, although Kunz 1926/1927:500 argues even further back, to the 6th century).

Thus, Tolomei anchors his argument in history, despite historical records showing the region had had little socio-cultural or political connection with Italy, other than being a contact zone. In summary, southern Tyrol was part of Austro-Hungarian space and had to be remade as Alto Adige, Italian public space, through academic research and publication

which despite Tolomei's insistence would be 'unbiased' (1906:6) takes as its start an ideological irredentist position which sees the region as "naturally" part of Italy.

To further his ideas, Tolomei also includes in the 1906 first volume of *L'Archivio* an article entitled 'La Toponomastica dell'Alto Adige' [The Toponymy of Alto Adige] (1906:137-159), underlining the central importance to his project of naming place. Again, there is the mixing of geographical with political, with features such as Alpine ridges and waterways to support the notion that the terrain in question belonged "naturally" to the then Kingdom of Italy: geographical space and history (time) defining social space.

To support his project, Tolomei looks to a far distant past in his search for the Italianity of the region. He subsumes Etruscan, Rhaetian and Latin, three very different cultures from different time periods under the all-encompassing "Italic", eliding any differences between them (1906:5). Curiously, Tolomei indexes the period immediately after the conquest of the region in 15 B.C. by Drusus Germanicus, and its annexation to the Roman Empire in 15 B.C., as the starting point of his historical claims. This conflation of Italy with Imperial Rome was a core feature of Risorgimento discourse, and became a core feature of Fascist ideology later on (Gentile 1990; Visser 1992)

For Tolomei, redefining southern Tyrol south as Italian involved the "rediscovery" of names for places which, according to him had fallen into disuse through the centuries, with an appeal to a specific historical period as the justification for the revival (and in some cases invention) of place names. Paradoxically, as we shall see later, such an appeal to history has been an argumentation strategy in more recent debates concerning the removal of Tolomei's names.

In 1915, Italy broke its alliance with Austria and joined the entente powers fighting Germany and Austria. The 1915 issue of *L'Archivio* contains two important maps of the southern Tyrol, referred to as Alto Adige. The first is an ethno-linguistic map (Villoti 1915:228, see Figure 7 below) and the second is an orological [geological]-toponomastic draft map (Villoti 1915:234): both, according to Villoti, generated by Tolomei (Villoti 1915:229, 234). It also contains the first edition of the complete *Prontuario* or Handbook of Toponymy for Alto Adige.

From a semiotic perspective, Villoti/Tolomei's 1915 map, Figure 7, is a striking discourse in itself. It contains two borders between Italy and Austria. The first, lower border is between the Kingdom of Italy and Imperial Austria, which stretches like a red ribbon from left to right. The second darker border, higher up, is a hypothetical "geographical" border. Further there is a use of colour to denote ethno-linguistic difference: red for Italian speaking, blue for German speaking. The visual effect of the colouring gives the impression of sparse population by German speakers. In the light of the other discourses at the time this, I would argue, is intentional.

As Alcock points out (1970:15-16) population figures by language spoken vary widely depending on the source, and that Tolomei used calculations on the basis of unsubstantiated personal enquiries 'on the ground' (Tolomei 1917:53). Another point is that looking at the map it would appear to be sparsely settled by German-speakers, with land that is under-utilised, owing to the fact that Tolomei arbitrarily excludes demographic details over 1,300 mts, focusing only on main population centres in Eisacktal-Val d'Isarco (Isarco Valley) (Villoti 1915:229).

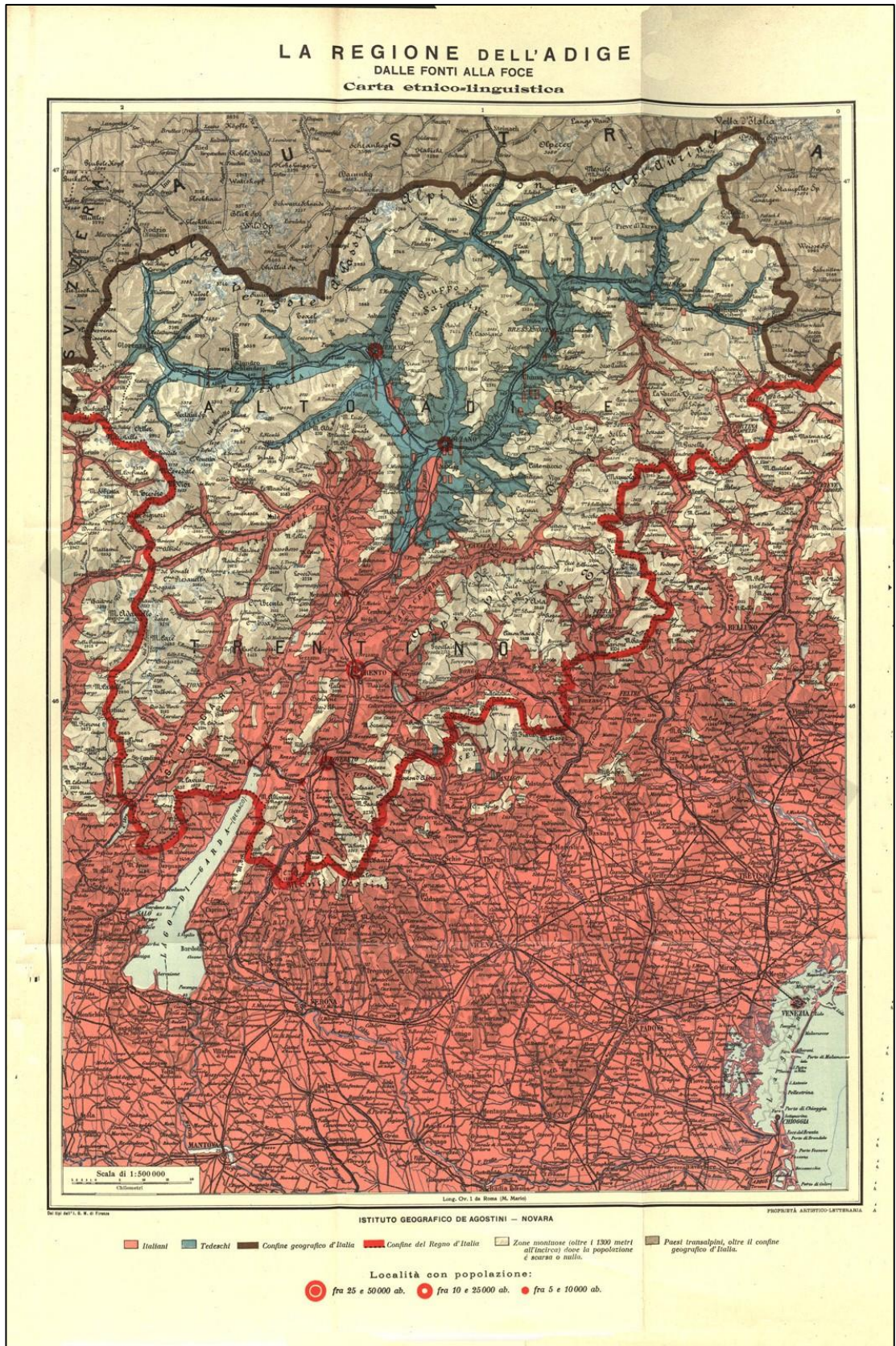


Figure 7 Villoti's (Tolomei's) "Ethnolinguistic" Map from 1915 (Villoti 1915:232)

1.3.4 Southern Tyrol becomes Italian & Life under Fascism

In 1919, under the terms of the Treaty of St Germaine, Italy formally took possession of the territory that is now the Province of Bolzano-Bozen (Alcock 1970:26), a territory in which the overwhelming majority of inhabitants were German speaking (*ibid*:15-16). This was despite members of the pre-war Italian government warning against attempting to reach for the cisalpine Tyrol, since absorbing the overwhelmingly German-speaking territory was seen as potentially problematic. (Grote 2012:7-8). As Kunz also points out, this went against US President Woodrow Wilson's fourteen point peace plan, in which point nine categorically stated that a peace settlement must include '[a] readjustment of the frontiers of Italy [which] should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.' (1947:439, see also Alcock 1970:19). The criteria of 'nationality' was understood by Wilson as identifiable linguistically and, almost as an aside, here we see the clearest expression of an ideology which conflates language and national identity: an ideology which underpins political arrangements in South Tyrol-Alto Adige to this day, as outlined in the 2nd Statute of Autonomy 1972 (see section 1.2 for an explanation of the mechanisms for ethnic – linguistically based – political representation in South Tyrol-Alto Adige).

In the period immediately after the First World War, the Kingdom of Italy made promises to grant autonomy, and to respect the language and culture of South Tyrol. This specifically covered the German-language toponymy of the territory (Alcock 1970: 26-29) and the name of the newly annexed province was not to be Alto Adige *pace* Tolomei, but rather Tyrol (*ibid*:27). As Kunz (1926/1927:500-501) shows, these promises were made in

the context of the First World War peace settlement, guaranteed by the Entente powers (Great Britain, France and the USA) and were therefore not a domestic matter for Italy, but covered instead by international law.

It would appear from institutional discourse at the time that Italy intended to honour its commitments. The Italian Prime minister F.S. Nitti stated in parliament that the government had no desire to forcibly italianise South Tyroleans, wishing instead to respect specifically the language and culture of those minorities who now found themselves within the borders of Italy (Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, XXIV Legislature, Seduta 374, 6th August 1919, pp 20479-80). This was further confirmed the following month in statements by Foreign Minister Tittoni, also addressing the Italian parliament (Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, XXIV Legislature, Seduta 392, 27th September 1919, p. 21303). It should also be noted that Italy agreed to maintain German toponymy, which included in official correspondence (Alcock 1970:29).

Thus, arguably, the political situation of the immediate post-war period saw little change that would have greatly affected the average citizen (Italian or German speaking) in the zone that stretches from Trentino through to South Tyrol. Although if anything, as Cole & Wolf (1999:88) note, the Italian-speakers from Trento were not particularly enamoured with the idea of union with Italy, since it meant the influx more competitively priced goods from the south of Italy, into what had been *their* markets in South Tyrol, and restricted access to traditional markets in Austria due to the new frontier.

Regardless, German-speakers had now no choice but to deal with the new reality. In October 1919 they formed the Deutscher Verband political party and in March 1920 sent

a delegation to Rome with their plans for the newly created province, to be known as the Tyrol. The level of autonomy planned for the province was in effect the same as had been enjoyed when part of Austria. South Tyroleans were to be free to manage their internal affairs inasmuch as they did not impinge on its obligations to the state as a whole. There were a number of significant concessions that would appear to give substance to the statement made by Prime Minister Nitti above, namely:

1. The German speaking population was to be recognised as a nationality in itself;
2. German was to be recognised as an official co-equal language with Italian. This included not only in the Provincial government, but also in relations with the national government and the legal system. German place names were to be used, even in correspondence with the Italian state. Public officials appointed after annexation would be required to speak Italian and German, and where possible should come from the area;
3. The autonomous province would retain control of the education system, recognizing Austrian and German Higher Education qualifications.
4. South Tyroleans were exempt from military service and could only be called up into the Schützen militia and in defence of South Tyrol (recalling the rights granted in the Charter of some 600 years previous)
5. Deputies elected in South Tyrol could represent the province in the *Camera dei Deputati* (the Legislative Chamber) in Rome.

(In Alcock 1970:28-29)

The collective rights granted in compensation for the loss of self-determination meant that in effect the management had changed, but it was largely business as usual: German language and culture would be respected. In Italy there was a perception that although they had gained the victory, they had restricted themselves as to what they could do with the victory prize, i.e. South Tyrol. Moves afoot by nationalists, and other currents in Italian political life, did not see the above in a positive light.

Compounding this, the years immediately after the First World War saw chronic unemployment, food shortages and discontentment with the pre-existent distribution of land in Italy. Also not to be forgotten are years of economic difficulty in Italy and political uncertainty across Europe (not forgetting the Bolshevik revolution in Russia had only occurred in 1917, Hobsbawm 1995:55) and the rise of Fascism in Italy.

There was a growing fear, capitalised on by the ascending nationalist extremists and the Fascists, that Italian speakers who lived in the province would be forced to germanise through the economic and institutional practicalities of having German speakers in the position of power. These fears became an instrument for extremists following the results of South Tyrol's first participation in national elections held in the spring of 1921, which saw the Deutscher Verband win all four seats. The Italian minority had been prevented from presenting a list to the electorate due to their numerical inferiority and the way the election had been organised (*ibid*). When the Deutscher Verband members sat in the Italian Parliament for the first time, they were accused by Fascists members of eradicating bilingualism in the province and tolerating pan German propaganda (Alcock 1970:31). Making what could only be seen in retrospect as another strategic blunder (the first being

the organisation of the elections so as to prevent inclusion by Italian speakers), the Deutscher Verband members responded that they could never accept the lack of self-determination or revised frontiers imposed upon them by the Treaty of St Germaine. Arguably, this would have provided plenty of ammunition to nationalist and Fascist propagandists, seeking to portray the worst of situations for Italians in South Tyrol.

Fascist activity increased in Bolzano. Mussolini dispatched squads of his Blackshirts who seized whatever opportunity they could to “protect” Italian cultural and linguistic identity. 1st October 1922 saw Bolzano occupied by Fascist Blackshirts on the pretext that no site had been granted for the building of an Italian school. Three weeks later, Mussolini marched on Rome and on 29th October, he became Prime Minister (Alcock 1970:32-33 and the Fascist *ventennio* (the Twenty Years) began. With it began also the radical departure from the promises made at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, and the attitude evinced by Prime Minister Nitti, above, regarding the treatment of German-speaking South Tyroleans and the German language in South Tyrol-Alto Adige (*ibid*:33).

Benito Mussolini, founder of the Italian Fascist movement (Partito Nazionale Fascista – National Fascist Party), made his first speech in the Italian parliament as an elected deputy, 21st June 1921. The speech counts around 6,300 words in length and is impressive for its use of rhetoric and the number of subjects he manages to touch on: including national politics and perceived failures of the government, international relations, and political philosophy. He also devotes some 1,300 words to the situation in South Tyrol-Alto Adige (Mussolini 1921). It is almost ironic, in the light of events that followed, that Mussolini railed against the disappearance of bilingualism in South-Tyrol

Alto Adige. He also called for the annexation of South Tyrol to the majority Italian-speaking province of Trento, and demanded ‘...the strict observance of bilingualism in every public [governmental] and administrative act.’ (Mussolini 1921:91).

Mussolini had some experience in the majority Italian-speaking Trentino province (which today makes up part of the administrative region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol), having spent close to a year there in 1909 (Mussolini 1911:5), during his pre-Fascist socialist phase where he wrote *Il Trentino Veduto da un Socialista* (1911 - Trentino as Seen by a Socialist). One of the recurring themes of the book, his maiden parliamentary speech cited above and subsequent pronouncements is the threat of pangermanism, or a unified and consequently powerful united German-speaking world, to Italy. There is other evidence of Mussolini’s ‘intense fear’ at any future renegotiation of the border at the Brennerpass/Passo Brennero (Cassels 1963:138). Cassels shows whilst Mussolini spoke often of the dangers of pangermanism – particularly the *Anschluss* (unification) of Germany and Austria – he had been secretly been sending arms to Germany that were forbidden under the 1919 Treaty of Versailles (*ibid*: 143). Also, Mussolini had been dealing with Adolf Hitler, long before Hitler took power in Germany, to support the National Socialist movement in return for Hitler’s renunciation of any claim Germany might have on South Tyrol-Alto Adige (*ibid*:151). As an aside, this renunciation was made formal in 1938 (Alcock 1970:59), with the later plan, *The Option*, to permanently remove German-speakers from South Tyrol-Alto Adige (see section 1.3.3). I include this in order to provide a context for the force with which Italy pursued the eradication of German language and culture, that is, the fear of losing the territory, whose natural Alpine features (militarily difficult to pass through and easier to control than flat lands) Italy felt

was essential for its own national security¹.

Assurances as to the respect for German language and culture in South Tyrol, made by Italy at the Treaty of St Germaine, were repudiated by the new Fascist regime. Ettore Tolomei, now a senator, was charged with the task of Italianizing South Tyrol. On the 15th June 1923 his 32 point plan, approved by Mussolini, was presented at a Bolzano theatre on 15th July 1923 (Alcock 1970:33, Grote 2012:37) and reported in full in the Fascist-controlled biweekly provincial newspaper on the 17th July 1923 (see Figure 8 for the front page). The most far reaching of the 32 points were:

- Prohibition of the title Südtirol, the German name for the province;
- The Italianization of German place names;
- Italian was to become *the* official language in South Tyrol including for public administration and the courts;
- The employment of Italian speakers in public administration and the dismissal of German speakers who could not (or would not) speak Italian;
- Exclusion of South Tyroleans from the Carabinieri (police);
- The removal of the statue of Walther von der Vogelweide, a local Medieval literary hero, from its place of prominence in the city's main square;
- Reversal of the decree allowing recognition of German or Austrian academic degrees, without a one-year conversion course at an Italian University;
- The encouragement of immigration to the province by Italians.

(In Herford 1927:45-49)

¹ Discussing the nature of the relationship between national security and linguistic and cultural nationalism is outside the scope of this study, but it should at least be acknowledged.

The final point has unquestionably had the most significant effect on the linguist make up on the province over the longer period.

All German language clubs, associations were declared illegal, including any Alpine club not associated with Club Alpino Italiano (CAI). The property of these now illegal Alpine clubs was confiscated and handed over to CAI. Financial institutions were taken over by Italian speakers and the German language banned from all public places, including signposts, but also any private inscriptions. This stretched from tourist postcards to gravestones and tomb inscriptions (Alcock 1970:34)

The education system became a key strategic instrument in the Italianisation of the province. German language nursery schools were taken over by ONAIR (Opera Nazionale Assistenza Italia Redenta). Italian was to become the language of instruction from nursery education up, even where pupils were exclusively or majority German speakers, and private instruction in the German-language medium was proscribed. In boroughs where German or Ladin were the majority languages, parents could request supplementary L1 lessons, though doing so they singled themselves out as being *unpatriotic*. By 1930, no school offered lessons with German as the language of instruction (Alcock 1972:35). As a response, *Catacomb*, or secret German language schools were set up to keep Tyrolean language and culture alive (Grote 2012:38-39). Italianisation on a more personal level continued. A Royal Decree of 1926 announced that all names (first names and family names) were to change to the Italian form. Tolomei's thesis held that German speakers in South Tyrol/-Alto Adige were Germanised Italians (Salvemini 1952:440), therefore they should revert to the *original*.

Senatore Ettore Tolomei traccia il programma che la nostra dignità e il nostro buon diritto impongono in Alto Adige

Sen. Ettore Tolomei legt das Programm dar, das unsere Würde und unser gutes Recht für das Oberetsch verlangen

Per iniziativa della Lega Trentina e sotto gli auspici di tutti gli italiani del Sudtirolo, si è formato un comitato di lavoro presieduto dal senatore Ettore Tolomei, il quale ha elaborato un programma di lavoro che sarà presentato al Parlamento italiano nel corso della prossima legislatura. Il programma è diviso in tre parti: una prima parte che riguarda i rapporti politici, una seconda che riguarda i rapporti economici e una terza che riguarda i rapporti culturali. Il programma è stato elaborato in un clima di grande collaborazione e di sincera franchezza. Il senatore Tolomei ha svolto un ruolo di primo piano in questa iniziativa, che rappresenta un importante passo verso la soluzione dei problemi del Sudtirolo.

IL DISCORSO

La Riscossa

Il senatore Ettore Tolomei ha discusso il suo programma di lavoro in una conferenza stampa tenutasi a Bolzano. Ha sottolineato l'importanza di una politica di riscossa, che si basi sui principi di dignità e di giustizia. Ha criticato l'attuale situazione politica e ha proposto un'alternativa che si fonda sui valori della democrazia e della libertà. Ha parlato della necessità di una riforma costituzionale e di una maggiore partecipazione dei cittadini alla vita politica del paese.

Dirittive generali

Le direttive generali del programma di lavoro di Ettore Tolomei si basano sui seguenti principi: 1. Rispetto per la dignità e i diritti del popolo del Sudtirolo. 2. Promozione dell'economia locale e sviluppo delle risorse naturali. 3. Rafforzamento dell'identità culturale e linguistica. 4. Promozione della partecipazione democratica e della trasparenza amministrativa.

Parte politico-amministrativa

La parte politico-amministrativa del programma di lavoro di Ettore Tolomei si concentra sui seguenti punti: 1. Richiesta di una riforma costituzionale che garantisca maggiore autonomia alle regioni. 2. Proposta di una legge di riorganizzazione amministrativa del Sudtirolo. 3. Richiesta di una maggiore trasparenza e accountability delle amministrazioni pubbliche.

Concircazione elettorale

La circircazione elettorale è un tema centrale nel programma di lavoro di Ettore Tolomei. Egli propone una riforma del sistema elettorale che sia più equo e rappresentativo. Sostiene che il sistema attuale favorisce l'oligarchia e non garantisce adeguatamente la rappresentanza del popolo.

L'opera costruttiva

L'opera costruttiva è il fulcro del programma di lavoro di Ettore Tolomei. Egli propone una serie di iniziative concrete per migliorare la vita sociale ed economica del Sudtirolo. Queste iniziative riguardano la promozione dell'artigianato, lo sviluppo del turismo, la creazione di posti di lavoro e la promozione della cultura.

Figure 8 Il Piccolo Posto 17 luglio 1923. The Fascist-controlled biweekly newspaper, announcing Tolomei's 32 point plan to Italianise South Tyrol-Alto Adige. The headline reads *Senator Ettore Tolomei outlines the programme which our dignity and legitimate right imposes on Alto Adige*. Note the German-language subtitles below.

Where no Italian form of a German name existed, individuals could keep their German name, though they were free to choose an Italian name if they were so inclined.

Although the programme of name changing did not proceed at a pace, in 1928 German speakers were forbidden first names that appeared ‘...offensive to Italian national ideals and sensibilities’, however “sensibilities” might be defined. (Alcock 1970:37).

Fascist economic policies in the 1920s and thirties sought to develop industry in the province. Large scale manufacturing including automotive, steel, magnesium and aluminium were encouraged to move to the area following heavy investment in the infrastructure of the area. Railways were built, together with hydroelectric plants, both subsidised and so facilitating production in the area. The workforce for these new ventures was to be found in Italy *proper*, with *Italians* encouraged to in-migrate to take up these new positions. Between 1921 and 1939, in terms of share of the overall population, Italian-speakers increased from 16.1% to 25.8% (Alcock 1970:42). Whilst a superficial glance at these numbers demonstrates South Tyroleans were still in the majority, it is the distribution of these ethnolinguistic groups that is important, especially with regard to this study. In effect, South Tyroleans maintained a stable presence outside the principal centres of population. Italians, on the other hand, increased substantially in the cities and around the more prosperous zones of industrialisation: especially in the city of Bolzano-Bolzano.

1.3.5 Mussolini & Hitler's *Option*: Removing German & Germans from Alto Adige (1938-39)

European, even global, geopolitics were to have a direct impact on Alto Adige in the 1930s. *Locally*, problems and tensions continued in the province, with the German-speaking community showing little desire to assimilate willingly. *Globally*, the European geopolitical situation in particular was becoming tense, as totalitarian regimes appeared to be in ascendancy across Europe (Hobsbawm 1990:143).

As we saw earlier, Mussolini had had dealings with Hitler in the 1920s (see section 1.3.4), however by the mid-late 1930s, the situation was very different. Now Hitler was the leader of the German-speaking world, and both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany needed each other, in preparation for the impending world conflict.

The Italian Fascist regime faced internal and external pressures. In Alto Adige, the programme of assimilation was being frustrated by German-speakers who would not assimilate. On an international level, the Fascist regime had need of an alliance with Nazi Germany, however Adolf Hitler had come to power promising to “redeem” ethnic (i.e. linguistic) Germans who lived beyond the borders of Germany and Austria (1990:99). As we have also seen, Italian nationalism and the Fascist regime insisted on that Alto Adige was Italian in every sense

For both parties, Alto Adige was potentially problematic. Yet even before Hitler had come to power he had made the decision to abandon South Tyrol if need be, writing such in *Mein Kampf* in 1922 (Cole & Wolf 1999:59). As Grote shows, despite requests from German-speaking political representatives from Alto Adige in 1932, this position

remained unchanged, preferring an alliance with Mussolini at some future date (2012:65-66).

Hitler formally declared no interest in annexing the province in a state visit to Rome on 7th May 1938 (Alcock 1970:50), in which the Nazi and Fascist regimes signed their alliance agreement. However both Mussolini and Hitler saw the need to resolve, once and for all the issue of German-speakers in the province. In 1939, the head of the Nazi SS, Heinrich Himmler, was charged with finding a solution which would pave the way for smoother relations between the two regimes. The solution he arrived at was called *the Option* and involved the voluntary transfer of those German speakers from Alto Adige who wished to move to Germany (*ibid*: 51). This was to be achieved through renouncing citizenship and relocation somewhere in the Nazi-controlled German-speaking world. In effect, the choice was to either keep linguistic and cultural identity, and move; or stay put and assimilate.

According to Grote (2012:69), eighty-six percent of the approximately 250,000 eligible opted to leave Alto Adige, although the actual numbers are problematic (Alcock 1970:55-56). However, due to the global conflict, only around 75,000 actually ever left the province. As Alcock further shows, this caused ruptures in the social cohesion of the German-speaking community (between those that opted to stay and those that opted to go) (*ibid*: 57-59). Complicating life even more, after the Second World War, the remainder of the 140,000 or so who had opted for Germany (but who had never left Alto Adige), were in effect stateless and Italy was less than willing to restore their Italian citizenship (*ibid*: 185-7).

1.4 The Post-Second World War Period

After the Second World War, Alto Adige remained part of Italy, under terms agreed at the Paris Peace Conference in 1946. In the following sections, I provide what I see as those events, discourses and social action which have had the most impact on the present.

1.4.1 The Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement and the First Statute of Autonomy (1946-1948)

An understanding as to the future of South Tyrol was eventually reached between Italy and Austria, which became known as the Paris Agreement or the Gruber De Gasperi Agreement, after the Austrian and Italian officials who signed it on 5th September 1946 on behalf of their respective countries. South Tyrol was to remain part of Italy, however Austria was given a special interest in the province due to the ethnocultural and linguistic make-up of the region in which the vast majority of its inhabitants were, until 1919 Austrian, and were German speakers. By way of consolation, the province would be granted autonomy (Steininger 2004:101).

The agreement consisted of three points, with a number of sub points and a copy is found in Appendix D

If short, from a linguistic perspective, it is an extremely significant document. The first point, it was later argued, was to be the point from which all further points were to be expanded. It was a statement of equality of rights for German and Italian speaking inhabitants of South Tyrol. It dealt specifically with questions of language in the following areas:

- Primary and secondary schooling in L1 would be guaranteed

- ‘Parification’ of German and Italian languages in public administration, official documents and place names
- The right to re-establish family names italianised during the Fascist years
- Proportional representation in employment in public administration by each language group

In North Tyrol and Austria there was bitter disappointment that they had not managed to obtain a return to Austria nor any concrete possibility of self-determination. Although there were a number of difficulties with the agreement, it was nonetheless written into the Allied Peace Treaty and was therefore binding under international and not domestic Italian law. This was become an extremely important point, as shall be seen (in the following, section 1.4.2).

Yet, with the Allies and the Soviet Union already preparing for what was to become the Cold War, there was little interest in a small alpine province, except for clear agreement amongst the Allies that the zone should not fall under the Soviet sphere of influence, and that from an international point of view, South Tyrol was safer in the hands of the Italians, a NATO ally.

The Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement formed the basis for what has become known as the First Special Statute of Autonomy (for Trentino-Alto Adige), in 1948. This statute was meant to provide a legislative context within which the linguistic and cultural rights of German-speakers would be protected. Article 2 of the First Statute states explicitly that:

In the Region [of Trentino-Alto Adige] all citizens shall enjoy equal rights irrespective of the linguistic group to which they belong, and their respective ethnical and cultural characteristics shall be safeguarded.

(In Alcock 1970:475)

Later in the document, articles 84 to 87 deal specifically with the use of German and Ladin (Alcock 1970:491), requiring that '[w]ithout prejudice to the principle that Italian is the official language of the region', the use of German in public life is guaranteed. This included oral and written correspondence and educational provisions especially for Ladin speakers. For other schools, article 15 expressly states that teaching '...shall be given in the mother tongue of the students with teachers having the same mother tongue.' (In Alcock 1970:479).

In 1948 South Tyrol also managed to get concessions from Italy regarding returning *Optants*, i.e. those who had given up their homeland and Italian citizenship and had elected to move to Germany or the *Lebensraum* of the Third Reich. As we saw, although around 86% of German-speaking South Tyroleans opted for German, the outbreak of the Second World War meant that most of them never actually left South Tyrol (Stuhlpfarrer 1985, in Pallaver 2008:6). These *Optants* had not been granted German citizenship and had been considered under international law as 'displaced persons' that is stateless, in their own homeland. They could now reapply for Italian citizenship, although the special commission set up to deal with this issue was beset with problems.

1.4.2 From the *Death March* to United Nations Conflict Resolution 1497/XV

Despite the apparently equitable provisions of the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement and the “first” Special Statute of Autonomy (1948), there was a sense a great many problems with regard to equality of treatment persisted. The 1950s saw the promised autonomy become what Grote describes as ‘a hollow construct’ with a period of ‘re-energized’ Italianisation; including an increase in in-migration of Italian-speakers and laws which appeared prejudicial to German-speakers (2012:85).

In October 1953, the situation was described by an influential German-speaking clergyman, Canon Michael Gamper, as a ‘death march’ for the German-speaking population (Steininger 2004:112-3). This was, according to Gamper, being achieved through subsidised public housing for Italian-speakers and, of great significance in the context of this thesis, bilingual schools (*ibid.*). As we shall see in the coming data chapters, Gamper’s pronouncement becomes a Bakhtinian chronotope (Bakhtin 1981)

In this worsening climate, some South Tyrolean German-speakers decided to take more direct action. In the 1950s and 1960s separatists began bombing campaigns, aimed largely, though not exclusively at industrial and infrastructure targets (Grote 2012:91, 100-104). These reached a crescendo in June, with what has come to be known as *the Night of Fire*, when 37 high voltage electrical pylons were blown up, causing considerable disruption (Steininger 2004:124).

It was also during this period, according to Steininger (*ibid*: 127-8), that South Tyrol became an active field of operations for Italian and international espionage agencies, neo-Nazi groups and pangermanists.

As a result of the situation, on 28th June 1960 Austria placed the South Tyrol question on the agenda of the UN General Assembly, despite pressure not to do so. On 31st October of the same year the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 1497/XV (see Appendix E for a facsimile). The Resolution stated that Article 1 of the Paris Agreement was to be ‘...determinant for the purposes of the entire accord.’ Article 1 dealt specifically and extensively with ethnolinguistic aspects of South Tyrol. Resolution 1497/XV went further by stating that as such, Article 2 of the Paris Agreement regarding autonomy, was ‘...to be treated in a way that takes into consideration the ethnic character and the cultural and economic development..’ of South Tyrol. Italy and Austria were instructed to restart negotiations and resolve the issue. If they failed to do so after a reasonable time then they were to resort to the peaceful means outlined in the UN Charter. The adoption of the UN Resolution is highly significant, since it confirmed, internationally, Austria’s right of involvement in what Italy had, up until that point, argued was a domestic Italian affair. By 1969, a set of measures was agreed which became known as *the Paket*, comprising a number of significant modifications to the 1948 Special Statute of Autonomy (Grote 2012:109). This *Paket* would become the foundation for the Second Special Statute of Autonomy (1972), and the legal and democratic framework within which the South Tyrol-Alto Adige of today functions.

1.4.3 From the Second Special Statute of Autonomy (1972- 1991)

The 1972 Statute of Autonomy (1972) marked a new phase in relations between Austria and Italy, the Province of Bolzano-Bozen and Rome, and between German and Italian

speakers in the Province of Bolzano (See Appendix F for the English version of the statute).

Almost immediately, however, the Autonomous Province of Bolzano entered into a conflictual relationship with the Italian state, typified by mistrust and misunderstanding (Peterlini 2007:265). The architects of the *Paket* and the Second Statute of Autonomy (1972) had laid the foundations for conflict resolution, however the implementation of these measures quickly descended into 'juridical guerrilla warfare' (Peterlini 2007:266). Under the statute, the Province draws up laws, which are sent to Rome for approval. In this initial period, according to Klaus Dubis, SVP spokesperson and later SVP provincial councillor, numerous laws were rejected, or sent back to Bolzano for redrafting not because of technicalities, but rather political motives (*ibid*). Apart from the grave problems created for South Tyrol German speakers during Fascism, there was a dichotomy between what Peterlini describes as the centralised governmental style of the Italian state and '...a minority, that was once Austrian, and accustomed to the historical liberty of the Tyrol.' (*ibid*. My translation).

The two legislative instruments to have greatest impact on German and Italian speakers in the post Autonomy Statute (1972) period, seen by SVP as the two pillars of autonomy, came into force in 1976. These were embodied in Dpr (Provincial Decree) 752/76 relating to proportionality in public employment (also called the quotas) and bilingualism in public life. To be Italian speaking, German speaking or Ladin speaking came to have not only social, but also institutional implications, regimented by law (after Kroskirty 2000).

By 1981, almost ten years after the implementation of the Autonomy Statute 1972 and five years after the implementation of Dpr 752/76 (relating to quotas and bilingualism in public institutions), progress was slow. The use of German in public administration, the police and courts was still not possible. Employment opportunities in the public administration for German speakers continued to prove elusive (Peterlini 2007:269-271).

1981 was also significant as it was the year of the Italian national census, and the first occasion in which residents of the Province of Bolzano had to declare their linguistic affiliation. The results of this part of the census became the true basis for the quota, or proportional allotment of public sector jobs. For Italian speakers this was a rude awakening, since the public sector had always been seen as their domain. This was underlined by the fact that public posts would now not only be awarded following strictly proportional lines, there was another criterion that had to be met: certified bilingualism (Peterlini 2007:271-272). Peterlini also notes that during this time, Italian speakers felt under pressure as the quota and bilingualism laws appeared to favour German speakers above Italian speakers (*ibid*). Arguably, this held truth, since the laws were designed to address the deficit of the situation previous to 1972.

The declaration of linguistic affiliation also had other implications, for example in the allotment of public housing, and division of other public resources and finance.

The Catholic Church also became involved. 15th October 1981 the Bishop of Bolzano, Joseph Gargitter, stated that to refuse the declaration of linguistic affiliation constituted an invitation to renounce it (Peterlini 1996:169 in Peterlini 2007:273).

Catholic youth organisations were committed to reducing intergroup conflict and promoted the declaration by stating that whoever works for the defence of minorities, must logically accept the declaration of ethnic affiliation because whoever wants to protect an ethnic group must also know to which group they belong (Peterlini 2007:273).

Underlining this, Anton Zelger, then Provincial Councillor responsible for German Language Culture and Education, made the pronouncement 'the more clearly we are separate, the better we understand each other' (Peterlini 2007:267, my translation). This was the expression of an SVP notion that the needs of each linguistic group were such that they should take their own path in the development of their own identity, to include schools, libraries and cultural institutions.

The results of the 1981 census showed for the first time that the German speaking population had increased, by 2%, and the Italian population had shrunk, for the first time since 1921, by 4.6% (Peterlini 1996:169 in Peterlini 2007:273). Canon Michael Gamper's *March of Death* for German speaking South Tyroleans (Steininger 2004:112-3) appeared to have been halted.

The strengthening position of German speakers in the province contrasted with the perceived weakening of the Italian speaking position. In 1985, the far-right Italian Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement party – MSI) managed to collect almost 23,000 signatures in a petition decrying the Autonomy Statute (1972). The demands of the petition included:

- Abolition of the obligation for bilingualism for Italian speakers;
- Pre-eminence of Italian in all spheres of contact;

- Abolition of ethnic proportionality ('that robs us of houses and work')
- The repeal of provincial laws requiring four years residence before eligibility to vote.

The effect of the petition was that in 1986 and 1987, the Italian Parliament debated the South Tyrol question twice. (Peterlini 2007:274-275)

Alleanza Nazionale, the daughter party of MSI, on the Italian right, also saw its support grow through the 1980s and by late 1980s had established itself as the strongest Italian party in both the city and provincial councils.

Support for the German speaking right also grew during the same period. In 1983 a group broke away from SVP to form to form *Union für Südtirol*, which had the declared aim of achieving self-determination.

There were expressions of dissatisfaction with the general situation by German speaking activists, which led to the arrest of a group of South Tyroleans who had protested in favour of self-determination in Vienna, and legal action against the editor of the South Tyrol daily German language newspaper Dolomitten.

For the 1991 census, the provincial government sought to remedy the anomaly that everyone in Bolzano must belong to one of the three ethnolinguistic groups. A fourth category was added, that of *other*. However, whilst free to choose *other*, the individual respondent still had to declare to which group they wished to be considered with, for the allocation of resources and application of the rights afforded that group.

1.5 1992 to the Present

The year 1992 is significant in the history of the province, as this was the year that UN, with the agreement of Italy, Austria and elected representatives from the province declared UN Conflict 1497/XV resolved although this did not preclude further developments (Wolff 2008:15).

In 2001, the 1972 statute of autonomy, which is the legal framework for the *region* of Trentino-Alto Adige (comprising the *provinces* of Trento and South Tyrol-Alto Adige) was reformed to allow provincial level autonomous governments to their own autonomy without having to refer to the regional government. Also for the first time, the provincial name *Südtirol* – the German denomination – was recognised by the Italian state (Wolff 2008:16).

It is at this point I draw this discussion to a close, since, in terms of the overarching legal and administrative frameworks which govern the day to day life of the province, this brings us to the historical present and the temporal context from which the data is taken. I will take some of these points and develop them further in the relevant data chapters, with regard to education and place names.

1.6 Concluding Remarks

The aim of this chapter has been to present a broad sketch of the context in which the data for this study is situated and present the research question from which it arose.

I began by presenting the most salient general aspects from the historical present, including the social and demographic. I have discussed legal and political aspects which

provide a social framework for individuals who live in the province. I then moved to trace the itineraries of ideas, discourses, social action and even key social actors which have led to this situation. I have invested heavily in historical aspects of the province, from the deep past up to the last twenty years or so. Although I have provided a closer focus on the years of Fascism, I have also privileged salient discourses and social action which went before or came after this period. I have also shown how global geopolitical, or spatial events, have had a direct impact on those who live in the province

Largely due to reasons of space the preceding introduction is not, and could never be considered, exhaustive. However it is, I argue, comprehensive enough to situate the data in the mind of the reader and, where necessary, allow her to evaluate and /or critique both the data collected and subsequent analysis.

As we shall see further in the data I present, there is a strong sense that at either end of the discursive spectrum, are Italian- speaking and German-speaking nationalist thinking as the points furthest from each other, discourse relating to the province often revolves around arguments which could very crudely and summarily be articulated by saying that South Tyrol-Alto Adige is either “German” or “Italian” and that ethnic (or linguistic) conflict in the province was something brought about by the Fascist regime and Ettore Tolomei. Yet, as I have shown, what a close inspection of historical developments reveals is that the territory which now bears the name of the Province of Bolzano-Bozen, known also as South Tyrol-Alto Adige, has a long history of condivision, as a meeting point, and that instances of conflict or struggles for hegemony can be found, and empirically attested to, from at least from the Middle Ages to the present. This is fundamental for

the later analysis, orientating strongly to Blommaert's assertion that '...we need to take history seriously, for part of the critical punch of what we do may ultimately lie in our capacity to show that what looks new is not new at all...' (2005:37)

Everything that now follows – the literature I have looked to, the theory and methodology I have employed in the research process, the data which emerged, is presented and interrogated – is my attempt to answer the question articulated at the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFINING THIS STUDY: THEORY & METHOD

*When asked, 'What is ethnography?', would it not be enough to provide a short reading list, or to point to the discussion in some text of what research proposals often refer to as 'standard ethnographic method'?
I fear not.*

Hymes 1980:88

... "The notion of theory as a toolkit means (i) The theory to be constructed is not a system but an instrument, a logic of the specificity of power relations and the struggles around them; (ii) That this investigation can only be carried out step by step on the basis of reflection (which will necessarily be historical in some of its aspects) on given situations."

Foucault 1980:145

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter I lay open the research process in terms of its theoretical underpinnings, and methodologies developing from these, to answer the following question that ultimately emerged from the data:

During the period of research, when people have talked about bi- and multilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano, focusing their discussions on bilingual

education, place names and Fascist-era monuments, what is being talked about? How and why are these themes not only connected, but central to discourses on bi- and multilingualism?

Here I demonstrate the instruments I chose – theoretical and methodological – why I chose them, and how these were applied in finding out, in the words of one respondent during an observation: *What's behind all this?* (See chapter 4, section 4.2.1).

I should also say that the placing “theory” and “methodology” in the same chapter was a difficult, but conscious choice. In doing so, I adhere to the notion that theory and method are inseparable and that, following Foucault, theory itself should be seen as the toolkit (1980:45).

However, to aid the reader, I have divided this chapter very broadly into two parts. In Part One, I present a discussion on the theoretical aspects which are most pertinent to this study. I begin with a discussion of Ethnography, moving to *Linguistic Ethnography* (hereinafter LE). I include agreements but also disagreements about what LE is and what it can/should achieve and how this in turn can affect methodological decisions. I then move to discuss the overarching approach to ethnography used in the research process: Nexus Analysis (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004).

Having presented, in essence, how I see Nexus Analysis in relation to ethnography and LE, in Part two of this chapter I go through the data collection strategies and methodologies I employed in the research process, laying out the data collection path I followed. I describe my progression, including the difficulties I faced and the decisions I made during data collection.

PART ONE: On Ethnography & Linguistic Ethnography

2.1 Defining Ethnography

Hymes' rhetorical question, cited above, resurfaced in *Ethnography, Linguistics and Narrative Inequality* (1996:3), having originally appeared originally in a *Working Papers* series from 1978 (ibid: xiii). That it was republished almost twenty years after originally made available, would give good reason to think it remains a salient topic. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 1) also remark similarly on ethnography's lack of standardisation, whereas Agar (2006) has been reflecting on what is "real" ethnography since 1968 and the period of research which led to his seminal ethnography of urban heroin use *Ripping and Running* (1973).

As we shall see, particularly in relation to *Linguistic Ethnography*, these are questions to which the answers continue to prove elusive and perhaps, turning once again to Agar, these are questions which may not have a satisfactory definitive answer (2006).

With all this fully in mind, the aim of this section is to briefly discuss the development of ethnography, moving to the development of linguistic ethnography (LE). I present what others see as some of the epistemological challenges common to ethnography and LE, some of which apply to qualitative social science in general, and seek to respond to the most pressing of these for this study.

Hymes (1996:3) provides a brief account of ethnography's heritage, claiming a not unbroken lineage in what we today call ethnographic enquiry, back to antiquity.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:1) place ethnography in the development of nineteenth-century Western anthropology.

In some respects, the actual time-line is irrelevant, other than to respond to criticisms that ethnography is new to social science enquiry. Of greater importance is situating ethnography within the development of ideas relating to scientific enquiry of the social world. From this point of view, there is general agreement (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2007:609; Hammersley & Atkinson 2007:1; Savigliano 2003:4) that ethnography has been central to the field of anthropology since anthropology's early years as a recognised science, in the early twentieth century. A point made by Blommaert and Dong about ethnography is that:

[e]ver since its beginnings, in the work of Malinowski and Boas, it was part of **a total programme of scientific description and interpretation**, comprising not only technical, methodological aspects (Malinowskian fieldwork) but also, for example, cultural relativism and behaviourist-functionalist theoretical underpinnings.

Ethnography was the scientific apparatus that put communities, rather than human kind, on the map, focusing attention on the complexity of separate social units, the intricate relations between small features of a single system usually seen in balance.

(2010:5, my emphasis)

This addresses two critical issues relating to ethnography. The first is that ethnography is often (mis)understood simply as a mode of fieldwork, i.e. a set of qualitative data collection methodologies. The second is that ethnography moves the focus of study away

from the grand-scale to local, situated practices of social actors and the social spaces they construct and inhabit (Hymes 1996:10, nuanced by Lefebvre 1991).

Yet even within these clarifications, tensions exist as to what ethnography *should* accomplish. For example Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:14) are categorical in their belief that ‘...the exclusive, immediate goal of all research is, and must remain, the production of knowledge...’ with ethnography being no exception. Whilst they acknowledge (*ibid*: 12-14) that social research may stimulate social change, embracing the Foucauldian thesis that science itself is an ideological *regime* (and so a mechanism of social power), social change should be neither the motivation nor objective for conducting research.

This contrasts quite sharply, for example, with the view of Hymes who argues for a recalibration of anthropology, to make it ‘...a personal general anthropology, whose function is the advancement of knowledge **and the welfare of mankind**’ (1974: 47 my emphasis). This apparent tension is not new. Clifford (1988) notes this in referring to the work of the mid twentieth-century French anthropologist Michel Leiris, grappling with ethnography in the post-colonial age. Clifford observes that Leiris struggled with colonial age perspectives and ideologies that infused anthropology and saw ‘...the ethnographer as a natural advocate for exploited peoples...’ (1988: 89). Scollon & Wong Scollon also highlight that earlier Boaz in particular also struggled with, and attempted to overcome, what he saw as the ideology of racism that pervaded American anthropology (2007:609-10).

This can also be seen in the work of Lassiter (2005a, 2005b, 2008; but see also Lewis & Russell 2011 in the UK). Lassiter points to a debate that, according to him, has been

unfolding for the last thirty years or so, arguing that ‘... [e]thnographers...have witnessed in the emergence of interpretive anthropology and its postmodern development **an increased consciousness of the politics that surround ethnography, from fieldwork to written text.**’ (2005a:4-5, my emphasis). In accordance with Clifford, above (but see also Bourdieu 1975), Lassiter, in the same section - entitled ‘On power and the politics of representation’ - notes that ‘[m]any, if not most, ethnographers now recognize how power and history shape the ethnographic process...’ (2005a:4-5). To address this, Lassiter advocates what he calls *collaborative* ethnography, an approach which incorporates research “subjects” or “participants” in the process of knowledge production, moving from ‘...reading over the shoulder of natives...[to]...reading alongside natives’ (2005a:3)

In short, and in contrast to Hammersley and Atkinson, we see in the work of scholars such as Hymes, the Scollons and Lassiter, that the processes of knowledge production, indeed knowledge producers, are far from neutral. Further, that awareness of this is simply not enough.

2.2 Defining *Linguistic* Ethnography

Moving to discuss *linguistic* ethnography, Creese (2008) positions it within traditions of socio- or applied linguistics as ‘...a theoretical and methodological development orientating towards particular, established traditions but defining itself in the new intellectual climate of late modernity and post-structuralism.’ (2008:229) She quickly notes that discussions of *what is/not* linguistic ethnography are very much in progress and that the approach is still in its infancy (*ibid*).

Rampton et al's (2004) UKLEF discussion paper also begins by noting the course of LE since the 1980s, acknowledging the influence of Hymes' 'ethnography of communication' and links, certainly in the UK, with American linguistic anthropology (2004:1, but also Creese 2008:229). As Creese notes above, whilst there is debate about what is/is not LE, Rampton et al argue that:

...linguistic ethnography generally holds that to a considerable degree, language and the social world are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into the mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity.

(2004:2)

Creese and Blackledge refine this further with regard to LE and multilingualism (and so of direct relevance in the context of this thesis). They see the job of LE as combining close attention to localised social action as it is nested in the wider social world, through the lenses of indexicality and the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia (2010:63-64).

Indexicality here means the context dependency of signs (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:212), whether linguistic or non. Heteroglossia sees utterances as containing traces of other utterances, past or future (Morris 1994:249). Creese and Blackledge see a key strength of LE as its disciplinary eclecticism, which in fact facilitates making connections from local observations to broader issues of ideology and power (2010a:66-67).

If we remain specifically with ethnography and research on multilingualism for a moment, we see there is a deep debt of gratitude owed especially to North American Linguistic Anthropology. That there is and has been a close relationship between Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology is noted by Buscholtz and Hall (2008), who highlight the long

history of fruitful interdisciplinary dialogue, if not always without its tensions, between these two closely related fields of enquiry.

Certainly for sociolinguistics, and those of us concerned with bi-/multilingualism, Linguistic Anthropology has been of paramount importance. In fact Martin-Jones, highlighting the turn to critical theory, postmodernism and post structuralism towards the end of the 1980s, sees the work particularly of Susan Gal (1989), Heller (1992, 1995 & 1999) and Woolard (1985 & 1989) as being instrumental in the reformation of a sociolinguistics which was both ethnographic and critical (Martin-Jones 2012:2-3).

These scholars, and others like them, sought to connect their fine grain, local accounts of language use and ideologies to broader social and economic processes. The taken-for-granted links between language, nation and identity, links which had become so rooted as to become “natural” and “obvious”, began to be rigorously interrogated.

Through the ethnographic work, especially at the intersections and overlaps between speakers of different varieties of linguistics and communicative resources, other scholars such as, Gal and Irvine (1995), Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998) Bauman and Briggs (2003), opened up new ways of viewing language and social inequality and raised important questions which are still being grappled with today. Thanks to their theorising, based on ethnographic fieldwork and analysis, language ideologies became a foundation stone for much sociolinguistic enquiry which follows to this day.

Susan Gal's (1989) paper opens by orientating to Hymes' goals of understanding inequality by placing processes such as bilingualism and linguistic nationalism, amongst others, within a context of European colonialism, neo-colonialism and the

interpenetration of histories on a global level (1989:345-6). Gal and Irvine (1995) shows how linguistics as a science became instrumental in wedding language to the nationalist cause during the 19th century.

Bauman and Briggs (1992), building on the work of Hanks (1987), looked to Bakhtin (1986) and Dell Hymes's body of work from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s, and opened the way to examine indexical relationships, and thereby illuminating issues of power and (political) economy, through a reappraisal of the idea of genres. Bakhtin's ideas on speech genres has a direct application in chapter 5 of this thesis, in accessing *Monumento alla Vittoria* as text(s) "written" in a complex cultural genre (Bakhtin 1986:69).

Returning to more epistemological terrain, Rampton (2006:391-395) sounds a note of caution, relating the tensions that exist in bringing different disciplines, particularly *linguistics* and *ethnography*, together, or better, the reconciliation of (at the very least) two distinct epistemological traditions, traditions that view the study of language in markedly different ways. According to Rampton, linguistics and ethnography generally disagree to the extent that the object of study can be codified, with the formulation and articulation of rules being more problematic in ethnography than linguistics (2006: 393).

Tusting & Maybin (2007), discuss the contributions of others, highlighting how many linguistic ethnographers differ on these difficult questions, including about combining linguistics with ethnography, and the types of truth claims which can be made on the basis of such work.

Rampton also highlights a fundamental difference between linguistics and ethnography concerning the locus of study. For linguistics, the object of study is *language*;

ethnography, on the other hand generally takes its object as *culture*, which appears far less precise and far less amenable to the type of codification that is commonly a goal for linguistics (Rampton 2007). However, one point of agreement is that generally, LE emphasizes the importance of *reflexivity* in research: the positioning of the researcher, her background and motivations for conducting research and analysis (see, for example, Creese & Blackledge 2010a:85-87), arguably an aspect which formal linguistic does not engage with.

Scollon and Wong Scollon's (2007:608-25) contribution to the discussion centres on an approach they call *Nexus Analysis*, an approach to ethnography that moves the locus of study away from language or culture, attending instead to *social action*. Language and culture become '...problems to be examined rather than...premises.' (2007:608-9)

Whilst Sealey (2007) argues that LE's theoretical heritage is weak, Scollon and Wong Scollon pointedly embed the trajectory of Nexus Analysis within the history of US linguistic anthropology, or better, within the theoretical and real-world issues that ethnographers such as Boaz, through to Hymes and others, have grappled with: institutional racism being an example they cite. Scollon and Wong Scollon chart the development of Nexus Analysis from their own work over thirty years, which began as ethnography of speaking and evolved through New Literacy Studies (2007:614). The definition they provide for Nexus Analysis (taken from their book-length treatment of the paradigm 2004: viii) is that it is the:

...mapping of semiotic cycles of people, discourses, places, and mediational means involved in the social action we are studying. We . . . use the term 'nexus of practice' to focus on the point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses,

ideas and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action. Another way to put this is to say simply that nothing happens in a social and political vacuum.

As can be readily inferred, this goes far beyond the type of language work described either by Rampton (2007) or the understanding of ethnography contested by Sealey (2007:641-660). Here we see the shift away from language and into the realm of what Agha elsewhere refers to as 'semiotic encounters', many of which '...are non-immediate in the sense that they involve intermediaries (known or unknown) that relay messages serially across a chain of communicative events.' (Agha 2007:10). So in Scollon and Wong Scollon's definition of Nexus Analysis (but also in Agha's understanding of semiotic encounters), we see avenues opening up which make possible the systematic analysis of elements from outside the immediate face-to-face encounter. The first is the widening of interests to include what Blommaert calls 'meaningful semiotic conduct', which as he points out leaves one '...facing the task of analysing more things in more ways.' (2005:236-7). The second, in my opinion, extremely important aspect is the inclusion of Agha's non-immediateness, including interlocutors who may not be known. This, together with Bakhtin's later work on speech genres (1986) provide the entry point for including the Fascist era public art still found in Bozen-Bolzano, frequently found alongside education or place names in public discourse on bilingualism.

Scollon and Wong Scollon see Nexus Analysis as a responses to Dell Hymes' call '...for each of us to reinvent anthropology as 'a personal general anthropology' as knowledge

production for the benefit of mankind' (1974: 47 in Scollon and Wong Scollon 2007:608). And whilst this might sit uncomfortably with those viewing LE from traditional linguistics or sociolinguistics, it sits very comfortably within discussions around ethnography, current in US and UK anthropology (for the US see the aforementioned Lassiter 2005a & 2005b on collaborative ethnography and in the UK see Lewis & Russell 2011 on embedded ethnography). Where Nexus Analysis differs is that the initial analytic focus is on social action, rather than the discourse or language; an approach developing from Ron Scollon's (2001) *Mediated Discourse Analysis* project.

The Scollons' position is in stark contrast with Hammersley's conceptualization of the ethnographer (and presumably by extension, ethnography), who '...must neither be in the service of some political establishment or profession nor an organic intellectual seeking to further the interests of marginalised, exploited, or dominated groups.' Hammersley's rationale is that any such approach would run the risk of systematic bias (Hammersley 2006:11). However, as Scollon and Wong Scollon consciously demonstrate (2007:612-15), since the earliest decades of the twentieth century, social science (or at the very least US anthropology) has been used in activity for both the 'political establishment' *and* 'marginalised, exploited or dominated groups'.

In Nexus Analysis we see not only reflexivity, but also an engagement with data that might be beyond traditional sociolinguistics with an attempt at joining the dots between what has been understood in the past as macro, meso and micro levels of social organisation.

2.3 Defining *this* Ethnography: Nexus Analysis

If the above outlines the theoretical heritage of linguistic and discourse-orientated ethnography, in particular reference to current debates, the following positions this piece research within such discussions.

The theoretical and methodological paradigms from which I draw can be found towards the end of the discussion above, within the work of Scollon and Wong Scollon (principally 2004). Extensively in this project, I have adopted the Nexus Analysis² (hereafter NA) framework as the overarching structure, but I also draw on their work in *Geosemiotics* (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) for the data in chapter 5, on Monumento alla Vittoria. Here I move beyond the dialectic presented above and discuss specific theoretical considerations related to NA (sections of which also broadly apply to Geosemiotics), including how others have interpreted and implemented the approach in their own work. Then, I discuss the actual framework and how I implemented the approach in this piece of research. However, as stated, I have chosen to deal with Geosemiotics largely separately (see chapter 5, section 5.2). Although I argue that one cannot appreciate bi-/multilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano without considering the data I present in chapter 5 (Monumento alla Vittoria – The Victory Monument), the complementary approach taken in effect makes this a study nested within a study.

In one sense, NA could be summarily described as a suite of ethnographic research methodologies and as such, at first glance, might appear to bring little of novelty to the table. However, what differentiates Nexus Analysis is that it is an approach which moves

² I have chosen to capitalise *Nexus Analysis* and *Geosemiotics*, for no other reason than to aid the reader in identifying these concepts on the page.

the locus of study away from language or culture, attending instead to social action. The allied approaches of Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics both also take a view of language, or more precisely here discourse, shared by Blommaert as comprising ‘...all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural and historical patterns of use’ (Blommaert 2005:6).

As Blommaert notes, NA began as a reflection on intertextuality (2013:28), as focus is on the meeting point (the nexus of practice) not only of discourses and people, but also of ideas, objects and places: whose historical trajectories “coincide” in an instance of social action, and whose historical trajectories are altered by this social action. In the complex multilingual context of this study, these approaches have enabled the engagement with Hornberger’s *methodological rich points* (2013. See later, section 2.5.5), and the mapping of discourse itineraries (Scollon 2008), seemingly displaced by time and space. NA has allowed – obliged even – the tracing of discourses across disparate discursive genres, and across time, to understand the interrelationship of language and other social semiotic data in discourses around bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen.

As already established, NA looks in the first instance at *what is going on* and not *what is being said*. It is a form of ethnography which spotlights social action (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:13). Whilst acknowledging that NA does not, at first glance, appear to be ethnography in a conventional sense, Blommaert sees it very much so:

Theoretically sophisticated ethnography is rare, and it takes an effort to discover it, because sometimes it is found in work that does not announce or present itself as

'typical' ethnography (the fieldwork-based monograph is still the 'typical' ethnographic product). The work of Ron and Suzie Scollon is a case in point. Much of their major works do not *look* like ethnography. There are no lengthy introductions about the fieldwork which was conducted, for instance, and the main drive of their work is to contribute to semiotics and discourse analysis. Yet, they systematically insisted on the ethnographic basis of their work (e.g. Scollon & Scollon 2009)... If we talk about sophisticated ethnography, the work of the Scollons certainly qualifies for inclusion into that category.

(Blommaert 2013:24)

Whether NA should be considered *ethnography* or *ethnographic* is indeed a question worth asking. As we have seen, Rampton (2006:393) has shown that generally ethnography's object is *culture*, whereas for Scollon and Wong Scollon social action becomes the object, with culture is something else to be examined (2007:608-9). Also, they themselves acknowledge that by focusing on social action, or *nexus of practice*, rather than predefined social grouping, culture or classification, they depart from traditional approaches in ethnography (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2004:13). Nonetheless, they do see Nexus Analysis as developing from within the base of linguistic ethnography (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2007:615).

Pietikäinen et al. (2011:278, also Scollon & Scollon 2009) see NA as an ethnographically and historically weighted form of *discourse analysis*, particularly adapted to examining socio-political language processes. Lane (2010:67) adds that NA draws on a raft of communication-orientated traditions including Critical Discourse Analysis, Ethnography of Communication and Linguistic Anthropology. Another view onto NA is provided by Hult,

who places it as emerging from ethnographic sociolinguistics and describing it as a *meta-methodology*, or:

‘...systematic approach to integrating methodological tools from the well-established traditions of interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, and critical discourse analysis in order to account for relationships between individual social actions and circulating discourses across dimensions of social context.

(2010:10)

Here we also see shades of Creese and Blackledge’s argument in favour of LE’s eclecticism (2010a:66-67) and from the small, but growing, body of literature we see NA employed in diverse research contexts, with different configurations. Hult has applied NA to examine language policy (2010) and linguistic landscapes (2009). Hult (2014) also combines NA with Geosemiotics, though in a different configuration to the one in this thesis, to examine the interplay of Spanish and English in the visual environment in San Antonio, Texas. Lane (2010) approaches language shift in the Finnic-speaking Kven community in northern Norway. Pietikäinen et al. (2011) and Pietikäinen (2014, 2015) have also applied NA to language in the physical world.

In each of these studies, the common denominator is that the researchers have sought out instances of social action on what might summarily be described as the local, moving to uncover the connections with broader discourses across time and space (see especially Pietikäinen 2015).

Whilst acknowledging that the term ‘social action’ is potentially problematic (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2007:608), Nexus Analysis considers observable social action to be the overlapping or meeting point of three key elements:

- the discourses in place in a given context;
- the social actors and their historical bodies (close to, if not synonymous with the Bourdieusian concept of habitus); and
- the interaction order (after Goffman 1963, 1983) of participants in a social action or *nexus of practice*.

I will now briefly describe these elements, returning to how I interpreted these in this study in section 2.6.

2.3.1 Discourses in Place

For Scollon & Wong Scollon the *Discourses in Place* refer to the multiplicity of discourses which circulate through any social space, all of which may have trajectories which follow different timescales: from the momentary and fleeting, to those which unfold, perhaps over millennia (2004:14). This is a point of fundamental relevance in this thesis, as seen from chapter 1, and as we shall see further in the data presentations which follow.

It should also be clear that discourse here is understood beyond what might be considered the traditionally linguistic, to encompass any semiotic process (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:17). This, once again, is of particular importance in this thesis.

One of the preliminary tasks in NA is to understand which of these semiotic processes are relevant for the social issue under examination, established through participating in (engaging with, in the Scollons' words) the social practice under investigation.

Here a note on terminology regarding *space* and *place* is warranted. For Scollon & Wong Scollon *space* refers to the '...objective, physical dimensions and characteristics of a portion of the earth...' (*ibid*: 216), whereas *place* is '...the human or lived experience or sense of presence in a [physical] space...' (*ibid*: 214), although in both passages they acknowledge these terms are not unproblematic. Instead, looking to the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991), I prefer throughout this thesis to use *place* to denote the physical "objective" characteristics of our world, and (*social*) *space* to describe the lived experience.

2.3.2 The Historical Body

In the work of Ron and Suzie Scollon we see the use of the Bourdieusian term *Habitus* (in Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) and later another term: *Historical Body* (e.g. 2004, 2005, and 2007). At a cursory glance these appear to be synonymous, or perhaps the second term, appearing in later work, a somewhat pedantic variation of what has become a staple in discourse-orientated research. This is not helped by the fact that what the Scollons wrote on the difference before Ron's death appears oblique and fragmentary. The *Historical Body* is taken from the work of the Japanese philosopher Nishida Kitaro (1958), and for the Scollons provides a more nuanced approach to understanding psychological aspects than *Habitus* allows (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2005:101-8). *Historical Body* also emphasizes the way the '...individual forms the environment, and the

environment the individual.’ (Nishida 1958:174). The point is however debatable, and depends greatly on how Bourdieu is interpreted. Regardless, there is greater emphasis on dialogicality (Bakhtin 1981) and the dialogic relationship between the person and her world than can be immediately gleaned from Bourdieu’s Habitus. The position I hold is that Historical Body does not replace Habitus as a concept, but rather extends it and underlines the dialogic or ‘two-way-ness’ of the relationship³.

2.3.3 The Interaction Order

The Interaction Order is adapted from Goffman and concerns how social actors come together and interact with each other and the social world. Often, Goffman is remembered for his emphasis on face-to-face interaction (see Goffman 1956 or 1974). However Goffman also pointed out there are ‘...behavioral settings that sustain an interaction order characteristically extending in space and time beyond any single social situation occurring in them.’ (1983:4).

As Hult (2010:12) argues, extending our view of the Interaction Order outside face-to-face situations, the analyst may access social relations beyond the “here and now”. This is especially salient when we consider that the Historical Body or Habitus is inherently present in the Interaction Order, as Goffman continues:

It is plain that each participant enters a social situation carrying an already established biography of prior dealings with other participants – or at least with participants of their kind; and enters also with a vast array of cultural assumptions presumed to be shared...We could not utter a phrase meaningfully unless we

³ I am extraordinarily grateful to Prof. Adrian Blackledge and Dr Francis Hult for their time in discussions and correspondence on this.

adjusted lexicon and prosody according to what the categoric or individual identity of our putative recipients allows us to assume they already know, and knowing this, don't mind our openly presuming on it.

