Being a South Tyrolean:

Examining Identity in Conversation and Linguistic Landscapes

by

James Ryan Carroll

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Examining Committee

The following served on the Examining Committee for this thesis. The decision of the Examining Committee is by majority vote.

External Examiner	EVELYN ZIEGLER Professor
Supervisors	GRIT LIEBSCHER Professor
	LUDWIG EICHINGER Professor
Internal Member	EMMA BETZ Associate Professor
Internal-external Member	HEIDRUN KÄMPER Professor

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I examine the role of language in the enacting of identity in the German-speaking community in the province of South Tyrol, Italy. Within this province on the border between Austria and Italy, the languages of German, Italian, and Ladin are recognized as official languages, and the vast majority of the population there is multilingual. Group and cultural identities in this province are strongly connected to language. Despite the close proximity of these language groups, there is relatively little mixing between them. This dissertation focuses on the German-speaking community in South Tyrol and examines conversation and publicly-displayed signs in order to offer a better understanding of how this community enacts and negotiates these identities.

I follow Zimmerman's (1998) approach to identity, which holds that how identities are made relevant in a particular stretch of talk-in-interaction can reveal information about the interlocutors' "transportable identities" and the larger social order. Blommaert (2005) echoes this notion, arguing that identities extend beyond the practices that both construct them and are influenced by them. Using this methodological approach, I use both interactional data from interviews with German-speaking South Tyroleans and the linguistic practices found in the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol to examine aspects of identity. Using the evidence found in these two data sets, I show that broader Discourses (Gee, 2014) can be found in these examples of day-to-day interactions and practices.

Using the tools of interactional linguistics, I analyze transcribed interview data to show how my interview participants construct membership categories for the food traditions and the geography of South Tyrol. For these participants, "being South Tyrolean" is something that is greater than the sum of the parts, as well as contradictory at times. I show through selected examples from the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol how an official Discourse is displayed and reinforced on

not only government-produced signs, but also on private signs. Fundamental to this Discourse is the viewpoint that the German language and language group are to be equal to the Italian language and language group, a viewpoint that has helped to protect the German language, but has also contributed to more rigid boundaries between the two groups.

These Discourses can offer a more fine-grained understanding of group and cultural identities. Further, they can inform political and language policy decisions not only in the province of South Tyrol but also in the broader context of the country of Italy and the European Union.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The main objective of this dissertation is to examine interactional aspects of language use and how they connect to identity in South Tyrol, a province in the north of Italy. Within this province that lies on the border between Austria and Italy, the languages of German, Italian, and Ladin are recognized as official languages. Despite being in the country of Italy, the majority language in South Tyrol is German, and approximately 65% of the population there has German as a mother tongue (ASTAT, 2014, p. 20).[1] Independent of their mother tongue, the vast majority of the population in South Tyrol is multilingual, making it a fruitful choice for examination from the perspective of interactional linguistics. Before I get into the details of South Tyrol and how language is used there, I would like to describe how I first arrived at South Tyrol as a topic for a dissertation, with the goal of showing some of the decisions that led me to my research topic and research questions. As is the case with many other PhD students, the origins of my dissertation lie in a personal experience outside the world of academia and research. My dissertation started with the question of what it is like to grow up speaking more than one language on a daily basis, something that is familiar to many people across the globe, but was completely unfamiliar to me as a monolingual English speaker growing up in the United States. Although I now have a great interest in and passion for languages and how they are used in social contexts, this was not the case for the first 20 years of my life. Growing up in the Southeast in the United States, I had a rather monolingual life: American English was the only language that I learned as a child and used growing up.[2] It was the only language that I spoke with my parents and family; no

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[1] For more information about the collection of language statistics in South Tyrol see Section 4.2.

[2] With my current knowledge in the field of sociolinguistics, I now know that no person is ever truly monolingual, my childhood self included.

one else in my immediate or extended family speaks any language other than English. It was also the only language of my friends and it was the only language that I heard and used in almost every classroom in school.[3] In short, English was the only language that constructed my world and the only language I had available to form thoughts and to communicate with those around me. I was obviously familiar with other languages, but before going to university, I had limited interest in those languages and the countries where they are spoken. I understood foreign languages at that time only through the lens of 'one country-one language', meaning I never thought much about my rather monolingual existence in the United States, as it seemed that was the norm everywhere in the world.

It wasn't until I was 18 years old and in college that I began learning German, which was the first time that I seriously wanted to pursue a foreign language. This led to a year abroad in Germany, where my interest in the language and all of its cultural connections and connotations really took off. It was also during this year that the seeds of this dissertation were planted, since it was during that time that I began learning Italian and travelled to Italy for the first time. Although I did not travel to South Tyrol at this point in time, I did travel through the province on my way to the province of Trentino, just to the south. Although I noticed German on the signs seen from the train window, I had no idea that there was more than one official language in the province of South Tyrol.[4] My assumption was that the signs were in German as well as Italian only because of the proximity to Austria, making the signs legible for the Austrians who might liver near this border.

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[3] I did have two years each of Latin and Spanish in middle school and high school, but I considered both of these to be just another school subject and did not connect them to any other contexts. Especially in the case of Spanish, I never pursued learning it in any serious fashion or saw the connections to communities of practice, as no one in any of my social circles actively spoke Spanish.
[4] Interestingly, this same experience of first seeing the German language on signs (before hearing it) in South Tyrol is also mentioned by one of my interview participants. Although I was not aware of it at the time, it was my first experience with the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol.

It was a few years later in 2007 that I actually spent time in the province of South Tyrol, as part of family vacation. It was only then that I noticed that both German and Italian were seen everywhere, although I was at that time not familiar with the actual policies regarding language use in South Tyrol. I was also unaware of the third language, Ladin. Based on my short stay in the city of Bozen/Bolzano and the surrounding area, I assumed that both languages were used all the time, by everyone living there, in an almost utopian way, where no one is judged based on the language they choose to speak. Based on this assumption, I became fascinated by the question of how one decides when to use which language. Do the people in South Tyrol use German or Italian depending on how they feel each day or in a specific moment? What is it like to grow up with two (first) languages at your disposal? How do you choose which one to speak? These questions obviously oversimplified the language situation in South Tyrol, but they still formed the beginnings of the research questions that I seek to answer in this dissertation. Although I did not know it at the time, what underlies these questions is also a question about identity, since that is what would be at stake in the process of choosing a language to speak.

These questions were very much rooted in my own upbringing as a rather monolingual person, one who had only really started learning another language at the age of 18. At that age, no questions about how language use and identity could be connected crossed my mind. Before learning German and going to Germany, my knowledge of the connections between language and culture was limited. By the time I actually spent some time in South Tyrol, this knowledge had grown much broader and deeper, especially when it came to knowledge of the German-speaking world. At that point, I had already studied in Germany a couple years prior and had just finished a 10 month-long stay in Austria. My thinking at that point was still very

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much in line with the notion of 'one country-one language,' and experiencing two languages in South Tyrol disrupted this mindset in a positive way.

Soon after this visit to South Tyrol in 2007, I started graduate school in the field of German Studies. In this setting I was surrounded by all aspects of the German language, and I became aware that South Tyrol largely tends to be overlooked or excluded as part of the German-speaking world in Europe, which most often considered to consist of the 'DACH'-countries of Germany (D), Austria (A), and Switzerland (CH). Seen from the perspective of learning and teaching the German language in the United States and Canada, the focus has always been on the country of Germany, with Austria and Switzerland being mentioned almost only as footnotes,[5] and South Tyrol never being mentioned. It seems to me that South Tyrol is largely overlooked because German is not a national language of Italy, as it is in the 'DACH'-countries, making it difficult to neatly categorize. Despite being part of the contiguous *Sprachraum* of the language of German in Europe, South Tyrol is nonetheless often excluded. Seen from a linguistic perspective, the German-speaking population in South Tyrol is handled the same as those populations in the countries of Lichtenstein, Luxembourg, and Belgium, which are not considered to be full centers of the pluricentric language of German, but rather half centers. This is due to the fact that they lack reference works such as dictionaries, which document and codify the features of the standard language spoken there (Ammon et al., 2004). German is spoken in these countries, but their language standards are based on those of one of the DACH-countries. Based on my own experience, both those in the academic world of German Studies in the United States and Canada as well as

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[5] It seems to be a standard practice in textbooks for German as a foreign language courses in the United States and Canada that one chapter (out of 10 or so) addresses a handful of linguistic and cultural differences found in Switzerland and Austria, with the rest of the book being devoted to linguistic and cultural practices of the country of Germany.

German nationals are unfamiliar with South Tyrol. I am continually surprised at the number of Germans that I speak with about South Tyrol who are unaware of this robust German-speaking population living in the province. When I have spoken with Italians about the province in casual conversation, it seems that South Tyrol is dismissed because of the general assumptions that Italian is not spoken there and that Italians (i.e. Italians not from South Tyrol) are not welcome there. Based on my casual experiences with Germans to the north and Italians to the south of the province, South Tyrol does not fit neatly into the space of German speakers, but it also difficult to place in the same category as most of the other provinces of Italy, where Italian is considered the majority language. This in-between status of South Tyrol made me more curious about the province and its linguistic and cultural practices, especially in regards to group identity.

With my interest piqued, I started to explore how one could approach the language situation in South Tyrol from an sociolinguistic perspective. In my original conception of this project, I had three broad research questions: 1) What are the beliefs and motivations of South Tyroleans concerning the use of their first language (L1) and the acquisition of their second language (L2)?; 2) To what degree does a South Tyrolean German dialect exist, and what influence does the Italian language have on this dialect?; 3) What is the role of German dialect in the formation of the identity of South Tyroleans, especially vis-à-vis Italian L1 speakers? After doing more reading on these questions, I saw that the most interesting aspect of them was a piece of the first and third questions, namely the question of identity. If South Tyrol really is this language utopia that I imagined it to be, what would be the consequences of choosing one language over the other one? Which factors would influence a person to choose one language and how would that choice be perceived by others? As will be seen in this dissertation, South Tyrol is not a language utopia, by which I mean a place where multiple languages can be used free from judgement

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and the influence of language ideology, a place that likely does not exist.[6] At the end of the day, there are a wide range of factors that influence language choice and that choice results in different perceptions of the person using that language. Furthermore, this individual 'choice' is somewhat illusory, as the Discourses surrounding this use of language in South Tyrol have deep-seated roots in the history of the region, something I will discuss in this dissertation. Additionally, the family into which one is born cannot be chosen and this obviously determines a person's L1, meaning that by the time a person in South Tyrol has acquired an L2, they have likely already been exposed to the Discourses and ways of thinking and being that are so closely tied to their L1. What is left is how a person navigates these Discourses in their daily life and interactions with other South Tyroleans. With this in mind, I decided to examine the practices of how South Tyroleans navigate these Discourses. These practices are the aspect that is tied to questions about identity and how it is constructed. Language is one of the main ways of enacting identity, if not the main one. This is the case for any language in any part of the world, but as more languages are added to the mix, the more complex the situation becomes. Such is the case in South Tyrol. One of my original assumptions was that in a multilingual community like South Tyrol, choosing which language to use would be something akin to choosing which outfit to wear for the day or which music to listen to. My assumption was that this choice could be made based on a person's mood or another temporary factor, and it would have few long-term consequences or lasting effects. If a person felt like speaking Italian one day or in a certain interaction, then that was their choice and they could have just as easily spoken German. The assumption was, in other words, that a speaker's identity is not changed to any significant degree by

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[6] Franceschini (2011) states, "South Tyrol is not an area that provides a paradise for multilingualism. To be honest, I do not know of such an area" (pp. 145-146). However, Franceschini does offer the Ladin-speaking areas in South Tyrol as being the closest to such a utopia.

their choice to speak Italian or German in a particular situation. In reality, the situation is of course much more complex than that, and the 'choice' of a particular language is always made in the context of existing Discourses.

As I read more about current research on identity, I found more methods for examining identity with empirical data, usually in the form of recorded and transcribed conversational/interactional data. At the same time, I began to read more about the concept of the linguistic landscape and the visual language of public spaces, an aspect of language use in South Tyrol that is very prominent due to its multilingual signage. Both conversational data and linguistic landscape data are examples of how South Tyroleans use language to operate within existing Discourses and to enact and negotiate identities.

My goal then for this dissertation is to examine the role of language in the enacting of identity in the German-speaking community in the province of South Tyrol, Italy. This project focuses on the German-speaking community of South Tyrol and seeks to better understand how conversational language and publicly-displayed language are used in this community to enact and negotiate local and global identities. The population of this region navigates multilingualism on a daily basis, which presents challenges not only for those born there, but also for immigrants to the region, as well as refugees seeking asylum there. The object of investigation is language use and how it both constructs and enacts group identities to include and exclude others.

The objectives of this project are two-fold. The first objective is to apply the approaches of ethnomethodology in an analysis of unique spoken and visual language data collected in South Tyrol. An ethnomethodological approach allows for the use of the tools of conversation and interaction analysis to empirically examine the practices that are used by South Tyroleans to construct identities. The literature on identity practices has long recognized that identities are not monolithic,

but rather are variable and situated in interaction (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). I approach the topic of identity from the constructivist perspective, which holds that identity is constructed in interaction. According to this approach, an identity must first be made recognizable to the interactants in a stretch of discourse. How the interactants then orient to that identity offers insight into the Discourses informing that interaction. My goal is to examine the practices that make identity visible in order to better understand the categories and Discourses that are used by South Tyroleans in talking about themselves, others, and their province.

The second objective is to add to the body of research on the German-speaking community in South Tyrol, by providing new perspectives on a multilingual community in Europe (and the European Union) and how this community deals with on-going struggles between localism and globalism, as well as migration and group identity. The community of German speakers in South Tyrol is worth investigating because of its position relative to the rest of German speakers in Western Europe, both geographically and politically, and because of its language policies, which support multilingualism for the entire province. South Tyrol is a minority language community in the country of Italy, yet it is still part of the contiguous block of German speakers connected to those in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein, where German is an official national language. At the provincial level, South Tyrol has two official languages, German and Italian; additionally, there is a third official language, Ladin, in eight of its 116 municipalities where Ladin is the majority language. Because the vast majority of the population of South Tyrol is at least bilingual in German and Italian (Dal Negro, 2011; Franceschini, 2011) and these languages share equal rights, South Tyrol could be seen as a positive example of multilingualism in the European Union (Eichinger 2002) and when looking just at language policy in South Tyrol, it appears to be a harmonious coexistence of multiple languages and cultures, but how this

multilingualism works in practice needs to be examined. My examination considers questions about languages, group identities (e.g. national, cultural, regional/local identities), and group affiliations, such as which group identities are discursively constructed and how language is used to enact and understand these group identities and affiliations. These questions are the starting point for my dissertation.

Relevant to this group identity is the well-documented imbalance in the multilingualism in South Tyrol (Franceschini, 2011). As Eichinger (2001) points out, the German-speaking population in South Tyrol is in a good position, something they are availing themselves of. However, difficulties remain, especially with the Italian-speaking population feeling at a disadvantage due to the same policies that benefit the German language group. The history of South Tyrol has remained present in many people's minds, although younger generations who did not experience some of the struggles of the 20th century have a more positive attitude towards the other language and language group.

In much of the research on language use in South Tyrol, language policy is usually mentioned in terms of education, often with the authors providing some kind of recommendation for how the multiple languages should be taught and acquired in South Tyrol. Many of these researchers are South Tyroleans themselves, and obviously have opinions and a stake in how multilingualism and language policy are handled. Making such policy recommendations is not my goal. My hope is to take a qualitative look at how multilingualism and group identity function in interaction, be that spoken or written in the form of signs in public spaces. I believe these interactions can reveal a great deal of information about how multilingualism works. South Tyrol is seen as a positive example of multilingualism in the European Union, but as the literature shows, this model of multilingualism does not benefit all South Tyrol equally. Greater amounts of immigration to South Tyrol from non-European countries means that the model only becomes more complicated. A better

understanding of how identity and language function in a multilingual setting is necessary for creating language policies that can accommodate the entire population of South Tyrol, especially since this population is becoming more diverse. My research will supplement this understanding, which can then be used by others in creating language policies elsewhere. This study is unique in that it applies a different set of theoretical approaches and methodologies to research on identity in South Tyrol, adding to existing research on this community. With this study, I analyze data in the form of guided conversations and publicly visible language, which will make an important methodological innovation in the conduct of sociolinguistic research. This project seeks to answer the following research questions:

1) How is "being a South Tyrolean" constructed in guided conversations and linguistic landscapes? What are recurrent Discourses and linguistic patterns that make visible aspects of identity?

2) How is language choice in particular used to position other South Tyroleans with regard to local (both urban and rural) and global identities? What are relevant identity categories?

With this introduction in place, I now provide an overview of the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

In Chapter 2: *South Tyrol in the 21st Century* I first introduce the province of South Tyrol as it is today, with a focus on aspects of language policy, especially in regard to the three official languages and their corresponding language groups. South Tyrol today is largely defined by its history and fight for autonomy in the 20th century, which are the focus of Chapter 3: *The History of South Tyrol in the 19th and 20th Century*. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the history of South Tyrol beginning in the late 19th Century. The events of the 20th century in South Tyrol are especially important for understanding language use in South Tyrol today.

With the province of South Tyrol properly introduced, I then in Chapter 4: *Language Use in South Tyrol* turn my attention to the recent research on language use, particularly that of German and German dialect, in the province. Language is the basis of the identity of the three language groups in South Tyrol, meaning it is necessary to understand the nuances of the languages used in there and how they might play a role in constructing identity. In Chapter 5: *Identity and the Constructivist Approach* I introduce how I approach identity in this dissertation, discussing the theoretical approaches that allow identity to be examined in interaction. This theoretical approach sets up the use of the methodological approaches I uses for empirically examining identity.

With Chapter 6: *Interview Data and Analysis* I turn my attention to my interview data and the methodological approach used for its analysis, which is largely informed by an ethnomethodological approach and Membership Categorization Analysis. After introducing this approach, I present an analysis of several data excerpts. In Chapter 7: *Linguistic Landscape Data and Analysis* my focus shifts to the linguistic landscape data. I first present the concept of the linguistic landscape and relevant methodological approaches to it. I then explore some of the legal aspects surrounding public signs in South Tyrol, before introducing my data corpus and an analysis of several items from that corpus.

In Chapter 8: *Discussion and Future Directions* I present concluding remarks and discussion of the analyses and close by offering potential directions for future research on this topic.

Chapter 2
South Tyrol in the 21ˢᵗ Century

Now that I have provided an overview of the origins and goals of this dissertation, I would now like to introduce the province of South Tyrol in more detail. In this chapter I describe South Tyrol as it is today in the 21ˢᵗ Century, before going into more detail about its history, something I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter. My goal with the current chapter is to provide some key information about the province and its language policies. Some of these aspects will come up in later chapters and when necessary, they will be described in more detail, but I would like to introduce them here first, so that the necessary background information is already in place.

South Tyrol is the northernmost province of the country of Italy, bordering Austria to the north and east (the Austrian states of Tyrol/Tirol and Salzburg), Switzerland to the west (the Swiss canton of Grisons/Graubünden), and the Italian provinces of Sondrio (region of Lombardy), Trentino (region of Trentino-Südtirol/Alto Adige), and Belluno (region of Veneto) to the south (see Fig. 1 below). The province of South Tyrol is officially named *Autonome Provinz Bozen - Südtirol* (Italian: *Provincia autonoma di Bolzano – Alto Adige*; Ladin: *Provinzia Autonoma de Balsan/Bulsan – Südtirol*), but is commonly referred to as just *Südtirol* in German or *Alto Adige* in Italian. In recent years, the Italian name *Sudtirolo* has increased in use.[7] In this dissertation I will refer to it simply as South Tyrol. The city of *Bozen/Bolzano*[8] is the capital city of the province South Tyrol. Although the province also officially

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[7] Two of my participants spoke about the increased use of *Sudtirolo* in Italian, stating that by using this name, a person shows a higher awareness of the problematic nature of *Alto Adige*, a name that originated in the 1920's under the fascist rule of Benito Mussolini.

[8] For place names in South Tyrol, the standard practice in English is to use the Italian names, but given the fact that this dissertation is focused on the German language, I will use a combined form of both the German and Italian names throughout, with the German name first.

named Bozen/Bolzano, this name is most often used to refer to the city and not the province. As of June 30, 2019, the population of South Tyrol was 532,010 (ASTAT, 2019).

Fig. 1: Map of South Tyrol with the capital city of Bozen/Bolzano marked in yellow („Übersichtskarte von Südtirol, Italien" by NordNordWest and Lencer is licensed under CC BY 2.0).

As the official name of the province indicates, this is an autonomous province in the country of Italy, which together with the Autonomous Province of Trentino forms the Autonomous Region of Trentino-Südtirol/Alto Adige (Ladin: Trentin-Südtirol).[9] The history of South Tyrol's autonomy will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4,

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[9] There are five regions in Italy (out of 20 total) which "have special forms and conditions of autonomy," all of which were established in 1948 by Art. 116 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic: Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Sardinia, Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and Valled'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste (Senato della Repubblica, 2012a, p. 30). South Tyrol and Trentino are the only autonomous provinces in Italy.

but a brief overview of the rights that are granted the province are provided in *Das Südtirol-Handbuch*, a publication of the provincial government:

> Staatliche Zuständigkeiten sind zum Beispiel Polizei und Justiz, Verteidigung und Einwanderung. Primäre Zuständigkeiten (Südtirol kann eigene Gesetze erlassen) sind zum Beispiel Kultur, Berufsbildung, Soziales, Straßen und öffentlicher Verkehr, Kindergärten, Tourismus, Handwerk, Industrie, Landschaft und Wohnbau. Sekundäre Zuständigkeiten (in diesen Bereichen gelten die Staatsgesetze, Südtirol kann Details regeln) sind zum Beispiel Schule, Gesundheit und Sport. (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2019, p. 11)

In the province of South Tyrol, there are three official languages: German, Italian, and Ladin. German and Italian are official languages in the entire province, which consists of 116 municipalities (*Gemeinden* or *comuni*), while Ladin is an official language only in the eight municipalities where it is spoken by a majority of the population. Every ten years, as part of the population census in Italy, within the province of South Tyrol data are collected on the so-called *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung*, or the Language Group Declaration, by means of which every Italian citizen residing in the province of South Tyrol must declare their affiliation to one of the three language groups: German, Italian, or Ladin. The primary reason for the language group declaration is the *Ethnischer Proporz* (*proporzionale etnica*), or proportional ethnic representation, which determines the distribution of positions in public offices and the amount of government funding given to each of the three language groups (Barth, 2018). Interestingly, the language group declaration data are the official data that are used by the province to show what percentage of the population of South Tyrol speaks which language, rather than using data from the census on citizens' actual first languages.[10] According to the

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[10] For example, see the following quote from *Das Südtirol-Handbuch mit Autonomiestatut* (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2019): "Die Südtiroler Bevölkerung setzt sich laut Volkszählung 2011 aus 69,41 Prozent Deutschsprachigen, 26,06 Prozent Italienischsprachigen und 4,53 Prozent Ladinischsprachigen zusammen" (p. 9).

most recent population census (2011), the breakdown of the language group declarations was as follows: German, 62.3%; Italian, 23.4%; Ladin, 4.1%; Other, 10.2% (ASTAT, 2018, p. 118). The 'Other' category refers in this case to invalid declarations, temporarily absent persons, and foreign residents. If the group 'Other' is removed, the numbers are the following: German, 69.41%; Italian, 26.06%; and Ladin, 4.53% (ASTAT, 2018, p. 119). These percentages add up to 100%, meaning they reflect the percentages according to all of the valid language group declarations.

There are actually two methods for collecting the data for the *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung*. The first method is that of including the question in the national census that takes place every ten years in Italy (only residents of South Tyrol would be asked this question); this is an anonymous declaration and is used only for the purposes of determining the distribution of government jobs and government subsidies for the three language groups. The next census in which these data will be collected is in 2021. The second method is via a non-anonymous declaration that can be submitted at any time (i.e. independent of a census) by an Italian citizen residing in South Tyrol. This method also allows a person to have their language group affiliation given to them instead of declaring it themselves. This personal declaration is what is used by citizens living in South Tyrol to prove their language group affiliation for the purposes of applying for public jobs and receiving government assistance (Barth, 2018).[11]

Despite the *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung* being sometimes presented as a bureaucratic necessity, the South Tyrol government recognizes its importance and connection to identity. Barth (2018) states that,

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[11] There are regulations that prevent a person from switching their affiliation in order to take advantage of opportunities afforded to another language group. The first time a person submits this personal declaration, it goes into effect immediately. The declaration can be changed later, but this request can be submitted at the earliest five years after the initial declaration and takes two years to go into effect (Barth, 2018).

Personen, die sich keiner dieser Sprachgruppen oder auch mehreren gleichzeitig zugehörig fühlen, müssen keine Entscheidung treffen, sondern können sich einer der drei Sprachgruppen zuordnen lassen. Diese Erklärung hat dieselben rechtlichen Auswirkungen, *soll aber diese Personen vor einem inneren Identitätskonflikt bewahren*. (p. 3, emphasis added)

These three groups are each defined by a language, but that language does not necessarily correspond to the preferred or first language of the individual members of that group. The above statement shows that there is an acknowledgement by the South Tyrol government that identity does not always fit into neat categories, but for pragmatic reasons, the government of South Tyrol needs such categories. However, the number of South Tyroleans who let themselves be assigned to a language group instead of personally declaring their affiliation is rather small. In 2011, only 7,625 of the 453,272 total valid declarations were from citizens who let themselves be assigned to a language group, just 1.68% of the total (ASTAT, 2018, p. 119). This means that for the other 98.32%, there was no or only a minimal identity conflict when it came to them declaring their language group affiliation. What I was not able to determine was how these 7,625 'non-declarers' were actually assigned to a language group. Of these, 38.81% were assigned to the Italian language group, 55.66% to German, and 5.53% to Ladin (ASTAT, 2018, p. 119), a distribution that does not match the breakdown of the personal declarations (IT: 26.06%; DE: 69.41%; LA: 4.53%). When looking at all of these language group declarations, there is a large amount of overlap between the language of the group and the mother tongue of the individual group members. According to the *Sprachbarometer* (ASTAT, 2014), a detailed survey about language use in South Tyrol, 97.1% of members of the German language consider German to be their mother tongue. For the Italian language

group, 87.0% consider Italian to be their mother tongue, and for the Ladin language group, 95.9% consider Ladin to be their mother tongue (p. 20).[12]

The origin of the officially recognized language groups and the declaration of language group affiliation lies in the autonomy of South Tyrol, which has been hard fought for since the end of World War II. Under the fascist government of Mussolini in the 1930's and 1940's, the German language was oppressed and its speakers forced to adopt the Italian language (Alcock, 2000). The darker parts of the past that these German speakers lived through became the major reason for the establishment and protection of these language groups in South Tyrol today. In the next section, I will describe that history in more detail, but I want to show here that the status of the German language and the German language group today in South Tyrol is because of the autonomy that was achieved in the decades after World War II. A key moment in the process of achieving that autonomy was the *neues/zweites Autonomiestatut*, which became law in 1972. The *Ethnischer Proporz* is a critical part of the protection of both the German- and Ladin-speaking populations in South Tyrol. In a book published by the *Südtiroler Landesregierung* (provincial government) on South Tyrol's autonomy, the reasons for the *Ethnischer Proporz* are described as follows:

> Seiner Funktion nach ist der ethnische Proporz ein Schutzmechanismus für die in Südtirol lebenden beiden ethnischen Minderheiten der Deutschen und Ladiner: Damit soll nämlich erreicht werden, dass diese beiden Minderheiten in ihrem angestammten Lebensraum in gewissen Bereichen des öffentlichen Lebens, die, wie in der Vergangenheit nur allzu deutlich zutage getreten, für Benachteiligungen besonders sensibel sind, vom staatlichen Mehrheitsvolk nicht ins Abseits gedrängt werden, sondern jene Stellung einnehmen können, die ihnen aufgrund ihrer zahlenmäßigen Stärke zusteht. (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2010, p. 90)

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[12] This question from the *Sprachbarometer* does allow a participant to declare more than one mother tongue. Of those surveyed, 5.3% of participants listed more than one mother tongue (ASTAT, 2014, p. 20).

This text makes it clear that the events of the past have left a long shadow and that these protections are necessary to ensure that these two minority language groups are not at the mercy of the majority national language group. The text goes on to say that the protection provided to the German and Ladin groups is also extended to the Italian language group, seeing as it will be in a minority position in many places in South Tyrol, just as the first two language groups are in a minority position in the country of Italy. In the next section, I will go into more detail about the history of South Tyrol, in particular that of the German speakers in this province.

Chapter 3

The History of South Tyrol in the 19th and 20th Century

Virtually every piece of academic writing on South Tyrol, and especially those dealing with language use, include a summary of the history of the province, something that I do here as well. In the current research on multilingualism in South Tyrol, the history of the province is always given as a factor that influences language use, language attitudes, and group identity. For this reason, I believe it is worth taking a brief look at the history of South Tyrol to situate both the recent research on language use there as well as my own research in this dissertation.

My overview of the history ranges from the end of the 19th century, when the geographic entity of what is now known as South Tyrol was part of the County of Tyrol within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, up until the present day, when South Tyrol is an autonomous province within the country of Italy. I will briefly outline some key events in the history of South Tyrol in the 20th century and what kind of impact they had on language use at the time. The events before and after the inception of the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol are complex, with two world wars having caused the province to twice be a bargaining chip between larger political powers. A more detailed discussion of this history, especially prior to 1919, is beyond the scope of this research project, but is of potential future interest, seeing as the history prior to 1919 still informs current Discourses on national identity and language (Grote, 2012). I will highlight some important details that have impacted South Tyrol, specifically with regard to language use, beginning in the late 19th century up until present day, but I will need to exclude other details in the interest of the focus of this dissertation. In this brief overview, I would like to emphasize the tumultuous history and previous powerlessness of the population of South Tyrol in determining their own future, aspects that continue to play a large role in the

identity of South Tyroleans (Grote, 2012) and are an undercurrent in the research on multilingualism in South Tyrol (Franceschini, 2011). I will address the impact of this later in my discussion of how my research fits into existing research on South Tyrol.

