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Local varieties spoken in Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol – Data about the sociolinguistic situation

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(contribution to be used as part of the report on maintenance of regional bilingualism – deliverable 1, WP2, ERC-Synergy Project AThEME “Advancing the European Multilingual Experience”)

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0. General Introduction

The region Trentino - Alto Adige/South Tyrol is made up of the two provinces of Trento, in the South, and Bolzano/Bozen, in the North. The official language is Italian, and in the province of Bolzano/Bozen also German and Ladin (but the latter with important restrictions, see *infra*, § 5.7). Besides these languages, in the region there are five varieties which are traditionally spoken: (i) the so-called “Trentino” which is (quite mistakenly) shorthand for the Italian varieties spoken in the Province of Trento and that can be subsumed under the Lombardo-Venetian linguistic area (see Pellegrini 1977), (ii) the German (Tyrolean) dialects belonging to the South Bavarian group, which are sometimes referred to as *Südtirolerisch*, and (iii) the minority languages *Ladin*, *Cimbrian* and *Mòcheno*. The administrative border between the provinces of Trento and Bolzano/Bozen coincides with the historical linguistic border between the Italian/Trentino and the German/South Tyrolean community, although nowadays there is a consistent minority of italophones in the province of Bolzano/Bozen (about 23,3% of the population indicated that they belong to the Italian group in the 2011 General Census). In the East, various administrative borders (province of Bolzano/Bozen, province of Trento, province of Belluno) cut the area where Ladin is spoken (see figures 1-3).

The region Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol forms a single administrative unit since the Napoleonic wars: before this period (i.e. from the 11th century until 1801), it was divided into three domains: the county of Tyrol, which included also the current Austrian *Bundesland* Tyrol, and the prince-bishoprics of Trento and of Bressanone/Brixen, which were independent, but subordinated *de facto* to the Tyrolean count. In the period 1801-1803 the temporal power of the two bishops was abolished, and their domains became part of Tyrol. Since then, the whole area was part of the Austrian Empire until 1919, when it passed over to Italy and became the new region Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol.