(1983:4)

Developing this further, Blommaert (2013:33) sees the Interaction Order, as understood by the Scollons, as a product of the social world or socially, historically constructed space combined with the historical body.

2.3.4 The Nexus of Practice: Discourses in Place + Historical Body + Interaction Order

A nexus of practice is the meeting point of the (inherently historical) trajectories of discourses and ideas but also people, places and objects, whose coming together forms an instance of social action which changes those trajectories in some way (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:13).

It is most easily thought of as meaningful, repeated-repeatable encounters in time and space; a situation of social practice in which the Historical Bodies of social actors, the Discourses in Place and the Interaction Order are empirically observable.

In their 2004 monograph, Scollon and Wong Scollon provide a diagram similar to that shown in figure 9. Also, throughout they refer to discourse cycles. However in later work Ron Scollon forsook the term *cycle* in favour of *itinerary* since '...discourse inherently operates along such itineraries of transformation...' with the job of Nexus Analysis '...to map such itineraries of relationships among text, action, and the material world...' (2008:233).

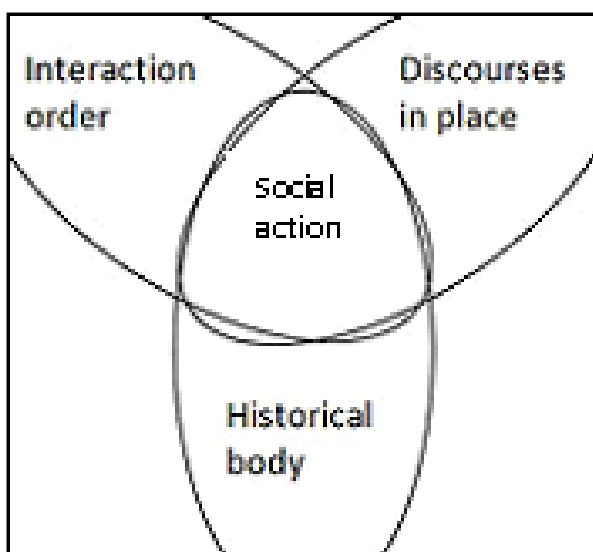


Figure 9 The Nexus of Practice (adapted from Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:20)

Pietikäinen (see 2015:209-10) prefers the Deleuzian concept of *rhizomes* to describe, arguably, the same process, although one could reasonably argue that *rhizomes* emphasises the seemingly infinite possibilities for connectivity between, for example, genres, registers or regimes of signs (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:7). However, what both *rhizomes* and *itineraries* share implicitly, I argue, is the notion of process, rather than cycle. This sits far more comfortably with Bakhtinian concepts such as dialogism and associated processes of intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

Figure 10 is an attempt to reflect this conceptual shift. It also shows another important, more practical aspect of the NA process, that of *circumferencing*. Before explaining the circumferencing process, I will explain the activity which must be undertaken before it: *mapping* (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:87). Mapping involves acquiring a broad awareness of the discourses (including the semiotic) which are present in the nexus of practice: where these discourses have come from (in a spatio-temporal sense), and

possibly, the anticipated outcomes. So in this thesis, this has meant looking initially at discourses on language and education. But it also meant discourses on identity, especially linguistically defined identity which the state imposes and which was also contested by Polyglot: the parental association which became the nexus of practice of this study (see section 2.6.1. See also Blackledge & Pavlenko 2004 on this point about identities). This is especially, though not exclusively, with regard to *i mistilingui* (lit. mixed-language, i.e. those from bilingual homes). To do this effectively involved delving into the historical past (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3) to trace the development of the relevant discourses and their itineraries.

Following on from *mapping* comes *circumferencing*. Essentially, circumferencing is the process of examining the discourses present in the nexus of practice more closely to see which other discourses they interact with, as part of broader itineraries. This means not only tracing the path through past events and other discursive sites (e.g. institutions, other associations), but also grasping the timescales. In a practical sense, circumferencing also means defining the discursive bounds of the study.

However, as I was to discover, whilst such activity proved useful in locating the genesis of some (though not all) discourses and tracing their development, their presence in “current” discourse required a more chronotopic understanding (Bakhtin 1981) for meaningful analysis. It is for this reason that in the following chapters which focus on the data, I place together, for example, newspaper articles from the 1920s alongside transcriptions of talk from the present, taking the position that all of these can be found in the discourses which circulate in Bozen-Bolzano today.

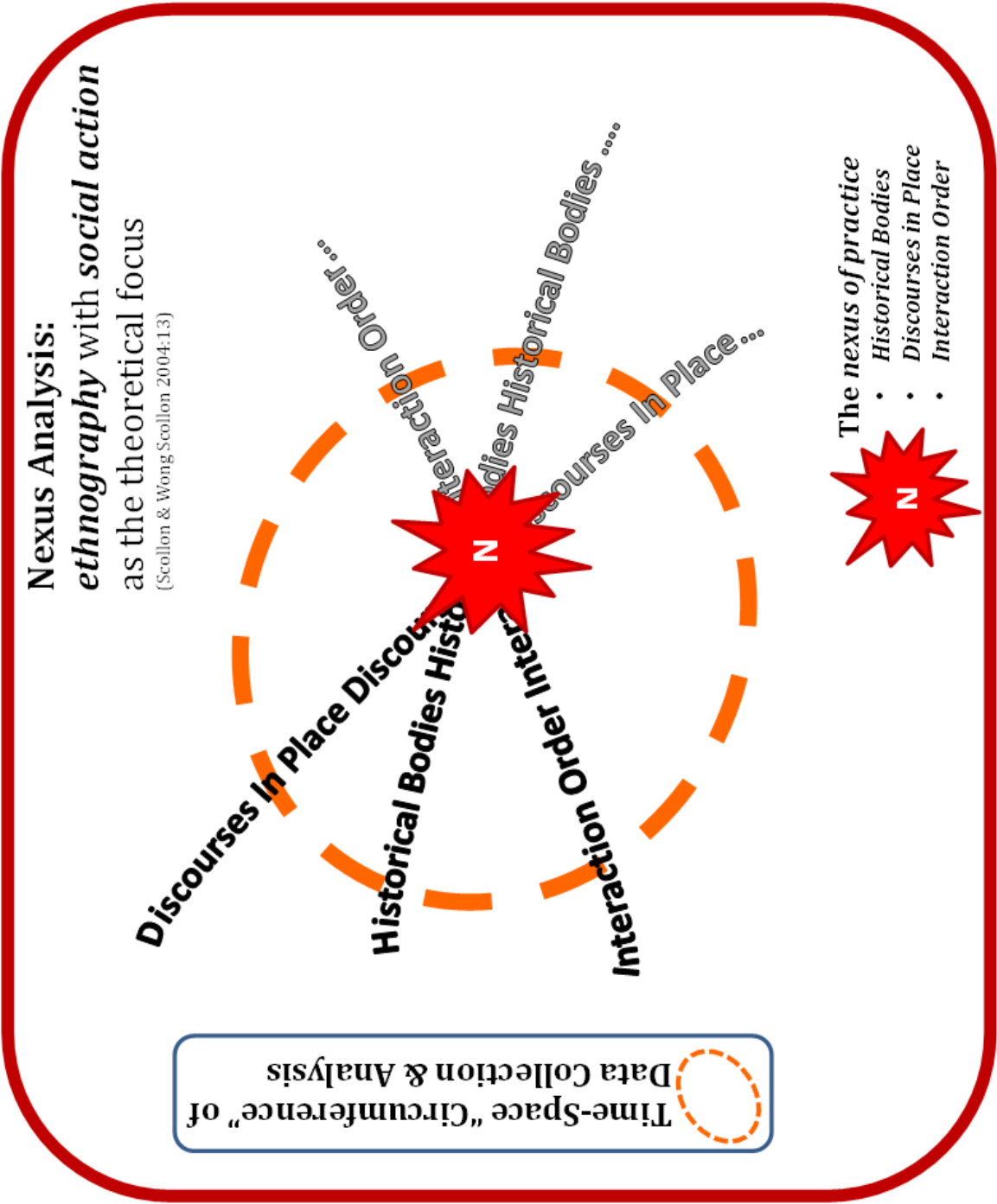


Figure 10 Nexus Analysis Re-Imagined, showing itineraries rather than cycles.

2.3.5 Analysing the Data & Concluding the Project

Here Hult's (2010:10) description of NA as a meta-methodology can be better understood and realised to its full potential. NA is open to discursive data in its myriad forms across the semiotic spectrum: from language to anything in the social world which might be imbued with meaning. As such, different data require the different analytic instruments available from disciplines such as ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, CDA, pragmatics and work on multimodality.

In the paradigm outlined by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2004), the final stage of any Nexus Analysis involves changing the Nexus. This essentially goes beyond taking a position with regard to findings and interpretation and moving into activism.

In the NA studies cited this aspect is either omitted (Hult 2009, 2010, 2014; Lane 2010; Pietikäinen et al 2011), or left opaque (Pietikäinen 2015). This, I would argue, reflects the lack of agreement shown in the debates as to what ethnography *should* or *should not* do (see discussion, section 2.1). In this thesis, and the research process of which it is the fruit, I have not engaged actively in this aspect.

PART TWO: The Methodological Trajectory of this Research Process

2.4 Introduction: Methodologies to let the data speak

Having laid out the overarching theoretical framework for this project, in this part I set out the methodological choices made during the research process and chart how this process developed and brought me to include to the data in the chapters which follow.

There are three important considerations which guided my selection of instruments. The first is that I wanted to let the data speak. As I understand this, such an approach has deep implications for methodologies since it means selecting instruments which best fit the data encountered, rather than selecting data which best fit the instruments. The second point, by extension, means that I had to be open and responsive to develop or change methodologies – theoretically grounded – as I better understood the context and research questions, in order to better access the data. The third, a not insignificant point, is that the methodological instruments chosen had to suit not only the research questions, but also me as a researcher and play to my strengths. Thus, methodologies developed as my understanding of the context, the data, the theory and my own research capabilities evolved.

It would be disingenuous if I did not admit that embarking on an ethnographic study in Bozen-Bolzano was almost an accidental affair. My wife and I had returned to Europe after three years in the Amazon region in Bolivia, where she had worked for an NGO and I had taught English and undertaken an ethnographic research project as part of an MA in Applied Linguistics, looking at ethnolinguistic minorities and access to the economy,

power and their democratic rights (Brannick 2004 unpublished). My plan had been to write a doctoral research proposal and return to the same region. Time passed, the likelihood of returning diminished and we became settled in Bolzano-Bozen. Yet my interest in language related issues and the desire to explore ethnography as theory and method remained. As I looked around my new adopted bilingual home city, I could see much that I did not understand and much to be understood about what was (is) going on in Bozen-Bolzano.

I started out, then, with a broad research interest rather than a research question. From my life in Bozen-Bolzano, I was overwhelmed with the sheer volume of public and private discourse on bilingualism in the autonomous province. The working title for the thesis, when I submitted my proposal, was 'A Linguistic Ethnography of Bolzano-Bozen, South Tyrol-Alto Adige, Italy: *Experiences and Attitudes in Negotiating Identity and Power in an Autonomous Province*'. And yet, as I read the literature and began to gather data I realised that although this broadly described what I was attempting, it was indeed a far from perfect articulation, born of a far from perfect understanding of the research issues, the research context and connected discourses. Nevertheless it was a start.

Firstly, I realised the absurdity of attempting an ethnography "of" Bozen-Bolzano: the most I could ever do is provide an ethnography of aspects "in" Bolzano-Bozen. Secondly, although I maintain my interest in identity and power, I realised, as my understanding of the complex socio-political and socio-historical nature of Bolzano-Bozen grew, I had to look more to language ideologies and the body of work found in linguistic anthropology in

order to understand what I was seeing. This also meant being receptive to instruments that were better attuned to collecting and later analysing what I saw.

As a sketch of the following, I start with the preliminary research phase which allowed me to orientate to both the context and the data which laid the groundwork for the research framework. I then move to discuss how I implemented Nexus Analysis as the overarching approach for the research process.

2.5 Preliminary Phase: Participant Observation

I began the entire research process by looking to James P. Spradley's (1980) *Participant Observation*, which provides a research sequence for general ethnography in the anthropological tradition. For Spradley:

The ethnographer has much in common with the explorer trying to map a wilderness area...
[I]ike an ethnographer, the explorer is seeking to describe a wilderness area rather than trying to "find" something. (1980:27)

In summary, the approach outlined begins with the selecting of an ethnographic project. From here research begins with asking ethnographic questions. It then moves to collecting ethnographic data, followed by making an ethnographic record. Data is analysed as the process unfolds, which facilitates more precise and carefully crafted ethnographic questions (see figure 11).

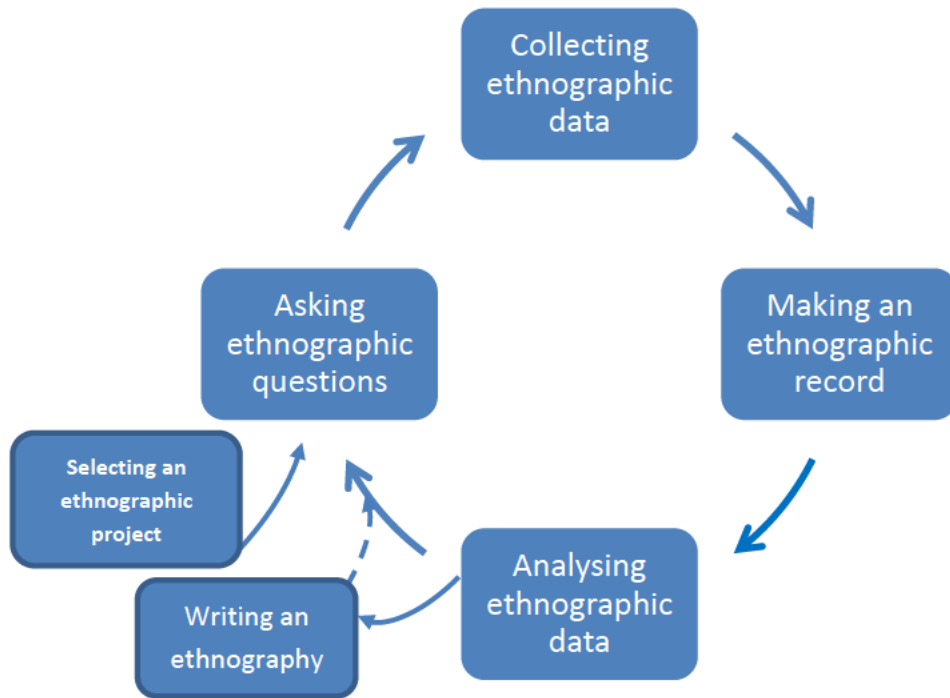


Figure 11 Spradley's Ethnographic Research Cycle (adapted from Spradley 1980:29)

From the schematic in figure 11, we can see that this process is highly reflexive, with data analysis during (not restricted to after) the data collection phase. Whilst Spradley describes this as a cycle, it might better be conceived of as a helix, which continues to move forward with the research process.

This approach, constantly refining the research question throughout the research process, leads (and in this thesis, led) to questions of greater precision and the filtering out of “noise”, or discourses relating to bilingualism which I came to understand as being of secondary or corollary importance, or could be understood as components of other discourses. I now seek to describe how this process was applied.

2.5.1 Asking Ethnographic Questions

I began by formulating ethnographic *pathfinder* questions, or questions that would allow some preliminary analytic access. Such questions included:

- how do residents manage living in context where two (and possibly three, in certain institutional settings) languages are present;
- what problems, tensions or issues arise from this, if any;
- how is this “indigenous” diversity managed from an individual to an institutional level;
- what historical factors led to the present situation; and
- how are these represented and understood.

To find answers to these pathfinder questions, and indeed to reformulate them as I moved forward, I looked to existing institutional literature and research conducted in and around the Autonomous Province which related to bi- or multilingualism. Most of these studies have been quantitative in nature, with the notable exception of John Cole and Eric Wolf’s *Hidden Frontier* (1999), a seminal ethnography of two villages in a valley not far from the city of Bozen-Bolzano, in the region of Trentino-Alto Adige (in the sister province of Bolzano, Trento). These gave me an idea of what questions had been asked. Whilst this might appear, at first glance, as a “literature review” activity, for me this was a central part of the actual methodological design, since it allowed me to see not only *what* had been done, but also *how*. In short, I took the view that different questions required different methods.

One such already mentioned study, which was to have fundamental importance in terms of gaining a broad brush appreciation of the context but also in formulating (and reformulating) ethnographic questions, was the *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer-Barometro Linguistico dell'Alto Adige –2004* (*The South Tyrolean Linguistic Barometer 2004*, ASTAT 2006), mentioned in chapter 1 (section 1.2). Published by the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen, it is a rich quantitative language use and attitudes survey which, for the legally recognised German and Italian-language (but also Ladin) groups asks questions of those who declare themselves belonging to one of these groups, in the following five broad areas (ASTAT 2006:5-7):

- Linguistic biography
- Language use in work
- The (Provincial) Bilingualism exam – *il Patentino/Die Zweisprachigkeitsprüfung*
- Linguistic identity
- Living in a multilingual context

The *Barometer* proved an invaluable resource in formulating (and reformulating) ethnographic questions, because as I trawled through the publication, I found myself not at all questioning the veracity of the findings therein, but rather asking *why* the survey had found what it had found. Why, for example, when asked if they agreed with introducing “the second language” (i.e. German in Italian-medium schools and Italian in German-medium schools) in elementary schools, did 75% of declared Italian-speakers, but only 30% of declared German-speakers, think this was a good idea? (ASTAT 2006:53).

Why the difference? Also, developing from this, why was the province's education system so rigidly divided along the lines of language?

From the rich statistical analysis the *Barometer* provides, I began to see where a linguistic ethnography might be best situated to make a contribution to understanding this context.

2.5.2 Collecting Ethnographic Data

With the pathfinder questions which the previous stage generated, I then moved to collecting ethnographic data. From the very beginning, Participant Observation was a core methodology, and continued throughout the research process: this was greatly aided by the fact that I was resident in Bolzano-Bozen, meaning I interacted with individuals and institutions to some degree as an insider. During the research process, my daughter began Kindergarten and then primary school, pushing me into closer contact with education and the associated language issues. As a parent, I (or better, my wife and I) had to make decisions as to which school system we should elect to send our daughter: Italian-medium, as this was one of our home languages; or German-medium, the one closest to our home and the one attended by her Kindergarten friends. As I was to find in more detail later, these are decisions which parents in the province must regularly make: be they monolingual families who want their children to be bilingual; or bilingual families who must choose one system (and therefore language of instruction) to the exclusion of the other.

For most of the research process I also worked in the private sector (first as an ESOL teacher and later as an in-house translator, both in Bolzano-Bozen based organisations).

Especially at the beginning, this more than anything brought me into daily contact with other residents and participation in the most everyday setting, for example: an espresso at 10 a.m., lunch or occasional evening meals with colleagues; chatting with the parents of my daughter's friends. I spent a great deal of time at the beginning simply listening, later conversing and then discussing with my fellow residents about the daily life in the city of Bozen-Bolzano and the Autonomous Province. During this time I collected quite literally anything I saw which related to bilingualism in the city. I collected flyers for events or advertising products and services. I took photographs, often with a cell phone camera, of billboards, graffiti or anything which caught my eye. I also began to follow closely local print news reporting.

2.5.3 Moving Closer to the Object: Making an Ethnographic Record & Analysing

Ethnographic Data

During the preliminary phase, my ethnographic record took on the form of questions in the process of constant revision, as I compared the confusing array of artefacts I had been collecting. In comparing these semiotic and linguistic artefacts (the photographs, newspaper clippings, observations from participation), I looked to see whether connections between them existed – and if so, how – and to find common themes. The field notes I made during this period reflected better the process of attempting to understand the context, rather than a process of data documentation.

The reflexive research helix in Figure 11 allowed me to ask more defined questions and select data of greater relevance. From another perspective this process of honing in is best illustrated as in Figure 12, modified and adapted from Spradley (1980:34). Here, the

process starts with what Spradley calls *descriptive observations*, which allow the ethnographer to survey the context, in order to grasp a broad or preliminary understanding of the issues present. This moves through to *focused observations*, which begins to restrict the discursive and thematic research focus. Finally *selective observations*, based on data collected during the previous phases, concentrates data collection on the discourses and themes which are of fundamental importance to the overall research project. It should be noted however that as data collection becomes more specific, attention does not cease to be given to the broader issues previously encountered. This is of fundamental importance, since whilst social processes might well appear stable over time, this does not mean they are immutable. As I was to appreciate more fully later in the research process, this paying attention to the relationships between the general (*descriptive*) through to the particular (*selective*) over the chronological time period of research would allow a view of how social processes interacted discursively through time and space, very much in the sense of Blommaert's (2006, 2007) sociolinguistic scales. For Blommaert, sociolinguistic scales are a way seeing the indexical relations between, for example, the local and the global, and, importantly, through time (2007:5. After Wallerstein 2000). In the context of this research, this meant seeing how nineteenth century theories on geography led to an ideological programme of making new *Italian* social space and which are contested today; how agreements between Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini sought to displace the entire German-speaking population from South Tyrol; or how the decisions by the United Nations, agreed by Italian, Austrian and South Tyrolean leaders, are indexed today in discourses around education and the naming of place.

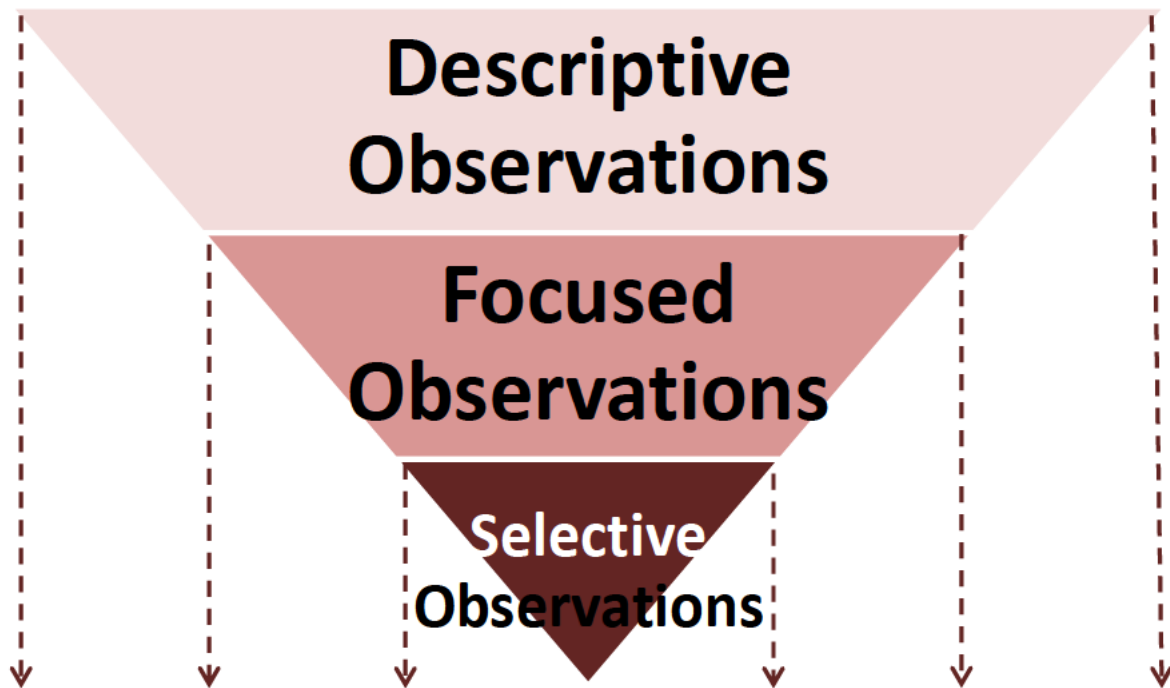


Figure 12 The Research Process (Adapted from Spradley 1980:34)

2.5.4 Discourses which emerged from the preliminary phase

At this stage, there appeared to be almost as many discursive themes as there were data items and artefacts and the most basic ethnographic questions I kept asking myself at this stage were:

- What am I seeing?
- Why am I seeing this?

Whilst these might seem ridiculously elementary, I took the view that since I was not a neutral observer, bringing to the field my own preconceived ideas, prejudices and perceptions, it was important that I interrogated what I saw beyond surface meaning.

A clear example of how the “what” question worked for me is Monument all Vittoria, the Fascist-era war memorial which stands at the gateway from the historical centre of Bozen-Bolzano, and the part of the city developed under Fascism, was/is the concrete manifestation of the regime’s policy of Italianisation (see Chapter 5). I had collected newspaper and political discourse from the present related to the monument and which were largely concerned with positions taken towards it.

Yet it was only at a later stage of the research process that I began to “see” Monumento all Vittoria as a discourse (or aggregate of discourses) in its own right – not simply the discourses which focused on it in the present: I was then able to follow the discourse itineraries which related to language and place (and ultimately questions of spatial hegemony) in the province.

The second, “why”, question is more reflexive and perhaps of even greater peril in (any) ethnography and is in fact in two parts. Firstly, there was constant preoccupation related to research reliability and validity: was I simply seeing what I wanted to see, selecting the discourses I liked or those I felt most comfortable dealing with, and not those of greater importance in the discursive economy of Bolzano-Bozen? I sought to address this through an openness to a variety of data types, to see if/how/where discourses appeared in what might be considered different genres or discursive sites.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, an unmanageable number of discursive themes emerged from the array of data and artefacts I had been collecting. I began to annotate and categorise these data items by discursive theme. I should point out that especially at the preliminary stage, much of this was based on what I intuitively felt. As Verschueren (2012:21) notes,

this is common in discourse-based research in which the researcher has some involvement. As my understanding of the context deepened, this process was refined and readjusted. It should also be noted that such separating out is somewhat artificial and runs the risk of compartmentalising themes and ignoring any connections between discourses.

Nevertheless, the process was extremely helpful. I found I could create a working thematic list of discourses which could be found across the data items I collected. Very broadly and in no particular order, the most common themes were:

1. Bilingual schools (especially extending experimentation with variants of immersion programmes);
2. Language learning in schools;
3. The trilingual University of Bolzano;
4. Language and immigration;
5. Language certification, especially the provincial bilingualism exam (Il patentino-Zweisprachigkeitprüfung);
6. Ethnic (or better linguistic) proportionality & the allocation of public sector jobs in the province;
7. The self-declaration of belonging to one of the three legally recognised ethnic (linguistically defined) groups;
8. Linguistically defined political parties and political representation;
9. Place names; and
10. Fascist monuments.

It was only after this broad categorisation that I could begin to address the second part of the “why am I seeing this?” question – or better: why are these discourses important in Bozen-Bolzano – with any confidence.

2.5.5 Preliminary Phase Conclusion: the Need for More Refined Instruments

The approach Spradley (1980) provides allowed for a broad understanding of bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen. The reflexive nature and the in-built narrowing of the research focus highlighted many important issues and, as mentioned above, the selecting out of less important ones: which is just as important. It was through this process that I came to see the importance of bi- or multilingual education in the province, cementing its place as the first of the data sets, presented in chapter 4.

Even so, I found that there was still much I could not fully grasp: in terms of articulating what it was I was seeing. I was very much at the point of identifying what Hornberger’s (2013) aforementioned ‘methodological rich points’. Hornberger takes Agar’s (1996) notion of ‘rich points’, or ‘...those times in ethnographic research when something happens that the ethnographer doesn’t understand...’ (Hornberger 2013:102). For Agar (1996:32), these rich points are one of three components which comprise ethnography, where ‘...participant observation makes the research possible, rich points are the data you focus on, and coherence is the guiding assumption by which you seek out a frame within which the rich points make sense (Agar 1996:32, in Hornberger 2013:102).

Methodological rich points, Hornberger describes as the ‘...points of research experience that make salient the differences between the researcher’s perspective and mode of research and the world the researcher sets out to describe (*ibid.*).

In searching for coherence, I reappraised the list I had made after dividing up the discourse themes to see if or whether (later to become *how*) any of these discourses were part of other discourses and which discourses were of greater or lesser importance. I thus found myself at a point in which I needed other instruments to make sense and articulate what I was seeing. It was at this point that I began to look at the work of Ron Scollon and Suzie Wong-Scollon: in particular *Nexus Analysis* (2004), later to include *Geosemiotics* (2003).

2.6 Nexus Analysis: Moving Forward

Having discussed the theoretical aspects and framework of the Nexus Analysis process in section 2.3, I now look to describe how I actually implemented NA (and later Geosemiotics) in the research process.

The NA procedure is divided into three stages however, as with the model Spradley provides (Figure 9), this should be seen neither as a cycle nor a linear progression in the strictest sense. Instead there are activities which fall principally within each stage which are also present in the others. Appendix G provides a schematic of the NA process.

2.6.1 Engaging with the Nexus of Practice

Nexus Analysis starts with the researcher engaging, or becoming involved with the social action to be studied. Scollon and Wong Scollon lay out the procedure by which this may be accomplished.

The first phase identified by Scollon and Wong Scollon (2004) is what they term *engaging with the nexus of practice*. The basic question at this stage is: 'Who is doing what (and

where are they doing it) and what are the itineraries of discourse which are circulating through this moment of action?’ (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:82-3)

This part of the process can be broken down into the following research activities:

- Establish the social issue
- Find the crucial social actors
- Observe the interaction order
- Determine the most significant discourse itineraries
- Establish your zone of identification

By the time I had begun to look at Scollon and Wong Scollon’s Nexus Analysis (2004), I had already carried out much of the ground work which Scollon and Wong Scollon identify as *engaging the nexus of practice*. Using the “classical” participant observation approach found in Spradley (1980), I had identified bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano as the social issue that I wanted to understand. And, whilst I was still some distance from determining the most significant discourses (and their itineraries) I had begun to at least filter out those discourses of lesser centrality in Bolzano-Bozen.

I had begun to find recurring themes in local newspaper reporting and how (and importantly in NA, as we shall see, for whom) these themes were reported. I focused primarily on the provincial Italian-language daily *L’Alto Adige* for a number of reasons. Firstly, *L’Alto Adige* is the only province-specific Italian-language daily newspaper. Secondly, it is ubiquitous, found in most, if not all bars and cafés in the city. Thirdly, my Italian language skills were far more honed than my German.

So it was that I read of a panel discussion evening held by *Polyglot*⁴: a parents' association which described itself as wanting to see an extension of bilingual education across the province. I attended this meeting and saw that Polyglot, with its regular monthly meetings, was a nexus of practice whose goals and objectives (see Appendix H) coincided with the social issues I wished to examine as part of this research. I thus *engaged* with Polyglot, as a set of crucial actors. I became a member of the association, paying a nominal membership fee of €10 per year, and began to regularly attend the open meetings. Slowly, over a period of more than three years, I got to know other members, their names, their family and work situations and their motivations for giving up their often very precious free-time. In turn, I told them about my research interests, what I was doing, where I was registered as a doctoral researcher, about my family and how I had come to be in the province.

I went on to become a member of the organising committee, which meant access to smaller meetings of core members, in which we discussed guest speakers, venues and the setting up of a web site. Although these meetings were often concerned with practicalities, they mostly took place at a city-centre bar, sat round a table and over an *aperitivo*. Discussion also included the sharing of news on bilingualism, experiences (past and present) with institutions, the positions of political actors regarding bilingualism or interactions with disinterested others on related topics. These encounters helped greatly in building a picture not only of Bozen-Bolzano as a discursive site, but also of core members' historical bodies.

⁴ *Polygot* is the name I have given the association in this text and is not the real name.

For open meetings, I digitally recorded the discussions on a Creative MP3 player-recorder (see Appendix J for notes on transcription). These were meetings open to the public, with journalists occasionally in attendance, recording for themselves or taking photographs, and so ethically I saw no need to ask permission of those present (although I most often did so informally, out of courtesy). These others were either unknown to me (and therefore remained anonymous), or where I knew the identity of the speakers, individuals were anonymised in the data (where transcribed and presented, later) and their identities kept confidential.

I also made field note entries in a journal. Notes during the meetings were generally brief and I developed the habit of also noting the exact time from my digital recorder when something was said or done which struck me as interesting or significant. This became very useful later, when listening to the recording and transcribing. Journal entries also always included sketches of the room, positioning of chairs and the position of the speaker in relation to others. I also noted the numbers in attendance for each meeting, together with their gender (Appendix I lists the Polyglot activity and meetings in which I was present or participated).

From 2008 to 2012 Polyglot, as a nexus of practice, became the location from which I could view the discourses related to bilingualism. I attended to the three central aspects of Nexus Analysis: the historical bodies of members (as *crucial actors*, to use the Scollons' term), the interaction order of how they came together and the discourses in place. I carried out follow up, individual semi- and unstructured interviews with members, learning their histories and how and why they became involved in Polyglot. I observed the

way members came together, how meetings were organised and how they (we) communicated. From the themes which arose from discussion (either as the “official” theme for the evening or those issues which arose during discussions), I was able to see – if not at this stage understand – how seemingly disparate and unconnected discourses were placed alongside each other.

2.6.2 Navigating the Nexus of Practice

From identifying and engaging with the nexus of practice, i.e. the social action(s), I began to map the local, situated semiotic ecosystem, looking to see how elements within it connect with each other. Put simply, rather than trying to understand the context and its discourses and then focusing on an action, the process was reversed. In practical terms, directly related to Polyglot, this meant:

- participating in Polyglot meetings;
- observing activity;
- recording the discussions (digitally and via a field diary);
- reflecting on what I had seen or heard by reviewing the recordings and notes;
- getting to know other members.

From the above, I had enough to look beyond Polyglot, to ‘chase down the trajectories’ (Heller 2011:40) of the discourses that intersected to form the Nexus of Practice.

However if Polyglot became my discursive compass, I still needed to continue looking outside this Nexus of Practice to map the discourses in place and ensure triangulation

(although arguably, Polyglot could be seen as one microscopic component, a *discourse in place*, of Bozen-Bolzano as a nexus of practice).

Yet it was from Polyglot – an association concerned with increasing access to bilingual education, and recognition of *mistilingui* children – that I began to see connections between discourses on language and education, language and place. I began to echo the question one Polyglot member asked when introducing a guest speaker who came to talk about place names in the province: what’s behind all this? (See chapter 4 section 4.2 for data and discussion)..

In the later chapters, in which I present the data, greater focus is given to what came out of this process, the discourses I followed from Polyglot, rather than on the association *per se*.

Nevertheless, Nexus Analysis dictated not only that I follow the itineraries of these discourses in a spatio-temporal sense, but also that I be open to following these itineraries across genres that would perhaps escape attention in an ethnography relying exclusively on text or talk.

I began to re-examine what I had collected in the preliminary phase, things I had earlier considered “background” to understanding this extremely complex context, and interrogate them as discourses in their own right. I looked again at historical and legal documents, such as the 1946 Gruber – De Gasperi Agreement, the First and Second Statutes of Autonomy (1948 & 1972 respectively) for what they revealed about ideologies on language and (particularly national) identity. The United Nations intervention, which led to the Second Statute of Autonomy (1972), prompted me look at discourses and

events seemingly outside the immediate focus of my research interest, including the Cold War and how this moulded the actions of governments and security agencies to make borders. How in turn, these still affect the daily lives of those who live in the autonomous province and which continue to remake and reaffirm this province on a daily basis.

In parallel I also looked outside the nexus of practice itself to see what else was happening in the city of Bozen-Bolzano and the province. Primarily I looked to local newspapers and supplemented these by continuing the Participant Observation I had begun at the preliminary stages of the research process.

It was in this way that I managed to anticipate the Polyglot meeting in which place names were discussed in chapter 4. It was also how I began to see the Fascist-era monuments as a part of the complex web of discourses attached to bilingualism.

2.7 Closing Comments

What I have attempted to show is the theoretical background and methodological choices made during the research process, which led me to the data which follows. I have sketched out the theoretical arguments I have engaged with, moving to describe phases of research as they developed with during the research process. This, I hope, has given an idea of the challenges faced and the sometimes difficult decisions I faced in selecting and exploring the quite varied data I saw, which have been central to discourses on bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano, and which are discussed at greater length in the next chapters.

In practice, this means that there are times that data (sub-) sets may not appear to explicitly reference the Nexus Analysis framework. For example, I do not present or overtly explore the three core elements of Nexus Analysis in every data set (i.e. Discourses in place+Historical Bodies+Interaction Order. See section 2.3.4). There are different reasons for this. On a practical note, there is the question of space, and the PhD researcher's perennial dilemma of what to leave in and what to leave out within a specified word limit.

However the principal motive for not rehearsing the NA framework with each data set is one of analytical focus. The decision to omit aspects from the page developed during the process of writing and revision of the text. In the instances where only one aspect is evident (most often forcing the gaze onto the discourses), the criteria for exclusion was a desire for clarity and relevance to the point I wished to draw from the data. Where Nexus Analysis is not foregrounded in the data presentations, I briefly include the reasoning for doing so.

Nevertheless, whether implicitly or explicitly stated, Nexus Analysis is the analytical research path taken throughout the thesis.

In closing, These following chapters present the data collected during the research process. I begin with language in education, since this was my entry point and the first data set to take form from my engagement with Polyglot as the nexus of practice. The next chapter moves to the naming of place and the various controversies over the language used to do this. The third and final data chapter is the geosemiotic analysis of

Monumento alla Vittoria, the Fascist-era monument which stands at gateway between the historic and Fascist-built parts of the city of Bolzano-Bozen.

CHAPTER THREE

LANGUAGE & EDUCATION IN BOZEN-BOLZANO THROUGH TIME & (SOCIAL) SPACE

It is pathetic how everyone begins at once to speak about the schools and tells how even the smallest amount of private schooling in the mother tongue [German] is forbidden – there is no doubt that step has touched the peasantry as no other would have done...

In Wayne 1995:94-95, emphasis in original. (From correspondence between Elsie Masson and her husband, Bronislaw Malinowski, written near Bozen-Bolzano 8th June 1927)

3.0 Introduction: Situating the Data

This chapter is about discourses on language and education in Bolzano-Bozen, particularly in trying to understand why this was so controversial during the period of research.

However, as the extract above hints at, and I was to discover, discourse and controversy about language in education is not at all new in the province and this is something I will show further, through the data sets presented in this chapter.

Central to the data I present in this chapter is *Polyglot*, which provided the nexus of practice of this research. As a reminder, Polyglot is a voluntary parents association, set up with the aim having multilingual schools established and/or extending bi- or

multilingual education (particularly immersion) in the province's monolingual schools.

Polyglot's particular motivation for such is to provide for what are called in Bolzano-Bozen *mistilingui* (lit. mixed-language) children: those from what might be considered elsewhere as bilingual homes, normally with one parent Italian-speaking and the other German-speaking. These, according to Baur and Medda-Windescher (2008:249), make up around 10% of the school population and who must choose either an Italian- or German-language monolingual school, however no official figures exist.

There are six data sets in total. Polyglot meetings, as the nexus of practice, directly provides three of the six data sets in this chapter, with presentations of discussions taken from the public meetings and discussion evenings held by the association, all of which I recorded digitally (see sections 3.3, 3.7 & 3.8). I look at the legal framework for language in education, developed as part of a United Nations process of conflict resolution (see chapter 1, section 1.3.5) and include the relevant law, here, as discursive data (see section 2.2). Another data set is an interview with the provincial president from local news media (section 3.6). I also include discourse from the historical past (section 3.5), not as "context" but as data.

I start with talk from the very first Polyglot meeting I attended, in which interpretations of provincial laws relating to bi/multilingual education are contested. Next, I examine the relevant parts of these laws. I then follow the discourse chains (Blackledge 2005), or discourse itineraries (Scollon 2008) further back through time, to the beginning of the twentieth century, to better understand what these provincial laws sought to remedy and the socio-historical context of these laws. Having traced these discourse itineraries, I

return the focus to the present with data from newspaper discourse and then more talk from Polyglot.

3.1 Discourses on Language & Education on Bozen-Bolzano

One of the recurring themes in public discourse throughout the research process has been language in education, and specifically extending second-language learning (German and Italian) to include immersion and bilingual schools within the province. Provisions in the 1972 Special Statute of Autonomy, as we shall see a little later, provide a legislative framework for the learning of German for Italian-speakers and vice versa. As we shall see, bilingualism, from education to public administration in all its forms, is enshrined in statute. Despite this, the interest generated in public discourse has focused on the perception that, after forty years since the statute, the province, and more specifically here, those leaving the provincial schools, are not “perfectly” bilingual. This is an issue which is perceived to be particularly acute for the Italian-speaking community (see Paladino et al 2009).

To this end, the aim of this chapter is not to look at language learning and various associated modalities within the school system(s) in the Province of Bozen-Bolzano. Neither is it to provide a full historical account. Rather, it is to look at discourses *related* to language in education in Bozen-Bolzano across different discursive genres, spaces and through time, in order to understand the ideologies which motivate and are expressed through these discourses. Within this, I attempt to understand how and why I have found such seemingly disparate issues such as bilingual education, geographical place names

and Fascist era monuments in the same discourse and discursive phrases during the period of research.

This involves, as in the later chapters interrogating the data collected for this study, tracing the discourse itineraries relating to discourses on bi-/multilingual education in the province, examining the historical with the present, taking into account how discourse-shapes-context-shapes-discourse in processes of entextualisation and co(n)textualisation (Silverstein & Urban 1996:1).

To be clear: applied in this thesis, this means that discussions of context in this and the following chapters should not be mistaken for “background”. Context is taken to be a co-constructive element in the production, circulation and contestation of discourse (see also Blommaert 2013 chapter on his use of historical bodies and historical space).

In constructing each set of data, gathered as part of the Nexus Analysis, I have reflected on the historical bodies of the social actors involved and the interaction orders, or for whom the discourse is intended and how. However, for the six data subsets which follow, I privilege the discourses in place and only briefly touch the historical bodies and interaction orders. I include a summary of the data presented in table 3.

Chapter Section	Data Type	Source	Summary
3.3 –“ Panel Game”	Spoken interaction at a meeting open to the public	Polyglot Parents Association, 2 nd Oct 2008	Local politicians discuss bilingual ed.
3.4 – Special Statute of Autonomy 1972	Law	Province of Bolzano-Bozen	Legal provisions relating to language in education
3.5 – Lang & Ed in the Province through, Time & Space	Historical institutional discourse from Fascist years	Newspaper discourse 1923	The development of provincial discourse on lang & ed
3.6 – In the News: Durnwalder says “no”	Newspaper interview	Newspaper discourse from the historical present	The “official” line of the ruling SVP, resisting bilingual ed.
3.7 – Changing Views: An alternative SVP?	Spoken interaction at a meeting open to the public	Polyglot Parents Association, 2 nd March 2011	An SVP leader offers an alternative view
3.8 – The Children of Priests	Spoken interaction at a meeting open to the public	Polyglot Parents Association, 15th April 2009	Links between language & identity contested

Table 3 Summary of data on language & education in chapter 3

3.2 Polyglot Meetings: The Nexus of Practice

I start then with Polyglot. It is worth noting that up to my contact with Polyglot, I had been working mostly to understand the research context, in a “classical” ethnographic

sense. As I show in chapter 2, for me this meant getting know the province, starting with broad, often loosely defined interests rather than questions, in terms of present and historical developments (developments in space and time, if you will), and to understand the most salient discourses related to bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen. As data emerged, I also sought research instruments which facilitated better access to the emerging data, which led me to Scollon and Wong Scollon's Nexus Analysis (2004) and for later chapters, their allied approach to language in the material world: Geosemiotics (2003).

Language and education (particularly, though not exclusively, related to the learning of German and Italian) had a constant presence in public discourse for the whole of the preliminary phase of the research, and continued coming in and out of focus for the entire research process. As I was to discover, discourses on language and education are nothing new in the territory. Yet it was the almost chancing upon Polyglot which provided what I would consider entry to an ethnography in Bozen-Bolzano, focusing on discourse related to bilingualism, and approached through Scollonian Nexus Analysis. Polyglot meetings, then, became the nexus of practice: the focal point for research, where the discourses in place, the historical bodies of participants and the interaction order formed a node (See chapter 2 section 2.3 for a fuller exposition of the Nexus Analysis process). Importantly, it is also worth remembering that whilst bilingual education was the *raison d'être* for Polyglot, as the nexus of practice the meetings became the departure (or perhaps entry) point for the other data which emerged during this ethnography, on place names and the fascist era monuments, presented in the following data chapters.

In the beginning, Polyglot's organising committee was made up of parents from "mixed" marriages with bilingual children (*mistilingui* or *mistilingue*, in Italian) and parents with children at the Tottola⁵ elementary school. Today in the province, the term *mistilingui/e* is the term used for simultaneous bilinguals and their families. Tottola is an Italian-language elementary school which had been experimenting with bilingual immersion education, termed 'vehicular-language' education in the province (see Passarella 2011 in Passarella & Cavagnoli 2011). The term 'immersion' had become a political taboo in discourse in education, especially in relation to the educational provisions of the 1972 Special Statute of Autonomy, which itself forms an important part of the discursive data, and which is presented a little further on in this chapter (see section 3.4).

On the 6th July 2007, the local Italian-language newspaper *L'Alto Adige* reported (page 13) that in June 2007 Tottola elementary school had become the first school in the province to complete a full year of experimental bilingual immersion education. This experimental year involved 40% of the curriculum taught in German, and followed ten years planning and programme development by the province's Italian school system (Passarella 2011). The news was reported positively although it only appeared on page 13 of the paper. The positive outcome of this first full year provided the impetus for attempts to extend and expand bilingual immersion programmes to other schools. The newspaper article was the first salvo in the most recent and vigorous public debate which would divide politicians, often along ethnic/linguistic lines (though not at all cleanly, as the data I present below indicate) and regularly occupied the front page in the local Italian-language newspapers especially. During the debate's most energetic stages local news coverage would often be

⁵ I have changed the name of the school and participants.

daily, well into the beginning of the academic year 2007/8, although continuing throughout the research period. This, very briefly, was the discursive context from which Polyglot emerged. It should be noted, however, that as I traced the discourse itineraries I discovered, and show in this chapter, that the ideological debates (Blommaert 1999) relating to language and education are not at all new phenomena in the province.

3.3 Polyglot: The Panel Game 2nd October 2008

The first set of data I wish to present is from the very first Polyglot meeting I attended, on the evening of Wednesday 2nd October 2008. The meeting was publicised with a small article-cum-advertisement, on the same day, in the Italian-language local daily newspaper L'Alto Adige. That period in the province was the run up to provincial elections and Polyglot had invited candidates from provincial political parties to participate in a panel, with two moderators and open to questions from the audience, to discuss the issue of bilingual education and bilingual schooling. The political parties represented were, in order of left to right from where I sat in the audience, facing them: Sūd-Tiroler (a German-language "ethno-nationalist" party); Partito Democratico (Italian-language centre-left party, in coalition in the provincial council with Südtiroler Volkspartei); The Green Party (a party which seeks to bring the language communities together); Popolo della Libertà (centre-right Italian-language party); Lega Nord (an Italian-language ethno-regionalist party for the north of Italy, which seeks cross-linguistic support); and Südtiroler Volkspartei (the provinces ruling German-language party).

The venue was a function room in a theatre complex outside the city centre. The room was set out with rows of chairs, laid out in two blocks and facing the panel of politicians

and moderators at the front, with an aisle in the middle and each side. There were also a number of people who stood at the back for lack of chairs. In total there were fifty-two people seated and a number standing at the back that varied from around fifteen to twenty, as they slipped in and out. (See Figure 13 for the room layout and chapter 1 section 1.2.3 for a discussion of politics in Bolzano-Bozen).

Each politician was given two minutes to speak at a time with (in theory at least) no interruptions. With the exception of the Süd-Tiroler Freiheit representative, all the politicians present appeared to be at pains to extol the benefits of bilingualism. This is perhaps unsurprising considering this was election season and they were, after all, at a meeting of an association whose reason for being was the increase in bilingual education in the province, and in particular immersion.

In this section, containing the very first data set, I focus on the Discourses in Place, as seen and presented by a local Italian-speaking political actor, although I briefly attend to the speaker's Historical Body (as a political representative of the Italian right), and discuss the format of the meeting (Interaction Order).

However, what is said here was my entry point to understanding the social processes at play in South Tyrol-Alto Adige. As I was to discover, as I returned to this stretch of talk throughout the research process, we can see how laws as Discourses in Place are orientated to by social actors, through Interaction Orders contingent on their Historical Bodies. Or more directly related to the extracts, how the Historical Bodies of certain actors (e.g. Holzmann and Zelger, mentioned in extract 1) influence the Orders of

Interaction with (or interpretation and implementation of) Article 19 of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy (as a Discourse in Place).

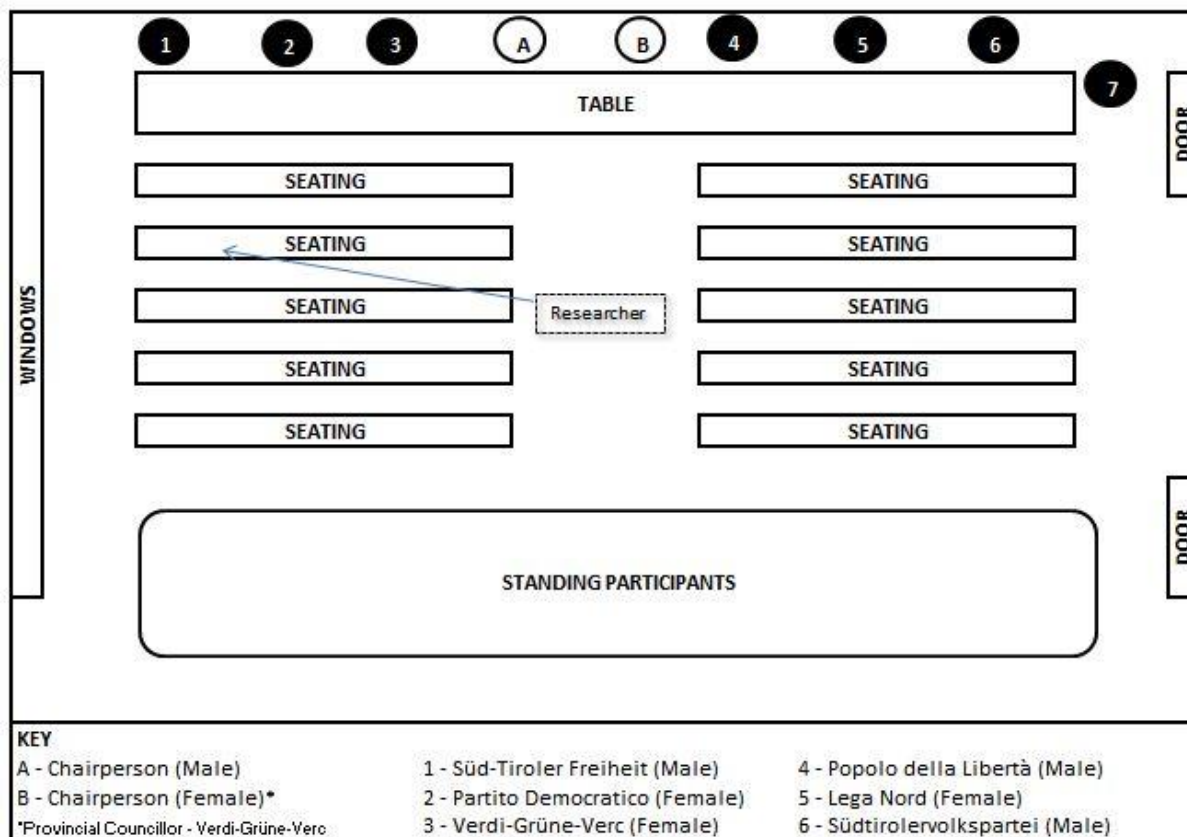


Figure 13 Room Plan "Panel Game" Polyglot Meeting 2nd October 2008

The extracts I now present are taken from around half-way through the evening (see Appendix K for the speaker's full intervention). The discussion has turned to resistance on the part of Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) to allow further experimentation with immersion in the provinces schools. Note: this resistance relates to Italian-language schools only. Immersion in German-language schools has never seriously been countenanced. The intervention is from the Popolo della Libertà (PDL) representative, expressing frustration at these events. I now focus on three stretches of the PDL Rep.'s intervention (see Appendix J for transcription conventions).

3.3.1 Panel Game: Extract 1

This first extract synthesises the debates on allowing immersion education and Article 19 of the Special Statute of Autonomy, the statute which regulates public life in the province.

Speaker	Line	Original	Time
PDL Rep	1	there's	1.06.41
	2	sometimes confusion about this no?	
	3	eh why [inaudible] Giorgio Holzmann presented a draft law proposal in parliament in which a large revision of	
	4	the Statute of Autonomy was requested,	
	5	including article 19 but	
	6	this is marginal to this discussion to what I wanted to say	
	7	article 19 of the statute	
	8	says clearly that every linguistic group has the right has the RIGHT	
	9	to teaching in their own language	
	10	uh	
11	in their own mother tongue [inaudible]	1.07.13	
12	and then the second language [inaudible]		
13	but it's only a right		
14	Zelger [SVP representative present]		
15	the People's Party [SVP]		
16	let's say the People's Party		
17	I don't know you say a part of the People's Party [SVP] I		

don't know

18 has uh

19 turned this right on its head

20 there's it obliges

21 every school

22 to

23 teach

24 in their own mother tongue

25 but it's not [inaudible] written anywhere

26 that for example, I'm talking about the Italian linguistic
group

27 is not able to decide to learn geography mathematics or
whatever else

28 in another language that isn't Italian

29 there's absolutely no need to distort the Statute of
Autonomy and article 19 and pass a law [inaudible]
causing constitutional problems and the like

30 there's no need because it simply does not change the
school system

Positions taken on Article 19 fall broadly into two camps: those who interpret Article 19 as prohibiting immersion and bilingual education; and those (as illustrated above) who hold that there is nothing to stop bilingual or immersion programmes as an addition to

the statutory provision of German or Italian-language education, with Italian or German taught as a second language.

There is also the institutionalised and taken-for-granted boundedness of groups defined by language, in lines 8-12. This is point which will be returned to repeatedly in the data which follows.

3.3.2 Panel Game: Extract 2

In this second extract the PDL representative fixes on the present, 2008, yet there is an implicit inference to, and arguably impatience with, a situation which has a long history.

PDL Rep	33	and what's more sorry [but]
	34	it's 2008 and we're not free and each school is not free to decide its own course?
	35	and I truly believe if we want to waste time just clutching at straws everything's fine
	36	but this is the absolute truth
	37	this is the truth and then
	38	[inaudible interjection from Zelger & then moderator]

This impatience becomes clearer in the comment framing the SVP's official position and resistance to implementing immersion, or extending bilingual education as 'clutching at straws', in line 35. The official position of SVP is dealt with in the later in section 3.6, and the newspaper interview with Provincial President Luis Durnwalder.

3.3.3 Panel Game: Extract 3

In this third extract, there is a reference to social class, wealth, economic mobility and 'equal opportunity'.

PDL Rep	42	but we want that this possibility	1:08:52
	43	of the vehicular language	
	44	with immersion	
	45	institutionalised I CANNOT BE CONTENT with a school for the elite	
	46	and let's hope that my school could do it	
	47	this isn't the point	
	48	it must be an equal opportunity for everyone	
	49	because if not the rich those that have money will go to the private schools and do what they please	
	50	and I don't think this is right	

In this observed meeting, the PDL Rep. is the only panel member to make the point that those parents with greater economic resources can (and by inference will, in his opinion – see line 49) opt out of the linguistic rigidity of the provincial schools. In doing so, their children will gain economic advantage later in life: an advantage denied to those who cannot afford to opt out.

This reveals an ideology which sees language as capital, in the Bourdieusian sense, and the view of language as commodity (see, for example, Heller 2011, Duchêne 2009). This makes an interesting contrast to the almost subliminal ideology of language as identity

marker found above in line 10, the reference to the 'Italian linguistic group'. These two perspectives on language are in stark contrast to each other and are found throughout the data presented in this chapter. This in itself is nothing novel. For example, Gal (1992) has long since observed that ideologies can be held multiply both by individuals and groups. Kroskrity (2004:503), taking in Gramsci (1971), Bourdieu (1977) and Blommaert (1999) reinforces this idea, emphasising how this multiplicity indexes the dynamic processes of struggle for dominance and hegemony.

The PDL representative's reference to 'equal opportunity' is an interesting one. At first glance this seems a political discourse of the traditional left, however the situation here is a little more involved. In his preamble he introduces himself as being from the Italian centre-right party Popolo della Libertà (PDL – People of Freedom). He touches briefly on the merger of Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia (FI – Go Italy) party with Alleanza Nazionale (AN – National Alliance), and his having belonged to the latter party. AN was a party descended from Movimento Socialista Italiano (MSI – Italian Socialist Movement), which itself was the Post War regrouping of the Italian Fascist Party (Ginsborg 1990:336; Griffin 1996). In terms of social policy, MSI and AN could be described as Italian nationalist-conservative but with an emphasis on a centralist state, illustrating its Fascist heritage and indeed Italian Fascism's socialist beginnings (Mussolini 1911, Banti 2009b:19).

Also, MSI, and AN which followed it, had been actively opposed to the Statute of Autonomy and the process of UN process of conflict resolution which led to it (see Pallaver 2007b:557, Almirante et al 1960). This included especially the language provisions, seeing these instruments of repression of the Italian-speaking minority of

Bolzano-Bozen (see, for example Peterlini 2007:274). Yet in more recent times, actors from the Italian right have come to see the statute as protection for the Italian-speaking minority. Not only, here he is actively contesting the ruling SVP's resistance to allowing Italian-speaking children to increase the time spent learning (in) German. Yet it is also a pragmatic recognition of a point made by Baur and Medda-Windischer (2008:242) that in the province of Bozen-Bolzano, there is an acute need for proficiency in German in order to be able to fully participate in the provincial economy.

From this panel discussion evening, Polyglot meetings became the nexus of practice for this study, providing the route into investigating the discourses (in place) regarding Article 19, Article 19 itself as a powerful illuminating discourse on language ideologies, and other provisions of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972, which is the overarching legislative framework for public life in the province. Thus, I now look to present the relevant articles from the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972, very much as data.

3.4 The Statute of Autonomy 1972

The PDL Representative from the previous data presentation talks of the rights afforded by Article 19 of the Special Statute of Autonomy and obligations, or for him: the lack thereof (section 3.3, Extract 1). It is included because it is iconic of the ideological debates around bilingual education throughout the research process, which broadly centre around interpretation of Article 19 of the Statute of Autonomy.

A logical place to start examining the discourses in place is article 19 itself since laws, as Wodak (2000, in Blackledge 2005:123) reminds, are the 'ultimate consecration' of

discourse. Viewing laws as such allows for their inclusion as discursive data, since they provide the context, in a very concrete sense: here, in the form of the education systems. And, as Silverstein (1996:1-6) reminds us, context is co-text.

So the aim of this data set is to look at this particular law (Article 19), which is wholly concerned with the language of education, as a Discourse in Place. The attention is on tracing the discourse itineraries which led to the formulation of the law: a path which takes outside the geographical location of the province and outside the present time period. Although I also touch briefly on the Orders of Interaction with this law, here I wish to foreground the Discourse in Place, as it is this – as we have seen and as we shall see further – which regulates and dictates how the education system(s) function, in their linguistically separated form. Yet, as we saw in the previous section (and shall see further), interpretations of this are contested, and for different reasons.

The fifteen points of Article 19 (indeed, also Article 2) provide a framework for the separate education systems, with teaching delivered by “mother-tongue” speakers for “mother-tongue” speakers, in institutional structures managed by “mother-tongue” speakers, within the province.

Article 19 of the 1972 Special Statute of Autonomy is arguably the principal focal point of discourse on language and education in Bozen-Bolzano, since this provides the legal framework for the education system(s) in the province. With the benefit of some forty years of hindsight, article 19 brings into relief ideologies on language that have remained relatively uncontested in mainstream political life in the province until relatively recently. That is not to say that the underlying assumptions with regard to language and ethnicity

have been universally accepted: groups and individuals, such as Alexander Langer and the local Green Party, have been challenging these ideas, somewhat from the fringe, since the 1980s (Pallaver 2007b:592). However, it is the positioning of language in late capitalism (Heller 2011), and the ideological realignment this brings, which can be seen to offer serious challenge to the social structuring of language and identity along Herdian lines. This is a point which will be returned to a little later, in the second piece of data from Polyglot (section 3.7).

It should also be remembered that the 1972 Statute of Autonomy was the product of intervention by the United Nations (Conflict Resolution 1497/XV of 1960). This legislative instrument was introduced as a remedy to issues left unresolved by the First Statute of Autonomy (1948) and the ethnic tension (spilling over into violence) which had existed in the province from the 1950s onwards (see Grote 2012, espec. Chapters 8 & 9). It can therefore be seen to reflect ideologies of a specific historical period, not “only” of actors at a local provincial, or perhaps at a national level. Rather, we see “universalised” ideologies of the international community, with the imprint of Michael Billg’s understanding of nationalism is an *inter*-national ideology and ‘...the naturalness of the world of nations, divided into separate homelands.’ (1995:61). In this optic, UN Conflict resolution 1497/XV can be seen as an example of nation-states providing a patch to an anomaly that, reasoning as Herder, Mazzini or even Woodrow Wilson – whose ideas underpin the concept of nation and nation-state in the modern world – should not exist (see chapter 5 of Bauman & Briggs 2003 for a discussion of Herder; see Hobsbawm 1990 chapter 4 for a brief discussion of Mazzini, and chapter 5 for Woodrow Wilson). We can also observe how the actions of the most international of organisations (the United

Nations), taken some forty years previous to the Polyglot meeting of 2nd October 2008, not only form an active part of discourse in the historical present, but express ideas traceable to the end of the eighteenth century. Whilst these ideas are increasingly contested, the legacy still provides the underlying assumptions that are visible in discourse, some of which, in turn, forms policy.

I now look to present here extracts from Articles 2 and 19 of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972 (for the complete statute, see Appendix F), focusing on specific aspects further on. Although there is little space to interrogate each and every point, I include them in the appendix to give an idea of the choreography involved between the provincial and national governments in managing the largely separate education system(s) both in the context of Bozen-Bolzano and in the context of Italy.

Article 19 deals specifically with education, but before focusing on this, it is worth casting an eye over Comma 1 of Article 2 of the same statute. The reason is that Article 2 provides the political-philosophical context from which Article 19 is elaborated.

3.4.1 Article 2 of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972

Article 2 is the principle which underlies the articles which follow, affirming the rights of all citizens of the region (Trentino-Alto Adige-Südtirol), of which Bozen-Bolzano is one of the two provinces, along with Trento. The article states:

Art. 2

1. In the Region [including the Province of Bolzano-Bozen] equality of rights for all citizens is recognised, regardless of the linguistic group to which they belong, and respective ethnic and cultural characteristics shall be safeguarded.

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

Ethnic and cultural characteristics are afforded protection, explicitly those of each 'linguistic group'. The bounded, linguistically defined notion of ethnicity, culture (and by extension "nation", in the Herdian sense), are unquestioningly accepted and taken as the basis for difference. On its own, Article 2 is itself a powerful discursive statement, illustrating Gal and Irvine 's (1995) point that the Herdian assumptions developed during the course of the nineteenth century and, encouraged by linguistic science, infused law and policy making throughout the twentieth century and as we see here, into the twenty-first century.

Also, although there is little space to discuss it further, there is an in-built implicit tension between group-v-individual rights in which, as we can see from the debates in this chapter, the protection of linguistically defined groups is the overriding priority.

Following Article 2, the next extracts in this data presentation are all from Article 19 of the Statute of Autonomy. This is the Article which deals specifically with education within the autonomous province of Bolzano-Bozen.

3.4.2 Article 19, Comma 1 of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972

If Article 2 outlines protection for groups, bounded by language, Article 19.1, below, articulates the prescribed route by which each legally defined linguistic group may be reproduced from one generation to the next:

1. In the Province of Bolzano nursery, primary and secondary school teaching shall be provided in the Italian or German mother-tongue of the pupils by teachers of the same mother-tongue. In primary schools, beginning with the second or third year classes, to be established by provincial law according to the binding proposal of the linguistic group concerned, and in secondary schools, the teaching of the second language by teachers for whom it is their mother-tongue shall be compulsory.