The beginning of the creation of the province known today as South Tyrol occurred in 1919 and was the result of secret negotiations and post-World War I peace treaties (Steininger, 1997). Prior to 1919, the area that would become South Tyrol was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and formed the central area of the Austrian Crownland of Tyrol, a geographic region that today spans across Austria and Italy. This central swath of Tyrol is traditionally described as spanning from the Brenner Pass in the north to the gorge of Salorno in the south (Alcock, 2000). These 'natural' borders are today formalized by the international border with Austria and the *Bundesland Tirol* to the north and to the east and the interprovincial border to Trentino to the south. The western border of South Tyrol today is with the country of Switzerland.

At the end of the 1800's, this area was predominantly German-speaking, with census data from 1880 showing approximately 90.6% of the population being German-speaking, 3.4% Italian-speaking, and 4.3% Ladin-speaking (ASTAT, 2018).[13] This number remained constant until the census in 1921 (the first census after World War I), which showed the German-speaking population dropping from 89.0% (1910 census) to 75.9% (1921 census). The roots of this German-speaking population are attested as far back as the 7th century, meaning Germanic languages have had their home there for centuries (Eichinger, 1996).

The end of World War I represents a major break for the area. The entire county of Tyrol had been part of Austria and the Habsburg Monarchy since 1363

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[13] In 1880, those surveyed consisted of the population present in the area. They were asked about their *Umgangssprache*, meaning in this case their 'everday language' (ASTAT, 2018, p. 118).

(Peterlini, 2009), but in 1919, the county was broken up and divided between Austria and Italy, with the Kingdom of Italy receiving the area of South Tyrol and Trentino, which was the southernmost part of the County of Tyrol. This annexation placed a population of German speakers within the borders of a state (Italy) with which they had little affiliation, either culturally or linguistically, an event that began the decades-long fight for autonomy for this German-speaking population.

Immediately after World War I, the first political efforts to establish autonomy for South Tyrol were undertaken, and the government of Italy was at first receptive to these (Steininger, 2007). However, when Benito Mussolini became Prime Minister of Italy in October 1922, any chances for autonomy or hope for preserving the linguistic and cultural traditions of South Tyrol disappeared (Grote, 2012). Under Mussolini, the German-speaking South Tyroleans were to be 're-nationalized' as Italians and the German language was forcibly suppressed. Italian was to be the official language in all domains and all German signs (private and government) and place names were 'italianized' (Alcock, 2001). Beginning in October 1923, under the so-called *Lex Gentile*, German language instruction was forbidden in schools and was not reintroduced again until 1934, this time only as a foreign language in primary schools. Despite these efforts of the Fascist government to suppress the language, German continued to be used and taught in secret, in the so-called *Katakombenschulen* (Alcock, 2000). In 1935, Mussolini began a program of migrating workers from other parts of Italy, both from southern Italy, mostly from the regions of Sicily, Calabria, and Basilicata (Glück et al., 2019), and from the provinces immediately to the south of Trentino. These workers were brought to and housed in the recently industrialized city of Bozen/Bolzano. The number of relocated Italians in Bozen/Bolzano increased steadily from 1936 through 1947 (Steininger, 1997). The increasing numbers of these Italian workers greatly increased the Italian-speaking population in South Tyrol, which in 1910 measured only 2.9% of the population, the

lowest since the start of the recording of such data in 1880. In 1921, the last census taken before World War II, the Italian population was 10.6%. According to the 1961 census, the first one recorded after World War II, the Italian population reached a high point with 34.3% of the total population in South Tyrol, a number that has been steadily declining ever since, reaching 23.4% in 2011 (ASTAT, 2018, p. 118). From its beginning in the 1930's, this population of Italian workers was rather heterogeneous, due to their various origins in the rest of Italy, a fact that led to a levelling of Italian regional dialects spoken in South Tyrol (Franceschini, 2011). This relocation of Italian workers to South Tyrol in the 1930's was most successful in Bozen/Bolzano, which today remains one the few municipalities that have a majority Italian-speaking population. With a population of 102,575, Bozen/Bolzano is the most populous municipality of Italian speakers.[14] As of 2011, the city of Bozen/Bolzano is 73.80% Italian, 25,52% German, and 0.68% Ladin (ASTAT, 2018).

Because of their continued resistance to Mussolini's Italianization, the German-speaking South Tyroleans were given in 1939 the choice (referred to as *Die Option*) to either join the German Reich under Adolf Hitler and leave their homeland of South Tyrol, or to remain in their homeland, but renounce their German identity and language. Holding on to their German identity meant they would be forced to leave their homes and homeland, an important facet of their identity (Grote, 2012). This was an obviously difficult decision, as Grote notes that "[t]he German-speaking population and its very understanding of identity was torn apart by the reality of the Option" (2012, p. 69). Somewhere between 71% and 86%[15] of approximately 250,000

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[14] The rest of the Italian-majority municipalities lie south of Bozen/Bolzano, along the Etsch river as it flows toward the province of Trentino.

[15] The range of numbers is due to political reasons. According to Steininger (1997), the oft-cited 86% figure comes from either the results of the 'Option'-referendum in January 1940 (the end of 1939 was the cutoff for voting) as reported by the *Völkischer Kampfrung Südtirols* (VKS), the pro-Nazi political organization in South Tyrol, or from the official figure reported by the Italian government in 1946. In 1940, the Italian government reported the number of *Optanten* as 72.5%, a lower number that would

South Tyroleans did opt to leave their homeland to join the German Reich, although only about 75,000 of those were actually relocated (Eichinger, 1996). One could argue that such a large majority opting to keep their language and cultural identity indicates that these aspects play a stronger role than geographical location in the group identity of German-speaking South Tyroleans, but Steininger (1997) states that the political motivations behind those opting to leave Italy were rather complicated. He argues that German-speaking South Tyroleans were under pressure from both sides, being inundated with propaganda from Hitler and the German Reich, and feeling unwelcome in their own country due to the policies of Mussolini and his process of Italianization. Although the 'Option' was largely a failure in terms of how many South Tyroleans were actually relocated, its effects on the population were deeply felt (Steininger, 1997).

In 1943, Mussolini was overthrown and Italy joined the side of the Allies, a change of events that put South Tyrol in a conflicted position. The official end of Italian fascism meant that the German language (and the minority language Ladin) could again be used in the open, but the situation remained precarious until the official surrender of Germany in May 1945. World War II was over, but the entirety of the fascist rule in South Tyrol left its mark on the German-speaking population. Alcock (1982) summarizes these effects, especially in terms of language and culture, stating,

> Mussolini und die Faschisten pflanzten so die deutsche Sprache tiefer denn je in ihre [der Südtiroler] Herzen. Viele, die die italienische Sprache ansonsten freiwillig erlernt hätten, um in der Lage zu sein, ihre Geschäfte mit den Italienern durchzuführen, fühlten diesen gegenüber nun Haß, da man sie mit Gewalt dazu verhielt, deren Sprache zu erlernen.
>
> Schließlich: Jeder Südtiroler, der vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg geboren worden war, war fest entschlossen, jene Nation, die versucht hatte, ihm seine eigene Entwicklung, seinen Namen,

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have shown that the process of Italianization was not a complete failure, while reporting a higher number after the war would have shown the Allies how many Nazis there were in South Tyrol. The Austrian government stated in 1946 that 71% opted to leave South Tyrol, a lower number that would emphasize the population of German speakers that wanted to remain in their *Heimat*.

sein Heim, seine Sprache, sein Land, kurz, seine persönliche Würde zu rauben, niemals mehr irgend etwas in seiner kulturellen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Entwicklung mitreden zu lassen. (p. 11)

This sentiment drove the efforts for South Tyrol to later achieve autonomy and be able to determine its own future after the end of World War II. Steininger (1997) emphasizes the role of the *Dableiber*, those German-speaking South Tyroleans who opted to remain in South Tyrol under Mussolini, as being a pivotal force in the efforts for South Tyrol's autonomy after the Second World War.

Just as it had been at the at the end of World War I, South Tyrol became once again at the end of World War II a pawn for larger political powers in the negotiations over the new postwar political landscape. In 1946, hopes for renewed efforts for autonomy were rekindled by the signing of the Gruber-de Gasperi Agreement, which emphasized the need for support of bilingualism in South Tyrol (Grote, 2012). Official autonomy was granted with the 1948 Autonomy Statute, not to South Tyrol, but rather to the combined region of Trentino-Alto Adige, which left an Italian majority in place due the larger majority Italian population in Trentino (Alcock, 2001). This was seen as yet another disappointment to the German speakers of South Tyrol (Grote, 2012).

The late 1940's and 1950's saw continued political unrest in South Tyrol, which escalated into acts of terrorism and violence in the 1960's (Grote, 2012). During this same time, negotiations began between the Italian government and the *Südtiroler Volkspartei*, the political party which represented the German population of South Tyrol. The result of these negotiations was the *Südtirol Paket*, or *zweites Autonomiestatut*, with the Autonomy Statute in the *Pariser Vertrag* of 1948 being the first one. This new statute weakened the original autonomy given to the combined region of Trentino-Alto Adige and established true autonomy for the Province of Bozen-South Tyrol in 1972. An important aspect of the Second Statue of Autonomy

of 1972 was the establishing of cultural autonomy for the three language groups in the province: German, Italian, and Ladin (Grote, 2012). In a handbook on the autonomy of South Tyrol published by the provincial government, the importance of the new autonomy statute is described as follows:

> Das neue Autonomiestatut von 1972 ist ohne Zweifel für unser Land die wichtigste Errungenschaft in politischer, kultureller, sozialer und wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht. Für die beiden Sprachminderheiten im Lande – die Deutschen und die Ladiner – erfüllt das Autonomiestatut eine wichtige Schutz- und Förderungsfunktion zur Erhaltung der sprachlichen und kulturellen Identität. (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2010, p. 13)

Since the initial implementation of the 'Paket' in 1972, the outlook for German-speaking South Tyroleans has continually improved; there has been a resurgence not only of cultural institutions and German-language media, but also of academic institutions that support the German-speaking minority, such as the founding of the European Academy (EURAC) in 1992 and the trilingual (German, Italian, & English) Free University of Bozen in 1997. Both of these institutions have researchers and faculty focused on language use and policy in South Tyrol. Standing in contrast to the quote above in which Alcock (1982) summarizes the hate felt by German-speaking South Tyroleans towards Italians and the Italian state at the end of the Second World War, Steininger (2007) summarizes the state of affairs in South Tyrol at the beginning of the 21st century:

> Es gibt keine unüberwindbaren sozialen Spannungen, und auch die politischen geistern häufig nur durch die Schlagzeilen bestimmter Zeitungen. Nicht alles, was aus dem Süden kam, war schlecht. Italienische Kultur und Lebensart werden heute von sehr vielen Südtirolern durchaus als Bereicherung verstanden – etwas davon könnte wohl auch Nordtirol nicht schaden. Die italienische Sprache zu beherrschen ist für die Jüngeren längst eine Selbstverständigkeit geworden und eröffnet neue, bisher nicht gekannte Möglichkeiten. (pp. 209-210)

The claim that there are "no insurmountable tensions" might be a bit optimistic, but there is evidence to support the claim that younger German-speaking South Tyroleans are embracing the Italian language (Eichinger, 1996). In the 2014

Sprachbarometer, fewer than 4% of South Tyroleans stated having both German and Italian as mother tongue (ASTAT, 2014).[16] This means that most German-speaking South Tyroleans learn Italian primarily in school, where it is learned as a second language (L2) starting in the first grade in an otherwise German-language school (Abel, 2010). The schools in South Tyrol are divided by language, with German-language schools teaching Italian as an L2 and Italian-language schools teaching German as an L2. The exception to this are the schools in the Ladin-speaking municipalities, where instruction is carried out in both German and Italian, with an even split of subjects being taught in one language or the other, and the Ladin language only being used for a small number of hours each week. Seen from the side of the German language group, a separate German-language school system is necessary both to protect the language from the influence of Italian and to ensure that German-speaking South Tyroleans properly learn Standard German in the context of the widespread use of German dialect (Abel, 2010).

As Glück et al. (2019) point out, the German-speaking South Tyroleans have a very positive attitude towards both Standard German and German dialect. For them there is no downside to using the German language, since it can be used in almost all domains in South Tyrol. German speakers are required to speak Italian if they want to succeed in the professional world, but even beyond this setting German speakers take pride in their knowledge of Italian as an L2. When in contact with Italian-speaking South Tyroleans, German speakers most often speak Italian, both because the Italian speakers are not as proficient in German and because the German speakers are more comfortable speaking Standard Italian than Standard German

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[16] This number appears to be slowly increasing. Of those 60 years and older, only 2% stated having both languages as a mother tongue. Of those between 16-34 years, 4.8% stated having both German and Italian as an L1 (ASTAT, 2014, p. 23).

(Glück et al., 2019). Language in South Tyrol is inseparable from cultural connections and connotations. As Riehl and Hajek (2011) state,

> In reality, for many residents the contrast between Italian and German is one between urban and rural culture, whereby Italian symbolises a modern urban lifestyle and German represents the traditional rural way of life that is essential to German-speaking South Tyrolean identity. (p. 220)

This notion is echoed in Glück et al. (2019), who argue that German-speaking South Tyroleans have a complicated relationship with the German language when it comes to identity. Even though they are a minority within the country of Italy (and the region of Trentino-Südtirol), they are not the same as the Ladin speakers, who can claim their language as completely their own and use it as a symbol of group identity. The German language is the national language of other countries to which South Tyroleans do not belong and with which they do not identify. Their German dialect therefore becomes the language of their group identity: "[a]us diesem Grund operationalisieren die Südtiroler den Südtiroler Dialekt als zentrales Identifikationsmoment. Sie konstruieren so eine eigene Identität als 'Südtiroler'" (Glück et al., 2019, p. 269).

Recent articles in German-language newspapers and magazines show that this issue is very much in the public discourse. Although these articles show that a completely conflict-free coexistence is not entirely possible, they argue that the types of conflicts that occur today in South Tyrol are relatively minor compared to those of the past. One thing is for sure, and that is that the events of the past are still very present in many South Tyroleans' minds, both German- and Italian-speaking. In a *Süddeutsche Zeitung* article titled "Südtirol, amore mio," Gasser (2019) interviews a South Tyrolean family with a German-language father and an Italian-language mother. At the dinner table with their two children (15 and 27 years old) they speak Italian and sometimes English, but otherwise each parent speaks their mother

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tongue with the children. The mother, a cabaret artist, describes the efforts she has made to learn German and to be neighborly to the mainly German-speaking residents of her village. Despite these efforts, she still encounters hostility. In his job as a theater technician in Bozen/Bolzano, the father explains to the interviewer that there are two completely separate theater groups for each language, even down to the technicians. This separation of the language groups and their institutions is contrasted with this mixed-language family, highlighting how this split between groups sometimes creates artificial barriers between those South Tyroleans whose lives might otherwise intersect more often. Despite occupying the same physical space of this theater, the two groups exist parallel to one another. An article from May 2019 published in *SPIEGEL+* (Stöhr, 2019) describes two Italian villages, one just inside the border of South Tyrol, and the other just outside of it, in the province of Trentino. The residents of these two villages describe how the effects of their history still remain present today. A theme in the article is the "unsichtbare Grenze" between the Italians and the German-speaking South Tyroleans. Between the two provinces of South Tyrol and Trentino, there is an actual border, but this article nonetheless highlights that certain tensions are still present today in two villages separated by only a few kilometers. Despite such tensions, the outlook for German-speaking South Tyroleans is certainly positive in the 21st century, but the situation is still complex and there is a great deal to explore, especially in terms of identity.

Chapter 4

Language use in South Tyrol in the 20th and 21st Century

Now that I have introduced the province of South Tyrol and briefly outlined its history, I will review the literature on language use and multilingualism in South Tyrol, with a focus on the German language. The main goal of this dissertation is to examine the role of language in enacting identity in the German-speaking community in South Tyrol. With that goal in mind, I will first review the recent literature on the German language in South Tyrol, before moving on to the topic of identity. I begin by looking at the broader research on the German language in South Tyrol in the 20th and 21st century, which has generally focused on two main areas: a) dialectology, language contact, and other structural phenomena; and b) language acquisition, education, and policy. In this section, I review the literature chronologically, as I believe the trends in the research reflect the history and the development of the Discourses on language use in South Tyrol, which tie into the larger goal of this thesis.

When South Tyrol gained true autonomy in 1972, much of the literature viewed the German used in South Tyrol as still closely tied to the German used in Austria, especially that of (North) Tyrol. With support for the German language firmly established in the 1970's, the research on the approach to and effects of multilingualism in South Tyrol began to increase. At first, the primary concerns for the German language in South Tyrol were that it would remain a colloquial language and suffer from the influence of and borrowings from the Italian language. The research shows that there has been little syntactic influence from Italian, but there have been many lexical borrowings (Abfalterer, 2007; Lanthaler, 1997; Mall & Plagg, 1990). However, the German language in South Tyrol is not under threat due to this (Putzer, 1999). The increased political support for the German language and

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its speakers created the potential for concrete language policies, especially in the domain of education. Researchers (Egger, 1985; Eichinger, 1996) began to investigate how this multilingualism actually looked on the ground, as the changing political circumstances had shifted expectations for multilingualism and the use of the German language in South Tyrol. In this research, the primary objects of investigation were the varieties of German spoken in South Tyrol and the influence of Italian on them (Lanthaler, 1997; Riehl, 2000).

By the 1990's, South Tyrol's expanded autonomy had been fully implemented, and German-speaking South Tyroleans had become much more confident in displaying an identity and status as German speakers. One of the concerns expressed in the research was that German speakers would only use German dialect as an informal language and would not properly acquire Standard German, but this has proven not to be the case (Eichinger, 2001, 2002; Putzer, 1999). In recent years, there has been more research on the teaching of German in South Tyrol schools (Abel, 2010; Abel et al., 2012; Dal Negro, 2011; De Angelis, 2012; Paladino et al., 2009; Riehl, 2007). The most recent research investigates the multilingualism in South Tyrol with more qualitative studies (Ciccolone & Franceschini, 2015; Franceschini, 2011). My research is a continuation of this trend of qualitative studies; my goal is to add to multilingualism research on South Tyrol by carrying out a fine-grained qualitative study.

In the literature from the 2000's, the topic of identity comes up repeatedly, especially in regards to the use of German dialect (Franceschini 2011; Glück et al., 2019). This is usually framed in terms of group identity, but none of the literature has explicitly looked at identity in terms of how it is constructed or which Discourses are present. In much of this research, the group identity of German-speaking South Tyroleans is seen as a sort of monolithic entity. I see this as an

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opportunity to apply the methods of examining identity in interaction to forms of interaction amongst German speakers in South Tyrol.

4.1 Overview of research on language varieties in South Tyrol

Prior to the Second Autonomy Statute in 1972, South Tyroleans were often viewed as Germans or Austrians living in South Tyrol and as such, the possibility that a variety of South Tyrolean German could be different than Austro-Bavarian German was not given much consideration. This can be seen in Rizzo-Baur (1962), which focuses on describing the written German language in Austria, but spends a few pages looking at the situation in South Tyrol. She describes the German in South Tyrol in comparison to that of Austria, pointing out some lexical differences. The author states that the use of dialect in South Tyrol is still very active, due to the fact that South Tyrol is far away from the capitol city of Vienna. Interesting is that the author subtly claims South Tyrol for Austria by calling Vienna its capital city. Rizzo-Baur then takes a brief look at the influence of Italian on South Tyrolean German, concluding that the influence of Italian on the written German language has not been very significant, which is due to the strong mentality of the South Tyroleans.

Riedmann (1972) was the first research to provide an overview of the German language in South Tyrol as separate from that of Germany and Austria. According to Riedmann, the year 1945 is pivotal for the German language in South Tyrol, as this is the year in which the use of German was once again allowed in all domains in South Tyrol after the fascist rule of Mussolini. The main focus of his analysis is the influence of Italian on the German language in South Tyrol, with Riedmann offering a comprehensive list of Italian words and expressions that are commonly used in the German used in South Tyrol in a variety of domains and settings, such as government and administration, finance and banking, clothing, education and research, medicine, and sports. Riedmann highlights the domains that have the

largest number of Italian borrowings, with the general trend being that wherever there is a greater mix of Italian and German L1 speakers, the greater the use of Italian and the greater the number of borrowings from Italian borrowings. In the domains where there are parallel institutions, such as the church and in cultural and academic settings, there are relatively few borrowings. Riedmann fears that the number of borrowings will continue to increase in the settings where a large number of them are already found. The variety of German that is influenced the most by Italian is the colloquial language (*Umgangssprache*), which Riedmann describes as antiquated and spoken mostly in cities and larger towns, precisely the areas that saw the greatest increase in the Italian population under Mussolini. Riedmann argues that this colloquial language is not an intermediate step between the standard language and dialect and that a true German colloquial language does not exist in South Tyrol. Riedmann distinguishes two other varieties of German in South Tyrol, which are the standard (*Hochsprache*), which is mostly used in written language, and dialect (*Mundart*), the variety most often spoken in South Tyrol.

The effects of Italian on South Tyrolean German continue to be a focus in Moser & Putzer (1982), with the emphasis mostly on structural and lexical effects on written language, but the volume also addresses the issue of language standards in South Tyrol. Three contributions discuss spoken language, with one focusing on phonological phenomena (Moser, 1982), one on language transfer from Italian (Putzer, 1982), and one on the status of German dialect and standard German in South Tyrol schools and homes (Saxalber-Tetter, 1982). Of these three, Moser (1982) is the only one to use recordings of spoken language for his analysis; the other two use questionnaires. Of interest are Moser's recommendations for the maintenance of spoken German in South Tyrol. He recommends that South Tyrolean German must orient itself towards Austria, so that language differences between North Tyrol and South Tyrol do not become too large. According to Moser, Austria should be used as

a language standard for South Tyrol rather than Germany, and the Austrian standard should be used in South Tyrolean schools for the benefit of both German L1 speakers and the Italians learning German as an L2. Moser's strong orientation to Austria seems to reflect the view of German speakers in South Tyrol as still being part of Austria.

Putzer (1982) addresses the same issue of borrowings from the Italian language that Riedmann (1972) examined. While Riedmann (1972) provided a comprehensive list of borrowings and the contexts in which they are found, Putzer (1982) attempts to provide a more differentiated analysis of these kinds of borrowings, which he calls 'language transfers' (*Interferenzen*) rather than 'borrowings' (*Entlehnungen*), the term used by Riedmann (1972). For his analysis, Putzer (1982) uses data from questionnaires in which participants were asked about their knowledge and frequency of use of 65 widely known language transfers in the German language spoken in South Tyrol. Putzer argues that frequency of use of these transfers varies greatly, showing that just because a transfer exists, does not mean it has completely replaced an equivalent German term. Putzer's analysis also shows that a higher education level correlates with a lower usage of these transfers which Putzer argues is evidence that there is no reason to fear a "unaufhaltsame Verwilderung" (p. 156) of the German language in South Tyrol.

Saxalber-Tetter (1982) uses questionnaires completed by school teachers and the parents of middle school students in South Tyrol to assess dialect use and language attitudes. Her questionnaire assumes the existence of three discrete varieties of German in South Tyrol: dialect, colloquial language (*Umgangssprache*), and standard language (*Hochsprache*). Saxalber-Tetter's results show that almost all of the respondents consider themselves dialect speakers, although it varies how often and with whom dialect is spoken. According to the surveys, dialect is spoken most often with family and friends; the standard language (also referred to as

mündliche Standardsprache) is rarely spoken outside of the school setting, and the teachers who responded said they 'always' or 'mostly' use this standard in the classroom, a practice that is preferred by the parents. The respondents stated that they speak the standard language less than they do their second language of Italian, which is evidence that Italian is spoken more often than standard German when there is communication between German and Italian speakers.

Similar to Saxalber-Tetter (1982) and Riedmann (1972), Pernstich (1984) differentiates between three varieties of German in South Tyrol: different local dialects (*Mundarten*), a region-spanning *Umgangssprache*, and standard *Hochsprache*, although she echoes Riedmann's (1972) claim that the *Umgangssprache* cannot be seen as a language in the middle of the continuum between standard German and dialect. According to Pernstich, German-speaking South Tyroleans speak all three varieties plus standard Italian, while the Italian-speaking South Tyroleans speak just the German *Hochsprache* and standard Italian. The goal of Pernstich's study was to use a corpus of South Tyrolean newspapers to examine transfers from Italian into German. She finds that while elements of Italian can be heard in spoken German, these elements have not found their way into written German in South Tyrol newspapers, which use the written *Hochsprache*. Pernstich concludes that most of the instances of language transfer were restricted to specific sociolects or to official, i.e. government or administrative, language use. Pernstich calls for similar studies with spoken language as data.

Egger (1985) seeks to investigate the forms of language use and language education in bilingual families in South Tyrol in order to better understand potential problems that might arise from the communal living of two language groups in one region. Rather than use a questionnaire, the author chose to carry out qualitative interviews with the families. Of interest to my work are those conclusions related to language group affiliation and ethnic identity of the interviewees. The most relevant

conclusion is that the adolescents in bilingual families often see themselves as mediators between the two language groups, but that the members of the two language groups only see them as unable to decide between the Italian and German ethnicity, something that is demanded more by the German language group. This observation echoes the notion that South Tyroleans should be able to easily put themselves in one of the three neat categories by declaring their affiliation to one of the three language groups: German, Italian, or Ladin.

Mall and Plagg (1990) investigate whether the international border between North and South Tyrol has also become a language border. They begin with the claim that someone from North Tyrol would have difficulty understanding someone from South Tyrol, due to the high amount of borrowings from Italian. They argue that accorded to classic dialectology, there should be no significant differences between the dialects spoken in North and South Tyrol, as these dialects can be found along isoglosses running north to south; the existence of an international border running perpendicular to these isoglosses should not play a role. Due to this fact, the proximity to the Italian language has had little effect, if any, on phonetics, morphology, and syntax of the German dialect in South Tyrol, but has led to lexical borrowings from Italian. Similar to other studies investigating the influence of Italian, Mall and Plagg find that these lexical borrowings are restricted to certain domains. However, in contrast to Riedmann's (1972) claim that these borrowings will only increase, Mall and Plagg argue that they are generally decreasing and do not pose a threat to the maintenance of German in South Tyrol. The authors also note that German-speaking South Tyroleans generally avoid Italian borrowings when speaking German with non-South Tyroleans, showing awareness of audience design.

In a chapter on German in South Tyrol in a volume on language minorities in Central Europe, Eichinger (1996) provides a comprehensive overview of the political,

economic, legal, and sociolinguistic situation in South Tyrol before presenting survey and interview data on language use (German, German dialect, and Italian) in specific domains in South Tyrol. Of the 200+ participants, more than 95% were predominantly German speaking and only used Italian when German was not sufficient for communication. However, the study notes that there is no domain that is predominantly monolingual, either German or Italian. The wide range of domains (from private to public, familial, school, and workplace settings) and ages (from <25 to >60 years old) for the data are a good reference point and allow for comparison to similar data that are now collected with the *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer* (see description in next section). Eichinger notes that the younger participants are more open to using Italian and do not show the same steadfastness in their use of German as older South Tyroleans. He notes that this solidarity between German speakers has been a deciding factor in their (economic and political) successes in the past few decades, but also notes that younger South Tyroleans have a less strict approach to speaking German, something that has allowed for a greater accommodation of Italian speakers in recent years.

Lanthaler (1997) shows that there has been a filling in of the dialect-standard continuum; he argues that a regional dialect (*gehobene Umgangssprache*) has developed in South Tyrol, one that is on the continuum between local dialects and standard German. His conclusions vary from those of Riedmann (1972) and Pernstich (1984), who do not place this regional dialect along the same continuum. Lanthaler (1997) notes that in recent years, a new register has developed in South Tyrol, one that is spoken by politicians and other public servants in public situations. This register is labeled "unfeines Hochdeutsch" (p. 377) and according to Lanthaler, it is more or less Standard German (*Binnendeutsch*) spoken with regional phonetic realizations.

Cavagnoli and Nardin (1999) recognize the need for maintaining a cultural identity, but also the need for crossing cultural boundaries for speakers to become truly bilingual. This article speaks more to ideas of identity and interculturality, and the need for institutional support for opportunities in which the language groups can actually meet and recognize commonalities without feeling like they must give up their own cultural identities.

Putzer (1999) points to the fact that there have been major political changes in South Tyrol in the last 20-25 years and argues that the research describing German in South Tyrol from the 1970's and 1980's is no longer accurate. Another reason for a reassessment of the German language in South Tyrol is the need for studies that take into consideration the heterogeneity of the population in South Tyrol. The strong focus on the Italian language as the greatest threat to German in South Tyrol has ignored other influences on German and led to efforts to strictly separate the two languages. Putzer concludes that there is such a thing as a German *Umgangssprache* in South Tyrol with a continuum between *Hochsprache* and *Dialekt* (similar to Lanthaler, 1997), and that German in South Tyrol is a full language that is completely functional in all domains of life, rather than a deficient minority language that relies on the majority language Italian to fill in the functional gaps. Putzer argues that the spread of media from Germany into South Tyrol in the 1970's allowed the German language in South Tyrol to remain aligned with the language changes happening in Germany, rather than becoming an isolated and fossilized language, which Putzer claims was more of a potential danger to the German language in South Tyrol than the influence of Italian.

Riehl (2000) provides a brief overview of the use of German in South Tyrol, including structural and sociolinguistic aspects. She notes that even with the higher levels of mobility in recent years, no South Tyrol dialect koine has developed, despite the fact that there have been some semantic and lexical assimilations in

individual dialects. Similar to Lanthaler (1997), Riehl states that there is a *Südtiroler Standarddeutsch* that is developing, which is similar to other regional standard varieties of Austro-Bavarian German. Despite there being a range of varieties of German used in South Tyrol, they are all referred to by German speakers as *"taitsch"* (Deutsch) (p. 236).