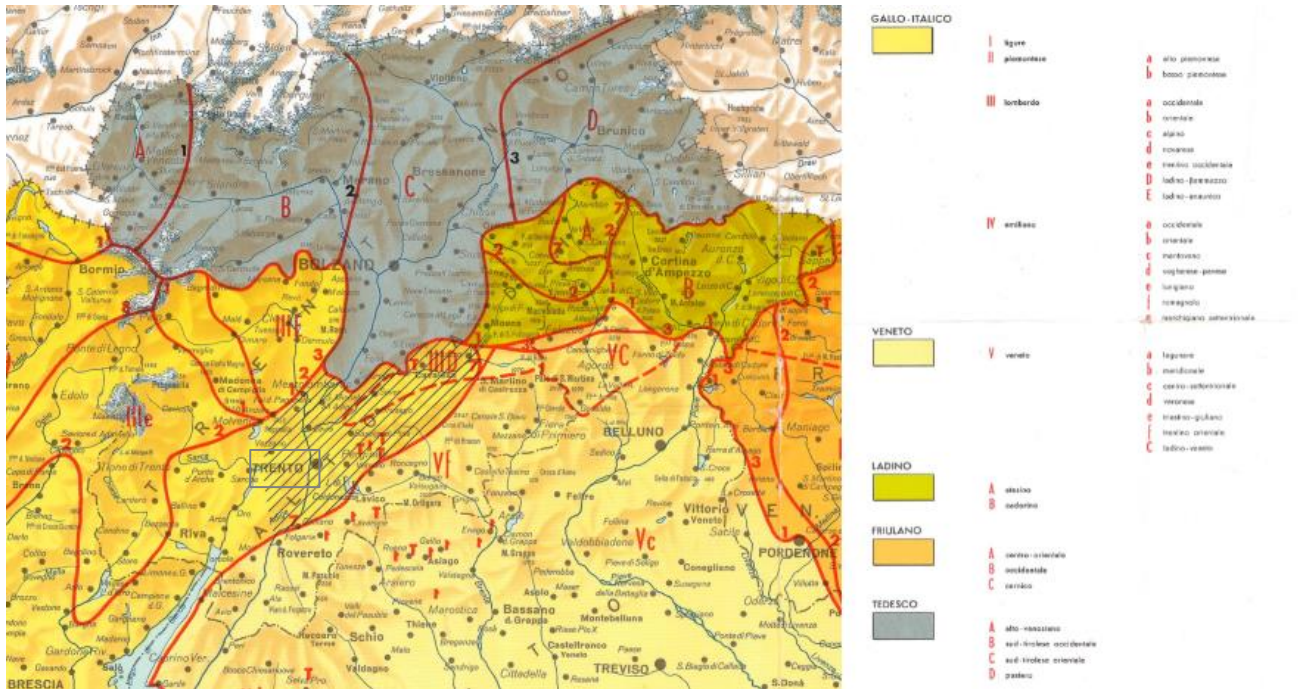


Figure 1: Detail of Pellegrini's (1977) map of the dialects of Italy

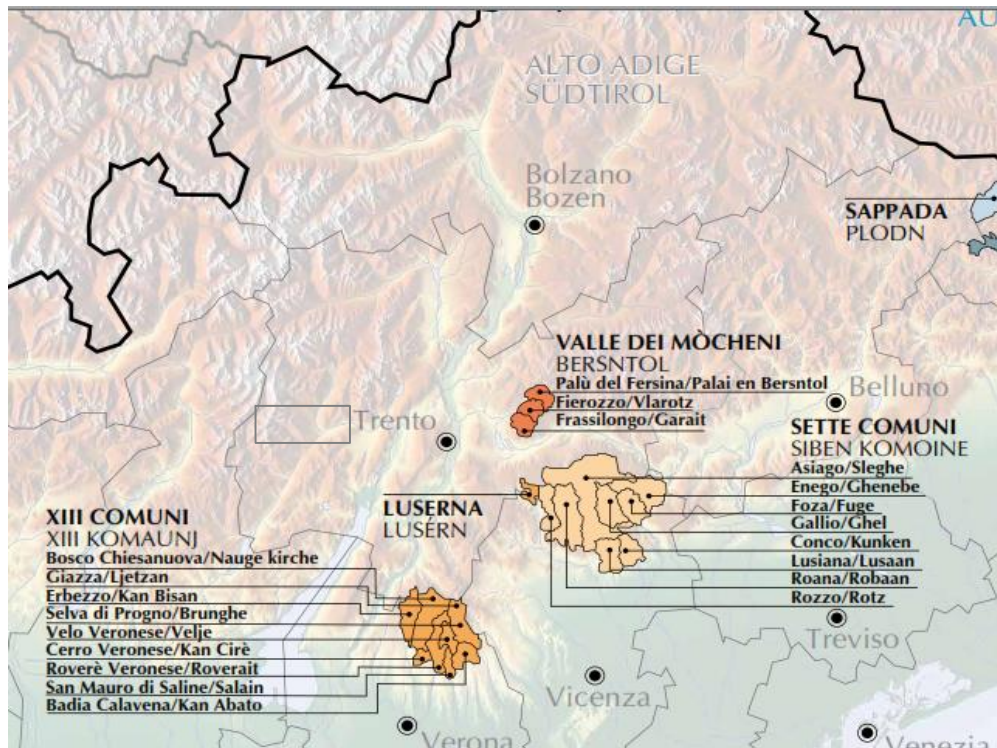


Figure 2: Germanic minority languages

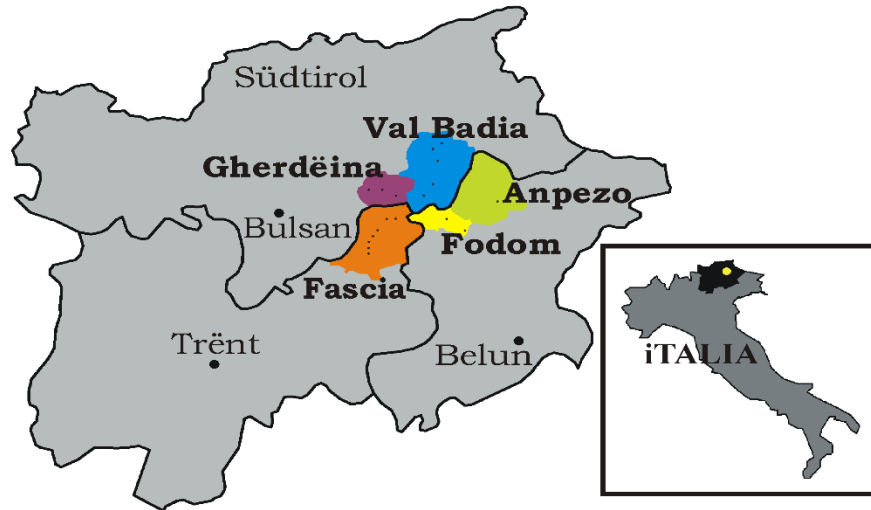


Figure 3: Ladin valleys (NB: 'Bulsan' = Bolzano; 'Trënt' = Trento; 'Belun' = Belluno)

A. Trentino

1. The Trentino dialects:

Trentino is a group of Italian dialects which does not constitute an autonomous or homogeneous group of dialects within Pellegrini's (1977) map (figure 1): the Western area is usually considered part of the Gallo-Italic group (IIIF and IIIe in the map), the Eastern and Southern areas as part of Venetian (Vf). The central area, which includes the capital city of the province, Trento, is taken to be a transitional area between these two groups. Moreover, the North-Western varieties (*noneso*, *solandro*: IIIF) are described in Ascoli (1873) as transitional areas between the Italian and the Rhaeto-Romance group. All Trentino dialects are direct continuations of the Vulgar Latin spoken in this area after the Roman conquest (between the I century B.C. and the I century AD). The speakers call these varieties *dialetto trentino* and all of them consider it as an Italian dialect.

2. (Purported) relatives

Trentino dialects are part of Italo-Romance; the Western varieties have the Lombard, Piedmontese, Aemilian, Ligurian and Romagnolo varieties as their relatives (Gallo-Italic group), the Southern and Eastern varieties are related to the Venetan dialects, specifically to the varieties spoken in the province of Verona (for Southern Trentino) and those of Vicenza, Bassano, Feltre and Belluno (for the Eastern part).

3. Geographical distribution

The dialects of Trentino are spoken in the whole province of Trento (also in the areas of the three minority languages) and in some villages of the Southern part of the province of

Bolzano/Bozen. Moreover, migrant communities keep up Trentino in Southern Brazil, Argentina, USA, Australia, Canada, Switzerland and Bosnia (in a village called Štivor), cf. <http://www.trentininelmondo.it/i-circoli/circoli-nel-mondo.html>.

4. “Standard Trentino” and dialects

Although various local properties distinguish the dialects spoken in different Trentino subareas, (cfr. Bertoluzza 1992), the intercomprehension between speakers coming from different places in the province is always possible; the intercomprehension with speakers of Venetan varieties spoken in the neighboring provinces is usually fair as well.