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

In the province it is not enough that a teacher be proficient (however one measures this) in the vehicular language of the school and students; teachers must be certified as ‘mother-tongue’. Briefly, this certification is through a self-declaration of belonging to one of the legally recognised linguistic groups. To make such a declaration involves no assessment of language competence and residents of Bolzano-Bozen are free to change their declaration, subject to certain time constraints (see chapter 1, section 1.2 for a summary and Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008 for the intricacies and paradoxes of provincial linguistic declarations). In practice, all provincial employees must also be certified as bilingual (having passed provincial, or in recent years, internationally recognised language exams), however it happens that individuals who grew up in Italian-speaking homes declare themselves German-speaking, thus falling into the legal category of ‘mother-

tongue' German-speaker, thereby broadening employment possibilities. The issue of the linguistic declaration also returns briefly in section 3.6.

3.4.3 Article 19, Comma 3 of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972

Paradoxically, considering Article 19.1 above, there is neither prescription nor proscription in Article 19.3 (though the chauvinism of responsibility resting with the father illuminates discourses on gender and family for which there is unfortunately little space in this thesis):

3. Enrolment of a pupil in schools in the Province of Bolzano shall follow a simple application by the father or guardian. The father or guardian may appeal against rejection of the application to the autonomous section of the Bolzano Regional Court of Administrative Justice.

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

Curiously, Article 19.3 imposes no linguistic (cultural or ethnic) requirements on parents, children or schools. The process of enrolment is presented as a simple application. However a school may refuse to take a child if it feels the child's language skills are insufficient. If this happens, parents can appeal this through the local courts (Baur & Medda-Windischer 2008:236).

Parents in Bozen-Bolzano are said to regularly send their children to the school of the "other". This is touched on in an anecdote given section 3.7 (Hannes Mair, An Alternative SVP), presented later in this chapter. In fact in 2008 there was heated debate in the local press about the number of Italian-speaking children in German-language schools (L'Alto

Adige 13th March 2008 p 1 & 19). The deputy mayor of Bolzano wanted to institute a language entry exam for schools, a measure which was never instituted. Yet astonishingly, the only evidence of such phenomena in the province is anecdotal, since no records exist of the language group children - or better their parents – belong to (Baur & Medda-Windischer 2008).

3.4.4 Article 19, Commas 1, 5 & 9 of the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972

Articles 19.4, 19.5 and 19.9 provide the management framework for the education systems in the province:

4. For the administration of Italian language schools, and for the supervision of German language schools and those in the Ladin localities referred to in the second paragraph a school superintendent shall be appointed by the Ministry of Education following consultation with the Provincial Government of Bolzano.

5. For the administration of German language nursery, primary and secondary schools, a school inspector shall be appointed by the Provincial Government of Bolzano, following consultation with the Ministry of Education, from a short-list made up of representatives from the German language group in the Provincial Schools Council.

And then:

9. The administrative personnel of the Education Superintendency, of secondary schools and of school inspectorates and education management shall come under

the authority of the Province of Bolzano, while remaining at the service of the schools corresponding to their mother tongue.

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

In essence, there must be consultation between Rome and Bozen-Bolzano to appoint managers. Each school system is managed by the province, but separated according to “mother tongue”. There is also a difference in how managers are selected, with the province having far greater control over choosing the managers for the German-language school system, from a short-list of candidates from the ‘German language group’ (Article 19.5). We see in this the safeguarded reproduction of each linguistic market, in the Bourdieusian sense (Bourdieu 1977, 1992).

The provisions contained within Articles 2 and 19 of the Special Statute of Autonomy were and are discourses aimed at different actors, involving the most acrobatic of political balancing acts. As a United Nations process of conflict resolution, they were aimed at satisfying the criteria set by the international community. As law enacted by the Italian state, the statute had to reflect the values of Italy, as enshrined in the constitution. At a provincial level, local political elites had to be satisfied that the provisions safeguarded the German-speaking minority and provide remedies to the problems which the first autonomy statute did not address. Finally, at a local and individual level, the statute had to speak to the residents of the province directly and assure them that they had been heard: particularly the German-speaking “majority” minority.

3.5 Language & Education in South Tyrol-Alto Adige: Through Time & Space

The Statute of Autonomy 1972, together with the process of conflict resolution overseen by the United Nations, and the Statute of Autonomy 1948 were attempts to address problems which arose after Italy annexed southern Tyrol after the First World War. It is only when one places discourses in the present in this broader historical context, involving tracing discourse itineraries back beyond two world wars, and a Europe very different from today's, that the resistance to extending bilingual education (contested, as we have seen in Section 3.3, above) can be understood.

This in itself is not a novel idea in Bozen-Bolzano, although it is perhaps framed a little differently. Baur & Medda-Windischer (2008:237) argue that to understand today's provincial education policy (and, I would argue, related discourse), the impact of Fascist education policy of German-speakers must also be understood. Specifically:

'The force of the language policy under fascism, the prohibition of German-language schools and of the use of the German language and its dialects in public and semi-public situations is deeply embedded in the collective memory of the German-language groups. From this memory stems a fear of assimilation and a feeling of endangerment...'

(Baur & Medda-Windischer 2008:244)

Whilst I find nothing to disagree with in this position, I would argue that even this needs to be situated as part of broader discourses on language, identity (and even territoriality) since the end of the eighteenth century.

Before 1919, as Alcock (1970) but also Grote (2012) show, the territory which is now the Province of Bolzano-Bozen belonged to the multi-ethnic and multilingual Habsburg Austro-Hungarian Empire (see also chapter 1, section 1.3.1).

By the mid-nineteenth century, education in the southern Tyrol (still part of Austro-Hungary) had already become a contentious issue. The Habsburgs had lost territory in the north of the Italian peninsula as a product of Italian unification. Yet this left areas, notably Trento to the south of Bolzano-Bozen, together with Trieste and Istria, all of which contained sizeable populations of Italian speakers (and which were the focus of irredentist/nationalist action), within Habsburg borders. Alcock (1970:13) identifies three 'grave problems' from an education perspective: German-language schools for Imperial civil and military staff in Italian-speaking Trento (50km south of Bozen-Bolzano) were resented; Italian-language schools were administered from (German-speaking) Innsbruck; and the loss of Padua and Pavia left Austro-Hungary without Italian-language universities.

For the universities question, a remedy was sought by permitting Italian-language teaching and examinations at the University of Innsbruck from 1869. However, when an attempt was made to open an Italian-language Law faculty at the beginning of the twentieth century, this was met by violent protest locally and forced to close (*ibid*).

With the outcome of the First World War, and the settlements agreed at the Treaty of St Germain, in 1919, Italy took formal possession of the southern Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass: a territory which was overwhelmingly German-speaking (Steininger 2003:4-5).

At first, the Italian government promised to maintain German-language schools, as part of a package of measures granting autonomy to the newly created Province of Bolzano,

largely continuing that which had been enjoyed under Habsburg rule (Alcock 1970:27). This also meant that the local autonomous administration would be responsible for education within the province (Alcock 1970:29). In the three years that followed, the situation changed drastically. On 1st October 1922, Fascist *squadristi* (paramilitaries) came to Bolzano in great numbers under the pretext of protesting against the lack of progress in setting up an Italian-language school in the city (Alcock 1970:33). By 29th October 1922 Benito Mussolini was Italian Prime Minister after the Fascist March on Rome.

With the ascendancy of the Fascist regime in Italy came the aggressive Italianisation of South Tyrol: motivated, publically at least, by Mussolini's fear of pangermanism and a unified German-speaking world, seen as Italy's greatest strategic threat (Cassels 1963). The programme of Italianisation took form in March 1923, with the appointment of Ettore Tolomei, the nationalist Italian and (lately) senator who had been putting forward his thesis since the 1890s that the southern Tyrol was Italian: geographically, historically, culturally and linguistically. This is despite historical, cultural and linguistic evidence which strongly suggested otherwise (see chapter 1, section 1.3).

Tolomei presented his 32 point plan of Italianisation to the public in a speech at Bolzano-Bozen on 15th July 1923, which was then produced verbatim in the local Italian-language Bolzano newspaper *Il Piccolo Posto* on the 17th July 1923. The points Tolomei presents in his speech (hereinafter *il discorso*), and the presentation itself, is the synthesis of some thirty years of work, including publications (most notably *L'Archivio dell'Alto Adige* – The

Alto Adige Archive) in which he expounds his theories on the Italian identity of the territory and people.

The fact that this was published in the Fascist-controlled provincial newspaper would, I argue mean that the message was first and foremost aimed at Italian-speaking residents. However, as we have seen in Figure 8, the subtitling in German gives an indication that this was a discourse which was also being aimed at German-speaking residents, with a pan-provincial order of interaction.

Most often, Tolomei's 32 point plan is seen as an aggressive attempt to Italianise German-speaking South Tyroleans: and to be sure, it was very much a composite package of measures to achieve this end. However, as Steininger (2003:26) reminds, the education "reforms" were set within a context of educational reform in the whole of Italy, under the 1923 *Lex Gentile*, a process on the Italian peninsula which, up until some eighty years previously, had existed as a collection of smaller states, each with distinct cultural and linguistic traditions (see also Riall 2009). This was very much a period of italianising Italians, based on the Herdian assumption that a single common language meant one nation. In section 3.6, following, we see these "common-sense" ideas – though not at all the methods nor assimilationist aims – are still present in public discourse today.

I now present the section of Tolomei's programme from *il discorso* which relates directly to education, and I do so not as "historical background" but very much as data. I take the position that Tolomei's discourse, expressing terms of "rightful" ownership of a particular territory, is very much part of discourse found in the historical present on education (and in the next chapters, on the semiotic landscape provincial place names and public art).

Further, the ideas expressed form part of broader discourse itineraries (or chains) which relate to language and identity, particularly national identity; discourses which, as Heller (2011) argues, are being transformed, contested and modified in late capitalism.

Il discorso is set out in newspaper column style, six columns per page on a broadsheet (see figure 8 for a facsimile of the frontpage). Whilst it is not possible to reproduce accurately the layout, I have attempted to reproduce heading sizes which organise *Il discorso* as closely as possible.

3.5.1 Tolomei's *discorso*: Language & Culture (Extract 1)

The first striking aspect (line 1), before one delves into the text itself, is that the plans for the education system in the province are organised under the heading of 'Language and Culture' and, whilst there is a brief paragraph on museums in the province, the overwhelming bulk of this section of text is aimed at the education system.

Line

1 **Language and culture**

- 2 Until yesterday one saw the most improbable things in the school
3 sector. Everyone remembers the typical case of Laghetti [approx. 25
4 km south of Bolzano-Bozen city]: a school of sixty Italian children
5 upon whom the Italian administration imposed the high school
6 in German. And the schools in Gardena and Badia [Ladin- speaking
7 zones] maintained in German! Senator Cassis, after a
8 holiday in San Cristina in Gardena, expressed to me his complete

9 indignation because whilst adults spoke their Italic idiom [Ladin], the
10 children were obliged by the Italian government [to attend] German
11 schools, where they could not understand. And in Bolzano, have we
12 not even now 300 Italian children in the German schools? Wherever
13 Italian children might be in Alto Adige, there an Italian school should
14 also be.

15

16 SCHOOLS IN THE PLACES WHICH ARE ALREADY ITALIAN –

17 One eliminates without delay every remnant of German in the
18 elementary and professional schools in the Dolomitic (Ladin) valleys
19 and the boroughs in Alto Adige which are verified as Italian.

20 These are to abound by means of subsidies. In the parts of the Adige
21 valley where

22 **[continued on page 2 of *Il Piccolo Posto*]**

23 there is already an abundance of Italians, as in the district of Egna
24 [approx. 20 km south of Bozen-Bolzano city], Italian schools
25 everywhere. (moderately opportune in the more German villages:
26 therein schools are practically bilingual).

Il Piccolo Posto 17th July 1923 pp1-2 my translation

From line 2, Tolomei frames his interpretation of the situation, the “improbable things”, regarding the ubiquity of German-language schools in a predominantly German-speaking territory which had been part of the Habsburg Empire until three years previously. The

solution offered, in lines 16 to 24, is to immediately close the schools in the Ladin-speaking areas, identified here as “Italian” places (line 16), replacing them with Italian-language schools. Here, not only does Tolomei consider Ladin to be Italian (and substitutes one “foreign”-language medium of instruction for another), but he also brings together language and territory.

3.5.2 Tolomei’s *discorso*: Elementary Schools (Extract 2)

Tolomei shifts his focus to elementary schools:

Line

27 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

28 Broad development of Italian state schools in places of mixed-
29 language [luoghi mistilingui], modifying that which was the
30 Corbino decree [on Education], with sanctions and regulations
31 suited to avoid not only resistance and evasions, but also
32 to amplify the effect, in the sense that not only where there are
33 already fifteen first year Italian pupils, but where there are in total
34 fifteen pupils of Italian descent in a mixed-language borough, the
35 state will open an Italian school. There will be around 150 Italian
36 state schools in Alto Adige, supplied with the appropriate
37 remuneration (established by law, not discretionary/uncertain
38 as now) and capable of broad development
39 in such a way that the population, also of the other language, finds
40 everywhere the possibility, if it so wishes, to prefer Italian
41 schools. Where they do not possess suitable premises, there

42 should be place in the German-language borough schools, dividing
43 the hours.
44 The Regina Elena school, in Bolzano, in the now Elisabethstrasse,
45 occupied during the days of the Fascist revolution, shall remain
46 definitively with the Italian citizenry.
47 In private and council German-language schools, obligatory
48 teaching in Italian, classified as a principal subject; from six to
49 eight hours per week; assiduous checks on German teachers and
50 Priests

Il Piccolo Posto 17th July 1923 p2 my translation

There are a number of points here I wish to highlight. The first is that ‘mixed-language/mistilingui’ (line 23) is used to refer to *place*, whereas within the context of Polyglot, and public and institutional discourse today, it is used to refer to *people*. The second point is the imposition of Italian language learning upon German-speaking children (lines 28-35, 37-41 & 46-49). Whilst in line 40, Tolomei uses the verb ‘prefer’, the later part of *il discorso*, together with historical developments which followed (see Herford 1927, Kunz 1927/8 and Alcock 1970), show there was little real choice in the matter.

Lines 43-45 refer to the occupation of a Bolzano school by Fascist *squadristi* (paramilitaries) in October of the previous year. This act was a precursor to Mussolini’s taking power in his March on Rome (see Chapter 1, section 1.3.2). Education, or better the lack of Italian-language schools, was the pretext by which fascists imposed

themselves in Bolzano-Bozen. For the Fascists, as for Tolomei, education was seen as possessing a central role in ideological reproduction. This point can be also be seen in the next extract.

3.5.3 Tolomei's *discorso*: Middle Schools (Extract 3)

Lines 51-62 effectively ended German-language education in the province. :

Line

50 MIDDLE SCHOOLS

51 The state will supply middle [school] teaching with Italian
52 institutions; the Italian state, monolingual, does not maintain
53 middle schools for the 900,000 Albanians in southern Italy, nor for
54 the 100,000 French of Val d'Aosta; the middle schools are Italian;
55 the state has no obligation to maintain German middle schools.
56 Complete middle schools, classified as obligatory, will open not
57 gradually but immediately (with a programme of Italian
58 affirmation and penetration), in the three major centres: Bolzano,
59 Merano and Bressanone, and the Gymnasium [grammar school] in
60 Brunico. For German private and council middle schools,
61 recategorised as optional, subsidies shall instead be limited and
62 suppressed. In the optional German middle schools the greater
63 part shall be given over to the teaching of the Italian language, and
64 there shall be the strictest monitoring until they cease to be, as
65 now, centres of anti-state germanism, funded by us.

66 We have vigorously called for special regulations which remove
67 the Italian schools in Alto Adige from the general ordinances
68 governing the general [teachers] entrance exams: the Minister for
69 Instruction reserves the right to place chosen teachers, apostles of
70 national culture, preferably ex-combatants, and, for their regional
71 origins, for their knowledge of local language and customs, those
72 best suited. To these ends, the superintendent of Trento and the
73 Institute of Study for Alto Adige shall give useful indications and
74 guarantees.

Il Piccolo Posto 17th July 1923 p2 my translation

The ideological role of schools in fostering nationalist (or patriotic) sentiment comes through in lines 62-65, together with the role of teachers, in line 69-70, as ‘apostles of national culture’. As we shall see in dataset 2.4, following, schools in Bolzano are still today seen by those in power as central in passing on linguistic culture and identity.

3.5.4 Tolomei’s *discorso*: Schools as Italian *Social Space* (Extract 4)

From a little further on in *il discorso*, Tolomei turns his attention to the material-world context in which the above education was to take place:

Line

75 Special care is given to the state schools of Alto Adige at every level,
76 from the point of view of artistic decoration and aesthetic education.
77 Where new buildings are constructed, attention will be paid to a truly

78 Italian style, regional, mountainous, which Bolzano, and the
79 western Adige, happily contains.
80 The Superintendency of Trento is authorised to demand, the
81 presentation of designs for all new constructions, and to prohibit
82 exotic and tendentious deformations and to impose the correction
83 of certain types of recent buildings of an ostentatiously foreign
84 kind, to remove the vulgar signs of nostalgia, which together
85 offend the landscape, Italian character and good taste.

Il Piccolo Posto 17th July 1923 p2 my translation

Here, still very much talking about schools, Tolomei extends beyond what might be considered linguistic, in a traditional sense, and into the semiotic. His aim is to impose Italian culture in schools – from artistic education to edifices – to make the province not only ‘sound’ Italian but to “look” and ‘feel’ Italian. The spaces occupied by buildings had to represent an Italian social space in order produce that space, as Lefebvre argues:

Representations of space must therefore have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space. Their intervention occurs by way of construction - in other words, by way of architecture, conceived of not as the building of a particular structure, palace or monument, but rather as a project embedded in a spatial context and a texture which call for 'representations' that will not vanish into the symbolic or imaginary realms.

(1991:42)

This final point, even today, is a key node of discursive struggle which centres around bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen and which is dealt with in the following data chapters.

However in this chapter about discourses related to language and education, what the above extract indicates is that discourse and controversy about language in education is not at all new in the province.

3.6 In the news: Durnwalder Says No - *L'Alto Adige* Interview 17th Sept 2007

I started with talk from a Polyglot meeting in the present, in which the desire to extend bi/multilingual education was being contested. This led me to follow discourse itineraries relating to bi/multilingual education back through time in order to understand what bi/multilingual education indexes in the province.

I now return to the historical present, with data from an interview given to the *L'Alto Adige* newspaper in September 2007, by Luis Durnwalder, the provincial president.

DiGiacomo (1999), examines the genre of journalism and the sometimes emotive newspaper debates and commentaries around language which took place in Spain (and especially Catalonia), relating to the 1992 Olympics. DiGiacomo takes the position that:

the press is one of the principal sites where the struggle for “authoritative entextualisation” (Silverstein and Urban 1996:11), and this happens at more than one level simultaneously. Newspapers are self-conscious loci of ideology production. In taking editorial positions on social and political issues, they become actors in ideological debates, quoting and debating each other.

(1999:105)

Considering this, I now look to discuss selected data gathered from newspapers in the province. I have chosen to approach local print media in the Province of Bozen-Bolzano, with above theoretical assumptions in mind, and in doing so, I have found newspapers to be sites which are discursively rich and ideologically revealing.

In the period imminent to my contact with Polyglot, *L'Alto Adige* was particularly active in the debates around language and/in education, reporting the positions of key political actors and producing editorials and articles which participated in these debates. One of the key points revolved around interpretation of Article 19 of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy, discussed above (section 3.3 & 3.4). The positions taken, and the reasoning given for these positions, are linked to the "historical": both in terms of the policies and events in the province, but also in terms of the broader development of discourse and ideas related to education, language and national and/or ethnic identity.

On 10th July 2007, another local newspaper *Corriere dell'Alto Adige* (headline) reported that the provincial council had approved a law permitting the continuation and extension of immersion education in the Italian language schools only. The vote passed by fifteen for, eight against and with five abstentions. Leading the 'no' campaign was Provincial President (SVP) Luis Durnwalder. The main proponent for bilingual immersion education was Luisa Gneccchi who was the provincial councillor responsible for the Italian school systems, the leader of the Italian-language centre-left minority coalition partner in the province and the provincial vice president.

Essentially, the arguments against immersion were centred around an interpretation of article 19 of the 1972 Autonomy Statute, of which section 3.3 is emblematic. Also, as

seen in section 3.4, Article 19 states that each of the three recognized linguistic groups have the right to L1 general education. The official SVP interpretation of article 19 is that firstly immersion programmes were not foreseen nor legally provided for in the 1972 statute. The second argument, developing from the first, was that as such, bilingual programmes would contravene article 19 since they would offer education neither fully in German nor Italian. These objections to the continuation and extension of immersion programmes were voiced by other German speaking politicians of the centrist SVP although supported by the smaller German speaking Tyrolean separatist and ethno-nationalist parties.

Disagreement with regards to the continuation and expansion of immersion education was so strong that Provincial Vice President Gneccchi threatened more than once to exercise the right to vote along ethnic lines, under article 56 of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy. The vote along ethnic lines is a last resort safeguard mechanism to prevent the linguistic majority in the province from forcing through legislation expressly against the wishes of the Italian or Ladin speaking minorities.

In the midst of this debate, Provincial President Luis Durnwalder, from the German-speaking SVP, gave an interview to *L'Alto Adige* (17th September 2007), which outlined his – and his party's – objections to immersion in the province. Interestingly, Durnwalder does not directly reference Article 19 in this interview. Instead, he puts forward other reasons, including the 'topos of danger/threat' (Reisigl & Wodak 2000:278).

Having moved from my initial contact with Polyglot, examining data from the historical and present context, I include here some of the more salient aspects of Durnwalder's Historical Body and the Interaction Order, or for whom, this discourse is intended.

According to his brief official biography, available from the Consiglio Regionale di Trentino-Alto Adige (www.consiglio.regione.taa.it. Accessed 27th November 2014), Durnwalder was born into an agricultural family in 1941, two years before the fall of the Fascist regime in Italy. First elected Provincial President in 1989, in 2013 he was serving his 5th five year term as provincial president (or 25 years on completion of mandate). At the time of writing, he has declared that does not intend to seek re-election for a sixth term. He grew up in the post Fascist, Post War period which saw separatist terrorism and international intervention to solve what Alcock (1970, also Grote 2012) dubbed *the South Tyrol Question*. His political coming of age was the period of the (second) Special Statute of Autonomy and he was one of the signatories to the formal closing of the UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV (1960) in 1992.

I look now to extracts of the interview, which was published in *L'Alto Adige* newspaper on the 17th September 2007, as data on the ideological debates (Blommaert 1999) on language and education in the province (see Appendix L for the full translated article)

3.6.1 Their Own Language & Identity (Extract 1)

In this first extract, Durnwalder responds to the journalist's question as to why immersion is not suitable for the Province of Bolzano:

Line

13 **“The Ladin model? Only for Ladins”**

14 **BOLZANO. “The Ladin schools, multilingual, as a model? I agree: they work in the**
15 **Ladin valleys and could probably work well in the rest of Italy: but not in Alto Adige.”**
16 **Taking his lead from the declaration by the Minister for Instruction, at the**
17 **inauguration of the Trade Fair, Provincial President Luis Durnwalder**
18 **reaffirms his and his party’s ‘no’ to immersion and whatever other model of mixed**
19 **school which brings with it as such a vehicular use of language.**

20 **Excuse me, why in the rest of Italy yes, but in Alto Adige no?**

21 “Simple. In the rest of the country [people] speak Italian: which means that the young
22 people already have their own identity and know their own mother-tongue: in that type of
23 context, a multilingual or immersion school, de facto they are the same thing, could facilitate
24 knowledge of other languages. However here we live in a land which is inhabited by two
25 groups and therefore it is necessary that young people learn well, above all else, their mother
26 tongue.”

The references to “own” identity and “own” mother-tongue allow clear insight into a view of language, and the place of language in notions of identity which underpin the Statute of Autonomy, found especially in Articles 2 and 19. Languages are perceived from a Herdian perspective; taken as discrete, belonging to a group and foundational for identity.

Woolard’s (2008) dichotomy of authenticity/anonymity is useful here. For Woolard, authenticity is seen as the purist expression of group identity, an identity socially and

geographically deeply rooted. (2008:2). In other locations, within the politically defined place of Italy, the language is Italian “which means” those who live there have an identity which is “secure”. Yet, for Durnwalder, the Province of Bozen-Bolzano is a far more delicate and complex place, in which this socio-politically defined space is presented as being shared by two discrete groups. In doing so, Durnwalder elides the third provincially autochthonous group, the Ladins, whose immersion approach to education the Italian Minister for Education has lauded. This point about the shared socially defined space – and sharing this space – is an important one for this thesis, and is treated in depth in the following data chapters.

3.6.2 The End of the German Minority (Extract 2)

Here, Durnwalder makes an uncorroborated statement as to the effectiveness of immersion, or multilingual education, arguing that such approaches are in fact detrimental to the overwhelming majority of students:

27 **But the experts agree in saying that bi- or trilingual school is the best formula.**

28 “This is true for a maximum of 10% of young people. In the end the others don’t know one
29 or other language. While I don’t oppose lessons in two or three languages, as happens at
30 LUB [Free University of Bolzano], when a young person already knows their own language,
31 it’s a must that they learn the others.”

32 **This, regarding the didactic question, your [2nd pers. pl.] opposition is above all in
33 defence of the German ethnic group?**

34 Of course, bilingual schools, or better, where, to give an example, mathematics in German
35 and history in Italian are taught, frightens us: it would be the end of the German minority.
36 For the rest, you see it in everyday experience: if we put six people around a table, four
37 Germans [sic.] and two Italians [sic.], the language spoken is Italian. Therefore a
38 school would also put the identity of the Italian group at risk.”

The use of a percentage adds a mathematical certainty to his assertion. Yet immediately afterwards, he shifts into taking a seemingly opposite position, professing his belief that young people should learn other languages – once they already know “their own” – and that he is not actually opposed to multilingual education (‘as happens at LUB’, lines 29-30). There is also the implicit assumption that each person has “their own” language which, scanning the rest of the interview, means for Durnwalder the language of the group into which she or he is born. But there is also an implicit tension in how language is viewed. Here Durnwalder alludes to a tiering of the roles or functions of language. In the first instance, for the ‘mother tongue’, language serves identity and the reproduction of the group. In the second, there is a view of language which affords value of some kind – which is not clear either here or elsewhere in the interview – to other languages.

The journalist follows up Durnwalder’s objections-non objections to multilingual education by referring directly to the “defence” of the German-speaking minority in the province. Durnwalder initiates his response with ‘of course’, in line 34, adding to the “naturalness” of such a position and line of logic. Yet this again undermines the logic of the previous answer, based, superficially at least on the notion that multilingual education benefits but a small minority of students. Here, the topos of fear/threat

(Reisigl & Wodak 2000:278) is brought into the discussion: the fear that multilingual schooling would mean ‘the end of German [-language] minority.’ This point is emphasised in the front page summary paragraph which accompanies (see Appendix L). As we have seen earlier (chapter 1 section 1.4.2), this particular topos of fear/threat has been seen before, and can found overtly in Canon Michael Gamper’s *March of Death* for the German language in the province. Thus, Durnwalder’s assertion can be seen as an identifiably heteroglossic (and chronotopic) utterance, and one which attempts to anchor itself in local discourses of endangerment.

The use of ‘us’ is also interesting. Here Durnwalder speaks for the entire German-speaking minority. He presents as not pursuing his own agenda, but rather that of the “group”, i.e. the German-speaking minority, he represents. This is taken for granted by the journalist, who frames the question in line 32 in the second person plural. However, from fieldwork and the data I present in this chapter (see especially section 3.7), this view is not held in unanimity by German-speakers in the province, although here it is presented as such.

In strengthening his argument, Durnwalder turns to what might be described as a vignette from “everyday life” in the province. The underlying strategy is to apply a topos of fear/risk, continuing (as in lines 9-10) of fear (risk), but seeking to project this fear/risk from German-speakers to Italian-speakers: immersion as a “danger” to everyone in the province.

3.6.3 “We” are against Assimilation (Extract 3)

Continuing, the following extract touches on another reality within the province:

39 **In what sense?**

40 “In the sense that even today we have Italians who declare themselves [officially, for the
41 state] as German [sic].”

42 **Absolutely true, but that is a question of living together [convivenza].**

43 “No. There are Italian families who send their children to German[-language]
44 schools, friendships are born and they even find jobs in the German[-language]
45 environment. The result: in the end they feel more German than Italian. But we are
46 against assimilation for one group or the other.”

As we saw earlier, (chapter 1 section 1.2.1), residents have obligations and opportunities to legally declare themselves as belonging to one linguistic group or another. There is no language assessment for this; residents simply complete the necessary paperwork (Lantschner & Poggeschi 2008). These declarations affect, for example, employment opportunities in public administration. Jobs within institutions covered by the Statute of Autonomy are apportioned according to linguistic group. Yet as with the number of children from Italian-speaking homes in German-language schools, no figures exist as to this phenomenon. From a social sciences perspective, this makes any statistical data taken based on official figures of German, Italian or Ladin-speakers, unreliable.

The journalist pointedly refers to Durnwalder's opposition to immersion programmes or "mixed" language schooling in the province. Education, it is clear from public discourse, is a key site of language struggle in Bolzano-Bozen, where schools are separated along linguistic lines and managed by separate inspectorates. Broadly and historically, German language schools have been seen and presented as a way of protecting the language and culture of the German-speaking residents. Whilst there have been calls to bring schools together and develop bilingual schooling since the 1970s, especially by Alexander Langer and the Green Party (see Peterlini 2007), these have always been strongly resisted by the German-speaking political elite who govern the autonomous province, using a variety of discourses on language protection, of which the above extract is exemplary.

The direct reference to assimilation (in line 46) is a highly dialogic utterance, with deep historical significance in the province. Discourses on assimilation directly index discourses which became dominant particularly under the Fascist *ventennio* and Tolomei's 32 point plan (see section 3.5). In these years, the Fascists pursued aggressive policies of Italianisation, of which the schools played a central role.

3.6.4 The Time has not yet Come (Extract 4)

Here, Durnwalder appears to situate his 'no' in a temporal framework:

47 **So it is useless to delude ourselves about a change of course.**

48 "For now no. The time has not yet come."

49 **And when would this be?**

50 “Perhaps the day in which Italians and Germans can talk, each their own language,
51 understanding perfectly, however, the other. But we’re still a long way away. For
52 the rest, I don’t understand why [people] continue to insist on immersion, knowing
53 we are against it.”

54 **Because it is probably the most efficient method of learning other languages?**

55 “Already today, if one so wishes, there are a thousand possibilities for learning
56 German or Italian respectively. There is even the possibility for the schools to
57 increase the number of hours of German or Italian up to 50%. And we are always
58 open even to the introduction of new didactic instruments for reaching the objective.
59 Not only, if one truly wants to learn German, one can force oneself to speak it in
60 everyday life.”

61 **What do you think of the possibility, offered to 4th year high school students, to**
62 **attend one year in the other group’s school as Julia, daughter of the SVP**
63 **MEP Lukas Amonn, among others, is doing?**

64 “It’s one of the many possibilities that our school system offers for learning the other
65 language.”

When pressed by the journalist as to a more specific time frame, Durnwalder’s answers with a less-than-committal ‘Perhaps in the day in which’ (line 50), and ‘But we’re still a long way away’ (line 51). Durnwalder’s notion of an “everyday” bilingualism is also interesting. It is one which allows speaker and listener to remain within their “own”

language during interactions, but which is nonetheless a marker of separateness and linguistic distinction.

In responding to this question in lines 55-60, the provincial president appears not to answer it directly, or express an opinion on might be considered, in all intents and purposes, individual as opposed to institutional immersion.

This brings to mind Bourdieu's notions not just of linguistic capital, but also markets (for production and reproduction of such capital), which must be protected (1977): a point which is becoming analytically important in this thesis. This idea is at least suggested, when we consider that the experimentation of immersion or bilingual education is not being put forward as a replacement for the existing Italian and German-language schools, but rather as an addition to them. Also, the school system which has been experimenting with immersion is the Italian-language system, with no serious discussion of similar experimentation in the German-language schools.

The interview throws up a number of other points worthy of discursive analysis. For example language and national or ethnic identity are taken as givens. The role of education in the maintenance of the German (-speaking) minority is clear, together with the fear of the minority disappearing should immersion be implemented.

There are two other general points I wish to make regarding the interview. The first is that throughout, the terms 'German' and 'Italian' are used. Legally, everyone he refers to is an Italian citizen, in the sense that they are deemed to belong to the Italian state. Also, the province has never been a part of Germany. What we see here is the language spoken taken as national or ethnic identity. The second point is that the position

Durnwalder takes in Lines 28-29, that with immersion young people don't know one language or the other, also reappeared in a statement, reported in the same newspaper on the 19th and 22nd of February 2011. However, the discourse changed subtly, in that he added that this is what happens in the Ladin (trilingual) schools: a point which was attacked by Ladin representative quickly afterwards, and reported in the *Alto Adige* on 22nd February 2011.

The interview is given in the provincial Italian-language daily newspaper, *L'Alto Adige*. Whilst not every Italian-speaker in the province buys or reads it, the newspaper is ubiquitous in the bars and cafés of Bolzano (invariably found alongside the German-language daily *Dolomitten*). As one might expect, the newspaper is an important platform for local politicians and other interested actors, as DiGiacomo (1999) notes of course, ideologically redacted by the editorial staff and journalists. Nonetheless, I would argue that as such a platform, it is also an important source of news for issues which concern life in the province for the general population, not only for Italian-speakers.

One would reasonably assume that Durnwalder is talking to Italian-speakers, since he pointedly comments on the "dangers" of immersion for Italian identity (lines 37-38).

There are also his comments about assimilation (lines 45-46). However I would argue that these comments are aimed as much at German-speaking readers of *L'Alto Adige* as their Italian-speaking counterparts, due to the deep historicity of assimilationist (overt or perceivedly covert) policies of the Italian state in the province during the twentieth century.

On a close reading of the Durnwalder interview (especially section 3.6.1, lines 21-26 and section 3.6.3, lines 43-46), there appears to be agreement between Durnwalder and Tolomei (section 3.5.3) on the role of the school in passing on linguistic culture and identity. Although I would state explicitly that whereas for Tolomei the school was the vehicle to Italianise , for Durnwalder it is a means to keep the German-language minority safe through separation.

Interlude: Changing & Alternative perspectives on language in Bolzano-Bozen

In the broader discursive economies of language in Bozen-Bolzano – especially in education – we can see tensions how language is viewed. In the data seen so far, the common thread is an essentialised view of language, inexorably linked to identity, itself defined through a nationalist (or Herdian) lens. In the data which now follow, all taken from the historical present, we see how these ideas are not universally accepted in Bolzano-Bozen. So here I attempt to illustrate what I see as the two main strands of antagonism to the “accepted wisdom” which underpins the discourse(s) in the data presented earlier in this chapter. Both of the following data sets are from Polyglot public meetings: *my nexus of practice*. In one, an invited speaker from the governing SVP puts forward his own position, a position at odds with establishment views evident in sections 3.4 and 3.6, representing changing views of language within the political elite. In the final data set, Polyglot members discuss their own alternative views on language, especially with regard to identity. In both we see similarities, yet we also see key differences, particularly in the reasons and motivations for the superficially comparable positions taken.

3.7 – Changing views: Hannes Mair, An alternative SVP?

Having seen, thus far, the discourse itineraries of language and education in Bozen-Bolzano and province, and the mainstream positions held regarding these, I now return to the historical present and a meeting of the parents association Polyglot.

I begin with the guest speaker's Historical Body, moving then to aspects of the Interaction Order, before presenting what the guest speaker says during the meeting. Here these elements are important to see, especially in the contrast it shows with the previous data set.

On the 2nd March 2011, Polyglot organised an open meeting with a guest speaker by the name of Hannes Mair. The event took place two and a half years after the first Polyglot meeting I attended (see section 3.3) and three and a half years after the newspaper interview with Luis Durnwalder (in section 3.5). It should also be noted that the invited speaker was a relatively senior member of the same political party (SVP) as Luis Durnwalder, whose official party line has been to obstruct the extension of bilingual or immersion education.

At the time, Mair was chair of the Bozen-Bolzano city branch of Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) and autonomous provincial councillor with a special interest in economic issues. As a reminder (see chapter 1, section 1.2.2) SVP is the German-language majority political party in the province, which governs in coalition with the Italian-language Partito Democratico (PD). The complex consociational model of governance in the province requires that the majority political party of one ethnic/language group (defined in and through language) govern with a partner party from the other ethnic/language group.

As I have shown in the previous section, through the presentation of local newspaper discourse and pronouncements of the province's most senior politician (Luis Durnwalder, SVP), we see that the official position of SVP has been to resist the extension of bilingual education: be it immersion programmes within the provinces monolingual schools or the institution of bilingual schools, citing issues of legality, identity and even ethnic survival as the principal objections.

Mair, born in 1964, could be said to be of a later generation than Durnwalder, growing up in a province in which the provisions of the Statute of Autonomy afforded detailed and far-reaching protection to the German-speaking population (www.consiglio.regione.taa.it. Accessed 27th November 2014). He has been vocal on what he sees as the need to capitalise of the linguistic potential of the province and has repeatedly and publically called for multilingual education and reported in the press across the province (*Alto Adige* 2nd July 2011). As such, Mair is arguably somewhat out of step with the orthodox SVP stance which we see contested in section 3.4 and defended in section 3.6.

The format of the 2nd March 2011 Polyglot meeting could best be described as an informal evening in which attendees were free to ask Mair questions related to bilingual education in the province. The tone of the evening was cordial, in that there were no noticeably heated exchanges or disagreements at any point in the evening. The meeting was held in the function room of a local municipal theatre; in fact the same theatre as for the 2nd October 2008 Polyglot meeting presented in section 3.3. For this encounter, however, seats were arranged in a large circle, with thirty-one people in attendance (including myself and Mair. See figure 14 for the room plan), making this the second most

attended Polyglot public event I had been present for. Amongst the attendees were senior representatives from each of the German- and Italian-language school systems and the ex-rector of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano: each present in an unofficial capacity.

The meeting opened with an introduction (in German) from the Polyglot treasurer Hubert, which was repeated by Andrea in Italian, explaining the format and reason for the meeting, together with an explanation of the aims and activities thus far of Polyglot.

The meeting – in terms of the discussion, questions and answers – moved fluidly between German and Italian: sometimes this was done for extended stretches of speech, other times this was confined to specific lexical items. Whilst space is limited here to discuss the translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge 2010a) aspects, I would argue that using the Italian terms ‘convivenza vera’ (truly living-together) and ‘plurilinguismo’ (multilingualism), key terms in provincial discourse, in stretches of German-language talk is not insignificant. Rather, this is indicative of how such issues are felt to be more of an issue for Italian speakers than German speakers.

The discussion lasted just under two hours and ten minutes, which I digitally recorded whilst making field notes. From this recording I now present a transcribed and translated section. In this section, Mair is responding to three questions from the floor which were put to him in rapid succession. The first question was how or whether his personal position reflected or fitted with the official position of the SVP; the second was a question on the views of German-speakers in general on bilingual education; the third asked about

the economic effects of bilingualism. The complete answer to the questions posed can be found in Appendix M. Here I focus on a number of extracts taken from this.

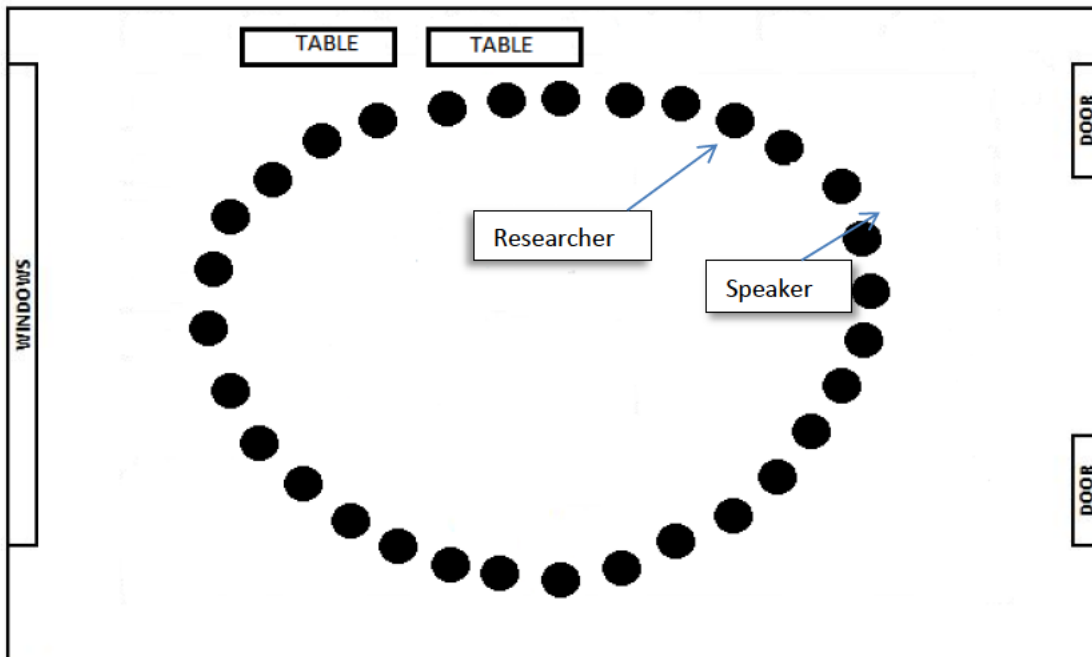


Figure 14 Room Plan: Polyglot Hannes Mair Event

3.7.1 It's Inhuman!

In this section, Mair has begun by saying he will answer the second question (regarding the attitudes of German-speakers) to bilingual education since, as we have seen in the previous data presentation, he acknowledges resistance to/fear of such developments.

Speaker	Line	English Translation
DS	6	I also think it's essential, because I find it
	7	truly

8 almost inhuman that
9 a family which lives the two cultures
10 should have to choose
11 it's something absurd because
12 it's it's almost a a human (short exasperated laugh)
13 right, that of being able
14 to raise your own children
15 in the two cultures
16 already I think two cultures
17 one liv they live in the same family so
18 already from this point of view for me uh
19 the possibility
20 or the uh
21 creation of these eh
22 of these eh
23 of these bilingual experiments of these eh
24 bilingual proposals are necessary uh
25 above all else for you [2nd per pl.]
26 for you [2nd per pl.] who have
27 live two eh
28 cultures
29 already in the family
30 before I said that I'm not sure
31 that there's only this
32 possibility

- 33 to impart the languages and if only this is the most
opportune one
- 34 for those who already live two cultures in their family
- 35 it's necessary that the possibility should be given
because it's inhuman
- 36 to expect from them to choose, or to say, eh uh

As is clear from the above, Mair actually begins not with the answer to the question (this comes a little later), but by aligning himself with *mistilingue* parents. He positions himself as being deeply empathetic to the situation in which mistilingue families are placed in by the rigidity of the provinces socio-legal framework, i.e. which forces parents to choose an educational path in one language or another. This he does using the strongest language, using the adjective “inhuman” twice (lines 12 & 35). Evident is a view of culture as fixed and clearly defined shown in his use of the term “two cultures” four times in this short stretch (lines 15, 16, 27-28, 34). There is also an assumption that language and culture are synonymous (lines 14-29 & again in lines 33-36), or at least the link between the two is taken for granted with implications for identity (compare section 3.8.3, later).

3.7.2 I have Many Mixed-Language Acquaintances

In this stretch, Mair presents an anecdote of a practice which is seen as commonplace in the province, although as we have seen, no empirical data exists to support or refute this. This anecdote is framed as being about people he knows personally, once again aligning himself with those present at the meeting. The practice of switching schools is also discussed by Durnwalder previously (section 3.6.3), although it could be argued referring more to monolingual families who wish to see their children bilingual. The principle

difference is that Durnwalder's stance is one which sees this as negative, having detrimental effects on the identity of young people.

- 37 as I often say as well, I have many mixed-language
acquaintances
- 38 who say but I uh do this uh
- 39 playschool in Italian or German [inaudible interjection]
- 40 elementary school in German, middle school in Italian,
- 41 high school in Italian
- 42 just to say
- 43 or vice versa or however it might be
- 44 But this isn't
- 45 this isn't the
- 46 right proposal that a society gives
- 47 to eh to its eh
- 48 to the paren the to the to the to the to mixed-language
families
- 49 it isn't it isn't right
- 50 so I hope
- 51 that the response eh
- 52 that would have been given
- 53 this is why I wo would also like not only for Tottola
[elementary school] but I would be
- 54 very happy (40:08)
- 55 if this opportunity were given in other schools

Once again Mair appears to demonstrate empathy, through a display of dissatisfaction with the somewhat ad hoc workaround parents are obliged to implement if they wish

their children be institutionally exposed to both German and Italian. The onus for the unsatisfactory nature of this solution is placed not only on the rules and regulations, nor those who defend and maintain (and who have the power to change) the rules and regulations, but on “society” (lines 45-46).

3.7.3 Electorate are More Advanced than (Some) Leaders Think

As Mair continues, he refers to pressure from “someone”, “some exponent from my party” (lines 120 & 121), which induces light, knowing laughter from those present.

Although he surgically avoids naming the individual in question, he is referring to the provincial president: a fact everyone present knows and a fact, as an aside, which would arguably only be discernible through an ethnographic knowledge of the context.

119 there is pressure

120 and exactly surely not since recently also because
 someone

121 some exponent from my party has thrown themselves into
 this theme

122 and so this is why

123 the answer that I can give is that obviously today I’m in

124 the minority

125 really a minority in the

126 uh

127 confines of my party I don’t think in the confines of

128 our electorate

129 I think that our electorate the SVP electorate is far more

130 advanced than some politicians would think

The “minority position” Mair describes (lines 123-125) is presented as a contrast to that of the provincial president’s (see section 3.6). Durnwalder is opposed to extending bilingual and immersion education, whereas Mair shows himself to be in favour. However this is not the only discernible contrast in their positions. Mair here foregrounds a difference between the positions held by the political elite and the electorate, whereas Durnwalder uses inclusive pronouns such as “we” “us” and “the German [-speaking] minority” in outlining his opposition. For Mair, the electorate are presented as being more enlightened and open, not so susceptible to the topos of fear/threat, but in doing so is challenging not only the provincial president, but longstanding discourses on the bounded nature of language and identity which underpin the legal frameworks upon which the province rests. Research from political science (Pallaver 2009) in the province would appear to corroborate Mair’s assertion, although emphasising residents are showing a changing and greater identification with territory (whichever language they speak) than with traditional ideas of linguistic/ethnic identity.

3.7.4 Innovate from within

In this section, Mair talks of hopes of being able to change the situation from within his political party. Elsewhere in this discussion, Mair makes an oblique reference to those who have left SVP. This is a reference to a declared Italian-speaking SVP Bolzano city councillor who was refused selection for the provincial elections because she would not declare herself German-speaking (see Appendix 4.5 lines 65-68).

131 eh for this reason eh
132 my hope is to be able to innovate from within
133 and to be able eh always eh
134 how can I say to stress
135 certain themes, those
136 above all else
137 those we're talking about today and I hope that eh
138 the electorate and but also functionaries eh
139 us
140 would met would meet us eh
141 and would become active
142 at our side in these matters so
143 uh how would you say
144 there is hope
145 but it needs
146 a lot of
147 determination in the next few years

Here there are some similarities in the dynamics Heller outlines in her critical observations on the shifts away from language and identity in a Canadian Francophone cultural association. Heller describes what might crudely be defined as a generational shift: not only in management but in ideological underpinning (2011:121-128). Whereas Heller provides an illuminating retrospective on these events, what we see in Mair's intentions are the discursive foundations for ideological change, but change which at this

point is far from certain. Instead, here is a window onto shifting of positions away from traditional views and the “defence” of language and identity and an intention to change how language is handled and viewed in a multilingual society: very much ideological conflict. Mair’s motivation for this change becomes apparent in the final stretch in this data subset.

3.7.5 The Key is Languages, and that’s that!

Mair’s slightly abridged monologue, next, also links to discourses on language and identity which go far beyond the province.

148 on the economic front uh it’s
149 clear that the economy already for a long while but the
economy is not a
150 [political] party uh
151 so it’s easier because
152 the economy knows what happens in the markets knows
that you need to fight
153 every day to survive and knows how
154 which are the elements uh,
155 of strength one of these
156 beyond technical qualifications so beyond having a uh
157 high level of education eh
158 the key is languages
159 and that’s that above all it’s not without reason eh
160 entrepreneurs there’s
161 from business people emphasise uh
162 a lot this uh

[ABRIDGED]

- 169 let's think only about tourism
- 170 tourism in the Ladin valleys [inaudible]
- 171 they have twenty per cent uh
- 172 of of of clients uh who
- 173 who arrive uh
- 174 from Eastern Europe from Poland from Russia from
- 175 from the Czech Republic so
- 176 how can you work if you don't know languages, no?
- 178 obviously the biggest section eh
- 179 of tourists are Italian and let's hope they return and
- 180 arrive in greater numbers [light laughter from the group]
after
- 181 what's happened in the last few years eh
- 182 so it's clear that multilingualism
- 183 in the economy is something eh
- 184 something fundamental for which
- 185 not only the opening up [between the language groups]
but also eh
- 186 the the priorities which
- 187 the economy presents to the
- 188 to the subject of language I think that
- 189 it is completely obvious because it's also
- 190 let's say
- 191 necessary for reasons of survival

Language is moved away from (national) identity and is situated within discourses on language as commodity (Heller 2003, 2008), in response to capitalism (or ‘markets’ – line 152). Linguistic competences are considered alongside other “technical” expertise and qualifications. In lines 158-9 there is the statement ‘languages is the key, and that’s that!’. Here an interesting point is that ‘languages’ – plural – and not a specific language, for example English, are referred to. Mair’s argument has another interesting element: Languages appear to be important not only for accessing markets outside the province (I take this from his reference to industry and commerce in lines 160-3), but also for those coming into the province, especially for tourism (line 169), from Eastern Europe. In these situations, as Duchêne (2009:30) notes ‘...multilingualism is emerging as a practical necessity; the new economy tends to constitute itself in transnational networks reaching international markets that are, de facto, multilingual.’ This shift is underlined by Mair in line 185. Traditionally, discourses which stress the importance of bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano have been motivated by a desire to bring German and Italian-speakers closer together. Yet although Mair mentions this as a potential benefit, he underlines that for him, it is the economic aspect which is of greater importance.

3.8 Polygot: The Children of Priests - On language & “mixed” identity. 15th April 2009

I now move to the final data presentation in this chapter. On the 15th April 2009, Polyglot held an open discussion evening, inviting the inspectors from the Italian-, German- and Ladin-language provincial nursery schools. Although, according to one Polyglot

committee member, all three had confirmed only the inspector from the Italian nursery schools showed up.

By now we have seen Polyglot as the Nexus of Practice, with the meetings as specific instances (or 'Sites') of Engagement (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:12). In the final data set in this chapter, I foreground the Interaction Order and the Discourse in Place.

However, Daniela's stretch of talk, reporting the speech of another, can be seen both as an overtly heteroglossic utterance (Morris 1994:249) as an expression of her own position, or her Historical Body.

The meeting was held in the upstairs function room of a Bozen-Bolzano city centre café-bar that was used on other occasions by Polyglot. Eleven people were present (including myself and the inspector) and, as was becoming custom, we sat in a circle (see figure 15 for room layout).

Daniela, the Polyglot president, opened the meeting by expressing disappointment at the low turnout and the absence of the other invited speakers. The hope had been to provide a space for parents to ask questions directly to those who managed early-years education and explore the issues (pedagogical, social and political) which prevent the extension of bilingual schools. Despite the low turn-out and the absence of two out of three of the invited speakers, the evening became a relaxed question and answer session which focused greatly on issues of language and identity. Twice staff from downstairs appeared to take drinks orders from attendees which added to the relaxed atmosphere.

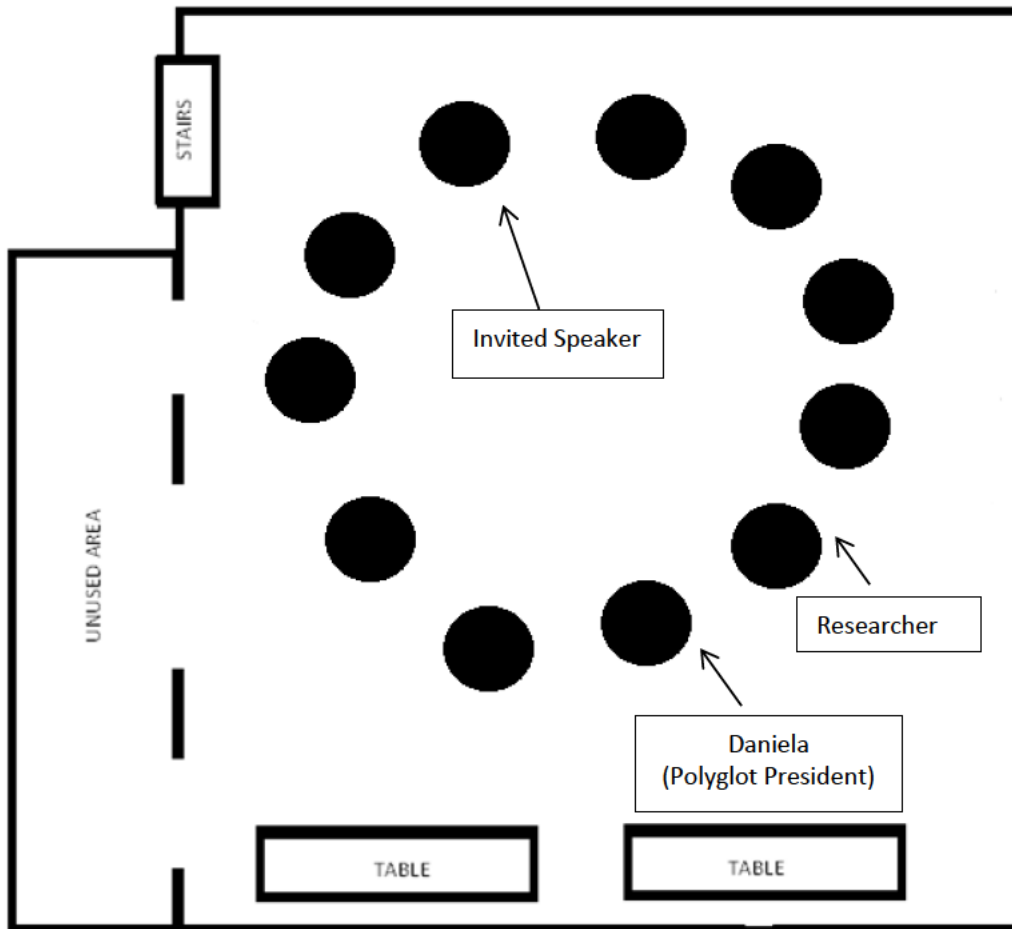


Figure 15 Room layout of Polyglot meeting 15th April 2009

I now include two extracts from an intervention near the end of the meeting from Daniela (see Appendix N for Daniela's full intervention).

3.8.1 Children of Priests

In these lines Daniela relates a humorous comparison she had heard to describe children from bilingual homes in the province:

Daniela	1	Mario Rossi
	2	who we invited to tell us

- 3 stories of coexistence [between provincial Italian and German speakers]
- 4 [prolonged silence from speaker]
- 5 so he said that our children [i.e. from Mistilingue families]
- 6 are like priests' children
- 7 everyone knows they exist
- 8 just don't mention them
- 9 [inaudible due to laughter from the group]
- 10 because it really was a sweet joke
- 11 priests' children

“Mistilingui” children are represented as an uncomfortable reality, one whose very existence challenges the very framework upon which the province is governed and managed, since they do not fit neatly into the linguistically defined categories provided for under the Statute of Autonomy 1972 (see section 3.4). The statute, itself defined and agreed under the auspices of the United Nations, provides a snapshot of the prevailing “common-sense” understanding of language and (particularly) national identity, an understanding which is increasingly questioned (see for example Heller 2011). Daniela continues by asserting that there are many of these “mistilingui” children, yet as we have seen these there are no official figures.

3.8.2 Fatima's Children

Daniela moves on from the traditional provincial understanding of “mistilingui” – i.e. from bilingual German/Italian (or Ladin) speaking homes – to include bilingual children from outside the province, and even outside Europe.

Daniela 12 but the interesting thing about this
13 because there really are lots of mistilingui children
14 in Bolzano and other children as well
15 that speak that come from other cultural contexts
16 and who grow in other contexts
17 [inaudible interjection]
18 Fatima's children
19 who speak Arabic and Pakistani [sic] at home
20 and Italian German at school
21 and speak four languages extremely well
22 and they're the best in school in Italian and German
23 amongst other subjects for example
24 no ehm

Earlier in this meeting, the inspector gave an estimated figure, stating that of the 3,500 children in provincial infant schools, some 750 were from families from outside the European Union. This reflects the demographic changes which are taking place in the province, as in other parts of Europe, bringing a new dynamic to the established order.

3.8.3 ...that's not true...: language & identity

Daniela finishes her monologue by making a striking claim about how she sees language and identity.

Daniela	25	and everyone continues to
	26	state that in any event these children
	27	sooner or later
	28	will choose one of their languages to affirm their identity
	29	at the end of the day that's not true

For Daniela, there appears to be no link between language and identity, or that language spoken is not a choice which affirms personal identity positions. This a view which is diametrically opposed to the accepted understanding, enshrined in statute, or that of the most senior of provincial politicians (see section 3.6).

3.9 Drawing the Strands Together

The six data sets presented are drawn not only from a number of discursive genres, but also from separate historical periods: from the Italianisation of the province from the 1920s; the solutions sought in the 1960s; the historical present, in which these solutions are increasingly contested and for different reasons. These provide an image of the multiple and conflicting ideologies on language and identity, ideologies which change, and how these ideologies impact upon language in education within the province.

The data presented in section 3.4 (Articles 2 and 19 of the Statute of Autonomy of 1972), section 3.5 (*il discorso* of Ettore Tolomei from 1923) and section 3.6 (the interview with

Provincial President Luis Durnwalder) all illustrate ideologies which view language as a fundamental part of group (or national) identity, despite separation by genre and time. Tolomei's *discorso* was an attempt, largely through language and other semiotic means, to assimilate and make both the people and place "Italian". The Statute of Autonomy was drawn up, under international auspices, to protect German-speakers in the province from assimilation. The fear of assimilation, underpinned by an adherence to ideologies which rigidly identify groups by language, is presented by Durnwalder as the main reason to resist the diffusion of immersion education. All three of these data sets represent the ethno-linguistic and ethno-nationalist politics which has typified provincial socio-political discourse (and social action) throughout the 20th century.

In data set 3.3 (The Panel Game) and data set 3.7 (Hannes Mair, An Alternative SVP) we see the foregrounding of economic arguments for the extension of bi/multilingual education, as a response to changes in global market conditions. This reflects in greater part Duchêne's reflection that:

the ever-increasing mobility of people and the circulation of goods (Appadurai 1996) in a globalised market place give rise to new language needs (e.g., translators, multilingual workers) and practices...[in which n]ew realities are emerging from the contact between contemporary forms of language and culture, which are tied to migration and trade

(2009:29)

For both speakers in these data sets (sections 3.3 and 3.7, bi-/multilingualism becomes an economic resource in the broader sense. Particularly in extract 3.7.5, languages are "the

key” to unlocking global markets and potential customers from all over the globe. Note here that the speaker does not refer to *language*, but rather *languages* in the plural (line 158), and this is closely linked to the need for technical qualifications to make a competitive workforce. In data set 3.7.1 the senior SVP politician states that it is ‘inhuman’ (lines 8-17 and again in lines 34-36) that those who live with the two languages and cultures at home should have to choose between them when it comes to school. However there is a sense that for this speaker, the “practical” economic aspects are paramount. Conspicuously absent from both data set 3.3 and 3.7 are any direct statement or affirmation on language and identity. Language here does not appear to be strongly representative of group identity, or at least not so strong as to override the economic costs of *not* extending bi/multilingual education in the province. The link between language and identity which comes through in data sets 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6 is not engaged with at all, or not least not directly. Nevertheless, there is ideological tension. The link between language and identity is however under frontal assault in the last data set, in section 3.8 (the Children of Priests). This data set summarises succinctly Polyglot’s *raison d’etre*: bi/multilingual children from bi/multilingual home environments. These are unprovided for, and would appear an uncomfortable, oft ignored reminder to institutions (including political elites and legal frameworks) of the limitations of social solutions based on rigid linguistically defined notions of identity. We are also afforded a view of another aspect of how globalisation touches life in the province, with reference to newer residents in the province, who originally come from outside. Whilst this is an aspect I do not deal with in this thesis, principally for reasons of space, it is an aspect that is having its

presence felt increasingly in provincial life and one which emphasises Duchêne's point on migration, above.

The final aspect worth highlighting is the implicitness of physical geography and the taken-for-granted links between language and place. Tolomei's programme was to italianise the people and the place, this meant the removal of the linguistic and semiotic traces of anything other than what he deemed "Italian", especially within educational establishments (see Extract 3.5.4). Durnwalder references the land and the Statute of Autonomy is a set of rules, agreed under the guidance of actors from the United Nations, which are applicable only within the geographical space of the province. For Durnwalder, that the province is a socio-political space shared by different linguistic groups is the reason for resisting immersion or extending bilingual education. The shared socio-political space is also implicit in the Statute of Autonomy, in Articles 2 and 19 (section 3.4), which presents linguistic provisions as applicable within '...the Region...' (see Extract 3.4.1) and 'In the Province of Bolzano' (Extract 3.4.2), and nowhere else. The effect is that the statute creates a particular social space with rules, requirements and norms regarding language in particular but affecting a great deal more, not found outside the province. What is curious is that although these rules apply only in South Tyrol-Alto Adige, they are drawn from standards agreed by the international community of nation-states, reflecting international or globally dominant ideologies.

With this in mind, I now turn to language in the material world (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003), attempting to understand why, during the research process, discourse on

bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano were often linked to place names, and then, Fascist era monuments.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE NAMING OF PLACE & THE PLACING OF NAMES IN BOLZANO-BOZEN

(Social) space is a (social) product... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action...a means of control, and hence of domination...

Lefebvre 1991:26

Everybody used to refer to history. But which history?

Volpe 1927: 24-5, in Moretti 1999:111

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I looked at social action and discourse related to bi/multilingual education and how these related to bilingualism in Bolzano-Bozen. I began in the present, with the nexus of practice of this study (a Polyglot meeting) and sought to follow the discourse itineraries (Scollon 2007), which led to an examination of factors from outside the historical present. I showed how language in education was used during the early to mid-twentieth century as an instrument to transform the southern Tyrol into Alto Adige, very much part of Italian cultural (or social) space. Yet, as Alcock reminds

(1970:13), language and education had become contentious and problematic for Austro-Hungarian Italian speakers in the region from the 1860s: the period which saw the House of Savoy consolidate its territorial expansions and the making of the Kingdom of Italy (see also Riall 2009). I looked at the internationally-remediated solutions, based on taken-for-granted Herdian ideas of language and national identity, and how these solutions, and the concepts which underpin them, are now themselves being contested from various quarters and for various reasons (see Heller 2011, Duchêne & Heller 2007, Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

In this chapter I discuss language in the physical world. Specifically, I look at the naming of place, within the context of discourse and social action related to bi/multilingualism: in Bozen-Bolzano and the wider province of South Tyrol-Alto Adige. The general approach I take here is similar to that of the previous chapter. To begin, I discuss how and why I came to include discourses related to place names from the semiotic landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010:2, after Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) in this study.