Eichinger (2001, 2002) argues that in South Tyrol there is a growing prestige around being multilingual, especially in the context of a more globalized world. There are also trends towards emphasizing local and regional identities, especially in terms of language. According to Eichinger German-speaking South Tyroleans especially benefit from this, due to their ability to speak both dialect and Standard German, as well as Standard Italian. Looking at the German- and Italian-speaking language groups, the German language group has gone from suffering a great deal since 1919 to now having an advantage as multilingual citizens of the EU. This stands in contrast to the Italian language group, which has the advantage of speaking the national language of Italy as an L1, but is now at a disadvantage within South Tyrol due to their lower German ability. The German speakers in South Tyrol are able to use standard German in a European context, but still retain their local identity as dialect speakers from South Tyrol. The German-speaking group has managed to turn the protections afforded them by the Autonomiestatut of 1972 into a great advantage, but this potentially works to disadvantage the Italian group.

In the introduction to the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al., 2004), German is described as a pluricentric language with the three national full-centers of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. South Tyrol is considered a national half-center alongside Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, and the German-speaking community in Eastern Belgium. This brief text makes note of a few important aspects about German in South Tyrol. It is noted that South Tyroleans are allowed to choose their language group affiliation and not forced into one based purely on their mother

tongue. South Tyrolean schools are separated by L1 with the L1 being the primary language of instruction; the other language is taught as an L2. It is further noted that after World War II, there was a considerable amount of transfer from the Italian language, but this has greatly reduced over the past few decades. Finally, the authors note that German dialect is spoken and Standard German is written, with a traditionally very strict separation of the two (diglossia), although, according to the authors, there has been in recent years more crossover between the two.

Abfalterer (2007) offers a lexicon of South Tyrolean words, based on a corpus of written texts. She approaches South Tyrol as a half-center of German alongside the full centers of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Abfalterer briefly discusses issues of national and linguistic boundaries overlapping and what that means for South Tyrol in its relationship with the DACH countries. The book attempts to not just list the words, but also provide information on the direction in which German in South Tyrol is going, such as changes in borrowings from Italian or the influence of the media and tourism on language use there. Her conclusions point towards a more self-confident use of German on its own in South Tyrol, for example, without use of Italian, which Abfalterer attributes to certain initiatives in language policy in South Tyrol.

Riehl (2007) analyzes data from questionnaires completed by high school students aged 14-18 on aspects of language use, language attitudes, domains, and registers (dialect and colloquial language). Her results show that dialect is used heavily by these students in their families and even more so amongst their peers at school, but is used significantly less with teachers. Using excerpts from interviews with selected participants, Riehl shows that the German dialect is closely tied to cultural practices. The participants state that German dialect is needed to describe their cultural practices and that without this dialect, this culture would be lost. Although the German dialect is valued by German speakers in South Tyrol, it is seen

more negatively by the Italian speakers. For the German speakers, dialect is viewed as a symbol of cultural identity.

Paladino et al. (2009) investigate the effect of 'stereotype threat' on L2 performance, in particular, on Italian-speaking South Tyroleans ability in their German L2. When a negative stereotype is made salient, it contributes to poorer performance on the part of a member of the stereotyped group. In this paper, the authors argue that because the Italian-speaking South Tyroleans perceive themselves to be disadvantaged by bilingualism in South Tyrol, they in turn struggle more with the acquisition of German. This results in a lower German ability, which puts these Italian L1 speakers at a disadvantage compared to the German L1 speakers. Because the German-speaking South Tyroleans are advantaged by bilingualism in South Tyrol, they do not experience the same effect. The authors conclude by emphasizing that L2 acquisition is a social process and does not happen on a "neutral domain" (p. 239) and that social beliefs related to the community of L2 speakers can have an effect on members' ability to acquire the L2.

Abel (2010) discusses the current school system in South Tyrol in its historical context. The focus is on the German and Italian schools, which teach most subjects in the L1 of the pupils and teaches the other language as an L2. The model of the Ladin schools is praised, in which more subjects are taught in German and Italian, and less instruction is done in Ladin, making these schools truly multilingual. In Videsott (2009), the Ladin School System is described in more detail and offered as model system for education in multilingual regions. Abel (2010) doesn't see much of a chance for the integration of such a model in the public German and Italian schools, but according to the author it could be possible in private schools with a European orientation. The lingering effects of the history of South Tyrol continue to polarize discussions around German and Italian, as there are still fears of the mixing of the two languages and cultures among the population of German-speaking South

Tyroleans. As Abel notes, "[d]as Thema (deutsche) Muttersprache ist bedeutsam, allgegenwärtig und brisant und daher Inhalt wissenschaftlicher Untersuchungen genauso wie von Stammtischgesprächen" (p. 126). Abel emphasizes the need to understand the historical background of South Tyrol in order to better understand the South Tyrol school system and the questions surrounding the instruction of first and second languages.

Dal Negro (2011) uses data from transcribed interviews with adolescents in various schools in Bozen/Bolzano, including German and Italian schools and a multi-ethnic school. She investigates the adolescents' descriptions of the languages they use, especially with regard to their 'mother tongue'. The data show that the interviewees do not have a consistent definition or description of their mother tongue, which raises questions about how 'mother tongue' is commonly defined, especially in terms of the language ideology of 'one nation – one language', which holds that a person can only have one mother tongue that is a clearly established language, i.e. not a dialect. From the interview data, Dal Negro shows that interviewees describe having more than one mother tongue or saying their mother tongue is a language variety that does not have an official status or is just a regional dialect. She argues that this kind of data can offer insight into how speakers view their own language repertoires apart from traditional linguistic definitions. This approach is useful for my own research, as it shows that the researcher should give interviewees the opportunity to define things on their own terms before trying place external categories onto them.

Franceschini (2011) presents four possible scenarios of multilingualism and then uses statistical data on language use in South Tyrol to determine which scenario best describes the language situation in South Tyrol. There are two extreme scenarios: on the one end, a situation where all language groups know all languages equally well, and, on the other end, where each group only speaks its own language

but not the other group's language. Only the Ladin language group in South Tyrol meets the conditions for the first extreme, since their education system supports German and Italian equally, within Ladin being spoken at home. The German and Italian groups fall to one of the other two scenarios in between the two extremes. Their multilingualism is asymmetrical, since the two groups are not equally competent in their L2. Within the Italian and German language groups, there are differences in attitudes towards each other's language, especially regarding German dialect, and different motivations for acquiring the L2. Historical baggage still plays a role for the German language group. The prestige of multilingualism has increased in the past decade, which could lead to attitudinal changes in South Tyrol concerning multilingualism.

Riehl and Hajek (2011) provide a succinct overview of the language policy in South Tyrol. The authors argue that these policies have indeed helped to protect and support the German in South Tyrol, but they also have had some negative effects. One effect has been the effective isolation of the two language groups from each other due to the monolingual schools based on language group affiliation. The other effect has to do with the increased amount of immigration to South Tyrol over the past decade. These immigrants generally prefer learning Italian to German, as German is only necessary if they are going to remain in South Tyrol. There are more migrant children in South Tyrol schools and although they do not have to declare language group affiliation, they are likely to contribute to the numbers of the Italian-speaking community. Especially migrants who intend to remain in South Tyrol and gain Italian citizenship will change the dynamic between the two language groups.

Abel et al. (2012) argue that language learning is a social process and cannot be done exclusively in the school; contacts with the other language group are necessary outside of school. Old habits and traditions, especially that of defaulting to monolingual Italian as the lingua franca in settings with both German and Italian

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speakers, need to be changed and new models for language use in ST introduced, in particular, one of monolingual German use in a mixed group and a model of 'variety-switching', with which speakers could operate on a dialect-standard continuum, depending on the setting.

De Angelis (2012) looks at effects of exposure to L2 on the acquisition of L1 and L2. Data were taken from written texts from Italian school students and the results show that exposure to the L2 does not lead to loss of the L1 and that higher exposure to the L2 in the immediate community actually leads to improved L2 acquisition, as long as there is little chance to speak the L1 with others in the immediate community. In other words, a learner needs to practice the L2 with other speakers, without the opportunity to revert back to the L1. Unfortunately, this is the exact scenario that occurs with Italian L1 speakers in South Tyrol, since they have little opportunity to speak their L2 of German with German L1 speakers, who tend to speak Italian with them.

Ciccolone and Franceschini (2015) state that language in South Tyrol is influenced by two broad phenomena: that the default variety of communication within the German-speaking community is dialect; and that close contact with Italian is the reason for German-speaking South Tyroleans not being able to speak Standard German well. The first phenomenon is briefly compared to the situation in German-speaking Switzerland, highlighting two differences: in South Tyrol, there is more of a continuum between dialect and standard along which South Tyroleans move, and a variety closer to Standard German is used in more domains in South Tyrol than in Switzerland, for example in the media. The second phenomenon is closely tied to the fear of the majority language Italian pushing out the minority language German. Language contact in South Tyrol looks different in different regions: in Bolzano, the language groups remain separate, in the valleys and more remote areas, there is little contact with Italian, but in the low-lying area nearest the

province of Trentino, there is a greater amount of mixing and bilingualism. The authors' use of data from two projects allows for more insight into how dialects are used and are changing in South Tyrol. The authors' aim is to provide a qualitative analysis that can be used to bring an objective perspective to the discussions on the commonly held belief amongst South Tyroleans that the influence of Italian is suppressing the German language.

Glück et al. (2019) provide the most recent overview of South Tyrol and the language use there. They cover a wide range of topics from economic, political, and cultural factors to aspects of language competency and language attitudes. This information provides an update to the chapter by Eichinger (1996), although the authors did not carry out any data collection. The authors describe the parallel worlds of the two language groups, as political, educational, and cultural institutions are mirrored in both languages. A new aspect of language use that is discussed is that of the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol, a topic that will be addressed later in this dissertation. The authors note that government-produced signs in South Tyrol must be bilingual (with some being trilingual), although there is no obligation for private institutions to use more than one language.

With this review of approximately five decades' worth of research in place, I want to highlight some summarizing points and trends that are of importance to this dissertation. In the first few decades after World War II, South Tyrolean German was still heavily connected to Austrian German as a standard. After the *Autonomiestatut* is passed in 1972, South Tyrolean German slowly becomes its own entity, establishing itself as a 'half-center' for the German language. This also allows for a separate group identity to form, one that is distinct from that of (North) Tyrol.

German dialect is overwhelmingly used in everyday spoken communication between German-speaking South Tyroleans, but it is rarely written. The exact form of this dialect varies, as there exist both local dialects (often specific to one valley) as

well as a *Ausgleichsdialekt*, with which speakers from different regions accommodate each other. However, there is not an established koine or true dialect continuum that ranges from local dialect to Standard German. German dialect speakers do not refer to their German as a 'dialect'; it is just referred to as 'Deutsch'. German dialect is an important symbol of identity for German-speaking South Tyroleans (Franceschini 2011, Glück et al., 2019). It is an in-group language and is strongly connected to cultural practices of German-speaking South Tyroleans. In addition to the dialect varieties, a regionally-coloured Standard German has emerged as the language spoken by politician and public officials in public settings.[17] This standard language is also spoken with tourists, in particular with tourists from Germany, which represent the largest market for tourism in South Tyrol (Pechlaner et al., 2017).

In a mixed setting of both German- and Italian-speaking South Tyroleans, Standard Italian is predominantly spoken. German speakers are more comfortable speaking Standard Italian than Standard German, as Italian can more easily be used as an informal or intimate language. German speakers are generally more proficient in Italian than Italian speakers are in Standard German, which is the form of German taught as an L2 in Italian-language schools. German dialect is spoken only by a minority of Italian-speaking South Tyroleans. The German and Italian language groups generally live parallel lives, due to the fact that most institutions exist separately in both languages: schools, media, cultural institutions and political parties.

The number of truly 'mixed-language' South Tyroleans, meaning those who grew up bilingual with a German-speaking and an Italian-speaking parent, is only increasing. Both this mixed group and the growing acceptance (and prestige) of

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[17] This can be attested by the German-language videos published by the official YouTube-channel of the Land Südtirol (https://www.youtube.com/user/LRegSuedtirol/videos). The narration of the videos is always in Standard German as are interviews with public officials.

bilingualism has led to calls to rethink the divided school system (Abel 2010, Abel et al., 2012), as it only encourages the separate, parallel existence of the two groups. The increasing size of this mixed group also reveals a flaw in the language group declaration, as the citizens must choose one single group.

Finally, there is an increasing need to bring immigrants to South Tyrol into the discussion of language policy. The evidence shows that they orient to the Italian-language group, but this is currently an under-researched area. Immigration in recent years has been increasing, meaning a larger number of first languages are represented in South Tyrol. This raises questions of which languages they learn as an L2 and L3 and how they fit into the three language groups.

4.2 Statistics on South Tyrol

In addition to the academic research on South Tyrol, the province itself collects and analyzes statistical data concerning language use. As part of the Italian census every 10 years, the *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung,* or Declaration of Language Group Affiliation, is collected, which provides the percentage of the three language groups living in each of the 116 municipalities in the province of South Tyrol.[18] These data are collected by the *Landesinstitut für Statistik* or ASTAT. ASTAT collects data on a variety of aspects of life in South Tyrol, such as the environment, population, education, cultural institutions, economy, business, and legal and political aspects. These data are published in *Das Statistische Jahrbuch für Südtirol* (ASTAT, 2018). For my purposes, it is their demographic and language-oriented data that are of the most interest. In addition to publishing *Das Statistische Jahrbuch* each year, ASTAT also publishes the *Südtiroler Sprachbarometer* (ASTAT, 2014) every 10 years. This publication focuses especially on documenting language use and competency in South Tyrol, as well as language attitudes and even language biographical

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[18] These data are based on the anonymous language group declarations.

information. The data in the *Sprachbarometer* are based on questionnaires, which help to provide a broad view of language use and attitudes in South Tyrol, which I would supplement with my qualitative research involving only a smaller number of participants. A critical part of these statistical data are the questions on first language and language group affiliation. In the *Sprachbarometer*, the question on a person's first language allows for any language to be stated, in contrast to the question on language group affiliation, which allows only three possible answers: German, Italian, or Ladin. The data in the *Sprachbarometer* show the first language of those in each language group, allowing for comparison of these data, an important aspect in analyzing connections between language and cultural or ethnic identity.

Chapter 5

Identity and the Constructivist Approach

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the topic of *identity* and how I define it for this dissertation. My goal is to use the methods of ethnomethodology, interactional linguistics, and linguistic landscape research to examine aspects of identity in spoken and publicly visible language in South Tyrol. The aim is not to produce a generalizable or single overarching identity that applies to all South Tyroleans or even a subset of that population, but rather to examine how identities are produced in talk-in-interaction and in the linguistic landscape, which I consider to be another form of interaction. I want to observe the recognizable social categories that are produced and negotiated by South Tyroleans. Before I get to the details of the specific methodologies and the data themselves, I first establish how I approach and use the notion of identity in this research.

My approach to identity comes from the constructivist perspective, which holds that all meaning is created in an act of discourse, i.e. some kind of communication between two parties, with the notion of *identity* being part of the meaning that is created. Most commonly, this communication or discourse is achieved through spoken language, but it could also be written or other visual language, such as signs in public spaces. Here I am using 'discourse' in the linguistic sense to mean an "instance of language use" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 115), or what Gee (2014) calls "language-in-use or stretches of language (such as conversations or stories)" (p. 148). In Conversation Analysis (CA), this discourse is referred to as 'talk-in-interaction' (ten Have, 2007), a topic that I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 6. In contrast to a 'discourse', Gee (2014) also defines 'Discourse' "with a capital 'D'" as, "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a

particular sort of *socially recognizable identity*" (p. 143, emphasis added). For this research, I collect and analyze discourses in the form of spoken conversations and publicly visible language, with the intention of finding the Discourses they embody and construct. In order to keep these terms separate in this dissertation, I will use a lowercase 'd' and an uppercase 'D' according to the definitions from Gee (2014) above.

According to the constructivist perspective, there are no *a priori* meanings or categories that exist outside of instances of discourse and it is only through discourse that meanings can be created and categories can be assigned. This is a process of co-construction by the participants in the discourse or interaction and results in a 'discursive identity', one that is situated in that stretch of discourse. Because a discursive identity is situated in one instance of discourse, it is not fixed. An identity that was made relevant in one discourse cannot be assumed to be relevant for another discourse, unless it is made recognizable by a participant in that second discourse. This approach to identity does not deny that a person could be described by a variety of labels that fall into categories such as gender, age, nationality, ethnicity, occupation, etc., some of which would likely be used if a person were to be asked to describe themselves. A discursive identity consists of only those aspects of identity that are made relevant in discourse. For my research, I view this discursive identity as something that must be made recognizable and negotiated in a stretch of discourse, be that a recorded interview or on a publicly visible sign.

Approaching identity as a product of discourse has its roots in the 1970's in the writings of Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), but is predominately associated with Michel Foucault, whose definition of 'discourses' (Foucault, 1972) is very much in line with Gee's definition of Discourses above. According to Foucault, Discourses exist outside of language and that language is determined by Discourses. In other words, there is not a pre-existing store of neutral

language that we as language users draw from to describe Discourse. Rather, according to Foucault, it is that we create forms of language that embody Discourses, meaning that no form of language is truly neutral. In distinguishing the different uses of the term 'discourse' by linguists, Pennycook (1994) states that according to Foucault, "Discourses are about the creation and limitation of possibilities, they are systems of power/knowledge *(pouvoir/ savoir)* within which we take up subject positions" (p. 128). In other words, any potential meaning is the product of a Discourse, which is then expressed using language. A person cannot create new meaning out of thin air – they must use available Discourses and language to communicate this meaning to another person.

The next step for the constructivist perspective comes from Judith Butler and her concept of 'performativity'. Like Foucault, Butler sees identity as a product of Discourses, which means the subject (a language user) must use available Discourses to produce recognizable forms of identity, but she argues that identity is also performed by the subject, which grants the subject performative agency, whereas Foucault removes agency from the subject. According to Butler's theory, the performance still relies on available Discourses, but allows for variation each time it is performed; with repetition, these variations can potentially create changes in the Discourses in which the performed identity is situated (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

The Foucauldian definition of Discourse has made its way into other disciplines, including applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, where the theory of identity could be supported by empirical evidence using approaches from the field of conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, narrative analysis, positioning theory, membership categorization, and critical discourse analysis (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), which all turn their attention to the little-d discourses, or instances of language in interaction. These approaches all look at the mechanisms of how meaning and identity are produced in interaction. Practitioners of these approaches may not try to

make connections to Discourses based on their empirical evidence, but underlying all of them is the assumption that meaning can only be constructed and negotiated in interaction. This applies to the approaches I will be using in this research, which rely on empirical evidence to investigate mechanisms of discursively constructing identity.

The goal of this research project is an empirical analysis of how identity is constructed and negotiated in the German-speaking population in South Tyrol, specifically in discourses from spoken interaction and written language from the linguistic landscape. My approach to examining identity is also heavily informed by the "sociocultural linguistic approach" of Bucholtz and Hall (2005), who argue that research must "analyze identity as produced in linguistic interaction" (p. 585) and who define identity as "the social positioning of the self and other" (p. 586). According to this definition, an analysis of identity can never be restricted to a single person, but must always take into account the interaction of the person with others. In other words, identity can only be produced and understood in a social context.

With this dissertation, I am examining identity in social contexts, but I do not approach identity as existing only within these interactions. In other words, I do consider the ideologies and other aspects of context and knowledge to be present, even if they are not directly addressed in the talk-in-interaction. In order to examine identity, I am using the tools of Ethnomethodology (EM) and Conversation Analysis (CA). The field of CA generally takes a very strict approach to what it considers evidence, which should consist of only the practices that are made recognizable in a specific instance of discourse. As ten Have (2007) describes it, "CA tends to be very skeptical of the existing repertoire of abstract and general ideas about human conduct, and especially those about action, language use, and verbal interaction" (p. 29). Because my aim is to use examples of interaction to arrive at existing Discourses, I must consider aspects of human conduct that exist outside of the specific instances

of discourse that I examine. This means that although I am using the tools of CA, I do not maintain this same strict view of identity. I argue that there are aspects of identity practices that exist outside of interaction, something that is still compatible with the constructivist perspective. Blommaert (2005) makes two points which define his approach to identity, stating, 1) "…that identities are constructed in practices that produce, enact or perform identity – identity is identification, an outcome of socially conditioned semiotic work"; and 2) "…for an identity to be established, it has to be recognized by others" (p. 205). With these two points, Blommaert continues the well-established constructivist perspective to identity that I have described above. Blommaert (2005) argues that he does not go as far as CA, which maintains that identity work only occurs in interaction: "identities can be there long before the interaction starts and thus condition what can happen in such interaction" (p. 206). In order for my research to be applicable beyond just the interactions that make up my data, my approach to identity must allow it to exist outside of these interactions.

A similar approach to identity can be found in Zimmerman (1998), who maintains that there are three different forms of identity: discourse, situational, and transportable. According to Zimmerman, "[d]iscourse identities are integral to the moment-by-moment organization of the interaction" (p. 90). These are the identities that exist purely in interaction and change on a turn-by-turn basis. A relevant example of this comes from the interviews that I conducted for this research. I was involved in the interaction as the interviewer and the study participants as the interviewees. Often, I was the 'question asker' and the participant was the 'question answerer', but if the participant were to ask me a question, which did occur, then these discourse identities would shift. Also, a participant was at times 'story teller' and I the 'listener' or 'story recipient'.

Zimmerman states that "[s]ituated identities come into play within the precincts of particular types of situation" (p. 90). Using the same example as above, the identities of 'interviewer' and 'interviewee' are examples of situational identities. In the particular situation of the interview, I assumed the identity of the 'interviewer' and the participant that of the 'interviewee'. These identities were maintained by the fact that I was the one conducting the research and the one who organized the interview, brought recording equipment, and controlled the type of questions and the flow of the conversation. By agreeing to participate in the interview and by answering my questions, the participant assumes the identity of the 'interviewee'. These situated identities were determined before the talk-in-interaction began, although they could certainly be resisted during the interaction, if, for example, the participant were to refuse to answer my questions or if I were to not ask any questions and just let the participant talk about any subject or topic. Once the formal interview was completed, these situated identities no longer existed, although they could continue to influence later interactions, such as the participant continuing to be the 'informant' by continuing to provide me with information or insight in other interactions.

Lastly, transportable identities are those that "travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any spate of interaction" (p. 90). These identities are similar to the list that I offered above, including descriptors such as gender, age, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, occupation, etc., but could also include other identities from a person's personal and social life, e.g. vegetarian, basketball fan, beer connoisseur, gamer, etc. These all have a somewhat permanent quality and are "latent identities that 'tag along' with individuals" (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 90). What is important about these transportable identities is that although they may be visible or even known to other

interactants, they may not necessarily be oriented to or made relevant in specific discourses.

Zimmerman offers an approach to identity that grounds identity in interaction, but still allows for the practices that occur in specific instances of discourse to have relevance beyond that one stretch of discourse. Zimmerman notes that

> to view the interaction order as furnishing the building blocks for a social world beyond the instant situation is not to say that the 'larger' social order is 'nothing but' interaction; rather, that the interaction order provides the mechanisms that enable not only interaction between social actors, but also larger formations that arise from such activities. (1998, p. 88)

Similarly, my approach to identity is grounded in the constructivist perspective, an approach that allows me to use empirical data to examine identity practices, but I also maintain that those identity practices offer insight to a larger Discourses, social practices, and group identities.

Chapter 6

Interview Data and Analysis

Before I begin with the analysis of the data, focusing in this chapter on the interview data and in chapter 7 on the linguistics landscape data, I will first provide a brief introduction of my approach to the analysis of interview data, both in terms of my research questions and the methodological approaches that inform this analysis. Here again are the research questions I set out to answer in this dissertation:

1) How is "being a South Tyrolean" constructed in guided conversations and linguistic landscapes? What are recurrent Discourses and linguistic patterns that make visible aspects of identity?

2) How is language choice in particular used to position other South Tyroleans with regard to local (both urban and rural) and global identities? What are relevant identity categories?

My goal is to focus on aspects of identity and how it is constructed and negotiated in talk-in-interaction, which in my case is that of guided conversations or interviews. My approach to answering these questions is based in Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (Francis & Hester, 2012). That means for the analysis of the interview data, I focus on *how* the participants choose to talk about the subjects raised in the interview and *what* they accomplish with these choices in the context of the interview. I am interested in why participants use one formulation and not another and what that particular formulation accomplishes in the present interaction for those particular co-participants. These choices come with complications and contradictions, which I intend to unpack in my analysis. My aim is that in the process of unpacking and examining these choices, I will reveal aspects

of identity that are relevant to the participants in these interactions, and potentially outside of these interactions.

I approach these interviews using the tools of conversation analysis (CA), with the focus of my analysis being Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA). As Stokoe (2012) notes, both CA and MCA "are two ethnomethodological methods for analysing interactional and textual practices" (p. 277) and both have their origins as methodologies in the work of Harvey Sacks (see Sacks, 1992). Stated briefly, the focus of CA is the *sequentiality* of conversation, the understanding that one speaker's contribution (turn) is always dependent on the turn(s) that immediately preceded it. As Antaki describes it,

> It is very important for CA that speakers continuously interpret the previous turn and make that interpretation manifest in their own. It is CA's distinctive contribution to linguistics. It is very different from any theory of language which looks for the meaning of words in and of themselves. (Antaki, n.d.)

For the analysis of my data, I am not as interested in this sequentiality, but rather in the *categories* that are employed in talk-in-interaction. However, this does not mean that I am ignoring sequentiality altogether, as it still plays a role in the use of categories and 'doing description', as will be explained below. It is important to note that MCA is a methodological approach for extracting information from empirical data, and not a theory for explaining that data (Day, 2013). In this dissertation, those data consist of recorded and transcribed interviews with German-speaking South Tyroleans. I will first provide an overview of MCA before discussing the analysis of my own data.

6.1 The concept of Membership Categorization Analysis

MCA was first introduced in one part of a series of lectures by Harvey Sacks (Sacks, 1992), in which he uses the two sentences "The baby cried. The mommy picked it

up." to explain the correlative acts of "doing describing" and "recognizing a description" in talk-in-interaction (Sacks, 1992, p. 243). Sacks, who was a sociologist, did not call this method MCA at the time, but he does define some of the core vocabulary and concepts used in current research using MCA as a methodological approach. At the core of MCA is how a speaker uses language to describe other people, activities, and events, and how those descriptions are then recognized and understood by a hearer or interlocutor in a conversation. Sacks shows that despite these two sentences being rather succinct, they nonetheless tell a short story[19] by describing two people and a sequence of events, by only stating a minimal amount of information explicitly. The additional information that is needed to flesh out the event is provided by the hearer (or reader) based on shared cultural knowledge, or what Sacks calls *membership categories* (MC). These categories are the boxes or labels we use to organize our knowledge of people and things (their 'members') in the world, or what Antaki (n.d.) describes as, "the units out of which society is structured." An MC contains the knowledge that we associate with the members, or the people we assign to that category. Sacks' argument is that these categories operate based on knowledge shared between other people, so that in conversation, only one aspect of a category needs to be stated explicitly in order for the hearer to connect the speaker's description to that category. Sacks shows that in the case of the two-sentence story above, some of the inferred knowledge that is likely filled in by the hearer is that the 'mommy' is the mother of the baby that is crying, that the 'baby' is referring to a child of infant age, and that the 'mommy' picks up the baby after it cries, and does so because it is crying. Despite this example being a bit artificial (it does not come from natural conversation), Sacks uses it to show that

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[19] The source of the two sentences is not an actual conversation, but rather the beginning of a story told by a two-and-a-half year-old child, the example of which is from a book titled *Children Tell Stories* (Sacks, 1992, p. 243).

there are underlying mechanisms being used in talk-in-interaction which are understood by interlocutors. The speaker does not need to state all information explicitly for the hearer to recognize and understand a description of some person, thing, or event. Sacks goes on to explain that these categories (in this case, 'baby' and 'mommy') are also grouped into *membership categorization devices* (MCD), which are collections of categories that are connected in some way. In the story, 'baby' and 'mommy' can be grouped into the MCD of 'family', meaning that the hearer of the story assumes that they are part of the same family. 'Family' is not the only MCD that each of these two belong to, but because 'baby' and 'mommy' are mentioned together, the most common-sensical inference is that the MCD of 'family' is what is being described in the story.

Sacks then argues that there are *category-bound activities* that are associated with MCs and MCDs. These are behaviors or other actions that are expected of and closely connected with certain categories. From the story, an activity expected of a 'baby' is 'crying', meaning that the description of a baby that is crying fits with our expectations of what babies do. Likewise, it is expected that a 'mommy' would care for her baby, meaning that the mommy picking up the baby is a category-bound activity for a 'mommy'.[20]

In the remainder of the lecture, Sacks proposes different maxims for how a hearer recognizes and understands descriptions in conversation. I will not describe these in detail here, but behind each of them is a mechanism in language use, a sort of 'path of least resistance', so to speak. A summarized version of this is that unless a speaker provides additional information, a hearer should choose the most common-

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[20] Implied here is the category of a '*good* mother' that cares for and nurtures her child. Day (2013) points out that MCs can also have a normative or prescriptive function, in that an activity that is often performed by a member (descriptive) can become an activity that they 'should' perform (prescriptive). Sacks (1992) discusses in the second part of this lecture how expected actions are connected to societal 'norms'.

sensical understanding of the MCs and MCDs that fit the speaker's description. Connecting the crying baby to the mother of that baby picking it up is the most common-sensical way to hear this story. Sacks does not mention this explicitly, but conversely, a speaker also follows this same principle when providing a description. A speaker must rely on a hearer's recognizing the MCs and MCDs that are being used, or otherwise must provide the information that may not be inferred by the hearer based on the recognizability of the MCs used. Day (2013) argues that, "this recognizability is a resource for members in their dealings with each other" (p. 1). Eglin and Hester (1992) explain how both speaker and hearer negotiate this situation in talk-in-interaction:

> Recall that there are two sides to the study of sense-making: namely, the production 'problem' and the recognition 'problem'. The former speaks to the practical interactional uses to which persons may put the formal structures of action for the accomplishment of recognizable actions and activities. The latter refers to the hearer's or reader's work of using the same structures to make out what actions and activities are being produced. (p. 250)

Returning to Sacks, the other aspects of a common-sensical understanding of this two-sentence story are due less to specific categories and more to chronology and causality, which are results of sequentiality. Because of the order of the two sentences, the hearer can infer that the baby cries first and then the mommy picks it up. Additionally, the inference can be made that the mommy picks up the baby as a result of its crying. Sacks argues that, unless the speaker provides information that says otherwise, the hearer can assume that the event being described follows the sequentiality of how the speaker describes it.