B. Cimbrian (ISO 639-3, cim)

1. The Cimbrian language and its name

Cimbrian is a minority language spoken in the area between the Regions Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and Veneto. The provinces where Cimbrian speakers are found are Trento, Vicenza and Verona (see figure 2). Cimbrian belongs to the group of Southern Bavarian/Austrian dialects. According to the traditional view, the first settlements of Southern German people in this area of Northern Italy occurred during the 11th century (cf. Bidese 2004): Cimbrian has been isolated ever since from the Southern Bavarian-Austrian varieties but has preserved morpho(n)ological features in common with its medieval cognates (cf. among others Bidese (ed.) 2010, Kranzmayer [1923] 1981–1985; Panieri 2006, Schweizer 2008 [1951/1952], Schweizer 2012 [1954]). Nowadays, the three major varieties of Cimbrian are spoken in Luserna/Lusérn in the Province of Trento; in the so-called area of the Tredici Comuni (lit. “Thirteen Municipalities”) in the Province of Verona (where Cimbrian is spoken in the village of Giazza/Ljetzan only); in the so-called area of the Sette Comuni (lit. “Seven Municipalities”) close to Asiago/Schlege in the Province of Vicenza (where only few speakers of Cimbrian are found in the village of Roana/Robaan). However, the only variety with a certain degree of competence also encountered among younger speakers is the one spoken in Luserna.

The current term ‘Cimbrian’ is not to be confused either with the homonymous Germanic tribe that inhabited Denmark in the 2nd Century or with the *Cimbri* defeated by the Roman Consul Gaius Marius at the Campi Raudii, near Vercelli, in 101 BC, although some scholars in the past centuries insisted on tracing modern Cimbrian back to an ancient Scandinavian origin (cf. M. Pezzo or S. Maffei, whose grammatical description of the Germanic variety spoken in the Northern province of Verona was the first grammar of a dialect in the 18th Century). Even if the name ‘Cimbrian’ is quite common nowadays, people in Luserna prefer to use the phrase *az be biar* ‘like us/the way we speak’ to refer to their own language.

2. (Purported) Relatives

Currently, Cimbrian has no close relatives, even though the Mòcheno variety spoken in the Fersina Valley (Province of Trento) shares some common features with Cimbrian, which can be ascribed to the common Old/Middle High German origin.

3. Geographical distribution

Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol Region: southern Province of Trento; Veneto Region: northern Province of Vicenza and northern Province of Verona.

4. Standard Cimbrian and Cimbrian dialects

Non applicable

C. Mòcheno (ISO 639-3, mhn)

1. The mòcheno language and its name

Mòcheno represents another historical German language island of the Region. It can be described as a Southern Bavarian variety spoken in three small villages of the eponymous Valley which is also called *Fersental* in German and *Valle del Fersina* in Italian (Rowley 1986, Bidese & Cognola [ed.] 2013, Schweizer 2012 [1954]) in Trentino (figure 2). Along with Cimbrian, it has been spoken by the local community since the Middle Ages (ca. 11th-12th century) when Southern-Bavarian groups moved to this territory and settled down there. The denominations of this language is Mòcheno (used by Italians and the mòcheni themselves when speaking Italian), Fersentalerisch (in the German literature), 'de inger sproch' (our language) by the Mòcheni.

2. Purported relatives

As is the situation with Cimbrian, Mòcheno has no close relatives except for Cimbrian itself with which it shares some common features ascribed to the common Old/Middle High German origin.

3. Geographical distribution

There are currently 3 municipalities in the Valley where Mòcheno is alive, spoken on everyday basis, namely Fierozzo/Florutz, Frassilongo/Gereut and Palù/Palai. The Mòcheno language is used orally by almost all of the families of Roveda and Palù, by a large part of the families of Fierozzo, and by very few families in Frassilongo.

4. Mocheno and its dialects

The varieties spoken in the four municipalities of the Valley of Fersina show a certain degree of variation both from a phonological viewpoint and, to a certain extent, a syntactic and lexical viewpoint.

D. Tyrolean

1. South Tyrolean (i.e. the Tyrolean spoken in South Tyrol) and its name

The German dialects spoken in the Northern Province of Bolzano/Bozen are rather homogeneous and belong all to the Tyrolean group, which is also spoken in the Austrian region Tyrol and is part of the South Bavarian group. There are some minor differences among the various areas, regarding especially lexicon and phonology, but also syntax (see figure 1). These dialects were introduced in the area during the Migration Period, when members of the Germanic tribe Baiuvarii started migrating into the region. In the province of Bolzano their varieties superseded the pristine Vulgar Latin/Early Romance varieties in most areas. This process went on from the 5th century, and by the end of the Medieval Age Tyrolean was spoken almost in the same areas as now. In the Modern Age, it replaced the Rhaeto-Romance varieties spoken in the West (Venosta valley), and in some smaller areas which were formerly part of the Ladin community. Nowadays, it is expanding in the Ladin Gardena valley. The speakers themselves call this variety *Südtirolerisch* and all of them consider it a German dialect. It is also important to draw a line between the dialects spoken in the Val Venosta, where Alemannic influences seem to be a little stronger than in other areas, and the ones of the Isarco Valley which are definitely closer to South-Bavarian (see figure 1).

2. (Purported) relatives

The Tyrolean dialects of South Tyrol are part of Tyrolean, which belongs to the Bavarian dialectal group, and are hence related to the dialects spoken in Austria and Old Bavaria (the Eastern and Southern part of the *Bundesland* Bavaria).