The focus here is on the discourses in place (for a fuller discussion of the all three elements, see chapter 2 section 2.3) and their 'discourse itineraries' (Scollon 2007). A discourse itinerary', as Blommaert reminds (2013:28), is Ron Scollon's evolution of the concept of 'discourse cycle', which is found in earlier work produced alone or with Wong Scollon (in particular Scollon 2001; Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003, 2004). The concept of 'itinerary' as opposed to 'cycle' sits far more satisfactorily with the work of Bakhtin, and notions of intertextuality, interdiscursivity and the Bakhtinian position that each time something is said, or seemingly repeated, it is made anew (see also Blackledge 2005:12-

13 and his use of the term ‘discourse chains’). It also, as Pietikäinen (2015) notes, allows room for Deleuze’s concept of *rhizomes*, which sees social action and discourse in terms of (dis)connectivity and flow (Deleuze & Guattari 1987[2005]).

Section 4.1.1 provides a brief resume of the theoretical and methodological decisions made for the data I chose and the way I approach them. In Section 4.1.2 I provide an orientation to the data and context of discourses on place names in the province, from a historical legal/institutional perspective.

In Sections 4.2 through to 4.6 I present the data I have selected. As an overview, these data can be summarily grouped into the following four broad areas:

- Transcribed talk from a nexus of practice (a Polyglot meeting);
- Discursive data from the period of the Italianisation in the province, from the 1900s (and earlier), including writings and maps;
- Institutional discourse: from the local to the global (from the historical past to the historical present); and
- Other circulating discourses from the present, including newspaper discourse and other semiotic data

It is through an examination of these data, with a particular emphasis on presenting the *discourses in place*, I attempt ‘...to capture the connectivity and interaction between and across the resources...’ (Pietikäinen 2015:19), and to understand how and why place names were central to discourses of bilingualism during this research. Table 4 shows a summary of the data presented, in the order in which they appear in this chapter.

Chapter Section	Data Type	Source	Summary
4.2 – Polyglot on Place Names: Stimulating the Debate	Spoken interaction at a meeting open to the public	Polyglot Parents Association, 30 th Sept 2009	A local historian presents & discusses the history of the place names debate
4.4 – Chasing down Trajectories: The Italianisation of South Tyrol	Public Discourse from 1923 (reproduced in local print media)	<i>Il Piccolo Posto</i> newspaper, 17 th July 1923	Tolomei's plan to reshape the Semiotic Landscape
4.5 — Contesting Names & Signs in the Present	Semiotic data	Photographic images from 2008-2013 (various sources)	The law passed & the accompanying provincial report
4.6 – Institutional & Political Discourse	The Provincial Report of Toponymy A Parliamentary Question	Rolle-Mussner Relazione Parliamentary Question No. 3-20483	Rationale behind the provincial law & objections in the national parliament

Table 4 Discursive data on places names in chapter 4

4.1.1 Approaching Discourse in the Semiotic Landscape

It is worth reiterating at this point the pertinent aspects of the methodological approach of Nexus Analysis and, for that matter, Geosemiotics (see the following chapter, on Monumento alla Vittoria). As a reminder a nexus, in this discussion, is an instance of social action in which the intersection of the discourses in a given place, the way actors

interact with these discourses (the interaction order, adapted from Goffman) and the historical bodies (not dissimilar to Habitus) of the actors, leave this moment of social action and the trajectories of the three elements altered in some way. As Hult (2009:92) states succinctly:

Discourses in place refer to the wider circulating ideas that shape people's actions.

The interaction order reflects norms of social behavior around communication. The historical body attends to the ideas that are embodied in the social practices of individuals.

The job of analysis is to follow the trajectories of these elements which have come together to form the nexus of practice.

One way to analyse place name signs in Bozen-Bolzano would be through the Linguistic Landscapes (LL) approach (see, for example, Backhaus 2007 or many of the studies in Shohamy & Gorter 2009). In fact Dal Negro (2009) provides a comparative quantitative LL study of Piedmont and the province of Bolzano-Bozen, looking at a corpus of public signs from both places.

However, my interest is in how and why place names maintained a constant presence, along with bilingual education and Fascist-era monuments under broader discourses on bi- or multilingualism, during the period of research, rather than in the signs *per se*.

In the context of this chapter, with discourses on place names under scrutiny, I look outside conventional LL to Scollon & Wong Scollon's Nexus Analysis (2004) and their work on *Geosemiotics* (2003).

There are two principle reasons for such an approach. The first is that theoretically (and methodologically), Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics share theoretical premises, holding that an initial focus on social action, rather than *discourse* is fundamental (see Scollon 2001). Secondly, both approaches are geared to exploring the indexicalities and broader discourse processes, which is something that arguably they are far better placed to do than LL. As Pietikäinen et al. (2011:296) observe, LL acknowledges a linkage between signs and broader discursive processes but its restricted focus on the signs (and I would argue language) alone at a given moment leaves it ill-equipped to analyse these relationships. Further, as Hult shows, this in an approach which can provide analytic access when interrogating the linguistic sense of place which is created linguistically (2014:514), or semiotically (Blommaert 2013:49). The centrality of a deep ethnographic knowledge – including the synchronic and historical dimensions – in both Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics provides the analyst with far greater leverage than a solitary reliance on the signs in themselves. In short, and as Scollon & Wong Scollon (2003:160) argue, it is this ethnographic approach which allows access to beyond the *here and now* to explore the processes which have led to the present spatio-temporal frame, anchored in situated communities of practice.

As such, I do not seek to provide a corpus of signs. Even though this chapter is concerned with place names and public signs which display these, I have not quantitatively collated public signage from across the province, neither have I carried out anything other than rudimentary statistical analysis. This is not my aim. Instead, the core data in this chapter come from a number of different genres: spoken interaction from Polyglot open

meetings, newspaper discourse, political, legal and academic discourse, as well as images of signs being contested.

It should also be noted that in this chapter and chapter 5 (on Monumento alla Vittoria), the signs under interrogation are very different. Yet Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics has proved flexible enough to explore both of these, superficially quite different, data sets.

As a working definition, then, signs can be understood as being any object in the physical world which refers to something other than itself (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003:3).

Further, signs are understood as being part of systems of social semiotics. The significance is that:

All semiotic systems operate as systems of social positioning and power relationship both at the level of interpersonal relationships and at the level of struggles for hegemony among social groups in any society precisely because they are systems of choices and no choices are neutral in the social world.'

(Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003:7)

Blommaert (2013:40), developing from Foucault, furthers this idea a little, underlining that semiotic systems (or regimes, in his words) operate in a field of power, that they may be multiple and competing, but they are nonetheless regimes.

Moving away from the signs, and concerning directly to the naming of place, David Harvey is of particular help. In *Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination* (Harvey 1990), David Harvey reminds that '...the very act of naming

geographical entities implies a power of them, most particularly over the way in which places, their inhabitants and their social functions get represented.’ (1990:419).

Bringing these ideas together, what is clear from Harvey, Blommaert and the Scollons above is that signs are not neutral and that processes of naming arguably denote or are linked to, processes of dominance or hegemony over the physical world. By looking closely at debates around place names in the light of these insights, we are afforded a view of the power structures (regimes, after Kroskirty 1999) of which they are a part. As I hope to show here, and following Harvey (1989), I argue debates about place names in Bozen-Bolzano are about who really owns (or has power over) these places, to whom they belong. This is why, in the context of this study, it has been important to look to social actions far removed from the *present* of this study and to trace discourse itineraries on place names in Bolzano-Bozen. I look, for example, to the writings of Ettore Tolomei, dating from before the First World War; or the actions and ideologies in global geopolitics from different periods of the twentieth century.

Following Blommaert (1999), many of the discourses here related to place names are approached as *debate*, in the political sense. As Blommaert notes, such debate is open to a range of social actors including politicians, experts, both scientific and lay, the public and the media (1999:8). Central to Blommaert’s framing of such debates is the Braudelian conceptualisation of *durée*, and the differentiation between the time that individuals orientate to and measure their (our) lives by and the time that stretches beyond the lifetime. Included in this latter are socio-political and economic processes. Citing Braudel, Blommaert takes a view of history as the ‘...overlapping, intertwining and

conflicting temporalities in the lives of people.’ (Blommaert 1999:3. This idea is developed further into ‘layered simultaneity’ in Blommaert 2005:126). As such, I strongly hold that the element of history, or ‘...sharp, intimate and indefinitely repeated opposition between the single moment and the slow unfolding of time...’ (Braudel 1970:146) is indispensable in understanding debates such as those over place names in South Tyrol.

My interest is in the discourses on, or connected to, place names and public signage in Bolzano and South Tyrol-Alto Adige, as they relate to ideologies about language, and in turn, how these relate to identity, social power and hegemony: processes which unfold over timescales which go beyond a human lifetime. In the data that follows we see how ‘...language is central as a topic, a motif, a target, and in which language ideologies are articulated, formed, amended, enforced.’ (Blommaert 1999:1) The debates over place names and public signage ‘...develop against a wider socio-political and historical horizon of relationships of power, forms of discrimination, social engineering...’ (Blommaert 1999:2), which in the past have restricted the use and visibility of German in the physical world and today appear to seek to restrict the use and visibility of Italian.

4.1.2 After Sixty Years of Autonomy...A Prelude to the Data

Before looking at the data in depth, it is important to have the briefest of introductions to the legal provisions for bilingualism in the semiotic landscape in the Province of Bozen-Bolzano.

In the first data presentation (in section 4.2.1) to follows, from a Polyglot open meeting (with a local historian) specifically to discuss the issue of place names, Daniela, the association president, introduces the evening with the rhetorical question:

- 30 af after
- 31 sixty years of
- 32 autonomy in Sudtirolo to be still dividing ourselves over these themes
- 33 what's behind this why can't we manage to find a solution why haven't we yet managed to make a law to put souls at rest a little, that regulates these things

Daniela's 'sixty years of autonomy' is an important key to understanding much of what happens with regard to language in the province and here we see shades of Braudel's *duree* (1970) referred to above.

In South Tyrol-Alto Adige, bilingual place names have been afforded legal protection since the end of the Second World War. The 'sixty years of autonomy' refers to the period since the provisions of the First Statute of Autonomy (1948). This was based on points of the Gruber-De Gasperi agreement (1946. See chapter 1 and Appendix D), signed under the auspices of the Paris Peace Conference following the Second World War, on behalf of Austria and Italy by Austrian Foreign Minister Gruber and Prime Italian Minister De Gasperi. As we have seen, the Gruber-De Gasperi agreement formed the basis for relations between the province and the Italian state (and the later involvement of the

international community in the form of the United Nations Conflict Resolution 1497/XV) in the post Second World War period. In the two-page Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement, in which an understanding is reached between these two governments on South Tyrol's remaining as part of the Italian state, the issue of place names is specifically provided for under point 1 b, which states that:

'In accordance with legislation already enacted or awaiting enactment the said German-speaking citizens will be granted in particular: ...

b) parification of the German and Italian languages in public offices and official documents, as well as bilingual topographic naming;

(Gruber – De Gasperi Accord 5th Sept 1946)

From the Gruber – De Gasperi Agreement, we see the following sections from the First Statute of Autonomy (1948), provide for place names specifically. Article 11.3, as part of section III of the 1948 statute entitled 'Functions of the Provinces', states:

The provinces [Trentino and Bolzano-Bozen] shall have the power to issue laws within the limits laid down in Article 4, on the following matters: ...

3. Place names, without prejudice to the bilingual provisions for the territory of the Province Bolzano-Bozen.

(In Alcock 1970:478)

A point to note here is that both the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement and the First Statute is not only the explicit provision for both German and Italian place names, but that both German and Italian place names are to be treated as equally valid.

Article 86, as part of section X of the 1948 statute, entitled 'The use of the German and Ladin languages', states:

In relations to the German-speaking citizens, the public administration of the Province of Bolzano/Bozen shall also use German place names if the existence of these shall have been officially ascertained and approved by provincial law.

(In Alcock 1970:491)

The second Statute of Autonomy (1972), which only came into being due to the actions of the United Nations General Assembly (Conflict Resolution 1497/XV of 1960. See chapter 1 section 1.4) reconfirmed this in Article 8.2, which states:

The Provinces [of Trento and Bolzano/Bozen] have the power to emanate laws within the limits indicated under article 4, in the following areas...

2) Toponomastic, resting firmly with the obligation of bilingualism in the Province of Bolzano/Bozen;

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

and Article 101 which states:

In the Province of Bolzano/Bozen the public administration must use, when dealing with its German-language citizens, the German toponymy, if the provincial law has certified their existence and approved the wording.

(www.provincia.bz.it. Accessed 15th July 2010)

Whilst the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement and the two statutes of autonomy (1948 and 1972) provide the legal framework within which debates on place names must be articulated, they can only realistically be understood as nodes of discourse itineraries (or chains) over the longer term. As we shall see later (in section 4.4), to understand the significance of these interventions, it is necessary to look further back than Daniela's 'sixty years' and trace 'the natural histories of discourses' (Silberstein & Urban 1996) which in this case stretch back to the end of the nineteenth century (which in themselves appeal to a distant history): some thirty years before Italy took possession of the province. The rationale is that, as Blommaert points out, '[e]very event – dynamic and processual in itself – is situated as a part of a tradition of events, and this tradition contributes heavily to what happens in each concrete event.' (1999:6). There is dialogue, in the Bakhtinian sense, with laws passed between the First and Second World Wars, particularly during the Fascist regime, which removed any recognition or legitimacy of place names in German.

It is also worth noting that although German-language place names are widely used and visible throughout the province, at the time of writing, they have never had their existence certified by the Italian state or approved by provincial law (as required under Article 101 of the Statute of Autonomy 1972), and neither are they legally recognised by the Italian state. From a situation in which German-language place names have no official or legal status for the Italian state, one might be forgiven for assuming that they were at risk from disappearing from the semiotic landscape, in favour of Italian. However, it became apparent during the period of research that in fact the opposite was occurring, particularly from official mountain path signs. The situation was deemed so serious, in

fact, that the Italian state prosecutor opened an investigation into the situation. In some cases, unknown members of the public added the missing Italian place name to these signs, as can be seen in Figure 16, a photograph I took on a family walk in the mountains the summer of 2009. Here the upper sign (bearing the inscription AVS on the left) is an official provincial path sign. It has been made and installed bearing only the German-language name, *Rittner Horn*. On the right of the sign someone has added the Italian name for the same place, *Corno di Renon*, with a black marker pen. The smaller sign below this is not an official provincial sign, but one which gives directions to a mountain bar/restaurant (Feltturner Hütte: The Feltturner-Velturmo Hut), presumably attached by the establishment's owners. This was emplaced with the name in German only and again, above and to the right of the German, someone has added the Italian place name *Velturmo*.

After this very brief orientation to the discursive context, I now present a selection of data on place names collected during the research period. I begin, in section 4.2, with recorded talk from a Polyglot meeting. I then trace discourse itineraries back through time to the programme of Italianisation, from the 1920s, in section 4.4. In section 4.5 I return to the present, and a selection extra-institutional semiotic data showing how place names (and even the place names debate itself) are contested. In section 4.6, the final data section, I remain in the present with institutional discourse and debate over the revised provincial law on toponymy, at the local and national level. I then close the chapter with a brief discussion of the data in this chapter, in preparation for analysis.



Figure 16 Illegal monolingual path sign for Rittner Horn-Corno di Renon, bearing the AVS (Alpenverein) acronym and hand-written Italian place name. Province of Bolzano-Bozen [2009]

4.2 Polyglot on Place Names: Stimulating the Debate

Polyglot is the parents association whose meetings provide the nexus of practice for this study. My involvement with the association began with observation and later, active participation as a member of the organising committee (see chapter 2 for theoretical underpinning). As a reminder, *Polyglot* was initially set up by bilingual families (overwhelmingly mixed Italian and German-speaking) to campaign for recognition of and provision for the *mistilingue* (bilingual) children which make up an estimated 10% of pupils in the provincial education systems (Baur & Medda-Windischer 2008). *Polyglot* meetings, except those for the organising committee, are always open to the public and provide a forum to discuss related issues.

At this point in the research process, and the Polyglot meeting from which the following transcriptions are taken, I attended Polyglot meetings as an observer, in much the same way as with the Polyglot meetings described in chapter 3 and the debate on bilingual schooling. By this time, I had become a member of Polyglot, paying a nominal membership fee of €10 per year, and was becoming familiar with (and to) some of the members, on first name terms, and to have exchanged email and cellular telephone numbers with some. From talking before and after these meetings, as well as contributions to meetings that people made, I had also begun to build a picture of the key elements of the nexus of practice (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004): members' and participants' *historical bodies*, how they came together in the *interaction order* and the *discourses in place* which they all sought to actively engage with and, as in the case here, contest.

For the data presentation here, I foreground the three key elements of Nexus Analysis. I touch on the Historical Bodies of key participants in the discussion (particularly Daniela, Giulio and DE ANON M), which are discernible through the positions they take in grappling with the Discourses in Place related to provincial toponymy.

On 30th September 2009, Polyglot held a meeting, open to the public, with a local historian to discuss the issue of place names. The reason for this open meeting was that in 2009 concerns were being aired, particularly in the Italian-language local press, that Italian-language place names seemed to be disappearing from the mountain path signs in the province, signs which by law should be bilingual (see Figure 16 as an example). Attending this particular meeting on the 30th September 2009 were 20 people: six

members including myself and fourteen others, plus the guest speaker Giulio Milano (all names have been changed to anonymise participants). The meeting was held in the upstairs function room of a city-centre bar/restaurant and as normal seats were arranged in a rough circle, which fitted quite tightly into the main part of the room, with the other part unused as it was separated by columns (see Figure 17 for the room plan). The overall tone of the meeting was relaxed with no perceptible aggressiveness despite differing perspectives or opinions which surfaced during the course of the evening. A member of staff from the downstairs bar came twice, interrupting to take drinks orders, returning each time to discretely distribute the drinks comprising of small beers, water and *aperitivi* as discussions continued. All three stretches of talk in sections 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 are extracted from this meeting.

The meeting was opened by the then president of Polyglot, Daniela, who introduced Giulio Milano (section 4.2.1). The introduction is worth reproducing here, as it provides an understanding of the philosophy of Polyglot and how a grassroots association, founded in the interests of multilingual education, came to be discussing place names. It also provided me with the entry point into the semiotic and historical data which is presented in this chapter. Next, in 2.2, we hear some of Giulio Milano's comments on place names as he discusses recently-taken examples of readers' letters to the German-language newspaper Dolomitten. In section 4.2.3 a public participant at the meeting shares their views of place names, providing what he describes and positions as "a little of that Germanic world".

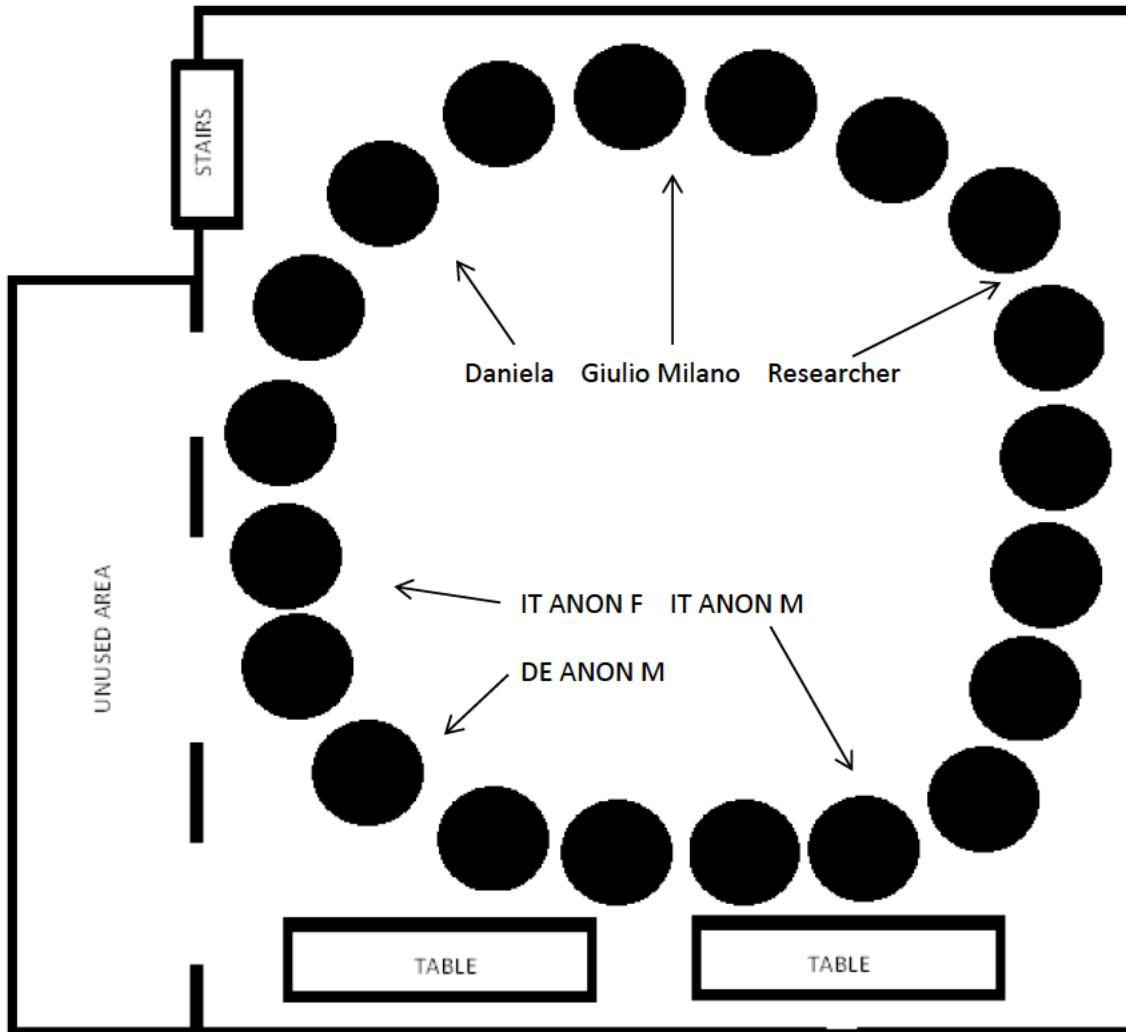


Figure 17 Room layout of Polyglot meeting 30th Sept 2009

4.2.1 Cosa c'è dietro – What's behind this? (Extract 1)

The three extracts in this first part are from Daniela's introduction (see Appendix O for the full introduction). Some Polyglot members, such as Daniela, had long been involved with the provincial Green Party (Grüne-Verc-Verdi), which is the only party in the province to use all three autochthonous languages in its name. Historically, the Green Party has placed a great deal of emphasis in its campaigns not just on the environment, but on ethno-(linguistic-) political issues, since it was set up in the 1980s (Pallaver 2007b: 592-4). Polyglot can be seen as very much part of Daniela's *historical body*, and certainly

for the period of her presidency, she is one who balanced work, family and activism, particularly with regard to bilingual (mistilingui) children, including her own, and the need she felt for adequate educational provision: namely “mixed-language” or bilingual schools.

I now turn to three extracts from the Daniela’s introduction

4.2.1a Themes hashed and rehashed

Here Daniela lays out the rationale that the Polyglot organising committee had for putting on this discussion evening.

Speaker	Line	English Translation	Time
Daniela	1	uh	0.0.23
	2	the reason was, right, to have a little	
	3	to stimulate a little the debate in Alto Adige on themes that are	
	4	uh hashed and rehashed but it seems in the end	
	5	that it doesn’t do any good to argue because nothing will change it	

Daniela makes her first reference to the past and how certain discourses seem to appear and reappear but arrive, for Daniela at least, discursive impasses. She also uses the plural, ‘themes’ (line 3), indicating an acknowledgement that there are multiple issues at play in South Tyrol-Alto Adige.

4.2.2b Wishing for Another Sudtirolo

The recognition of a multiplicity of issues is made clearer in this section.

Speaker	Line	English Translation	Time
	6	and last year we occupied ourselves above all else with school	
	7	we invited a number of presenters	
	8	to see, in short th	
	9	the possibility or the IMpossibility of founding a multilingual school in Alto Adige from diverse points of view	
	10	this year we thought we'd enlarge the debate a little and occupy ourselves in short with these	
	11	hotter themes that continue to divide and separate	
	12	and so also because we see a future for our children, we are nearly all parents who have bilingual children	
	13	almost all mixed couples let's say	
	14	or anyway couples who wish for	
	15	another Sudtirolo	
	16	for our own kids	

Danilea reflects on Polyglot previous activity and a level of exasperation at the failure of provincial institutions to create multilingual schools. There is also, developing on from the previous extract, another reference to time but here she invokes the future possibility of a different South Tyrol-Alto Adige from that of the present. She includes parents like herself, with bilingual children, or others who are dissatisfied with the present linguistic arrangements although how and in what ways the province might be better is left unspecified.

I draw attention to the way she refers to the province. In line 3, she uses the term *Alto Adige*, which is the official and most widely used name in Italian for the province (and for the Italian state). In line 15, and then again in line 32, Daniela opts for *Sudtirolo*, which is the Italianisation of *Südtirol*. Both names are relatively new in the naming of place. *Alto Adige*, as we shall see later, is name which became used towards the end of the nineteenth century, although Napoleon Bonaparte first used the term *Haute Adige (Alto Adige)* in reference to the same approximate zone at the beginning of the same century (Alcock 1970:9). I have seen the term *Sudtirolo* mostly used by Italian-speakers (including private citizens, journalists and some politicians) who orientate to the political left and those, like Daniela, who ‘...wish for another *Sudtirolo*...’ for their children (2.1.2 Lines 14-16), than the perceived ethnolinguistically divided one of the past or the present. Also, throughout this introduction she speaks in the third person plural, embodying the association by speaking not from her own perspective, but that of Polyglot’s.

4.2.1c After 60 Years of Autonomy

Speaker	Line	English Translation	Time
	17	and seeing that in these last months the discourses on toponymy have returned to heat the spirits a little	
	18	encouraged now by the path signs discourse but these are always pretexts	
	19	to then recommence these debates	
	20	um	
	21	sufficiently	
	22	um	
IT Anon F	23	noisy	
Daniela	24	nois hehe [laughter also from the group]	

- 25 we thought we'd invite Giulio Milano
- 26 to um
- 27 tell us
- 28 tell us also a little of the history [inaudible]
- 29 how we got here to now
- 30 af after
- 31 sixty years of
- 32 autonomy in Sudtirolo to be still dividing ourselves over
these themes
- 33 what's behind this why can't we manage to find a
solution why haven't we yet managed to make a law to
put souls at rest a little that regulates these things

Here Daniela orientates both to the present and the past, noting how discourses on place names have returned, and to cause tension (Lines 17-19). However, from her comments in line 18, she makes it clear that she sees such debates as proxies for something else. Daniela's question during her introduction is presented as a motivating factor in setting up this discussion evening, a question which here links the past with the present and indexes global geopolitics, since the autonomy she talks about was arrived at specifically under the Second World War peace treaty and the later UN Conflict resolution 1497/XV. Yet despite the intervention of the international community and sixty years of negotiation, her rhetorical question 'what's behind all this' (Line 33), together with her comments in line 18, illuminate the complexity in trying to deal with issues separately, in South Tyrol-Alto Adige, at least.

4.2.2 Namen sind Namen 1: Giulio's Comments (Extract 2)

Giulio begins by underlining that he is neither a linguist nor legal specialist and that all he can offer is a general historical overview. Here he underplays, a little, his own expertise: he is a high school history teacher who has authored a textbook for use in high schools which deals specifically with the history of the province, trains teachers in the province on historical awareness, as well as publishing locally.

From this qualification, he moves not to a chronology of events, but to a reader's letter and a short opinion column he had read in the German-language provincial newspaper *Dolomitten*, published on 27th September 2009; three days previous to this Polyglot meeting. He has made copies of these and distributes them to those present (see Appendix C).

The newspaper had assigned the letter the title *Namen sind Namen* (names are names). The opinion piece was entitled *Varus, gib mir meine Legionen zurück!* (Varus, give me back my legions!), taking as its orientation the annihilation of the Imperial Roman Army at the Battle of the Forest of Teutoburg, by the Germanic chieftain Arminius (also known as Armin and Hermann) in 9 A.D. The reference to a military encounter and historical character, dislocated from present-day Bozen-Bolzano by some 2,000 years and a distance of 800 km is referred to quizzically. From the *Varus* letter, Giulio argues that the writer misses the point that the geographic area that is today Südtirol-Alto Adige was a zone of contact, rather than being squarely part of one world or the other. Yet what is also perhaps missed here is the importance of the battle, or better the historical figure of Arminius as an icon of the fifteenth-century religious reformation movement in Germany,

or his importance in the hagiography of German nationalism from the 19th century onwards (see Smith 2004 or Arnold 1998). The discussion of Arminius also provides an interesting foil to the appeal to *Romanità* and ancient history made by those who sought to impose Italian place names during the Fascist regime, a perspective arguably still present in some positions today, as we shall see later (especially in section 4.4, on Italianisation).

After this orientation, Giulio begins to talk of the “shifting” of national borders caused by the First World War and traces the socio-political and historical background of place names, particularly place names in Italian, through to the present. However, the *Namen sind Namen* letter is returned to again and again throughout meeting. Those present – members and non-members of Polyglot – enter into a dialogue with the discourse of the letter, comparing and contrasting it with their own life experiences. I include two extracts of talk from the meeting which relate directly to the letter: the first, presented here, is from Giulio Milano; the second, presented later (section 4.2.3), is from a German-speaking participant.

This next extract is taken from near the beginning, after Giulio has just read and translated the letter into Italian. This translation is done with a little help from members of the group, who offer synonyms and alternatives for some lexical items. The letter, in the original German and in English can be found in Appendix P.

In this stretch of talk, Giulio is uninterrupted, except for an inaudible intervention at line 65 which causes Giulio to laugh good-naturedly.

I now focus on extracts from this (the full text of his intervention is in Appendix Q).

4.2.2a Recognising Emotional Ties

Giulio R	1	so here we have a position	0.08.55
	2	that	
	3	[is] almost moving	
	4	for the	
	5	for its	
	6	feeling that there is behind there's eh	

Here, Giulio recognises the affective nature of such issues in the province. As Giulio begins his interpretation of the letter, he looks not to “facts” or arguments in the first instance, but rather emotions. Emotion in the letter is highlighted and there is also an appeal to emotion which verges on empathy with the writer. These are issues which people feel strongly about and which, to use Daniela’s words, ‘heat the spirits’ and leave ‘souls’ without rest (section 4.2.1b, lines 9-10 and 16).

4.2.2b An expression of Nature

Giulio	7	names are names there's
	8	that mountain
	9	is called Peter
	10	for example erm

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------|
| 11 | it's a concept that's quite | |
| 12 | there's comes a little from | |
| 13 | from a romantic culture | |
| 14 | that owes itself to the link for the population with the soil
where it lives uh | |
| 15 | so tightly connected | |
| 16 | as if it were uhm | |
| 17 | in short nature itself there [demonstrative] | |
| 18 | toponyms [laughs good-naturedly] as an expression of
nature itself | 0.09.33 |
| 19 | that mountain was born in that was it's called Pietro you
can't called it something else eh | |
| 20 | it's a position with which one needs to reason | |

Here Giulio follows the letter-writer in mixing personal names with place names.

However he also reaches back to the romantic ideals that firstly describe a relationship between a population and the territory in which it lives and the Herdian idea of '...feeling one nation, of one fatherland, of one language' (Herder 2002:287).

Secondly, he analyses further by describing how the letter-writer sees place names as an expression not only of geography but something far more essential: nature itself.

It is clear, however, that this is not a position that he holds. In line 18 we see the good-natured, almost embarrassed laughter and in line 20 he states that such views must be engaged with in discourses about place names, certainly in South-Tyrol Alto Adige.

4.2.2c No Room for Others

Moving on from the previous extract, Giulio develops the logical ends of the ideas expressed lines 18 and 19 to discourses of exclusion (lines 33-34), inherent in such essentialist ideals.

Giulio	22	now the perplexing thing in this position that	
	23	there isn't space for anyone	
	24	that is uh	
	25	if names are names and uh	
	26	this Mr Brigl uh	
	27	he's always called his mountain Peter eh	
	28	in his mental horizon it's not even foreseeable that there could be someone else	
	29	that might have had	
	30	that might have another perception of that place no? another relationship with that place there [demonstrative]	
	31	for which the primary danger that one needs uh	
	32	to highlight a little when talking about this subject	
	33	is that effectively it's a subject that is very much tied to	
	34	exclusion	0.10.35

In naming place, it appears that there is only one truth and it is inconceivable that there could be another way of viewing geographical space. Giulio refers to the letter writer's *mental horizons*, inferring the mapping of place not so much on the land itself as the

perception of the terrain in question. Perception is also tied to a relationship, or interaction with the land.

4.2.2d Appropriating Space through Toponymy

Giulio, in this stretch, sees the naming of place also meaning appropriating place, in a similar vein to Harvey’s observation, mentioned earlier (1990:419).

Giulio	37	toponymy is also an appropriation	0.10.39
	38	by way of the name	
	39	of the territory	
	40	and it has always been this way in history	
	41	in history we’ve had eh uh	
	42	states that have uh	
	43	occ occupied territories have put names in their own language na uh	0.10.53
	44	national [language] to place a mark to	
	45	ma mark the territory	
	46	just as monuments were placed eh	0.11.04
	47	to mark/signal the territory	
	48	the borders of the territory ehm	

Here there is an appeal to history and the “always” order of things. This is to explain though not condone, this clear from what he says elsewhere, the actions of the Italian state after the First World War acquisition of the territory. The Italian state did what states have “always” done. The points to note about how territory is marked here are twofold: the names and the language of the names (lines 43-45).

Monuments are also referred to here to mark territorial confines and, although in Bolzano-Bozen and the Province of South Tyrol-Alto Adige there are a number of surviving monuments from the Fascist era, the wording he chooses appears to reference a specific Latin inscription on *Monumento alla Vittoria*, the data in the following chapter.

4.2.2e “Cyclical” Discussions

Giulio	63	so to say cyclical discussions no? because toponymy has been one of the roots	0.12.02
	64	of the themes	
	65	exactly [inaudible intervention from someone: GM laughs]	0.12.11
	66	practically ehm	
	67	this is a land where you can't think in terms of majority rule	

Here, Giulio brings the discussion back to ‘cyclical discussions’, the idea that controversy surrounding the naming of place is not new in the province. Yet this is linked directly to the particular democratic model which exists in the province whereby the autonomous council cannot make decisions deemed ethnically (or ethnolinguistically) sensitive, solely on a simple majority vote.

4.2.3 Namen sind Namen 2: A little of that Germanic world

This next stretch of talk comes from over an hour and a quarter into the meeting. During this time Giulio has provided a history of place names in the province.

Although in many Polyglot meetings German is sometimes present, in this meeting the language of discussion has been almost exclusively Italian. Here, the person who intervenes is a German-speaker who seeks to give his interpretation of the position of the letter writer.

I now focus on three extracts from this intervention (the full intervention can be found in full in Appendix R)

4.3.1a A False World

DE ANON	1	however perhaps he has also lived something of eh erm	1.15.59
	2-3	I can produce a little that uh Germanic world	
	3	that that they say this is that [inaudible] er	
	4	there's this	
	5	you [2 nd prSingFormal] hypothesise this Mr Brigl [From Dolomitten letter]who is also in val D'Ultima er	
	6	and there have always been this mo-mountain	
	7	that he called pi er Peter	
	8	and now someone comes calls it Pietro	
IT ANON M	9	[talks over DE ANON) Monte Tramontan for example	1.16.24
DE ANON M	10	and and then says	
	11	but who who has ever called it that?	
	12	he has nev he's never known a person	
	13	really	
	14	that that's called it that no?	
	15	so then he says	
	16-17	but this is a	

- 17 false world for
18 this isn't the world to which I belong no?
19 and naturally this these uh

Here DE ANON M offers 'to produce a little of that Germanic world' (lines 2-3), the "conceptual" space where language filters the perception of the physical world. He takes as his starting point the hypothetical naming of a mountain as *Peter* or *Pietro* (Lines 5-8), which is a response to Giulio Milano (section 4.2.2) who uses the same hypothetical names in his introduction. This is further confirmed in lines 16-18, in which DE ANON M imagines the writer's reactions to someone else using another name for a particular geographical feature, as being both a false world and a world to which the writer does not belong. DE ANON M's phrasing brings keenly to mind the Herdian idea of that '[a]ll perceptual cognition connects the thing with the name.' (Herder 2002:48). It also connects with Henri Lefebvre's (1991) ideas about the production of social space, a paradigm we shall return to for further analysis later. This is also close to Giulio's assertion (section 4.2.2c, lines 33-34) that such ideas are closely linked to exclusion.

4.3.2b Wim Wenders' view of South Tyrol-Alto Adige

In this next stretch, DE ANON reaches not only outside the present physical and temporal context, but also outside himself, as he refers to the internationally respected German film maker, Wim Wenders, and a local event at which he spoke.

DE ANON	20	some years ago I saw Wim Wenders at at the [Bolzano] Film Club
M		
	21	and they asked him
	22	what struck you [most] about this South Tyrol
	23	he said to them these people that are so attached to the land no?
	24	for the good and in the bad
	25	but also the good no?
	26	eh that naturally they identify perhaps this here [the letter writer] perhaps [he] really identifies himself a LITTLE in this mountain
	27	or this gives him a little security a support and that's how it goes there's
	28	for example in the

DE ANON M reports Wenders, when asked on the subject, as having found South Tyroleans' attachment to the land to be striking. Here the contextual references infer that Wenders is talking about German-speakers. He also appeals to the naturalness of identity with territory.

4.3.3c Heinrich not Enrico

Not for the first time (see the original letter *Namen sind Namen* and Giulio Milano in section 2.2), there is a mixing of personal names with place names.

	32	my name's Heinrich and as a child someone tried to call me Enrico	
	33	that obviously I didn't like no?	
IT ANON M	34	[talks over DE ANON) who knows	1.17.35

DE ANON M **35** and so
 36 for that reason I want to say
 37 there are
 38 and naturally [it's an] extremely emotive fact this this tha

Here, DE ANON M mentions his displeasure at someone attempting to italianise his own name. The reaction from IT ANON M, an Italian speaker (line 34) is one of not accepting fully that there is a problem with this. It is difficult to know for sure, but this mismatch may have something to do with the residual feelings related to the far-reaching Fascist programme of Italianisation which included not only place names, but also personal names (see chapter 1 section 3.2.3 & Grote 2012:37-38).

4.3 Reflections on the Giulio Milano Polyglot Meeting 30th September 2009

Place names were the theme for discussion of the Polyglot open meeting on the evening of 30th September 2009, a decision taken by the organising committee in response to the very public and very vocal debates and discourse in Bozen-Bolzano, especially during that period. As we have seen Polyglot, an association whose primary concern was bi/multilingual education in the province, turned to a local historian with considerable interest and knowledge on South Tyrol-Alto Adige's past to try to understand 'what's behind all this' and the and the apparent failure of sixty years of autonomy in resolving the issue of place names (Section 4.2.1c, line 31-33).

Daniela's question during her introduction is presented as a motivating factor in setting up this discussion evening. However, the issue of place names in the province – or better

the language in which places are named – requires following discourse itineraries further back than the provisions expressed in law over the last sixty years. Giulio Milano alludes to this when he refers to the practice of conquering states in imposing toponyms in their own language, together with monuments, on newly acquired territory (Section 4.2.2d, lines 37-48). Although he speaks in generic terms, in the context of Bolzano-Bozen this references the Italian nationalisation which unfolded in the province after the First World, which again had its roots in nationalist discourse from before Italy's taking up arms against Austria in 1915. Thus, developing from the above discussion I now move to discursive data seemingly displaced from the present by over a century, but which, I argue, is still very much part of the present discourses on the naming of place.

4.4 Chasing Down Trajectories: The Italianisation of South Tyrol-Alto Adige

As we have seen, Italianisation in earnest began in 1923, with the architect of this process being Ettore Tolomei. Alto Adige became part of the majority Italian-speaking Trentino province. With the approval of Mussolini and the Fascist Grand Council, Tolomei began implementing the 32-point plan he had devised for the Italianisation of South Tyrol-Alto Adige. As we saw in chapter 1, the plan was presented on 15th July 1923 [Alcock 1970:33) and reported in full in the Fascist-controlled biweekly provincial newspaper *Il Piccolo Posto* on the 17th July 1923.

The data I now present is from *Il Piccolo Posto* on the 17th July 1923, which reproduced Tolomei's speech (my translation) outlining his 32 point plan for the Italianisation of

South Tyrol-Alto Adige. From earlier discussions (see chapter 1 section 1.3.2), we have an understanding of Tolomei's Historical Body and, from chapter 3 section 3.5, we have a view on the Interaction Order(s) of Tolomei's speech. Here, the focus is very much on the discourse related to the naming of place in the newly acquired territory.

Here we see Ettore Tolomei, a social actor who had been publishing for some thirty years at this point, on issues relating to the *Italianità* (Italianity) of the region, looking to history and geography, now putting forward the programme to remake the territory in Italy's image.

4.4.1 Tolomei's 32 Point Plan Extract 1: Reshaping the Semiotic Landscape

From the front page:

Line *From Page 1, columns 5 to 6*

No.

1 PROHIBITION OF UNAUTHORIZED REGIONAL NAMES - SÜDTIROL,
2 DEUTSCH- SÜDTIROL: To accompany the official name, the Province of
3 Trento, and Venezia Tridentina [the region into which Trentino and Alto Adige
4 were subsumed],the sub-regional names Trentino and Alto Adige shall be
5 maintained. For the Germans [sic.], Alto Adige shall remain with its name
6 Oberetsch: the regional adjective, corresponding to the Italian Atesino is
7 Etschlander. In the times of the iniquitous Nittian [after Prime Minister Nitti]
8 reflux, sordid in its foam and renunciation, the term Deutsche-Südtiroler
9 was allowed to be reused in companies, newspapers and banks – perhaps
10 to recompose the two parts of the severed muscle? The Tyrol and Austria

11 are rubble! Publications and newspapers which continue to use the terms
12 Südtirol and Südtiroler, which are tendentiously anti-state, will be subject to
13 sequester. Banks, companies, commercial activities and hotels are prohibited from
14 using the name Tyrol or Tyroler. Consequently, the newspaper 'Der Tiroler' is
15 suppressed (it may reopen as 'Der Etschlander' or other acceptable name).

16 LOCAL NOMENCLATURE: Italian or bilingual with precedence given to the
17 Italian. After thirty- three years of assiduous battle I have imposed the Italian
18 nomenclature. Applying the well- known decree [RD 800 of 1923] which assigns
19 exclusively Italian names to many of the larger localities of Alto Adige, and to
20 others the bilingual name, and for smaller localities authorises the one from the
21 manual [of place names, devised by Tolomei - prontuario] or repertory of the
22 Royal Geographical Society, the placement of writing or signs in the centre and
23 the extremities where inhabitants live are ordered, always with precedence
24 given to the Italian. The Geographical Society shall publish a second edition of
25 the manual [of place names, devised by Tolomei – *il prontuario*].

26 SIGNS & WRITING: In harmony with the toponomastic criteria, the villages of
27 Alto Adige in which the public school is Italian, for the prevalence of Italians
28 found therein, must have the signs of the public offices and the names of the
29 hotels in Italian and therein the duty on foreign signs is also applied. Bilingual
30 in other villages (always with precedence given to Italian) and therein the duty is
31 not applicable.

32 STREET NOMENCLATURE: With the same criteria, all street names either all
32 Italian or bilingual (with precedence to the Italian form), everywhere (as has
33 already happened in the principal centres)

In lines 1-12 Tolomei begins at a regional level, prohibiting the German names which were custom at the time and repudiating the conciliatory approach of the previous pre-Fascist government. However, here something curious is occurring. The use of German regional place names is presented as acceptable, providing these are, as it were, *Italianised* German place names. The imperative here appears to be to anchor the region into an Italian geographical perspective and the Italian geographical world: Oberetsch (Upper Adige) is acceptable; Südtirol (South, or *lower*, Tyrol) is not. In lines 7-10 this is made clearer in the reference to 'recomposing the two parts of the severed muscle'.

This erasure of place takes place not only in state bureaucracy, but also in the private sphere, for businesses, organisations (including the local media) or individuals who index, or seek to maintain discursively, the previous social space.

From line 16, Tolomei moves from the regional to the local, addressing individual place names. The basis for these new names is the list Tolomei has devised (the *prontuario*). Where German is permitted, it is to be in a secondary position to Italian.

Tolomei moves (lines 26-33) to public signage in the semiotic landscape and the physical emplacement of signs, which themselves index the discourses and social action of aggressive Italianisation.

4.4.2 Tolomei's 32 Point Plan Extract 2: The Invention of History

On page two of the 17th July 1923 issue of *Il Piccolo Post*, Tolomei continues with plans for L'istituto di studi per l'Alto Adige (The Institute for the study of Alto Adige):

Line No. *Page 2 column 1*

32 The Minister for Instruction has taken the liveliest interest in the development and
33 scientific activity of the Institute for the study of Alto Adige, in the historical studies,
34 in the scientific research and the library at Castle Mareccio, the indispensable of
35 work and culture in the region re-joined to the Fatherland.

36 In contact with the history of yesterday, preparing the history of tomorrow (they are
37 Mussolini's words).

38 It does not satisfy Italy to have conquered Alto Adige, the natural bulwark of the
39 Italian Fatherland, through arms, necessary for its security and independence, but to
40 demonstrate to the world the fullness of its right, proving the historical continuity
41 and the profound forcefulness of the Italian element guarantee of perennial stability;
42 completely renew the study of this region, in such a way that it becomes, in the material,
 as in the spirit, an integral part of the Nation's heritage.

42 Operating to this end in Alto Adige, the permanent Institute of Italian culture.

A key aim of the *istituto* is to "invent" history, in a similar vein to that of Hobsbawm and Granger's *Invention of Tradition* (1983), and to show 'the historical continuity and the profound forcefulness of the Italian element' (lines 38-40). Apparently quoting Mussolini (line 36-37), he also looks not only to using history for the past, but for the future and proving to the world the rightfulness of the territorial acquisition. In doing so, Tolomei indexes a higher authority in legitimising his own discourse here and at the same time indexing the nationalist-Fascist discourses which were ascendant at the time.

Further, Tolomei talks of Alto Adige being "re-joined to the Fatherland" (line 35).

However this is a Fatherland which, in historical and political terms, had never existed

before the mid-nineteenth century and a position which elides the existing historical evidence mentioned in the discussion in section 4.4.1, above. In all this, there is also a contradiction which appears to go unnoticed at the time: Tolomei posits a historical continuity, yet there is none in the sense he means. What exists, historically, is a period of distant (temporally, culturally and linguistically) Imperial Roman domination: Roman, not Italian. Paradoxically, in lines 5-8, above, Tolomei prohibits traditional German-language place names as for him they index Austrian nationalist discourses on recomposing two parts of a severed muscle, when on close examination, this appears precisely the project Tolomei is embarking upon (for the other points, see chapter 1 section 1.3.4).

Another important point is that the acquiescence to German place names can at best be seen as temporary. Regio Decreto (Royal Decree) 800, passed earlier that year on 29th March 1923, saw the setting up of a commission to oversee the standardisation of place names in the Kingdom of Italy, which had the effect in what is now South Tyrol-Alto Adige of replacing German place names with Italian ones (Kunz 1926/1927:502-503). The Decree by the Prefect of Trent (to which the territory had been joined) No. 12637, of 8th August 1923, prohibited German place names altogether (Herford 1927:58).

In closing this section, it is important to recognise that much else happened between the period of aggressive Italianisation, in which the naming of place was central to making Italian social space (Lefebvre 1991), and the present. Nevertheless, I argue, discourse and discursive struggle over place names in the present is linked directly to this period and

specifically the discourse and actions of Tolomei, as I have shown in Section 4.2.1, above, and as I hope to show in the next section, returning to the present.

4.5 Contesting Place Names & Signs in the Present

In section 4.2 of this chapter, I presented a discussion on place names from the period of research. I then moved, in section 4.4 to trace the discourse itineraries related to the naming of place in the province, following the thread directly back to the end of the 19th century, some thirty years before the advent of the Fascist regime and the programme of Italianisation. In this section, I look outside the immediate nexus of practice and institutional discourse, to see how signs and place names were contested by members of the public during the period of data collection. Here I present and discuss examples of contested signs in the physical world.

I do not explore overly the Interaction orders or the Historical Bodies of the protagonists, since they are unknown (indeed, unknowable) to me. However, the ways in which place name signs are contested in the following data sets does at least provide evidence of discursive and ideological tension with regard to how (and in which language) names should be placed in the physical world.

4.5.1 Actual Contested Path Signs

During the period of research, as the debates became more heated, and the provincial council working to find a solution to the issue, the local Italian-language daily newspaper, *L'Alto Adige* began publishing photographs of path signs which had been sent in by

readers. I now include some of these as data which show how discourse evolved in extra-institutional settings, and how *in place* signs were contested. The first of these is shown in Figure 18. This shows an example of a contested monolingual path sign, from the province of Bolzano-Bozen. The sign shows the path to the Naturnser Alm/Malga di Naturno (the Naturnser-Naturno Alpine Hut).

The sign was installed by Alpenverein (the German-language Alpine Association, as seen from the AVS on the far right of the sign), under contract from the Province of Bozen-Bolzano. To the right of the German-language name, there appears to be at least three handwritten interventions, by different people, in black and in white. In black, someone has written the Italian name for the destination: *MALGA DI NATURNO*, although there is a difference in colouring and handwriting between *MALGA DI* and *NATURNO*. It appears that someone else has taken a white pen of some description to change the final “o” to “s”, thereby changing the Italian name *Naturno* to the German name *Naturns*. Further, they have added below the phrase “*FOCKN WALSCHE*”.

This phrase is indeed curious and somewhat difficult to analyse with certainty, other than to know it is meant to offend Italian speakers, but it is written in German, so is unlikely to be understood by Italian non-German-speakers from outside the region or province.

However, it is written in a variety German that is situated firmly within South Tyrol, with at least the *Walsche* part of it likely to be understood by Italian speakers from the province. *Walsche* (sometimes *Welsche*) is a word with ancient Germanic roots meaning *foreigner*, which incidentally shares etymology with the national adjective *Welsh* from Britain (Hobsbawm 1990:58). In Habsburg Tyrol, the denomination *Welschtirol* was used

for what is now approximately Trentino, the (historically) majority Italian-speaking sister province of Bolzano. Today, the term is considered by many to have racist undertones.



Figure 18 Contested Mountain Path Sign, Province of Bolzano-Bozen L'Alto Adige 11th Sept 2013

When I first saw *Fockn*, I assumed this was a non-standard variation of *fucking*. However, in sharing this data with research participants, I found out that in local varieties of German, it is fact a word for *pigs*. The curious part is that when I have shown this to German-speaking respondents during this study, the consensus is that it is grammatically incorrect since, as with English, the adjective (here *Walsche/Italians or foreigners*) should precede the noun (*Fockn/pigs*). Whatever the explanation, the Natur(n/s/o) shows an

engagement with discourses which have, as I shown, been continuing since the late 19th Century (see section 4.4).

If figure 18 shows a tug of war between German and Italian speakers who feel strongly enough about place names to add to, or deface path signs, figure 19 shows something quite different occurring.

Here, persons unknown have replaced the existing path sign (I am unaware as to whether the sign it replaced was bi- or monolingual), with a sign displaying the destination place name in ten languages! This shows another aspect of the place names debate, one which echoes somewhat the sentiments expressed in the Polyglot meeting in section 4.2. There is exasperation with the bipolarity in public discourse, particularly from amongst political elites. It is also a tangible rejection of the exclusionary Romantic philosophical position Giulio Milano alludes to in section 4.2.2, in which there is no place for anyone else. It also seeks to disconnect from the hegemonic struggle implicit David Harvey's point about the naming of place (see section 4.1.1).



Figure 19 Illegal signs emplaced in 10 languages from L'Alto Adige 29th Aug 2013

4.5.2 The Carnavalesque at Carnival-Faschingsfest 2011

Two weeks before the 1st March 2011 newspaper headline, announcing the preliminary agreement on multilingualism (see chapter 1, section 1.0), during carnival – *Carnevale* in Italian and *Faschingsfest* in German – a local photographer spotted the two young men shown in the photographs in Figures 20 and 21, wandering around Bozen-Bolzano city centre. Carnivale-Faschingsfest in the province is a party time in which special foods are eaten, costumes are worn – particularly by children and young people – and, certainly in the streets of Bozen-Bolzano, the city is filled with party detritus such as shaving foam, silly string, party streamers and the like.

It is normally a time when behaviour is permitted to get a little boisterousness, especially amongst adolescents and younger adults, although there is very much a sense that this is partying for partying's sake, with no direct affront to any kind of specific authority. This is what makes the costumes these two young men have gone through the trouble to make and wear, and the spatio-temporal context in which they have worn them, so interesting, and relevant, to this discussion.

To start with, in Figures 20 and 21 there is the language on the “path signs”. These are very much parodies of the mountain path signs which had been causing such tension over the period of research. The place names on these parody “path signs” are a mix of the real and invented (see table 5 for translations).



Figure 20 Front photograph of "Carnivalised" carnival costumes. Carnival 2011, Bolzano-Bozen ©Karl Demetz

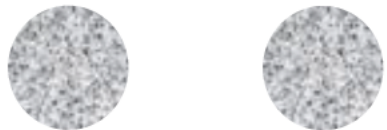


Figure 21 Rear photograph of "Carnivalised" carnival costumes. Carnival 2011, Bolzano-Bozen ©Karl Demetz

German Language Name (Names on the signs)	Carnivalised Italian Language Place Name + English Translation	Official Italian Place Name
Figure 20 – Left		
3 Zinnen	Tre Tete – <i>Three Tits</i>	Tre Cime di Lavaredo
Finger	Lo faccio con le dite – <i>I do it with fingers</i>	Fié allo Sciliar
Dietenheim	Porta te lo a casa – <i>Take it home</i>	Teodone
Figure 20 – Right		
Graun	Orrore - <i>Horror</i>	Curon
Hoher Dieb	Silvio Berlusconi – <i>High Thief</i>	Gran Ladro
Pietlerkofel	Monte Coglion – <i>Mount Dickhead</i>	Sass di Putia
Figure 21 – Left		
Brenner	Bruciatore - <i>Burner</i>	Brennero
Albeins	Dodici e mezza – <i>Twelve thirty</i>	Albes
Olang	Che lungho – <i>Ooh how long!</i>	Valdaora
Aldein	Tutto tuo – <i>All yours</i>	Aldino
Figure 21 – Right		
Perdonig	Scusi – <i>Sorry/excuse me</i>	Predonico
Pfannspitze	Punta padella -	Cima Vanscuro
Kaltern	Tieni te lo tu – <i>You hold it</i>	Caldaro
Klobenstein	Spacca sasso – <i>Stone breaker</i>	Collalbo

Table 5 Translations of place names on the parody signs in Figures 20 & 21

What is clear is that they take the German names, some fictitious, as the starting point and produce comedic Italian translations which range from innocent wordplays to the bawdily sexual: some of which is blatant and some of which requires thought. There is also the overtly political, visible in the sign with the German place name of *Hoher Dieb*, whose actual Italian name is *Gran Ladro*. Both of these translate approximately to English as High/Great Thief. This has been “carnivalised” in Italian to *Silvio Berlusconi*, the then Prime Minister of Italy. Overall they mock the work of Ettore Tolomei and the Fascist regime which implemented Tolomei’s place names. However they also mock the continued legitimacy of these place names and consequently the Italian Republic. But there is some identity work going on here, or so it appears to this researcher, which goes far beyond the juxtapositioning of German and carnivalised Italian place names.

Interestingly, many of these wordplays are not so easy to access, when looking at the standard German names. The reason for this is that they play not so much with the standard German place names, but rather with how these names are pronounced in the local varieties of German spoken within the province, and how these sound, in terms which German speakers from other parts of the German-speaking world would find difficult to decipher. So what is actually happening is that the contesting going on is not simply between German and Italian worlds, but rather these word plays are situated locally, in ways that link the territory to identity. So although the carnivalised Italian names they display are contesting Italian place names, they are also contesting standard German.

Scollon and Wong Scollon (2005:103) talk about *anticipatory* discourses, or ‘...discourse which occurs prior to the action which pre-configures that action in significant ways, but

which is not concurrent with it as part of the action itself.’ Further, Blommaert’s (2005:77) discussion of *pretextuality* is an important key to unlocking the significance contained here. Blommaert argues that ‘...every instance of language is both historically – *intertextually* – and politico-economically – *pretextually* – charged.’ (*ibid.* italics in original.). To use his words these are not only discourses, but contexts which are ‘invisible’, at least to the unfamiliar. Thus, everything contained within the photographs in figures 20 and 21 – from what they are wearing, where they are wearing these things and when are deeply indexical and dialogic discourses, going far beyond the language elements on display, as I hope to briefly show.

In *Discourses in Place* (2003: 47-50) Scollon and Wong Scollon look to Goffman’s concept of ‘kit’ or the ‘sign equipment’ that people wear in order to signal identity to the external world, to be ‘read’ by others in the interaction order. (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:50). There are the perhaps obvious examples such as types or styles of clothing. Scollon and Wong Scollon also point to less obvious items, such as mobile phones, watches or stethoscopes, from the examples they give. The motivation for such interest is to see what is indexable in the embodiment of language, and the semiotic processes of which it is part.

Often, Goffman is remembered for his emphasis on face-to-face interaction (see Goffman 1956 or 1974). However Goffman (1983:4) also pointed out that the interaction order can extend beyond immediate social contact.

To be able to be “read”, some form of literacy is implied, and here we return to Blommaert’s *pretextuality* and Scollon and Wong Scollon’s anticipatory discourses I have

just mentioned. In short, although these “discursive costumes” are not aimed at anyone in particular, they are messages for a very specific audience, with the interaction order being people in/from the province, those who are familiar with the discourses on place names.

How and why the ‘kit’ worn by the two young men in the photographs means something, as a set of deeply indexical and intertextual (referring to semiotic processes beyond that moment) discourses in and by themselves, can only be grasped through an ethnographic understanding of the synchronic and diachronic context. It also requires embracing the non-linguistic in discourse analysis.

Applying the above notions, the clothing that the two young men are wearing makes a clear identity statement, as belonging to the Germanic world, referring to DE ANON M’s description in the 30th September Polyglot meeting (section 4.2.3a, lines 2-3). They both wear *lederhosen*, or traditional leather short trousers. The figure on the right in Figure 20 is wearing a *Sarner*, or knitted woollen jacket typical to South Tyrol. Even the check shirts are often part of traditional dress. This is a somatization, in the Scollons’ terms, of discourses of identity.

The signs themselves, beyond the actual language they contain, also assume a familiarity with the province. The shape of the signs and the materials most are made from mimic perfectly official path signs, though the writing itself is less professional-looking here. The red-white-red markings on the pointed ends of the signs are also those found on official path signs and are the colours of the province (distinguishable from the red-white-green of the Italian Republic). In the mountains and forests of South Tyrol-Alto Adige these red-

white-red markings are also to be found on rocks and trees between the actual signs on mountain and forest foot paths. These are very much symbols which overlay the geographic with the politico-social.

There is also the aspect of timing. This was a period in which debate about place names was extremely topical and it was also carnival (Carnevale-Faschings). Here Bakhtin provides some insight. For Bakhtin ‘...carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order.... [It] was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal.’ (1984:10).

It is clear from the press coverage that Italian-language place names were under siege, so to speak, and that German-language place names were “taking over”. However what is less clear, especially in the Italian press, is that German-language names have no legal status for the Italian state since the provincial government has never ‘...certified their existence and approved the wording...’, as required by Article 101 of the Statute of Autonomy (1972). As such, the two revellers in the photographs are not simply participating in the usual modern-day Carnival festivities, they are in effect temporarily liberating themselves from the imposition of the ‘false world’ or the world they don’t belong to that DE ANON M discusses in section 4.2.3a (lines 16-18). But in their actions and costume, they also capture the spirit of change that is clearly evident in public discourse during the period covered by the research process.

All of these factors – the clothing, the signs, the word-plays they contain, the location and the timing – all assume a great deal of pretextual understanding of the discourses, debates and identity positions surrounding place names in South Tyrol-Alto Adige.

4.6 Institutional & Political Discourse in the Present

I began in section 4.1.2 with the legal framework for the naming of place in Bolzano-Bozen and province, provided by the first and second statutes of autonomy (1948 & 1972 respectively). This was to provide a context for the comments from Daniela, as she opened the 30th September 2009 Polyglot meeting. Daniela asks why a law had not been passed to ‘...put souls at rest...’ (Section 4.2.1c, line 33)

The affair is complex since, as we have seen, under Article 8.2 of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy, the province has the competence to make laws regarding toponymy ‘...resting firmly with the obligation of bilingualism in the Province of Bolzano.’ In fact, according to the Province of Bolzano-Bozen legislative database, at the time of asking this question there had seventeen attempts in the last three provincial legislatures (www2.landtag-bz.org. Accessed 23rd August 2014). These proposals, each presented by political actors representing the Italian-speaking right, the German-speaking right and the Green Party (the only party that declares itself multi-ethnic⁶), differed widely in their approach to the problem and in their interpretations of the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement and the statute(s) of autonomy. All ended in failure. The political debate and discourse relating to place names during this research process at times has been intense, occupying a great deal of the Autonomous Provincial Council’s time. During this period, there were provincial elections which left the local political situation relatively unchanged, with the coalition between the German-speaking SVP and the Italian centre-left remaining intact.

⁶ The secessionist Lega Nord (Northern League), whose signature has been to differentiate between north and south Italy, also claims to represent the interests of both German/Italian-speakers but at the exclusion of those from outside Europe. (See Pallaver 2009)

Table 6, below, gives an at-a-glance view of the level of activity in the Provincial Autonomous Council relating specifically toponymy. As can be seen, there were a total of 163 provincial council interventions of various types during the period 1999 to the end of 2012 (just after the law was passed), an average of around one every month:

Blackledge (2005:123), turning to Bourdieu, notes how the field of law can provide discourses with a powerful legitimating ally and that laws (though not uncontested, as we shall see here) can be viewed as ‘the ultimate consecration’, after Wodak (2000), of chains of political discourse, or critical destinations on Scollonian discourse itineraries. Laws, then, are not above and beyond discourse, rather they are arguably the most visible, concrete, socially affective manifestations of discourse in a given polity.

The concrete possibility to have a provincial law ‘to put souls at rest’ and finally resolve the question of place names came with the law proposal 71/10, presented by SVP provincial councillors Pichler Rolle and Florian Mussner, on 8th August 2010. It should also be noted that the national Italian government (at the time, Silvio Berlusconi’s Popolo della Libertà in coalition with the secessionist Lega Nord) became involved in the quest for a solution. The negotiations between national and provincial government met with protests from Italian-speaking centre-right members of parliament representing South Tyrol-Alto Adige, who contested the government’s apparent willingness to cede to demands over the removal of Italian-language place names.

Provincial Activity	1999-2003	2003-2008	2008-2013 (to 30.09.12)	Totals
Law Proposals	7	7	3* includes law <i>dip 71/10</i> passed on 14 th Sept 2012	17
Motions	2	5	6	13
Formal Questions	37	24	9	70
Topical Questions	-	-	3	3
Orders of the Day	40	4	16	60

Table 6 Toponymy-related activity of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano-Bozen 1999-2012. (Adapted from www2.landtag-bz.org accessed 23rd August 2014)

During this period, provincial president Luis Durnwalder gave an interview to the local press following these negotiations (L'Alto Adige 27th Sept 2010). When the journalist pressed the Provincial President with the question: 'Excuse me, but after 80 or 90 years can't an Italian [place] name be considered historical?' Durnwalder responded 'When we talk of "historical" we mean something older. So absolutely not the inventions of Tolomei.'

The full title of the draft provincial law and the subsequent law voted on and promulgated is 'The institution of the provincial toponomastic repertory and provincial cartographic council.' In the briefest of summaries, it should be noted that the law

neither prescribes nor proscribes place names in German or Italian. Instead the aim of the law is to form a definitive repertory, or list of place names in the province of Bolzano, and to respond to the place names imposed during the Fascist years and the project of Ettore Tolomei, although in the provincial debates, it is argued largely with a view of removing them.