An aspect that Sacks (1992) does not describe in as much detail is the concept of the shared cultural knowledge that informs the MCs and MCDs that are used and recognized in talk-in-interaction. He argues that we (the readers) all make the same inferences about the baby and the mommy, but does not explore why it is that we all

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have that knowledge. Sacks states that there are always alternate, 'possible descriptions', but these may not be 'recognizable descriptions'. This is where MCA can be a powerful tool for extracting this information from interactions where the observer does not share the same cultural knowledge as the interactants. It is important to emphasize that these 'possible descriptions' are "indexical and occasioned" (Antaki, n.d.). A further note to make here about MCs and MCDs is that they need not be explicitly named. They may only be hinted at or referred to by category-bound activities. As I will show in my own data, sometimes an MC is referred to explicitly, but this is not always the case. The strength of MCA as a methodology is that it can make visible categories or distinctions people create that do not neatly correspond to categories for which we have language labels.

In my analysis of the interview data, I am focusing on the MCs and MCDs that are employed and negotiated by participants in the talk-in-interaction. According to Stokoe (2012), identifying and unpacking the use of MCs in interaction allows for an examination of "the actions they accomplish; the local and cultural meanings they acquire, maintain or transform; and the overarching patterns in their use…" (p. 283). The approach of MCA allows me to connect the descriptions the participants use to broader categories and practices, as indicated in the previous chapter. I argue that these categories and practices ultimately connect to Discourses described by Gee (2014); these Discourses are what supply the common-sense knowledge that Sacks (1992) argues is necessary for understanding MC's in a particular way. The MCs and descriptions used in the interviews of my data collection are grounded in interaction and can be seen through the lens of Zimmerman's (1998) approach to identity. Baker (1997) describes this potential for MCA saying that,

> when speakers 'do describing', they assemble a social world in which their categories have a central place. These categories are in a sense the speakers' 'puppets', which they can dress up

in different ways and make behave in various ways (category-associated activities). These are powerful statements about *what could be the case*, how the social order *might be arranged*, whether or not it really is. The artful production of plausible versions using recognizable membership categorization devices is a profoundly important form of cultural competence. What we hear and attend to in these interview accounts are members' methods for putting together a world that is recognizably familiar, orderly and moral. (Baker, 1997, p. 143)

Now that I have explained my approach to my interview data analysis, I turn my attention to the data themselves.

6.2 Data Overview

The data for analysis come from recorded interviews with German-speaking South Tyroleans. The advantage of using MCA is that categories will be used in talk-in-interaction, no matter what the topic of conversation. It was my goal in these interviews to have participants talk about South Tyrol and their own lives there so that MCs related to South Tyrol would be used in conversation. During the interviews, participants were invited to talk about and share their lives and their community with me, the interviewer, who is an outsider to this community.

In this first interview for analysis there are two participants, Margarita (MAR) and Sebastian (SEB), and the interviewer (INT). The entire interview lasts 113 minutes; MAR is present for the first 64 minutes and SEB is present for the entire interview. MAR and SEB are both in their mid-forties and are friends; MAR specifically asked SEB to join her in the interview. MAR works in the hotel industry and SEB is a freelance historian and writer. They both live in Meran/Merano, where the interview took place. Both MAR and SEB speak German as an L1 and generally use German dialect when speaking with each other. For the majority of the interview they use Standard German, although brief utterances in German dialect do occur, and these are almost always directed at the other person and not at INT. For example, before the interview begins in proper, they converse amongst themselves in dialect while they fill out a short biographical questionnaire. This practice fits

with the expectations of dialect use that I describe in Chapter 4, namely that German-speaking South Tyroleans almost always speak dialect amongst themselves, but will use Standard German when speaking with German-speaking visitors and tourists who are not from South Tyrol. Both MAR and SEB are highly proficient in Standard Italian, as indicated by the biographical information they provided on the questionnaire. However, they use Italian only for a handful of short utterances in the interview (Italian occurs much less than German dialect).

The second interview that is used for analysis is with the participant Rivi (RIV). The entire interview lasted 47m 15s and only the interviewer (INT) and RIV were present. RIV is in her mid-twenties and is in her last year of a master's degree in a field in the humanities. RIV comes from a town south of Bozen/Bolzano, something that is described in more detail in Excerpt 10 below. The entire interview is in German and RIV speaks what she says is her best attempt at Standard German, which comes from her own self-description of the language she is using. As can be heard, RIV speaks with a strong accent, something she states herself in the interview, but does not use any vocabulary or other structures that could be considered purely dialect. RIV's Standard German is more heavily accented than that of SEB and MAR, and could be categorized as the 'unfeines Hochdeutsch' (Lanthaler, 1997).

The two interviews described above were chosen for analysis due to the participants being especially conversable and open about their own personal experiences and opinions on the topic of identity in South Tyrol. All three of these participants could be viewed as (politically) engaged citizens of South Tyrol (SEB and RIV especially so) and were informed and ready to talk about current issues and tensions surrounding language use and identity. Due to her job in the tourism industry, MAR is used to engaging with visitors to the province and telling others about her home and what it means to her. For this reason, it is likely that these three participants were a self-selecting group, also indicated by the fact that they were all

enthusiastic about participating in an interview when asked.[21] For this reason, it should be noted that these participants and interviews are not meant to be representative of a broader population in South Tyrol. Another selecting factor for these interviews is that they had to be conducted in Standard German, as I as an interviewer would not be able to conduct the entire interview in German dialect. Participants were encouraged to use dialect in the interview if they felt it to be necessary, but it was apparent that the participants MAR, SEB, and RIV were all comfortable expressing themselves almost entirely in Standard German. The topics discussed in the interviews with MAR, SEB, and RIV also led to a focus on the three topics seen in the interview analysis below: guest/visitors to South Tyrol, food in South Tyrol, and personal maps of South Tyrol.

In addition to the two interviews described above, three other interviews were conducted, each with a single participant, but were not used for this analysis. Two of these remaining interviews were conducted in German and the final interview was conducted in Italian. For the other two German interviews, both participants were around 60 years old. One interview was approximately 2.5 hours long and the other one was approximately one hour long. In these two interviews, the conversation did not stay as focused on the topic of identity as it did in the two interviews used in my analysis. These interviews still have potential for such an analysis, but I was unable to be include them in this dissertation. The participant in the Italian interview was the owner of a Italian bar; this interview offered some more insight from the perspective of an Italian speaker, but could not be included in my analysis due to this dissertation's primary focus on the German language.

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[21] When I initially approached MAR about participating in an interview, she was with an acquaintance who I also asked about participating. MAR immediately showed interest, while her acquaintance showed less interested and ultimately declined to participate.

6.3 Data Analysis

6.3.1 Membership Category *Gast*

I first introduce excerpts from the interview with Margarita (MAR) and Sebastian (SEB). My goal with these excerpts is to first use them to demonstrate how MAR uses a particular device to talk about and describe South Tyrol to the interviewer (INT). This device consists of MAR's descriptions of and reports about her experiences with hotel guests in South Tyrol, which range from brief statements coming from very vaguely described guests to small stories in which MAR provides more substantial details about the guest and their specific experience. I will then use these excerpts to introduce the topic of food and identity, something that is talked about at length by MAR and SEB.

Telling stories about the experiences of hotel guests is a strategy or device that MAR uses often in the interview, both in the following excerpts and elsewhere in the interview. MAR uses her experiences from her job in the hotel industry and her stories of guests in order to answer INT's questions directly or to provide accounts for her answers. MAR uses the MC of *guest* to represent someone who is not from South Tyrol. In her use of this category, MAR varies its particular meaning in ways that will be discussed. In the following section, I examine MAR's use of membership categorization devices, in particular the MCD of *Gast/Gäste* (*guest*), which she employs systematically throughout her responses to INT's questions.

Excerpt 1 spans 5m 31s - 7m 00s of the interview with MAR and SEB. In this excerpt, MAR is responding to a question posed by INT in line 176: *°h als AUßenseiter was sollte ich (-) über südtirol wissen*. This question comes at 5m 48s in the interview and is INT's first direct question about MAR's and SEB's experiences in South Tyrol. Prior to this point in the interview, MAR and SEB have just been filling out the consent form and a short biographical questionnaire, followed by SEB introducing

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himself in a bit more detail (INT has already met MAR prior to the interview, but is meeting SEB for the first time in the interview). As seen in line 172-173, the question is posed to both MAR and SEB, but MAR begins to answer first after a brief hesitation as seen by the 2.1 second pause in line 183. MAR does most of the speaking while responding, with SEB mostly showing agreement with and receipt of MAR's statements.

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Excerpt 1 (Margarita, 5:31-7:00)

{5:31}
165  INT:  und (.) also ich bin ähm (--) ich komm aus den u es A
           eigentlich
166        [al]so ich studiere dann an einer kaNADischen [uni ]
167  SEB:  [ah]                                          [°h a]ha
168  INT:  auch in DEUTSCHland
169        es i[st b ein b]isschen kompliziert
170  MAR:      [hm_hm      ]
171  INT:  und bin jetzt in iTAlien
172        °h ä:hm: was würdet IHR also
173        (---) ihr (.) also einer kann [ANfangen          ]
174  MAR:                                [((räuspert sich))]
175  INT:  und dann SAgen also
176        °h als AUßenseiter was sollte ich (-) über südtirol
           wissen

177        also was IST eigentlich °h
178        ich bin (-) sagen wir mal ich bin NEU da
179        also ich bin schon (.) FÜNF sechs sieben mal da
180  MAR:  [hm_hm]
181  INT:  [aber ]°h
182        was ist dann wichtig (.) also dass (.) ich WISsen sollte
183        (2.1)
184  MAR:  i:ch denke auf jedenfall: (.) wird das dich auch
           interesSIEren

185        wenn du hierher KOMMST
186        (.) wieso auf einmal DREI sprAchen gesprochen werden °hh
187        also ich denke man sollte schon WISsen
188        dass südtirol eben (.) (als dieses) GRENZgebiet
189        dass man da DREI sprachen spricht
190        und wieSO diese drei sprache gesprochen werden
191        (--) weil viele verWIRRT das ja
192        dass sie eigentlich nach iTALien fahren oder [flieg]en
193  INT:                                               [hm_hm]
194  MAR:  und dann au[f ]einmal
195  SEB:            [hm]
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196  MAR:  °h werden sie mit komplett: vielen: deutschen schildern:
            (.) kommen sie in kontakt
197         und (.) dann ist mir schon PAssiert dass leute fragen
198         °h bin ich jetzt hier eigentlich (-) in iT[ALien    ]
199  INT:                                            [((lacht))]
200
201  MAR:  oder bin ich jetzt <<lachend> eigentlich in DEUtschland>
202         °h also das war bei uns schon GÄste
203         die dann KOmmen
204         die_s vielleicht nicht [genau  ]WIssen
205  SEB:                          [huh_huh]
206  MAR:  wo sie ausSTEIgen in b[ozen     ]
207  INT:                        [hm_hm]
208  SEB:                        [((lacht))]
209  MAR:  und dann lesen sie BOzen
210         und alles in deutsch °hh
211  INT:  ((lacht))
212  MAR:  (museum) und denken sich
213         ich bin noch in italien
214         wieso sprechen hier alle deutsch
215  SEB:  ah uh_huh
216  MAR:  das ist auch EIne der häufigsten fragen
217         die ich jetzt eigentlich so geSTEllt bekomme
218         °h[hh   ]
219  INT:    [hm_hm]
220  MAR:  un:d ich denke DAS ist sicherlich interessant
221         für jemanden der jetzt von (.) WEIT w h weg her kommt
{7:00}
```

In the framing of his question, INT in lines 178-179 asks that MAR and SEB consider him as someone who has no experience in South Tyrol, putting him potentially in a category similar to many of the guests that MAR has encountered in her job. I will show that MAR makes the category of *guest* relevant in the interaction and in doing so, includes INT in this category, as it includes non-South Tyroleans with only little or no information about the province and its practices. I argue that, in using this categorization, MAR makes the assumption that South Tyrol is just as foreign to INT as it would be to Italians from outside of South Tyrol.

The first part of the response to INT's question about what an outsider would need to know about South Tyrol is that INT would be interested in the fact that three languages are spoken in South Tyrol (line 189) and the reasons for this (line 186).

MAR gives an account for her response by providing examples of hotel guests (line 202) who were, according to MAR, confused by the use of German in the region (lines 213-214) and therefore ask her about the languages in South Tyrol, especially the use of German. She doesn't say directly where these guests are from, but does say in line 192 of some of them, *dass sie eigentlich nach iTALien fahren oder [flieg]en*, which indicates that some these guests are coming from outside of Italy, rather than from another part of Italy, which MAR states in line 213: *ich bin noch in italien*. In lines 198-201, the belief of 'one country-one language' is exemplified in MAR's example of guests assuming that in Italy only Italian is spoken and that if one hears German, they must be in Germany (line 201). Interestingly, according to MAR, it is the presence of German in the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol (*deutschen Schildern* in line 196) that immediately alerts the hotel guests to the use of German in the province, as seen in lines 196 and 209. In MAR's telling of this example, the guests don't hear the language first, but rather they see it when they arrive in South Tyrol.[22] In lines 212-214, MAR provides an example of a hypothetical inner monologue from a guest, in which spoken German is first introduced in line 214: *wieso sprechen hier alle deutsch*. According to the story being told by MAR, there is a logical jump from the guest reading German to making the assumption that German is spoken in South Tyrol, despite there being no mention of the guest having heard any German yet.

MAR concludes this first part of her response in lines 216-217 by saying that the question about German use is one of the most common questions and would be interesting for someone who comes to South Tyrol from *WEIT w h weg* (line 221), possibly referring to INT's previous statement about coming from North America in

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[22] This same notion is echoed by SEB at 10m 04s in Excerpt 4, where he says that the language *sofort ins Auge springt, weil alles zweisprachig und in den ladinischen Tälern auch dreisprachig angeschrieben ist*. Again, for someone new to South Tyrol, the multiple languages are likely seen before they are heard.

lines 165-166. In her providing examples of confused guests and explaining this question as a common one, MAR responds in lines 184-190 to INT's question by offering an account of what has confused other guests in the past, not by providing information that she personally thinks is important. In this way, she doesn't give her own opinion about what she considers important to know about South Tyrol, but rather bases her response to INT on the information she has observed to be missing from other guests. By offering these examples of hotel guests' expectations for language use in South Tyrol (and Italy), MAR makes visible a paradigm of expectations that are attributed to South Tyrol ('Italian is spoken in Italy'), but are then not met (confusion from German being used in Italy). MAR continues to make this paradigm visible in the second part of her answer in Excerpt 2 below.

A specific sequence that exemplifies MAR's category of *guest* can be seen in lines 184-214. MAR answers INT's question first with two statements beginning with *ich denke…* in lines 184 and 187. In the statement beginning on line 184, the answer is specific to INT, as seen by MAR's use of the second person singular pronouns *dich* and *du*, but in line 187, MAR's response now uses the impersonal pronoun *man*, expanding to include a broader category of guests to South Tyrol. By line 202, MAR is now using concrete examples of hotel guests and their confusion and questions about the languages used in South Tyrol. In this way, MAR offers an answer specific to INT, but then broadens her response to include the category of other visitors and guests in South Tyrol with which she has had experience (in lines 191 and 197 MAR does not explicitly say guests). INT has explicitly invited MAR to treat him as someone from a different category, as can be seen in lines 178-181. Despite INT already having spent time in South Tyrol, he asks MAR and SEB to ignore that information in formulating their responses. MAR then continues with an answer that is based on her experiences with actual hotel guests (line 202) and contains information that she would give to any newcomer to South Tyrol.

For MAR, these concrete examples of hotel guests represent outsiders' (both those coming from outside of Italy and from other regions/provinces within Italy) expectations about South Tyrol, expectations that MAR cannot have herself, since being from South Tyrol herself, she has never been an outsider to the province. According to MAR, the aspects of South Tyrol that are unusual or different only become apparent when they are made relevant by hotel guests in their interactions with MAR. South Tyrol does not need to be described to an insider, so in order for MAR to produce information relevant to INT, an outsider to South Tyrol, she turns to interactions she has had with other outsiders. MAR uses these concrete stories to provide a contrast between outsiders' expectations and how things in South Tyrol actually are. According to MAR, the act of describing South Tyrol is not something that can be accomplished easily (see lines 235-236 in Excerpt 2 below), but she accomplishes this in the current interaction by providing examples of other peoples' expectations about South Tyrol that are subsequently contradicted or subverted when they arrive there (lines 213-214).

Excerpt 2 begins exactly where Excerpt 1 ends, going from 7m 00s to 8m 24s in the interview with MAR and SEB. As in the excerpt above, MAR continues to use interactions with hotel guests to represent how she would explain important aspects of living in South Tyrol to an outsider. INT asks a different question in lines 224-225, inviting MAR now to respond not to him as in Excerpt 1, but to the people who ask MAR the question *wieso sprechen hier alle deutsch* (line 214 above), which she says is one of the most commonly asked questions of her (line 216-217 above). How MAR responds to this question further demonstrates how MAR makes the category of 'guest' relevant to how she would explain aspects about South Tyrol.

Excerpt 2 (Margarita, 7:00-8:24)

{7:00}
222 INT: h[m]
223 MAR: [°h]h ((schmatzt)) [und]
224 INT: [was S]AGst du den leuten
225   die (.) diese frage stell[en]
226 MAR: [ja] ich versuch ihnen das eben
          dann auch zu erKLÄren
227   von: von:: den den KRIEGszuständen
228   wie das FRÜher war
229   wo dass wir einmal bei ÖSTerreich waren
230   °hh dass wir einmal eben komplett (.) nur DEUtsch
          gesprochen haben
231   dass sich im laufe der (.) kriegsgeschehen ist eben dann
          diese (-) diese ABspaltung auch
232 INT: hm_hm
233 MAR: das wieder zu iTALien zu gehören
234   (--)
235   des es ist SCHWIErig dann dem (.)°h dem gast
236   in (.) [kur]zen s sätzen das zu erKLÄren
237 SEB: [°hh]
238 MAR: es ist gar nicht verst das KOMMT gar nicht in die
          richtige
239   °h (.) das ist das kommt gar nicht richtig AN
240 SEB: ah_so
241 MAR: da braucht man ZEIT
242 SEB: uh_huh
243 MAR: man kann nicht (-) hundertfünf fünfzig jahre oder so
          jetzt in einem SATZ verpAcken
244   das ist nicht MÖGlich
245   das ist nicht verSTÄNDlich für den gast
246 SEB: aja
247   [stimm]t [ja]
248 INT: [hm_hm]
249 MAR: [gell]
250   °hh da braucht es SCHON: wir haben jetzt in dem hotel so
          BÜCHlein aufliegen auch zum beispiel
251   wo eben das sÜdtirol erKLÄRT wird
252 INT: hm_hm
253 MAR: vielleicht (.) ich kann_s dir auch GEBen
254   es ist nicht mehr GANZ aktuell
255   °h es ist glaube ich von zweitausendZWÖLF
256   (.) °h aber die geschichte bleibt ja IMMer aktu[ell]
257 INT: [hm_hm]
258 MAR: an der geschichte an und für sich ändert sich ja NICHTS
259   die zahlen ändern sich ja [NICHT   ]
260 SEB: [(das stimmt)]
261 MAR: das DENke ich kannst du mir RECHT geben
262   °hh
263 SEB: ((schnieft))
264 MAR: ((schluckt))

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265        [((schmatzt))]
266   INT: [hm_hm       ]
267   MAR: °hh
268        (-) ähm das war glaube ich jetzt deine FRAge
269        wa[s so ](einer) an südtirol eben WISSen muss
270   INT:   [mh_hm]
271        (-)
272   INT: ja genau
273   MAR: eben am häufigsten wird man mit dieser SPRACHenvielfalt
           konfrontiert
274        mit als als FRAge vom vom gast so
275        habe ICH gemerkt
276        (1.4)
{8:24}
```

MAR again uses a concrete guest in lines 235-245 to personify what is difficult or unusual for outsiders to South Tyrol to understand, this time referring to the historical events that led to the three official languages in South Tyrol. As in the examples above, MAR's answer relies on examples of interactions with hotel guests to either expand or support her initial statement. In this case, MAR says that these events are difficult to explain to the guest (line 235), or that they are not understandable for the guest if they are packed into only a few sentences (line 243). At the end of this part of MAR's response in line 273-275, she again emphasizes that her response to INT's initial question (line 176 in Excerpt 1) is based on her experiences with a frequently asked question from guests, namely that of the diversity of languages in South Tyrol. MAR makes the history of South Tyrol relevant in her telling of what information she would attempt to explain to a guest so that they might understand why German is spoken there. MAR's response shows that understanding the history is necessary for understanding the language situation in South Tyrol.

In Excerpts 1 and 2, MAR makes relevant the MC of 'guest', which she uses when INT asks her to consider him a 'newcomer' to South Tyrol. This MC is informed by MAR's experiences with hotel guests due her job as the manager of a

hotel and is therefore an MC that may not be relevant to other South Tyroleans who are not in the hospitality industry. A category-bound activity of this MC is 'being confused by or asking about the languages in South Tyrol', which MAR makes relevant in her reporting of the questions from these 'confused guests'. In reporting her answers, MAR states that the reasons for the three languages would be of interest to someone from far away, but she also acknowledges the difficulty in explaining these reasons. The MC of 'guest' continues to be relevant in the next section, where I focus on descriptions of food in South Tyrol.

6.3.2 Membership Categorization Device: Describing food choices and attitudes toward food

I will focus now on the MCD of food choices and the connections between this MCD and identity. In this section, I will focus on three excerpts, all of which contain longer stretches of conversation about the topic of food and identity in Meran/Merano and South Tyrol. Excerpt 3 and Excerpt 4 occur right after each other, in total covering 8m 24s – 12m 23s of the interview, while Excerpt 5 covers 29m 21s – 32m 35s of the interview.

In Excerpt 3 in line 278, MAR offers another example of a frequently asked question by guests, which continues her practice of making relevant her experiences with hotel guests. This question is about the food in South Tyrol, coming from a guest who has noticed that both 'traditional' and 'Italian' foods are found in South Tyrol, as characterized by the guest. In telling a small story, MAR uses multiple categorizations to describe both the types of guests visiting Meran/Merano and the types of food they encounter there. I will first look at the categorizations and labels used for food and then return to the category of *guests*, showing that MAR uses this device to describe who is seeking out (and consuming) the food.

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Excerpt 3: (Margarita, 8:24-9:55)

{8:24}
277   MAR:  oder auch mit dem ESSen
278         (--) wieso: italienische loKA:le
279         wieso SICHer ist es heute:: äh g gibts überall (.) alle
              möglichen lokale=
280         =weil hier (.) °h prallt das halt schon ziemlich
              aneinander dieses SÜDtirolerische
281         °hh LETZTlich hat mich ein gast gefragt
282         ja wieso °h gibt es hier äh traditionelle küche und DOCH
              italienisch
283         wie GEHT das und so
284   SEB:  [ahso     ]
285   INT:  [((lacht))]
286   MAR:  [dann     ] musst du halt wieder erKLÄRen
287         ja es gibt halt noch die EINheimische kos[t ]
288   SEB:                                           [hm]_hm
289   MAR:  °hh
290         (---)
291   MAR:  und (.) ja wieso ist sie nicht italiEnisch
292         wir sind doch in iTALien
293         kommen dann wieder die FRAgen=gell
294         dann musst du SAgen=
295         =ja wir haben halt eine ANdere traditio:n wieder
296         [u][nd  ][AN]dere küche °h (-) von früher
297   SEB:  [h][m_hm]
298   INT:     [ hm_][hm]
299         (.)
300   INT:  hm_hm
301   MAR:  (.) un:d (.) das ist schon oft ein bisschen verWIRRend
              auch für die GÄste
302         DENke ich mir
303         (.)
304   INT:  also gibt es dann leute die dann äh (.) also (1.2) it was
              i italiEnerisches erwar[ten] und sa[gen hey]
305   MAR:                           [°hh]        [ah   so]
306         die meisten erwarten sich schon das traditioNELle
307         (.)
308   SEB:  [hm_hm]
309   MAR:  [an de]r KÜCHe
310   INT:  [was wäre DAS]
311   MAR:  [weil (.) der] italiener HAT ja sein italienisches essen
312   INT:  [hm_hm]
313   MAR:  [wenn ]jetzt einer von ROM kommt
314         der will nicht hier PIZza essen geh[en]
315   INT:                                     [hm]_[hm]
316   MAR:                                          [od]er spaGHETti
317         die hat er ja SELber unten °hh
318   INT:  hm_[hm]

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319  MAR:    [al]so die die KLASSischen gäste
320          die auch JETZT hier sind
321          (-) die di:e CHRISTkindlmarktbe[sucher]
322  SEB:                                 [hm_hm ][hm_hm]
323  MAR:                                         [°h  ]die
             suchen das traditioNELle
324  INT:  hm_hm
325  MAR:  also di:e erFREUen sich schon auch am an sÜdtirol an der
             regiOn
326          °hh äh weil es ist ja (einem einem) (.) beKANNT eben ist
             für das gUte essen
327          für das DEFtige essen
328          °hh und und für das äh (.) von HAND hergestellte ess[en]
             noch
329  INT:                                                        [hm]
330  MAR:  also man macht ja vieles noch SELber und
331          (--) geht dann ein bisschen weg von diesem FAST food
332          (.)
333  INT:  hm_hm
334  MAR:  also es ist scho::n (.) das wird dann schon geSUCHT auch
335  INT:  hm_hm
336          (-)
337  MAR:  oder
338          denk i[ch][mir]
339  SEB:          [ja]
340  INT:          [hm][_hm]
341          (1.9)
{9:55}
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This excerpt begins with MAR in lines 277-278 introducing another question that she

often hears from guests, as indicated in line 274 of Excerpt 2 and line 281 above. This

time the questions concerns the food found in South Tyrol and why or why is it not

Italian food, which MAR states as quotatives from guests, although it is not clear

where these guests are from and if they are the same guests asking about language

use in South Tyrol. The first time the question is seen in line 278: *wieso: italienische

loKA:le*. In this formulation, the question is predicated on the assumption that Italian

restaurants would not be found in South Tyrol. What exactly is meant by

'italienische Lokale' is not made clear, although MAR's use of *dieses SÜDtirolerische*

in line 280 offers a second category of food that is potentially a contrast to

'italienische Lokale'. The next version of the question comes in lines 282-283: *ja wieso*

°h gibt es hier äh traditionelle küche und DOCH italienisch wie GEHT das und so. In this version of the question, two categories of food are made relevant: 'traditionelle Küche' and 'italienisch[e Küche]'. Like the question in line 278, this question seems to be predicated on the expectation that Italian food and traditional cannot coexist in the same space. MAR in lines 286-287 states her response to this question, but uses the category of *die EINheimische kost* instead of the reported *traditionelle Küche* seen in line 282, to say that there is a local cuisine. In response to this is the final version of this food question, which is seen in lines 291-292: *und (.) ja wieso ist sie nicht italiEnisch wir sind doch in iTALien*. The question in lines 291-292 seems to mirror the question about language in line 213-214 of Excerpt 1: *ich bin noch in italien wieso sprechen hier alle deutsch*, although it is unclear if MAR intends to have these two questions come from the same type of guests. In order to respond to INT's original question from Excerpt 1 about what an outsider should know about South Tyrol, MAR again makes relevant her experiences with guests that have unmet expectations about the food in South Tyrol, similar to the unmet expectations about the language in South Tyrol. If the questions from lines 278 and 282-283 are compared with the questions about language seen in Excerpt 1 above, there is a contradiction of assumptions: it is expected that the Italian language be used uniformly across the country of Italy, but that the food can and should be different in the different provinces of Italy. The question of the type of guest posing these questions can be better answered in the analysis of the categorizations used for the guests by MAR.

In the questions in line 282 and in line 291, the adjective 'italienisch' is used to describe a category of food that is not from South Tyrol, although it is not further explained as to what this food exactly is. While it would be an accurate description to call the food from South Tyrol 'italienisch', this is not how it is described in these reported questions. In her response to these questions, MAR uses contrastive

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categories that reinforce the use of 'italienisch' as describing something as being not from South Tyrol. This is mirrored in MAR's use of the term *der Italiener* (line 311) to refer to someone being from Italy, but not from South Tyrol. In lines 295-296, MAR says that she has to explain to the guest *ja wir haben halt eine ANdere traditio:n wieder und ANdere küche °h (-) von früher*. In this response, she makes even clearer the contrast between the descriptions of 'italienisch' and 'being from South Tyrol' with her stress on the word 'andere' – the tradition and cuisine from South Tyrol is other and not 'italienisch'. MAR's addition of *von früher* in line 296 after an in-breath and short pause indicates the need to add more information about the *andere Tradition* and *andere Küche* (lines 295-296). The addition of *von früher* emphasizes this South Tyrolean tradition originates in the past and has a history, prior to when South Tyrol was considered a part of the modern state of Italy. Prior to the province becoming part of Italy in 1919, the cultural and food traditions were predominantly Tyrolean (Austrian), a fact that may not be so present in the mind of the guest asking the question. Despite the presence of the German language in the province, it may not be obvious to these guests that there is a set of cultural traditions that come with this language and which have existed in the region for as long as the language. According to MAR's response to the guest in lines 286-296, even though the Italian tradition of food exists in South Tyrol, it originates from somewhere else in what is now modern-day Italy. The traditions of South Tyrol are constructed by MAR as existing outside of or separately from the traditions of Italy, despite South Tyrol existing today within in the political boundaries of Italy. This can be seen in MAR's construction of Italienness as 'other', which I explain further below.

The 'otherness' which is attributed to a person or food by MAR's use of the (contrastive) category *Italiener/Italienisch* can be seen in line 311, where both of these come together in MAR's statement, *weil (.) der italiener HAT ja sein italienisches essen* followed by further information about each of these in lines 313-317. An example of

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der Italiener is *einer von ROM* (line 313) and an example of *italienisches Essen* is *Pizza* (line 314) or *Spaghetti* (line 316). The 'otherness' of the place of Rome is made more distinct by the use of MAR's use of *unten* (line 317), placing it away from the implied 'oben' of South Tyrol. MAR's claim here is that because pizza and spaghetti are found in other places in Italy, that they are not sought out in South Tyrol by guests from these other parts of Italy. I argue that MAR is using the category of Rome as the quintessential *Italiener* and pizza and spaghetti as the quintessential *Italienisches Essen*. These categories stand alone and do not require any unpacking in the interview; they are left unquestioned by INT and, more importantly, these categories are thus being employed by MAR to invoke *Italianness*, from which *South Tyroleanness* is separate.