3. Geographical distribution

Tyrolean dialects are spoken in the whole province of Bolzano/Bozen (see TSA) by the German speaking and the Ladin communities; Italophone speakers, on the contrary, rarely speak South Tyrolean. In the past centuries, Tyrolean was also spoken in some parts of the current province of Trento, i.e. in various villages of the Eastern valleys and in the valley of the Adige river until Trento; historians report that the town of Trento was bilingual from the 15th to the 18th century, and one of the nine districts of the town was called 'German district' (*Contrada todesca*); anyway, in Trento the German population never constituted more than 10% of the total. Nowadays Tyrolean is spoken also in some immigrant countries like the USA (Hutterisch - Canada and USA, Tyrolean base with influences from other dialects); there are also German speaking communities in Brazil (Dreizehnlinden), originally Tyrolean immigrants.

4. Standard South Tyrolean

There is no standard variety or a koinè, but speakers coming from different areas of the province understand each other perfectly well.

E. Dolomitic Ladin (ISO 639-3, lld)

1. The Ladin language and its name

Dolomitic Ladin is spoken in five valleys in the Dolomites and stems directly from the Vulgar Latin spoken in the area, although it is unclear if the valleys were inhabited during the Roman Empire, or if they were populated afterwards by people fleeing from the Germanic invasions. Since the Middle Ages, the valleys have never been part of the same administrative unit. They became part of the same country during the Napoleonic wars (first the Austrian Empire and then Italy). However, during the Middle and Modern Ages they were part of the same bishopric (the Prince-bishopric of Bressanone/Brixen) with the exception of Cortina d'Ampezzo, but this ecclesiastical unity was split during the Napoleonic wars, and this division has lasted ever since.

Starting from the late 19th century and until some decades ago, the status of Ladin was strongly debated. The so called *Questione ladina* originated with Ascoli's (1873) and Gartner's (1879 and subsequent work) analyses: some scholars thought that there was an *unità ladina*, a Rhaeto-Romance unity, which included the Romansh varieties spoken in Switzerland, the Dolomitic Ladin language and the Friulian varieties. On the other hand, other linguists considered these three groups either as part of the Italian system, or at least as independent from one another. This debate was also influenced by the opposite (German vs. Italian) nationalistic tendencies. Nowadays, Ladin is generally considered a language and not a dialectal group. The denomination *ladin* (< LATINUM) was originally used only by the speakers of two varieties, one in the Dolomites (Badia valley) and the other in Swiss Romansh (Engadin). It was then adopted by Graziadio Isaia Ascoli for the whole Rhaeto-Romance group. On the other hand, the definition 'Rhaeto-Romance' was popularised by Theodor Gartner at the end of the XIX century. It stems from the former use of referring to Swiss Romansh as "Raetic". The speakers themselves call their variety *ladin* or use the name of the valley (e.g., they say that they speak *Badiot*, or *Fassan*, etc.)

2. (Purported) relatives

A consistent group of scholars regard Dolomitic Ladin as a part of Rhaeto-romance, which also includes Swiss Romansh and Friulian. According to others, it is a language of its own. Finally, there are linguists who analyse it as a dialectal group within the Italo-Romania.

3. Geographical distribution

Ladin is spoken in four valleys of the Dolomites (see ALD – Ethnologue erroneously indicates only two valleys): Gardena/Gherdëina and Badia (which belong to the province of Bolzano/Bozen), Fassa/Fascia (which is part of the province of Trento), and Livinallongo/Fodom and Ampezzo/Anpezo (which belong to the province of Belluno in the Veneto region). There are some disputes about other possible members of Dolomitic Ladin: the Trentino dialect *noneso* has some feature in common with Ladin, but is generally regarded

as part of Trentino (see *supra*) by the scientific community. The status of the Northern varieties of the province of Belluno, which border on Fodom and Ampezzo, is pretty unclear: according to some linguists (e.g. Pellegrini 1977, see the "B" area in figure 1), they should be considered as a part of Ladin; this subgroup is usually called *ladino cadorino*. On the other hand, some scholars argue that not even the variety of Cortina d'Ampezzo should be grouped with the other four Ladin valleys. In fact, nowadays the definition of Ladin takes into account not only linguistic, but also extra-linguistic factors (as the culture, the *folklore*, the common history, the sense of belonging to the same linguistic and cultural community). For this reason, the terms "*ladin/ladino*", "Dolomitic Ladin", "Ladinia Brixinensis" and "Ladino brissino-tirolese" (referring to the common belonging of Gardena, Badia, Fassa and Fodom to the bishopric of Bressanone/Brixen from the Early Middle Ages to the Napoleonic wars, and to the Hapsburgian Tyrol) are usually used just for these five varieties (cfr. Dell'Aquila & Iannàccaro 2006).

4. Standard Ladin and its dialects

As stated *supra*, Ladin is spoken in five valleys, and each valley has a different variety. In three of them (Gardena, Fodom and Ampezzo) there is no significant variation from village to village. On the other hand, both in Badia and in Fassa there is internal variation: in Badia there are (at least) three different varieties: *badiot* (in the upper valley), *badiot de mesaval* (in the lower valley) and *mareo* (in the lateral valley of Mareo/Marebbe). Fassin is also divided into three varieties: *cazét* (in the upper valley), *brach* (in the middle part of the valley) and *moenat* (in the lowest village of Moena). In these two valleys, there is a Standard Fassin and a Standard Badiot variety, which are widely accepted by the community.