I look to present primarily the Discourses in Place, however what should be noted is the political actors who produce these discourses are members of political parties committed to the advancement of the ethnic (linguistically defined) electorate. The focus I provide here is on how locally situated debates and tension about place names are part of broader discourses on territoriality and, ultimately, domination of the physical world, according to ideologies which transcend the local: moving from local, through to national and international domains.

The data following is drawn from two institutional discourses:

- the *relazione/Bericht* (or report) which accompanied and supported the draft provincial law;
- National Italian parliamentary discourse;

The overall structure of the law proposed by Rolle/Mussner and that which passed into law in September 2012 largely remained the same: six articles over five pages. Internal to the two documents, however, differences may be discerned. The objective in this section is to chart the changes from proposal to law and the discursive positions these represent. As I hope to demonstrate, these data are rich in ideological positioning, particularly with

regards to language, the production of social space (via language), and touch on questions of identity and hegemony.

Accompanying the presentation of the draft provincial law was a report which outlined the rationale for the proposal. Presenting these data is fraught with difficulty since, as with all documents published by the province, they are in both Italian and German. It is almost certain that the report was written in German and then translated into Italian, since it was written and presented by German-speaking provincial councillors, whose party explicitly aims to represent the German-speaking community. However, whilst under article ninety-nine of the Statute of Autonomy (1972), the German language is given parity with Italian within the Province of Bolzano-Bozen (and the Region of Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol, which Bozen/Bolzano is a part), the Italian-language version of any law is the definitive text. Here, and throughout, I have orientated largely, though not exclusively, to the Italian-language text. Complicating matters further, the discussion here is in English. Nevertheless, I argue, the data may still be approached, and the subsequent discussion can still prove fruitful, though great care is needed especially with regards to certain terminology, as I hope to show.

I now look to present the the report, produced by Rolle and Mussner to accompany the draft law.

4.6.1 The Rolle-Mussner *Relazione* on Provincial Toponymy

Whilst the draft law itself is five pages long, the supplementary report (*La relation sol design di legged provincial N. 71/10* hereinafter the *relation*) was presented to the provincial council, along with the draft law, on 4th August 2010, two days before the draft

law itself. The *relation* stretches to twenty-six pages and is in German and Italian. It should be noted that along with the previous attempts to draft laws by what might be considered the Italian-speaking ethnic right and the German-speaking ethnic right and the Green Party were also often accompanied by such documents. However, the constraints of space, here, prohibit analyses of such documents.

The Rolle-Mussier *relation* presents itself as an authoritative, quasi-academic document which turns to provincial, regional, national and international spheres of law-making and cartographic and toponymic bodies concerned with the naming of place.

The discursive starting point of the *relazione* is article four of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy, and article 133 of the constitution of the Republic of Italy, which bestows on the autonomous province the power to make laws in relation to boroughs (comuni/Gemeinde), including the creation of new boroughs or wards and the creation or modification of the names of boroughs or wards. Article eight of the Statute of Autonomy (1972) is also cited, which delegates power to the province to make laws regarding place names, '...resting firm in the obligation of bilingualism in the territory of the Province of Bolzano.' (*Relazione* p2 my translation.). In short, the autonomous province may create or modify boroughs and their names, providing they do so respecting the requirements of bilingualism in the province. The term rendered into English from Italian here as 'bilingualism' is problematic: in the Italian version of Rolle-Mussner document, as with article eight of the Statute of Autonomy (19972), the word is *bilinguità* and, in the German version of the same report *Zweisprachigkeit*. This point shall be returned to.

4.6.2 Extract: La Relazione

After a preamble outlining provincial (and regional) and national laws, back to the period before the province was annexed by Italy, Rolle and Mussner turn to supra- or international experts on place names, with the following passage:

Line **Relazione p.5**

1 Before proceeding with a more detailed examination of the legislative disposition
2 which regulates this sector, it should be remembered that Italy is a part of...UNGEGN
3 (United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names)...; UNGEGN was instituted in
4 compliance with UN Resolution 715 A (XXVII) of 23rd April 1959 and [Resolution] 1314
5 (XLIV) of 31st May 1968 and is one of the seven specialised branches of ECOSOC (the
6 United Nations Economic and Social Council...). In virtue of the tasks assigned and the
7 representativeness of its members, it is the most authoritative forum on matters of
8 toponymy, in the world.

9 With the aim of better understanding the guidelines, especially with regard to the
10 following toponomastic survey in Alto Adige, one should also consider the following:
11 the United Nations guidelines anticipate that the historical background ([in English in
12 the text] historical background), local use [*local use* in English in the text] (local use, it is
13 worth emphasising the real usage of the toponym by the local community) be fixed
14 and, in the case of multilingual toponymy, also the respective spelling in the various
15 languages.

16 Thus the intention of such guidelines is to avoid making official names [which are] born
17 on the basis of determinate political will, or imposed for whatever administrative
18 reason, which do not consider the historical or cultural valency/identity [in Italian:
19 valenza. In German: Identität – identity] of a place.

20 This objective appears elsewhere from a decision by the United Nations Human Rights
21 Commission.

22 The United Nations, by means of the guidelines, commits itself to not recognise
23 arbitrary toponomastic modifications motivated by considerations of a political nature,
24 in order to not favour political caprice.

25 In general, one must also observe that, in the act of application, old sources of law
26 relative to the discipline of toponymy, must be interpreted in the light of more recent
27 developments, and so not in restrictive terms, but through a modality which accords
28 with the commitment to the conservation of the historical and cultural identity of a
29 territory. It is also noted that official bilingualism [bilinguismo in Italian;
30 *Zweisprachigkeit* in German] does not mean bilingualism [bilinguità in Italian;
31 *Zweinamigkeit* in German, or binomialism] *tout court* [in French only in the Italian
32 version; in German this is *flächendeckend*, or extensive]. A name describes
33 [disegna/bezeichnet: lit draws or sketches] a place and that denomination must be
34 verified and fixed, even registered. A toponym, from a historical point of view, is
35 subject to modification, even of a phonetic nature, as such in the course of time the
36 original meaning can only be established following research. For those who use the
37 name, this is of little concern, since they use the traditional name, which is the only
38 one to designate a place unequivocally.

39 Such arguments must be held in consideration, so as not to interpret bilingualism as an
40 obligation to bilingualism [in Italian: *bilinguità*. In German *Zweinamigkeit*:
41 binomialism] in general.

This stretch of text is dense and moves across different discursive scales (Blommaert 2007) from what might traditionally be described as macro to micro. It traces a link, in

a single page of text, between international bodies of experts (UNGEGN and the UNHRC) to local speakers. International guidelines juxtapose interpretations of the very local laws which regiment (after Kroskrity 2000) language use with regard to place names in Bolzano-Bozen. Yet it also demonstrates the paucity of such analytic or metaphorical vertical framing, since here we see not so much how discourses on place names operate at different “levels”, but rather how different discursive domains intersect and aggregate to produce *discourses in place* (Scollon 2003 & 2004). On this point, Heller brings to mind Blommaert’s *layered simultaneity* when she vigorously contests the macro/micro dichotomy, as here:

In my view there are no such things as “macro” and “micro”; rather, there are observable processes that tie local forms of social action into durable, institutionalized frames that constrain what can happen along chains or flows of interactions: they constrain the distribution of resources, the mobility of social actors, the shape activities can take, and where and when they can unfold.

(2011:40)

UNGEGN comprises experts from member countries (Italy included) who report on their countries’ situations, which in turn form the basis for the guidelines and policy advice the body emits. In the *relazione*, we see members of the German-language political elite in Bozen-Bolzano participating in such discourses in attempting to interpret and implement the guidelines to resolve tensions arising from discourses and policies on place names which are issues of contention for (at least some) residents of the province. As we have seen in Section 4.2.2, above, these policies and practices

date from a period of enforced Italianisation, which in turn could arguably be traced back to the Romantic nationalism of Johann Gottfried Herder (see 2002) or Johannes Gottlieb Fichte (see 1922), via Italian nation-building during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Looking at the text more specifically now, in Lines 1-8 we see the authors placing this “local” issue of place names within an international context and situating discourse on place names within a supranational framework, i.e. those outlined by UNGEGN, of which the Italian state is part.

In lines 11 and 14, history and “real” local usage are underlined. Here, in both the Italian and German-language versions of the *relazione*, the authors use the English-language terms ‘historical background’ and ‘local use’. Following the introduction in Lines 1-8, this use of English, I argue, continues to index, in less direct terms, global discourses on such issues. Together with Lines 1-8, this brings to mind Billig’s (1995) argument that nationalism is not confined to individual states in any insular fashion, but is rather an *inter*-national system for the management of nations (See also Agnew & Corbirdge 1995, who argue similarly, but from the perspective of human and political geography).

There is an interpretation of the UNGEGN guidelines (lines 15 to 18) which contrasts, not quite openly, with the Italian place names devised by Ettore Tolomei, imposed by the Fascist regime and subsequently maintained by the democratic Italian state. Particularly in lines 17-18 there is a translation issue, in which the German word ‘Identität’ (identity) is translated into Italian as ‘valenza’ (valency), where the Italian word ‘identità’ would have appeared closer. Nevertheless, the point I would like to make here is that appears

to be a tacit dichotomy between social space that has been produced (and in existence) in the Lefebvrian sense, and Harvey's point that naming social space implies power over it (1990:427).

The authors continue to index supranational discourse in lines 19-23, or the UN guidelines designed for the naming of place. Here, the discourse moves from the making (in lines 15-16), to the modification of place names on the basis of 'political caprice' (line 23).

The discussion moves forward to the reinterpretation of existing law (in lines 24-28) to protect the 'historical and cultural identity of a territory' (lines 27-28). From the context of lines 28 to 31 (and again in lines 38 to 40) there is a new reinterpretation of article eight of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy, which is quoted on page two of the *relazione* ('...resting firm in the obligation of bilingualism [*bilinguità*, although in German version of the Statute, this is *Zweisprachigkeit*, and not *Zweinamigkeit*] in the territory of the Province of Bolzano.') These, I would argue, are very much translational issues, however they give Rolle/Mussner discursive space within which to manoeuvre and put forward their proposals for the removal of names which do not reflect the 'historical and cultural identity' of South Tyrol, imposed during Fascism from the list produced by Ettore Tolomei.

In closing this section (lines 38-40), the authors bring to bear the historical and internationally geopolitical as the basis for their interpretation of the provisions of the 1972 Statute of Autonomy on bilingualism and its recent stable mate binomialism. The interpretation of bilingualism in the Statute of Autonomy (1972), which forms the basis for the draft law, is also contested. In Italian, the terms given are *bilinguismo* and *bilinguità*, with the difference between these two terms difficult to render into English.

According to *Il dizionario della lingua italiana* (Devoto and Oli 1990:224, my translation & emphasis), *bilinguismo* refers to the:

‘[c]haracteristic of populations, individuals or geographic spaces in which the current use of two languages is in conditions of parity.’,

whereas *bilinguità* refers to:

‘[t]he condition (knowingly or unconsciously) of being bilingual, able to speak two languages; e.g. Latin and vulgar in the High Middle Ages, literary language and dialect today. **Writing in two languages...**’

In the German-language version of the text, the terms used are *Zweisprachigkeit* (for *bilinguismo*, lit. bilingualism) and *Zweinamigkeit* (for *bilinguità*, with the German meaning *binomialism*, i.e. having two names). The point is that up until this time bilingualism in the physical world has been taken to mean German and Italian version place names. Here, the authors of the report are seeking to distinguish the use of the official provincial languages in general, and the placing of Italian names. This previously unseen interpretation is an attempt to provide legal justification for the removal of the names devised by Tolomei, and the restoration after some ninety years of names in German only, without coming into conflict with the Statute of Autonomy.

In summary, there is an expression (see lines 9 to 14, reiterated in lines 15-17) of the taken-for-granted link between history and culture (human phenomena) and the making of geographical place (the physical world) into space, or *social* space, after Lefebvre (1991). This is found again in line 31-32, in the statement that a name describes (literally,

in German and Italian, 'draws' or 'sketches') a place: the cultural/historical superimposing itself upon on the terrain. Whilst never once mentioned here, it is also a response to Tolomei's project and the motivating discourse that this territory be "justly" Italian, reinforcing, I argue, Scollon & Wong Scollon's position (2003:160) about the importance of a deep ethnographic understanding of the physical and social context of signs, and further, that as signs are indexical of hegemonic struggle among social groups (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:7). In this context, this is doubly applicable. Not only does this refer to the public signs bearing contested place names, but I argue the names *per se* are signs, intertextual semiotic resources which is in dialogue (after Bakhtin) with discourses far removed in space and time from present day Bolzano-Bozen.

The actual law itself, with modifications, approved by thirty-four votes to twelve (with two abstentions) on 14th September 2012. However at the time of writing the law had yet to be enacted.

4.6.3 Aftermath: Question No. 3-20483 in the National Parliament

Immediately after the provincial law was passed, Giorgio Holzman, a member of the Italian Parliament raised the issue in parliament regarding the possibility of the national government contesting Prov. Law 10/XV in the courts (Seduta n. 688 di mercoledì 19 settembre 2012). Holzman, an Italian-speaking career politician from Bolzano-Bozen, was at the time part of the governing centre-right coalition (Silvio Berlusconi's Popolo della

Libertà with Lega Nord). Here I include the parliamentary question and exchange between Holzman and Dino Piero Giardi (Minister for Parliamentary Relations):

I would now like to focus on what Holzman says, breaking down his parliamentary presentation into three parts (the full exchange can be found in Appendix S).

4.6.3a Parliamentary Question No. 3-20483: Extract 1

In this first extract, Holzman outlines his concerns for what he sees as an ‘improvident, untimely and absolutely unjust’ provincial law (line 12) aimed at removing Italian-language place names from the province (line 15).

Line	Holzman
6	Mr President, Mr Minister, in the last few days the Provincial Council of
7	Bolzano has approved a draft law whose aim is the removal of toponymy in
8	the Italian language from the Province of Bolzano. He who is [now] talking is
9	a convinced supporter of autonomy for Alto Adige, which has developed in
10	recent years creating a climate of peaceful co-existence, overtaking years of
11	reciprocal diffidence. This climate could be poisoned by an initiative, in my
12	opinion improvident, untimely and absolutely unjust. The Italian language
13	toponymy is in force [in vigore] since 1923, is therefore 90 years old and in
14	habitual use by citizens of the Italian language from the Province of Bolzano.
15	With this initiative, they would like to substantially cancel it all, leaving the
16	dirty work to the districts [comprensori] and a so-called commission which

17 would be nominated by a political and linguistic majority in the Provincial
18 Council. Therefore I ask the government to intervene with an appeal to the
19 Constitutional Court.

Holzman appeals to the fact that these names have been in official and habitual use since 1923 (see Section 4.2.2c above). Holzman also criticises the delegation of this task to bodies other than the provincial council itself, nominated by a ‘political and linguistic majority’ (line 17), with the inference that the weighting will be heavily against Italian-language place names.

4.6.3b Parliamentary Question No. 3-20483: Extract 2

Following the response by the Minister for Parliamentary relations, Holzman highlights that although provincial public administration is obliged to use German place names, these in use have never, for the Italian state, been officially and legally ascertained (see lines 41-45).

Line	Holzman
41	Mr President, Mr Minister I declare myself satisfied by your reply. I would
42	like also to recall Article 101 of the statute, other than Article 8, which reads
43	textually: in the Provinces of Bolzano the Public Administration must use,
44	when concerning its German-language citizens, also German toponymy, if
45	provincial law has ascertained their existence and approved their diction.
46	With this, obviously, I am in agreement. When I was a provincial councillor I
47	presented many times a draft law for the ascertaining and officialising of

48 German-Language toponymy. Nothing, however, was done. With this
49 initiative the Provincial Council, instead, gives the districts the possibility to
50 intervene in this subject, and requests a committee of six members, in which
51 there would only be two Italians [sic.]. Even so, all the members would be
52 nominated by the [provincial] cabinet and provincial council, in which we
53 have a political and ethnic majority [of German-speakers]. Consequently, the
54 Italian-language group would not have any protection, were this law is not
55 contested, and it would assist a “linguistic cleansing”, which is something of a
56 dream tucked away by extremism which, in any case, even today, one can
57 find in Alto Adige.

From a position where German language place names were unrecognised, Holzman presents a situation where these will simply replace Italian language place names. To achieve this end, he argues that the “Italians” will be underrepresented in this process. Here we see how, in the province language spoken is taken as the marker of ethnic identity. In lines 53-57, he speaks of ‘linguistic cleansing’, evoking strong images of the ethnic cleansing carried out in the Balkans during the 1990s and invokes the spectre of ethnic extremism.

4.6.3c Parliamentary Question No. 3-20483: Extract 3

In this next extract, Holzman invokes history by turning directly to the period in which Italian place names were imposed, as discussed in Section 4.2.2 above.

Line **Holzman**

58 I take advantage of this occasion to make a brief historical reference: Italian-

59 language toponymy was introduced with a Royal Decree (DG 800) of March

60 1923: Fascism had only been in power for 5 months. In fact, the responsibility

61 was given to the president of the Italian Geographical Institute by the Giolitti

62 government, which was a democratic government. Therefore, when one

63 talks of Fascist toponymy, one mistakes the fact that the first decree had

64 been introduced during the rise of Fascism, but, in reality, the responsibility

65 had been awarded by a democratic government, of which even the Popular

66 Party [Partito Popolare] was a part. I think that, with the distance of many

67 years, the Italian-language toponymy should have full legitimacy and the

68 climate of peaceful coexistence between the linguistic groups should be

69 poisoned by initiatives of this nature (*Applause from Members of the Popolo*

70 *della Libertà*)

Here Holzman makes a point which is much elided in discourses on place names in the province, namely that the project predates fascism (lines 58-66). As we have seen, Tolomei had worked on place names from the 1890s and Royal Decree 800 of March 1923 was already in preparation before the Fascists took power. Here Holzman seeks to legitimate the Italianisation of place from that period by removing it from the context of the Fascist dictatorship and placing it within a context of democratic law-making (although we have seen in Section 4.2.2, the pre-fascist government actually sought to maintain German-language toponymy). All this is highly important to understanding discourses on place names in the province. Most often seen as a Fascist invention, and

undoubtedly Fascism carried the project through, the making of Italian social space was part of broader discourses on Italian nation-building, which predated Fascism but whose aims coincided with those of it. In lines 66-69, Holzman presents the danger to the climate of peaceful coexistence which will be “poisoned” by the new law, yet as we have seen in section 4.2.2 and in the *relazione* in section 4.2.3b, these are already “poisoned” discourses.

4.7 Drawing the strands together

The data presented in this chapter come from a number of sources and discursive genres which can be arbitrarily grouped into the following four broad areas:

- Talk from “my” nexus of practice (Polyglot);
- Newspaper discourse from the 1920s to the present ;
- The discourses of Tolomei, the architect of Italianisation in the province, from the 1900s, including the visual; and
- Legal and political discourses and laws: from the local to the national and international; from the historical past to the historical present.

Following Scollon and Wong Scollon (2004), I had begun before engaging with the nexus of practice (Polyglot) by trying to grasp the most significant discourses relating to bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano, building an ethnographic image of the context. I took my cue from what was happening in the nexus of practice and what Polyglot did and said as the starting point for understanding these discourses, the significant actors and how these came together.

In practical terms, this meant that parallel to my participation in Polyglot, I had been following public discourse, and in particular newspaper discourse, from outside the nexus of practice for anything relating to bi- and multilingualism. Place names discourse was indeed very visible during the research process and as someone not from Bolzano-Bozen or the province, it was difficult at first to make sense of the how and why toponymy was a central component of discourses on bilingualism. This is especially when, to my naïve eye at least, there were issues I thought more pressing. Yet as I began to trace the itineraries of these *discourses in place* I began to see the long (and sometimes tortured) histories behind place names and discourses related to them.

As I became more familiar with the context, through an ethnographic knowledge built up over time throughout the research process, I quite simply had to accept that place names were a fundamental part of what bi- or multilingualism means in the province. I began to see the ‘...historical and contemporary language processes, language ideologies, policies and practices...’ which Pietikäinen et al. (2011:277) argue are readily observable in the semiotic landscape; how social actions create this landscape and how in turn this affects social action.

Historically, we have seen how Italian was imposed not only on social actors but on the material world to make *social* space. We have seen also how this was and continues to be contested by those who broadly align to communities of practice who are identified by the language they speak. We have also seen how, as in the previous chapter (see chapter 3 section 3.8.3), there is evidence of those who resist such labelling and grouping, in section 4.5 of this chapter.

These points will be returned to in chapter 6, after the final data presentation in the chapter which follows here immediately, maintaining the focus on the semiotic landscape: specifically, *Monumento alla Vittoria*, or the Monument to Victory.

CHAPTER FIVE

MONUMENTO ALLA VITTORIA: A GEOSEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

The building hides its secrets in sepulchral silence. Only the living, cognizant of this history, who understand the principles of those who struggled for and against the “embellishment” of that spot, can truly disinter the mysteries that lie entombed there and thereby rescue that rich experience from the deathly silence of the tomb and transform it into the noisy beginnings of the cradle.

All History is, after all, the history of class struggle

Harvey 1979:381

5.1 Introduction: Setting the Scene

In chapter 1 I refer to a newspaper headline and an agreement reached by Italian and German speaking political representatives regarding bilingual education, bilingual place names and Fascist-era monuments: all of this under the umbrella heading of “multilingualism”. To remind once again, I began research with an ethnographic question which might be summarised as:

When people talk about bilingualism Bolzano-Bozen, what are they talking about?

I engaged with the nexus of practice of this study (Polyglot meetings), which led to the inclusion of the data presented in the previous two chapters: an examination of

discourses surrounding bi/multilingual education and the naming of place in Bozen-Bolzano. The data set relating to the naming of place is approached in a similar vein to that of language and education. I chose this approach, as I focus most on the discourses *about* place names, manifest in the various contestations and defacements of public signage (particularly mountain path signs), discourses related to the names and the language in which those names were (are) articulated (see Pietikäinen et al. 2011 and Pietikäinen 2014 for an analogous approach).

To anyone unfamiliar with the history of Italy or the Province of Bolzano over the last one hundred years or so, it would be difficult to understand how or why this war memorial could cause such friction. It is at this point that ethnography shows its worth as a paradigm that looks beyond the synchronic and that, as Scollon and Wong Scollon argue '...the understanding of the visual semiotic systems at play in any particular instance relies crucially on an ethnographic understanding of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice.' (2003: 160)

Yet as I traced the most significant discourse itineraries and surveyed public, institutional and media discourses, triangulating these data with what I found from observing and participating in life in the city and province, it became apparent during this time that in trying to understand discourse related to bilingualism, Monumento alla Vittoria (the Monument to Victory), erected during the early years of the Fascist dictatorship, could not be ignored. It comprised an important, if puzzling (at least for this researcher), element of discourses on bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano.

Monumento alla Vittoria, the Fascist era war memorial at the gateway between the old and new city did feature in Polyglot meetings on more than one occasion, however it was never once the focus of a meeting, and as such fell outside the immediate analytic gaze. Yet as I traced discourses away from Polyglot which connected language and education and language and place, Monumento alla Vittoria had a recurring presence. I thus faced the problem of how, if at all, to treat this very particular piece of semiotic data. I found the approach taken for discourses on language an education and place names unsatisfactory for Monumento alla Vittoria as here the monument itself was being contested.

With this in mind, the aim of this chapter is to interrogate Monumento alla Vittoria, and discourse(s) related to it: some of which are hidden from immediate view, some of which have remained constant, though the context has changed, and some which have altered radically from their origins. However, since the principal data here is different to those presented in the previous chapters, different (though as we shall see closely related) analytic instruments are adopted. As such, before going to present the actual data, I will first lay out some of the most salient theoretical and methodological foundations for the selection and analysis of the data which follows.

In the first instance, I realised that in order to approach the monument for discursive analysis, a shift was required from considering linguistic resources in the *Linguistic Landscape* to considering semiotic resources in the *Semiotic Landscape*. Thurlow and Jaworski (who follow Scollon & Wong Scollon), explain the reason for this shift to the *Semiotic Landscape* as it:

‘...emphasise[s] the way written discourse interacts with other discursive modalities: visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment. For this reason, ‘linguistic’ is only one, albeit extremely important, element for the construction and interpretation of place.’

(2010:1-2)

This means including data that are semiotic and not necessarily linguistic. Blommaert, writing a little earlier, agrees, arguing for a far broader interpretation of *discourse*, to include all forms of socio-cultural semiotic activity (2005:6), which as a result, require other approaches and other instruments in analysis (*ibid*:236-7)

Specifically regarding signs in the material world, and their role in social and discursive economies, Blommaert develops this idea, preferring the term ‘high-octane’ Linguistic Landscape (2013: 38-49), in which the importance of the context of the sign, not simply the sign itself is emphasised. He also refers, as do Thurlow and Jaworski (2010:2), to the work of Scollon and Wong Scollon, and *Geosemiotics*: the approach they present in *Discourses in Place* (2003).

In the context of this study, Geosemiotics became an attractive proposition, since it develops from the same theoretical base as Nexus Analysis: Mediated Discourse Analysis (Scollon 2001). As such, there is an overarching theoretical, and indeed methodological coherence with, and extension of, the approach taken for the data sets presented in the earlier chapters.

5.2 Geosemiotics: Discourse in Place

Geosemiotics, then, can be described as an approach to social semiotics – signs and language in the very broadest sense – in the physical world, which differs from more conventional Linguistic Landscape work, in that it places social action amongst signs as central.

In the opening to their book, *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*, Scollon and Wong Scollon present Geosemiotics as being ‘...about the ‘in place’ meanings of signs and discourses and the meanings of our actions in and among those discourses in place.’ (2003:1)

The meaning of any sign is entirely dependent on where it is in the physical world. In turn, understanding this meaning requires a deep ethnographic understanding of the physical and social context of the sign (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:160). As Blommaert further observes this understanding, which extends not just to the signs, but the social actors concerned, is deeply historical (2013:24)

Applying Geosemiotics to this particular sign was a difficult decision. The approach as outlined by Scollon & Wong Scollon (2003) is presented as particularly useful in analysing an array of public signage such as road signs, notices, logos and similar (e.g. Lou 2007 on shop signs in Washington DC’s Chinatown). However, as far as I am aware, it had never been applied to a contested piece of public art. Nevertheless, from observation and data collection during the research process, I began to see the monument was a discourse in itself, produced in a complex genre (Bakhtin 1986 [2010]) and it became analytically accessible as I deconstructed this discourse using the instruments Scollon and Wong

Scollon provide. This process (and indeed the decision to take this approach) was facilitated by the fact that the underlying principles are broadly shared with Nexus Analysis. Summarily, one might even say that, as mentioned, Geosemiotics is a form of Nexus Analysis weighted specifically for addressing semiotic resources, and how social actors interact with them, in the material world.

I will now elaborate on these points further in terms of how they guided data collection and analysis. I took two very public and controversial events at the monument as the points of entry. I was unable to physically attend either of these events and so I witnessed these events through press coverage and videos publically available on youtube.com and websites of the actors involved. This impacts on the analysis of the interaction order, though I would argue not so much as to diminish this analysis, since the images (moving and still) of these events make clear the type of events they were, who was present and how they interacted with the monument.

The first event took place in November 2008 and was a protest march against the Monumento alla Vittoria, organised by the Schützen, a Tyrolean association seen well-within the German-speaking world. The term *Schützen* means, more or less, *rifleman* or *sharpshooter* and although they trace their heritage to the Tyrolean militias of the past, they are today seen as a cultural organisation (De Biasi 2012). The second event was a wreath-laying by representatives of the right and centre-right Italian-speaking political parties which took place the following year. The actors are, of course, given a deeper treatment further on.

In laying out the framework for Geosemiotics, Scollon and Wong Scollon hold that it is not simply the sign in context that is important, but social action in relation to those signs which must be examined. They lay out three guiding principles:

1. 'the principle of **indexicality**: all semiotic signs, whether embodied or disembodied, have a significant part of their meaning how they are placed in the world.
2. the principle of **dialogicality**: all signs operate in aggregate. There is a double indexicality with respect to the meaning attached to the sign by its placement and its interaction with other signs. Each sign indexes a discourse that authorizes its placement, but once the sign is in place it is never isolated from other signs in its environment, embodied or disembodied. There is always a dynamic among signs, an intersemiotic, interdiscursive dialogicality.
3. the principle of **selection**: any action selects a subset of signs for the actor's attention. A person in taking action selects a pathway by foregrounding some subset of meanings and backgrounding others. Action is a form of selection, positioning the actor as a particular kind of person who selects among different meaning potentials a subset of pathways.'

(2003:205. Emphasis in original)

Further, as Blommaert (2005:74) argues, by focussing on orders of indexicality, we are afforded an analytical view onto the tangible and empirically observable distribution and organisation of semiotic resources, whilst concomitantly afforded a view onto how these

semiotic features and micro processes are connected to the broader social, political, cultural and historical space.

The combination of these related concepts provides an empirical framework for analysing signs ethnographically, in order to understand how Monumento all Vittoria in Bolzano-Bozen has been central to discourses on bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano.

Taking social action as central, there are three elements to consider in a Geosemiotic analysis (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:166), in summary these elements are:

- The Interaction Order
- The Visual Semiotics
- The Place Semiotics

The first is the interaction order (after Goffman 1963, 1983), which recalls Nexus Analysis directly, in which the actors constitute themselves for the social action. Next, comes the sign. This involves an understanding of the visual semiotics, or how the images and texts form the discourse that social actors orientate to, within the interaction order. The final and arguably the most fundamental area to be examined involves the place semiotics, which includes not only the emplacement of the sign in the material world, in both time and space, but also the other sign equipment present (e.g. the materials used).

By attending to social action that centres on the monument, and the core aspects of Geosemiotics (the social actors, the interaction order, the visual and place semiotics), the aim is to understand how this monument is a part of language discourse in the province and city of Bolzano-Bozen. Thus, through Geosemiotics, I explore the monument as a

discourse (or better, a set of discourses), produced in a genre of 'complex cultural communication', designed for responses beyond the immediate moment of production (Bakhtin 1986: 69). As Bauman and Briggs have long held, genres are deeply indexical and interdiscursive, signalling relationships beyond the synchronic, diachronic or even spatial, which can connect a single act to other times, places or people (1992:147).

It is worth briefly discussing the above three core concepts (the interaction order the visual and place semiotics), in preparation for the data presentation and analysis.

5.2.1 The interaction order

Under discussion in this section are the ways the social actors come together and for what reason. The first point is that in any instance of social action, social actors index both their own historical bodies, or habitus, and the social world (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:15).

As we have discussed in earlier sections, the interaction order is a concept adapted from Goffman. For Scollon and Wong Scollon, it is a way to describe how social actors come together in the social world and how, whether intentional or not, social relationships are projected, having the effect of including or excluding other social actors (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:44, but also Goffman 1959:2).

What is emphasised in Geosemiotics, is that social actors construct their social selves not only through performance of social roles, but in concert with the physical spaces inhabited (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:57). The interaction order, in this sense, becomes a product of the dialectic between the actor and the physical space, both of which are contextually dependent, and both of which are deeply historical (see

Blommaert 2013:29-34). This historicity and the contextual dependence of the interaction order govern the way discourse is organised in social space and as such, these social arrangements can be seen as indexable of wider social relationships (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:62).

Regarding social actors, another element adapted from Goffman, and of analytic importance in this study, is what is called the *personal front*, an assemblage of Goffmanian *sign equipment* (*ibid*: 57). Essentially, this is any observable object that might be considered wearable, from clothing to electronica, to personal or physical characteristics, which social actors assemble in ways which signal identity on/in the physical body and in ways which can be read by others (*ibid*:47). The importance of this in Geosemiotics is to understand how the sociocultural or psychological are presented bodily (whether or not knowingly) in ways that may be 'read' by others, or even how these may be represented visually or in other ways, thereby becoming indexical resources for the (re)production of the interaction order, and discourses in place on their own (*ibid*: 50).

As we have discussed previously, (chapter 2 section 2.3 in the context of Nexus Analysis), the Historical Body of social actors and the Interaction Order are closely linked and, as Blommaert (2013:33) argues, the Interaction Order is a product of the Historical Body and social space.

For the social actors present at the events, I looked to literature they produced, their websites and other publications to see what positions they took with regard to not only language, but to their interpretations of historical events in the province. For the

Schützen, this meant going back to the beginning of the eighteenth century and their “moment of glory” fighting against Napoleon and Bavaria in defence of the Tyrol (Hobsbawm 1962:107 &194, Alcock 1970:8) and their prohibition during Fascism (De Biasi 2012:275). For the Italian right, this meant following political discourse from the before the time of Mussolini and the aggressive Italianisation which began in the 1920s, to the discourses of Ettore Tolomei and his ideas of the *Italianity* of the area, dating from the 1890s (an aspect seldom foregrounded in the province), which themselves are readily traceable to the nationalism and Italian *risorgimento* of earlier in the same century (see chapter 1, section 1.3.2).

I focused on the public discourses of these groups and of individual representatives present at the events mentioned; I looked at how participants (at the Schützen protest and the wreath-laying) came together to perform these events, and what was being indexed, or “said”, by the way they came together. Extending this, and following Scollon and Wong Scollon, I looked also at their actual physical appearance at these events or how they dressed and carried themselves, in ways meant to be read by others. This included very specific items and styles of clothing, together with other items such as the flags or banners carried by those participating.

In short, for the interaction order, it is not so much discourse, but rather the ways social actors dialogue with these discourses through their social action (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003:7-8).

5.2.2 The Visual Semiotics

For Scollon and Wong Scollon, visual semiotics is concerned with how semiotic resources in the broadest sense are combined or presented as meaningful wholes for visual interpretation (2003:8). For this aspect of Geosemiotics, Scollon and Wong Scollon apply concepts found in the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, and in particular their monograph *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996).

A key to understanding the visual semiotics of a sign are what Scollon and Wong Scollon, after Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), refer to as the *participants*:

Pictures...carry meaning through the system for representing the participants within the picture. Here **we follow Kress and van Leeuwen and use 'participant' to mean a construction element** used in a picture. This might be an image of a person, but it would include a block of text, or a chart or graph or a logo. These representational structures can be either narrative or conceptual. Narrative structures present unfolding actions and events or, perhaps, processes of change. Conceptual structures show abstract comparative or generalized categories.

(Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:86 my emphasis)

In other words, the participants are the elements in a composition that are included to communicate meaning.

In Geosemiotics, this is applied in order to understand how the social world is represented through images, how the meaning of images is often understood because of where they are seen, and how images are used for other purposes. This means understanding how the visual indexes the social world in which they are located, and,

how social actors index the plethora of images in the physical world in the construction of social action (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:84).

It should be noted at this point that in applying certain aspects of Kress and van Leeuwen's grammar of visual design, Scollon & Wong Scollon's emphasis in visual semiotics is on two-dimensional representations: advertising billboards or shop signs and the like. However, I argue that these principles can also be applied to looking at a three-dimensional 'image' such as Monumento alla Vittoria, since '[Kress and van Leeuwen] use the word 'pictures' in its broadest sense to include any form of constructed and framed image. (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:85)

Turning to the sign itself (Monumento alla Vittoria), I began to look at the *visual semiotics*. Having walked past the monument at least weekly for a number of years before considering it analytically, I knew little of the imagery it contained: I could not "read" this discourse. So I conducted historical research and searched documents and newspapers from the period of its construction (from 1926 to 1928), to understand Italian Fascist policy in the province (and towards Austria and Germany) and how these were represented semiotically in the monument. I also searched historical, architectural and art history research for texts on Fascist architecture, and the monument itself to understand how the built environment fitted into the Fascist ideological programme, to understand the motifs, the style of arches, or the unusual order of columns (in the form of Lictors's Fasces, for example. See section 4.5, later) which themselves indexed an ancient Roman (and pre-Roman) past, claiming legitimacy through (an illusion of) continuity with antiquity.

The history of the monument became a lens by which to view present discourses, and the evolution and divergence of ideas relating to it, held by large parts of the communities of Italian and German speakers, and how discourses of assimilation and identity were remembered, forgotten or mobilised by groups of actors who identify themselves by the language spoken.

5.2.3 The Place Semiotics

With Place Semiotics we come to arguably the most important element of Geosemiotics: principally, where the sign is located in the material world. However, for Scollon and Wong Scollon, place semiotics is not only the geographic location, but also the large-scale aggregation of semiotic systems which are present, not found in the visual semiotics nor with the social actors (2003:8). These can be broken down into three elements:

- Code preference
- Inscription
- Emplacement

Code preference and inscription are seen as distinct yet contiguous areas of study in Geosemiotics. The focus in code preference is in understanding what the code used symbolises, or indexes. Whilst perhaps intuitively, these two elements might appear better situated under an analysis of the visual, rather than the spatial, their being understood is taken here to be culturally of context dependent: specifically that they are geopolitically situated semiotic systems which index geopolitical locations, i.e. specific social spaces (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:119). Inscription brings to mind the physical

incision of a text onto a permanent material, such as stone or brass, however in Geosemiotics it has a broader meaning, to include the materials out of which a sign is made, since these may also signal meaning (*ibid*:2003:135-6).

For the concept of emplacement, the fundamental questions which must be addressed include where in the physical world the sign is to be found and why the sign, as a semiotic system, is to be found in that particular physical space (*ibid*:2003:142).

The final point here regards how social spaces come to be structured and the way in which discourse is organised in those social spaces, forming what are called *semiotic aggregates* (*ibid*:167-8). An example they give is of traffic stop signs to be found in any city. These stop signs form a regulatory discourse, or discourses, which govern both the social actors who must traverse the city, but also discourses they carry with them. Yet, as Scollon and Wong Scollon point out, the sign only has meaning because of where it is (*ibid*:29): the same stop sign in the back of the sign fitter's vehicle, awaiting emplacement, "obviously" does not have the same semiotic or discursive impact as when it is on a busy road junction. From another perspective, or perhaps adding another dimension, is the recognition that the stop sign comprises discourse(s) which can be traced through town planning and the sociopolitical processes which have led to its presence in the physical world, including the potential sanctions for not recognizing or obeying the message it carries, thereby indexing relations of power. Even in this simple example, there is evidence of the dialogic nature of signs in the physical world, which are subject to change through time and location.

In a similar vein to understanding the visual semiotics, I had to look back to the period of construction and look at the urban planning project that the monument was central to (Soragni 1993). This revealed the discourses of domination and conquest which motivated the Fascist regime to choose that specific site, using it as a pretext to demolish and build over a partially completed Austrian war memorial, and choose materials from particular places because of their symbolic value.

Investigation also involved archival research to understand the development of the city as part of the programme of Italianisation, which comprised not only the proscription of German, but the in-migration of Italian-speakers and the construction of the “new” Bolzano to accommodate them. I obtained period photographs from the city’s historical archives and maps to understand the street plan around the monument and the piazza in which it is located. I went to different locations around the city to see for myself from where the monument was visible.

As I hope to show, without paying attention to the *emplacement*, it would have been impossible to understand the significance of the monument’s location, at the gateway between the old Germanic city and the new Italian city, created in the image of Fascism.

5.3. Monumento all Vittoria: Discourse through time & space

Having provided a brief theoretical background for approaching the data in this chapter, I return momentarily to something that was said during the Polyglot meeting in section 4.2 of chapter 4, something which was said in the context of a discussion about place names.

In lines 46 to 48 (see also chapter 4, section 4.2.2d) the speaker, Giulio Milano, makes the following statement:

Giulio	41	in history we've had eh uh	
	42	states that have uh	
	43	occ occupied territories have put names in their own language na uh	0.10.53
	44	national [language] to place a mark to	
	45	ma mark the territory	
	46	just as monuments were placed eh	0.11.04
	47	to mark/signal the territory	
	48	the borders of the territory ehm	

In the context of discussing place names, this reference might appear somewhat oblique and quizzical. Then again, a parents' association, whose reason for being is to push for an increase in bi/multilingual education, dedicating an open public meeting to discussing place names, might also appear a little tangential. However, as I came to realise during the process of data collection, the issues of language in education, place names and monuments formed the core of discourse related to bi/multilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano and province, discourses which can only meaningfully be understood historically, by tracing their itineraries through time and across diverse sociocultural or political spaces. As Blommaert argues, '...history forces us to recognise 'layered simultaneity' in texts: meanings simultaneously produced, but not all of them consciously nor similarly accessible to agency.' (2005:126)

As I mentioned when discussing the above stretch of speech, the wording Giulio Milano chooses appears to reference the Latin inscription of the front of Monumento alla Vittoria. And, linking to what Giulio says, it is impossible to talk about Monumento alla Vittoria in any meaningful way without talking also of the historical context of South Tyrol-Alto Adige (i.e. the Province of Bolzano) since its annexation by Italy in 1919.

In this section, I trace the beginnings of Monumento alla Vittoria, providing the historical, socio-political context which saw its construction, though it should be stated that it was the re-examination of two events, to be discussed, in 2008 and 2009 (a protest march against the monument and the Wreath-laying at the monument) that caused me to begin to understand the significance of Monumento alla Vittoria in discourses related to language in Bolzano and to chart some of the most salient points from the history of the monument that I present in this section. Description and analysis of these events will follow.

In the period after World War One, Fascist Italy saw its major threat as being the resurgence of Germany and pangermanism, thus a German-speaking South Tyrol was of great concern to Mussolini (Alcock 1970:39-40). Whether or not this was simply used as a pretext for what would occur during the Fascist years is beyond the scope of this analysis. Yet, as we have seen in the previous chapter, these were discussions that had been going on in certain academic circles in Italy since the 1890s, when Ettore Tolomei adopted the work of Italian geographers G and O Marinelli who argued that the “natural” borders of Italy should include the southern Tyrol (territory that is now the Province of Bolzano) up to the Brenner pass, which was then under Austro-Hungarian control (Alcock

1970:13-14). Tolomei elaborated further this idea in planning how to remove or (re)assimilate the German speakers resident in the zone in his irredentist publication *l'Archivio per Alto Adige*, that commenced publication in 1906 (see, for example Tolomei 1906, 1915:52-64)

Systematic and aggressive Italianization can be traced to March 1923. Tolomei, by then an Italian senator in the Fascist regime, formulated an action plan to italianise the province. As we have seen (chapter 1 section 1.3.4) the programme was approved by Mussolini and the Fascist Grand Council and presented to Fascists in Bolzano in the autumn of the same year.

Kunz (1926/27:504), writing during this period, underlines the suppression of the German language in Bolzano and South Tyrol by asking the rhetorical question: 'Is it not more than paradoxical that in German South-Tyrol instruction in French, English and any other language is allowed, even to German children, that the teaching of German is allowed to Italian children, but the teaching of German to German children constitutes a crime?'

It was into such a climate that Monumento alla Vittoria was built. The entire project started life in early 1926, and was originally to be a monument to Cesare Battisti, an individual presented as a martyr to Italian irredentism; the "reclaiming" of territory seen by nationalists as "rightfully" belonging to Italy (Soragni 1993:57-58). This was approximately seven years after the Kingdom of Italy had gained the region, under the conditions of the Treaty of Saint Germaine, following the First World War. It was also less than four years since Mussolini's Fascists had seized power in Italy and initiated the aggressive Italianisation of the zone. It was also a period in which Germany expressed

concern, internationally. Responding, Mussolini, in a speech to the Italian parliament aimed at the German foreign minister Stresemann, 10th February 1926, declared emphatically that the region was ‘...Italian geographically, Italian historically...[that] truly the Brennero frontier...is a frontier written by the hand of God’ (La Voce della Sella 12th February 1926). Ettore Tolomei, reporting the same speech, wrote the following ‘...after his first impulse, to dedicate the monument to Battisti, on reflection he substituted this with a grander idea: that of affirming the victory of all Italic people in the conquest of the borderland; to exalt in Bolzano not only the martyr of irredentism [Cesare Battisti], but also and above all the triumph of the [Italian] race in arms...’ (in Siena 1979:111. My translation). The reasons for the change of focus are disputable, and that in fact Battisti’s widow was strongly opposed to the instrumentalisation of the memory of her husband (who had been an international socialist) to Fascist ends and that the family refused permission to dedicate the monument to his memory (Soragni 1993:57-58).

The project was funded through public donations and a campaign began to raise 100,000 lire for the task was quickly over-subscribed (Siena 1979:112). The task of building Monumento alla Vittoria was given to Marcello Piacentini, chief architect to the Fascist regime, whose brief was to produce a memorial ‘[i]n its stark Roman force that which is not only adapted to the alpine environment but [which] must impose itself as **a sign of conquest and empire.**’ (Archivio per l’Alto Adige 1928:329 in Siena 1979:111. My translation. & emphasis).

It was inaugurated on the 12th July 1928. In attendance were the Italian King, Vittorio Emanuele II, together with senior dignitaries from the Italian aristocracy and the Fascist

regime. It had taken precisely two years from when the first stone was laid, the date chosen as it was the tenth anniversary of the execution of Cesare Battisti for treason by Austro-Hungarian authorities at the city of Trento, some fifty km to the south of Bolzano.

Announcing the inauguration date, *La Provincia di Bolzano*, the Fascist controlled Bolzano newspaper, declared in its headline, on 11th August 1927 that:

In the upcoming year of the glorious anniversary, **after ten years**, the Monument to Victory will be inaugurated. Adigean [South Tyrolean] Fascism today proclaims that from that day forth **and forever**, bilingual texts shall no longer be seen.

(My translation. & emphasis. See figure 22 for the newspaper front page).

Even from its inception, language was not only part of the Fascist programme of assimilation, but the monument was connected to these discourses by Fascism.

Until the 1970s it was possible to visit the interior of the monument. However in 1978 a bomb planted by South Tyrolean separatists (Grote 2012:103), caused the monument to be closed off by the metal railing that is still in place today.

In the post Second World War period until 1996, Monumento alla Vittoria was the focus for Armed Forces Day celebrations, every 4th November, when a wreath would be laid to commemorate those killed in Italy's wars. After this date, for reasons of sensitivity to feelings of Bolzano's German-speaking population, these celebrations were moved to one of the province's military cemeteries.

In December 2001, the centre-left, predominantly Italian-speaking Bolzano city council decided to change the name of the piazza that is home to the monument from 'Piazza della Vittoria' (Victory Square) to 'Piazza della Pace' (Peace Square). The reaction from the Italian-speaking right was to collect enough signatures to hold a city-wide referendum to return the name of the square to the original, with the date fixed for October 2002. 61.69% of the city voted in the referendum. Of these, 61.94% voted to return the name of the square to Piazza alla Vittoria (Corriere della Sera 8th Oct 2002).

Having provided the theoretical framework, together with an overview of the trajectory of Monumento alla Vittoria and (its spatial and historical context), in the next sections I address the visual semiotics of the data.

5.4 The Visual Semiotics of Monumento alla Vittoria

The monument is striking in appearance, constructed entirely in white marble on a series of five steps skirting the front and sides which act as a plinth. Direct access to the monument is impeded by metal railings that run entirely around the bottom step. There is a lockable entrance gate at the front (see figure 23).

Below the bas relief of victory, emblazoned across the architrave, is a Latin text (figure 24). Flanking the text are stylised sculpted heads of soldiers in Italian First World War helmets, whose faces are broad and strong. The soldiers' faces around the entablature look down at the viewer.

In their work on war monuments, Abousnnouga and Machin (2010a:145 & 2010b:228), following Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), argue that images can either be offers or demands. If the subject of an image looks at the viewer, then the viewer's presence is addressed and a response in some form is expected. If the subject does not look at the viewer, the gaze can be interpreted as offering information. It should be noted there are, however, differences between Monumento alla Vittoria and the monuments Abousnnouga and Machin analyse in the UK.



Figure 23 Monumento alla Vittoria front, facing the historic centre of Bozen-Bolzano



Figure 24 Winged Victory, the Ever-Ready Archer by Arturo Dazzi and the Latin inscription

In the UK monuments, the soldiers depicted do not look at the viewer as, they argue, that this would have increased the anti-war feeling in the UK post-WWI. In Italy during this period feelings were certainly different, at least publically. Mussolini's Fascist movement was initially made up of veterans who saw Italy's First World War gains, won at great sacrifice, as being squandered by the liberal government of that time, with Fascism seeing its opportunity in remedying this (Alcock 1970:30-31). As such, the gaze into the distance of the stylised soldiers in this monument, looking off into the horizon, can be interpreted as looking metaphorically to greater future and lofty ideals (Abousnnouga and Machin (2010a:144).

The columns that support the entablature (visible in figures 23, 24 & 25), fourteen in total, are a departure from conventional orders of columns and are unique in design. Each is a sculpted bundle of rods with a stylised axe, facing outwards. Alternately, the axes are adorned with lion, wolf or eagle's heads, projecting from above the eye where haft and head meet. The only variation is that the corner columns bear two axes, each facing outwards perpendicularly. These columns are sculpted in the form of Lictor's Fasces.

Lictor's Fasces were an ancient symbol of Roman authority and justice, adopted by Mussolini as the symbol for his political movement and from whence derives the term 'Fascist'. Thus, in a subtle reinterpretation of history (the Fascist movement dates from after the First World War), the overall structure intimates that victory was supported by Fascism. The eagle, wolf and lion's heads that adorn the axes face out directly, on all sides, do not look down at the viewer, but at some far off undefined point. By styling

Lictor's Fasces, Nicoloso notes that the architect Piacentini '...makes them a constitutive part of an architectural language...which has an explicit political significance...' (2012:50. My translation)

Forming a solid block on either side, between the two outermost columns, on the front and the sides, are twenty-four elongated, Romanesque-arched niches (Figure 25). These are arranged vertically in columns of three, with three on the left and right on the front, six on each of the sides of the monument and are all left empty.

Inside the "temple", the central focus is a bronze and marble sculpture of Christ, rising from his tomb (figure 26). Flanking this, are hermes three individuals: Damiano Chiesa, Fabio Filzi and Cesare Battisti (figure 27). As we saw from Soragni, Cesare Battisti is by far the most well-known and in fact Monumento alla Vittoria was originally to be a monument to him (Soragni 1993:15 & 57-58), but all three had broadly similar trajectories. Each was Italian speaking from Trentino and Rovereto, which were then still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who elected to fight for the Kingdom of Italy against Austro-Hungary, were captured (separately) and executed by Austro-Hungary for High Treason (Soragni 1993:83). All three were quickly seen as martyrs for the Italian irredentist cause (Lorenzoni 1919:38). Why Battisti, in particular, appears in a monument in German-speaking Bolzano was a controversial point, even in the hotly nationalistic post WWI Italy (Soragni 1993:15). In conceptualising the inclusion of the busts of Battisti, Chiesa and Filzi, the sculptor and architect responsible, Piacentini, saw these sculptures as having '...a profound psychological penetration, of high artistic value...[however]...clearly subordinate to the architecture, **so as to avoid any possible digression from the principle**

discourse [of the monument], **fundamental in its didacticism.**' (Soragni 1993:83. My translation. & my emphasis).

Curiously although Adolfo Wildt, the artist chosen to actually sculpt these three busts, was from Milan, he was of German decent and his art is seen widely as being influenced by the German school. (Soragni 1993:83-84). Although outside the scope of this paper, in the same passage Soragni notes that an aspect of the monument that has been neglected is that the Wildt sculptures, and their emplacement within the monument, are a metaphor for the treatment of the German-speaking population in Italy, under Fascism (*ibid*).

The front of the monument faces east, at the entrance to a bridge over the Talfer/Talvera River and into what is known today as the Altstadt/Centro Storico, or historic centre of Bolzano-Bozen. The bust of Battisti is positioned so that it appears to look out of the monument towards the old city centre, however the busts of Chiesa and Filzi both look to Battisti.

On the architrave on the north-facing narrow side of the monument is a Latin inscription to Victor Emanuel III, the king of Italy at the time the monument was built and, incidentally, the last king of Italy. Similarly to the text on the front of the monument, the inscription is flanked by the sculpted, helmeted heads of stylised soldiers. On the opposite side of the monument was a similar Latin inscription to *Il Duce*, Benito Mussolini, which is no longer present.



Figure 25 Romanesque-arched niches on the external facade

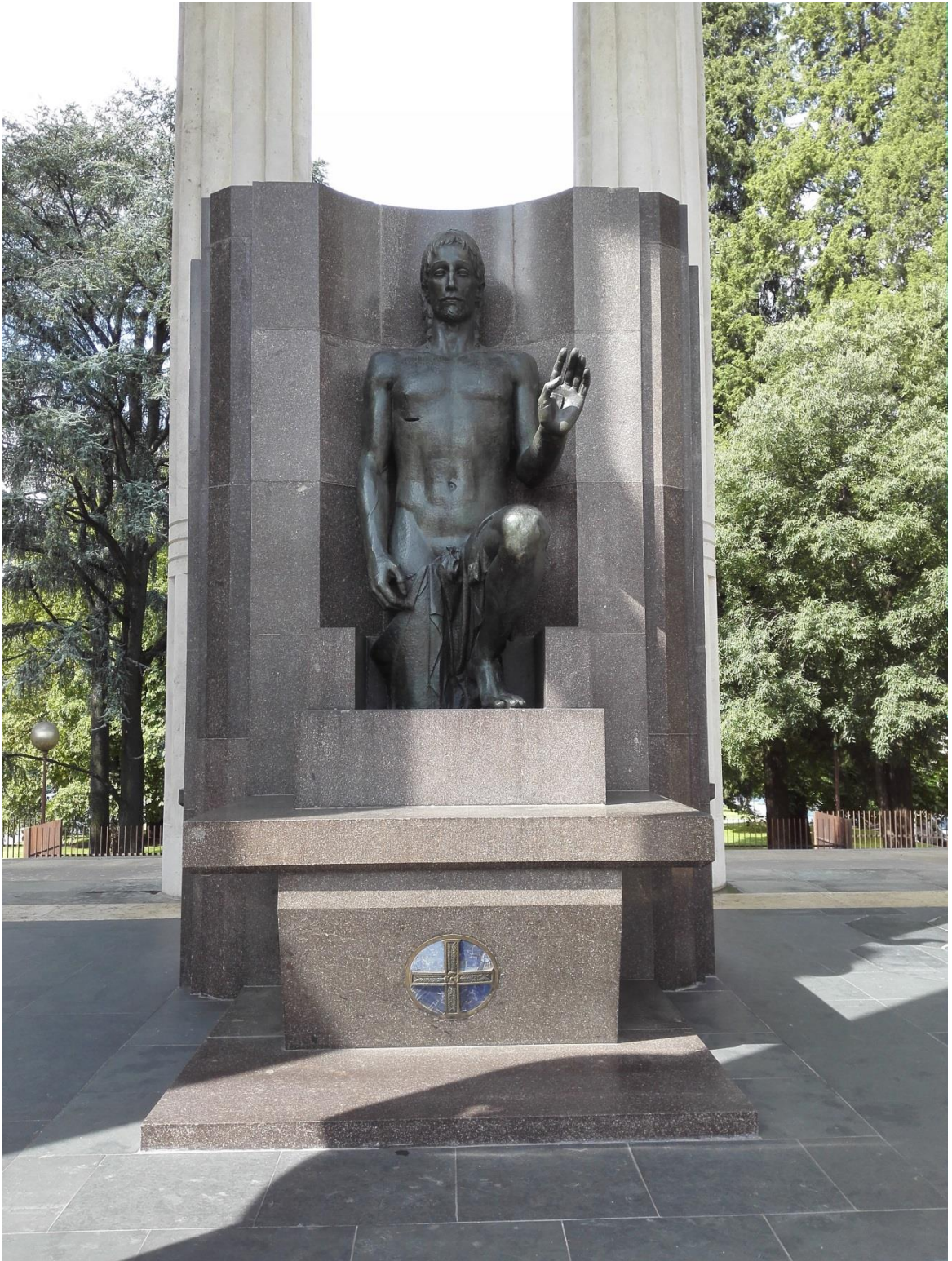


Figure 26 Cristo Risorto: The Risen, or perhaps better Rising Christ by Libero Andreotti

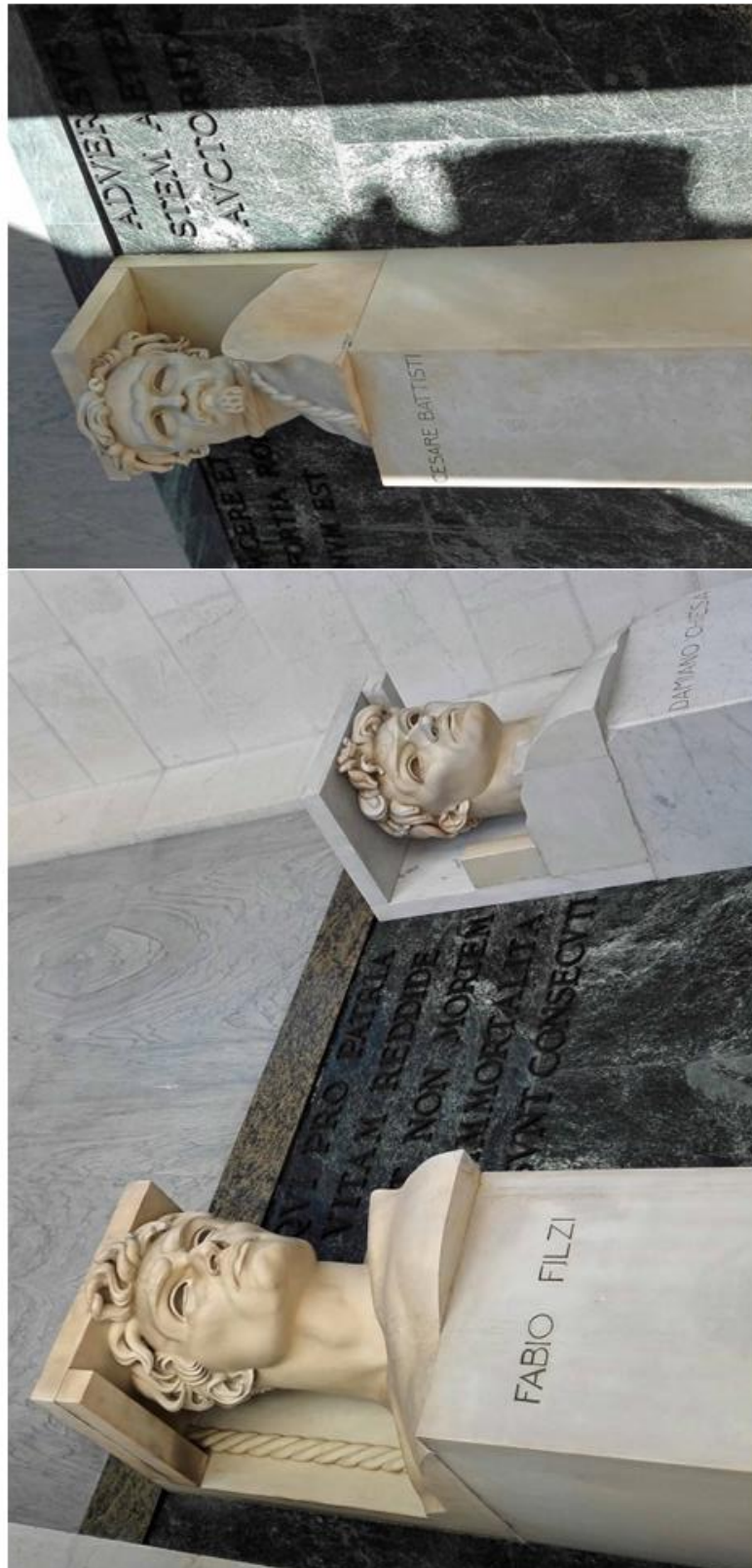


Figure 27 The Herms (left to right) of Fabio Filzi, Damiano Chiesa and Cesare Battisti by Adolfo Wildt. Note the sculpted rope around Battisti's neck, alluding to his execution.

However, the most overtly provocative participant in Monumento alla Vittoria is the inscription on the front, facing the historic centre of Bolzano, over the Talfer Bridge. And with this point, I now move on to examine the place semiotics.

5.5. The Place Semiotics of Monumento alla Vittoria

Under the Scollonian rubric of *Place Semiotics*, I now turn to flesh out the description with direct examples from the monument.

5.5.1 Inscription

As described in section 5.2.3, inscription refers also to the materials used, not simply the “writing”, or better, how the sign is inscribed in the physical world. In this sense, the official inauguration of building work in a ceremony that took place on the 12th July 1926, and was in itself a rich semiotic event. Reported in the local press (*Il Piccolo Posto* 14th July 1926 & *La Voce del Sella* 16th July 1926), the Italian king laid of the first stone, accompanied by military and political dignitaries. The cement was mixed for the king using water transported especially from the river Piave, the site of one of the final, decisive battles fought between Italy and Austro-Hungary, which saw Italy victorious, within which was placed a text written especially by a leading Italian poet Gabrielle D’Annunzio (Steininger 2003:36-37). The three foundation stones were from Monte Corno di Vallarsa (renamed Monte Corno Battisti), Monte Grappa in Veneto and San Michele, near Gorizia. All three had deep symbolic value, as they were the locations of significant First World War victories of the Italian army (*La Voce del Sella* 16th July 1926).

5.5.2 Code Preference

All three texts (originally four) that can be found on the monument are written in Latin. This is not uncommon in Occidental war memorials, since along with classical architectural styles it alludes to ‘...ideas of strength and high ideals and thinking...found in the idealized empires of Egypt, Greece and Rome.’ (Abousnnouga & Machin 2010a:142). Here, although the monument recalls the triumphal arches of ancient Rome, it is Rationalist, from a twentieth century artistic movement closely aligned to the Fascist ideals and movement (Romeo 2005:142). However the use of Latin, the ancient dead language of the Roman Empire, I argue, is very much in line with Fascism’s claims to the heirdom of this legacy (see Gentile 1990, Romke 1992, Nelis 2007).

On the right-hand side is a dedication to the then King of Italy Vittorio Manuelle III. On the left-hand side, there was a similar dedication to *Il Duce*, Benito Mussolini, that is no longer present.

However the focus in this section is on the texts found at the front of the monument (see figure 24):

HIC PATRIAE FINES SISTA SIGNA

HINC CETEROS EXCOLMVIMVS LINGVA LEGIBVS ARTIBVS

Here the borders of the Fatherland. Put down your weapons [i.e. stop our advance]. From here, we brought to the others language, law and the arts.

(Translation. in Steininger 2003:37)

The first sentence demonstrates how the Kingdom of Italy saw (and the Republic of Italy still sees) South Tyrol-Alto Adige as an ineluctable part of Italy (Tolomei 1906:5), even though it had been part of Habsburg Austria since the 1300s (Herford 1927:11, Alcock 1970:6).

If the first part of the Latin text addresses an interpretation of historical events – the annexation of Bolzano after the First World War – the second part presents as an affirmation, or statement of intent. Here the overarching assimilationist policy of the Fascist regime towards the German-speaking population is declared. This trinity of language, law, arts (i.e. professions – in terms of vocational competences) comprehensively touch on all aspects of life within the province placing, significantly, language in the prime position.

This Latin text is by far the most contested, especially by sections of the German-speaking community including the Schützen, those who marched past in protest on 8th November 2008, as we shall see later (in section 5.6.1). The message itself was seen as an exclamation of victory and the “completion” of Italy (HIC PATRIAE FINES - Here the borders of the Fatherland). The phrase SISTA SIGNA gives the sense of a military register: as if an order given to Roman legions to plant their standards at campaign’s end, recalling the conquest of the region by the Roman general Drusus Germanicus (Steininger 2003:38). This was very much in symphony with the cult of *Romanità* that infused Fascist semiotics, and the monument became a point of reference for the iconography and semiology of the Fascist regime (Soragni 1993:31).

Thus, the materials used, the way they were put in place and the code chosen have meanings that are contextual, i.e. space/time dependent.

5.5.3 The Emplacement of Monumento alla Vittoria

Monumento alla Vittoria is one of a number of monuments and public works of art in the province of Bolzano that date from the *ventennio*, or twenty years of Fascist rule. It is one of two monuments to be found in the provincial capital, the city of Bolzano, which have stirred controversy and protest in recent years.