After evoking this category of *Italianness*, MAR then goes on to provide more information about the tradition of South Tyrol that exists separately from the tradition of the rest of Italy. This information comes in the types of food that are sought out by *die KLASSischen gäste* (line 319), or those visiting the *Christkindlmarkt in Meran* (line 321). This formulation (line 320-322) is receipted and confirmed by SEB's *hm_hm hm_hm* in line 322, indicating his agreement with the formulation. MAR does not specify where these guests are from, but given her use of *also* in line 320, *die KLASSischen gäste* (line 319) can be heard as a reformulation of the *der italiener* (line 311) and *einer von ROM* (line 313). These guests are the Italians from other regions in Italy, who seek out the traditions of South Tyrol as something unique. In line 320, MAR states that these guests are currently in Meran to visit the Christkindlmarkt (the interview was conducted during the time of this market), implying that the Christkindlmarkt is a source of the food traditions of South Tyrol.

Looking specifically at this food tradition, MAR does not state any specific dishes when she mentions *das traditioNELle* (lines 306, 323), but instead provides the descriptions of *das gUte essen* (line 326), *das DEFtige essen* (line 327), and *das äh (.) von*

HAND hergestellte essen (line 328). In line 325, MAR says of the guests, *also die erFREUen sich schon auch am an südtirol an der region*, going on in line 326 to say that South Tyrol is known for food tradition that is described in lines 326-328. The verb 'sich erfreuen' in line 325 sets up the next statement to be hearable as something positive, which sets these food descriptions to be heard as positive. Although 'deftiges Essen' could be attributed to rich and potentially unhealthy food, here they can be seen as positive descriptions. Seen in the light of Discourses that value local and craft food over mass-produced fast food, the description of *von HAND hergestelltes essen* can likewise be heard as positive, showing that MAR places value in such food traditions. The lack of specificity of the dishes contributes to the notion of it not being easy to explain South Tyrol (similar to MAR's statements in Excerpt 2), as it is only explained by saying that it is not part of the South Tyrolean food tradition (pizza and spaghetti). What is interesting here is that these descriptors could apply to other food traditions in Italy, especially the descriptor "das von Hand hergestellte Essen" and its expansion in line 330 of *also man macht ja vieles noch SELber*, which could potentially be heard as a description of other food traditions in other parts of Italy. MAR then goes further to say that this food tradition *geht dann ein bisschen weg von diesem FAST food* (line 332), which MAR uses to describe what this food tradition is not. This contrast to fast food is brought up later in the conversation, around minute 31 (see Excerpt 5 below), again as a contrast to how the food in South Tyrol is different. During this repeated mention of fast food, MAR and SEB discuss how there is food that can be had quickly in South Tyrol, but that the quality is better, or the restaurant is not a chain, contrasting it with a restaurant such as McDonald's. No mention is made of it being made by hand, but rather that it still has a certain level of quality, despite it being part of the category of *fast food*.

Returning to the types of guests, in Excerpt 3, MAR describes three potential types of guests: 1) the one who is surprised that there are Italian restaurants at all in

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South Tyrol, i.e. expects all food in South Tyrol to be of the South Tyrolean tradition (lines 289, 282); 2) the one who is surprised that the traditional food in South Tyrol is not traditional Italian food, i.e. expects to find only 'Italian' food in every province of Italy (291-292); and 3) the one who knows the traditional food in South Tyrol is from a different tradition than 'Italian' food and who specifically seeks out this South Tyrolean tradition of food (lines 311-328, 334). Between these three archetypes, there may be some overlap. The third type is brought up again later in the conversation (minute 11) when MAR and SEB describe Italians as being 'Feinschmecker' and say they are very open and curious eaters who seek out other food traditions. A further analysis of this can be seen below with Excerpt 4.

In Excerpt 4, we have the continuation of the same interview, now with SEB responding to INT's question from line 176 from Excerpt 1. SEB structures his response similarly to MAR's response, by first addressing the issue of language use in South Tyrol and then addressing the topic of food. In doing so, SEB responds both to MAR's responses seen in Excerpts 1-3, as well as responding to the question from INT. In this analysis, I focus on the categorizations that were employed by MAR and then picked up by SEB in his response. SEB reaffirms many of MAR's categorizations, but does not account for his responses by recounting any personal experiences in the way that MAR recounts the experiences of guests in South Tyrol to support the generalizations she makes.

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Excerpt 4 (Margarita, 9:55-12:23)

{9:55}
342   INT:  meins[t du  AU:CH]
343   SEB:       [interesSANT]
344         °h
345   MAR:  wie sieht_s DU_[es]
346   SEB:               [ja]
347
348         du hast zwei interessante aspekte angesprochen
349         (.) einmal die SPRAche
350   INT:  hm_hm
```

```
351  SEB: °h die natürlich sofort ins AUge [springt]
352  MAR:                                 [hm_hm  ]
353  SEB: weil alles ZWEIsprachig
354       und in den ladinischen tälern auch DR[EIsprach]ig
             angeschrieben ist
355  MAR:                                    [  hm_hm ]
356  SEB: (.) was ja eher (-)
357       nah ((atmet ein ca. 2s))
358       wenn man (.) des mit den augen des natioNALstaates sieht
359       ist es vielleicht sogar UNgewöhnlich
360       aber ich denke (-) in GANZ vielen orten auf der welt
361       ist es auch norMAL dass zwei drei sprachen gesprochen
             werden
362       (.)
363  INT: hm_hm
364  SEB: KAnada ((klopft auf den tisch))
365       (-)
366  MAR: SCHWEIZ
367  SEB: ((unverständlich)) BELgien
368  MAR: ((räuspert sich))
369  SEB: SCHWEIZ [(.)ist ]viersprachig
370  MAR:         [schweiz]
371       SCHWEIZ ist xxx xxx xxx eigentlich
372  SEB: ä::h (.) des is a schön interessante ANmerkung dass
373       (--) ich einem (-) beSUcher aus den u es a oder aus (.)
               äh kanada (.)
374       das sagen würde dass (--) ((schmatzt))
375       (.) dass nationale konstruktionen die EINdeutig sind in
             südtirol nicht so funktionieren
376       (-) dass WIR (.) nur
377       ((klopft auf den tisch)) da ist iTAlien (.) ist
             italienisch
378       österreich ist ((klopft auf den tisch)) DEUTSCH
379       °h deutschland ((klopft auf den tisch)) ist DEUTSCH
380       frankreich ((klopft auf den tisch)) ist franZ[Ös]isch
381  MAR:                                              [hm]
382  SEB: das funktioniert in südtirol NICHT
383  SEB: aufgrund der [komPLEXen gesc]hichte
384  MAR:              [hm_hm    hm_hm]
385  SEB: °hh (--) und da kann man auch (an) SEHen
386       jA (.) der nationalismus ist der GLEICHmacher gewesen
387       und (.) in wirklichkeit ist die welt (-) VIELschichtiger
388  INT: hm_hm
389  SEB: sind kulTURen vielschichtiger (sprach)
390       und DAS zeigt südtirol ((klopft auf den tisch))
             eigentlich sehr[  sch]ön
391  MAR:                 [hm_hm]
392  SEB: DAS würde ich sagen
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393         auf DAS ((klopft auf den tisch)) soll man (-) acht geben
394         auf die (.) kleinen unterschiede und die Übergänge
395   INT:  hm_hm
396         (2.1)
397   SEB:  °h und die kuliNArik natürlich äh (.)
398         <<:-)>sowieso jetzt essen wir SUshi und und>
399         [°hh tiroler KNÖdel  und  ä::h  (durch die globalis)]
400   MAR:  [°h ja sicher durch die globalisierung international]
                  überall

401         man findet überall einen chiNEsen und einen °h
402   SEB:  hm_hm °h
403   MAR:  das SCHON
404   SEB:  aber trotzdem so äh die beGEgnung zwischen: italienischer
            küche die wir natürlich ganz: (.)

405         auch stark [kultiVIEren und die äh]
406   MAR:             [tiRO:ler   (.)   küche ]
407   SEB:  eine unglaublich gu[te] küche ist
408   MAR:                      [hm]
409   SEB:  °hh und dann auch eine BOdenständige küche
410         die von den (.) xxxxxx italiener (-)
411         [und (italienerin) xxx)]
412   MAR:  [sehr   geliebt    wird]
413   SEB:  sehr[  sta]rk geSUcht wird
414   MAR:      [hm_hm]
415   SEB:  und[  seh]r beGEhrt i[st    ]
416   MAR:     [hm_hm]            [hm_hm]
417   SEB:  weil sie sehr NEUgierig sin[d   i]taliener
418   MAR:                             [hm_hm]
419   SEB:  (.) kuliNAri[sch g]esehen
420   MAR:              [hm_hm]
421   INT:  ja
422   SEB:  sind sie e[xtrem OFFen    ]
423   MAR:            [((schmatzt)) ja]
424   SEB:  sie essen ALLes
425   MAR:  j[a sind feinschmecker]
426   SEB:   [sie KOS:ten:    alles]
427   MAR:  [es  ]sind fein[schmecker        ]
428   INT:  [okay]
429   SEB:                 [und wenn es noch ]so viel innereien sind
            oder was du (noch) nie essen würdest

430   SEB:  si[e kos]ten das
431   MAR:    [hm_hm]
432   MAR:  [la    tri]pa
433   SEB:  [so ist es]
434   SEB:  sie sind SEHR off[en]
435   MAR:                    [hm]
436   INT:  hm
437   SEB:  vielleicht manchmal sind sie NICHT offen
438         aber beim essen SCHON
439         °h  [((lacht))]
```

```
440   MAR:      [hm geNAU ]
441   SEB:  [würde ich mal SAGen]
442   MAR:  [ja    beim    ESSen  ][schon   ]
443   SEB:                          [sie kos]ten
444        AL[les weil  sie NE]Ugierig sind
445   MAR:    [hm_hm das stimmt]
446        hm_hm
447   SEB:  °hh und des is ein vorteil in SÜDtirol würd ich sagen
448        dass wir auch (-) weil kulinarik hier durch den touRISmus
           sehr wichtig ist
449        vielleicht ein bisschen ZU wichtig
450        °hh ((klopft auf den tisch))
451        (-) A:be:r (.) dass wir italienisches und deutsches eben
           (.) ganz gut [ inte]griert xxx
452   MAR                 [hm_hm]
453   SEB   italienisches und DEUTsches
454        ja was ist DEUTSCH und [ was ] ist italienisch ja
455   MAR:                          [hm_hm]
456   SEB:  ((schmatzt))
457   MAR:  [ja]
458   SEB:  [°h] NORDitalien ist ganz anders als süditalien
459        desWEGen °h ich mag nicht so diese nationalen
           zuweisungen
460   MAR   hm_[hm    ]
461   INT      [hm_hm]
462   MAR   geNAU
463   SEB   das würde ich erstmal ANTworten
{12:23}
```

In order to continue with the topic of food, I will focus on SEB's response in line 347, which is after he has commented on the aspects of language in South Tyrol. In line 347-348, SEB addresses the topic of 'Kulinarik' and then echoes the point made by MAR in Excerpt 3 that *heute:: äh g gibt_s überall (.) alle möglichen lokale* (line 279) by saying that *<<:-)> sowieso essen wir jetzt SUshi und und> °h Tiroler Knödel.* MAR then expands on this statement by saying that because of globalization, *man findet überall einen chinesen* (line 400-401). In these lines, SEB employs the specific dishes to stand in for local cuisine (Tiroler Knödel) and cuisine that comes from a completely different country and culinary tradition (sushi). MAR shows agreement with SEB's statement by saying *ja sicher* in line 400 and offers the category of *einen Chinesen*

(referring to a Chinese restaurant) to add to SEB's category of a foreign food that contrasts with the local cuisine in South Tyrol. SEB uses these examples to establish that there is nothing unusual about seeing Asian food in South Tyrol, which reaffirms MAR statement that different cuisines and culinary traditions exists in South Tyrol, but that this is nothing unique. These statements set up a contrast before SEB then describes *die beGEgnung zwischen: italienischer küche*" (line 404) and *dann auch eine BOdenständige küche* (line 409) in South Tyrol. SEB's use of *trotzdem* (line 404) indicates that this is something different, that there is something unique to the mix of cuisine in South Tyrol and that it is not due to the same reasons that gave rise to Asian restaurants in South Tyrol. At this point SEB has described the local cuisine using the dish name 'Tiroler Knödel' and the adjective 'bodenständig', but has not used a descriptor such as 'südtirolerisch'. In contrast to this, MAR interjects with *tiRO:ler (.) küche* (line 406) as the expected pair with SEB's *italienischer küche* (line 404), which is different than her use of *dieses SÜDtirolerische* in line 280 of Excerpt 3. By saying *tiRO:ler (.) küche* (line 406) as a potential contrast to 'italienischer Küche' MAR places the cuisine that is local to South Tyrol in the same category as that of the Bundesland Tyrol in Austria, which likely share many dishes due to the shared history of the two regions. The adjective *bodenständig* (line 409) also carries with it other meanings than just 'local' – representing the cuisine as being 'down to earth' or even 'rustic' evokes other contrasts to the Italian cuisine from the rest of Italy.

In lines 412 and 413 both MAR and SEB state that this 'bodenständige Küche' is loved and sought out by Italians. As in the end of Excerpt 3, the category of 'Italiener' is not unpacked and is not further specified. Neither SEB nor MAR mark this as problematic and both continue in lines 417-424 to praise the openness and curiosity of Italians when it comes to eating. In line 413, SEB says that the South Tyrolean cuisine *sehr stark gesucht wird*, just as MAR said in line 334 of Excerpt 3 in

reference to the South Tyrolean cuisine: *das wird dann schon geSUCHT auch*. The 'Italiener' that would seek out the local cuisine in South Tyrol is part of the category of the 'Italiener' that is also a 'Feinschmecker', as described by MAR in lines 425 and 427 of Excerpt 4. SEB does not echo this categorization, but does say that the Italians are *neugierig* (lines 417, 444) and *offen* (lines 422, 434), at least when it comes to food.

The topic of food is brought up again in Excerpt 5, which begins at 29m 21s in the interview. Prior to this excerpt, the topic of immigration to South Tyrol has been discussed and MAR mentions that she has noticed in recent years more people relocating from Southern Italy, especially for Southern Italians looking for work, giving as an example a newer pizzeria that has had success in Meran/Merano and is potentially expanding to the city of Bozen/Bolzano as well.

```
Excerpt 5: (Margarita, 29:21-32:35)

{29:21}
            (1.2)
1    INT:  aber merkt man ECHT dass es jetzt zu tage also (.)
2          MEHrere (.) also pizzerias oder so was gibt äh
3          (.) als vor zwanzig JAHren oder so
4          dass °h
5    SEB:  ja
6    MAR:  °hhh
7    INT:  als esse[n also ]
8    MAR:          [gut (.)] du bist in (.) meran aufgewachsen
9          [vor zwanzig jahren]
10   SEB:  [°hh           ä::]hm
11   MAR:  j[a: ]
12   SEB:   [war] (i net) in merAN
13   MAR:  ä:[h (.) ich denke die RI]CHtung ändert sich
14   INT:    [nur als beispiel also:]
15   MAR:  ein [biss]chen
16   INT:      [okay]
17   MAR:  es gibt nicht mehr diese KLASSischen pizzerias
18         die früher halt JEder gemacht hat
19         jetzt wird das schon ein BISschen
20         °h es gibt die kalaBREsische pizza
21         dann[ g]ibt es die [napol][iTAnische][pizza]
22   INT:      [°h]            [ah   ][     okAY]
23   SEB:                            [ah      ][ECHT ]
24   MAR:  °hh ja
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```
25           äh d des ENGele (.) ((schnieft)) in untermais
26           da kriegst du ja diese: kalaBREsischen zutaten
27           diese °h
28   SEB:    [ach so]
29   MAR:    [es es ] gibt mehr FEINschmecker(.)[lokale]
30   INT:                                        [°hh   ]
31           [okay  ]
32   MAR:    [was pi]zza beTRIfft
33           al[so    die] °h ((schmatzt)) die qualiTÄT steigt
34   SEB:      [das stimmt]
35   INT:    hm_hm
36   MAR:    meiner meinung NACH
37           (--)
38   INT:    [und es gibt mehr xxx so (.) aus einer beSTIMMten region]
39   MAR:    [eben      diese      KLASsische::          pizzerias]
40           wo die normalen DOsen[cha]mpignons raufkommen und [so]
41   SEB:                         [ja ]                         [äh]
42   MAR:    und der normale SCHINken_er (.)
43           °h der NICHTS kostet
44           ich glaub die müssen s sich langsam °hh äh die müssen
             AUFpassen
45           weil eben[ d]iese gourMETspizzas °hh
46   INT:             [hm]
47           hm_h[m              ]
48   MAR:        [((schmatzt))] pizzerias sich ein bisschen entFALten
             jetzt
49           (1.1)
50   INT:    hm
51   MAR:    sind vielleicht ein bisschen TEUrer aber:
52   INT:    hm
53   MAR:    PAsst gut so in:s
54           (1.0)
55   SEB:    °hh
56           (0.6)
57   MAR:    hm:
58   SEB:    pizzeRIas <<lachend> sie (sind) sicher der löwenanteil>
             ein großer anteil an [der a]n de restaurANTS
59   INT:                         [hm_hm]
60           [pi]zzeria
61   MAR:    [JA]
62   SEB:    °h sind (eigentlich) unGLAUBlich [viel]
63   MAR:                                     [VIEL] aufenthalt
             <<lachend> immer weil>
64   SEB:    aber das ist das ist
65   MAR:    ((lacht))
66   SEB:    in südtirol sind sie sehr GUT die pizzerias
67   MAR:    (eben) na ja
68           in meran finde ich
69   INT:    hm_hm
70   SEB:    i weiß net in in
71           wo ich in österreich studiert haben wir AUCH pizza
             gegessen
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72         da waren qualitätsmäßig jetzt NICHT so gut
73         (0.6)
74         da waren auch KEIN italiener
75         die waren meistens aus dem BALkan
76   MAR:  hm_hm
77   SEB:  IN wien
78   INT:  hm_hm
79   SEB:  MUSS ich sagen
80         °h wo ich geLEBT hab in den neunziger jahren
81         aber die qualität war natürlich im vergleich zu südtirol
           NICHT besonders gut
82   INT:  hm_hm
83         (0.7)
84   SEB:  also in der kuliNArik ist sü oder [(.) ga]stronomie ist
           südtirol sehr stark
85   MAR:                                    [hm_hm ]
86         (1.0)
87   SEB:  vor allem das[ l]and
88   MAR:               [hm]
89         (2.0)
90   INT:  nee habe ich auch gemerkt also
91         °h was du dann (.) vorher gesagt hast also
92         dass es weniger so FAST food hier gibt (.) und
93         °h [glaub][da]s::]
94   SEB:     [ °hhh][  ]
95   MAR:           [ja]:::] das
96   INT:  also das
97   SEB:  das fällt DIR auf wahrscheinlich [ja]
98   INT:                                   [°h] °h geNAU
99         hh° also[ das   ist  °hh]
100  MAR:          [hm_hm (.) geNAU]
101        f[ast] food KETTen
102  INT:   [ä:h]
103  MAR:  im [xxx xxx ]
104  SEB:     [ja auf u]nser [fast food ][xxx xxx ][xxx xxx]
105  INT:                    [also diese][KETTen   ]
106  MAR:                                [die sind][auch °h]
107        wenn du[ schaust]
108  SEB:         [((lacht))]
109  MAR:  die sind auch el relativ AUßerhalb
110        die sind nicht im ZENtrum
111  INT:  hm_hm
112  MAR:  es kann auch (.) kostengründe SEIN:
113        von: MIETveträgen und so
114        aber wenn du schaust mcdonalds ist total AUßerhalb
115  SEB:  ((zieht luft ein)) wo isch des jetzt
116  MAR:  des isch glaub in UN[termoais        ]
117  SEB:                      [((unverständlich))]
118  MAR:  da wo INterspar isch irgendwo
119  SEB:  ah JA:
120  MAR:  und im ZENtrum:
121  SEB:  (na) geh ESsen
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122        bei UNS ist das nicht so tradition
123  MAR: das gibts den STARburger jetzt
124        aber der hat ja AUCH eine gewisse qualität
125        schon BIofleisch und so
126  SEB: hm_h[m]
127  INT:       [h]m_hm
128  MAR: und und (.) sonst eb[en dieses fast food mäßige]
129  SEB:                       [((schmatzt)) (.) bei uns  ]ist halt
          PIZza fast food hier
130        (0.7)
131  MAR: PIZza kannst du mit[nehmen und dann g]ibts halt
132  SEB:                    [pizza   al   TAglio]
133  MAR: die klassischen WURSTständchen
134  SEB: WÜ:RSte[l j][a]
135  MAR:        [wo ][d][u WÜRstel e]ssen [ka:nnst]
136  INT:          [w][ürstel  aja]
137  SEB:                              [WÜRSCHt]elstand
138  MAR: DAS ist bei uns so ein bissch[en das ]
139  SEB:                             [des ist] bei uns fast food
140  MAR: °h wobei es das ja AUCH gute sachen gibt
141        da kriegt_s du dann TRUThahnschnitzel vom grill
142        °h und [den k]arTOFfelsalat
143  INT:         [hm_hm]
144        es hat AUCH wieder eine gewisse qualität
145        (1.0)
146  SEB: so
147  MAR: <<lachend> a[l][l]es hat qualität in südtirol>]
148  INT:            [j][a]
149  SEB:              [((lacht))                         ]
150  MAR: [((lacht laut)) ]
151  INT: [((lacht leise))]
152  MAR: °h[h ST]IMMt_s net
153  SEB:   [maoh]
154  INT: a_ja [((lacht))]
155  MAR:      [((lacht))]
156  SEB: haha <<lachend> beim essen (aus)
157        sehr viel qua[li> ]
158  MAR:              [beim] [ESSen][:][ja::    ]
159  INT:                    [ ja_j][a]
160  SEB:                              [S][Ehr viel]
161        qual a[lles] so aber °h
162  MAR:        [eben]
163        ((quietscht mit den lippen))
164  SEB: au[ch xxx xxx]
165  INT:   [aber  sehr] wenige
166        (.) KETTe[n   (.)   also   diese::: ]
167  MAR:          [und das hat natürlich auch] alles seinen PREIS
168        es i[st] halt vielLEICHT
169  INT:     [hm]
170  MAR: auch weltweit gesehen ein bisschen TEUrer
171  INT: hm_hm
172  MAR: für JUgendliche merke ich das halt immer
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173        (-)
174  SEB: ah ja sie wi[ll (halt) spoaren]
175  MAR:           [und  sie  sagen g]ibt_s halt einen PIzza hut
176       oder einen BURger ki:n:g
177       dann SAge ich
178       GIbts hier <<lachend> eigentlich ni[cht> ] [weil ]
179  INT:                                      [hm_hm]
180  SEB:                                               [hm_hm]
181  MAR: °hh ja wo kann man dann gut und günstig ESsen
182  MAR: (.) °hh sage ich GÜNstig (-) wird schwierig
183       °hh
184       (-)
185  INT: hm_hm
186  MAR: ((schmatzt))
187       (2.0)
188  SEB: ah [du  woascht es ja]
189  MAR:    [((schmatzt)) aber] ja
190  INT: hm
191       vom beruf her ja
192  INT: ((lacht))
193  MAR: ((lacht))
194       (1.5)
195  INT: ähh
196  MAR: wie sind wir zeitlich dran
{32:35}
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In Excerpt 5, INT reintroduces the topic of food by asking in line 1 about an increase in the number of pizzerias in recent times. This is in reference to a previous part of the conversation, in which MAR mentions one specific pizzeria that has had recent success in Meran. The owners of this specific pizzeria are from Naples, and MAR says that their success provides an example for other restauranteurs from Southern Italy who would like to start a business in South Tyrol. In her response MAR produces two categories of pizzerias in Meran: "*diese KLASSischen pizzerias die früher halt JEder gemacht hat*" (lines 17-18) and the *FEINschmecker (.) lokale* (line 29). According to MAR, because of these 'Feinschmeckerlokale', *die qualiTÄT steigt* (line 33), and the 'klassischen Pizzerias' have more competition from *gourMETspizzas* (line 44-45). MAR describes the 'klassischen Pizzerias' by giving examples of the ingredients used for toppings: *die normalen DOsenchampignons* and *der normale schinken_er (.) °h der NICHTS kostet* (lines 40, 42-43). Rather than describing them

using ingredients, MAR describes the 'Feinschmeckerlokale' as being from as specific region, such as Calabrian or Naples (lines 20-21), and saying that because of them, *die qualiTÄT steigt* (line 033). In these statements, we can conclude that, according to MAR, there is a common type of pizzeria that has existed in Meran/Merano for a while (lines 17-18), but there is nothing that defines it as being specific to South Tyrol, as the ingredients named (lines 40, 42-43) are 'normal', inexpensive, and not specific to any region. According to MAR, the pizzerias in Meran/Merano that are of good quality are not originally from South Tyrol, but from other regions of (Southern) Italy.

According to SEB, *in südtirol sind sie sehr GUT die Pizzerias* (line 66), but he does not specify further as to the ingredients or the origin of the pizzas. His only point of comparison is the pizzerias that he experienced in Vienna, which were *qualitätsmäßig jetzt NICHT so gut* (line 72) and comparatively worse to those in South Tyrol (line 81). SEB does specify that in the pizzerias in Vienna, *da waren auch KEIN Italiener die waren meistens aus dem BALkan* (lines 74-75), indicating that the presence of an Italian (as owner or cook) is a certain measure of quality for a pizzeria. SEB states that pizzerias are a large portion of the restaurants in South Tyrol (lines 58, 62), but does not specify any category or use the categories of 'klassische Pizzerias' or 'Feinschmeckerlokale' produced by MAR. What appears to be common to both MAR's and SEB's statements is that despite pizzerias being very commonplace in South Tyrol, they do not represent a cuisine or culinary traditions that are originally from South Tyrol or do not represent what is constructed as local cuisine.

INT then brings up in lines 90-92 the presence of fast food offerings in Meran/Merano, which he says are fewer. This leads to a discussion of what fast food would be in Meran/Merano and South Tyrol. MAR in line 101 specifies the category of 'Fast food' to be that of *fast food KETTen*, which she says are not in the center of the city, but on the outside (lines 109-110). She then provides McDonald's as a specific

example of the category 'Fastfoodkette' which is *total AUßerhalb* (line 114). The category of 'fast food in Meran/Merano' is then negotiated by MAR and SEB, with MAR offering as an example a local burger restaurant, albeit one that *hat AUCH eine gewisse qualität, schon BIofleisch und so* (lines 124-125). SEB states that *bei uns ist halt PIZza fast food hier* (line 129), to which MAR responds that, *PIZza kannst du mitnehmen* (line 131), indicating that the category of 'Fastfood' is not just chains, but any food that can be had 'to-go'. MAR then offers in line 133 *die klassischen WURSTständchen* as another example of fast food specific to Meran/Merano, with which SEB shows agreement by saying, *des ist bei uns fast food* (line 139). This is very similar to his statement in line 131, and in both cases the *bei uns* is not specified, but the restaurants and locations mentioned in lines 114-123 are specific to Meran/Merano, meaning that the discussed forms of fast food might be specific only to Meran/Merano, and not to all of South Tyrol (for other uses of 'uns', see the analysis of Excerpt 8 below). MAR expands on the offerings from the *Wurstständchen*, saying that *es hat AUCH wieder eine gewisse qualität* (line 144), repeating her description from line 124. This results in MAR saying that, *alles hat qualität in südtirol* (line 147) in a laughing voice, at which SEB also laughs. SEB shows agreement with this in lines 156-157 and 160-161. The shared laughter shows that both MAR and SEB are aware of the potential exaggeration of the claim of 'everything having quality in South Tyrol,' but ultimately they agree that this statement is true. MAR then provides an example of youth looking for *einen PIZza hut oder einen BURger king* (lines 175-176) in Meran/Merano, which do not exist there. Although a McDonald's is part of the foodscape on the outskirts of Meran/Merano, these two fast food chains are not present at all. Despite there being a mix of other food traditions in Merano (and other parts of South Tyrol), the American fast food chains are not seen as part of this mix.

In the above excerpts, we have seen how descriptions of food can be used to make relevant aspects of certain Discourses concerning South Tyrol. MAR and SEB describe the food traditions as being 'not Italian' and of high quality. They play with the MC of 'fast food', using it to invoke certain types of chain restaurants, while claiming that certain South Tyrolean foods can fall under the same MC while still maintaining a reputation for the higher quality that is associated with traditional local food that is made by hand.

6.3.3 Mapping South Tyrol

In this section, I examine how participants talk about their own personal maps of South Tyrol and which categories they use in the process of describing physical locations. When describing where South Tyrol is, or where specific places within South Tyrol are, participants make aspects of identity relevant by using particular place references and in some cases, connecting these place references to categories and practices outside of purely geographical references, such as language use and the mentalities of the people living in a particular place. As in the sections above, what is particularly interesting is the formulations that participants choose to use, especially how participants account for these choices. Excerpts 6-9 come from the interview 'Margarita' with the participants MAR and SEB, and Excerpt 10 comes from the interview 'Rivi' with participant RIV.

Excerpt 6 starts at 13m 32s in the interview 'Margarita' with MAR and SEB. In this 41-second long excerpt, MAR models and explains how she would respond if she were asked where she is from when she is in foreign country, i.e. outside of her home country of Italy. Just prior to this excerpt, SEB has been explaining the use of the terms 'Italiener' and 'Deutsche' within South Tyrol, which prompts INT ask the question in lines 117-120.