There is no standard language or koinè of Dolomitic Ladin, and speakers of the different varieties tend to use Italian or German to communicate together (although the intercomprehension seems to improve thanks to an increasing amount of TV programs where all varieties are used). The question of a standard written language is being urged, since Ladin has got more attention by the official institutions in the last decades. At the beginning, the different varieties were used alternately in the official acts and denominations. In the 1990s, several cultural institutions of the Ladin valleys decided to imitate the Swiss experiment of *Rumantsch Grischun* (i.e. the creation of a common written language for all varieties of Swiss Rumantsch). The team of experts which was in charge of this issue was headed by Prof. Heinrich Schmid of the University of Zurich; they worked on this project for some years and published a grammar and a dictionary of the so-called *Ladin Dolomitan*. However, a part of the speaker community misinterpreted this project and contested it strongly, so that in 1999 a part of the political institutions which supported it economically decided to stop it. Since then, the institutions stepped back to the former alternate use of the different varieties, although this has caused conflicts and recriminations on some recent occasions.

5. Language vitality (based on the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment document, 2003¹; Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality, see the other document):

5.1. Intergenerational Language Transmission:

Trentino dialects: The picture is quite complex and depends on the geographical and social context of the families: those who live in the main urban centres and are more educated will be less likely to transmit the dialect to the children. In any case, the dialects of Trentino are only spoken in informal situations; thus, they are transmitted by the family and often also by the social context, while they are excluded from school. In general, they can be considered as *unsafe*.

Cimbrian: As of today, the situation in Luserna, i.e. the last village where Cimbrian preserves its vitality, is quite complex since language transmission is not consistent in the population: there is a sort of continuum, from an optimal set of circumstances in which there are households where both parents speak Cimbrian with their children to an almost totally Italian-speaking environment where Cimbrian ends up being used just in the naming of certain objects or in frozen phrases. Considerable variation is found in between: either parent speaks Cimbrian and children tend to grow up as passive bilinguals (some of them find Cimbrian again after puberty). Having said this, Cimbrian can be considered *definitively endangered*.

Mòcheno: Being a minority language, Mòcheno is currently exposed to the same danger Cimbrian is facing, therefore it belongs to the *definitely endangered* languages. However, the fact that the absolute number of speakers is higher if compared to Cimbrian and that the different varieties of Mocheno create a sort of “inner tension” contribute to render Mòcheno a little safer with respect to Cimbrian. The context of language transmission is very similar to Luserna’s. There are households where both parents address children in Mòcheno while in other ones children are passive bilinguals being able to produce two-word utterances and short phrases. School: limited exposure in the form of pedagogical projects where Mòcheno is taught for very few hours at elementary school

Tyrolean as spoken in South Tyrol: This dialect is spoken by all generations and there are no signs of a passage from South Tyrolean to (regional) High German. The only context where the transmission is excluded is at school. It should be definitely considered as *safe*.

Ladin: The transmission process depends on the valley, and even on the village: the areas where the familiar transmission is working best is Badia valley, the lower Fassan

¹ «Language communities are complex and diverse; even assessing the number of actual speakers of a language is difficult. We identify six factors to evaluate a language’s vitality and state of the endangerment, two factors to assess language attitudes, and one factor to evaluate the urgency for documentation. Taken together, these nine factors are especially useful for characterizing a language’s overall sociolinguistic situation.» (2003: 7).

valley and the higher Gardena valley. In the lower Gardena valley the tendency of speaking Tyrolean with the own children (a tendency which has lasted for at least the last 100 years) is increasing, and the social context of the children is slowly switching to Tyrolean, too. In Fodom, Ampezzo, and in the other parts of the Fassan valley the familiar transmission is more and more restricted, because the parents often decide to speak Italian to their children. An important reason for this fact concerns mixed marriages, with one of the two partners (usually the wife) coming from a non-Ladin area. In Gardena, Badia and Fassa Ladin is taught at school and used as a vehicular language in the first year of primary school. In most Fassan elementary schools there is a bilingual curriculum, where some subjects are taught in Fassan. On the contrary, in Fodom and Ampezzo (which belong to the Veneto region), Ladin has usually never been considered at all at school. However, in 2014 Fodom started a project which offers the children one hour weekly in Ladin (Ladin is still excluded from the school of Cortina). Thus, these varieties can be considered from *stable yet threatened* (Badiot) to *definitively endangered* (Ampezzo).

5.2. Absolute Number of Speakers:

Trentino dialects: There are no official data about the number of speakers. The Italian official institute for statistics (ISTAT 2014, <http://www.istat.it>) reports that in the whole North-Eastern part of Italy, the people who speak only or also their dialect are about 50% of the population. Considering that in the province of Trento the dialect is spoken more than in some other regions of North-Eastern Italy, we can hypothesise that from 250.000 to 300.000 people, mainly over 40 years, speak a Trentino dialect in addition to Italian.

Cimbrian: The village of Luserna has 300 inhabitants: they are all taken to be speakers of Cimbrian (*de facto* about $\frac{3}{4}$ of them, so ca. 230). As already pointed out, their fluency is not homogeneous since fluent-speakerness and semi-speakerness are intermingled (“semi-speakers” in Dorian’s 1981 sense). The other Cimbrian villages in the Veneto Region have less than 10 speakers each.