The site for Monumento alla Vittoria is itself a contested space, and for a number of reasons. Today it is on the left bank of the City of Bolzano, however before the province was annexed by Italy, after the First World War, this was a different borough, the Borough of Gries.

According to Soragni (1993:14-15), the space in which Monumento alla Vittoria stands was carefully chosen. The building of Monumento alla Vittoria involved the destruction of a partially completed monument to a local Austro-Hungarian regiment, the Kaeserjager (figure 28), that had occupied the space (Romeo 2005:142). Some of the materials from this monument were reused in the building of Monumento alla Vittoria (Soragni 1993:17-18). Piacentini's aim was an '...ideological programme alluding heavily to the Italian victory over the German [speaking] population, exalted by a perspective entirely Fascist of the renewed imperial expansion of a modern Rome' (*ibid*: 83. My translation).

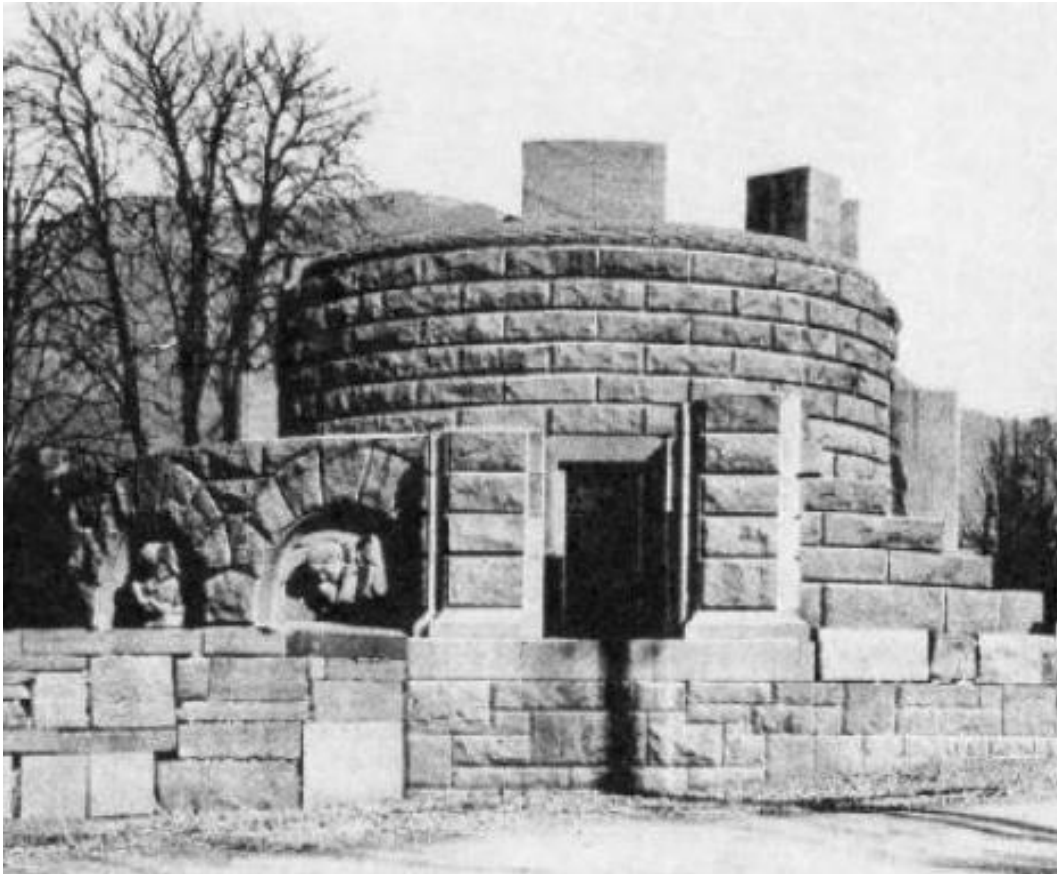


Figure 28 The incompleted Kaiserjaeger monument, destroyed to make room for Monumento alla Vittoria (from www.carloromeo.it)

As such, it underlined the triumph of Italy over its enemy and underlines the territorial conquest. This point is not forgotten today and has appeared in recent discourses about the future of Monumento all Vittoria, most notably in the Italian parliamentary question to protest one of the wreath-laying events discussed later (in section 5.6.1c).

The piazza (then foro – *forum*) that was planned was to be the centre of ‘new’ Italian Bolzano, with the monument as the point of reference. To accommodate the growth of the new Bolzano, the area to the east of what had been Gries was absorbed into the city

borough of Bolzano (Soragni 1993:14). The inhabitants to fill this expanded the city were to be Italian-speakers from other parts of Italy, encouraged to in-migrate with the promise of new housing and work in the nearby industrial zone that was also slated for construction (Alcock 1970:42). In the same passage, Alcock notes that the population of Italian-speakers in the province doubled during the period 1921-1939. Thus, Monumento alla Vittoria and Foro (now Piazza) della Vittoria – the location of the monument – were to be at the gateway between the ‘old’ and ‘new’ Bolzano.

To illustrate the point figure 29, a Google Maps photograph, shows the position the monument, circled, in front of the bridge over the river Talfer/Talvera. The entire area on this side of the river was built (including the demolition of pre-existing architectural features and buildings) during the Fascist regime, in the rationalist architectural style that became synonymous with Italian Fascism (Soragni 1993:14). The roads that flank the monument and square behind were purpose-built (Soragni 1993:15) and brought to a point at the entrance to the bridge. The river was remodeled: it was narrowed and a new bridge added (Soragni 1993:22). This urban planning appears to channel the force of this new zone, funnel-like, to where the old meets the new. Positioning the monument in this place meant it can readily be seen from ‘old’ Bolzano. The photograph in figure 30 was taken from the beyond the other side of the bridge.



Figure 29 Google Maps view of the location of Monumento alla Vittoria



Figure 30 Monumento alla Vittoria from the historical centre

5.6. Interaction with the Monument: Three Instances

In the previous two sections I presented the visual and place aspects of Monumento alla Vittoria, including the most salient aspects of the monument as discourse, through time.

In the sections which now follow, I look at how different social actors have interacted

with the monument, to understand how they see the monument, or the discourses it indexes, but also to understand what their interactions might tell us about these actors, or the interests and discursive positions they hold and index, and in turn, how this monument-as-discourse fits into discourse(s) on bi-/multilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano.

The interactions I present in sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 might be described simplistically as *for* and *against* events, with the third interaction escaping such binary description. In section 5.6.1 the main focus is a protest march against the monument, from 2008. Section 5.6.2 discusses a wreath-laying ceremony at the monument which occurred in 2009. In a general sense, the social actors who participated in the events to be described fall fairly neatly, though crudely, into two groups: German speakers and Italian speakers. That is not to say that those who took part in the social actions to be described are representative of *all* German or Italian speakers who live in the province, rather it illustrates how certain actions and events, evoking nationalist sentiment, are aimed at inclusion and exclusion of each group and executed solely by members of one or the other language group. Section 5.6.3, the third interaction, examines a permanent historical exhibition at Monumento alla Vittoria, which opened in 2014.

Another important point to note before embarking is that within each of the following sections, I include elements which go beyond the spatio-temporal “present” of the events in question. This will, I hope, become clearer as we proceed.

5.6.1 Interaction 1: The Schützen Protest⁷

I begin with the first event: the Schützen protest march against Monumento alla Vittoria (but also the other remaining Fascist monuments in the province), which took place on Saturday 8th November 2008.

Here there are arguably up to seven easily identifiable groups of social actors, who respond to each other through their interactions with the monument: one of which is displaced from the actual protest by time, with the final two by both time and space (all three discussed in section 5.6.1c). The first, and principal focus here, is the large group of Schützen who formed the main group of actors and who were marching in protest at the existence of Monumento alla Vittoria with banners and torches. The Schützen are easily identifiable due to the distinctive traditional Tyrolean costumes they wear. Joining these were members of the public, most notably members of the German-speaking political elite, who marched in a private capacity. The second group, a direct response to the Schützen march, is a two person silent protest in front of the monument, in “defence” of the monument. These two counter-protestors are surrounded by the type of votive candles one finds in Catholic churches. In support of these two counter-protestors, separated from the Schützen marchers by the police (yet another group of actors, whom I have excluded from analysis, for reasons of space) are members of the public who do not form part of the “official” (i.e. state-authorised) proceedings. The fifth interaction is the deposition of a wreath by senior military officials after the Schützen march, on the express orders of the Italian Minister of Defence. The final two interactions related to the

⁷ The photographs in this section are from local press coverage by *L'Alto Adige*, 9th November 2008 (altoadige.gelocal.it. Accessed 20th August 2010)

military deposition of flowers and consist of a parliamentary question, tabled by German-speaking Members of Parliament from the province, plus the response from the Italian Minister of Defence for his decision.

6.1.1a The Schützen

The Schützen can be found across the entire historical Tyrol, i.e. in the Austrian and Italian Tyrol. They trace their roots, in a not unbroken line, to the citizen militias of the Middle Ages, and who formed the basis of the guerrilla army which fought against Napoleon and his Bavarian allies in the War of the Third Coalition at the beginning of the nineteenth century (De Biasi 2012). Their most famous leader, Andreas Hofer, led this irregular army against Napoleon and his Bavarian allies with some success, eventually being captured and executed at Mantua in 1809, becoming a martyr to Tyrolean freedom in the process (Hobsbawm 1962:107 & 194). In fact the English poet, William Wordsworth, even wrote a number of sonnets in his honour (www.gutenberg.org accessed 12th March 2015).

The Schützen are organised into companies that are geographically based, in the towns and villages of Tyrol, north and south. The organisation continues today, although its role is more ceremonial than anything else. They may, under special dispensation, carry arms when performing these ceremonial duties. Schützen uniforms consist of what might be briefly described as traditional Tyrolean folk costume, although the uniform of each company varies.

During the *ventennio*, the twenty years of Fascist rule, the South Tyrolean Schützen became an outlawed organisation, seen as the vanguard of pan-German, anti-Italian

activity in the province. According to De Biasi (2012:276), in South Tyrol-Alto Adige the Schützen as an organisation trace their re-emergence to 1958 and the founding of the Südtirol Schützenbund, with an active membership today of around 5,000. In describing their aims, the foreword to the organisation's charter states:

The task of the Schützen of today is the defence of the identity of Tyroleans, wherever it is threatened. **Identity is defined as language, culture, customs, costumes, sense of justice, faith, values and, in general, the rules of behaviour which people who live in a particular place abide by.** Identity is, therefore, the sum of the characteristics which come to be handed down through the generations and **which have shaped the population in a given homeland** and which have conferred upon them their unmistakable characteristics. **The geographical location of such a population – their homeland – is, on the one hand, influenced by that population, while on the other, the homeland influences the people.**

(In De Biasi 2012:276. My translation, my emphasis.)

Although there are Italian-speaking Schützen to be found in the province of Trento (*ibid*: 278), in Bolzano-Bozen, and as seen from their charter, the Schützen are seen as very much defenders of German language and culture: or at least their particular interpretation of German language and culture, as seen above.

On 8th November 2008 Schützen from the Tyrol (in Italy and Austria) organised a protest march against Monumento all Vittoria and other Fascist-era monuments that can be found across the autonomous province of Bolzano-Bozen.



Figure 31 The Start of the Schützen protest march, Waltherplatz-Piazza Walter, Bolzano-Bozen. Note the placards: Top right is a placard of Monumento alla Vittoria; to the left, two anti-nazi symbols (Swastikas with red lines through them)

The Schützen assembled in Waltherplatz-Piazza Walther (figures 31 & 32), in the centre of 'old' Bolzano.

In figure 33, the two people circled are not from what might be considered the ethnonationalist German-speaking right and not members of the Schützen, both in fact are senior members of the ruling SVP - On the left is councillor responsible for the German-language school system, on the right is the SVP party secretary (who also presented the law on place names discussed in chapter 4 section 4.6.1).

The protestors then formed what Goffman would call a *procession* (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:61) and marched, with flaming torches and banners, through the city centre,

crossing the bridge over the river Talfer-Talvera and in front of Monumento alla Vittoria. They then continued on to Piazza Tribunale, home of the law courts and a bas-relief of Benito Mussolini on horseback, giving the Roman salute, above the Fascist motto *credere, obbedire, combattere* (*believe, obey, fight*). Here the *procession* transformed into a *platform event* (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:62), in which those assembled heard speeches attacking the Italian state for the continued existence of the Fascist era monuments (figure 34). Although this demonstration was against the fascist era monuments (principally, though not exclusively Monumento alla Vittoria), there is also the presence (see figure 32 and 34) of discourses contesting Italian-language place names, on the placards and banners carried by some of the marchers. Figure 32 shows a placard with the message *Südtirol ist nicht Alto Adige* and figure 34 shows a banner reading *Fascist Place Names = Crown of Thorns*. Although far from being in any way conclusive, it reveals, I would argue, in the minds of at least some social actors, a link between the aspects of the semiotic landscape that we have seen so far (either in this chapter, or chapter 4, especially section 4.2.3).



Figure 32 The Start of the Schutzen protest march, Waltherplatz-Piazza Walter, Bolzano-Bozen. The individual circled is Pius Leitner, senior member of the the German-language ethno-nationalist political party *Freiheitlichen*. Note the placard: *Sudtirol is not Alto Adige*, contesting the naming of place.

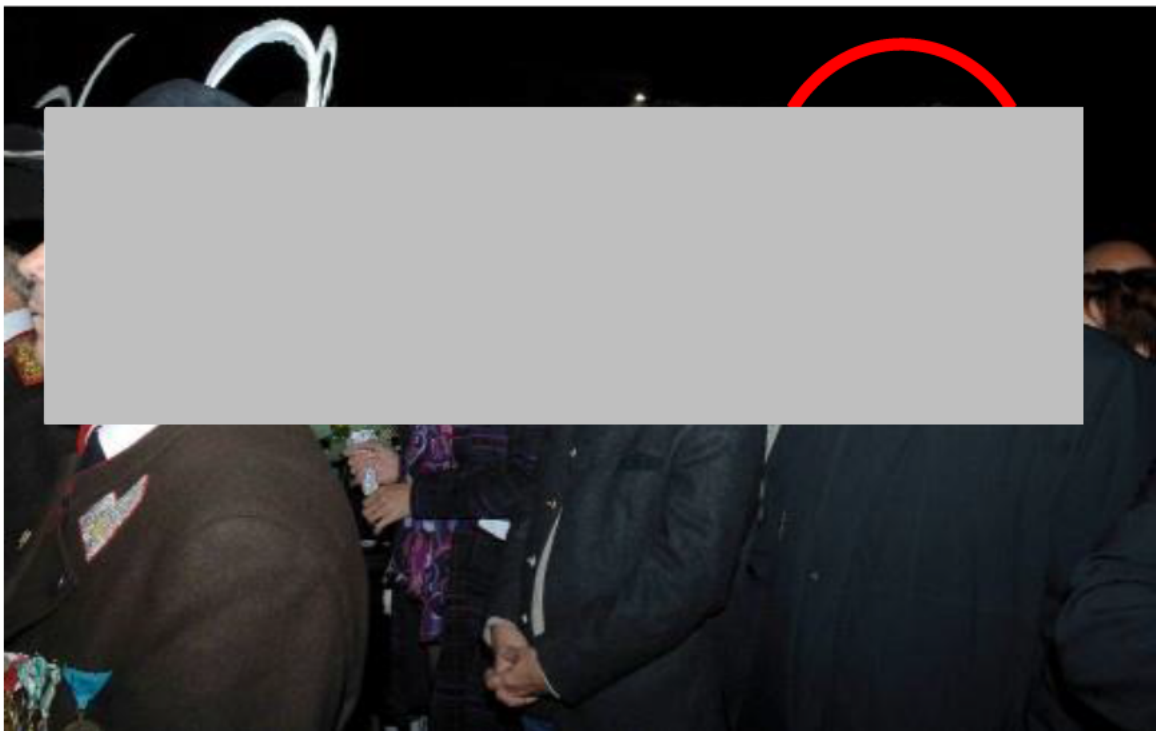


Figure 33 Senior members of the ruling German-language SVP attending the march as private citizens.



Figure 34 The destination point of the march, Piazza Tribunale in Bolzano. The Schützen protesters face the bas relief of Mussolini on horseback. Note the banner to the right which reads *Fascist Place Names = Crown of Thorns*.

6.1.2b The Counter-protest

The officially-sanctioned “counter” protest is led by Donato Seppi (figure 35), leader of the Bolzano-based Italian ethnonationalist political party *Unitalia* (One-Italy) and militant for what, as we shall see presently, it describes as Italian language, culture and identity.

Seppi was four times elected as a councillor between 1998 and 2010

(www.comune.bolzano.it accessed 19th August 2015) and Provincial and Regional councillor during the same period (www.consiglio-bz.org 19th August 2015). In figure 35, the hat Seppi is wearing is that of the *Alpini*, or Italian alpine troops that are based in Bolzano province, as well as other parts of the country. I would argue that this military headdress provides a semiotic link, an identification, with the stylised soldiers’ heads on

the monument behind. Seppi and his colleague are surrounded by 2,000 candles which were placed there by members of *Alleanza Nazionale*, another right-wing Italian-language political party, which had a national presence (L'Alto Adige 11th September 2008).



Figure 35 Donato Seppi, of Unitalia, leading the candlelight counter protest to the Schützen march. Note the *Alpini* military headdress

Unitalia, , which has a small but vocal presence at provincial and city council level, can trace its roots back to MSI (Movimento Socialista Italiana – Italian Socialist Movement). Despite its slightly misleading name, it was formed after the war by sympathisers and previous supporters of the PNF (Partito Nazionale Fascista – National Fascist Party). In the 1980s, MSI became the more moderate AN (Alleanza Nazionale – National Alliance). At this point, Donato Seppi broke away to form the exclusively provincial party *Unitalia*. It is nationalistic and sees its role as defending *italianità*, or “Italianity” in the province. The preamble and first two points of the first article of the Unitalia party statute state:

The Movement for Alto Adige UNITALIA is the only political group which aims to defend the rights of Italians against the discrimination of the Packet, demanded by the SVP with the complicity of the governing Italian parties and now also with those in opposition who have “adjusted” to the autonomy monopolised by the SVP and proportionality that has caused, in the last twenty years, more than 20,000 Italians to emigrate from Alto Adige.

ARTICLE 1

1. Defence of the unity of the Nation, against all attempts to dismantle this, and the various forms of secessionism.
2. To defend the Italianity of Alto Adige and firmly oppose the unacceptable presumptions of the Austrophiles and their Italian accomplices.

(unitalia-movimento.it. Accessed 11th March 2015. My translation, emphasis. In
original)

As we have seen *The Packet* refers to the measures which led to the Second Statute of Autonomy (1972) and which was part of the UN process of conflict resolution; *proportionality* refers to the system of proportional representation in public life (political and public administration) which must reflect the linguistically defined demography of the province, and which was instituted to protect the German-speaking minority in South Tyrol-Alto Adige (see chapter 1, section 1.2.3 & 1.4).

In the Unitalia statute, under the title of *Culture and Historical Origins*, the following aims, among others, are stated:

Appreciation of the pride and sense of belonging to the Italian Community through the recuperation of our cultural and historical roots, the conservation and

promotion of our traditions and our symbols, preserving our belonging to an age-old Christian civilisation.

The complete safeguarding of all monuments of national interest found in the territory of the province.

The complete safeguarding of all Italian toponymy in Alto Adige.

The complete safeguarding of Monumento alla Vittoria, with the development of the park behind.

The indefinite postponement of the pharaonic [gargantuan] project to restore and enlarge the Civic Museum of Bolzano.

The institution of a museum association for the *Semirurale*, with its inclusion in the city circuit of museums.

(unitalia-movimento.it. Accessed 11th March 2015. My translation, emphasis. In original)

The statute continues the list of monuments, defensive structures and public works projects to be protected, and which date from the years of the Fascist regime, all of which very much giving a sense of protecting the means by which the process of Italianisation was inscribed on the territory (not only the people) of South Tyrol-Alto Adige. The *Semirurale* were part of particular type of housing project, which were built for the Italian-speakers who were encouraged to relocate to Bolzano during the Fascist years. In this context, the proposal to block the Civic Museum project is understood since it is a repository of city history from the 18th to 20th centuries and thus tells a story in conflict with the Italianity and Italianisation of the city and province (www.comune.bolzano.it accessed 18th March 2015)

Figures 36 to 38 show the Schützen and unofficial counter-protestors. These were separated from each other by barriers and a police presence of 200 police officers, some brought in from other cities (L'Alto Adige 9th November 2008). This appeared much more of a spontaneous gathering. There were no visible leaders and no clear purpose, apart from demonstrating physically and verbally their contrary sentiments to the Schützen marchers. Although there were no arrests, the press quoted Guido Rispoli, the Italian state official responsible for law and order, as saying 'To be sure, for coexistence [between the language groups], this has not been a good day.' (L'Alto Adige 9th November 2008).



Figure 36 Spontaneous anti-Schützen protesters in front of the monument and separated from the Schützen by a barrier and police (not shown).



Figure 37 The view of the counter-protest from the perspective of the Schützen marchers, with Italian Tricolours circled.



Figure 38 Police keep separate counter-protestors from Schützen marchers

6.1.3c Aftermath: La Russa's Wreath & Questions in Parliament

Response by the Italian centre-right coalition government to the Schützen protest was swift, and symbolic. The same evening the Italian Minister of Defence, Ignazio della Russa (of *Alleanza Nazionale*), ordered the senior military and civil authority officials in the province to lay a wreath at the monument the following morning, before the official Remembrance Day ceremonies, organised for the first Sunday after 4th November at a nearby military cemetery (L'Alto Adige 10th September 2008)

This action by caused SVP MPs (Karl Zeller, seconded by Siegfried Brugger) to table a parliamentary question, requiring a written response, to Minister of Defence La Russa on 19th November 2008 (banchedati.camera.it accessed 17th April 2010). The question they asked is worth reproducing in part:

...it is right to commemorate and respect all the fallen from wars, but it is considered that a monument to the fascist legacy, bearing the inscription "There (are) the boundaries of the Fatherland. Plant the banner! From here, we educated others with language, laws, with the professions/arts', built on top of an existing Austro-Hungarian monument, is not the right place, especially if such a decision ignites conflict between the different language groups. Would the minister consider it appropriate to clarify what the reasons were for the late decision to place a wreath to the fallen at the Victory Monument, causing unnecessary controversy amongst German and Ladin-speaking citizens that could threaten the peaceful coexistence between the language groups in Province of Bolzano?

(Interrogazione a risposta scritta 4-01671 presentata da KARL ZELLER mercoledì 19 novembre 2008, seduta n.089. My translation)

The response by the Minister of Defence, La Russa, which came four months later, is also worth citing, at least in part:

‘The date of 4th November is certainly a moment to remember those who fell for the freedom and independence of their country... with regard to the specific question concerning the laying of a wreath in memory of the fallen of the war of 1915-1918, I can clarify that in Bolzano, as in 19 other Italian cities, one in each region, on the occasion of 90th anniversary of end of the First World War, there were important events, exhibitions and ceremonies dedicated to remember and honour all the fallen.

The same inscription printed on the wreath placed at the Victory Monument at Bolzano reads: 'For the fallen of all the armies that fought in the Great War.' There is therefore no reason to want to attach a different meaning to the deposition of a laurel wreath at the monument which commemorates the end of the First World War...

...It was, in fact, in the trenches of 1915-1918, with young men of a hundred dialects, that national unity was truly born.

... It's impressive the number of those who paid the ultimate price for their commitment to the homeland, for freedom, for the edification of a democratic state, for peace among peoples.

(Risposta scritta pubblicata venerdì 27 marzo 2009 nell'allegato B della seduta n. 154 All'Interrogazione 4-01671 presentata da KARL ZELLER. My translation)

This parliamentary question and answer synthesises the conflicting discourses occupying the semiotic space that is Monumento alla Vittoria. For the Minister of Defence La Russa,

Monumento alla Vittoria represents the sacrifice made for territorial gain and “national unity”, whilst for Zeller it represents an intent to assimilate the language group(s) present in that territory, in a patent disregard for the pre-existing ‘language, law and vocational competences’ of the inhabitants of Bolzano and South Tyrol.

5.6.2 Interaction 2: The Wreath-laying by the Italian political right 4th November 2009

The year following the above presented Schützen protest (and Unitalia counter-protest), Bolzano’s right and centre-right political parties (Unitalia and Popolo della Libertà respectively) organised separate ceremonies, one after the other, to lay wreaths at Monumento alla Vittoria. These events were very different to the Schützen event, except that again, they involved little or no language: there were no speeches or oral presentations of any kind at the monument. It might also be considered a response, displaced by one year, to the Schützen protest discussed earlier.

To give a visual sense of the event, I include screenshots from a video of the event which was posted to youtube.com by the Südtiroler Schützenbund (the same organisation we saw in section 5.6.1) on 4th November 2009: the same evening as the wreath-laying (www.youtube.com accessed 18th September 2010). The Schützenbund also added captions to the video and included, below the video, an explanatory text in German and Italian. In Italy, 4th November is a day to remember those members of the armed forces killed in action. There are military parades, ceremonies and wreaths laid, by civilian and military dignitaries, at war memorials across the country. Until 1996 in Bozen-Bolzano,

these events were held at Monumento alla Vittoria. The events were moved to other sites of remembrance in the city, due to this monument's particular historical relationship with Fascism. Earlier in the day on 4th November 2009, there had been official ceremonies in Bozen-Bolzano, attended by the military leaders and politicians from the German and Italian-speaking political parties. The event described here, in this section, was in no way official. Figure 39 shows the wreath-laying.



Figure 39 Veterans lay "unofficial" wreaths at Monumento alla Vittoria. Note the Italian tricolours, the military banner in the background and the colours of the Italian flag on the wreath about to be laid.

5.6.2a The Principal Social Actors

In figure 40, four figures are visible in the foreground. The first, on the left is a bugler, wearing the distinctive *vaira*, or plumed headdress of the Bersaglieri, a historic Italian

light infantry regiment. The three others who are visible are important figures from the political life of Bolzano-Bozen, who have represented the Italian right from local to international levels.



Figure 40 *Historical* figures from the Italian-speaking political right at Monumento alla Vittoria

The tall man in beige at the centre of the frame, saluting, is Giovanni Benussi. In 2005 he was elected mayor of Bolzano on a slim majority as an independent supported by the Italian (language) right and centre right, managing only to stay in office for one month. At the time of this ceremony, he was a city councillor (www.comune.bolzano.it. Accessed 19th August 2013). Here Benussi is wearing the hat of an *Alpino*, Italy's elite Alpine troops similar to the one we saw the Schützen counter-protestor wearing in the previous section (see figure 35).

The woman next to him is Adriana Pasquali, a Bolzano-Bozen based lawyer and ex-senator, elected with *Alleanza Nazionale*, a party of the Italian right (www.senato.it. Accessed 19th August 2013). On the far right, also wearing military headdress is Pietro Mitolo. According to Pallaver (2007b:563 & 581), Mitolo was a founder member of the Bolzano-Bozen provincial branch of *Movimento Sociale Italiano*, the post Second World War regrouping, or continuation, according to Hobsbawm (1995:175), of the Italian Fascist Party. In fact the brief biography provided of him by the Italian Parliament shows that he fought for Mussolini's *Repubblica Sociale Italiana*: the Fascist polity which continued to fight with Nazi Germany after the Italian armistice of 1943 (dati.camera.it Accessed 19th August 2013). Mitolo served as a Bolzano-Bozen city councillor with MSI from 1948 to 1994, and then again from 1995-2010 with *Alleanza Nazionale* (www.comune.bolzano.it accessed 19th August 2013). From 1973 until 1988 he served in various roles in the Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol Regional Autonomous council; from 1974 to 1984 in various roles in the Autonomous Provincial Council of Bolzano-Bozen (www.consiglio-bz.org. Accessed 19th August 2013). He was also a member of the Italian national parliament from 1994 to 2001 (storia.camera.it accessed 19th August 2013). From 1992 until 1994 he was also a Member of the European Parliament, elected with the party MSI, served as a member of the Committee on Regional Policy, Regional Planning and Relations with Regional and Local Authorities, and a substitute on the Committee on Development and Cooperation (www.europarl.europa.eu accessed 19th August 2013). He was also part of the delegation for EU relations with Poland and the EU-Poland Joint Parliamentary Committee (*ibid*).

Significantly, as part of the day's celebrations, both groups had also laid wreaths at the tomb of Ettore Tolomei. Tolomei is responsible for the proscription of the German language and South Tyrolean culture during the Fascist years and the Italianisation of place names throughout the province (Alcock 1970:33-34): an issue which still causes great controversy. It should be pointed out that these were not state-authorized celebrations, even though it was the centre-right that governed Italy during this period. Rather, they were an expression by representatives of the local parties. However, such a distinction appears lost on representatives of the German-speaking community.

5.6.2b Aftermath

In a speech to the provincial autonomous council, the provincial president, Luis Durnwalder (SVP), stated 'I think the problem is not the existence of the monuments but it's a scandal the fact that even today there are people who go to honour them, after all that has happened to the citizens of this province because of the dictatorships.' (l'Alto Adige 4th Nov 2009. My translation). Thus for Durnwalder, it is not the monuments as sculptural works of art that are the problem (as Monumento all Vittoria is not the only Fascist era monument in the province), but rather that reference is continually made to the discourses and events they represent.

In March 2010, some months after the wreath-laying ceremony discussed in this section, views were expressed at Südtiroler Volkspartei 'Forum Heimat', an internal convention of the SVP, the governing German-language party. In the local German-language newspaper, Dolomitten, the following statement was registered:

Those who constantly provoke the German and Ladin minorities and add nothing at all to help the peaceful coexistence of the three language groups, cannot qualify for the SVP as a partner in government” says Andreas Varesco, Jürgen Rella, Franz Josef and Harald Roner Mair from the Forum Heimat.’

(Dolomitten. 30th March 2010. My translation)

Thus, the actions by the Italian political right continue to form an obstacle to their working together with German-language representatives on an institutional level.

5.7 Interaction 3: A Monument to Other Victories?

The final *interaction* I wish to present is very different from those presented in the previous two sections, and very different in a number of ways. This interaction could be described as neither *for* nor *against* the monument, in the ways we have seen in the previous exemplary interactions. It is also markedly different to the interactions in sections 5.6.1 and 5.6.2 in that the timescale over which this interaction unfolded (and is continuing to unfold) is also far more protracted.

5.7.1 The Commission

Arguably one the most important recent developments has been the bringing together of a working party including representatives of the national government, the province and the city to elaborate proposals on how to historicise and disempower the monument and the discourses it represents. This commission was made up historians of art, of regional history, the director of the city’s historical archives and the director of the city’s museums, who worked together to develop the themes which the museum should cover,

concluding this initial phase with a report in May 2011 (Wissenschaftskonzept-IT), the *Monumento alla Vittoria Museum Concept Report*. In the report they outline:

The objective shared by the three institutions is to finally resolve, in a European spirit, a problem which is capable of periodically creating tensions and divisions in the social and political fabric of the city and province of Bolzano. In other words, the presence, in the heart of the provincial capital, of a monument which has immense rhetorical impact, characterised in the first instance by constituent elements which are expressive of the culture and ideology of Fascism...A carefully considered exhibition [of which] would allow the bringing to light the ideological significance of the monument.

(www.monumentoallavittoria.com. Accessed 19th August 2015).

In accomplishing this task, the commission turned to external consultants for the presentation of the materials chosen. This permanent exhibition was given the name: BZ '18 – '45 One Monument, One City, Two Dictators. This title covers the key historical period related to the monument and city, referencing both the period of Fascism and the Nazi occupation after the Italian armistice in 1943. In this name we see the intersection of time and space: with elements, some of which are linked to global geopolitics that have impacted, and continue to have an impact on Bolzano-Bozen. Implicit in this is the fact that the historical period covered actually begins before World War One, when *Bozen* was still very much a part of the Germanic social space, and continues to the historical present.

After these lengthy, politically sensitive negotiations between the Italian national government, the autonomous provincial council and the Bozen-Bolzano city council, in June 2014, Monumento alla Vittoria was once again opened to the public. The space directly underneath, has become a museum with three overlapping themes: the history of the monument, a twentieth-century of history of the province and an interrogation of monuments in general.

The commission and external consultants developed four exhibitions, plus an installation art work, together with informative material for visitors in German, Italian, Ladin and English (some of which is on display panels, some of which is in the form of literature, to accompany the visit and to be taken away. See figure 41).

In fact it was at this stage that I became actively involved in the project in a small way. In Bolzano-Bozen I am an ESOL teacher, freelance English consultant and translator, having already worked on guides for some of the many museums in South Tyrol-Alto Adige. I was approached by the Historical Archives of the City of Bolzano-Bozen to translate and edit the English-language version of the visitor materials, thereby (in a very minimal way) adding my own voice the discourses of the monument.

5.7.2 The Exhibition: BZ '18 – '45 One Monument, One City, Two Dictators

Beginning with the exterior, the monument itself has been left relatively untouched, except for an LED ring which carries the name of the exhibition, placed on one of the columns at the front (visible in figure 23, earlier). As Gruppe Gut, the external consultants, explain in their concept report (Wissenschaftskonzept-IT), this LED ring carries more than an informative function:

The writing on the ring around the column on the front of Monumento alla Vittoria creates an artificial charge of symbolism: this minimal intervention Vittoria creates an artificial charge of symbolism: this minimal intervention contests the monumentalism. The ring *weds* [the monument] to democracy and neutralises the impression of potency

(www.monumentoallavittoria.com. Accessed 23rd August 2015)

p 11)



Figure 41 Facsimile of visitor literature for the Monumento alla Vittoria permanent exhibition (www.monumentoallavittoria.com. Accessed 23rd August 2015)

The substance of the museum can be found in the space below the monument (see figure 42 for the layout). Here there are three exhibitions, plus the installation art work. The first two exhibitions (shown by the two red arrows in figure 42) are largely historical. The inner exhibition tells the story of the monument, including a presentation of the unfinished Austro-Hungarian monument which was destroyed to make way for

Monumento alla Vittoria. The *outer* exhibition on the gives the story of the province and city, from the period just before it became part of Italy.

The installation art work is in the crypt (see *cripta*, figure 42) and takes the form of a white-light laser display. The crypt contains two frescoes and Latin quotations from the Roman philosopher Cicero and the Roman poet Horace which glorify the nation and sacrifice. The frescoes are allegories of the Guardian of History and the Guardian of the Fatherland. The installation work projects quotations attributed to Hannah Arendt (nobody has the right to obey), Bertolt Brecht (Unhappy is the land in need of heroes), and Thomas Paine (It is the duty of the patriot to protect his country from its government). These circle the crypt in German, English and Italian and can be seen to contest both the content and the form of the Latin inscriptions they superimpose.

The plurality of languages can also be seen as an attempt at inclusion, in contrast to the ancient dead language underneath, chosen by the Fascist regime as an imaginary link to ancient Rome and claims this indexes. I would argue that including English, a “global” language in the materials and exhibitions not only widens accessibility, to those from other parts of the world, it also has the effect of transposing discussion to a position outside the geographical confines of the province.

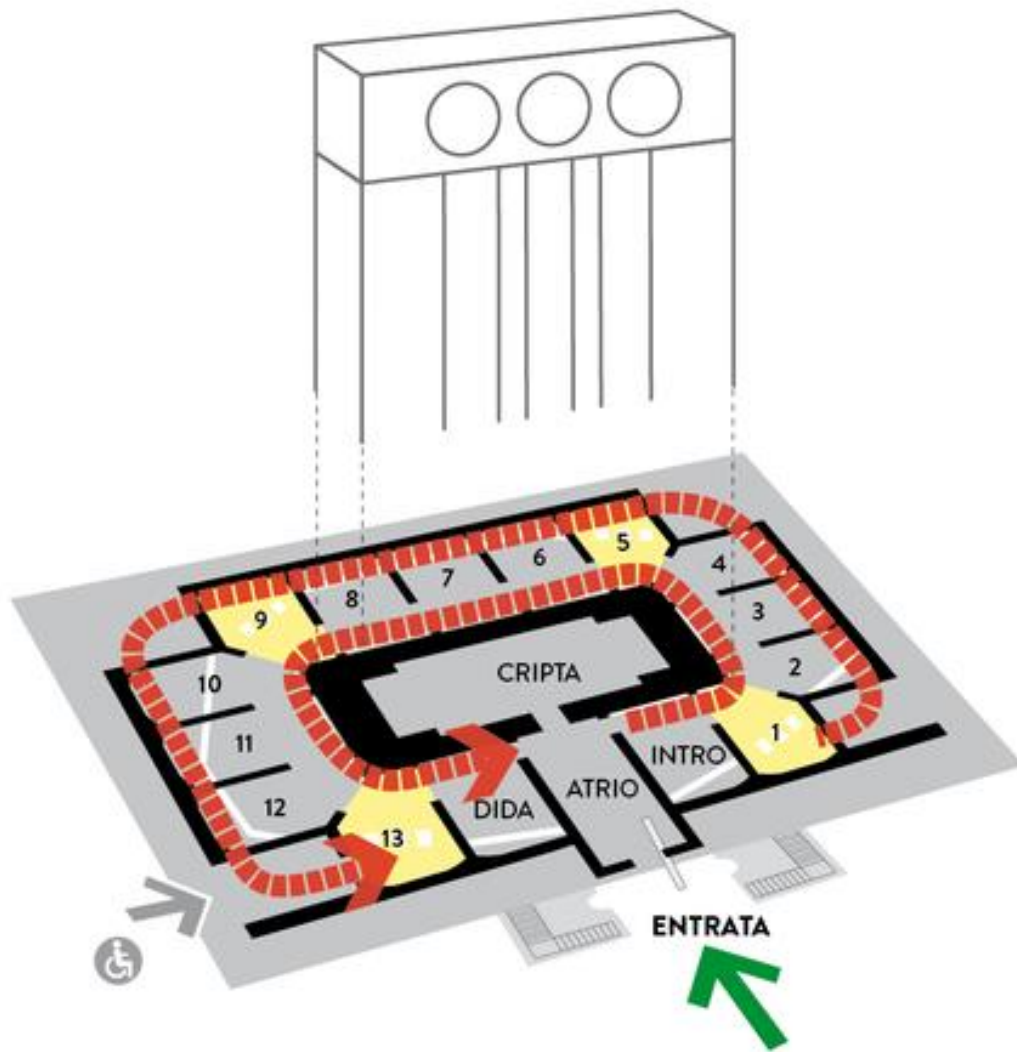


Figure 42 The Layout of the exhibitions at Monumento alla Vittoria (www.monumentoallavittoria.com. Accessed 23rd August 2015)

The final figure (figure 43) shows the last display panel of the museum exhibition. It shows the *Piazza della Pace* street sign that was emplaced and then removed, following the referendum in 2002 (see section 5.3), together with the display panel from which I have borrowed title for this section.

The museum space itself is not enormous, and yet within the first year, it reportedly received almost 40,000 people (L'Alto Adige 20th July 2015).



Figure 43 Display panel from the museum (from which I took the title for section 5.7)

5.8 Drawing the strands together

In concluding this chapter, there are a number of themes from the three overarching interactions that I would now like to focus on. As I stated in section 5.2, in which I provided the theoretical underpinning of Geosemiotics, analysis looks primarily at social action in relation to signs, fixing on a composite of the actors and the way they interact with a sign, the visual elements of the sign and finally, the locational aspects of the sign. The fundamental theoretical principles for examining these aspects are indexicality, dialogicality (or dialogism) and selection.

For reasons of space, and coherence, I have had to limit the focus on the social actors and their interactions with the monument. Arguably, it would be possible to expand analysis greatly, to analyse the more situated interactions which occurred within these overarching interactions. However, the goal here has been to understand how and why Monumento alla Vittoria was an integral part of discourses on bi-/multilingualism in the province during the period of data collection.

Especially with the principal interactions in 6.1 and 6.2, a discursive analysis focusing on language would be difficult, due to the paucity of linguistic exchanges in these interactions. For the Schützen march, there were placards which carried messages, and speeches made at the end, but for the march, the counter-protest and the wreath-laying, the main communicative characteristic was silence. We do see, however, how these actors *somatise*, or “wear” discourses on their bodies, through their choice of clothing, or *sign equipment* (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:50). The Schützen marchers wore their distinctive uniforms, uniforms which have differences dictated geographically, since the

uniform of each Schützen company varies, depending on the town or village from which it comes. Thus, there is layered sense of identity manifested on the body of these actors. The counter protestors (in section 5.6.1b) and those who placed the wreath at the monument (in section 5.6.2) can also be seen *somatising* Italian nationalist discourse, through the wearing of military headdress.

Turning to the discourses of the monument, it is clear by now that I argue is that it is not only the language elements of the monument, i.e. the Latin inscriptions, which are the discourse to be analysed. Rather, the entire monument constitutes discourse— multiple discourses, in fact – in itself. This, I argue, is shown in evidence from the historical analysis in section 5.3, together with the aims of the project to historicise the monument (section 5.6.3), demonstrating how Monumento alla Vittoria was always intended to be a statement, or utterance, by the Fascist regime. It is here specifically that Mikhail Bakhtin’s work on speech acts and genres proves particularly useful. When it is seen as an utterance, or a speech act (or utterances and speech acts), in the broadest sense, then it is subject to dialogical processes in the same way as any other utterance, with speakers and listeners. As Bakhtin shows:

‘[w]hen the listener perceives and understands the meaning (the language meaning) of speech, he [*sic.*] simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees with it (completely or partially), augments it, applies it, prepares for its execution, and so on.’

(1986:68).

Opening up *listener* mean *recipient*, and considering the monument to be a speech genre, in the Bakhtinian sense, we begin to see how the monument is part of the complex matrix of discourses around language issues in Bolzano.

However, there is a problem of time, in that it could be reasonably argued that the utterance is long since said. The question here, to my mind, becomes why or how Monumento alla Vittoria is placed alongside other more “obvious” or “current” discourses on language today, almost eighty-five years since it was built, and almost seventy years since the fall of the regime that willed its existence? Once again, Bakhtin is of assistance, arguing:

..an utterance is not always followed immediately by an articulated response.

He continues, showing that:

[s]ooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech or behavior of the listener. In most cases, **genres of complex cultural communication are intended precisely for this kind of actively responsive understanding with delayed action.**

(1986:68-69, my emphasis.).

Another point, regarding the perceived meaning of the monument can be seen in the question asked by the SVP MPs in the Italian parliament cited in section 5.6.1c. Here, Blommaert reminds that

...what we call ‘meaning’ in communication is something which is, on the one hand, produced by a speaker/writer, but still has to be granted by someone

else. This can be done co-operatively and on the basis of sharedness and equality, but it need not, it can also be done by force, unilaterally, as an act of power and an expression of inequality.'

(2005:37)

Allowing further analytical leverage, Blommaert argues that the way that the layered nature of historicity – the discursive and ideological resources from which to draw and speak – can potentially create a tension in continuity (and discontinuity) in meanings (2005:131). Further, these (dis)continuities can become synchronised within a single scale, resulting in precise political or ideological positions in discourse (ibid). So by orientating to different historical discourses and interpretations of events, the 'unsharedness' of the meaning of Monumento alla Vittoria translates into the diametric political positions assumed by these actors. Put crudely, in his answer, the Minister of Defence (section 5.6.1c), in such an 'act of power' does not accept the meaning of the monument to representatives of the German-speaking community in Bolzano.

The idea that Monumento alla Vittoria contains multiple and conflicting discourses is not new, Steininger (2002:38) highlights this point. In fact Scollon and Wong Scollon are clear that '...there is no place where one might find a single semiotic system in place making meanings within that system alone...' (2003:175). However, the aspect that I would argue is novel is placing the monument-as-discourse as part of discourses on language, going back at least to 1927 (indexing other discourses, themselves documented from the 1890s (Grote 2012:16), and that it forms a *semiotic aggregate*.

As Scollon & Wong Scollon argue (2003:168), these semiotic aggregates comprise the way that the built environment and the social action – the intersections of a multiplicity of discourses - interrelate. There is, to use their words an ‘interdiscursive dialogicality’, produced by the centripetal forces, or coming together and fusion of discourses (ibid).

Thus, on the provincial political level at least, Monumento alla Vittoria is demonstrated as a semiotic aggregate, collecting and distributing discourses through the centrifugal and centripetal forces of aggregation. Together with discourses on bi-/multilingual education, we see how semiotic resources in the physical world (place names and Monumento alla Vittoria) occupies two out of the three most important issues relating not simply to multilingualism in Bolzano.

How or what these three tell us about the relation between language and the physical world is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PRODUCTION OF SOCIAL SPACE IN BOLZANO-BOZEN: LANGUAGE, IDENTITY, HEGEMONY

[A]ny semiotic system is embedded within a cultural semiotic landscape.

Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:146

6.1 Introduction

In the opening of chapter 1 of this thesis, I began with a newspaper article previewing the three data sets which were to follow on:

1. discourses on language and education (particularly bi-/multilingual education) in the province of Bolzano-Bozen;
2. the naming of place in different languages; and
3. Monumento alla Vittoria.

I include a table (Table 7) which summarises the data presented in chapters 3 to 5, including the type/scale of data. Here I organise the data under the headings 'Language & Education' and 'Language & Territory' (which correspond to sections 6.2 (Re)Producing Social Space and 6.3 (Re) Producing the Linguistic Market in this chapter). Overall, these

are divided along the lines of the data chapters, however there are instances in which these discursive themes are explicitly linked by the social actors, and so fall within both.

Discourse	Scale/type		Data set
Language & Education: <i>(Re)Producing the Linguistic Market</i>	Spoken Interaction	Chapter 3	3.3 – “ Panel Game”
	Spoken Interaction	Chapter 3	3.7 – Changing Views: An alternative SVP
	Spoken Interaction	Chapter 3	3.8 – The Children of Priests
	Historical institutional discourse	Chapter 3	3.5 – Lang & Ed in the Province through, Time & Space
	Historical institutional discourse	Chapter 4	4.4 – Chasing down Trajectories: The Italianisation of South Tyrol
	Legal Discourse	Chapter 3	3.4 – Special Statute of Autonomy 1972
	Media Discourse	Chapter 3	3.6 – In the News: Durnwalder says “no”
Language & Territory: <i>(Re)Producing Social Space</i>	Media Discourse	Chapter 3	3.6 – In the News: Durnwalder says “no”
	Spoken Interaction	Chapter 4	4.2 – Polyglot on Place Names

Discourse	Scale/type		Data set
	Historical institutional discourse	Chapter 4	4.4 – Chasing down Trajectories: The Italianisation of South Tyrol
	Semiotic (photographic)	Chapter 4	4.5 — Contesting Names & Signs in the Present
	Legal & Institutional Discourse (local to global)	Chapter 4	4.6 – Institutional & Political Discourse
	Visual Semiotic	Chapter 5	5.4. The Visual Semiotics of Monumento alla Vittoria
	Place Semiotic	Chapter 5	5.5 The Place Semiotics of Monumento alla Vittoria
	Political Discourse	Chapter 5	5.6.1 – The Schützen Protest
	Social Action	Chapter 5	5.6.1 – The Schützen Protest
	Social Action	Chapter 5	5.6.2 – The Wreath-laying by the Italian political right
	Social Action	Chapter 5	5.6.3 – A Monument to Other Victories?

Table 7 Summary of discourses and data scale/type presented in this thesis

The table illustrates how discourses on language and education, or language and territory can be found across different genres, across different spaces and in different times: very

much in line with Scollon and Wong Scollon's idea that nothing happens in a social, political (and, implicitly, historical) vacuum (2004: viii).

For 'Language & Education', I began by observing talk in a site of engagement (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:12) which went on to become the nexus of practice of this study.

Through analysis of this I found that I had to interrogate the laws and regulations which govern the linguistically-separate education systems in the province. This drew me in the direction of trying to understand why, or for what given reasons, such laws were deemed necessary. In order to answer this question, I had to examine what had gone before. This led me to examine not only the period of Fascist Italianisation, but the ideas, discourses and social (and political) action from the nineteenth century: the period in which ideologies of language and national identity were cemented (Gal & Irvine 1995), informing policy and political (and social) action far beyond South Tyrol and Italy into the present.

At the same time, and as my understanding of the discourse itineraries related to language and education deepened, I continued to look at the present. As I became a 'legitimate participant' (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004:11) of Polyglot, I moved it from being a site of engagement to a nexus of practice. Here, I observed more talk in the public meetings which threw ideas of "language and national identity" into stark relief, and from different ideological positions. In chapter 3, we see these ideas contested by Polyglot parents – who directly challenge the idea of language and identity (section 3.8) – but we also see this in Mair's view of language-as-commodity (section 3.7). Also present in public discourse is resistance to any change to the position of language in identity, shown in

Durnwalder's newspaper interview, in section 3.6. As discussed, this position points to the education system as a way of protecting the speakers of German, and thereby protection of the linguistic market in the province. Yet the position on education that Durnwalder evinces contains explicit reference to territorial and spatial and territorial considerations.

In examining 'Language & Territory', once again I began my data presentation with talk from Polyglot discourses of social space and territory. However, as I state in chapter 4 (section 4.2), I had been following particularly the place names debate from outside the nexus of practice. I looked to how place names were represented by social actors in the media, but also in the territory in the present. To grasp this, I once again had to look to what had gone before. I reviewed the historical data collected on education, including the 1972 Special Statute of Autonomy and the earlier social action during the Fascist years (especially Tolomei's 'discorso'). I found how place names were used in tandem with education to make first "Italian" social space, then later to provide compromise solutions which respected the names used by residents who speak German and Italian. Doing so provided a deep ethnographic understanding of the relationship between language and territory in Bozen-Bolzano, which led back to the present, and the identification of the legal/institutional discursive data. The semiotic data in chapter 4 (section 4.5) also show how these discourses could be found in the social action of unknown actors defacing public signage, or in "somatising" or wearing (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003:50) place name signs as a parody costume during Carnival 2011.

Somatizing discourse also becomes important in the analysis of Monumento alla Vittoria (chapter 5), in which items of clothing worn by actors can be seen as indicative of positions held towards the territory as social space. The clothing accompanies the actual social action in the protest march and the wreath laying. It was these events which led to historical analysis of the situation which led to the building of the monument, which in turn led to an understanding of how it was linked to language in the public sphere (see figure 22 and the prohibition of German in public). The analysis of the visual and place semiotics of the monument itself (chapter 5 sections 5.4 & 5.5), demonstrate how these elements were meticulously produced to symbolise the remaking of Southern Tyrol as Alto Adige: or Italian social space. Here, perhaps obviously than anywhere, I foreground the actual social action(s) and interactions with the monument-as-sign.

My interest, and the question to be answered, was why and how these three issues were central to public discourse on bi-/multilingualism during the period of research. After a discussion of the theoretical and methodological aspects, I moved to discuss each of the above issues individually, to understand why each had a dominant presence in discourses on bilingualism during the period of research. Having explored each of these separately, I now look to recompose them, to understand how they fit together and what they can tell us about language in the material world (after Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) in the city and province of Bozen-Bolzano.

In essence, I wish to draw the argument in the direction of understanding the importance of social space, through time. I show how history permeates social space and the discursive and broader social activity of actors in the construction of the social world, how

they themselves are constructed, and how language – especially what people hold language to be – has played a central role in this research context. This means seeing social space not simply as the locale in which discourse takes place but rather, as Holloway and Kneale (2000) argue, seeing social space itself as dialogic – deeply so – something which is being approached (see for example Blommaert 2013, also especially Busch 2013), but, and herein lies my thesis, which needs to be given greater emphasis, if we are to understand more fully the complex meshing of what might be considered separately as the discursive and the geographical: especially in South Tyrol-Alto Adige.

The overarching approach I have used has been Scollonian Nexus Analysis which, as we saw in chapter 2, Blommaert (2013:28) describes as product of a reflection on intertextuality. Importantly, the focus of Nexus Analysis is on social action, rather than discourse, or text in any two-dimensional sense. That discourses in the abovementioned data sets were connected by social actors when discussing bilingualism, would strongly suggest that social actors construct, or at least perceive intertextual relationships between them. Through Nexus Analysis and Geosemiotics, I have sought to interrogate the data sets presented. Each data set is generically different and further, in deconstructing and seeking to understand them, I have looked for further data within the subsets that is also generically different, in order to triangulate findings. This has indeed been deliberate since, following Bauman and Briggs (1992, especially here pp147-8), there is a great deal to be gained analytically not only from *textual* intertextuality, but also *generic* intertextuality. Turning to Bakhtin (1986), Bauman and Briggs show how genres in and of themselves have strong historical associations with connections to distinct groups in ideological and political-economic terms. Thus, it is not only the

invoking of a word or discursive phrasing which creates indexical connections, it is genre chosen which also links to other periods, events, people or places.

In the context of this study, for example, this means seeing Monumento alla Vittoria as a specific genre, indexing ancient Imperial Rome. With the Schützen, it is not only the statement in their statute (chapter 5, section 5.6.1a) which should be approached as a genre, but also the very specific clothing they wear should also be understood as a communicative genre. Paying such attention to genres can prove useful in seeking to understand negotiations of identity, and power, since it is through the genres chosen that social actors claim their authority, in their ability to decontextualize and recontextualise discourse in the *here and now* to make social connections across different spatio-temporal contexts.

This focus on time and space as a unit of analysis is not, of course, novel in itself. Rather, through Bakhtin's work on the *chronotope*, as '...an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring...' (1984:425-6), it has become a staple of the area of sociolinguistics which concerns itself with discourse analysis. As Blommaert notes (2015:111), in its most rudimentary form, a chronotope is a configurations of past times and places which are invoked in discursive events. Certainly in the preceding data, one of the recurring chronotopes brings the Fascist domination, and past attempts at assimilation of people and territory, through the imposition of the Italian language on both, right into the present.

An important point stressed by Blommaert (2015:110) is that for Bakhtin, history is not confined to concepts of time, but it is rather spatio-temporal. Thus, the chronotope

privileges neither time nor space in its conceptual configuration. Nevertheless, there is still a subtle sense, from the way it is described by Blommaert, that the historical is foregrounded over the spatial. The spatial aspect of the chronotope, if I am reading him correctly, still appears subsumed in the “moment” of discourse.

However, the geographer Folch-Serra (1990) argues that for Bakhtin, the chronotope, together with other Bakhtinian concepts, are inscribed as much on the landscape as on the discourse which occurs there. Through the contestation of the naming of place from the data, but also Monumento alla Vittoria, we see evidence of how, as Harvey (1989:204) argues ‘ [e]ach distinctive mode of production or social formation will, in short, embody a distinctive bundle of time and space practices and concepts.’ Elements of *social formations*, which have been historically and legally constructed as the German-speaking and Italian-speaking communities respectively, have acted – physically and discursively – to demonstrate their particular ideological positions, through their responses to these discourses in the physical world and how the actual places themselves are represented, i.e. semiotically. This is evident in the data from the Polyglot meeting of place names, in which a member of the discussion talks of an Italian place name making a ‘false world’ (chapter 4 section 4.2.3). Further, as Folch-Serra notes (1990:263), by attending to the landscape, through chronotopic analysis, we ultimately arrive at the voice and ‘biases and ethnocentricities’ of social actors. This is because social space, as Lefebvre (1991) reminds, is socially constructed.

As such, I turn first to examine spatial aspects.

6.2 (Re)Producing Social Space in Bozen-Bolzano

In the chapters on place names and Monumento alla Vittoria, I make reference to Henri Lefebvre, and in particular, his monograph *The Production of Social Space* (1991). This has guided my understanding of what was happening with language and semiotic data, in what Scollon and Scollon (2003) describe as the material world. In this section, I wish to delve further into the work of Lefebvre and apply elements of it more directly to analysis. In doing so, I follow Jaworski and Thurlow (2010, who in turn follow Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003) and Busch (2013). As Busch notes, interest in space and spatiality has become increasingly important in the social sciences (2013:199). In sociolinguistics, this can be readily seen especially, for example, in Shohamy and Gorter's (2009) landmark edited volume on linguistic landscapes, Thurlow and Jaworski (2010), who prefer *semiotic* landscapes, or closer to the ideas contained herein, Busch (2013), Blommaert (2013) or Pietikäinen *et al* (2014).

In discussing social space, Henri Lefebvre (1991:33) develops what he calls a triad of interrelated concepts: spatial practice, representations of spaces and representational spaces (see figure 44). *Spatial practice* refers to the production and reproduction and how space is appropriated. Note that the *reproduction* aspect infers open-ended continual renewal: a point to be returned to through the work Bakhtin. *Representations of space* is concerned with the relations or *order* imposed by those relations. Although seemingly abstract, they play an important role in social and political practice, being ideologically loaded and in a process of continual change (1991:40). The final concept in Lefebvre's triad is possibly the most recognisable from a sociolinguistic perspective:

representational space. *Representational space* is the space of those who inhabit or use the space, being the space which makes use of symbolic objects and signs, particularly extra-linguistic, and it is this aspect which shows the domination of space (*ibid.*). Rather helpfully, Lefebvre glosses this interconnected triad as the *perceived-conceived-lived* (1991:40) and when approached as such, as Busch summarises from the work of others (2013:199), we see that for Lefebvre, social space is not simply a container, but becomes itself an instrument for analysing society (1991:34). Further, in applying this instrument for social analysis, and since social space is produced, we are talking unavoidably about historical processes (1991:46): a fusing of what might be considered separately as the temporal and the spatial, leading us once again to the analytical need for the work of Bakhtin and the chronotope.

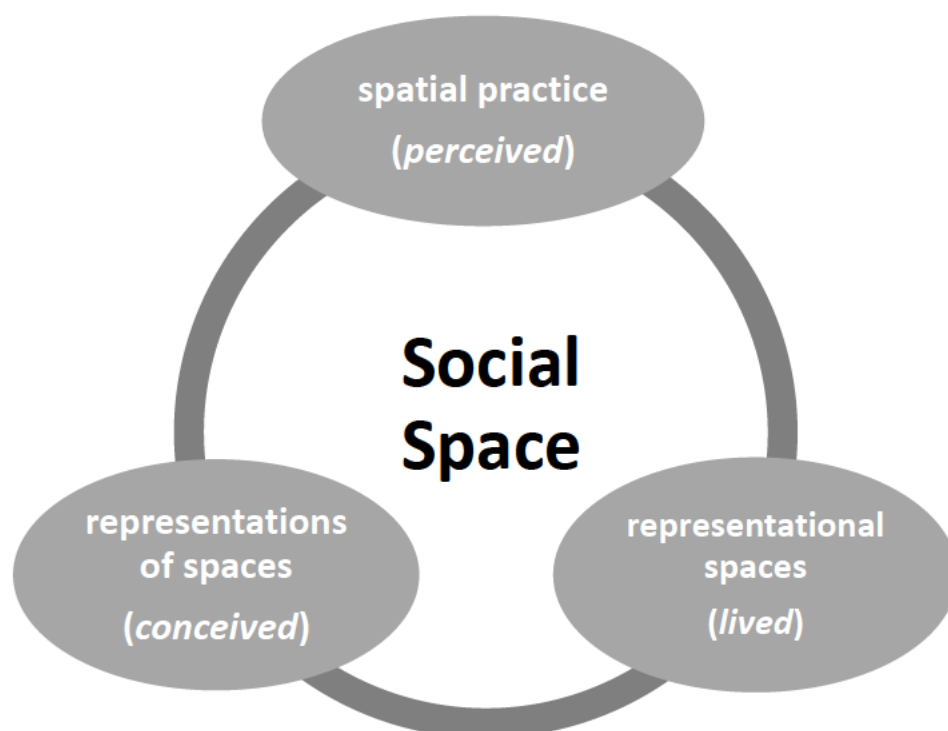


Figure 44 Lefebvre's triad of interrelated concepts for the production of social space

In chapters 4 & 5 I have carefully traced the historical process of making social space, particularly *Italian* social space, in the province. From the data, we see that chronologically, Italian-language place names were created and came into use in a period in which the Italian state (the Kingdom of Italy) was still being formed, with its borders expanding. This process was given momentum by the Italian nationalist *Risorgimento* movement, which relied on the myth of Italy's "resurrection" (Riall 2009). Ettore Tolomei, as we have seen (chapter 1 section 1.3.2 & chapter 4 section 4.4), firmly believed the territory to be "naturally" Italian and discursively (re)constructed southern Tyrol as Alto Adige, thereby seeking to make Italian social space. Names in the Italian language were manufactured or "rediscovered" to give the territory an Italian identity, even before the Italian state had taken possession of it. Afterwards, when Italy had taken possession, not only was the Italian language imposed upon the people who lived in the territory, but also on the territory itself, as Italy sought to make its borders permanent, with language being used as a primary instrument to achieve this. Here, we see in action what Bourdieu refers to when he says:

The official language is bound up with the state, both in its genesis and in its official uses. **It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language.** Obligatory on official occasions and in official places.

(Bourdieu 1992:45 my emphasis)

Tolomei, through the vehicle of Italian Fascism, sought to make the province a linguistic market which was unified with the rest of Italy, meaning that German language and culture had to be extirpated, underlining Lefebvre's observation that just as new social

spaces require new social relations, so new social relations call for new social spaces (1991:59). This was comprehensively not achieved and later *newer* social conditions, including the fall of Fascism, meant that following the Second World War, a subsequent social reality was created in which both the Italian and German languages were obliged by international treaty to share the same physical space. Here we see in action what Sheppard, discussing the work of David Harvey, sees as 'multiple spatialities', with social actors having discrete spatio-temporal perspectives on the same 'universe' (2006:130-1). The relationship between these multiple spatialities is described by Lefebvre when, turning to an analogy from hydrodynamics, he observes that:

Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia... [g]reat movements, vast rhythms, immense waves - these all collide and 'interfere' with one another; lesser movements, on the other hand, interpenetrate.

(Lefebvre 1991:86-87. Italics in original.).

This can be readily seen in a context such as South Tyrol-Alto Adige, a geographical area which can historically be typified as contact zone dating back to antiquity (see chapter 1 section 1.3).

The brief discussion of chronotopes, above, already initiates moves to finding answers to the question of how discourses (some of which are from or appeal to a distant past), are taken up and represented in the present to create Sheppard's 'multiple spatialities'. Or how, turning to Blommaert, we have an example of 'layered simultaneity' – meanings

which are produced simultaneously, though not necessarily accessible (or accessed) by those who view such texts and which can only be understood *historically* (Blommaert 2005:126). However, the question cannot be fully answered, I argue, and history itself can provide little analytical leverage here, if understood monochromatically, as a rectilinear chronology of events.

For Lefebvre:

When the history of a particular space is treated as such, the relationship of that space to the time which gave rise to it takes on an aspect that differs sharply from the picture generally accepted by historians. Traditional historiography assumes that thought can perform cross-sections upon time, arresting its flow without too much difficulty; its analyses thus tend to fragment and segment temporality. **In the history of space as such, on the other hand, the historical and diachronic realms and the generative past are forever leaving their inscriptions upon the writing-tablet, so to speak, of space.** The uncertain traces left by events are not the only marks on (or in) space: society in its actuality also deposits its script, the result and product of social activities. **Time has more than one writing-system.** The space engendered by time is always actual and synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its component parts are bound together by internal links and connections themselves produced by time.

(Lefebvre 1991:110 my emphasis)

Practically, in a context like South Tyrol-Alto Adige, this means that there are different, competing visions of the province where the socially semiotic manifestations of these diverse visions become the nodes of tension. This can be seen in the discursive tension

over place names and the Fascist monuments during the period of research, or the Austro-Hungarian monuments and German place names for Italian nationalists and Fascists in the past. In short, there are conflicting and competing social spaces for the same physical space, which not only index discourses across time, but index competing visions of the territory through history.

This is what is confirmed, I would argue, throughout the data here, with the common thread which appears to run through all the discourses presented, in whichever form they take, is the way the *in place* linguistic or semiotic resources (whether they orientate to German or Italian) appear to alter the vision of space and social relations within that particular space. This is brought into relief through the way they are (and have been) contested, since social space incorporates social actions of both individual and groups of social actors (Lefebvre 1991:33).