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Excerpt 6 (Margarita, 13:32-14:32)

{13:32}
117  INT: und wenn ihr im (.) AUSland seid
118       (.) was SAGT ihr dann
119       also wo kommt ihr HER
120       also wenn einer FRA:GT
121       °hhh
122  MAR: also ich sage immer ich komme aus meRAN
123       weil merAn ist ja scheinbar weltweit SEHR bekannt °h
124  INT: E[CHT okay]
125  MAR:  [und wenn] das noch nicht KLAPPT
126       dann sage ich in der nähe von den doloMIten
127  SEB: [ ((lacht))                              °h]
128  MAR: [°h weil die dolomiten sind ja wirklich ]glaube ich (.)
           [weltweit] (.) sehr bekannt
129  INT: [ hm_hm  ]
130  MAR: also ich glaube nicht dass es irgendjemanden auf der welt
           gibt der die doloMIten <<lachend> nicht kennt>
131  INT: hm_hm
132  MAR: °h oder nicht WEISS wo die ungefähr (.) sich befinden
133       ((schluckt)) ((schmatzt)) °h aber natürlich sage ich
           immer das nördlichste:: teil von: iTAlien sage ich immer
134       also (1.5) vor <<lachend> österreich>
135  INT: [hm_hm]
136  MAR: [ich  ]ich versuch mich immer von der KARte her dann
           einfach so
137       °h aber ich sag SCHON eigentlich ich bin aus italien
138  INT: [hm_hm]
139  MAR: [und  ]dann eben kommt immer WIEder die frage
140       wieso sprechen sie so gut deutsch
141       (-)
142  INT: [hm_hm]
143  MAR: [und  ]dann kommen wir wieder auf dieses zurück
144       das muss man dann wieder erKLÄren
145       es sind dann ein deutschsprachiger teil noch und
146  INT: hm_hm
147  MAR: sprechen drei SPRAchen und
148  INT: ((lacht))
149  MAR: blah blah blah ((lacht)) geht_s dann wieder WEIter
150  MAR: man (.) man sagt SCHO man kommt aus italien
{14:32}
```

In this excerpt, MAR uses a specific set of place references which does not, at first,

include the country of Italy as a main reference to describe where she is from. A

possible response to the question 'where are you from?' is to name one's home

country (or country of residence), and although this response would be technically

correct, MAR chooses to use other place references first. I argue that by doing so, MAR shows that the entire country of Italy (or that what Italy is primarily associated with abroad) is not a useful or relevant place reference for MAR in answering INT's hypothetical question.

Looking at the excerpt, MAR says that she would respond to this question by naming her home city. This is a very specific answer, i.e. more specific than a country or province, which MAR justifies by saying it is well-known to anyone in the world (line 123). She acknowledges that this might not work and if so, she would name geographic features of the country: the mountain range closest to her home (line 126). Thus, she begins with a very specific answer and then by zooming out, trying to match her answer to the displayed and assumed knowledge of her imagined interlocutor. By doing this, MAR shows that she orients not only towards her interlocutor's assumed level of knowledge about South Tyrol, but also to her own personal map of her home. Although it would technically be correct for MAR to say the country of Italy (MAR is an Italian citizen), which would arguably be more well-known, MAR does not use this. MAR also does not offer the province of South Tyrol as a potential answer, but rather offers two specific places within South Tyrol that she claims are well-known globally. MAR's use of the Dolomites shows that accuracy is less important for her, since her answer would say she is only near these mountains (line 126). MAR does not mention the Alps (see SEB's response in Excerpt 8 below), which span multiple countries, but rather the Dolomites, which are solely in Italy, despite the fact that they extend outside the province of South Tyrol. Once MAR does finally mention the country of Italy, she doesn't refer to the entire country, instead choosing to first mention it by saying she is from *das nördlichste:: teil von: italien* (line 133), and then immediately mentions the proximity to the country of Austria (line 134). In line 136 MAR says, *ich ich versuch mich immer von der KARte her dann einfach so*, potentially in reference to her orienting herself and her hypothetical

interlocutor. In MAR's statement in line 137, *ich sag SCHON eigentlich ich bin aus italien,* her use of *SCHON eigentlich* shows that despite her eventually saying that she is from Italy, she would defer this answer, only saying it reluctantly. The reason for this is found in lines 139-149, where MAR explains that once she says she is from Italy, there are always follow-up questions that she must answer. In lines 139-140, MAR says *und dann eben kommt immer WIEder die frage wieso sprechen sie so gut deutsch.* MAR's use of *immer WIEder* with the stress on the word *WIEder* makes it recognizable that this is an oft repeated question, one that affects how she answers the question of 'wo kommst du her?'.

MAR again emphasizes in line 150 that one would indeed say that one is from Italy, which is a reformulation of her statement in line 137 above: *ich sag SCHON eigentlich ich bin aus italien.* In her response in line 150 MAR shows that she has put herself in a larger category of people from South Tyrol. Her use of *man sagt SCHO man kommt aus Italien* (line 150) shows that saying one is from Italy has potential difficulties not just for MAR, but also for other members of this larger category of South Tyroleans.

In Excerpt 7, MAR continues with her same response from Excerpt 6. In this excerpt, she specifically addresses which place references would not be known to a potential interlocutor when being asked where she is from.

Excerpt 7 (Margarita, 14:32-15:07)

{14:32}
151 MAR: al[so   ]ich DENke
152 INT: [hm_hm]
153 MAR: wenn ich jetzt jemanden:: in:: england SAge ich komme aus
           südtirol:
154   °h ich weiß nicht ob er dann etwas damit ANfangen kann
155 INT: hm_hm
156 MAR: oder in (--)
157   s da sind wir dann doch wieder zu KLEIN glaube ich
158 INT: hm_hm
159   (--)

```
160  INT: weil (--) also in den (.) ju in den u es A auf jeden fall
161       würde (.) [°hh (.) fast KEIner  das  ]
162  MAR:          [wenn ich dir denn in den u] es A sage
163       ich komme aus SÜDtirol was würdest du mir antworten
164       ((atmet ein, ca 2 sec.))
165  MAR: wo IST das ((lacht))
166  INT: ja geNAU (.) also
167  MAR: °h dann fängst du mal an mit euROpa:
168       und dann italian NORTH (.) of ital italy und [so]
169  SEB:                                              [ja] genau
170  INT: hm_hm
171  MAR: hm
{15:07}
```

In Excerpt 7, MAR presents the hypothetical situation of telling someone in England that she is from South Tyrol, saying that she believes *s da sind wir dann doch wieder zu KLEIN glaube ich* (line 157) and that because of this, the person would not be able to recognize or place the referent. This seems to be in contrast to MAR's response in Excerpt 6 where she says she would first respond with Meran, despite the city of Meran obviously being smaller than the province of South Tyrol. INT says that hardly anyone in the United States would know of South Tyrol, to which MAR responds with a hypothetical interaction in which she must explain to someone from the United States that she is from South Tyrol (lines 162-168). In this interaction, MAR begins with Europe first, and then zooms in, rather than beginning small and zooming out like she does in Excerpt 6 above. Similar to Excerpt 6, MAR again chooses to mention Italy only with the modification of *NORTH* (line 168). In doing this, MAR shows that the entire country of Italy is potentially not relevant to her mapping of where she is from. MAR again shows that she is willing to orient to her interlocutors' knowledge in choosing the reference form, but would still choose other formulations than the country of Italy as a reference point, despite this being a well-known country to most people in the world.

Excerpt 8 comes a two and half minutes after INT has posed the question of how MAR and SEB respond to the question of *also wo kommt ihr HER* (line 119) when

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they are in a foreign country. This question has led to a discussion of how well-known South Tyrol is in other countries and of how to define the term 'Norditalien', since the geographic reference can evoke varying places depending on the interlocutor's knowledge and prior experience. Just prior to the beginning of the excerpt, INT has told a story about an Italian instructor from Southern Italy who made a joke about not being welcome in Nothern Italy, in response to which INT reports asking the Italian instructor what 'Nothern Italy' means to him. In Excerpt 8 (starting in line 2), INT now discusses with MAR and SEB what *they* mean when they use the term 'Norditalien' in the present interview.

```
Excerpt 8 (Margarita, 17:08-18:02)

{17:08}
1    INT: h° hat er NICHT gesagt aber h°
2         was wäre dann also du sagst NORDitalien
3         also was::: bedeutet das für DICH
4         ist DAS °hh
5         [s]
6    MAR: [d]as hat (.) wenn du mal (.) viele italiEner fragst
7         dann (-) TEILT sich ja (-) der stiefel sozusagen
8         <<lachend> bei ROM oder wo>
9    SEB: ((zieht luft durch die zähne ein))
10   MAR: ((schmatzt)) <<:-)> heißt es oft>
11   SEB: xxx xxx [xxx]
12   MAR:         [als]o viele SAgen norditalien (.)
13         hört irgendwie in der rom römergegend AUF aber °h
14   INT: hm_hm
15        (2.1)
16   MAR: äh
17        (2.9)
18   MAR: für mich sind halt (.) i:ch denk da rein geoGRAphisch
19         also von der KARte her
20         ich DENK da jetzt
21         ich hab da nicht ANdere hintergedanken °hh
22         FAKT ist vielleicht dass
23         (-) viele süditaliener mit norditalien
              beRÜHrungsängste haben
24         weil sie uns nicht KENnen
25   INT: hmhm
26   MAR: ((schmatzt)) ich glaube oft
27         italerer italiener haben oft (.) ziemlich viele
              vorurteile UNS gegenüber auch
```

```
28          (.) weil sie UNS und un[ser        la]nd
29   SEB:                            [((schnieft))]
30   MAR: und auch unsere mentalität nicht gut genug KENnen
{18:02}
```

In Excerpt 8, MAR begins by talking about a geographical demarcation (lines 7-8, 12-13, 18-20), but then uses groups of people, *süditaliener* (line 23) and *italiener* (line 27) to clarify her answer without unpacking these categories any further. The use of these groups as descriptors is in contrast to MAR's use of *norditalien* in line 23 as a geographical entity, a term that INT initially uses in line 2.

In this excerpt, MAR shows the difficulty in constructing a map of Italy based just on geographical or physical locations. MAR shows that it is necessary to also take into consideration the groups of people that populate these geographical locations and the mentalities of those people. At first, MAR answers INT's question in lines 2-3 by using generic information that is attributed to *viele italiener* (line 6) or just the impersonal substantive *viele* (line 12). MAR demonstrates that for her this question cannot be answered straightforwardly and broaches a sensitive issue; her use *viele* indicates that she would not include herself in that grouping (see RIV's similar response in Excerpt 10 below). MAR shows hesitancy when answering the question, as indicated by the pauses in lines 15 and 17. When she gives the opinion of the *viele Italiener* (line 6) it is produced with laughter and smile voice (lines 8, 10), indicating that she is distancing herself from this opinion. By saying *i:ch denk da rein geoGRAphisch, also von der KARte her* (lines 18-19), MAR shows that she is trying to represent a divide between Northern and Southern Italy without taking into consideration the groups of people actually populating these places. A map is a potentially neutral representation of a geographical location that can be neatly divided. MAR's choice of mentioning *hintergedanken* (lines 21) shows that she is aware of the difficulty of drawing a particular dividing line without any personal biases. In lines 28-30, MAR's inclusion of *unsere mentalität* with *UNS und unser land*

shows that drawing a divide between north and south has a great deal to do with mentalities, and not just with a geographical line. MAR's use of the pronouns 'uns' and 'unsere' again show that she is referring to a group of people, and not a specific geographical location. She does not specify who the 'uns' is in this case, and she does not use the term 'Norditaliener' to describe the people (and herself), only the term 'Norditalien' to describe the geographical place where they live. Who this specific group is remains unclear and potentially has a conflicting definition, as does MAR's map and dividing line between Northern and Southern Italy. MAR's use of 'uns' shows that she considers herself part of this group, which means she is not one of the *italiener* in line 27. As discussed in the analysis of Excerpts 6 and 7 above, MAR is technically also an 'Italienerin', but the formulations she uses in Excerpt 8 show that and how she distances herself, and her 'Land' and her 'Mentalität' from the rest of Italy.

Excerpt 9 begins at 22m 58s in the interview with MAR and SEB. In the talk that has transpired since the end of Excerpt 8, MAR and SEB have continued to talk about the mentalities of Northern and Southern Italians. After this talk (line 1 below), SEB returns to the original question posed by INT at 13m 32s in the interview (see beginning of Excerpt 6), which is where the excerpt below begins. Similar to how MAR structures her response in Excerpt 6, SEB shows in his response that he is also attentive to his interlocutor's knowledge of South Tyrol. However, SEB also shows that he is more playful in these kinds of situations.

```
Excerpt 9 (Margarita, 22:58-23:38)

{22:58}
1   SEB:   nochmal auf die ERste frage zurückzukommen
2          äh wenn ich (.) im ausland BIN
3          oder WEIter weg
4          in u es a war ich AUCH einmal [eben ]
5   INT:                                [hm_hm]
6   SEB:   SIEbenund[neunzig            ]
```

```
7    MAR:              [((räuspert sich))]
8    SEB:  ((schnieft)) dann fragen sie wo ich HERkomme
9          <<:-)> dann FORdere ich die leute ein bisschen heraus>
10         <<:-)> (.) da sage ich SCHON south tyrol> °h
11         (.) dann (.) sagen sie tyrOL haben sie gehört
12         [wo  i]st das
13   MAR:  [hm_hm]
14         <<lachend> oder SO[UTH]>
15   SEB:                   [°hh]
16   MAR:  <<lachend> mach[t ihnen ANGST>  ((lacht))]
17   SEB:                 [also  SÜden   und  (.)  ]
18         na <<:-)> south und süden>
19         und dann sage ich ja
20         °hh des is ä:hm (.) SAge ich (den xxx)
21         des is in de in der mitte der ALpen
22         SAge ich dann immer
23   MAR:  [((schmatzt)) JA  genau]
24   SEB:  [die     ALpen      k]ennen sie
25   MAR:  hm[hm]
26   INT:    [hm]hm
27   SEB:  das ist ja genau die BREIteste stelle der alpen
28         wo wir si[nd          ]
29   MAR:           [((schmatz))]
30         a[h      okay      ]
31   SEB:   [ZIEMlich in der mit]te
32   SEB:  es geht nach WESten
33   INT   [hm_hm]
34   SEB:  [es  g]eht nach [ OSte]n
35   MAR:                  [hm_hm]
36   SEB:  °h und da öffnen sich die TÄler
37         und (.) da sag ich IMmer
38         °h wo sich die DREI staatsgrenzen
39         iTAlien österreich und schweiz tref[fen  ]
40   MAR:                                      [hm_hm]
41   SEB:  DA komm[e  ic]h her
42   INT:         [hm_hm]
43   MAR:  hm_hm
{23:38}
```

In lines 9-10, SEB, using smile voice, says that he challenges his interlocutor by
responding with just *south tyrol*, in anticipation of his interlocutor not knowing
where this is. As indicated in line 9, SEB sees this question as a chance to test the
knowledge of his interlocutor before providing more information about where he is
from. Once he understands that the interlocutor is not familiar with South Tyrol (line
12), the main place reference that SEB then offers is the Alps, specifically in the

middle of the Alps (line 21). SEB anticipates that this person will know the Alps (line 24), meaning he can provide a specific point within the framework of the Alps to represent where he is from (lines 27, 31). Only after introducing the Alps as a reference point does SEB mention the proximity of the borders of specific countries (lines 38-39). Similar to MAR's responses in Excerpt 6 above, SEB also offers multiple other place references before mentioning the country of Italy as a reference. Even once he does mention Italy, it is mentioned with Austria and Switzerland, and he does not specify from which of those three countries he is actually from. In this way, SEB makes more relevant the aspects of his home which are important to him, in this case South Tyrol and the Alps and also the intersection of different countries and cultures. SEB sacrifices geographical accuracy by not mentioning a specific city or country, but also by using a mountain chain that spans multiple countries. In this way, SEB evokes a map that uses the Alps as its main frame of reference, rather than specific countries or cities.

Excerpt 10 is taken from the interview with Rivi (RIV) and starts at 14m 39s in the interview. RIV is from a town along the *Etschtal* (Etsch River Valley), to the south of Bozen, an area which she refers to as the *Unterland* and describes in more detail in this excerpt. Just prior to this excerpt, RIV has been describing two younger boys (under 18 years old) from this area who, despite being raised speaking German at home, can speak perfect Italian because they are involved in sports and other activities, which has put them in contact with many Italian-speaking children. She says that in general, there is more influence from Italian on the German spoken in the *Unterland*, because of the higher degree of contact with Italian speakers. In excerpt 10, RIV comments on the fact that a higher amount of codeswitching occurs in the *Unterland*. As RIV has used the term *Unterland* multiple times without further explanation, INT now asks what she means with *Unterland* (line 28). He also provides an account for his request for information (line 29). This gives RIV the

opportunity to describe this specific region of South Tyrol according to her own personal map. RIV shows that language use, and not geography, is the more relevant category for creating her map of the *Unterland*.

Excerpt 10 (Rivi, 14:39-16:38)

```
{14:39}
1   INT:  also das das codeswitching (.) findet nur im UNterland st
2   RIV:  AUCH in bozen
3         und vielleicht auch ein bisschen in ANderen teilen
          südtirols
4         aber unterland ist sehr stark °h weil es einfach
5         weil da einfach immer mehr italiener wohnen
6   INT:  hm_hm
7   RIV:  und außerdem die die brennerroute geht direkt ins
          unterland durch
8         ich wohn genau in auer °h
9   INT:  hm_hm
10  RIV:  das war schon ganz früher ein:: GANZ wichtiges dorf
11        für den markt für den handel °hh
12        HEISST eigentlich marktgemeinde auer
13        und da (.) diese gemeinde war schon immer OFFener
14        a[lso Z]WANGsläufig offener
15  INT:   [hm_hm]
16  RIV:  weil es an der STRAße liegt
17        °h und ((schluckt)) als soziolinguist dann müsstest du
          hierherziehen
18        (-)
19  INT:  hm_hm
20  RIV:  deswegen haben wir <<lachend> ALles linguisten hier in
          südtir[ol]>
21  INT:         [ja] das <<lachend> STImmt_s>
22  RIV:  ha
23  INT:  ja
24        AH okay
25        (-)
26  INT:  interesSANT okay
27        °h ähm (--)
28  INT:  also und UNterland heißt dann (0.9)
29        d[as WEISS ich nicht gen]
30  RIV:   [(boz)     BOzen::    ] runter
31  INT:  BOzen runter als[o ]
32  RIV:                  [al]so (-) BOzen selbst ist jetzt
33        wird noch als STADT gesehen: als (ding) °h
34        aber: (-) weil e es gibt auch VIEle die sagen
35        bozen umGEbung das ist dann xxx xxx und so
36        aber WIR sagen auch immer bozen runter
37        also LEIfers branzoll neumarkt äh auer neumarkt
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38            dann noch weiter RUNter °h
39            WENN (.) das sind eben die stra di:e DÖRfer
40            an:: der STRAße sagen [wir so]
41   INT:                          [hm_hm ]
42   RIV:     an der ETSCH xxx °hh
43            die: auch BEIDsprachig sind
44            beZIEhungsweise fast schon mehr italienisch manchmal
45   INT:     hm_hm
46   RIV:     und DANN hingegen wenn man raufgeht
47            da auf in die TÄler
48            und auf die BERge
49            dann IST (.) natürlich viel mehr (.) ähm deutsch
50            obwohl DA: wird_s jetzt auch ein bisschen (.) offener
51   INT:     hm_hm
52   RIV:     von MIR aus gesehen
53            DAS ist dann immer persönliche meinung
54            °hh
55   INT:     hm_hm
56            (0.9)
57   INT:     also das GEHT ä::h (.)
58            also RUNter bis sal salurn ode[r:]
59   RIV:                                   [ja]::
60            un[d (salurn)    ]
61   INT:        [bis zur GRENze] da oder
62   RIV:     geNAU
63            aber saLURN ist dafür dann extremfall
64            da gibt_s die exTRE:men: italiener
65            und die extremen (.) DEUtschen und
66            DA ist dann immer chaos total (.) bei denen
67            °h deswegen ich bin FROH dass ich <<lachend> nicht in
              salurn wohne>