Mòcheno: According to Ethnologue, there are ca 1,900 speakers. On the other hand, the linguistic census carried out by the Autonomous Province of Trento in 2001 reports that 2.278 people declared their affiliation to the Mòcheno minority: however, these numbers appear to be a little inflated w.r.t the actual number of speakers. In fact, Alber (2010) basing on Rowley's 1986 observations points out that “[t]he high percentages resulting in the census could reflect at most the number of speakers in the villages of Palai/Palù del Fersina and Oachlait/Roveda, in which, according to Rowley (1986), most families still speak Mòcheno. If we assume a percentage of 50% speakers in Garait [Frassilongo]- Oachlait [Roveda] [...] and Vlarotz [Fierozzo] and 95,4%

speakers for Palai [Palù], we arrive at the hypothetical number of 583 Mòcheno speakers".

Tyrolean: Since the overwhelming majority of the German or Ladin speaking population in the province of Bolzano speaks *Südtirolerisch* (as well as the Italian-German bilinguals and some Italian speaking people), we can estimate that the absolute number of speakers amounts to more than 300.000.

Ladin: Ethnologue indicates 31,000 speakers and 38,000 members of the ethnic group. In the official census, 20,548 declared to be part of the Ladin ethnic group in the whole province of Bolzano: 9,979 in the Badia valley, 9,018 in the Gardena valley and 1,551 in the other parts of the province. In the province of Trento, 8,092 declared to be part of the Ladin ethnic group in the Fassa valley. The data about the whole Trento province (18,550) cannot be considered, because a consistent part of the speakers of *noneso* declared to be Ladins. There are no official data for the Ladins of the province of Belluno. However, it is fundamental to stress that in South Tyrol the census asked to which ethnic group one feels to belong to, and there is no direct relation to the spoken languages/dialects. Moreover, it does not consider those speakers that are bilingual, which are forced to choose one ethnic group they belong to, nor those speakers that speak Ladin as L2. Finally, since institutional job offers are assigned to the different ethnic groups on the basis of their percentual presence in the territory (the German group getting most opportunities at provincial level), we cannot exclude that there are cases where Ladins declare to belong to the German group.

The best means to calculate the absolute number of speakers consists in using the percentages indicated in Dell'Aquila-Iannaccàro (2006): the questions which can be used to estimate the number of speakers are number 8 ("Which language do you consider your mother tongue?"), 37 ("Which language is the easiest one for you to speak?"), 48 ("How well do you understand Ladin?") and 49 ("How well do you speak Ladin?"). According to their data, about 20,000 people living in the five valleys consider Ladin as their mother tongue, while some more than 23,000 indicate that Ladin is the variety which is the easiest for them to speak. While these two questions deal with Ladin as first language, the other two questions concern the active and passive knowledge of the Ladin variety spoken in their valley, independently of other languages spoken by the same speakers; in this case, if we add the people who indicate either the answer "well" or "quite well" (the other possible answers are "a little" and "not at all"), there are about 36,000 people that have a passive knowledge, while more than 32,000 have an active knowledge. The data for the single valleys are: Badia about 8,900 (both active and passive knowledge), Gardena about 8,700 (passive knowledge) and 8,300 (active knowledge), Fassa 10,500 and 9,000, respectively; Fodom 1,800 (both active and passive knowledge); in Cortina/Ampezzo, almost 6,000 people have

passive knowledge, while there are almost 5,000 active speakers (for the whole set of data, consider table 1)

Dati in percentuale e assoluti riguardanti i parlanti il ladino

Comune	Abit.	Ladino = lingua madre (8)		Ladino = prima lingua (37)		Competenza passiva (48)		Competenza attiva (49)	
Mareo	2519	89,7%	2260	86,3%	2174	99,5%	2506	98,1%	2471
San Martin	1456	96,2%	1401	92,3%	1344	99,3%	1446	99,3%	1446
La Val	1152	98,8%	1138	95,7%	1102	100,0%	1152	99,5%	1146
Badia	2651	93,0%	2465	85,4%	2264	100,0%	2651	100,0%	2651
Corvara	1194	82,3%	983	78,1%	933	98,1%	1171	94,3%	1126
Badia	8972	91,9	8246	87,1	7817	99,5	8927	98,5	8840
Ciastel - fraz. lad.	1000	63,1%	631	56,0%	560	96,4%	964	89,5%	895
Urtijëi	4073	58,5%	2383	54,4%	2216	98,4%	4008	91,2%	3715
Santa Cristina	1543	77,8%	1200	75,9%	1171	97,1%	1498	96,4%	1487
Sëlva	2292	79,6%	1824	72,9%	1671	96,9%	2221	96,9%	2221
Gherdëina	8908	67,8	6039	63,1	5618	97,6	8691	93,4	8318
Moena	4596	34,9%	1604	49,3%	2266	97,2%	4467	76,2%	3502
Soraga	636	54,0%	343	71,8%	457	97,8%	622	88,3%	562
Vich	968	47,5%	460	65,1%	630	96,6%	935	85,6%	829
Poza	1697	52,3%	888	72,6%	1232	97,9%	1661	89,7%	1522
Mazin	436	41,6%	181	74,5%	325	97,6%	426	87,0%	379
Ciampedel	710	45,3%	322	73,4%	521	97,8%	694	90,1%	640
Cianacei	1825	33,0%	602	52,8%	964	97,4%	1778	82,8%	1511
Fascia	10868	40,5	4400	58,8	6394	97,4	10583	82,3	8945
Fodom	1431	41,9%	600	82,7%	1183	99,3%	1421	95,9%	1372
Col	434	46,4%	201	68,3%	296	97,3%	422	92,1%	400
Fodom+Col	1865	42,9	801	79,3	1480	98,8	1843	95,0	1772
Anpezo	6630	5,5%	365	33,0%	2188	89,9%	5960	74,4%	4933
LADINIA	37243	53,3	19851	63,1	23496	96,7	36004	88,1	32808