Thus, the place names and signs in Bozen-Bolzano belong to a 'local political economy of languages' (Pietikäinen et al. 2011:278), that whilst local, have had periods of intense dialogue and involvement in supra-national discourses, with discourse itineraries which appear to have evolved over different timescales for different actors, and which reveal and reflect the identity positions of these different actors. The pendulous shifts in hegemony from one linguistically defined group to the other over the course of the last century to the present, allows a view of how identity, here based very much on language spoken, can impose itself on the physical world to make social space. From Tolomei's *discorso* of 1923 (see chapter 4, section 4.3), together with the list of Italianised names still in use today, the naming of place was part of the programme to Italianise not only

the people of the province, but also the physical world. The international agreements reached, first as part of the Second World War peace treaty and subsequently under the tutelage of the United Nations, sought to protect, and give parity to Italian and German in the public domain (including institutionally and geographically). Yet as we have seen, particularly during the period of research, the legitimacy of Italian-language place names has become increasingly contested: both from inside and outside provincial institutions. Particularly with mountain path signs, we have seen the re-emergence of monolingual German signs, contravening the Special Statute of Autonomy (1972). This is also seen in the provincial law, still to be enacted at the time of writing, or better the rationale behind it (see chapter 4, section 4.6), in which German-speaking political leaders seek to reinterpret the agreements made since the 1946 Gruber-De Gasperi Accord, doing so by indexing internationally recognised and respected authorities on cartography and toponymy. This is justified on the grounds that a great majority of Italian place names have no historical basis even if, and despite their genesis, they have been in use by Italian speakers for approximately ninety years.

Outside institutional settings, we have also seen people contesting place names in different ways. The rather unique carnival costumes in chapter 4 (section 4.5.3) ridicule the *inventions of Tolomei*, but also the Republic of Italy and Italian speakers, who recognise and use these names. Interestingly, they do so through word plays of the local pronunciations of names and phrases, which are not from standard German. In doing so, they tacitly reveal a tension between the standard variety *Hochdeutsch* and the varieties of German spoken in the province: varieties which are very much linked to the territory. Somewhat ironically, the carnival costumes are deeply *carnavalesque* in the Bakhtinian

sense, which liberates momentarily to create a social world outside the prevailing order (Bakhtin 1984:6). Not only do they contest the existing order of things, but further, the use of “vulgar” parody in these signs is exemplary, I would argue, of a playful subversion of Rabelaian local myth-making, echoing Rabelais’ explanation of the etymology of the city name ‘Paris’. Rabelais “explains” how Gargantua, for amusement (*par ris*), urinates so copiously on those in the locality, that over a quarter of a million residents are drowned (Bakhtin 1981:189).

The geographers Holloway and Kneale (2000:79) also draw attention to Carnival. However, whereas in sociolinguistics the emphasis is placed on the social, Holloway and Kneale argue that it is at least as much *spatial*:

Carnival’s second world is built upon dialogical social relations in these ways; but is more than just a metaphorical space. **‘The language of the marketplace’, Bakhtin’s phrase for the speech practices of the markets, streets, and public spaces of the people, is literally rooted in space...** As a result, we should not be looking for temporary or liminal inversions of hierarchies, but the ways that Carnival constantly attempts to undermine these monologues in all spaces.

(*ibid*: 80)

This can be seen from the data in which monolingual German signs have been “vandalised”, although this has, from the signs I have seen, overwhelmingly involved adding Italian place names, rather than subtracting their German equivalents. Nevertheless, the ‘imposed monologues’ Holloway and Kneale refer to, in the form of monolingual signs, are being contested: and this is very much present in the Polyglot

discussion (in chapter 4, section 4.2). It is also present in the illegal path sign in ten languages (see chapter 4 section 4.5.1 & figure 19), although this second example, I argue, demonstrates an unwillingness to share the identity aspects which are generally attributed to language, and which as we have seen from data in the chapter on language in education (see chapter 3 section 3.8), is increasingly contested. However, these voices, it would seem, are very much in the minority, and the apparent tensions in exhibiting a linguistic and semiotic dominance over the physical world, which is itself indexical of other hegemonic struggles. Here, there appears confirmation of David Harvey's assertion that the naming of place implies power not only over the actual material world location, but also power over how it, its inhabitants and their function in the social world is represented (1990:419)

This brings us to the discussion of quite possibly the most oblique, "non-linguistic" and arguably the most analytically problematic data, the piece of Fascist-era public art known as *Monumento alla Vittoria*: the Monument to Victory. Superficially, there is little to connect this white marble monolith to discourses on bi- or multilingualism. However, Scollonian Geosemiotics, with its configuration of analytical tools adapted to 'unpeeling the onion' (Ricento & Hornberger 1996) through analysis of not only the sign, but its location in the material world and social interaction with the sign, provides such access. I have shown through careful attention to the history of the monument, the spatio-temporal context from which it derives, that the monument was to be symbolic of what had taken place (the territorial acquisition) and what was to take place (the assimilation of the people and territory into the Italian world). The ability to emplace the monument, in the Scollonian sense (including the materials it is made from), confirmed the former

and the visual elements (linguistic and artistic) which the monument comprises, confirm the latter.

Discussing monumentality, Lefebvre (1991:143) shows how one of the functions of monuments is to embody an easily intelligible message: one of power. Yet monuments often do so masked as an expression of the collective will of a people which '...conjure away both possibility and time' (*ibid.*). The *possibility* to be *conjured away* in this case, I would argue, lies in any ability to contest the message due to the genre of the discourse, with even the stone it is made from giving a sense of seeming immutability. However, from the interactions presented in chapter 5, this *trompe-l'oeil*, to use Lefebvre's term (*ibid.*), is seen as just that: confirming Bakhtin's point that with even the most seemingly monologic texts, dialogic relations are always present (1986:125). Further, in discussing monuments, although referring to ancient texts in a critique of linguistics, Volosinov argues that any utterance is part of a chain of utterances, that is a not only a response to something, but that it also demands response (1973:72). Monumento alla Vittoria, indeed place names signage, which are fixed and static in nature, are both exemplary of Lefebvre's *trompe-l'oeil*, sharing conceptual terrain, I argue, with Bakhtin's notion of genres of complex cultural communication I refer to earlier (1986:69, in chapter 5 section 5.8). There is a tension that exists here, however: where for Lefebvre, these "tricks" are used to deflect any dialogue, for Bakhtin, through the principle of dialogism, even utterances appearing most monologic, can at best expect, and are in fact only meant for, delayed response.

These points, I argue, are exemplified in the interactions with the monument I selected for presentation. The first two (which I crudely defined as “for” and “against”) illuminate how the discourses of the monument continue to resonate. To be honoured, or confirmed and remade in the collective memory, by those who hold that Alto Adige is “rightfully” Italian; or contested by those hold that South Tyrol is “rightfully” *not* Italian, depending upon the discursive and ideological position held (chapter 5, sections 5.6.1 & 5.6.2, respectively). However the third *interaction*, the transformation of the monument into a museum (chapter 5, section 5.6.3), is redolent with the Bakhtinian sense of open-endedness and squarely confronts the ruse Lefebvre refers to. The museum project explicitly contests and unmasks the monument’s initially stated objectives (to mark the territory) by forcibly re-opening dialogue. The exhibition creates a space in which accepted chronotopes, foundational in the *for* and *against* discourses, are acknowledged, and laid bare, in an attempt to re-form the monument-as-social space.

When seen in this light, the tensions illuminated through the data on the monument, expressed during these interactions, are not so distant from the tensions seen with regard to place names, especially the signage. Both sets of data – on the monument and the naming of place in the main languages present in the province – beg the questions: what, in any objective sense, the significance is of a monument outside the old city centre, or what matter that there are signs indicating geographical places, in the provinces two main languages, are present in the material world. Part of the answer would appear to lie in Lefebvre’s *spatial practice*, how space is perceived, or how it is (re)produced and appropriated. This in turn leads us to the *representations of space*, how space is conceived, referring to the order of power relations which are imposed. The monument

and place names, or perhaps better, the *named places*, brings us to *representational space*. This is the space which is lived, which makes use of signs, symbols, language and any other semiotic material.

It is from here that the step to applying other ideas of Bakhtin to the material world appears not so great. When we take the place name signs and the monument in the data presented as utterances, Bakhtin (1986:72) shows that they express an ideological position, embodying a particular worldview. Holloway and Kneale (2000:77) argue that it is in this way that (social) space itself may be revealed as dialogic. Folch-Serra argues further by seeing landscapes as infused with polyphony and heteroglossia, where the geographical combine with the social and historical allowing voices of social actors to be expressed in ways not possible under other conditions (1990:256). In applying the principle of dialogism to the material world, she notes that:

Dialogism, with its connotations of open-ended possibilities generated by all the discursive practices of a culture, and of the constant interaction between meanings, may be utilized as **a tool for understanding the popular response to the conditions created by states over particular landscapes, the tensions created by different ethnic groups over a national territory**, and the ways in which classes, age groups, and genders communicate to each other in determined locales...A dialogical landscape indicates the historical moment and situation (time and space) of a dialogue whose outcome is never a neutral exchange.

(*ibid*: 258 my emphasis)

This appears to reinforce the view discussed earlier, from Lefebvre, about social space as a tool for the analysis of society. This is especially with regard to the tensions which have typified relations between speakers of Italian and German in South Tyrol-Alto Adige over the last one hundred years or so. When Lefebvre and Bakhtin are taken together in this way, they provide, I argue, coherent ways of understanding why and how the naming of place and the Fascist monument have been taken as part of a composite discursive package concerned with bilingualism in the province.

Having analysed the data from the material world, I now move address discourses on language in education, before bringing these altogether in the final section.

6.3 (Re) Producing the Linguistic Market in Bolzano-Bozen

In chapter 3, on language and education, we saw the stiff resistance in the present to the expansion of bilingual education, or better, the language of the other in education, particularly by older members of the ruling political elite. Through a careful examination of the history of language in education in the province, I showed that in fact bilingual education has a long history and that was used during the years of Italianisation and Fascism in its subtractive form. Its function was to provide a bridge to assimilation to Italian language and culture: resistance to which became the leitmotif of the ruling Südtiroler Volkspartei (SVP) and other German-speaking political actors in the period since the Second World War. Since then, it has been a consistent topos of fear up to the present.

The chronotope of Fascist assimilation has become part of the fabric from which such discourses have been woven, although, almost as an aside, and as we have seen through an examination of the historical data, the assimilationist objectives pre-date Fascism and should be better seen as part of a broader nationalist project. Nevertheless, the *topi* and *chronotopes* become apparent in Provincial President Durnwalder's resistance to immersion, and the fear of the 'end of the German minority' in South Tyrol (compare chapter 1 section 1.4.2 & chapter 3 section 3.5), which indexes historical discourses by key German-speaking actors and social action by the Italian state to make "Italians" of "South Tyroleans". As Blommaert shows (2015:112), the recourse to ethnolinguistic labels can invoke *chronotopes*, in which the struggle (in this case phrased in terms of ethnolinguistic survival) may or may not be based on objective historical fact, but in which the struggle is morally justified. In mobilizing such *topi* and *chronotopes*, Durnwalder is defending the linguistic minority group which, as we have seen in the first chapter (in section 1.2.2), is the majority, dominant group in the autonomous province.

As we have seen, Bourdieu's notions of linguistic markets and symbolic capital have direct relevance here. Addressing directly situations in which there are different speech varieties, Bourdieu argues that when one language dominates the linguistic market, it becomes the benchmark against which other linguistic resources are valued (1977:652). Thus, the defence of the German-speaking minority, articulated by Durnwalder in his newspaper interview begins to take the form of struggle for hegemony. Arguing further, Bourdieu shows that value of the language is indicative of the relative value of the speakers of that language (*ibid*). Therefore in "protecting" German language schools,

even under the guise of protecting “the ninety per cent” of young people who would do badly in immersion programmes, it is not so much the language *per se* which is being protected. Rather it is the linguistic market in which German is the dominant local language, in terms of the number of speakers and in terms of political hegemony. Bourdieu also helps understand the resistance evinced in the topos of fear employed, if we consider that:

Those who seek to defend a threatened capital...are forced to conduct a total struggle (like religious traditionalists, in another field), because they cannot save the competence without saving the market, i.e. all the social conditions of the production and reproduction of producers and consumers.

(1977:651)

The education system becomes a key node for such struggle, since it holds a monopoly over the means of production of the producers and consumers of the product of the linguistic market. It is the institutional setting for the reproduction of habitus of these producers and consumers of linguistic capital. However, as Bourdieu continues, he shows that the chances of this capital being maximised depend on two key aspects (ibid: 654). The first is the level of unification of the linguistic market, and the degree of legitimacy enjoyed by the dominant group, or better, their linguistic competence. The second relates to the accessibility to the instruments for producing this linguistic capital and the legitimate sites of expression.

Thus the defence of the German-language school system, can be seen as the protection of the monopoly over the market in which the linguistic competence is valued and can

function as capital (Bourdieu 1977:652). When viewed from this perspective, the significance lies in the fact that the value of the market, i.e. the socio-political conditions of production (Bourdieu 1992:57), is fundamental to the value of the linguistic competence or language. And when talking about the value of the competence that, in the end, the language is worth what its speakers are worth, or that power (cultural and economic) lies with those who hold most valued competence (Bourdieu 1977:652). Yet there is also spatial element that is implicit in the interview with Durnwalder, referred to above. As a reminder, we saw that he accepts that immersion programmes might work well *elsewhere* in Italy, but not in this geographic territory.

However as we have also seen (Hannes Mair, in chapter 3 section 3.7), whilst this position has been broadly held by the German-speaking community, it has also been greatly complicated in this period of late capitalism by younger members of the same political elite, who would appear to be absorbing discourses on the commodification of language (Heller 2011, Duchêne 2009), and the capital to be gained from having a multilingual workforce.

Contesting this further, as shown from the activity of Polyglot in chapter 3, are those parents who, for reasons seemingly different from the commodification argument, wish to see “a different South Tyrol”, one in which conviviality is facilitated by extensively bilingual residents, supported by the state. Many of the parents from Polyglot are from bilingual, or *mistilingue* households, who contest the rigidity of what Blackledge (2005:36) would refer to as *imposed* monolingual identities which are regulated by the Special Statute of Autonomy 1972 and which, although one may be chosen by residents, even

changed periodically, in and of themselves they are non-negotiable. In fact as we saw (chapter 3 section 3.8.3), there were members of this group, whose thinking is still very much on the periphery on such matters in the province as a whole, who explicitly reject any “natural” linkage between language and identity.

6.4 Concluding Remarks: Drawing the Strands Together

In drawing these different strands together, discourse on bilingual education, the monument and the place names can be considered as chronotopes, or ‘...invocable chunks of history that organize the indexical order of discourse’ (Blommaert 2015:105).

As Bakhtin (1981:189) notes:

Each locality must be explained, beginning with its place-name and ending up with the fine details of its topographical relief, its soil, plant life and so forth—all emerging from the human event that occurred there and that gave to the place its name and its physiognomy. A locality is the trace of an event, a trace of what had shaped it. Such is the logic of all local myths and legends.

Thus, the dialogical nature of the chronotope can be found inscribed on the material world through Lefebvrian social space: a social product, produced *socially*. Underscoring this, as Nishida reminds, this is not something received passively by actors, but rather it is a dialogic relationship, in which ‘[t]he individual forms the environment, and the environment forms the individual.’ (1958:174. See also Blommaert 2013:33). This, I argue, provides us with a pivotal link between language and social space. My understanding of Bourdieu’s assertion of how the ‘threatened capital’ in a linguistic market will be protected goes beyond the language spoken but includes, must include,

where the language is spoken, in the material world. As I have shown, Bourdieu (1992) helps explain how language in education becomes a site for protecting the linguistic (and even socio-cultural) market; Lefebvre shows how control over the production of social space is, in effect, about controlling geographically located place in which it is located in the real-world. Bakhtin's notion of dialogism shows how these interpenetrate, discursively and generically, with an understanding of chronotopes bringing different times and places (and the myriad interpretations of these) into each communicative event.

As Blackledge (2005:31-2) argues, after Gal & Woolard (1995) and Woolard (1989), attitudes and beliefs about language are rarely only about language, but instead index broader struggles over identity, and ultimately, power. Developing this a little further, Heller (2011:6 & 36) confronts these issues by focusing her attention on interrogating the complex power relationships and asking whose interests are really being served when identity-through-language is mobilised.

Although Heller makes a distinction between territorially orientated and institutionally orientated nationalist movements, she underlines it is the state that is all the while the locus of control (2011:99). Busch (2013:204), discussing her corner of the ex-Habsburg empire, across the Austrian border, demonstrates how the linguistic rights of minorities within a given nation-state are framed very much as *territorial* rights. Further, she shows this is enshrined at European level, through the European Charter for Minority languages, in much the same way as we have seen the Special Statute of Autonomy does in South Tyrol-Alto Adige.

What does bilingualism “*mean*” in Bozen-Bolzano?

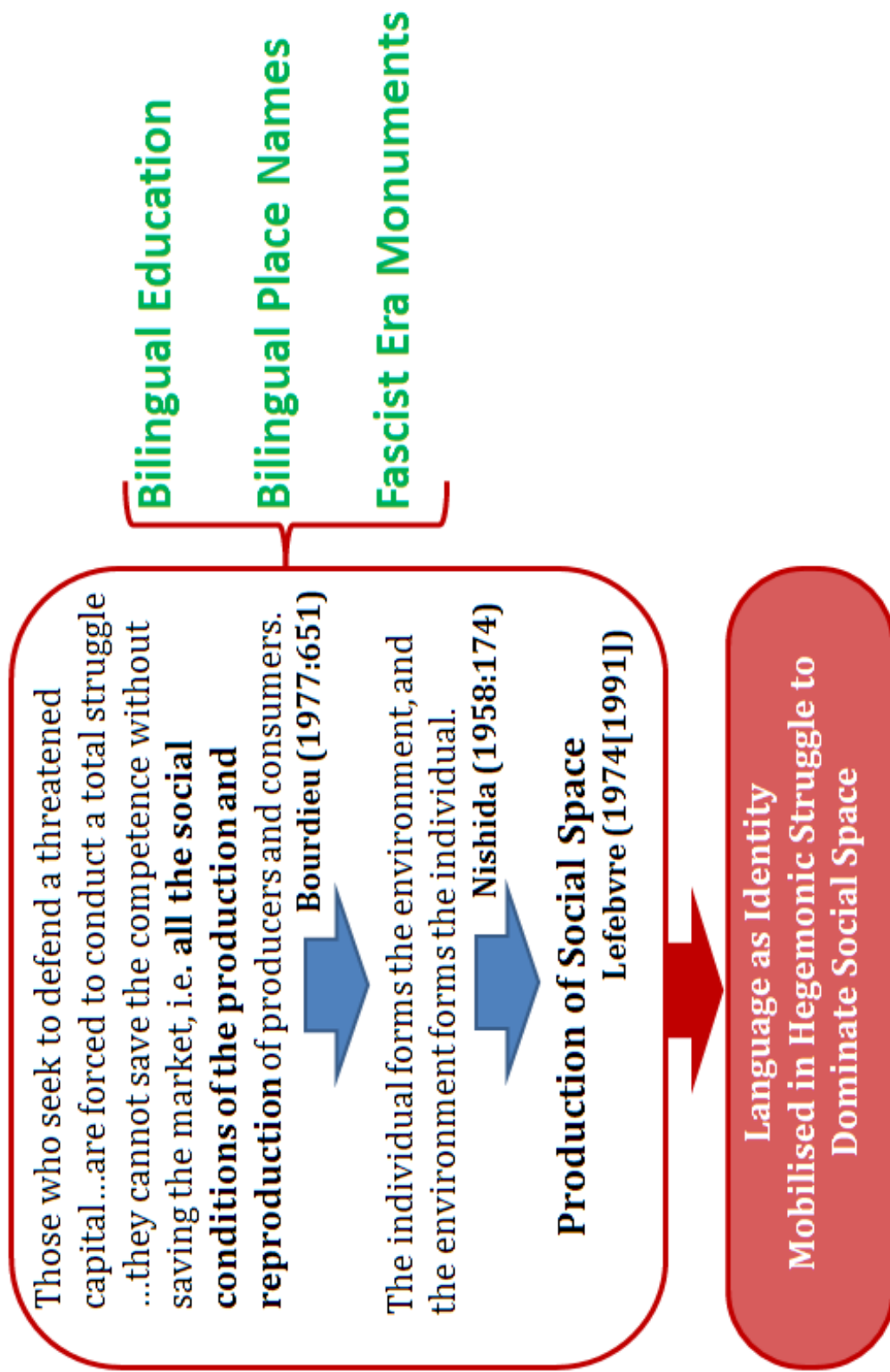


Figure 45 Schematic summary of findings

In closing, during the period of research, and from what has emerged from the deliberately disparate array of data presented, I argue that what we see is this: language, as a marker of identity, applied to maintenance and furtherance of the interests of political and economic power, to achieve not only social, but spatial, or territorial, hegemony in the *physical* world (see figure 45). Or building on what Bourdieu holds: there can be no market, without a market *place*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GLEANNING FROM SOUTH TYROL-ALTO ADIGE: REFLECTIONS ON THIS ETHNOGRAPHY

So long as we trace the development from its final outcome backwards, the chain of events appears continuous, and we feel we have gained an insight which is completely satisfactory or even exhaustive. But if we proceed in the reverse way, if we start from the premises inferred from the analysis and try to follow these up to the final results, then we no longer get the impression of an inevitable sequence of events which could not have otherwise been determined.

Freud 1955:167

It almost goes without saying that no ethnography is ever complete, and the preceding work within these pages is no exception. And, if ethnography be a reflective science, the aim in this epilogue is to reflect on the data presented, the research process and to consider possible future directions for research. I also discuss, as I see them, the strengths but also the weaknesses of this study.

It may seem a little curious to include a citation from the father of psychoanalysis as the opening for this final chapter. However, as I hope to show, considering the focus of this chapter, I would argue it has a double valency.

7.1 Reflections on the Data

In the first instance, there is the data itself. Even a cursory glance through the contents page indicates that I have focused heavily on historical aspects of discourse related to the three data sets presented. I have shown the development of ideas, discourses and social action over Braudel's (1970) *longue duree*, which have made and continue to make the context of Bolzano-Bozen into the present. Yet, as I have argued and shown, it is not this researcher who has invoked history, but rather social actors – those who live in the province – who daily, sometimes consciously, sometimes not, embed particular moments from the past in their discourse. I have shown how many of these have become chronotopes in the discourse of today, often mobilised in topoi of fear or threat, of belonging or not belonging to a group or even the territory.

There is often a sense, when looking retrospectively at the historical, of the *inevitable sequence of events* Freud refers to. Along with the historical presented as data, I have made other numerous and repeated references to Tolomei and the *L'Archivio per l'Alto Adige* (espec. 1905 & 1915), or to Kunz (1926/1927 & 1947), and Herford's *The Case of German South Tyrol against Italy* (1927), publishing in English, for the international community. Then there is Alcock (1970), whose *History of the South Tyrol Question* was written and published in the in the period in which the terms of the Second Statute of Autonomy (1972) were still being negotiated. These are all considered scientific or academic works which, I would argue, were very much forms of social action, full of ideological positioning, in ways which have been illustrated in other contexts by Verschueren (2012), and which attempted to participate or intervened in the discursive construction of South Tyrol-Alto Adige. Although with hindsight, we can discern many of

the ideas and ideologies they contain, there is always the danger that what we in fact see is conditioned by the ideas and ideologies of our own times and our own discursive and ideological positioning with regard to these. Yet as Wallerstein maintains (2004:1), such things can only be understood within the contexts of the times which produced them and in terms of each other.

In their own way the other data, the utterances transcribed from Polyglot; interventions by key political actors in making law and those reported in the press; or the Carnavalesque contestations of place names are also constitutive elements in the construction of Lefebvrian social space, discussed. Again, and as Fabian (1995:42) reminds, all of these must be understood as being historically contingent (see also Blommaert 2013, espec. chapter 2): meaningful in a particular place and a particular timeframe.

However what they all share, when viewed from the time-space context from which they are taken, is the contingency, uncertainty and *un-inevitability* of those moments.

7.2 Reflections on the Research Process

In another way, Freud's observation provides further reflective insight for this thesis, in that it is also true of the research process itself. There is always a sense, when reading sound research, I would argue, of an ordered inevitability. Looking back over the thesis, there appears (I hope) a coherence to the arguments presented. However it would be disingenuous, to say the least, if I did not acknowledge that much of what is included – from collation of the data, to the ordering of arguments and the conclusions which followed – were not only arrived at after the event, but involved choices and decisions

which were very much contingent on the moment of analysis, my engagement with theory and the literature and the following interpretation of events in the light of this. This holds true both during the period of research and in the selection for presentation.

7.2.1 Strengths

I would argue that the key strength of this piece of research lies in the instruments used. As shown in chapter 2, the frameworks which Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003 & 2004) provide include a complement of robust, tried and tested instruments, which are combined in a way that ensures a theoretical and methodological coherence. The methodological configurations which Nexus Analysis opens to the researcher have made it an ideal approach in the context of this study, enabling me to trace discourse across different genres and from (and to) different times and places. This, I would argue, lends an underlying rigour both to the findings and the process of finding.

Another aspect which I would argue strengthens the research process, and subsequent findings, is that this has been very much a longitudinal project. Although by itself this does not automatically equate to research design rigour, here I would I argue it has reinforced two key aspects.

Firstly, longitudinal observation and participation have meant that I have been able track certain discourses over time, and in “real time”. This has allowed me to observe the interrelationships between discourses and social action which have occurred, sometimes in contexts which have been displaced from the immediate focus, and which have had (and continue to have) an impact on the social phenomena under investigation. Turning once again to Wallerstein, above, I have been afforded a view of the complex

interdiscursive relationships between discourses and other social action which have affected language discourse in the autonomous province. These include the effects of the global economic crisis of 2008 onwards, the sometimes rapid succession of national Italian governments, or elections and other events at local level.

This leads to the second benefit of such an approach, in that it has facilitated the selection of discursive data. It has helped greatly in identifying more readily the discourses which have come in and out of focus, and those which demonstrated themselves to have been discursive *cul de sacs*, that might well have distracted from the broader itineraries of the key discourses I was following, had I not had the privilege of a longer view, or have been given greater (or even lesser) significance than they deserved.

With regard to what might be considered data for collection, I would argue that receptiveness to discourse, not only from different time-space contexts, but also from diverse genres is also a key strength. This, I would argue, has allowed the tracing of discourse itineraries as they have moved across genres, by/for different social actors. I would argue that this has allowed for more sophisticated and rigorous triangulation in the findings.

7.2.2 Weaknesses

One of the main weaknesses that I can identify relates to depth of treatment each of the three data sets has received. An investigation solely into language and education, or toponymy or other aspects of public art in the semiotic landscape would each yield a far richer understanding of these complex and interesting themes. In fact, there is much that

I have had to leave out of this thesis (quite possibly as much again as has been included). However, I was interested not so much in each of these areas in and of themselves, but more how they came to be discursive bedfellows: in each other's presence in the context of discussions of bilingualism, and components of overarching discourses about bilingualism. Further, and as with any thesis, there is also the question of word length which delimits, in a practical way, how much can be discussed, forcing the researcher to focus only on those areas of central importance.

I would also have liked, in retrospect, to have spent more time individually with Polyglot members, to gain a greater insight into their Historical Bodies and trajectories. The fact that these individuals worked, had families and already gave up their precious time to devote to Polyglot meant that this was difficult.

The language skills I possess also had an impact on what I researched and from where I obtained data, in that my Italian is by far much stronger than my German. For much of the data collection this did not present, I would argue, insurmountable problems.

Although Polyglot had members whose first languages were Italian and German, most events and discussions were conducted in Italian, a point which has been presented as commonplace and problematic (see Durnwalder's interview, chapter 3 section 3.6.3). Nevertheless, it would be remiss not to acknowledge that better German language skills may have led to the inclusion of other, analytically interesting data.

It would also be remiss not to make this final point relating to the variety of data, from different genres: some of which required instruments from disciplines outside the traditionally (socio)linguistic. There are arguments, discussions or perspectives which

may appear oversimplified to a historian, minority rights scholar, a pedagogical linguist or perhaps even a cultural anthropologist. This is due to the reasons sketched above (including space and analytic focus), but it is also in some way due to the fact that I have undertaken an ethnography looking at the questions specified at the beginning of this thesis. To assist in ensuring standards of acceptability of analysis and findings I have, over the course of the research, opened up the process to peers and participants. I have discussed observations and interpretations with Polyglot members and I have also presented findings-in-progress to other researchers, in settings that could be considered interdisciplinary: formally and informally.

7.2.3 Reflections on Changing the Nexus

As I mentioned in chapter two (section 2.3.5), an aspect of Nexus Analysis which I do not address assertively or explicitly is that of changing the nexus. In some respects, this has been to do with a reticence and diffidence borne of an understanding of my role and identity as a researcher not yet judged by peers (and betters) to be considered an independent researcher. Paradoxically, this seeming lack of confidence derives from the deep ethnographic understanding of both the Nexus of Practice and the research context, which led me to consciously limit my interventions.

Nevertheless, I would argue that despite my restraint, my presence as a member of Polyglot (including the period as part of the organising committee) had an effect on the direction of Polyglot and also informing Polyglot members of developments and research from outside South Tyrol, “translating” scientific findings for practical application in the process of arguing for the extension of bi/multilingual education in the province. Despite my “insiderness”, the fact that I am not autochthonous to the province actually helped

me in this. I was not – nor could I be – considered a spokesperson for any of the legally sanctioned provincial linguistic groups.

Through the research and analysis presented in this thesis, there is also, I would argue, strong foundations for advocating or implementing further change. In a linguistically sensitive placebo/ such as South Tyrol-Alto Adige, and after the period of research, I strongly believe that the growth of bi/multilingual education should be accompanied by a message which shows the benefits of this on language and literacy in learners' L1, or that the promotion of bilingualism in education is not at the expense of the first language: a perception which has currency amongst certain political actors (see chapter 3 section 3.6). This, I argue, is of particular importance in a territory which has lived through periods of such aggressive assimilationist policy.

7.3 Reflections on Future Research

There are many areas of language in South Tyrol-Alto Adige which would prove rich in terms of the contribution to the body of knowledge and which could be approached from a number of theoretical positions, with the methodologies which these would dictate. Here, I restrict my reflections to what ethnography, and especially Nexus Analysis, could uniquely offer.

7.3.1 Language & Migration: Superdiverse South Tyrol-Alto Adige

As I state in chapter 1 (section 1.2.4), excluding what might be considered language and migration or superdiversity (Vertovec 2007, Blommaert & Rampton 2011, Creese & Blackledge 2010b) was a strategic research decision not at all taken lightly. In the end it

was typical of the perennial dilemma which faces one, I would argue, researching ethnographically: what to leave in, what to leave out. Eventually, my decision-making process was guided by the question(s) which emerged from the data, presented at the very beginning of chapter 1. However, Nexus Analysis, focusing on what happens with a particular configuration of Historical Bodies, Discourses in Place and the Interaction Order within the nexus of practice, showed that for Polyglot, these were seen as being of importance, but secondary to their main aims and objectives. But the decision was also guided by trying to get a handle on contextual complexity. By this I mean that I saw an awful lot more than is contained in within the pages of this thesis; discourses, themes, ideas and social action which merit further focused treatment, and which could not be dealt with summarily.

Nevertheless, as with many parts of the European Union, society in South Tyrol-Alto Adige is becoming increasingly diverse and, it would appear, at an increasingly quickening pace. Those who are legally resident in the province, from outside Italy (whether or not from other EU countries), come from 136 different countries. These make up over 8% of the population, standing at around 42,000, and this represents a sevenfold increase in the last twenty years (Schmuck & Weiss 2014:47). A third of these, almost 14,000 live in the city of Bolzano-Bozen (*ibid*: 48), nearly 15% of the population. These people bring with them their traditions, faiths and languages which are often not easily on view and for which there appears little institutional support. Even a rudimentary analysis of these objective facts, together with other data provided by ASTAT, means that already there are families in the second and third generation, with children who attend the province's schools (in German or Italian) and the university at Bolzano-Bolzano.

In this thesis, I have maintained my gaze more on the broader discursive economies, in an attempt to understand the existing and longstanding situations which exist and, in effect, the one into which immigrants must acclimatise. However it was in the end a strategic research decision. My hope is to continue researching ethnographically in South Tyrol-Alto Adige, in to issues such as language and migration, but I understood that this would be rendered more difficult without a foundational vision of the pre-existing contextual complexities.

However new social actors, arguably, create new social spaces. Research into “superdiverse South Tyrol-Alto Adige” could proceed in a similar vein to the approach taken here, building on what has been found, but with a focus on the experiences and social action of these newer actors and their interactions in Bolzano-Bozen. However a more fine grain approach, with the quotidian language practices of these social actors under the optic would also, I believe, produce results of interest and significance. This is especially true, I would argue, since (as far as I have found) nothing like this has been done in South Tyrol-Alto Adige. A key question to answer would be how people arriving in an already bilingual context, and with very different histories, navigate through these worlds; which social realities do they align to, and why? This is precipitated by the legal necessity of having to declare as belonging (or at least declaring to be considered alongside) one of the legally recognised provincial language groups. In concomitance, such an investigation might also look at how, and in what ways, the language practices of these social actors influence and infuse the existing context and how their voices are deployed, represented and contested.

7.3.2 Language & Education

Although I have dealt with discourses related to language and education in South Tyrol-Alto Adige, this is also an area which would yield further very interesting results. Flowing on from the investigation in this thesis, a direct ethnographic focus on the education system(s) could proceed in a number of directions.

The first, most obvious to my mind, would be to start with the *mistilingui* bilingual families and their experiences in navigating the linguistically separated schools. Within the theoretical framework I have applied, this might well involve a closer focus on families as nexus of practice from which to view social processes and trace the discourse itineraries which impact and are felt directly in their home lives. Linking to the previous section, this approach might also work well with families which include immigrants, whether in family situations with “locals” or not. By including a number of families, such a study might proceed as a comparative case study, allowing comparison of their experiences in a setting which is becoming increasingly diverse. This would also allow a view onto the linguistic practices of young people whose lives straddle different social and cultural and linguistic spaces. For both of the above, pathfinder questions might begin with asking about how they position themselves socially, in their daily lives, what contingencies guide the decisions to align (or not) to existing social realities and how they view themselves and the social spaces they transverse and create.

7.3.3 The Semiotic Landscape of South Tyrol-Alto Adige

The semiotic landscape in South Tyrol is rich and changing. The discursive tension evidenced in this thesis over the naming of place shows little sign of clear resolution. I maintain that this provides a litmus test as to the power relations between the communities of practice identifying as speakers of German or Italian. I would argue that longitudinal monitoring of this situation, any apparent stability or alterations, would continue to provide insight into hegemonic relationships between Italian and German speaking communities.

And yet into this mix there should also be a close, ethnographic focus on other aspects of the semiotic landscape, and the sometimes barely perceptible (and certainly not yet empirically observed) changes that are occurring. These changes are perhaps at such scales that a quantitative Linguistic Landscapes approach, such as many of those found in Shohamy and Gorter (2009) or Backhaus (2007), might not detect. Here, an ethnographic approach, closer to Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003) or Blommaert (2013) might prove far more adept at capturing the subtle changes to the material world brought especially to the city of Bolzano-Bozen (but also the other cities in the province) by immigrants. This would include the areas of the city inhabited by them and the zones which are beginning to flourish with, for example, halal butchers and shops selling food and other goods aimed specifically at tastes and people not historically found in the territory. Especially the latter, the busy commercial areas, as hubs of social activity, would potentially yield rich, detailed accounts of local languages practices and the other social realities they index, with connections to others in the province, but also to social worlds that may be

far removed. Here, Lefebvrian *Rhythmanalysis* (Lefebvre 2004) might also be incorporated, to map where and how discourse travels with social actors.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This has been at times an extraordinarily difficult undertaking, gruelling even. Yet at the same time, it has also been the most extraordinarily enriching intellectual endeavour of my life so far: indeed a privilege.

Despite errors and omissions, and the things, in retrospect, I could have done differently, better, I hold that the original contribution of this study is to our understanding of how language, especially when mobilised in identity, becomes an instrument not just social hegemony, but spatial hegemony.

I began this thesis by presenting a newspaper article, to highlight the major discursive themes which circulated during the research process, so it seems fitting that I end with one. It is from December 2015, as I was putting the final points in order for presentation of this thesis. I was early for a medical appointment and so, to pass the time, I went for an espresso in a nearby bar. I picked up that day's ubiquitous *Alto Adige* newspaper (9th December 2015), to catch up on local events. As I leafed through, I saw an article with photographs reporting a Schützen procession that had taken place the day before in one of the towns near Bozen-Bolzano, to celebrate the Catholic Feast of the Immaculate Conception.

As with the protest against Monumento alla Vittoria, the Schützen wore their traditional costumes and marched in quasi-military fashion. At the end of the procession, an ex-representative of Südtiroler Freiheit (a local German-language ethno-nationalist party) spoke against what she called *multilingual imperialism*, or the dangers of the increasing presence of Italian in German-language schools. She also spoke about the need to safeguard German place names. In attendance, was the ex-provincial councillor responsible for German-language provincial schools (the same person from figure 32, earlier). I include this at the very end, to remind (myself more than anyone) that the discourses and dialogue I have observed continue or are, as Bakhtin (1981:365) has said, ‘...forever dying, living, being born.’

- APPENDICES -

Appendix	Item
Appendix A	Newspaper article: PD & SVP: Preliminary Agreement Reached on Multilingualism
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Appendix A

Full article referred to in Chapter 1, Introduction

PD & SVP: Preliminary Agreement Reached on Multilingualism

Tommasini & Theiner: Working Group on language learning . On the Fascist monuments, the disempowering on historicising to go ahead. Agreement also on toponymy.

By Maurizio Dallago

BOLZANO. Working groups on language learning and fiscal federalism. Shared solutions for toponymy and monuments from the fascist epoch. This is the result of the meeting between the leaders of PD and SVP, with the aim of strengthening the understanding between the two parties after the controversies around themes of identity.

“We want to study together the entire question of language learning, to identify, always maintaining the principle of the school in its mother-tongue, proposals to incentivise multilingualism, giving everyone other and better instruments to learn languages.” affirms Provincial Councillor [and Provincial Vice President] Christian Tommasini, at the end of the meeting requested by PD [Democratic Party] with the catch-all party [*partita di raccolta*. SVP – South Tyrolean People’s Party]. “The German[-speaking] group also needs to learn the Italian language better, that’s the reason for the working group of which the councillors responsible for the schools and from the SVP Stocker, Pichler Rolle and Stirner Brantsch will be part: in perfect harmony with PD about the fact that there won’t be need for immersion”, underlines [SVP] Party Chairman Richard Theiner. “In three months we will have the results and all the possibilities that begin to stand on their feet will be analysed, such as class exchanges”, Tommasini again.

On toponymy, the leaders of the the two parties – for the SVP there were Durnwalder [Provincial President, SVP], Theiner, Stocker, Widman, Pichler Rolle and Achammer while the delegation from PD was composed of Frena, Tommasini, Bizzo, Costa, Gneccchi and Rossi – agree on further clarification on the draft law presented by the Edelweiss [SVP] in the provincial council, “to find, in the end, a shared solution”. With the Democrats [PD] remarking that the provincial

consultation body which will decide on its names should be balanced with regard to the language groups. The postponement of the draft law – but of only a brief duration – is also in SVP's plans to allow resolving the impasse connected to the nomination of Unterberger to the provincial council.

On the monuments the willingness was reiterated to display explanatory signs in the three ossuaries of Burgusio- Burgeis, San Candido-Innichen, the disempowering of historicising of the Victory Monument and *il duce* on horseback in Piazza Tribunale [a bas-relief of Mussolini]. On the Monument to the *Alpino* [Italian Alpine soldier] at Brunico-Bruneck, with every probability, will move towards commissioning a new sculpture, as part of the piazza's restructuring. Finally, a PD-SVP working group also on fiscal federalism, to promote an agreed proposal on income tax relief.

(L'Alto Adige 1st March 2011. Front page. My translation)

Appendix B

Timeline

A brief table outlining the history of the region with references to events in the European context: From antiquity to the present.

KEY HISTORICAL EVENTS		
	The Tyrol, South Tyrol-Alto Adige	Europe
Antiquity	3350-3100 B.C. – Oetzi “the Iceman”	Bronze Age
	15 B.C. – Drusus Germanicus conquers the region <i>Rhaetia Secunda</i>	Expansion of Roman Empire
		476 – Effective end of the Western Roman Empire
Early Middle Ages 600-	680 – Bozen has a Bavarian count	
	788 – Southern Tyrol becomes part of Holy Roman Empire	800 – Charlemagne crowned
		962 – Otto I, Holy Roman Empire
Late Middle Ages 1100-1500 A.D.	1040 – Counts of Tyrol become lords of Vinschgau	1066 William of Normandy conquers England
	1254 – Entire Tyrol unified under the Counts of Tyrol	
	1330 – Margaret Maultasch marries Ludwig of Brandenburg & obliges he sign a charter of existing privileges for Tyrol	1300s – Renaissance begins in Italy. Dante Alighieri writes <i>De Vulgari Eloquentia</i> & <i>La Divina Comedia</i> (in Italian)
Early Modern Period 1500-1700 A.D.	1363 – Habsburgs fall heir to the Tyrol	
	1406 – Charter extended. Nobles military service confined to 1 month <i>in</i> the Tyrol	1453 – Fall of Constantinople
	1511 – Emperor Maximilian extends Charter rights to Tyrolean burghers & peasants	
Modern Period 1700-1945		1520 – Martin Luther launches the German Reformation
	1525-1526 – Tyrolean peasant war	1525 – German peasant war
	1543-1563 – Council of Trient	
	1630 – Bilingual <i>Magistrato Mercantile/Merkantilmagistrat</i> founded by Claudia de’ Medici, Archduchess of Tyrol	
		1718 – Trieste becomes a free port
		1772 – J G Herder publishes <i>Treatise on the Origin of Language</i>
	1809 – Tyroleans rebel against French & Bavarians under Andreas Hofer	1796-1814 French invade Italy, Bavarian allies occupy Tyrol

KEY HISTORICAL EVENTS	
The Tyrol, South Tyrol-Alto Adige	Europe
1810 – Hofer captured. Executed at Mantua – <i>Haute Adige</i> (Upper-Alto Adige) added to Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy	1806 – Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire
1814 – <i>Haute Adige</i> reunited Trento & Tyrol with Austria	1815 – Defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo – Treaty of Vienna confirms return of territory taken by Napoleon & Bavaria
1904 – Italian-language Law Faculty opens at Innsbruck University 1905 – Tiroler Volksbund founded	1861 – Kingdom of Italy created. Austria loses northern possessions in northern Italy. Inc. Padua & Mantua
1905 – Law faculty closes due to local protests by nationalist Austrian students. Student De Gasperi arrested	1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand assassinated. First World War commences
1915 – Tiroler Volksbund propose Germanisation of Trentino	1915 – Italy enters First World War against Austria
1919 – South Tyrol & Trento become part of Italy	1919 – Treaty of Versailles awards Italy Southern Tyrol & Trieste. End of Austro-Hungarian Empire
1922 – Fascist March on Bolzano	1922 – March on Rome. Fascists seize power
1923 – Tolomei Presents his 32 point plan for Italianising Alto Adige. Prohibition on German in public sphere announced	
1928 – Monumento alla Vittoria inaugurated	
1939 Hitler & Mussolini agree <i>Option</i> to transfer South Tyrolean German-speakers to the Crimea	1938 – Hitler joins Austria & Germany, allies with Mussolini & renounces any German claim on South Tyrol 1939 – Second World War breaks out
	1943 – Italy capitulates
1943-45 Nazi Occupation of Alto Adige, renamed <i>Alpenvorland</i> . Bilingualism reinstated	
1945 – SVP founded by leading German-speaking South Tyroleans	1945 – Second World War ends

Modern Period 1700-1945 (cont.)

KEY HISTORICAL EVENTS		
	The Tyrol, South Tyrol-Alto Adige	Europe
Modern Period 1946 - Present	1946 – Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement on Alto Adige	1946 – Paris Peace Treaty
	1948 – 1 st Statute of Autonomy for Trentino-Alto Adige	
		1955 – Austria regains sovereignty
		1957 – Treaty of Rome founds the EEC
	1960 – UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV regarding situation in Alto Adige	1958 – Austria brings situation in Alto Adige to UN General Council
	1969 – <i>The Paket</i> . Agreed package of measures to address UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV	
	1972 – Second Statute of Autonomy	
	1969 – <i>The Paket</i> . Agreed package of measures to address UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV	1995 – Austria joins EU
	1972 – Second Statute of Autonomy	
	1992 – UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV. Italy & Austria declare conflict resolved	1995 – Austria joins EU

22 Italian research on the outer edges of the Adige.
23 We find ourselves proceeding alongside foreign science, of which particularly
24 the German, has already extensively gathered from the field in that region.
25 However it will be a pacific competition, which wishes to be far removed from
26 racial animosity and maintain the strictest objectivity. [If] the sole task is to
27 make known to Italians the fruit of scientific and historical research undertaken
28 by Germans on the high valleys of the Adige [river], it would be enough to
29 provide a periodical with abundant material. Ours, however, will continuously
30 publish original memoirs and documents, already having available copious
31 material and the assured collaboration of many Italian scholars, as much for the
32 generally illustrative part as for particular research on toponymy, ethnography,
33 art history, but not only: adding a diligently reviewed bibliography, a copious
34 news bulletin, including of local and national interest, of alpinism, etc; seeing
35 that l'ARCHIVIO will have to gather by itself, at least for now, the work found
36 elsewhere distributed across periodicals of diverse types.
37 We are confident that this invitation to unbiased research, that will have as its
38 field the most beautiful and noble part of the western alpine versant, will be
39 favourably received.
40 We believe it opportune to include in this arc, beyond the basin of the Adige,
41 the two valleys of Ampezzo and Livinallongo that geographically belong to the upper
42 Piave, for reasons of their political relevance, of joining their fortunes with
43 those of Alto Adige which despite their culture, have maintained their
44 segregation, until now, from the Italian research movement.

45

ETTORE TOLOMEI

Appendix D

The Gruber De Gasperi Accord 5th September 1946

<http://www.regione.taa.it/codice/accordo.aspx>

AUSTRIAN DELEGATION TO THE PARIS CONFERENCE -----

1° - German speaking inhabitants of the Bolzano Province and of ~~the~~ neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province will be assured a complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, with ⁱⁿthe framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element.


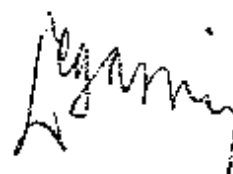
In accordance with legislation already enacted or awaiting enactment the said German-speaking citizens will be granted in particular:

- (a) elementary and secondary teaching in the mother-tongue;
- (b) purification of the German and Italian languages in public offices and official documents, as well as in bilingual topographic naming;
- (c) the right to re-establish German family names which were italianized in recent years;
- (d) equality of rights as regards the entering upon public offices, with a view to reaching a more appropriate proportion of employment between the two ethnical groups.

2° - The populations of the above mentioned zones will be granted the exercise of an autonomous legislative and executive regional power. The frame within which the said provisions of autonomy will apply, will be drafted in consultation also with local representative German-speaking elements.

3° - The Italian Government, with the aim of establishing good neighbourhood relations between Austria and Italy, pledges itself, in consultation with the Austrian Government and within one year from the signing of the present Treaty:

- (a) to revise in a spirit of equity and broad-mindedness the question of the options for citizenship resulting from the 1939 Hitler-Mussolini agreements;
- (b) to find an agreement for the mutual recognition of the validity of certain degrees and University diplomas;
- (c) to draw up a convention for the free passengers and goods transit between Northern and Eastern Tyrol both by rail and, to the greatest possible extent, by road;
- (d) to reach special agreements aimed at facilitating enlarged frontier traffic and local exchanges of certain quantities of characteristic products and goods between Austria and Italy.


5. September 1946 

Appendix E

UN Conflict Resolution 1497/XV 31st October 1960

Accessed 28th Sept 2012 from: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/152/71/IMG/NR015271.pdf?OpenElement>

Appendix F

Special Statute of Autonomy for Trentino-Alto Adige (1972)

English version. Accessed 15th July 2010 from:

https://web.archive.org/web/20070926105444/http://www.provincia.bz.it/lpa/autonomy/autonomy_statute_eng.pdf

(NB: Yellow highlights are in original downloaded copy)

SPECIAL STATUTE FOR TRENINO-ALTO ADIGE

Modified text of the Constitution of the “Trentino - Alto Adige” Region and the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano

Chapter I - General Provisions

Art. 1

1. Trentino-Alto Adige, comprising the territory of the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano, constitutes an autonomous Region, with legal status, within the political structure of the Italian Republic, one and indivisible, on the basis of the principles of the Constitution and according to the present Statute.
2. The capital of the Trentino-Alto Adige Region shall be the city of Trento.

Art. 2

1. In the Region equality of rights for all citizens is recognised, regardless of the linguistic group to which they belong, and respective ethnic and cultural characteristics shall be safeguarded.

Art. 3

1. The Region consists of the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano.
2. The communes of Proves, Serale, Termeno, Oia, Bionzolo, Valdagno, Lauregno, San Felice, Cortaccia, Egna, Montagna, Trodena, Mèghe, Salomo, Anterivo and the district of Simablana within the commune of Rumo in the Province of Trento shall be joined to the Province of Bolzano.
3. The Provinces of Trento and Bolzano shall be granted special forms and conditions of autonomy, according to the present Statute. Without prejudice to the provisions relating to the use of the national flag, the Region, the Province of Trento and that of Bolzano shall have their own banner and coat of arms, approved by decree of the President of the Republic.

Chapter II - Functions of the Region

Art. 4

1. In conformity with the Constitution and the principles of the legal system of the Republic, and respecting international obligations and national interests - among which is included the protection of local linguistic minorities - as well as the fundamental principles of the socio-economic reforms of the Republic, the Region has the power to issue laws on the following matters:

“page ”

1. Regulation of regional offices and their personnel;
2. Regulation of para-regional bodies;
3. Regulation of local authorities and their relative subdivisions;
4. Expropriation for public use, except for works mainly or directly the responsibility of the state and matters of provincial competence;
5. Establishment and maintenance of land registers;
6. Fire prevention services;
7. Regulation of health bodies and hospitals;
8. Regulation of Chambers of Commerce;
9. Development of co-operatives and their supervision;
10. Improvement grants for public works carried out by other public bodies within the Region.

Art. 5

1. Within the limits of the preceding article and principles established by state laws, the Region may issue laws on the following matters:

1.;
2. Regulation of public assistance and welfare institutions;
3. Regulation of land and agricultural credit institutions, savings banks and rural banks, as well as regional credit organisations.

Art. 6

1. In matters concerning national insurance and social security the Region may issue laws integrating the provisions of state law, and may set up appropriate autonomous institutes or facilitate their establishment.
2. Those health insurance funds in the Region that have been merged with the institute for workers sickness benefit may be re-established by the Regional Parliament, subject to the settlement of the appropriate assets.
3. The benefits offered by the aforesaid health insurance funds to their members must not be inferior to those of the aforementioned institute.

Art. 7

1. Following consultation of the population concerned, new communes may be set up and their boundaries and names may be changed by regional laws.
2. Such changes, if they affect the territorial boundaries of state offices, shall not come into effect until two months after the publication of the provision in the Official Bulletin of the Region.

Chapter III - Functions of the Provinces

Art. 8

1. Within the limits set out in Article 4, the Provinces shall have the power to issue laws on the following matters:

1. Regulation of provincial offices and their personnel;

“page ”

2. Place names, without prejudice to the requirement for bilingualism in the territory of the Province of Bolzano;
3. Protection and preservation of the historic, artistic and popular heritage;
4. Local customs and traditions and cultural institutions (libraries, academies, institutes, museums) at provincial level; local artistic, cultural and educational events and activities, and in the Province of Bolzano, also through the media of radio and television, but without the power to set up radio and television stations;
5. Town planning and town planning schemes;
6. Protection of the countryside;
7. Common rights;
8. Regulation of small holdings in accordance with Article 847 of the Civil Code; regulation of "entailed farms" and family holdings governed by ancient statutes or customs;
9. Artisan activities;
10. Housing, totally or partly subsidised by public funds, including facilities for construction of public housing in areas struck by disaster, and activities undertaken in the Province by extra-provincial bodies with public funds;
11. Lake harbours;
12. Fairs and Markets;
13. Prevention and Emergency measures in the event of public disasters;
14. Mines, including mineral and thermal waters, quarries and peat bogs;
15. Hunting and fishing;
16. Alpine pastures and parks for the protection of flora and fauna;
17. Roads, aqueducts and public works in the province;
18. Communications and transport in the province, including the technical regulation and management of cable-car systems;
19. Direct engagement of public services and their management through special agencies;
20. Tourism and the hotel industry, including guides, Alpine bearers, ski instructors and ski schools;
21. Agriculture, forests and forestry personnel, cattle and fish breeding, plant pathology institutes, agricultural consortia, and experimental stations, hail protection services, land reclamation;
22. Expropriation for public use for all matters of provincial competence;
23. Establishment and functioning of municipal and provincial commissions for assistance and advice to workers on employment;
24. Third, fourth and fifth category water works;
25. Public assistance and welfare;
26. Nursery schools;
27. School welfare in regard to those educational sectors in which the Provinces have legislative competence;
28. School buildings;
29. Vocational training.

Art. 9

1. The Provinces shall issue laws, within the limits set out in Article 5, on the following matters:
 1. Local urban and rural police;
 2. Primary and secondary education (middle schools, classical, scientific, teacher-training, technical, further education and artistic secondary schools);
 3. Commerce;

"page "

4. Apprenticeship, employment cards, categories and qualifications of workers;
5. Establishment and functioning of municipal and provincial control commissions on employment;
6. Public entertainment in so far as public safety is concerned;
7. Commercial businesses, without prejudice to the requirements of State laws for obtaining licences, the supervisory powers of the State for reasons of public safety, and the power of the Ministry of the Interior to annul in accordance with national legislation the provisions adopted in the matter, however definitive. Ordinary appeals procedure against such action shall take place within the framework of the provincial autonomy;
8. Increase in industrial production;
9. Use of public waters, except for large-scale diversions for hydro-electric purposes;
10. Hygiene and health, including health care and hospital assistance;
11. Sport and recreation with relative facilities and equipment;

Art.10

1. In order to integrate the provisions of state laws, the Provinces shall have the power to issue laws in regard to employment and work placement with the power to make use of the outlying offices of the Ministry of Labour, until the establishment of their own offices, for the exercising of administrative powers linked to the legislative powers belonging to the provinces in matters of employment.
2. The municipal employment offices will be chosen nominated by state bodies, having consulted the President of the Province and the trade unions concerned.
3. Citizens resident in the Province of Bolzano will be entitled to precedence in the allocation of employment within their province, excluding any distinction based on their linguistic group or length of residence in the province.

Art. 11

1. The Province may authorise the opening and the transfer of branches of local, provincial or regional credit institutions, following consultation with the Ministry of the Treasury.
2. The authorisation to open and transfer to the Province branches of other credit institutions shall be given by the Ministry of the Treasury, following consultation with the Province concerned.
3. The Province shall appoint the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Savings Bank, following consultation with the Ministry of the Treasury.

Art. 12

1. With regard to concessions for large-scale diversions for hydro-electric purposes and extension to their term, the territorially competent Provinces shall have the power to present their observations and objections at any time before the publication of the final decision by the Higher Council for Public Works.
2. The Provinces shall also have the right to appeal to the Higher Courts for Public Waters against decrees granting concessions or extensions.
3. The Presidents of the territorially competent Provinces or their delegates shall be invited to attend meetings of the Higher Council for Public Works dealing with the proceedings outlined in the first paragraph, in an advisory capacity.
4. The Ministry responsible shall adopt measures relating to the activities of the National Electricity Board (ENEL) in the Region, following consultation with the province concerned.

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Art. 13

1. With regard to concessions of large-scale diversions for hydro-electric purposes, the concessionaires shall be obliged to supply annually and free of charge to the provinces of Bolzano and Trento, for public services and categories of users to be determined by Provincial law, 220Kwh. for every kW of average nominal power conceded, to be delivered to the generating station or along the high-tension transport and distribution cable connected to the generating station, at the point most convenient for the Province.
2. The Provinces shall also establish by law the criteria for determining the price of the above-mentioned energy ceded to the distribution agencies, as well as the criteria for consumer rates which, however, must not exceed those fixed by the CIP (Interministerial Committee for Prices).
3. The concessionaires of large-scale diversions for hydro-electric purposes must pay the Provinces, half-yearly, 620 lire for every kWh of unused energy. The per unit compensation mentioned above will vary in relation to changes of not less than 5 per cent of ENEL's average electricity sale price, as stated in the Board's annual final statement.
4. Applications for concessions for large-scale hydro-electric diversions presented in the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano in competition with ENEL and local bodies determined on the basis of subsequent State law shall be dealt with by the Minister of Public Works in agreement with the Ministry for Industry, Commerce and Artisan Enterprise, and with the agreement of the Province territorially concerned.

Art. 14

1. The Province must be consulted in the case of concessions granted in the field of communications and transport when lines cross provincial territory.
2. The Province must also be consulted in regard to first and second category water works. The State and the Province must agree beforehand an annual plan for co-ordinating the water works falling within their respective competency.
3. The use of public water by the State and the Province, within the framework of their respective competencies, shall be based on a general plan drawn up in agreement between representatives of the State and the Province at a special committee.

Art. 15

1. Unless the general rules on economic planning provide for a different system of financing, the Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Artisan Enterprise shall assign to the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano quotas of the annual allocations contained in the state budget for the implementation of state laws to finance increases in industrial activity. The quotas shall be fixed following consultation with the Province and take into account the sums allocated in the state budget and the needs of the population in the Province concerned. The use of the sums allocated shall be agreed between the State and the Province. Should the State intervene with its own funds in the provinces of Trento and Bolzano in order to carry out special national school building plans, these funds shall be used in agreement with the Provinces.
2. The Province of Bolzano shall use its own funding allocated for welfare, social and cultural purposes in direct proportion to the extent of each linguistic group and with reference to the needs of this group, except in the case of extraordinary events requiring immediate intervention for special requirements.

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3. The Province of Trento shall ensure the allocation of funding to an appropriate extent in order to promote the protection and the cultural, social and economic development of the Ladin, Mocheni and Cimbrian populations resident in its territory, taking into account their size and specific needs.

Chapter IV - Provisions common to the Region and the Provinces

Art.16

1. For the matters and within the limits in which the Region or the Province may issue laws, the relative administrative powers which, on the basis of previous regulations, were vested in the State, shall be exercised respectively by the Region and the Province.
2. The powers granted to the provinces under laws currently in force shall remain unaltered in so far as they are compatible with the present statute.
3. The State may also delegate by law its administrative functions to the Region, to the Province and to other local public bodies. In this case the cost of carrying out these functions shall be borne by the State.
4. The delegation of administrative functions of the State, even if conferred by the present law, may be modified or revoked by ordinary law of the Republic.

Art. 17

1. By State law the Region and the Provinces may be given powers to issue laws in relation to subject matters outside their respective competencies as laid down by the present Statute.

Art. 18

1. The Region shall normally exercise its administrative functions by delegating them to the Provinces, the communes and other local bodies or making use of their offices. Delegation to the Provinces is compulsory for fire protection services.
2. The Provinces may delegate some of their administrative functions to the communes or other local bodies or make use of their offices.

Art. 19

1. In the Province of Bolzano nursery, primary and secondary school teaching shall be provided in the Italian or German mother-tongue of the pupils by teachers of the same mother-tongue. In primary schools, beginning with the second or third year classes, to be established by provincial law according to the binding proposal of the linguistic group concerned, and in secondary schools, the teaching of the second language by teachers for whom it is their mother-tongue shall be compulsory.
2. The Ladin language shall be used in nursery schools and shall be taught in primary schools in Ladin areas. Ladin shall also be used as a teaching language in schools of every type and grade in those areas. In such schools teaching shall be given on the basis of the same number of hours and final results as Italian and German.

3. Enrolment of a pupil in schools in the Province of Bolzano shall follow a simple application by the father or guardian. The father or guardian may appeal against rejection of the application to the autonomous section of the Bolzano Regional Court of Administrative Justice.
4. For the administration of Italian language schools, and for the supervision of German language schools and those in the Ladin localities referred to in the second paragraph a school superintendent shall be appointed by the Ministry of Education following consultation with the Provincial Government of Bolzano.
5. For the administration of German language nursery, primary and secondary schools, a school inspector shall be appointed by the Provincial Government of Bolzano, following consultation with the Ministry of Education, from a short-list made up of representatives from the German language group in the Provincial Schools Council.
6. For the administration of the schools referred to in paragraph 2 of the present article, the Ministry of Education shall appoint a school inspector from a short-list made up from representatives of the Ladin linguistic group in the Provincial Schools Council.
7. The Ministry of Education, in agreement with the Province of Bolzano, shall appoint the chairmen and the members of the Boards for State Examinations in German language schools.
8. In order to ensure equivalence of final diplomas the Higher Education Council must be consulted in regard to the teaching programmes and examinations in schools in the Province of Bolzano.
9. The administrative personnel of the Education Superintendency, of secondary schools and of school inspectorates and education management shall come under the authority of the Province of Bolzano, while remaining at the service of the schools corresponding to their mother tongue.
10. Without prejudice to the principle that teachers shall come under the authority of the state, powers regarding transfer, leave of absence, temporary leave and disciplinary measures including suspension for one month without pay shall be devolved to the superintendent responsible for German language schools and to that for the schools referred to in paragraph 2, with regard to the teaching staff of the schools falling under their respective competency.
11. Measures taken by schools inspectors in accordance with the above paragraph may be the subject of an appeal to the Ministry of Education, which shall take the final decision, following consultation with the Schools Superintendent.
12. The Italian, German and Ladin linguistic groups shall be represented in the Provincial Schools Council and the Provincial Disciplinary Council for Teachers.
13. Teachers' representatives in the Provincial Schools Council shall be elected by the teaching personnel in proportion to the number of teachers in the respective linguistic groups. The number of representatives of the Ladin group must not, however, be less than three.
14. In addition to carrying out duties laid down by existing laws, the Schools Council must be consulted with regard to the opening and closing of schools, teaching programmes and timetables, the subject matter taught and its composition.
15. With regard to the possible establishment of universities in Trentino-Alto Adige, the State must first consult the Region and the Province concerned.

Art 20

1. The Presidents of the Provinces shall exercise the powers belonging to the police authorities, laid down by existing laws, as regards dangerous industries, trades which create noise or disturbance, shops and businesses, agencies, printing works, itinerant trades, workers and domestic servants, the mentally ill, drug addicts and beggars, and minors under the age of eighteen.
2. In order to exercise the aforementioned powers the Presidents of the Provinces shall make use of the state police force, namely the local, metropolitan and rural police.

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3. Other powers which laws on police matters assign to the Prefect shall be entrusted to the Police Commissioners.

4. The powers devolved to Mayors, as public officials responsible for policing or to attached officials of the police force shall remain unchanged.

Art. 21

1. Provisions adopted by the State for reasons of public order which affect, suspend or otherwise limit the effectiveness of powers of the Presidents of the Provinces on police matters or other provisions concerning provincial competence shall be issued after consultation with the President of the Province concerned, whose opinion must be given within the time limit specified in the request.

Art. 22

1. In order to ensure observance of regional and provincial laws and regulations the President of the Region and the President of the Province may request the intervention and assistance of the State police or the local urban and rural police.

Art. 23

1. The Region and the Provinces shall apply, according to the regulations contained in the respective laws, the penal sanctions which State laws specify for such cases.