68   INT:     hm_hm
69   RIV:     °hh
70   INT:     krass (.) okay
71            ich war LETZtes jahr auch da in in salurn
72            und das das fand ich ECHT °h
73            also xxx WIRKlich spannend
74            und DAS war so die die °h
75            der LETZte ort wo m[an]
76   RIV:                         [ja] das ist (auch) (.)
77            fast schon wie eine richtige GRENze
78            man SPÜRT_s schon fast
79   INT:     ja_ja
80   RIV:     wirklich interessant
{16:38}
```

Similar to MAR's response in Excerpt 8, RIV prefaces her response by saying *weil e es
gibt auch* VIEle *die sagen bozen umGEbung* (line 34-35), before saying in line 36 *aber wir*

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sagen auch immer Bozen runter. RIV shows that her description of the *Unterland* will likely be different or not completely compatible with that of others by creating the two categories of *viele* and *wir*. Who exactly belongs to the *viele* is unclear, but RIV excludes herself by her use of *wir*, which refers to herself and the other members she considers to be from the *Unterland*. Just as is the case with MAR in Excerpt 7 above, the use of *viele sagen* indicates that the speaker is then going to exclude him or herself from that category. RIV first describes the region by listing the major villages there, going from north to south (line 37). She then describes why these villages are grouped together, that they are all *an der straße* (likely referring to the *Südtiroler Weinstraße*) and *an der Etsch* (lines 40, 42), the river along which all of these villages lie (see area south of Bozen in Fig. 1 on p. 13). In this way, she provides a purely geographical description of these villages, one that aligns with their description on a map. RIV then describes these villages in terms of language use, saying that they are *BEIDsprachig beZIEhungsweise fast schon mehr italienisch manchmal* (lines 43-44). Then in lines 46-49 she uses the topography as a description, saying *und dann hingegen wenn man raufgeht da auf in die TÄler und auf die BERge* (lines 46-48) it is much more *deutsch* (line 49), referring back to the language use. In this description, RIV closely connects the topography (higher vs. lower lands) to the language spoken in that place. RIV associates the proximity to the Etsch River with Italian and German being roughly equally spoken, or Italian being at times the predominant language, while proximity to the valleys and mountains, i.e. away from the Etsch (and the Etschtal), German is perceived as the more predominant language. It is noteworthy that RIV uses the term 'Täler' in line 47 to signify places separate from the *Unterland*, which itself lies partly in a valley, namely the Etschtal, a term that RIV does not use.

In addition to the language, RIV in line 50 also connects a specific mentality to these geographic locations. In line 13 RIV uses the term *offener* to describe the mentality of the residents who live along the *Brennerroute* (line 7), who, due to the

amount of trade along this route, are described as more open. RIV's use in line 50 of *obwohl* as a discourse marker (not as a subordinating conjunction) shows that RIV is making a repair and amending her statement in line 49, but she has not explicitly connected the description of being 'deutsch' as being less open. At the beginning of the excerpt in lines 1-16, RIV hints at a connection between the activity of codeswitching and the description of the people living along the *Brennerroute* as being 'offener'. Her repair in line 50 shows that RIV considers it possible to hear her statement in line 49 of the valleys and mountains being more 'deutsch' as a description of these places being less open, in a potential contrast to those living in the *Unterland*. Despite this possible hearing, RIV states that it is her personal opinion that it becomes a bit more open in the valleys and mountains (lines 52-53). RIV's connecting mentalities to specific geographical spaces in this extract is similar to MAR's connecting of mentalities to Northern and Southern Italy in Excerpt 8 above.

INT mentions in line 58 the village of Salurn/Salorno, a village that was not mentioned by RIV, by saying *runter bis Salurn*, a formulation which maintains RIV's representation of the *Unterland* as extending from Bozen/Bolzano to the south. INT then offers the reformulation of *bis zur Grenze da oder* (line 61), with which RIV shows agreement by saying *genau* (line 62). In the next lines however, RIV returns back to language use as a descriptor, and does not expand on INT's formulation of 'Grenze'. According to RIV, Salurn is an *Extremfall* (line 63), which she further explains in lines 64-65, saying that in Salurn *da gibt_s die exTREmen italiener und die extremen DEUtschen*. By categorizing Salurn as an extreme case, RIV is referring to the language use there, saying that Salurn does not fit with her previous grouping of villages which are *beidsprachig* (line 43), despite Salurn fitting the same geographical criterion of being on the Etsch River (and on the *Südtiroler Weinstraße*). With her characterization of 'beidsprachig' in line 43, RIV seems to be referring to the individual level of bilingualism and not necessarily the fact that both languages are

spoken by separate groups. By her use of 'die extremen Italiener' and 'die extremen Deutschen', RIV uses the language groups to describe those living in Salurn, meaning they can be sorted into clear groups that are potentially more strict about their language use. In lines 43-44, RIV uses the adjectives 'beidsprachig' and 'italienisch' to describe the towns and villages as a whole, rather than describe separate groups of people, which she does in her description of Salurn. By excluding Salurn from this initial grouping of towns and villages, RIV shows that language use, and not geography, is the more relevant category for creating her map of the *Unterland*. In lines 76-78, RIV returns to the geographical demarcation by saying that Salurn is *fast schon wie eine richtige GRENze man SPÜRT_s schon fast*. By saying it is almost a border, RIV shows that she doesn't consider there to be an actual border at Salurn, which would be the border between the provinces of South Tyrol and Trentino to the south. According to RIV, the only indication of some kind of border comes through the language use, which is only noticeable because it becomes more extreme in Salurn.

Chapter 7

Linguistic Landscape Data and Analysis

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will turn my attention to the linguistic landscape data and its analysis. I will first introduce the concept of the linguistic landscape and then the main theories and methodologies of linguistic landscape research that guide the analysis of my data. I will then discuss the laws concerning aspects of language use on public signs in South Tyrol, as well as some recent political issues related to this topic of public signs. Then I will introduce my corpus of linguistic landscape data, followed by an analysis of selected items from the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol. My aim is to analyze these selected items first separately in this chapter and then in connection with the themes that presented themselves in the interview analysis chapter. Both the separate analysis in this chapter and the later analysis are guided by my two research questions:

1) How is "being a South Tyrolean" constructed in guided conversations and linguistic landscapes? What are recurrent linguistic patterns, Discourses, and language attitudes that make visible aspects of identity?

2) How are dialect and language choice in particular used to position others (other South Tyroleans and immigrants) with regard to local (both urban and rural) and global identities? What are relevant identity categories?

As was the case with my conversation data, the main focus of the analysis is identity and how it is constructed. Looking specifically at RQ1, in the case of the linguistic landscape, aspects of identity will be made, quite literally, visible in the form of the visual language of signs found in public spaces. Alongside conversation, the signs of the linguistic landscape can be seen as a very limited form of interaction, as every

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sign necessarily has producer and a recipient, even if these are not always readily identifiable. I do not consider signs to be the same kind of interaction that is found in sequential talk-in-interaction, as there is no sequentiality to the communication carried out by signs. However, I do argue that there is an intended audience to signs and signs are very rarely just there for the sake of being there. They have a purpose and a message to is to be communicated. I argue that the style choices on the signs are a form of 'audience design' (Bell, 1984, 2001). For further discussion of this, see Section 7.4.2. Before discussing how identity is constructed and negotiated in the linguistic landscape, I first discuss the concept of and approaches to the linguistic landscape.

7.2 The Concept of the Linguistic Landscape

The *linguistic landscape* (henceforth LL) as an object of research is a recent phenomenon. Broadly defined, it is the sum of all visible language found in public spaces. Most research focuses more on urban settings, where there is a high density of physical signs and other objects displaying visible language, although signs can be found anywhere there are people and users of the space. Users of these public spaces – streets, sidewalks, bus and train stations, shopping malls, parks, pedestrian and cycling paths, etc. – encounter any number of signs, which are in turn intended to be viewed and understood by these users or a subset of them. Just as there is always an interlocutor in conversation, I would argue there is always someone for whom these signs are intended. Because these signs are intended to be read by particular users in a particular space, they reveal information about who these users are and how that space is used. The LL has gained the attention of sociolinguists, as the written language of these signs can reveal information about language use in a particular area. My goal is to connect these aspects of language use in the LL to aspects of identity.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) first introduce the concept of the LL as part of a larger model for investigating multilingualism in a region where multiple language groups share power and status; in the case of Landry and Bourhis' research, this was French Canadian-speaking minorities in Canada. According to the authors, the LL is one form of linguistic contact that influences the social psychological development of multilingual speakers, and is closely tied to the power and status that these language groups hold. Landry and Bourhis state that, "[t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p. 25). This seemingly all-encompassing definition has since been expanded and described in more detail, but this original description of the LL remains a basic definition for other LL research, including my own. Landry and Bourhis argue that the LL is one type of linguistic contact within a larger network, including other forms of linguistic contacts such as interpersonal contact (face-to-face), media, and schooling. They show that LL is a distinct factor which influences the "enthnolinguistic vitality" of a language group, which the authors explain as "the strength or vitality of one's own language group … relative to other language communities within the intergroup setting" (p. 28). They argue that the strength or weakness of this ethnolinguistic vitality influences the use of that group's language in the other domains noted above. The authors' argument is that the more the members of a language group see or hear their language used in one domain (such as the LL), the more they will perceive the right to use it in other domains where other language groups are present. According to the authors, the LL provides a simple metric for gauging the power of a language group in a particular area: the greater the presence of a particular language in the LL, the greater the power of that language group and the greater the value of that particular language in the public domain. Conversely, the lack of visibility of a particular language (such

as a minority language) in the LL implies a lower status of that language and lower use of that language in the public domain.

In their analysis of the LL, Landry and Bourhis state that the LL has two basic functions: an informational and a symbolic function (p. 25). The *informational function* of the LL is that it indicates the presence of a language group in a certain geographical area and indicates that a particular language can be used for public and private services in this area. For example, if German can be seen on signs in a certain area, it can be assumed that German speakers live there and that German is used there in private businesses and with public authorities, especially if German appears on public signs. The LL can also provide information about the status of multiple languages in a multilingual setting by providing a rough measure of which languages are used and which ones given greater prominence on signs seen in the LL. Within South Tyrol, German and Italian are given equal status on all government signs with Ladin being given equal status in the majority Ladin municipalities (Glück et al., 2019). However, on private signs, these three languages may have unequal status (if they appear together at all) or be seen in combination with, or even replaced by other languages. According to Landry and Bourhis, "[s]ociolinguistically, language diversity in *private signs* may most realistically reflect the multilingual nature of a particular territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p. 27, emphasis mine). This means that for private businesses, the languages used on their signs can deviate from official language discourses. Whereas government services in South Tyrol are available in both German and Italian, a private business has no obligation to adhere to this (see Section 7.5 concerning legal aspects). In this way, a private sign is a reflection the space being constructed by the owner of the business and the languages that are used in the space; the language(s) used on its signs would inform the customer about which language(s) can be spoken in the space of that business. For example, a restaurant in South Tyrol with signs in Arabic

and Italian, but not in German, would construct a space where Arabic and Italian are likely spoken, but where potentially very little or no German is spoken. This would indicate that customers will need to communicate with the restaurant staff in either Arabic or Italian, but could still use another language amongst themselves. If a restaurant in South Tyrol had signage exclusively in Arabic, that would construct the space of that business as a space where Arabic is the preferred language and signals to Arabic speakers that they can openly use Arabic in that space. Arabic-only signs would indicate that a customer that speaks no Arabic is not a (primary) user of that space. Within the space of private businesses in South Tyrol, the use of the official languages is not a given.

According to Landry and Bourhis, the *symbolic function* of the LL is that it serves as a visual confirmation to the members of a particular language group of their own presence in an area, such as Arabic speakers in the example above. In this way, the informational function of the LL is for non-group members or outsiders to the area, whereas the symbolic function is for language group members who already reside in an area, and who are already aware of where (which businesses, institutions, etc.) their language is used in this area. This symbolic function is more powerful in areas where language is a primary component of a group's identity, such as in South Tyrol. The German- and Italian-speaking groups will see a visual confirmation of their presence on government-produced signs in all of South Tyrol, whereas the Ladin-speaking group will only see this visual confirmation in the majority Ladin-speaking municipalities. This visual confirmation is afforded by government signs, but private signs can have another symbolic function. In a predominantly German-speaking area of South Tyrol, private businesses might dispense with using Italian on their signs as a way symbolically marking that space as part of the German-speaking group. Similarly, in the example of the restaurant above, the presence of Arabic on the sign confirms that Arabic is openly used in this

business, which is a visual confirmation to Arabic speakers that there are other members of their language group in the area (see Blommaert, 2013, p. 61).

In further defining the LL, Landry and Bourhis make a distinction between government signs and private signs, pointing out that the state controls the language(s) used on government signs, but has less control over private signs. The authors argue that examining phenomena such as graffiti that cover over or add languages to government signs can reveal aspects of conflict between language groups. This distinction between government and private signs is the only kind of classification that Landry and Bourhis provide for further labeling and distinguishing between the different types of signs found in the LL. The authors provide a useful starting definition for the LL, but don't provide as much detail on methodology. Their primary focus is the use of the LL as a measure of the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language group, which, in the case of both the German- and Italian-speaking groups in South Tyrol, can both be considered quite strong, due to their equal status that is granted by the *Autonomiestatut,* an aspect that I discuss further in Section 7.5. In the next section, I will discuss other methodological approaches to the LL, focusing on the aspects of these approaches that I apply in my data analysis.

7.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to the LL

After Landry and Bourhis' introduction of the LL as an object of investigation, subsequent research on the LL has typically gone in two broad directions: quantitative and qualitative approaches. The basis of both approaches is the collection of data in the form of photographs of all forms of writing found in public spaces (aided significantly in the last ten years by the use of digital cameras and smartphones), most often restricted to what a person on foot will be able to see and read on the outside of buildings. The quantitative approach is to thoroughly collect

all signs found in a selected public space (in the form of photographs) and to then use these data to make exact counts of which languages, types of signs, functions, etc. and how often they appear in the LL of a certain area.

One of the largest quantitative LL studies to date is described in detail in Ziegler et al. (2018); in the project "Metropolenzeichen", the researchers examine the LL in specific neighborhoods in the German cities of Duisburg, Essen, Bochum und Dortmund. One of the aims of this study is to bring together quantitative and qualitative approaches, first by systematically collecting and categorizing the 'items' found in the LL of each of these neighborhoods, and then by conducting interviews with selected producers of these signs and with potential addressees of these signs. The authors define an 'item' as an individual sign found in the LL, independent of its proximity or connection to other signs in its proximity. For example, a store window may have the name of the shop on one sign, the opening hours on another, and a flyer promoting a seasonal offer. All of these could be seen as belonging to the store and having one single producer, but they would each be considered an individual item for the purposes of their analysis. Of more interest to my own research is the researchers' categories used for tagging each item in their corpus. The quantitative approach used for the "Metropolenzeichen" project is the focus of Cindark and Ziegler (2016), which I used to inform and guide my own data analysis. Although my research does not aim to provide quantitative results, these categories are nevertheless useful in a qualitative analysis, especially in conjunction with the categories defined by other research. Cindark and Ziegler offer a set of "Verschlagwortungskategorien," or keyword categories, for the tagging of individual items, which can be seen below in Table 1.

Table 1: Keyword categories for the tagging of items from Cindark and Ziegler (2016). My translation from the original German.

Keyword category	Options
Place	city, neighborhood, establishment (train station, city hall, kindergarten, cultural institution)
Discourse type	infrastructure, commemorative, commercial, artistic, regulatory, transgressive
Language choice	German, non-standard, Turkish, English, Arabic, Polish, Dutch, etc.
Name	institution, company, shop, person, club, restaurant, toponym
Information management	complete, partial, extended
Manifestation/Medium	billboard, sticker, engraving, printed, painted, handwritten, mobile medium, sign, add-on
Semiotic encoding	text, picture, text-picture composition
Size	$< 1m^2$, $<10m^2$, $<100m$, $>100m^2$

Some of these categories are fairly straightforward, but I would like to explain two of them in more detail, as they are especially relevant to my own data analysis. The category of 'discourse type' describes the function of a sign, in addition to providing information about the producer and potential recipients of a sign, who are the interactants in this discourse.[23] The two main categories of sign producers, the government and government institutions (local, provincial, state, federal, etc.), and private persons and private organizations (including commercial businesses), are not specifically captured in this category, although certain discourses align with each of these. For example, a 'commercial' sign would be from a private person or organization, whereas an 'infrastructure' sign would be government-produced. 'Transgressive' signs cannot be government-produced and are very likely from private individuals rather than private organizations. The second category of interest

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[23] See discussion of Auer (2010) below concerning the argument that visual signs replace a form of spoken language.

is 'information management', which refers to how information is displayed on multilingual signs. 'Complete' describes signs that display all information equally in each language; 'partial' describes signs that display more information in one language, with only some of that information displayed in the other language(s); and 'extended' describes signs that display completely different sets of information in each language.

Through the use of software and a database developed specifically for the *Metropolenzeichen* project, each item, in the form of a digital image, was then tagged according to the categories seen in Table 1. This allowed the authors to easily search for items using these categories, allowing for a large range of comparisons across the different categories. In addition to this search ability, this categorization allows the authors to present precise breakdowns of their LL-data by percentage of which languages, discourses, etc. appear on what types of signs and in which places. Using their dataset of 4910 items from two neighborhoods in Dortmund, Germany, Cindark and Ziegler present a large number of quantitative findings, including:

- almost 70% of the items were a text-picture combination,
- almost 48% of the items belong to the discourse type 'commercial',
- almost 42% of the items belong to the discourse type 'transgressive',
- just under 10% of the items belong to the discourse types 'infrastructure' or 'regulatory',
- just under 20% of the items were signs or electronic displays, and
- just over 62% of the items were either stickers, painted, sprayed, or hand-written

(Cindark & Ziegler 2016, p. 137).

These findings are particularly interesting, as they provide a ground for comparison. Although these figures are taken from the LL of the city of Dortmund, I would expect them to provide a rough estimate of these categories in many other European cities, including the two largest cities in South Tyrol, Bozen/Bolzano and Meran/Merano. What these figures from Cindark and Ziegler show is that roughly two-thirds of the items are a text-picture combination, meaning that written language is very often accompanied by a picture of some sort, which increases the

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semiotic complexity of these items. Next, the discourse types 'commercial' and 'transgressive' combine to make almost 90% of the items found, while just under 10% of the items were 'infrastructure' or 'regulatory'. This means that fewer than 10% of the items were government-produced signs. Applying Landry and Bourhis' (1997) distinction of government and private signs, one can see that based on the item count alone, there are a great deal more private signs than government signs (roughly nine times in the case of the data from Dortmund). The last two figures above show that only 20% of the items were actual signs or electronic displays, whereas over 60% of the items were either stickers, painted, or hand-drawn. This shows that an observer can expect to encounter a larger number of less-costly (lower production value), "one-off", and easy to create signs than more expensive and professionally made signs, which would include larger and more robust government signs and signs from established private businesses.

What these figures don't take into account is the physical size of each of these items; especially in the case of transgressive stickers, the size of each item is often small in comparison with typical infrastructure (traffic related), regulatory, and commercial signs. The 'size' category from Cindark and Ziegler does not take this into account, since the smallest size range available is <1m². This means that a sticker that is 15cm x 15cm would count the same as a standard stop sign in this size category. This means that despite there being a large number of stickers in the LL, these will not be as noticeable as larger signs, which are fewer in number. Viewing these data from Cindark and Ziegler through the lens of Auer's (2010) parameter of 'granularity', it would follow that infrastructure and regulatory signs have a higher granularity and therefore a larger intended audience than many transgressively placed stickers, meaning that the writing and overall size of these government produced signs would also be larger. This also reflects the authority of the state or city to place signs that regulate activity in a certain space. A sign that tells a person

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what they are (not) allowed to do in a certain space will naturally need to be larger and more visible so that it will be noticed and read by its intended audience. Despite there being a larger number of smaller signs such as stickers, handmade flyers, or graffiti, these are much less likely to be noticed individually. However, a conglomeration of these smaller signs is visually apparent. A wall full of smaller graffiti or a streetlight post covered with stickers is more easily noticed than a single instance of these, but there is no single producer, recipient, or message associated with that conglomeration of signs. Given the larger number of commercial and transgressive signs, an observer of the LL is likely to encounter many more of these than government signs.

In contrast to Cindark and Ziegler, Auer (2010) sees the quantitative approach of measuring the representation of languages in the public space as a secondary concern when considering research on the LL. He takes a qualitative approach to the LL, aiming to examine primarily the manner in which public and stationary signs establish and organize public space. Auer develops a set of parameters for these signs, which includes their semiotic structure, their materiality, their granularity, and their producer and recipient.

Auer begins by examining traditional approaches to analyzing written texts, which have long been the object of analysis for linguists, but he argues that the written text of the LL is different than that of books or even handheld digital devices, given the fact that the written texts of the LL are fixed to a place and to an object. Whereas the text in a book, newspaper, or e-reader is freed from a specific location and can be understood independent of place, a text in the LL *must* be understood in terms of its place, although how exactly is determined by the semiotic structure (see below). Due to being tied to a specific location, such signs inevitably form and change the space in which they are found and read:

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Dennoch lässt sich nicht übersehen, dass alle Zeichen im öffentlichen Raum, die Sprache enthalten, einen wesentlichen Effekt haben: sie territorialisieren Sprache(n) nämlich, d.h. sie weisen Sprache(n) geografische Räume zu, in denen sie Gültigkeit beanspruchen können. (Auer, 2010, p. 297)

In this way, signs create an interface between the producer and the recipient, providing the recipient information about what they may or may not do in this particular space.[24] According to Auer, signs replace certain forms of face-to-face communication between the producer and the recipient; the work done by certain signs could also be done with the producer speaking to the recipient, but this work is done much more efficiently and reliably by a sign. Actions that are routinely carried out in a particular place don't necessarily need signs,[25] and actors who are familiar with the possible actions in a particular place do not need to pay attention to signs. This interface between to producer and recipient is similar to Cindark and Ziegler's (2016) category of 'discourse type'.

In my own analysis, I often make use of the parameters defined by Auer (2010), so it is worth looking at them more closely. The first of these is the semiotic structure of the signs, which Auer divides into *indexical* and *non-indexical*. Indexical signs can only be understood together with their specific location (where the producer has placed the sign) and if they are removed from that location, the meaning will be lost (at least partially). Auer offers as an example of this indexicality any sign with an arrow pointing from the sign's location towards the location of the

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[24] Signs informing readers about what they may do in a space are often not explicit regulatory signs. For example, a sign for a restaurant implicitly informs the reader that a space is for buying and consuming food.

[25] Actions that are *legal* or *allowed* may not need signs to inform users of that space about these actions, but regulatory signs often appear where *illegal* or *undesired* actions often or are likely to occur, such as with 'no smoking' or 'no parking' signs.

referent. In Fig. 2 below,[26] the smaller arrows on these signs indicate the direction to each written location from the point where these signs are found (the larger arrow on top indicates a one-way street, but is still indexical). If these signs are removed from this location, the information they present is no longer valid. Conversely, if the referent indicated by such a sign is moved or ceases to exist, the information on the sign is also no longer valid.

Fig. 2: Indexical signs in Mals/Malles. The arrows can only be understood based on the location in which the sign has been placed.

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[26] All signs shown are taken from photographs from my corpus of LL data found in South Tyrol. This corpus is described in more detail in Section 7.6 below.

Non-indexical signs, on the other hand, can be moved to another location without any loss of meaning. Auer states that most of these non-indexical signs fall under the category of advertisement. The message of some advertisements remains the same, independent of its location. For example, the message of the globally-recognized advertisement and slogan 'Drink Coca-Cola' remains the same, no matter where it is placed. A change in its location may change how often it is seen by its intended audience – a sign placed in a high-traffic area will be seen more than one on a quiet street. I argue that the language used on a sign affects its indexicality, as a sign must be placed where there are users of that language. An advertisement in one language will not necessarily have its message understood if it is moved to a location where that language is not spoken. In the example of the advertisement for Coca-Cola, despite the logo being easily recognizable, the message is displayed in many national languages, such as German ('Trink Coca-Cola') or Italian ('Bevete Coca-Cola'). I would argue that no sign is ever completely non-indexical, since its meaning is always dependent on its location and the potential recipients in that location. Additionally, even if a sign's message is largely independent of where it is placed, the presence of that sign still alters the space in which it is found.

Auer's next parameter is that of *granularity*, which is how specific the intended audience for a sign is. A sign with high granularity can be understood by a broader audience and a sign with low granularity can be understood only be a smaller, more selected audience. According to Auer, granularity is a useful parameter, because it can indicate the potential for action by a specific group in a specific place. Certain signs with low granularity may be inscrutable to a broader audience, but still indicate potential action to those who need to understand them, such as with markings on fire hydrants only meant to be understood and used by authorized figures, i.e. firefighters. An important observation from Auer is that granularity often goes hand-in-hand with the size of the writing on a sign: the larger

the writing, the larger the intended audience. This also applies to a sign presenting information about potential subsidiary actions, which would be understood and performed by a smaller subset of the original audience of the sign. In the example in Fig. 3 below, the main message of the sign, "DIVIETO DI SOSTA" and "PARKVERBOT," is presented in larger lettering, which indicates higher granularity, while smaller lettering is used for the details of the 'why' and on 'when' no parking is allowed, indicating lower granularity. If a reader of this sign does not drive a car or does not need to park a car, then they likely are not concerned about the rest of the information; only the smaller audience of those interested in parking a car are being addressed by the less granular message, i.e. the information presented in smaller lettering.

Fig. 3: An example of granularity: the more critical information is in larger lettering, while more detailed information is in smaller lettering (Found in Salurn/Salorno).

With *materiality*, Auer distinguishes the physical limits or borders of a sign. This includes which other elements could be considered to belong to one single sign, such as other signs that can only be understood together with an adjacent sign. Making this distinction is not always easy, and is similar to the process of Ziegler et al. (2018) defining individual *items*. Auer offers a few specific approaches to this: he defines first the *ensemble* as a grouping of potentially individual signs, usually positioned directly next to one another, that correlate in terms of their meaning. A similar case to this one is that of *(over)layering*, where one sign is directly on top of another, often in the form of a sticker on top of another sign. Although Auer does not state this, I would argue that with both an ensemble and an instance of (over)layering, at least one sign must be able to stand on its own and be completely understood. In the case of the (over)layering, the base sign would almost inevitably be understood on its own. Often with transgressive signs, the sticker or graffito could be placed on any type of base sign and still have its complete message be understood, as in Fig. 4 below. In this example, two government-produced signs are seen; the top one designates a protected area for drinking water and the bottom on indicates the end of that protected area. The transgressive sticker, from the far right political party *CasaPound Italia*, makes use of the space provided by the bottom sign. The message of this sticker is "PRIMA GLI ITALIANI" (FIRST THE ITALIANS), a political message that is not dependent on the base sign on which it is found (similar stickers can be found elsewhere in the city). Because the sticker does not cover or alter the text of the base sign, the information on this sign is still able to be understood.[27] There is potential in this case for an interplay between the message of

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[27] Landry and Bourhis (1997) point out that in areas of conflict between majority and minority language groups, government signs that do not display the minority language may be purposely altered by graffiti or stickers to include this language.

the sticker and the base sign, but the message of the sticker is not dependent on the message of the sign on which it is found.

Fig. 4: Overlayering of a transgressive sticker on an official sign seen in Meran/Merano.

The final aspect described by Auer is that of the *sign discourse*. These are signs that are not seen in physical proximity to or layered on each other. Despite being in different locations, they are recognizable as belonging to the same discourse due to sharing the same design. Auer gives as an example of a sign discourse the signs used to mark cycling paths in the country of Germany. These signs all share the same form, coloring, and script, making them easily recognizable and understood by cyclists who look for them. I would like to expand Auer's use of this term to include

a broader range of discourses. If, as Auer argues, public signs are a replacement for forms of face-to-face communication, then it follows that the same discourses that emerge in face-to-face communication can also be found on the signs of the LL.

Auer describes five basic functions of stationary signs in public spaces: naming, marking ownership, proposing or forbidding activities, indicating directions, and warning and commemorating. These functions described by Auer largely overlap with Cindark and Ziegler's (2016) 'discourse types' (see Table 1 above). The final point made by Auer has to do with the producers of signs in public spaces and is a critique of the traditional 'top-down' versus 'bottom-up' distinction often made in LL research, which argues that signs are either produced by the government and public institutions (top-down) or by private persons and institutions (bottom-up). Auer argues that this approach fails to recognize that almost all public space is divided between the public institutions (the state) and private businesses. Private businesses acquire the privilege to configure their space how they see fit (a shop owner decides how his or her storefront will appear), and public institutions maintain the power to configure the remaining, non-privately owned space. According to Auer, private businesses have a certain amount of authority within their privately owned space and should therefore be considered top-down producers, just like state, provincial, and municipal authorities. Auer goes on to say that any signs in the public space that are not produced or authorized by either public or private institutions are perforce *transgressive*, as their producers have no authority to place them in the public space. Auer sees this dominance of public institutions and private businesses as a colonialization of the public space and these transgressive signs as a counter discourse to this colonialized space.

Similar to the Auer (2010), Blommaert (2013) argues that an ethnographic approach to LL research should be of greater concern than a purely quantitative approach. According to Blommaert, using the LL to enumerate the types and

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locations of languages in an area is only a first step, but it is more important for the researcher to understand the signs of the LL in their physical and historical context, aspects that will ultimately lead to the practices of users of the spaces in which these signs are found. Blommaert's goal is to use the signs of the LL to examine the space in which the signs are found so that the activities and practices that occur in this space can be understood in both their social and historical contexts. As Blommaert describes it,

> [p]hysical space is also social, cultural and political space: a space that offers, enables, triggers, invites, prescribes, proscribes, polices or enforces certain patterns of social behavior; a space that is never no-man's-land, but always *somebody's* space; a *historical* space, therefore, full of codes, expectations, norms and traditions; and a space of *power* controlled by, as well as controlling, people. (Blommaert, 2013, p. 3)

According to Blommaert, the signs in a particular space make that space what it is, i.e. more than just a place, by indexing the activities that occur in that space. These activities lead to the users of the space, and by examining the signs present, the researcher can examine the structures of power present and how that power is shared among groups of users of that space. Here we can see further similarities to Auer (2010), namely the claim that a space is never neutral, especially when there are signs present that indicate ownership of that space, suggest or forbid certain activities, or even warn users of that space.

In this book, Blommaert (2013) begins by arguing that traditional sociolinguistic approaches are no longer sufficient for analyzing the complexity of language use in the globalized and extremely mobile world of the 21st century. Because of increases in mobility and migration in the last 20 years, many societies (especially the cities of Western Europe) can now be considered to be *superdiverse*, leading to language use in these superdiverse places becoming significantly more complex, meaning it can no longer be analyzed using the traditional approaches of

sociolinguistics. This greater degree of complexity is described as *superdiversity*, a term first introduced by Vertovec (2007), which focuses on changes in migration patterns in the United Kingdom starting in the mid nineteen-nineties. Vertovec argues that government policies in the UK still operate with older, more predictable patterns of migration in mind, but that such policies need to be updated to reflect the significant changes in migration that have occurred since the early nineteen-nineties. According to Vertovec, a larger number of variables must be taken into account when considering policies affecting migrants to the UK, variables such as migrants' country of origin, migration channel, legal status, human capital, and access to employment, as well as other factors such as transnationalism, which takes into account how migration has already affected migrants' lives before their own migration (p. 1049). Elaborating on Vertovec (2007), Blommaert (2013) argues that superdiversity is due to two simultaneous events: 1) the end of Cold War and the subsequent increase in human migration between countries that were previously separated by the Iron Curtain, in particular, movement from Eastern Europe into Western Europe and migration from the People's Republic of China into all parts of the world; and 2) the widespread use of the internet and the cellular telephone for communication, which opened up new networks of communication and allowed for communication itself to become mobile (pp. 4-5).

　　According to Blommaert, the effect of these two events has been that since the mid-nineties, there has been a larger amount of migration to and from a larger number of locations in the world, and that networks and language communities have been altered simultaneously by the rapid rise of digital communication. As these migration patterns are dynamic and complex, evidence of their existence is not always reflected in official discourses and policies, as Vertovec (2007) argues. To find evidence of these new networks and language communities, Blommaert argues, researchers should look to the LL. Superdiversity is the motivation for Blommaert's

(2013) analysis of the LL in his home neighborhood in the city of Antwerp, Belgium, which he carries out in the context of a larger analysis of superdiversity and migration in this city. While superdiversity is a central motivation for his work, the ethnographic approach to the LL that Blommaert develops for his analysis is what I use for my own research. Although the effects of superdiversity can be seen in certain places in South Tyrol (Medda-Windischer, 2017), examining superdiversity is not the focus of my work.

Blommaert (2013) argues that, due to this dramatic increase in diversity over the past two decades, LL research requires an ethnographic approach. A quantitative approach to determine how many languages and where they are present in a particular area is a first step, but this approach does not offer a deeper understanding of multilingualism in an area. In order to gain further insight, Blommaert argues that the signs of the LL must be understood as multimodal objects, and that the languages present on these signs must be seen in that context of multimodality. In this way,

> [s]igns in social space tell us a lot about the users of the space, how users interact with signs, how users influence and are influenced by them; they so start telling stories about the cultural, historical, political and social background of a certain space… (p. 41)