Table 1: Statistics of Ladin speakers (based on Dell'Aquila-Iannaccaro 2006)

However, two *caveat* have to be considered: first, Dell'Aquila & Iannaccaro's enquiry considered only the inhabitants of the five valleys, while the Ladins who live outside their traditional territory (especially in the neighboring towns) were not considered. In this respect, the numbers given above are underestimations. Secondly, all the answers given are self-evaluations – consider just Cortina, where the differences between the collected answers and effective language practice seems to be particularly divergent: while 74,4% of the interviewed people declare that they speak Ladin well or quite well, only 51,9% use it at home during lunch or dinner; only 54,6% speak it with the colleagues or schoolmates, 58% speak Ladin with elderly relatives.

Thus, a good approximation could be the following indication: the total number of Ladin speakers can be estimated as about 35,000-40,000: more than 20,000 in the province of Bolzano, about 10,000 in the province of Trento and about 5-6,000 in Veneto.

5.3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population:

All varieties: If we take the population of the whole region as point of comparison (amounting to 1 million people), Cimbrian is spoken by 0,025% of the population

(0,05% of the province of Trento), Mòcheno by 0,05-0,19% of the population (0,1-0,38% of the province of Trento), Trentino dialects by 30-35% (60-70% of the province of Trento, and probably less than 5% of the province of Bolzano), Tyrolean by at least 30% of the population (more than 60% of the province of Bolzano), Ladin by 3% of the population (4% of the province of Bolzano and 2% of the province of Trento).

As regards the speakers of the minority languages with respect to the total population of their territory, Cimbrian is spoken by some 75% of the village of Luserna, Mòcheno by more or less the 50-90% of the population in all municipalities, Ladin by more than 90% in the valleys of Gardena and Badia, more than 80% in the Fassa valley and by more than 70% in Veneto (about 80%-90% in Fodom and about 75% in Cortina d'Ampezzo), cf. table 1. According to these data, we suggest that Cimbrian and Mòcheno should be considered *definitively endangered*, and Ladin *unsafe* (except for the Venetan valleys of Fodom and Ampezzo, which are respectively *definitively endangered* and *severely endangered*).

5.4. Trends in Existing Language Domains²:

All varieties. Trentino is used in *multilingual parity* with Italian: some speakers use it in all contexts, and seldomly alternate with Italian. Others use it only in familiar contexts, or when they speak with elderly people. Tyrolean has a universal use and is used in all domains. There is diglossia, but Standard German is used only in written texts and in some highly restricted official contexts. The Ladin situation is more differentiated. In the areas where it is best preserved (first of all Badia), we can describe it as a *multilingual parity*: Ladin is used in most contexts, also in written texts, but German, Italian and Tyrolean are also used in some contexts (especially at school and in the church). Thus, in the valleys where it is spoken less (mostly Veneto region), it is used in *dwindling domains*. Dell'Aquila-Iannaccàro (2006) analyse the situation respectively as “diacrolettia” (in the Badia valley and in the upper Gardena valley), diglossia (in the central Fassa valley and in the lower Gardena valley) and “dilalia” (in the lowmost and upmost villages of the Fassa valley, in Fodom and Cortina).³ Although current linguistic policies at regional level are trying to widen its range of usage, Cimbrian and Mocheno are not likely to be affected in a significant way. Thus, they are used used in *dwindling domains*

² See also Fishman, J. A. 1965. Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 1 (2), 67-88.

³ See Berruto (1995) for these definitions.

5.5. Response to New Domains and Media:

All varieties: Regional broadcasting networks devote up to an hour per day to Cimbrian, Mòcheno and Ladin: local news as well as short TV shows and animated films for kids are broadcast in the minority languages in the private channel TML (channel 642). Ladin varieties are used in the public channel RAI3 ("TRAIL") and in the radio, too: there is at least one private network which alternates Gardenesse Ladin and German ("Radio Gherdëina"), and the public radio network of the region RAI transmits an hour daily (news and discussion forums). Moreover, there is a weekly page for each minority language on the local newspaper of Trento ("L'Adige"); in the German newspaper of the province of Bolzano ("Dolomiten") several articles about the Ladin area in the province of Bolzano are written in a Ladin variety (mainly those about Badia). Furthermore, there is a weekly journal completely written in the different varieties of Ladin, called *La Usc di Ladins* ("The Voice of the Ladins"). The Ladin and the Mòcheno Cultural Institutes have also developed some tools for writing in Ladin, as e.g. an automatic spelling correction software and online dictionaries. Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro (2006) report that 70-75% of the inhabitants of the Badia valley read at least sometimes newspapers, books or magazines written in Ladin. In Gardena they are 55-60%, in Fassa 35-40%, in Fodom 40%, in Cortina 17% (question n. 41). As for the radio, 60-65% listen to Ladin programs in Badia, about 80% in Gardena, 40% in Fassa, 32% in Fodom and 12,5% in Cortina (question n. 47). Lastly, Ladin tv programs are watched (at least sometimes) by more than 90% of the people living in the Ladin areas of the provinces of Trento and Bolzano/Bozen. On the other hand, only 1 out of 3 inhabitants of Fodom and Cortina watches Ladin programs (question n. 45). This difference is probably due to the fact that there are less tv and radio programs that reach the Venetan part of the Ladin area.