PART II - Organs of the Regions and the Provinces

Chapter I - Organs of the Region

Art. 24

1. The organs of the Region shall be: the Regional parliament, the Regional Government and the President of the Region.

Art. 25

1. The Regional Parliament shall be made up of the members of the Provincial Parliaments of Trento and Bolzano.

2. The number of members of the Regional Parliament shall be 70. The division of seats among the constituencies shall be obtained by dividing the number of inhabitants of the Region, based on the last general census of the population, by 70 and distributing the seats in proportion to the population in each constituency, on the basis of complete quotients and the highest remainders.

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3. The territory of the Region shall be divided into the provincial constituencies of Trento and Bolzano.
4. To exercise the right to vote in the province of Bolzano an uninterrupted period of four years residence in the territory of the Region shall be required. To exercise the right to vote in the province of Trento an uninterrupted period of one year's residence in the territory of the province shall be required. The elector who has been resident in the Region for an uninterrupted period of four years shall, for the purposes of elections of the Provincial Parliaments, be put on the electoral register of the commune of the province in which he has spent the greater part of his four years residence. In the case of periods of residence of equal length he shall be placed on the electoral register of the commune of his latest residence. For the elections of the Provincial Parliaments and Municipal Councils envisaged in article 63, until the four year period has been completed, the elector shall exercise his right to vote in the commune of his previous residence.

Art. 26

1. The Regional Parliament shall exercise the legislative power granted to the Region and the other functions conferred on it by the Constitution, the present Statute, and other State laws.

Art. 27

1. The activities of the Regional Parliament shall take place in two sessions of equal length held alternately in the cities of Trento and Bolzano.
2. The new Parliament shall meet within twenty days of the proclamation of the election of the Provincial Parliaments of Trento and Bolzano, such meeting having been called by the President of the Region in office.
3. Elections for the new Parliament shall be called by the President of the Regional Government and may take place from the fourth Sunday preceding to the second Sunday following the completion of the period referred to in the first paragraph.
4. The decree announcing the elections must be published not later than the forty-fifth day preceding the date laid down for voting.
5. The new Parliament shall be convened by the President of the Regional Government in office within twenty days of the declaration of those elected.

Art. 28

1. The members of the Regional Parliament shall represent the whole region.
2. They cannot be made to answer for opinions expressed or votes cast during the exercising of their functions.
3. The role of member of the Regional or Provincial parliament is not compatible with the role of member in one of the Chambers, of another Regional Parliament or the European Parliament.

Art. 29

(repealed)

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Art. 30

1. The Regional Parliament shall elect the President, two Vice-Presidents and the Secretaries from among its members.
2. The President and Vice-Presidents shall remain in office for two and a half years.
3. In the first thirty months of the term of the Regional Parliament the President shall be elected from among the members of the Regional Parliament belonging to the Italian linguistic group. For the subsequent period the President shall be elected from the members belonging to German linguistic group. A member belonging to the Ladin linguistic group may be elected, subject to agreement, for the respective period by the majority of members from the Italian or German linguistic groups. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected from among the members belonging to linguistic groups different from that of the President.
4. In the event of the resignation or death of the President or Vice-Presidents of the Regional Parliament or if they should cease to carry out their duties for any other reason, the Parliament shall provide for the election of a new President or Vice-President, according to the provisions of the third paragraph. The election must take place at the next sitting, and shall remain in effect until the expiry of the current two and a half year period.
5. The Vice-Presidents shall assist the President, who shall choose the Vice-President who is to replace him in the event of his absence or other impediment.

Art. 31

1. The rules governing activities of the Regional Parliament shall be established by internal regulations approved by an absolute majority of the members of the Regional Parliament.
2. The internal regulations shall also establish the rules for determining which linguistic group members belong to.

Art. 32

1. A President or Vice-President of the Regional Parliament who does not fulfil the duties of his office may be removed by a majority vote of that parliament.
2. For this purpose an emergency meeting of the Regional Parliament may be convened at the request of at least one-third of the members.
3. Should the President or Vice-Presidents of the Regional Parliament fail to convene a meeting within fifteen days of the request, the Regional Parliament shall be convened by the President of the Region.
4. Should the President of the Region fail to convene the Regional Parliament within fifteen days of the expiry of the period indicated in the preceding paragraph, the meeting shall be convened by the Government Commissioner.
5. (repealed)

Art. 33

1. The grounds for dissolution described in article 49 b, first and second paragraph shall be extended to the Regional Parliament. In the event of dissolution of the Regional Parliament new elections for the Provincial Parliaments shall be called within three months.

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2. Dissolution shall be effected according to the procedures foreseen by article 49 b. A commission of three members shall be nominated following the decree of dissolution, made up of three members, one of whom is German-speaking, to be chosen from citizens eligible for election to the Provincial Parliament.
3. Provincial Parliaments which have been dissolved shall continue to carry out their functions until the election of the new Provincial Parliaments.
4. With the same decree of dissolution a commission of three members is nominated, one of whom German-speaking, chosen from among citizens eligible for election to the Provincial Parliament. The Commission shall elect one of its members as President, who shall exercise the powers of the President of the Regional Parliament. The Commission shall arrange for elections of the Regional Parliament to be held within three months, and shall adopt measures within the competence of the Regional Government and those that cannot be delayed. The latter shall lose their effect if not ratified by the Regional Parliament within one month of its convocation.
5. The new Parliament is convened by the Commission within twenty days of the elections.
6. The dissolution of the Regional Parliament does not entail the dissolution of the Provincial Parliaments. The members of the dissolved Parliament shall continue to exercise the functions of members of the Provincial Parliament until the election of the new Regional Parliament.
7. In the event of dissolution of a Provincial Parliament by-elections shall be held to elect members of the Regional Parliament until the election provided for in the preceding paragraph.
8. The components of the dissolved Provincial Parliament shall continue to carry out their functions until the election foreseen in the preceding paragraph.

Art. 34

1. Ordinary sessions of the Regional Parliament shall be convened by the President in the first week of each six-month period; extraordinary sessions may be called at the request of the Regional Government, or the President thereof or at the request of at least one-fifth of the members of the Regional Parliament in office, as well as in cases provided for in the present statute.

Art. 35

1. On matters that are not within the competence of the Region but which may be of special interest to it the Regional Parliament may vote draft proposals and laws. In both cases they shall be sent by the President of the Region to the Government for submission to the house and copies of the same shall be forwarded to the Government Commissioner.

Art. 36

1. The Regional Government shall be made up of the President of the Region, who chairs it, two Vice-Presidents and regular and substitute members of the Regional Government.
2. The President, the Vice-Presidents and the members of the Regional Government shall be elected by the Regional Parliament from among its members by secret ballot and with an absolute majority.
3. The composition of the Regional Government must reflect the extent of the linguistic groups which are represented in the Regional Parliament. One Vice-President shall belong to the Italian linguistic group and the other to the German linguistic group. The Ladin linguistic group is guaranteed representation in the Regional Government, even derogating from proportional representation.

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4. The President shall choose the Vice-President to replace him in case of absence or other impediment.
5. Substitute members shall replace the regular members in their respective functions taking into account the linguistic group of those replaced.

Art. 37

1. The President and members of the Regional Government shall remain in office during the term of the Regional Parliament, and after the expiry of the latter shall conduct only normal administrative affairs until the appointment of the President and members of the Government by the new Parliament.
2. The members of the Regional Government belonging to a dissolved Provincial Parliament shall continue to remain in office until the election of the new Provincial Parliament.

Art. 38

1. The President of the Region or Members of the Regional Government who fail to carry out their duties as established by law shall be dismissed by the Regional Parliament.
2. (repealed)

Art. 39

1. If, due to the death, resignation or dismissal it becomes necessary to replace the President of the Region or a Member, the President of the Regional Parliament shall convene a meeting of the Parliament within fifteen days.

Art. 40

1. The President of the Region shall represent the Region.
2. He shall attend meetings of the Council of Ministers when questions affecting the Region are discussed.

Art. 41

1. The President of the Region shall manage the administrative functions delegated by the State to the Region, in conformity with the instructions of the Government.

Art. 42

1. The President of the Region shall decide on the allocation of responsibilities to individual Members of the Regional Government, according to decree to be published in the Official Bulletin of the Region.

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Art. 43

1. The President of the Region shall promulgate by decree the regulations decided by the Regional Government.

Art. 44

1. The Regional Government is the executive organ of the Region. Its responsibilities shall be:
 1. To decide upon the regulations for the enactment of laws approved by the Regional Parliament;
 2. The administration of affairs that affect the Region;
 3. The administration of the property of the Region, as well as control of the management, by means of special agencies, of regional public services of an industrial or commercial nature;
 4. Other duties required of it by the existing law or by other provisions;
 5. The adoption, in urgent cases, of measures within the competence of the Parliament, these shall be submitted to the Parliament for ratification at its first sitting thereafter.

Art. 45

1. The Regional Government must be consulted regarding the establishing and regulation of national communications and transport services of special interest to the Region.

Art. 46

1. The Regional Parliament may delegate to the Regional Government any of the functions within its own competence, with the exception of the issuing of legislation.

Chapter II - Organs of the Province

Art. 47

1. The organs of the Province are: the Provincial Parliament, the Provincial Government and the President of the Province.
2. In harmony with the constitution and the principles of the legal system, the respect of international obligations and observing the provisions of this statute, provincial law, approved by an absolute majority of the members of the Provincial Parliament, shall determine the form of government of the Province and, specifically, the manner of election of the Provincial Parliament, the President of the Province and members of the Provincial Government, the relationships between the organs of the Province, the presentation and approval of a grounded motion of no-confidence in the President of the Province, cases of ineligibility and incompatibility with the aforesaid roles, in addition to the exercising of the right to referenda on provincial laws and provincial referenda abrogating laws, containing proposals or advisory referenda. In order to achieve a balance in the representation of the sexes, the same law promotes conditions of equality for access to elections. The concomitant resignation

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of the majority of the members of the Provincial Parliament will lead to the dissolution of Parliament and the concomitant election of the new Parliament and the President of the Province, if elected by universal and direct suffrage. In the event that the President of the Province is elected by the Provincial Parliament, the Parliament shall be dissolved when it is no longer capable of functioning due to the impossibility of forming a majority within ninety days of the elections or from the resignation of the President.

3. In the Autonomous Province of Bolzano the Provincial Parliament shall be elected using the proportional system. If it foresees the election of the President of the Province of Bolzano by universal and direct suffrage, provincial law shall be approved with a majority of two thirds of the members of the Provincial Parliament.

4. Provincial laws described in the second and third paragraphs shall not be communicated to the Government Commissioner according to the first paragraph of article 55. The government of the Republic may raise the issue of constitutional legitimacy as regards them with the constitutional court within thirty days of their publication.

5. Provincial laws described in the second paragraph shall be subjected to a provincial referendum, the regulation of which is foreseen by the special law for each Province, if within three months of their publication one fifth of the electors or one fifth of the Provincial Parliament so request. The law subjected to referendum shall not be promulgated if it is not approved by a majority of the valid votes.

6. If the laws are approved by a majority of two thirds of the members of the Provincial Parliament a referendum shall only take place if within three months of their publication the request is signed by one fifteenth of those entitled to vote for the election of the Provincial Parliament.

Art. 48

1. Each Provincial Parliament shall be elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage and shall be made up of thirty-five members, remaining in office for a term of five years. The five-year term begins on the date of the elections. Elections are held concomitantly on the same day. If one Provincial Parliament should be renewed in advance of the others, it shall remain in office until the expiry of the five-year term of the Parliament which has not been renewed.

2. The laws for the election of the Provincial Parliament of Bolzano guarantee representation of the Ladin linguistic group.

3. One seat in the Provincial Parliament of Trento shall be assigned to the territory containing the communes of Moena, Soraga, Vigo di Fassa, Pozzo di Fassa, Mazzin, Campitello di Fassa and Canazei, where the Ladin-Dolomitic linguistic group of Fassa is settled. It shall be attributed according to the provisions established by the law described in the second paragraph of article 47.

4. Elections of the new Provincial Parliament shall be called by the President of the Province and shall take place in the period between the fourth Sunday before and the second Sunday following the completion of the five-year term. The decree calling the elections shall be published not more than forty-five days before the date established for voting.

5. The first meeting of the new Provincial Parliament shall take place not more than twenty days from the proclamation of the members elected and is called by the President of the Province in office.

Art. 48b

1. The members of the Provincial Parliament represent the whole Province. Before being admitted to exercise their role they shall take an oath to respect the constitution.

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2. The members of the Provincial Parliament cannot be made to answer for opinions expressed or votes cast during the exercising of their functions.

Art. 48c

1. The Provincial Parliament of Trento shall elect a President, a Vice-President and the secretaries from among its members.
2. The Provincial Parliament of Bolzano shall elect a President, two Vice-Presidents and the secretaries from among its members. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected from among the members belonging to linguistic groups different from that of the President. The President shall designate the Vice-President called upon to substitute him in the event of his absence or impediment.
3. For the first thirty months of the term of the Provincial Parliament of Bolzano the President shall be elected from among the members belonging to the German linguistic group, for the subsequent period the President shall be elected from among the Italian-speaking members. A member belonging to the Ladin linguistic group may be elected, subject to the approval for the respective periods of the German or Italian linguistic groups.

Art. 49

1. The provisions of Articles 31, 32, 33, 35 and 38 shall apply the Provincial Parliaments, in so far as they are compatible with these.
2. In the first thirty months of the term of the Provincial Parliament of Bolzano the President shall be elected from among the Members belonging to the German linguistic group and the Vice-President from those belonging to the Italian linguistic group, for the following period the President shall be elected from among the Members belonging to the Italian linguistic group and the Vice-President from those belonging to the German linguistic group.
3. For the Province of Bolzano the composition of the Commission provided for in Article 33 must reflect the numerical strength of the linguistic groups that make up the population of that Province.

Art. 49b

1. The Provincial Parliament may be dissolved if it commits acts contrary to the Constitution or serious violations of the law or does not substitute the Provincial Government or President in the event that they have committed similar acts or violations.
2. The Provincial Parliament may also be dissolved for reasons of national security.
3. Dissolution shall be effectuated through grounded decree by the President of the Republic, following a resolution of the Council of Ministers and having consulted a Commission of members of parliament and senators set up to consider regional matters, in the manner established according to the laws of the Republic.
4. With the same decree of dissolution a commission of three members shall be nominated, one of whom German-speaking, chosen from among citizens eligible for election to the Provincial Parliament. For the Province of Bolzano the commission must comply with the extent of the linguistic groups making up the population of the province. The Commission shall elect one of its members as President and he shall be invested with the powers of the President of the Province. The Commission shall arrange for elections of the Provincial Parliament to be held within three months, and shall adopt measures within the competence of the Provincial Government and those which cannot be delayed. The latter shall lose their effect if not ratified by the Provincial Parliament within one month of its convocation.
5. The new Parliament shall be convened by the Commission within twenty days of the elections.

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6. The dissolution of the Provincial Parliament does not entail the dissolution of the Regional Parliament. The members of the dissolved Provincial Parliament shall continue to exercise their functions as members of the Regional Parliament until the election of the new Provincial Parliament.

7. Dismissal of the President of the Province shall be ordered by grounded decree of the President of the Republic, if he was elected by universal and direct suffrage, in the event of his committing acts contrary to the Constitution or repeated and grave violations of the law. His removal may also be decreed for reasons of national security.

Art. 50

1. The Provincial Government of Trento shall be made up of the President, the Vice-President and the members of the Provincial Government. The Provincial Government of Bolzano shall be made up of the President, two Vice-Presidents and members of the Provincial Government.

2. The composition of the Provincial Government of Bolzano must reflect the numerical strength of the linguistic groups as represented in the Provincial Government. Members of the Provincial Government of Bolzano who do not belong to the Parliament shall be elected by the Provincial Government itself, with a majority of two thirds of its members, on the proposal of one or more groups within the parliament, so long as there is the agreement of the members of the linguistic group of those designated, as regards the members who make up the majority supporting the Provincial Government. One of the Vice-Presidents shall belong to the German linguistic group and the other to the Italian linguistic group. The President shall choose the Vice-President called on to replace him in the event of his absence or other impediment.

3. The Ladin linguistic group may be given representation in the Provincial Government of Bolzano, even derogating from proportional representation. In the event that there is only one Ladin representative in the Provincial Parliament and that he is elected to the Government, he must renounce the office of President or Vice-President of the Provincial Parliament.

4. The approval of a motion of no confidence in the President of the Province elected by universal and direct suffrage, or his dismissal or resignation shall lead to the resignation of the Provincial Government and the dissolution of the Provincial Parliament.

Art. 51

1. The provisions contained in Article 37 shall apply to the President and Members of the Provincial Government, in so far as these are compatible.

Art. 52

1. The President of the Province shall be the representative of the Province.

2. He shall take all necessary and emergency measures in on of safety and public health when the interests of the populations of two or more communes are involved.

3. The President of the Province shall decide on the allocation of responsibilities to individual regular members according to decree published in the Official Bulletin of the Region.

4. He shall attend meetings of the Council of Ministers when questions affecting the Province are discussed.

Art. 53

1. The President of the Province shall enact regulations decided by the Provincial Government by decree.

Art. 54

The responsibilities of the Provincial Government are:

1. To decide upon the regulations for the enactment of laws approved by the Provincial Parliament,
2. To decide upon regulations on matters which, according to legislation in force, are devolved to the regulatory powers of the Provinces;
3. The administration of affairs that affect the Province;
4. The administration of the property of the Province, as well as control over the management of special provincial public service agencies;
5. The supervision and protection of municipal administrations, public welfare and charitable institutions, consortia and other local bodies and institutes, including the power to suspend and dissolve organs according to the law. In the aforementioned cases and when the administrations concerned are not, for whatever reason, in a position to function the Provincial Government may appoint Commissioners, who must be chosen, in the Province of Bolzano, from the linguistic group which has the majority of administrators within the most representative organ of the body.
The extraordinary provisions indicated above remain the responsibility of the State when reasons of public order are concerned or when referred to communes with a population of more than 20,000 inhabitants.
6. Other powers referred to the Province by the present Statute or other laws of the Republic or the Region;
7. The adoption, in emergencies, of measures within the competence of the Parliament, these shall be submitted to the Parliament for ratification at its first sitting thereafter

PART III - Approval, Promulgation and Publication of Regional and Provincial Laws and Regulations

Art. 55

1. Bills approved by the Regional or Provincial Parliament shall be communicated to the Government Commissioner in Trento in the case of the Region or the Province of Trento, and to the Government Commissioner in Bolzano in the case of the Province of Bolzano. Bills shall be promulgated thirty days after their communication, unless the Government refers them back to the Regional or Provincial Parliament respectively on the grounds that they exceed their respective competence or conflict with national interests or with those of one of the two Provinces in the Region.
2. If they are again approved by the Regional or Provincial Parliament by an absolute majority of their members, they shall be promulgated if within fifteen days of their communication, the Government does not contest their legality before the Constitutional Court or raise the issue of conflict of interests before Parliament. In case of doubt the Court shall decide the competent authority.

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3. If a law is declared urgent by the Regional or Provincial Parliament by an absolute majority of their respective members, if the Government consents, its promulgation and coming into effect shall not be subject to the time limits stated above.
4. Regional and provincial laws shall be promulgated by the President of the Region or by the President of the Province respectively and approved by the Government Commissioners responsible.

Art. 56

1. If a bill is considered prejudicial to the equality of rights between citizens of the different linguistic groups or to the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the groups themselves, the majority of the Members of a linguistic group in the Regional Parliament or Provincial Parliament of Bolzano may request a vote by linguistic groups.
2. If the request for separate voting is not accepted, or if the bill is approved notwithstanding the contrary vote of two-thirds of the members of the linguistic group which had put forward the request, the majority of that group may contest the law before the Constitutional Court within thirty days of its publication, for the reasons set out in the preceding paragraph.
3. The appeal shall not have the effect of suspending the law.

Art. 57

1. Regional laws and regulations shall be published in the Official Bulletin of the Region in Italian and German, and come into effect on the fifteenth day following their publication, unless the law provides otherwise.
2. In the event of doubt interpretation of the regulations will take place on the basis of the text in Italian.
3. A copy of the Official Bulletin shall be sent to the Government Commissioner.

Art. 58

1. Laws and decrees of the Republic that concern the Region shall also be published in the Official Bulletin in German, without prejudice to their coming into effect.

Art. 59

1. Laws approved by the Regional and Provincial Parliaments and regulations issued by the Regional and Provincial Governments shall be published, for information, in a special section of the Official Gazette of the Republic.

Art. 60

1. The procedure governing use of the right to petition and referendum regarding regional laws, shall be regulated by regional law.

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PART IV - Local Bodies

Art 61

1. The regulations for local public bodies shall contain provisions to ensure the proportional representation of linguistic groups in the composition of the organs of those bodies.
2. In communes in the Province of Bolzano each linguistic group has the right to be represented in the municipal government if there are at least two Members belonging to that group in the Municipal Council.

Art. 62

1. Regulations on the composition of the constitutional organs of local and public bodies in the Province of Bolzano shall guarantee representation of the Ladin linguistic group.

Art. 63

1. To exercise active electoral rights in elections of Municipal Councils in the Province of Bolzano the provisions of the last paragraph of Article 25 shall apply.

Art. 64

1. The State shall control the organisation and functioning of public bodies that also carry out their activities outside the territory of the Region.

Art. 65

1. The organisation of municipal staff shall be regulated by the communes themselves, within the limits of general principles that may be laid down by regional law.

PART V - Public Property and Estate of the Region and Provinces

Art. 66

1. Roads, motorways, railways, and aqueducts that are of exclusive regional interest and which shall be determined by the executive measures implementing the present statute shall constitute the public property of the Region.

Art. 67

1. State-owned forests in the Region, mines, quarries and peat-bogs, in so far as user rights have been withdrawn from the owner of the property, buildings intended for use as regional public offices together with their fittings, and other property intended for regional public service shall constitute the inalienable property of the Region.
2. The immovable property of the State in the Region shall become the property of the Region.
3. The means by which the State will transfer the above-mentioned property to the Region shall be laid down in the executive measures to the present Statute.
4. Ownerless immovable property in the Region shall become the property of the Region.

Art. 68

1. In connection with the new subject matters falling within their competence, the Provinces shall succeed to the property, property rights and immovable property of the State and the Region in their respective territories, excluding military property, services of a national character and matters of regional competence.

PART VI - Finance of the Region and the Provinces

Art. 69

1. The revenue from mortgage taxes collected on property situated in its territory shall be assigned to the Region.
2. The following quotas of state tax revenue collected in the territory of the Region shall also be assigned to the Region:
 - a) 9/10 of the revenue obtained from inheritance duties and gifts and from the net value of inheritances;
 - b) 2/10 of value-added tax, excluding that on imports, net of reimbursements carried out under Article 33 b of the Decree of the President of the Republic of 26 October 1972, n. 633, and subsequent amendments;
 - c) 9/10 of the revenue from lotteries, net of winnings;
 - d) 1/20 of the value-added tax on imports collected in the territory of the Region.

Art. 70

1. The income from tax collected on electrical energy consumed in their respective territories shall be assigned to the Provinces.

Art. 71

1. 9/10 of the annual rent established by law and payable for concessions of large-scale diversions of public water in the Province, granted or to be granted for whatever purpose, shall be assigned by the State to the Province.

Art. 72

1. The Provinces may impose levies and taxes on tourism.

Art. 73

1. The Region and the Provinces may, by law, levy their own taxes in conformity with the taxation system of the state in matters of their respective competence.

Art. 74

1. The Region and the Provinces may issue internal loans on their own guarantee for an amount not exceeding their normal income in order to provide for investments in works of a permanent character.

Art. 75

1. The Provinces shall be assigned the following quotas of the yield from the tax revenues of the state indicated below, collected in their respective territories:

- a) 9/10 of registration taxes and stamp duty, as well as government concession taxes;
- b) 9/10 of the road taxes on vehicles registered in their respective territories;
- c) 9/10 of the duty obtained from the consumption of tobacco sold in the territory of the two Provinces;
- d) 7/10 of value-added tax, excluding that on imports, net of reimbursements carried out under Article 38-bis of the Decree of the President of the Republic of 26 October 1972, n. 633, and subsequent amendments;
- e) 4/10 of the value-added tax on imports collected in the territory of the Region, to be divided in the proportion of 53 per cent to the Province of Bolzano and 47 per cent to the Province of Trento;
- f) 9/10 of the yield from the tax on petrol, on gas-oil, for traction engines and on liquefied gas for traction engines supplied from distribution plants situated in the territories of the two Provinces;
- g) 9/10 of all other state revenue direct or indirect, however designated, including local income taxes, excepting those belonging to the Region or other public bodies.

2. Also included in the above-mentioned proportions shall be the income brought into the province by and outgoing payments made to offices situated outside the territory of the respective Provinces, as a result of legislative or administrative provisions.

Art. 76

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Art. 77

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Art. 78

1. In order to ensure that the Autonomous Provinces are in a financial position to achieve the objectives and carry out the functions prescribed by law, they shall be assigned a quota not exceeding 4/10 of the yield from value-added tax on imports collected within the territory of the Region, to be divided in the proportion of 47 per cent to the Province of Trento and 53 per cent to the Province of Bolzano. Without prejudice to the contents of Article 15 of the statute and the relative Executive Measures, the transfer shall take place without the obligation to apply it to specific objectives.
2. In determining the said proportion account shall be taken, on the basis of population and territory, also of general state expenditure in the rest of the national territory in those sectors of provincial competence. The proportion shall be decided annually by agreement between the Government and the President of the Province.

Art. 79

1. The provisions of Article 119, paragraph three, of the Constitution shall also apply to the Autonomous Provinces of Trento and Bolzano.

Art. 80

1. Within the limits laid down by Article 5, the Provinces shall have legislative power in matters of local finance.

Art. 81

1. In order to satisfy the requirements of bilingualism the Province of Bolzano may assign additional funds to the communes.
2. In order to ensure that the communes are in a financial position to achieve the objectives and carry out the functions prescribed by law, the Provinces of Trento and Bolzano shall provide the communes with the necessary financial means, to be agreed between the President of the relative Province and joint representation of the respective communes.

Art. 82

1. The Region and the Provinces shall collaborate in the assessment of state taxes on the income of bodies with fiscal residence in their respective territories.

2. With this scope the Regional Government and the Provincial Governments may, before the 31 December of the year preceding that in which the time-limit for the assessment expires, notify the financial offices of the State in the Region and in the Provinces of data, facts and matters relevant for the determination of a greater taxable amount, and provide the appropriate documentation to prove the same.
3. The financial offices of the State in the Region and in the Provinces must inform the respective governments of the measures taken as a result of the information received.

Art. 83

1. The Region, the Provinces and the Communes shall have their own budget for the financial year, which shall coincide with the calendar year.

Art. 84

1. The budgets prepared by the Regional or Provincial Governments and the financial statements accompanying the report of the government shall be approved by regional or provincial law respectively.
2. At the request of the majority of a linguistic group, voting on the individual chapters of the budgets of the Region and that of the Province of Bolzano shall take place by linguistic group.
3. The budget items which do not obtain a majority of votes with each linguistic group shall be referred within three days to a Commission of four members of the regional or provincial parliaments, elected by the Parliament at the beginning of the legislature and for its duration, composed jointly of members of the two major linguistic groups and in conformity with the nominations of each group.
4. Within 15 days the Commission referred to in the preceding paragraph must determine the definitive designation of the items and the amount of the relative funding, this decision being binding for the Parliament. The decision shall be taken by a simple majority, with no Member having a casting vote.
5. If the Commission does not reach a majority on a final proposal, the President of the Regional or Provincial Parliament shall, within 7 days, send the draft budget and all the documentation and minutes relating to the discussion held within the government and Commission to the autonomous section of the Bolzano Regional Court of Administrative Justice which, within 30 days, must decide on items not approved and the amount of relative allocations by arbitration.
6. The aforementioned procedure shall not apply to items relating to income, to items relating to expenditure on allocations inserted on the basis of specific legal provisions for a predetermined amount for the financial year, and to items dealing with the normal running costs of the organs and offices of the relevant body.
7. The decisions referred to in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of this Article are not subject to appeal or recourse before the Constitutional Court.
8. Limited to the items determined by the procedure outlined in the previous paragraphs, the law approving the budget may only be referred back or contested by the Government on grounds of illegality due to violations of the Constitution or of the present Statute.
9. For the approval of the budget and the financial statements of the Region a favourable vote by the majority of the Members of the Province of Trento and that of Bolzano shall be required. If no such majority is forthcoming, the said approval shall be given by a body at regional level. The said body may not modify the decisions on those items of the budget contested on the basis of the provisions of paragraphs 3, 4, and 5 of this Article and decided according to the procedure envisaged therein.

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Art. 85

1. To the extent that foreign trade is subject to the limitations and approval of the State, the Region shall have the power to authorise such trade within limits to be established by agreement between the Government and the Region.
2. In the case of foreign trade based on quotas that affect the economy of the Region, the latter shall be assigned a part of the import and export quota, to be fixed by agreement between the Government and the Region.

Art. 86

1. The general provisions on currency control issued by the State shall also have effect in the Region.
2. Nevertheless, in order to cover the essential imports of the Region the State shall set aside a proportion of the credit balance between the foreign currencies obtained from exports from Trentino-Alto Adige and those used to pay for imports.

PART VII - Relations between State, Region and Province

Art. 87

1. In the territory of the Region there shall be one Government Commissioner for the Province of Trento and one Government Commissioner for the Province of Bolzano. Their responsibilities shall be:
 - a) To co-ordinate, according to Government directives, the exercising of State powers in the Province and to supervise the activities of the respective departments, with the exception of those concerned with the administration of justice, defence and the railways;
 - b) To supervise the exercising by the Provinces and other local public bodies of the functions delegated to them by the State and to communicate any matters of importance to the President of the Province;
 - c) To carry out those duties previously required of the Prefect to the extent that they have not been assigned by the present Statute or by other laws to organs of the Region and the Provinces or other organs of the State.
2. The Government Commissioner in Trento shall carry out the duties referred to in no. 2 of the previous paragraph with regard to the Region and other public bodies with competence over the entire Region.

Art. 88

1. The Government Commissioner shall provide for the maintenance of public order, for which he is responsible to the Minister of the Interior.
2. To that end he may make use of the organs and police forces of the State, request the use of other armed forces according to current legislation and adopt the measures contained in Article 2 of the Consolidation Act on policing.
3. The responsibilities assigned by current legislation to the Ministry of the Interior shall remain in force.

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PART VIII – Lists of personnel employed in State Offices in the Province of Bolzano

Art. 89

1. For the Province of Bolzano there shall be established lists of civil service personnel, with separate career structures for employees of administrative departments of the State having offices in the Province. These lists shall be determined on the basis of the staff of the offices concerned, established where necessary by the appropriate regulations.
2. The preceding paragraph does not apply to senior posts in the civil service of the Ministry of the Interior, to personnel in the security services and to the administrative personnel of the Ministry of Defence.
3. The posts in the lists referred to in the first paragraph, drawn up according to administration and career shall be reserved for citizens belonging to each of the three linguistic groups in proportion to the numerical strength of those groups ascertained from the declarations of membership given at the time of the official census of the population.
4. The assignment of posts reserved for German and Ladin-speaking citizens shall be carried out gradually until the quotas referred to in the preceding paragraph have been achieved through new appointments to vacancies which may occur for whatever reason in the individual lists.
5. Personnel in the categories referred to in the first paragraph shall be guaranteed stability of employment in the Province, with the exception of those in administrative departments or careers which require transfer for reasons of service or staff training.
6. Transfers of German-speaking personnel shall not, however, exceed 10% of the total number of posts occupied by them.
7. The provisions on the reservation and proportional representation of posts in the Province of Bolzano between the Italian and German linguistic groups shall be extended to the personnel in the judicial and investigative magistracy. Stability of employment in the Province shall be guaranteed without prejudice to the judicial regulations on incompatibility of functions. The criteria for the attribution of posts reserved for German-speaking citizens laid down in the fourth paragraph of the present article shall also apply to personnel in the magistracy in the Province of Bolzano.

PART IX - Jurisdictional Organs

Art. 90

1. According to regulations to be determined a Regional Court of Administrative Justice shall be established in Trentino-Alto Adige, with an Autonomous Section for the Province of Bolzano.

Art. 91

1. The members of the Section for the Province of Bolzano referred to in Article 90 of the present statute must belong in equal numbers to the two major linguistic groups.

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2. Half the members of the Section shall be appointed by the Provincial Parliament of Bolzano.
3. Italian-speaking judges and German-speaking judges assigned to the Court shall alternate for equal periods of time as Presidents of the Section. The President shall be appointed from among regular magistrates making up the Bar by decree of the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the President of the Council of Ministers.
4. The President of the Section shall have the casting vote in the event of a tie, except in the case of appeals against administrative measures held to be prejudicial to the principle of equality between the linguistic groups and the procedure for approval of the Regional and Provincial budgets.

Art. 92

1. Administrative acts of bodies and organs of the public administration having their offices in the Region considered prejudicial to the principle of the equality of citizens in regard to membership of a linguistic group may be contested before the Autonomous Section of the Bolzano Regional Court of Administrative Justice by members of the Regional or Provincial Parliaments and, in the case of measures by communes in the Province of Bolzano, also by Municipal Councillors of that Province, whenever they are considered prejudicial by a majority of the linguistic group which considers that its rights have been violated.
2. Likewise administrative acts referred to in the first paragraph considered prejudicial to the principle of equality between Italian, Ladin Mocheni and Cimbrian citizens resident in the Province of Trento may be contested before the Regional Court of Administrative Justice in Trento by members of the Regional or Provincial Parliaments and, in the case of measures by communes, also by Municipal Councillors in the Ladin, Mocheni or Cimbrian areas, whenever they are considered prejudicial by one fifth of the Municipal Council.

Art. 93

1. A Member from the German-speaking group of the Province of Bolzano must form part of those Sections of the Council of State empowered to hear appeals against decisions of the Autonomous Section of the Bolzano Regional Court of Administrative Justice referred to in Article 90 of the present statute.

Art. 94

1. The President of the Region, in his capacity as delegate of the President of the Republic, shall be responsible for the appointment, exemption from office, dismissal and removal from office of Justices of the Peace and Deputy Justices, in accordance with other laws governing the establishment of the judiciary.
2. The authorisation to exercise the functions of Clerks and Bailiffs in the offices of the Justices shall be given by the President of the Region to such persons as have the qualifications laid down in the regulations governing the judiciary.
3. The revocation or temporary suspension of the said authorisation shall be made by the same President in those cases provided for in the regulations governing the judiciary.
4. In the communes in the Province of Bolzano perfect knowledge of the Italian and German languages shall be required for appointment as Justices of the Peace, Deputy Justices, Clerks and Bailiffs in the offices of the Justices.

Art. 95

1. The Provincial Governments shall supervise the offices of the Justices of the Peace.

Art. 96

1. Separate offices for the Justice of the Peace may be set up by provincial law in communes sub-divided into localities or districts.

PART X - Control by the Constitutional Court

Art. 97

1. Without prejudice to the measures contained in Articles 56 and 84, paragraphs 6 and 7, of the present Statute, Regional or Provincial laws may be contested before the Constitutional Court for violations of the Constitution or of the present Statute or of the principle of equality between the linguistic groups.
2. Impugnment may be undertaken by the Government.
3. Regional law may also be contested by one of the Provincial Parliaments of the Region, Provincial law by the Regional Parliament or by the other Provincial Parliament in the Region.

Art. 98

1. Laws and acts having the force of law of the Republic may be contested by the President of the Region or of the Province following a resolution of the respective Parliament, for violation of the present Statute or of the principle of protection of the German and Ladin linguistic minorities.
2. Should an Act by the State encroach upon the sphere of competence assigned by the present Statute to the Region or the Provinces, the Region or the respective Province may appeal to the Constitutional Court for a ruling in regard to the matter of competence.
3. The appeal shall be lodged by the President of the Region or that of the Province, following a resolution by the respective Government.
4. A copy of the notice of impugnment and the appeal on grounds of conflict of competence must be sent to the Government Commissioner in Trento if it concerns the Region or the Province of Trento and to the Government Commissioner in Bolzano if it concerns the Province of Bolzano.

PART XI - Use of the German and Ladin Languages

Art. 99

1. In the Region the German language is made equal to the Italian language, which is the official language of the State. In Acts of a legislative nature and in cases where the present Statute provides for a bilingual text the Italian version shall be the authoritative text.

Art. 100

1. German-speaking citizens of the Province of Bolzano may use their own language in relations with the judicial offices and with the organs and offices of the public administration situated in the Province or which have regional power, as well as with concessionaires who provide public services in the Province.

2. In sittings of the collective organs of the Region, of the Province of Bolzano and of local bodies in that Province, the Italian or the German language may be used.

3. The offices, the organs, and the agencies referred to in paragraph one shall use in correspondence and in oral dealings the language of the applicant and shall reply in the language in which proceedings by another body or office have been initiated; in cases when an office initiates correspondence it must use the presumed language of the citizen to whom it is directed.

4. Except in cases expressly provided for - and except for the regulation through executive measures of cases of joint use of the two languages in documents intended for public use and in documents intended for more than one office - the right to use one or other of the two languages shall be recognised. The requirement to use only the Italian language in organisations of a military nature shall remain unchanged.

Art. 101

1. In the Province of Bolzano the public administrations must use German place names in relations with German-speaking citizens if provincial law has confirmed their existence and approved their designation.

Art. 102

1. The Ladin, Mocheni and Cimbrian populations in the communes of Fierozzo, Fissilongo and Palù del Fesina and Luserna shall have the right to develop their cultural, press and recreational activities as well as to have their place-names and traditions respected.

2. In the schools of the communes in the Province of Trento where Ladin, Mocheni or Cimbrian is spoken, the teaching of the Ladin or German language and culture shall be guaranteed.

PART XII - Final and Transitory Measures

Art. 103

1. For amendments to the present Statute the procedure laid down by the Constitution in relation to constitutional laws shall apply.

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2. The Regional Parliament shall also have the right to initiate amendments of this Statute, according to the proposals of the Parliaments of the Autonomous Provinces of Trento and Bolzano and subsequent conformable resolution of the Regional Parliament.
3. Projects for amendments to the present Statute initiated by the government or parliament shall be communicated by the Government of the Republic to the Regional Parliament and Provincial Parliaments, who shall express their opinion within two months.
4. Approved amendments to the Statute shall in any event be subject to a national referendum.

Art. 104

1. Without prejudice to the contents of article 103, the provisions of Part VI and of Article 13 may be amended by ordinary State law at the joint request of the Government and, as regards their respective competence, the Region or the two Provinces.
2. The Provisions of articles 30 and 40 relating to the alternation of the President of the Regional Parliament and that of the Provincial Parliament of Bolzano may be modified by ordinary State law at the joint request of the Government and, respectively, the Region or the Province of Bolzano.

Art. 105

1. Until such time as different provisions are made by Regional or Provincial law, State law shall be applied in regard to matters that come within the competence of the Region and the Province.

Art. 106

1. In matters transferred from the competence of the Region to that of the Province, the Regional laws in force at the date of the coming into effect of the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, n.1 shall continue to be applied until different provisions are made by Provincial law.

Art. 107

1. The executive measures implementing the present statute shall be issued by legislative decree, following consultation of a joint Commission of twelve members of which six shall represent the State, two the Regional Parliament, two the Provincial Parliament of Trento and two that of Bolzano. Three of its members must belong to the German linguistic group.
2. Within the Commission referred to in the previous paragraph a special Commission for the executive measures relating to the matters assigned to the competence of the Province of Bolzano shall be appointed, made up of six members, of whom three shall represent the State and three the Province. One of the representatives of the State must belong to the German-speaking group, one of the representatives of the Province must belong to the Italian-speaking group.

Art. 108

1. Except in cases expressly provided for, the legislative decrees containing the executive measures of the Statute shall be issued within two years of the coming into effect of the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1.
2. If in the first eighteen months the Commissions referred to in the previous article have not issued in whole or in part their final opinions on the draft executive measures, the Government shall provide, in the following six months, for the issue of the relative decrees, without taking into account the opinion of the Commissions.
3. With executive measures to be issued within one year of the coming into effect of the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1 the property which, according to article 68 of the present Statute, shall pass to the Provinces shall be decided, as well as the conditions for the transfer of the said property.

Art. 109

1. With executive measures to be issued within one year of the coming into effect of the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1 the property which represents the historical and artistic heritage of national interest to be excluded from the provincial competence referred to in Article 8 (iii) of the present Statute shall be listed.
2. Within the same period the executive measures relating to Article 19 of the present Statute shall be issued.
3. If the measures referred to in the preceding paragraph have not been issued within the stated time-limit the Provinces may by law take over the relative administrative functions.

Art. 110

1. The date of commencement and the technical details for the application of the financial measures contained in the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1, which integrate and modify the measures contained in the Constitutional Law of 26 February 1948, no.5, shall be established by executive measures to be issued in good time as regards the transfer of the competency concerned to the Provinces, but in any event not later than the time-limit referred to in the first paragraph of Article 108 of the present Statute.

Art. 111

1. In connection with the transfer of competency from the Region to the Provinces laid down by the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1 the transfer of offices and personnel from the Region to the Provinces shall be provided for by decree of the President of the Region, following consultation with the Provincial Government concerned, and without prejudice to the status and salary of the personnel transferred and taking into account their family requirements, residence and linguistic group.

Art. 112

1. Agreements reached between the Region and the Province concerned shall provide for settlement of the financial costs arising from long-term loans stipulated for competency transferred by the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1 from the Region to the Provinces, as well as settlement of other property and financial questions.

Art. 113

1. Without prejudice to the measures contained in the Bolzano Provincial Law of 5 January 1958, no.1, regarding assistance to University students, the Province may change the value and alter the number of scholarships.

Art. 114

1. The German translation of the present Consolidated Law containing the special Statute for the Trentino-Alto Adige Region (Trentino-South Tyrol) shall be published in the Official Bulletin.

Art. 115

1. The measures contained in the second and fourth paragraphs of Article 25 of the present Statute shall be applied from the expiry date of the term of the Regional Parliament in office at the time at which the Constitutional Law of 10 November 1971, no.1 comes into effect.

Transitory regulations

(art. 4 of constitutional law- extract)

2. From the date that the provincial law foreseen by article 47 of the special Statute for Trentino-Alto Adige comes into effect, as modified by paragraph 1 of this article, in the province of Trento the President of the Province shall be elected universal and direct suffrage. His election shall be concomitant with renewal of the Provincial Parliament. Within ten days of proclamation the President Elect shall nominate the members of the provincial government and he may subsequently annul their appointment; he shall assign one of them with the office of Vice-President. If the Provincial Parliament approves a grounded motion of no-confidence in the President of the Province with an absolute majority of its members, presented by at least one fifth of the members and discussed not before three days following its presentation, within three months new elections will be held for the President of the Province and for Parliament. Likewise new elections will be held for the President of the Province and for Parliament in the event of the resignation, permanent impediment or death of the President of the Province. If the permanent impediment or death of the President of the Province takes place after the first thirty-six months of the legislature, the Provincial Parliament shall elect, for the remaining period of its legislature, the new President of the Province from among its members. While paragraph 3 shall continue to apply, the provisions in this paragraph shall not apply to the Provincial Parliament of Trento in office on the date that the aforesaid article 47 of the special Statute for Trentino-Alto Adige comes into force, as modified by paragraph 1 of this article. The statutory provisions in force on the date that this constitutional

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Appendix G

Nexus Analysis: A Focus on Human Action

The following traces & summarises the main steps & focus of the Nexus Analysis research process (adapted from Scollon & Wong Scollon 2004).

A Nexus of Practice – The intersection of:

- **Historical Bodies (social actors),**
- **the Interaction Order (how they come together)**
- **The Discourses in Place**

The Research Process

1.0 Engaging with the Nexus of Practice

Recognition and identification with the Nexus of Practice

Consisting of five principle activities:

1.1 Establish the social issue

- ***Bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano***

1.2 Find the crucial social actors

- ***Polyglot – Parents for a Plurilingual Life***

1.3 Observe the interaction order

- ***E.g. Polyglot Meetings***

1.4 Determine the most significant discourse itineraries

- ***Bilingual Education***
- ***Place names***

- ***Fascist-Era Monuments***

1.5 Establish your zone of identification

- ***Association Member → Committee***

* ***Strategies for getting answers:***

A.1 *Discourse surveys:*

- e.g. ***“In the news”, “institutional” & “historical” discourse***

A.2 *Scene surveys:*

- ***Discourses on Bilingualism***

A.3. *“Outside” the Nexus of Practice*

- ***Unconnected Respondents & Observation***

B Getting answers. Looking to different types of data, e.g:

B.1 *Member generalisations*

B.2 *“Neutral” (Objective) observations*

B.3 *Individual experiences*

B.4 *Interaction with members*

2.0 Navigating the nexus of practice

2.1 The semiotic itineraries of:

2.1.1 Persons – Historical Body (*think Habitus +*)

2.1.2 Discourses in place – Physical World Semiotic Aggregates

- SEE GEOSEMITICS: Monumento alla Vittoria

2.1.3 Discourses in place – Overt discourses

- Espec. Language, in Education, Language &/of Place,

2.1.4 Discourses – internalised as practice

- E.g. Ideologies of Language, Place & Identity

2.1.5 Objects – Cultural tools (mediational means)

2.1.6 Concepts – Cultural tools (mediational means)

2.2 Mapping

2.2.1 Anticipations & emanations

2.2.2 Points & intervals

2.2.3 Timescales

2.2.4 Links & interactions amongst semiotic cycles

2.2.5 Transformations & resemiotisations

2.2.6 Circumferences

2.3 Analysing the data

Different data – different theoretical & analytical instruments. E.g. from:

- CDA or Pragmatics
- Interactional sociolinguistics
- Linguistic anthropology

2.5 Motive analysis

Why are they doing this? Why am I doing this?

- Throughout entire research process

3.0 Changing the nexus of practice

- Feeding back into the Nexus (outside PhD timeframe)

Appendix H

Polygot Aims & Objectives

The following are the aims and objectives of Polyglot, as expressed in Article 1 of the association's constitution.

Mix Ling is a cultural, educational, apolitical association, unaligned to any political party and non-religious, set up with the following aims:

1. Promote multilingualism as a value and socio-cultural resource
2. Promote recognition and value multilinguals and *mistilingue* (people from bilingual backgrounds)
3. Sensitize public opinion to themes related to multilingualism
4. Promote the knowledge, respect and acceptance of cultural and linguistic diversity
5. Promote encounters, exchanges and reciprocal curiosity between the different cultures
6. Promote the collaboration with other groups and individuals in multilingual and multicultural initiatives
7. Analyse and study the multilingual and intercultural reality
8. Promote multilingual schooling in infant, elementary and middle schools
9. Disseminate multilingual teaching
10. Promote cultural integration
11. Promote cultural initiatives

These aims are to be achieved with the following activities:

1. Sensitize and inform public opinion
2. Collect, create and make available documentation on themes related to multilingualism, electronic or hard copy, to association members or interested parties
3. Organise or participate in conferences, conventions and debates on multilingualism and cultural integration
4. Provide comparisons with the European and international situation
5. Involve academics and other experts with the association.

(My translation)

Appendix I

Polyglot Activity & Observations

Polygot Mtng Date	Location	Theme	No. Attendees (inc. researcher)
2.10.08	[REDACTED]	Political Debate (Party Candidates)	52 seated+approx. 20 standing (& came & went)
8.10.08	[REDACTED]	Rector UniBz (Rita F)	9 (inc speaker)
17.12.08	[REDACTED]	ABP Private Language School Director	9 (inc speaker)
11.02.09	[REDACTED]	Documentary film & discussion	15 (inc film maker)
14.04.09	[REDACTED]	Discussion with Provincial Playschools Inspector (IT only, DE didn't show)	10 (inc speaker)
30.09.09	[REDACTED]	Place names with Giulio Romano	21 (inc speaker)
17.11.10	[REDACTED]	Open discussion	17
30.11.10	[REDACTED]	Open discussion & election of new organising committee	16
25.01.11	[REDACTED]	Committee Meeting: Planning for 2011	5 (the committee members)
02.03.11	[REDACTED]	Hannes Mair, SVP politician	31 (inc speaker)
05.04.11	[REDACTED]	S Baur from Faculty of Education, UniBz	14 (inc speaker)

24.05.11	██████████ ██████████ ██████████	Committee meeting with Prov. Vice President, responsible for Ed. & Culture	10
18.04.12	██████████	Presentation & discussion with 2 invited local business leaders	14 (inc speaker)
Total Hours approx. 26 hrs			

Appendix J

A Note on Transcription

Transcription is generally agreed to be the representation of what people say, in written form (Bird 2005:227). Yet as Roberts (1997:168) argues, in the same way that speech is both political and social – ideological – so too is any attempt to represent it on the written page. As Buscholtz (2007:785) notes, variation in transcription conventions is not uncommon and arguably reflects better the researchers search to better articulate the phenomena observed than error or inconsistency.

I have taken a minimalist approach to the transcriptions, using as my guide the two general principles identified by Edwards (1993:4):

- that the transcript preserve the information needed by the researcher in a manner which is true to the nature of the interaction itself . . .
- that its conventions be practical with respect to the way in which the data are to be managed and analyzed.

In the context of this project this means the following:

1. Line breaks follow the audible pauses which occurred between phrases.
2. Inside square brackets is information I have added for clarification.

3. There is no punctuation except for question marks, when the speaker either asks a direct question or, as is common in Italian, adds a 'no?' tag at the end of an affirmative sentence.
4. In places I have capitalised a word, or part of a word as there was a noticeable increase in volume for emphasis.

These increases in volume do not occur elsewhere in the talk transcribed. I made these concessions as I feared without them, particular stretches of transcribed talk look entirely different on the page. All names have been changed and I have coded anonymous participants as follows:

IT = Italian speaking

M = Male

DE = German speaking

F = Female

So that, for example, **IT ANON F** is an Italian-speaking female, or **DE ANON M** is a German-Speaking male (however this does not denote the language they use when they intervene)

All audio recordings were recorded on a Creative Zen Vision M (60GB) MP3 Player-Recorder (Model No. DVP-HD0004), using the in-built microphone.

Appendix L

***L'Alto Adige* Interview 17th Sept 2007: School, Durnwalder's "no"**

I reproduce the (translated) interview, which was published in *L'Alto Adige* newspaper on the 17th September 2007, as data on the ideological debates (Blommaert 1999) on language and education in the province. Before doing so there are some typographical points to bear in mind. The article starts on the front page, offering a paragraph which is then repeated – not exactly (hence the reason I reproduce both) – on page seven under a different heading to the front page:

1 **School, Durnwalder's "no"**

2 **BOLZANO.** "The Ladin schools, multilingual, as a model? I agree: they work in the Ladin
3 valleys and could probably work well in the rest of Italy: but not in Alto Adige." Taking his
4 lead from the declaration by the Minister for Instruction, at the inauguration of the
5 Trade Fair, Provincial President Luis Durnwalder reaffirms his and his party's 'no' to
6 immersion and whatever other model of mixed school which as brings with it as such a
7 vehicular use of language. Durnwalder said: "We here live in a land in which two linguistic
8 groups cohabit and as such it is necessary that young people learn their own mother-tongue
9 well. A school which teaches, to give an example, mathematics in German and history in
10 Italian frightens us: it would be the end of the German minority.
11

12 **MATTIOLI PAGE 7** [continuation]

[Page 7]

13 **"The Ladin model? Only for Ladins"**

14 **BOLZANO.** "The Ladin schools, multilingual, as a model? I agree: they work in the
15 Ladin valleys and could probably work well in the rest of Italy: but not in Alto Adige."
16 Taking his lead from the declaration by the Minister for Instruction, at the
17 inauguration of the Trade Fair, Provincial President Luis Durnwalder
18 reaffirms his and his party's 'no' to immersion and whatever other model of mixed
19 school which brings with it as such a vehicular use of language.

20 **Excuse me, why in the rest of Italy yes, but in Alto Adige no?**

21 "Simple. In the rest of the country [people] speak Italian: which means that the young
22 people already have their own identity and know their own mother-tongue: in that type of
23 context, a multilingual or immersion school, de facto they are the same thing, could facilitate
24 knowledge of other languages. However here we live in a land which is inhabited by two
25 groups and therefore it is necessary that young people learn well, above all else, their mother
26 tongue."

27 **But the experts agree in saying that bi- or trilingual school is the best formula.**

28 "This is true for a maximum of 10% of young people. In the end the others don't know one
29 or other language. While I don't oppose lessons in two or three languages, as happens at

30 LUB [Free University of Bolzano], when a young person already knows their own language,
31 it's a must that they learn the others."

32 **This, regarding the didactic question, your [2nd pers. pl.] opposition is above all in**
33 **defence of the German ethnic group?**

34 Of course, bilingual schools, or better, where, to give an example, mathematics in German
35 and history in Italian are taught, frightens us: it would be the end of the German minority.
36 For the rest, you see it in everyday experience: if we put six people around a table, four
37 Germans [sic.] and two Italians [sic.], the language spoken is Italian. Therefore a
38 school would also put the identity of the Italian group at risk."

39 **In what sense?**

40 "In the sense that even today we have Italians who declare themselves [officially, for the
41 state] as German [sic.]."

42 **Absolutely true, but that is a question of living together [convivenza].**

43 "No. There are Italian families who send their children to German[-language]
44 schools, friendships are born and they even find jobs in the German[-language]
45 environment. The result: in the end they feel more German than Italian. But we are
46 against assimilation for one group or the other."

47 **So it is useless to delude ourselves about a change of course.**

48 "For now no. The time has not yet come."

49 **And when would this be?**

50 "Perhaps the day in which Italians and Germans can talk, each their own language,
51 understanding perfectly, however, the other. But we're still a long way away. For
52 the rest, I don't understand why [people] continue to insist on immersion, knowing
53 we are against it."

54 **Because it is probably the most efficient method of learning other languages?**

55 "Already today, if one so wishes, there are a thousand possibilities for learning
56 German or Italian respectively. There is even the possibility for the schools to
57 increase the number of hours of German or Italian up to 50%. And we are always
58 open even to the introduction of new didactic instruments for reaching the objective.
59 Not only, if one truly wants to learn German, one can force oneself to speak it in
60 everyday life."

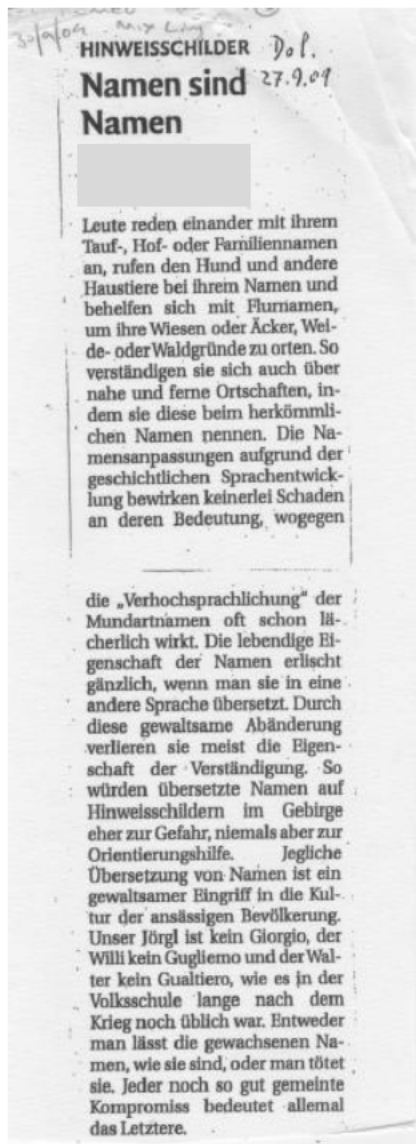
61 **What do you think of the possibility, offered to 4th year high school students, to**
62 **attend one year in the other group's school as Julia, daughter of the SVP**
63 **MEP Lukas Amonn, among others, is doing?**

64 "It's one of the many possibilities that our school system offers for learning the other
65 language."

Appendix P

Namen sind Namen Letters

Copies of the original letters & English translations referred to in chapter 4 section 4.2.2, provided to participants at the Polyglot open meeting on place names by the speaker, Giulio Milano ⁸



⁸ I am deeply indebted to Dott.ssa Valentina Parise, professional translator, conference interpreter and friend, for her help with far finer translations of these two newspaper pieces than I managed. Without her input, I would have arrived at a far less nuanced understanding of their contents.

Signs

Names are Names

[Namen sind Namen. Dolomiten 27th September 2009]

by Arnold Brigl

St. Nikolaus/Ulten

People address each other by their Christian name, by the name of their farm or family name.

People call their dogs and other pets by their name and use the plot names to locate their meadows, fields, pastures or forests. They also make themselves understood across close and faraway places, using the traditional names. Names are adapted over time according to the development of the language, but that does not cause any damage to their meaning, whereas the conversion of dialect names into standard German often appears ridiculous. The vivid peculiarity of the names entirely expires when you translate them into another language. Through this dramatic alteration they usually lose their communication property. That being said, translated names on signs in the mountains would be rather a danger and never an aid to orientation. Any translation of names is an interference with the culture of the resident population. Our Jörgl is not Giorgio, Willi is not Guglielmo, and Walter is not Gualtiero as it used to be in primary school for a long time after the war. Either you leave the names the way they developed, or you will kill them. Every compromise, however well it is meant, leads to the latter.

VORAUSSGESCHICKT D, l. 27.09.09

„Varus, gib mir meine Legionen zurück!“

Vor 2000 Jahren im Herbst des Jahres 9 nach Christus erlitt das römische Imperium in den Wäldern Germaniens eine vernichtende Niederlage. Die von Publius Quinctilius Varus angeführten römischen Legionen wurden vom germanischen Heer unter Führung des Cheruskerfürsten Arminius vernichtet. „Varus, gib mir meine Legionen zurück“, soll Kaiser Augustus laut Überlieferung beim Empfang der Schreckensnachricht gesagt haben.



von
Wolfgang
Jochberger

Die Varusschlacht markiert in der Geschichte einen Wendepunkt. Der Ausgang der Varusschlacht trug dazu bei, dass Germanien außerhalb des direkten römischen Machtbereichs blieb und eine andere Entwicklung erfuhr als etwa das keltische Gallien. Die Folgen sind bis heute spürbar: Während viele von den Römern eroberte Länder heute dem romanischen Sprach- und Kulturraum angehören, entstand parallel dazu der germanische Kulturraum. Vermutlich würde es heute den englischen bzw. deutschen Sprachraum nicht geben, wäre Germanien romanisiert worden – und somit auch nicht das heutige Südtirol.

wolfgang.jochberger@athesia.it

“Varus, Give Me Back My Legions!”

[Varus, gib mir meine Legionen zurück! Dolomiten 27th September 2009]

Two thousand years ago, in the fall of the year 9 after Christ, the Roman Empire suffered a tremendous defeat in Germanic forests. The Roman legions commanded by Publius Quinctilius were destroyed by the Germanic army under the command of Cheruscan Chief Arminius. “Varus, give me back my legions!”, that is what, according to tradition, Emperor Augustus said when he received the horrifying news. Varus' battle marks a turning point in history. The outcome of Varus' battle contributed to the fact that Germania stood out of the direct sphere of Roman influence, and their development was different from the one of Celtic Gaul. The consequences are still perceptible: whereas today many of the lands conquered by the Romans are part of the Romance language and cultural area, parallel to it arose the Germanic cultural area. Probably today the English and Germanic language area would not exist if Germania had been Romanised - and therefore neither today's South Tyrol.

Appendix S

Question No. 3-20483 in the National Parliament

This question was asked in the Italian national parliament in Rome, following the passing of the law on toponymy by the Autonomous Provincial Council, 14th Sept 2012

Holzman Toponymy question (Seduta n. 688 di mercoledì 19 settembre 2012 p28-29. My translation. Italics in original.)

Line No.		
1	President	The Honourable Mr Holzman has the faculty to illustrate his
2	of	
3	the	Parliamentary Question No. 3-20483, concerning the intentions of
4	Chamber	
5		the government in merit of the hypothetical legal action against the law recently approved by the Provincial Council of Bolzano on the subject of toponymy (<i>see attachment A – Question of immediate response</i>)
6	Holzman	Mr President, Mr Minister, in the last few days the Provincial Council of
7		Bolzano has approved a draft law whose aim is the removal of toponymy in
8		the Italian language from the Province of Bolzano. He who is [now] talking is
9		a convinced supporter of autonomy for Alto Adige, which has developed in
10		recent years creating a climate of peaceful co-existence, overtaking years of
11		reciprocal diffidence. This climate could be poisoned by an initiative, in my
12		opinion improvident, untimely and absolutely unjust. The Italian language
13		toponymy is in force (in vigore) since 1923, is therefore 90 years old and in
14		habitual use by citizens of the Italian language from the Province of Bolzano.
15		With this initiative, they would like to substantially cancel it all, leaving the
16		dirty work to the districts [comprensori] and a so-called commission which
17		would be nominated by a political and linguistic majority in the Provincial
18		Council. Therefore I ask the government to intervene with an appeal to the
19		Constitutional Court.
20	Dino Piero	Mr President, the news relative to the recent approval on the part of the
21	Giardi	Provincial Council of Bolzano of a draft law on the matter of local toponymy
22	(Min.	
23	for	is already has the attention of the Ministry for Regional Affairs, Tourism and
24	Parliament	Sport. The regulatory reference is to Article 8 of the Statute of Autonomy of
25	ary	
26	Relns)	the Region Trentino-Alto Adige, Decree of the President of the Republic 670
27		of 1972, on which basis the autonomous provinces are empowered to
28		emanate laws, amongst others, in matters of toponymy. According to how
29		this is defined in the very same statute, the exercise of such regulatory
30		power must respect certain limits amongst which, precisely, the Constitution
31		[of the Italian Republic], the juridical principles of the Republic, national interests, including the protection of local linguistic minorities, and the obligation of bilingualism in the Province of Bolzano.

32 It is in the light of these criteria that the regulatory intervention by the
33 Province of Bolzano will be closely examined and scrutinised by the
34 Department for Regional Affairs, Tourism and Sport if the Presidency of the
35 Council of Ministers. On the other hand, it is necessary to wait, for any
36 investigation regarding this, until the concerning regulatory intervention is
37 published in the official bulletin of the Regions, considering any
38 constitutional [legal] action can only commence from the date in which it is
39 published.

40 **President** The Honourable Mr Holzman may respond.
41 **of the**
42 **Chamber**

41 **Holzman** Mr President, Mr Minister I declare myself satisfied by your reply. I would
42 like also to recall Article 101 of the statute, other than Article 8, which reads
43 textually: in the Provinces of Bolzano the Public Administration must use,
44 when concerning its German-language citizens, also German toponymy, if
45 provincial law has ascertained their existence and approved their diction.
46 With this, obviously, I am in agreement. When I was a provincial councillor I
47 presented many times a draft law for the ascertaining and officialising of
48 German-Language toponymy. Nothing, however, was done. With this
49 initiative the Provincial Council, instead, gives the districts the possibility to
50 intervene in this subject, and requests a committee of six members, in which
51 there would only be two Italians [sic.]. Even so, all the members would be
52 nominated by the [provincial] cabinet and provincial council, in which we
53 have a political and ethnic majority [of German-speakers]. Consequently, the
54 Italian-language group would not have any protection, were this law is not
55 contested, and it would assist a “linguistic cleansing”, which is something of a
56 dream tucked away by extremism which, in any case, even today, one can
57 find in Alto Adige .
58 I take advantage of this occasion to make a brief historical reference: Italian-
59 language toponymy was introduced with a royal decree (DG 800) of March
60 1923: Fascism had only been in power for 5 months. In fact, the responsibility
61 was given to the president of the Italian Geographical Institute by the Giolitti
62 government, which was a democratic government. Therefore, when one
63 talks of Fascist toponymy, one mistakes the fact that the first decree had
64 been introduced during the rise of Fascism, but, in reality, the responsibility
65 had been awarded by a democratic government, of which even the Popular
66 Party [Partito Popolare] was a part. I think that, with the distance of many
67 years, the Italian-language toponymy should have full legitimacy and the
68 climate of peaceful coexistence between the linguistic groups should be
69 poisoned by initiatives of this nature (*Applause from Members of the Popolo*
70 *della Libertà*)

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