At school, Ladin is used up to two hours per week in the Ladin valleys of Trentino-Alto Adige/South Tyrol (is is not used at all in Veneto until few years ago); in most elementary schools of the Fassa valley (province of Trento), Ladin is used as vehicular language, i.e. some subjects are taught in Ladin (up to 7 hours per week). Thus, we can say that Cimbrian and Mòcheno are *coping*, Ladin is *receptive* (except for the varieties spoken in the province of Belluno). Trentino and Tyrolean, instead, are not used in any media or school. There is only a spontaneous use of these dialects, e.g. in sms, e-mails or in the social media. In this respect, these dialects can be considered *inactive*.

5.6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy:

All varieties: All the minority languages spoken in this area have an established orthography, which was introduced either some decades ago for all varieties of Ladin

(with some subsequent modifications) or just some years ago for Cimbrian (variety of Luserna only) and Mòcheno (cf. Rowley 2003). There are also descriptive grammars of the minority languages and dictionaries (both printed and online) which keep being updated especially to catch up with the needs of the administration: all reports of the municipal assemblies have to be both in Italian and in the minority language spoken in the village (except for the Ladin villages of Veneto, where only Italian is used), thus neologisms and adapted borrowings are constantly called for. Moreover, Ladin is used in some official acts of the two Autonomous Provinces and of the Region. As for Trentino, there is an official orthography which is mainly used for the toponymy and there are several descriptive dictionaries and grammars. Furthermore, Trentino is not used in official written texts. Lastly, there are reference books for Italian-speaking willing to learn Tyrolean such as *Schian isch's gwesn*, *Hoi Hanni*, *Alpha&Beta*.

5.7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies:

All varieties: The Region's and Provinces' governments protect the minority languages with specific laws and measures. However, these are based mainly on a territorial principle: the use of the minority languages - besides Italian and German (in the province of Bolzano) - is obligatory only at local level (i.e. in the municipalities where the minority language is located). On the other hand, all the supralocal activities (e.g. acts of the Provinces or of the Region, high schools attended by pupils of a minority but that are located outside their territory, even church ceremonies) only exceptionally include the minority language. Thus, there is a *differentiated support*. As for the Ladin varieties spoken in Veneto, a National Law promulgated in 1999 (Law 482 of the 15th December 1999) requires that all minority languages of the country should be protected and supported at a local level. However, the lack of funding and the indifference of the institutions of the Veneto region and of the province of Belluno prevent the law from fully applying. Thus, there is a situation of *passive assimilation*. As for Trentino and Tyrolean, there is no support at all, but neither there is prohibition.

5.8. Community Members' Attitudes toward their own language:

Even if Cimbrian use is shrinking and some community members may not be active speakers, the whole community maintains such a caring attitude toward this minority language that almost *all* members value their language and wish to see it promoted. As for Ladin and Mòcheno, *many* members support language maintenance, while some members are indifferent or consider the knowledge of Italian or German as mother tongue as more useful. In Dell'Aquila-Iannàccaro's (2006), there was also the question: "How important is the knowledge of Ladin in the Ladin valleys?". 70% of the interviewed people in the Badia valley, 55-60% in Gardena, 45-50% in Fassa and

Fodom and 37% in Cortina answered that the knowledge of Ladin is fundamental or very important (question n. 68). Trentino and Tyrolean are considered by the speakers as dialects: thus, they do not think that they should be promoted. However, these dialects are seen as a key symbol of group identity by many speakers, and are thus preserved without the need of institutional promotion.

5.9. Amount and Quality of Documentation:

As for Cimbrian, there is a good reference grammar published less than ten years ago which meets good descriptive adequacy. The Cultural Institute of Luserna also takes care of both websites providing comprehensive sources of linguistic, cultural and historical data and an online dictionary. One should also recall the oldest documents written in Cimbrian, namely (i) the translation into Cimbrian of Bishop Bellarmine's Catechism in 1602, during the Counter-Reformation and (ii) a short grammatical description of the Cimbrian language written in the 18th Century by a doctor living in Bassano del Grappa, Gerardo Slaviero (*La grammatica dei sette comuni vicentini*), who was an amateur grammarian. Last but not least, in recent years, *Storia di Tönle*, an Italian novel on by Mario Rigoni Stern, has been translated into modern Luserna Cimbrian.

The documentation of the Ladin varieties is *very good*: Ladin is represented in 6 points of the AIS, and there is an extensive linguistic atlas (ALD) documenting the Romance varieties spoken in Trentino-Alto Adige, in the province of Belluno and in the neighboring areas. All varieties have at least one quite good grammar, and the varieties of the province of Bolzano have an additional, comprehensive grammar which contrast Gardenese and Badiot with Standard Italian and German (in more volumes). There is a rich online database of written texts, which was built up for the Standard Ladin project (<http://corpuslad.ladintal.it/applications/textanalysis/search.jsp>), and there are several authors who write in Ladin; some novels and many short stories and poems have been published up to now, as well as various translations of foreign works (e.g., the *Little Prince*). Moreover, there are also some music groups singing songs in Ladin. On the other hand, an audio database is missing, although it is possible to download some podcasts of the official radio programs in Ladin.

As for the dialects of Trentino, 15 varieties are documented in the AIS and many more in the ALD; there are also several dictionaries and some descriptive grammars which focus on a single variety of this group (cf. Cordin 1997 and Cordin 2005). The documentation is fair. The overall documentation of the South Bavarian dialects in Tyrol is good (see, e.g., the Tyrolean linguistic atlas (TSA) and the dictionary of Schatz 1993 [1955/1956] which explicitly specifies local variants).

5.10. International Presence of the Language. Non applicable.

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