Similar to Auer (2010), Blommaert sees signs in the LL as highly linked to the space in which they are found, an approach that offers insight into the users of that space. The aim of Blommaert's research is to ultimately gain insight into the people who use the spaces where these signs are found, especially in terms of the language groups present in his home city of Antwerp. As Blommaert explains, "[s]igns lead us to practices, and practices lead us to people … [t]his sequence, from to signs to practices to people, is the true analytic potential of linguistic landscaping" (p. 50). The aim of my research is to gain insight into the connection between people and

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practices, which is where aspects of identity can be found. Identity is found in practices and how these practices are constructed and perceived. Blommaert (2013) shows that an ethnographic analysis of the signs found in the LL can offer evidence of and insight into the practices that contribute to the construction of identity.

As part of his ethnographic approach, Blommaert (2013) introduces his own set of categories for describing and analyzing signs found in the LL:

1) the **type** of sign: a) *permanent*: signs whose content is (relatively) time-independent, such as road signs and permanent shop signs; b) *event-related*: signs whose content is time-dependent or related to a temporary event, such as sale events, for-rent/for-sale signs, or temporary changes; and c) *'noise'*: items with writing that are left behind, such shopping bags or litter, or writing and advertising on vehicles – these items are not intentionally part of the LL.

2) the **function** of a sign: a) *landmark*: connects the space in which it is found to "history, tradition, and customs"; b) *recruitment*: "invite[s] particular groups of people into interaction with their producers", such as stores recruiting customers, or posters recruiting the reader to attend an event; c) *informational*: provides (detailed) information about events and activities; d) *public statement*: contains a message aimed at the general public, the audience may be restricted based on the language used; and e) *muted*: functions only secondarily as a sign, such as a shopping bag with writing, whose primary function is that of a bag (Blommaert, 2013, pp. 53-54).

3) the **form** of a sign: a) *legitimacy* and *voice*: signs in a particular language offer legitimacy and a voice to the speakers of that language/members of a language group; b) *inside* vs. *outside*: signs outside of a shop (or visible from the exterior) most often contain messages that are non-controversial and aimed at a broader audience, signs inside of a shop address may address specific audiences and may contain messages that are "politically sensitive and controversial" (compare with Auer's parameter of *granularity*); c) *professional* vs. *amateur* signs: the size and production

quality of a sign provides information about the legitimacy and (financial) resources of the producer; and d) *common* vs. *exceptional* signs: depending on the neighborhood, some types of signs are seen more often than others, meaning that commonality and exceptionality are relative and can change over time; graffiti, for example, may be rare in certain neighborhoods and therefore exceptional, but absolutely commonplace in another neighborhood (Blommaert, 2013, pp. 61-62).

Blommaert's categories of *type* and *function* largely overlap with the categories of *discourse type* and *manifestation/medium* from Cindark and Ziegler (2016) and the five functions of signs offered by Auer (2010), although with a few differences. The distinction between *permanent* and *event-related* signs allows for the introduction of time into the analysis. Permanent signs will offer evidence of a lasting presence of certain language groups, whereas event-related signs would be more likely to capture quicker changes in these groups that may not last long enough to be captured in more permanent signs. This is not the only place that Blommaert takes the factor of time into consideration, as his analysis also takes into account the changes over time of the languages and groups that are visible in the LL of Antwerp.

However, it is in the last category from Blommaert, that of the *form* of a sign, where more of the ethnographic work begins. It is also in this category that Blommaert's goals for his analysis become more clear, namely to offer further differentiation between language groups and their power in society, beyond just the simple assertion that a particular language group is present in this area. Blommaert sees this especially in terms of more fringe language groups or language groups with less social capital, such as migrants. While these groups are present in certain places in South Tyrol and evidence of their presence can be found in my LL data, the main focus of my work is the German and Italian language groups in South Tyrol. Other languages will be discussed in the data analysis, but German and Italian remain the focus due to their status as official languages (along with Ladin) in the

province. The scope of this project did not allow for the inclusion of the Ladin language, meaning that no LL data were collected in the majority Ladin-speaking municipalities. Although these three language groups are given equal status in South Tyrol, questions related to power structures and legitimacy amongst these groups can still be raised based on evidence found in the linguistic landscape, which Blommaert argues is the great potential for an ethnographic analysis of the LL. I will touch on these aspects in my discussion of the data. Of most use for my research from Blommaert's (2013) approach is the possibility of connecting signs to practices and practices to people, a method of analysis that can ultimately connect the signs of LL to the construction and negotiation of identity.

7.4 Methodologies for my LL analysis.

In the previous section, I described in detail the three approaches to LL research that have guided my approach and data analysis. In the following section, I will briefly summarize these and then describe how these three approaches can be tied together to use for my own analysis. They all overlap to some degree, but each offers a unique approach that is applicable to my own analysis. In a final section, I will discuss the 'interactional' aspect of signs in the LL by briefly introducing the framework of 'audience design' (Bell, 2001).

7.4.1 Synthesizing the Methodologies from Previous LL Research

The main goal of Cindark and Ziegler (2016) was to empirically measure the multilingualism and the types of signs found in the LL of selected neighborhoods in the city of Dortmund. This measurement was carried out by systematically photographing visual language in selected areas and then tagging these items in order to determine which languages are present and how often they are present in these selected areas. Cindark & Ziegler (2016) represents the first phase of a larger project on multilingualism in the metropolitan area of the *Ruhrgebiet* in Germany.

The full project, which is documented in Ziegler et al. (2018), combines this quantitative analysis with a qualitative analysis that takes into account the motivation of the producers of particular signs and the reception of these signs by residents in these areas. For Cindark & Ziegler (2016), multilingualism is the main focus, and the signs of the LL serve as the data to measure this. In this way, this work remains in the vein of the Landry & Bourhis' (1997) approach to the LL as a measure of the presence of particular languages in a multilingual setting.

For Auer (2010), the physical and semiotic characteristics of the signs themselves are the main focus, rather than the presence of the language that appear on these signs. Auer is interested in analyzing and how signs are read and understood by recipients, a process through which particular spaces are constructed and activities in these spaces is controlled. According to Auer, the specific language on these signs is part of their 'territorializing' effect, by which these languages become visually allocated to specific geographical spaces. Even without any users of these spaces present, the languages used on the signs provides the observer information about the users of this space are. Auer (2010) offers an approach and a vocabulary for examining the physical and semiotic characteristics of signs in public spaces that make them understandable to readers in the first place. According to Auer, understanding these characteristics is first necessary before understanding the function of these signs in a multilingual setting.

Finally, Blommaert (2013) shows how the LL can be examined using an ethnographic approach that takes into account language groups producing and reading public signs. According to Blommaert, the signs in the LL can be used to document the languages present in a neighborhood or area, but the real potential for an analysis of the LL is an understanding of these signs in their historical and social contexts. An approach that takes these contexts into account offers the researcher greater insight into the power structures of the language groups present in an area.

Due to the phenomenon of superdiversity, the traditional order of these language groups has become much more dynamic and complex, and the LL is a powerful tool for examining this complexity, especially in regards to migrant language groups that might not be captured in official discourses and policies.

What each of these three studies offers is a way of categorizing the signs found in the LL, all overlapping somewhat with each other. My goal is to consolidate these categorizations and to highlight the ones that will be the most beneficial to my own data analysis, which is focused on examining how identity is constructed by signs in the LL. Based on the studies reviewed above, there are three main aspects to consider when examining signs found in the LL in South Tyrol: 1) the language(s) present on a sign; 2) the physical and semiotic characteristics of a sign; and 3) the perceived function or message of the sign. These should not be considered completely distinct, as they are each dependent on each other, although in different ways in the context of each individual sign.

Looking at the first category, that of the language(s) on each sign, I consider this to be a part of the semiotic characteristics of a sign, but I keep this category separate since language choice in South Tyrol is an almost omnipresent factor, especially in terms of constructing identity. Written language is central to LL research, as the majority of the research concerns itself with the visual presence of different languages, with the central question most often being *which* written languages are present, although one could also ask *if any* written language is present. If no written language is present, the sign cannot be assigned to language group. Auer (2010) is not concerned with connecting the written language on a sign to a particular language group and their presence in a particular area, but he does not consider any examples of signs containing no written language. I argue that signs containing no written language are also part of the LL, even if they are less common. There are only a handful in my own corpus and in the data from Cindark & Ziegler

(2016), only 3.14% of the items were a picture with no text. When no written language is present, the symbols on the sign must do the work of producing meaning, but this shows they have a communicative function and can be considered to be a 'language' or code present on a sign. Fig. 5 below shows a sign on a hiking path outside of Dorf Tirol/Tirolo that indicates that the location where it is found is a hiking path and that bicycles are not allowed on this path. The top part of the sign is a text and picture combination, but the bottom part is only a picture; to understand this bottom part, the recipient must already understand the code of the symbols, such as the significance of the red circle, which indicates that the activity depicted inside the red circle is not allowed. This code is part of a broader sign discourse (roughly stated, the discourse of signs regulating traffic), which is found in multiple countries; any person who understands this sign discourse will understand this sign, independent of the languages they speak or the languages spoken by the producer of the sign. Fig. 6 shows a sign outside of a bathroom in shopping mall in Meran/Merano. This sign informs the recipient of the bathroom facilities available: men's and women's restrooms, with handicap accessibility and baby changing station. There is no text present, meaning the recipient must apply their own knowledge and experience to fully understand these signs. Auer (2010) notes that even signs with text often use reduced grammatical forms in order to maximize their use of space and that recipients must fill in the gaps with their own "Weltwissen" (p. 288). This same process is occurring with signs that contain no written language.

Fig. 5: Hiking path, no bicycles allowed. Found on a hiking path outside of Dorf Tirol/Tirolo

Fig. 6: Pictures indicating the types of bathroom facilities. Found in a shopping mall in Meran/Merano.

The language(s) on signs in South Tyrol is an important factor because language is so strongly tied to group identity. Because government produced signs must be bilingual (or trilingual in some cases), examining the choice of the language(s) used on private signs will be an important part of my analysis. Signs with no written language show no preference to any particular language.

Turning to the next category, the physical and semiotic characteristics of a sign are the bits of visual vocabulary that are implemented by the producer to create the displayed message or function of a sign. These characteristics can be teased apart and analyzed separately to understand how they work in conjunction to achieve the displayed message or function of a sign. Considering Auer (2010), Cindark & Ziegler (2016), and Blommaert (2013) together, the following set of characteristics can be used to describe a sign without understanding its function or actual meaning, although with some limitations:

Cindark & Ziegler (2016):
- size
- semiotic encoding (text, picture, text + picture)
- manifestation/medium
- place

Blommaert (2013):
- noise vs. 'intentional' signs
- inside vs. outside
- amateur vs. professional

Auer (2010):
- indexicality (if arrows or other directional markers are present)
- granularity (based only on size of script)
- materiality (layering of signs, part of ensemble)
- sign discourse (based only symbols, colors, shape of sign)

The easiest ones to separate from the displayed message of the sign come from Cindark and Ziegler (2016) and Blommaert (2013). Any viewer of a sign can easily ascertain its physical size; whether it contains text and/or pictures; whether it is a billboard, sticker, painted etc. (manifestation/medium); where it is found; whether it was intentionally placed as a sign or not; whether it is inside or outside of a shop; and roughly whether it was professionally made or not (may be evident from manifestation/medium). When looking at the parameters from Auer, there are more limitations. If there are arrows or other directional markers on a sign, it may be understood as indexical, but this can also be indicated by words such as 'here' or 'hier'. The granularity of a sign could be assessed based on size of the lettering, but this is not always a one-to-one correlation, especially if there is only one size of lettering used. The physical borders of many signs are easily recognized, but ensembles of signs are not as easily determined without understand the message of all of the signs (see analysis below concerning Fig. 21). Multiple signs may be placed directly next to one another, but this does not mean that they function together. In the case of Fig. 5 above, both of these signs function independently of each other, but could be seen as part of an ensemble, as they both inform the reader about the

activities (not) allowed on this path. According to Auer, some sign discourses will be recognizable to the viewer without understanding their content precisely because they are designed so that they have the same format, coloring, lettering, etc., such as the case with signs marking networks of paths, such as the sign marking the *Wanderweg Nr. 24/sentiero no. 24* in Fig. 5 above. If a hiker is familiar with this sign discourse, they can quickly identify the path by looking for similar brown signs with the image of hikers and a number in the top right corner.

It is in the third category, that of the perceived function or message of a sign, where the complete sign can be understood and examined its social and historical context. I would like to emphasize here that the observer of a sign in the LL cannot know the intentions of the producer of that sign, a statement that also applies to me as the researcher. The observer can only understand a sign based on the knowledge they have about the languages and discourses displayed on that sign. There is intentionality on the side of the producer for the choices they made when creating a sign, but these are not known to the recipient. This aspect is examined in Ziegler et al. (2018) in the form of interviewing selected producers about these choices. In my analysis, I do not have access to this information about the intentions of the sign producers. My aim is to examine the signs in terms of how they function and construct the space in which they are found, with the ultimate goal of examining what these signs reveal about the users of that space.

7.4.2 Interaction in the LL?

When discussing the person or group who 'made' a sign, I use the term 'producer', and for the person or group who reads a sign, I use the terms 'recipient' or 'audience'. These terms offer a useful framework for the kind of communication that occurs with a sign in a public space, but they do oversimplify who is on each end of this act of communication. I argue that these two parties, a producer and a recipient,

must always exist for each sign. There is a person or group responsible for each sign, and they have a message or a piece of information that they want to communicate to some kind of recipient or audience. In other words, signs are not there just for their own sake and are always acting as a medium of communication between two parties. In this way, I view signs as a very limited form of interaction. Auer (2010) makes the point that, "[d]ie ortsfeste Schrift bietet dazu die *Möglichkeit* von Interaktion zwischen dem Zeichenproduzenten (der oft anonym ist) und dem Zeichenrezipienten und ersetzt damit Formen der *face-to-face*-Kommunikation, die unzuverlässig und störungsfällig sind…" (p. 275, emphasis P.A.). According to Auer, signs offer the possibility of interaction, but signs cannot replace all kinds of interaction. Any face-to-face communication that can be replaced by sign is going to be a very simple interaction, most likely a request for information. Any follow-up questions or requests for clarification cannot be responded to by a sign.

The recipient of a sign is anyone who reads this sign, even if they are not the intended audience of the sign producer. As discussed in the case of Fig. 3 above, the message of "Parken verboten" can be read by anyone, but if the recipient is not currently driving or does not even have a driver's license, they would not be the intended audience of this sign. In this way, I argue that style choices can be made by a sign's producer in order to better address the intended audience. These style choices fit in Bell's (1984, 2001) framework of 'audience design'. Bell states that, " [a]udience design is therefore a strategy by which speakers draw on the range of linguistic resources available in their speech community to respond to different kinds of audiences" (Bell, 2001, p. 145). Because there is a producer behind each sign, they are the 'speaker' who is making these style choices to reach an intended audience. Bell's framework of audience design is a useful tool for examining the style shifts that happen in interaction where a speaker makes a style shift in response to the style of their audience. Bell argues that the range of linguistic resources

includes all codes available to the speaker and audience, which, in the case of speakers in South Tyrol, would include the multiple languages that are spoken in the province. Such a code choice would apply to the producers of signs as well, especially in the case of private signs, whose producers are free to choose which language(s) appear on their sign, a topic that is addressed in more detail in the next section.

7.5 Legal and Political Aspects of Language Choice on Public Signs in South Tyrol

As noted in the previous section, one of the primary aspects of the analysis of my LL data is the language(s) being used on signs in the LL. When examining the use of different languages on public signs in South Tyrol, any laws regulating language use at either the provincial or municipal level must also be taken into account. In this section, I will discuss laws concerning the official languages of South Tyrol, especially in regards to the German language and to writing on public signs.

The use of the German language in the province of South Tyrol is protected by *Das Neue Autonomiestatut*, or the New Statute of Autonomy (henceforth Autonomiestatut), which came into effect in 1972. The Autonomiestatut builds on a set of already existing laws codifying South Tyrol's autonomy, which were first established in 1946 by the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement (also called the Paris Agreement), named after the two signees, the then Austrian Foreign Minister, Karl Gruber, and the then Prime Minister of Italy, Alcide De Gasperi. This agreement between Austria and Italy was part of the larger peace agreement between Italy and the Allies after the Second World War and determined the rights of the German-speaking populations in the provinces of South Tyrol and Trentino (referred to Bolzano and Trento). The entire peace agreement was officially sanctioned as law in 1947 (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, p. 9). Additionally, the Italian Constitution,

which came into effect in 1948, established the Region of Trentino-Alto

Adige/Südtirol as consisting of the provinces of Trentino and Alto Adige/Südtirol

and grants it "special forms and conditions of autonomy pursuant to the special

statutes adopted by constitutional law" (Senato della Repubblica, 2012a, p. 30).[28] The

protection of the use of the German language in certain domains was codified in the

first section of the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement, shown here in the original

English:[29]

> 1. German-speaking inhabitants of the Bolzano Province and of the neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province will be assured complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, within the 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) parification 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 Germany 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.
>
> (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, p. 12).

This agreement was not very detailed in its description of the rights granted to

German speakers, and one would not expect it to explicitly address the use of

German on signs in public spaces. However, according to clause (b), German

topographic names were to be given the same status as Italian ones, which would

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[28] From Article 116 of the Italian Constitution (translation from the Senato della Repubblica): "Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Sardinia, Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste have special forms and conditions of autonomy pursuant to the special statutes adopted by constitutional law. The Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol Region is composed of the autonomous provinces of Trent and Bolzano"(Senato della Repubblica, 2012a, p. 30).
In the original Italian: "Il Friuli Venezia Giulia, la Sardegna, la Sicilia, il Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol e la Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste dispongono di forme e condizioni particolari di autonomia, secondo i rispettivistatuti speciali adottati con legge costituzionale. La Regione Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol è costituita dalle Province autonome di Trento e di Bolzano" (Senato della Repubblica, 2012b, pp. 59-60)

[29] The agreement was originally composed in English and this English text was signed by Karl Gruber and Alcide De Gasperi. (Das neue Autonomiestatut, 2009).

allow for the use of German place names alongside the Italian names on so-called *Ortstafeln*, or city-limit signs, which appear at the border of villages, municipalities, and cities. An example of one such sign from the municipality of Kollman/Colma can be seen in Fig. 7 below. Together with clause (c), this is an aim to rectify the results of the process of 'Italianization' in South Tyrol. This process took place during the rule of Benito Mussolini (1922-1943) and was largely driven by Ettore Tolomei, who began in 1923 to replace all German place names in South Tyrol with Italian ones. These names were based on his 1916 *Prontuario dei nomi locali dell'Alto Adige*, or *Reference Work of Place Names of Alto Adige*; many of these names had no historical grounding and were inventions of Tolomei (Steininger, 1997). These Italian names were used under Mussolini's rule and continued to be used in the decades after the Second World War, and as such, came to have an official status that has continued through to today.

Fig. 7: An *Ortstafel*, or city-limit sign, seen when entering the *Fraktion* of Kollman/Colma.

The status of the German language is again codified in the Autonomiestatut of 1972. While the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement offered legal protection for

German speakers in South Tyrol and the "neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province" (the Province of Trentino), the protections in the Autonomiestatut apply to the entire Region Trentino-Südtirol, which encompasses both the provinces of Trentino and South Tyrol. Certain articles and clauses within the Autonomiestatut apply only to South Tyrol, such as Article 8, Clause 2, which states that,

> 8. Die Provinzen sind befugt, im Rahmen der im Artikel 4 gesetzten Grenzen Gesetzesbestimmungen auf folgenden Sachgebieten zu erlassen:
> …
>> 2. Ortsnamengebung, mit der Verpflichtung zur Zweisprachigkeit im Gebiet der Provinz Bozen,
>> …
>
> (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, p. 68)

With this clause, the use of bilingual place names is explicitly required in South Tyrol, but not in Trentino. This means that place names appearing on government signs in South Tyrol must be bilingual (Glück et al., 2019), as can be seen in Fig. 7 above.[30] The status of the German language is protected in the entire Region of Trentino-South Tyrol, as stated in Article 99 of the Autonomiestatut under the rubric "Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache und des Ladinischen,"

> 99. Die deutsche Sprache ist in der Region der italienischen Sprache, die die amtliche Staatssprache ist, gleichgestellt. In den Akten mit Gesetzeskraft und immer dann, wenn dieses Statut eine zweisprachige Fassung vorsieht, ist der italienische Wortlaut maßgebend.
>
> (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, pp. 101-102)

Article 100 of the Autonomiestatut then states more specifically that citizens of South Tyrol have the right to use their language when interacting with the courts and public administration, as well as with authorized private operators offering public

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[30] Article 101 of the Autonomiestatut specifies that the German place name must be used by the public administration when addressing German-speaking citizens: "In der Provinz Bozen müssen die öffentlichen Verwaltungen gegenüber den deutschsprachigen Bürgern auch die deutschen Ortsnamen verwenden, wenn ein Landesgesetz ihr Vorhandensein festgestellt und die Bezeichnung genehmigt hat" (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, p. 102).

services (*Konzessionsunternehmen*), something that is not explicitly afforded to the citizens of Trentino.[31] Risse (2013) states that the category of "Konzessionsunternehmen" is in need of further interpretation, but that it could potentially include, "Apotheken, Autobus- und Seilbahnunternehmen, Kreditinstitute und staatlich anerkannte Privatschulen," and adds that this list is ever expanding, due to the increasing privatization of such services (p. 25).

In the third paragraph of the Article 100, language use is specified to mean both written language and spoken language, although the exact domain of this written language is not specified. As stated, a person must first address the above mentioned courts, public administration, or private operators in writing and the office addressed must respond using the language of that person. According to Article 100, if the communication is initiated by one of these public institutions, then it must be in the assumed language ("in der mutmaßlichen Sprache") of the citizen being addressed. Whether this regulation could be applied to public signs created by these public institutions is a question for legal scholars and cannot be answered here. In the case of a publicly visible sign, there would not be any written communication first on the part of this person addressing the public institution, but it could be understood as the public institution initiating the writing.

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[31] The complete text of Article 100 in German: „Die deutschsprachigen Bürger der Provinz Bozen haben das Recht, im Verkehr mit den Gerichtsämtern und mit den Organen und Ämtern der öffentlichen Verwaltung, die ihren Sitz in der Provinz haben oder regionale Zuständigkeit besitzen, sowie mit den Konzessionsunternehmen, die in der Provinz öffentliche Dienste versehen, ihre Sprache zu gebrauchen.
In den Sitzungen der Kollegialorgane der Region, der Provinz Bozen und der örtlichen Körperschaften dieser Provinz kann die italienische oder die deutsche Sprache gebraucht werden. Die Ämter, die Organe und Konzessionsunternehmen gemäß Absatz 1 verwenden im schriftlichen und im mündlichen Verkehr die Sprache dessen, der sich an sie wendet, und antworten in der Sprache, in der der Vorgang von einem anderen Organ oder Amt eingeleitet worden ist; wird der Schriftverkehr von Amts wegen eröffnet, so wird er in der mutmaßlichen Sprache des Bürgers geführt, an den er gerichtet ist" (Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2009, p. 102).

At this point, a distinction must be made between government-produced, i.e. by the Province of South Tyrol or one of its the cities, municipalities, or villages, and non-government produced signs (all other signs). Government-produced signs would be under the purview of language use as regulated by Articles 99 and 100 of the Autonomiestatut, meaning they reflect the regulations concerning the interaction of government institutions (in South Tyrol) with citizens of the province. All other signs, meaning those that are not produced by the Province of South Tyrol or one of its the cities, municipalities, or villages, are not subject to any regulations in terms of their use of the official languages of South Tyrol.

Returning to the issue of the place names and signs, many issues with bilingual signs in South Tyrol revolve around these place names and the broader topic of toponomastics in South Tyrol. The dispute about the place names has its beginnings with Ettore Tolomei, who, as early as 1916 began creating Italian names for places (cities, villages, municipalities) and other geographic entities and natural features, such as rivers, meadows, and hills, many of which had historically only used a German name (Alcock, 1970; Grote, 2012). Although many of these Italian place names have no historical basis, they still came into common use by Italian speakers in South Tyrol and in the rest of Italy after their introduction by Tolomei. Additionally, they now share the same status as all other Italian place names in the rest of the country of Italy.[32] Due to the fact that all place names in South Tyrol must be bilingual, these Italian names appear alongside the German names on signs such as the *Ortstafeln*. Although place names in South Tyrol must be bilingual, the names of other sites and geographical features in South Tyrol do not have to be. Especially in more rural areas of South Tyrol, which are predominantly German-speaking,

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[32] According to one my interview participants, the Italian government in Rome maintains of an approved list of all places names in Italy, which includes many of these names created by Tolomei.

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these Italian names may not be commonly used. This has led to disputes over these names and the signs on which they appear.

In 2010, for example, a dispute arose concerning the writing on signposts along certain hiking trails in South Tyrol, on which only German appeared. The dispute was initiated by the Italian politician Raffaele Fitto (at the time Italian Minister of Regional Affairs), who is from the region of Apulia in southern Italy, but regularly vacations in South Tyrol. Fitto found it unacceptable that the signs were only in German, given the fact that they are found in the country of Italy, and demanded that the *Landeshauptmann* (governor) of South Tyrol at the time, Luis Durnwalder, replace the monolingual signs (Bachstein, 2010). In an interview with Deutschlandfunk in 2010, Durnwalder agreed that words such as *Weg* or *Steig* (path or climb) should appear in both German and Italian, as is the case with municipality names and even the names of large mountains and rivers. However, Durnwalder argued that there is no need for Italian translations of many of the smaller natural features, such as meadows, fields, or forests, which have traditionally only had German names. Any translations of these names would come from Tolomei's records, meaning they are not only potentially artificial translations, but also a relic of the fascist government (Durnwalder, 2010).

A compromise between Fitto and Durnwalder was found in September 2010, with the signing of an agreement to replace approximately 1500 monolingual signs and to ensure that any future signs provide "alle übersetzbaren Hinweise" in both Italian and German, possibly even in Ladin (Schilderstreit zu Ende, 2010). In a news article from the Südtiroler Landesverwaltung reporting on the dispute, Durnwalder specifically addresses the types of signs in South Tyrol that should be bilingual:

> „Wo Schilder auf öffentlichen Grund stehen, oder wenn die Organisationen, die die Schilder angebracht haben, von der öffentlichen Hand Zuschüsse bekommen, soll das Geschriebene auf den Schildern zweisprachig sein", erklärte Durnwalder und nannte Weg- oder Straßenschilder als Beispiel. Auch Schilder mit Symbolzeichen oder Nummern wären

möglich, da sie von beiden Sprachgruppen verstanden werden. Alle Schilder auf privatem Grund dürfen einsprachig sein, so das Übereinkommen von Durnwalder und Fitto. Auch Hofnamen, Bezeichnungen von Privateigentum oder seit Jahrhunderten gebrauchte Namen sollen nicht übersetzt werden müssen, so Durnwalder.

(Durnwalder in Rom, 2010)

In the above statements, Durnwalder describes in his own words the two categories of signs in the LL that are first defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997): government and private signs. According to Durnwalder, there are signs that either stand on public ground or have been placed by institutions receiving public funding, second, signs that are on private ground. In this way, these statements from Durnwalder offer one politician's emic perspective of what constitutes government produced signs and privately produced signs. Durnwalder's use of the term "öffentliche[r] Grund" (public ground) shows a connection to the concrete aspects that are under the purview of the government, in this case, either the land owned by the government, or the institutions receiving money from the government. His use of 'public ground' is not the same as 'public space' as used in the definition of the LL as described in Section 7.2 above. I would argue that 'public ground' would be defined as the land or ground owned by the government, whereas I would define 'public space' as the entirety of the space in which people are allowed to move between private residences and businesses, which is on public ground, such as streets or sidewalks. When in this public space, a person will see signs created by private persons and placed on private ground, but according to Durnwalder the language used on such signs in South Tyrol is not under the purview of the government.

In providing his own definition of a government sign, Durnwalder also addresses the organization that created and erected the signposts that were at the center this dispute, the *Alpenverein Südtirol* (AVS), or South Tyrol Alpine Club. The AVS is a society that receives public funding from both the Province of South Tyrol and from individual municipalities, in part for the maintenance of hiking trails in

South Tyrol (Transparenzbestimmungen, 2018). Durnwalder also addresses the types of names that should not have to be translated, independent of the location or the producer of the sign on which they appear, which includes the names of farmsteads, private property, and names that have been used for centuries, which are likely to be German due to the historical predominance of German speakers living in the area. A final aspect addressed by the above statements is the use of signs with just symbols or numbers. Such signs are acknowledged to be a possibility, which shows that, in certain cases at least, signs without written text can achieve the same function as a sign with text, but without the connection to any particular language group.

The above statements made by Durnwalder are certainly no official laws, but they do provide insight into how the government of South Tyrol approaches the issue of bi- or trilingual signs in the province. Seen through the lens of the categorizations of signs in the LL discussed in Sections 7.3 and 7.4 above, these statements provide a more precise definition of 'government-produced' signs, at least in terms of what the government in South Tyrol considers to be 'government-produced'. Signs that have been produced by organizations that receive public funding are not as easily recognized as signs that are produced directly by that government, such as street signs or signs on public buildings and offices.

In this section, I discussed some of the legal and political aspects concerning the language use on signs in South Tyrol. Although there is no clear law stating that government produced signs in South Tyrol must contain both German and Italian, both languages must be used when place names are displayed on signs, most obviously in the case of the *Ortstafeln* seen when entering a city, municipality, or village. Using statements from the former governor of South Tyrol, Luis Durnwalder, made concerning a dispute over monolingual signs on hiking trails, I

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provided insight into how the provincial government in South Tyrol approaches this issue of language on government and private signs.

7.6 Data Collection and Corpus

Now that I have discussed the concept of the LL, including quantitative and qualitative approaches to the LL, and some legal and political aspects of language use on signs in South Tyrol, I will now discuss in more detail my own data corpus and its collection. All of the LL research discussed in the previous section presents the LL in broader terms, but I would like to establish a more specific definition. For my research purposes, I define the LL as all 'publicly visible language', a starting point that is similar to the definition of the LL given by Landry and Bourhis (1997). I would like to define each of those three terms more specifically, starting with 'language'. I define language to mean both the written words as well as the symbols and pictures displayed on a physical sign. As discussed in the previous section, symbols and pictures also do the work of communicating a message, meaning they are part of the codes that are present in the LL. Next, this language must be visible, meaning first that it is visual in nature as opposed to auditory.[33] I would argue there is potential for including auditory language in the LL, such as loudspeaker announcements in public transportation, I use a definition of LL that is restricted to visible language. The second aspect of being visible is that this language is readily seen by most observers, and is likely designed to be visible. The observer or the researcher should not have to search for instances of this visible language. Finally, this visible language must be in public, meaning it can be readily seen in freely accessible spaces, as opposed to private spaces, such as inside a private home or on private property. This includes spaces such as public shopping malls and parks that

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[33] Another form of non-visual public language would be tactile, i.e. the Braille writing system or other tactile alphabets.

are also freely accessible. In the case of shops, which are privately owned, I include only signs that are visible from the street or sidewalk, and not those that are only visible from inside the shop. Again, this language should be readily visible from the public space outside of a shop, meaning that they should be observable with minimal effort. There are many signs inside of shops that are designed to be seen by customers also inside the shop. These might be visible from the public space of the sidewalk or street if an observer intently peers through a shop window, but I do not consider such signs to be part of the LL.

Since my LL data are comprised of visual language, all data were collected using digital photography, either with a point-and-shoot digital camera or a smartphone camera. The majority of my data were photographed using a smartphone camera, largely due to its ability to record GPS data with each photograph, making it easier to connect each photograph to a specific location.

Most photographs are of single discrete items, such as a street sign or a poster in a store window, but the visual boundaries between one item and the next are not always clear (the parameter of *materiality* from Auer, 2010). For example, a store window may display store name and hours, fairly permanent items, but also advertisements for short-term sales or offers, or advertisements for other events and establishments, which are both more temporary and likely have different producers. Such a store window could be seen as one ensemble of items, as it is likely the owner of this shop authorized the placement of all of these signs, but in my analysis, would first consider each of the individual items before considering the ensemble.

The next consideration for the collection of LL data was the choice of locations to be documented. The main guideline for my data was that the items needed to be found in the province of South Tyrol. I began with the largest cities in the province, Bozen/Bolzano and Meran/Merano, since cities provide the highest density of signs and are the focus of most other LL research, making for easier comparison.

According to Cindark (personal communication, July 4, 2017), if multiple cities or towns are to be compared in the data analysis, then specific locations within those cities need to be chosen and consistently documented, for example, a train station or bus depot, a main shopping/commercial street, or public institutions, such as city halls, schools or libraries. With this in mind, I collected data in the train stations in Bozen/Bolzano and Meran/Merano, including the main streets near the train stations, and major shopping streets in both cities. Beyond the largest two cities, I also collected data in a few rural areas with much lower populations. This includes the village of Mals/Malles in the northwest of the province, as well as in a few villages and in the area along the Eisack River Valley (*Eisacktal*/*Valle Isarco*) northeast of the city of Bozen/Bolzano, including the villages of Klausen/Chiusa and Waidbruck/Ponte Gardena. Finally, I collected data in the city of Salurn/Salorno, which is the southernmost city in the province.

These locations are not meant to be representative of the entire province of South Tyrol, but they do represent a range of locations based on population and language declaration. The LL data was collected over multiple stays in South Tyrol, beginning in Fall 2016 and ending in Summer 2019. The corpus consists of approximately 3000 photos taken across the locations described above. The locations are listed in Table 2 alongside their population,[34] percentages of language declarations,[35] and the approximate number[36] of photos taken at each location. These locations can be seen on the labeled maps in Fig. 8 and Fig. 9.

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[34] Population figures from 31.12.2017 (ASTAT, 2017).

[35] Language group declaration figures from Population Census 2011 (ASTAT, 2017).

[36] The numbers are approximate due to overlap in the signs on each photo as well as some photos being removed due to them not meeting my definition for the linguistic landscape.

Table 2: Main locations for LL data collection

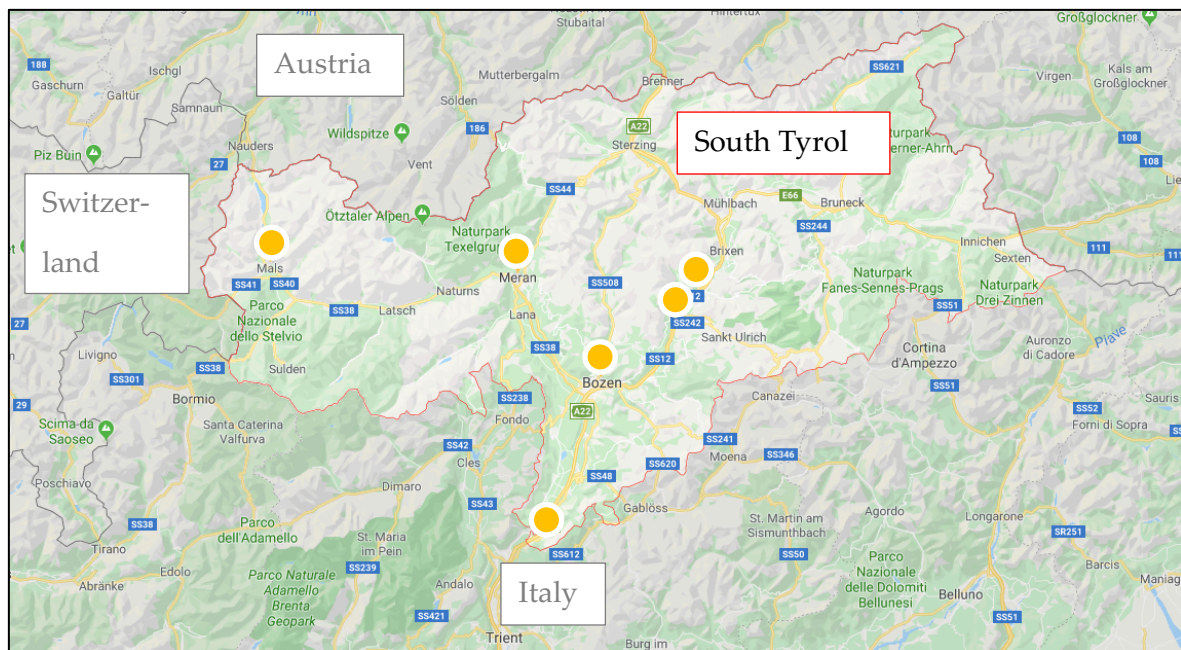| Location	Population	German	Italian	Ladin	App. no. of photos
Bozen/Bolzano	107,317	25.52%	73.80%	0.68%	860
Meran/Merano	40,485	50.47%	49.06%	0.47%	1620
Mals/Malles	5265	96.92%	3.00%	0.08%	340
Klausen/Chiusa	5235	91.30%	7.88%	0.81%	60
Salurn/Salorno	3842	37.74%	61.85%	0.40%	60
Waidbruck/Ponte Gardena	193	81.40%	13.37%	5.23%	60

Fig. 8: Province of South Tyrol showing locations for LL data collection (Google Maps, 2019)
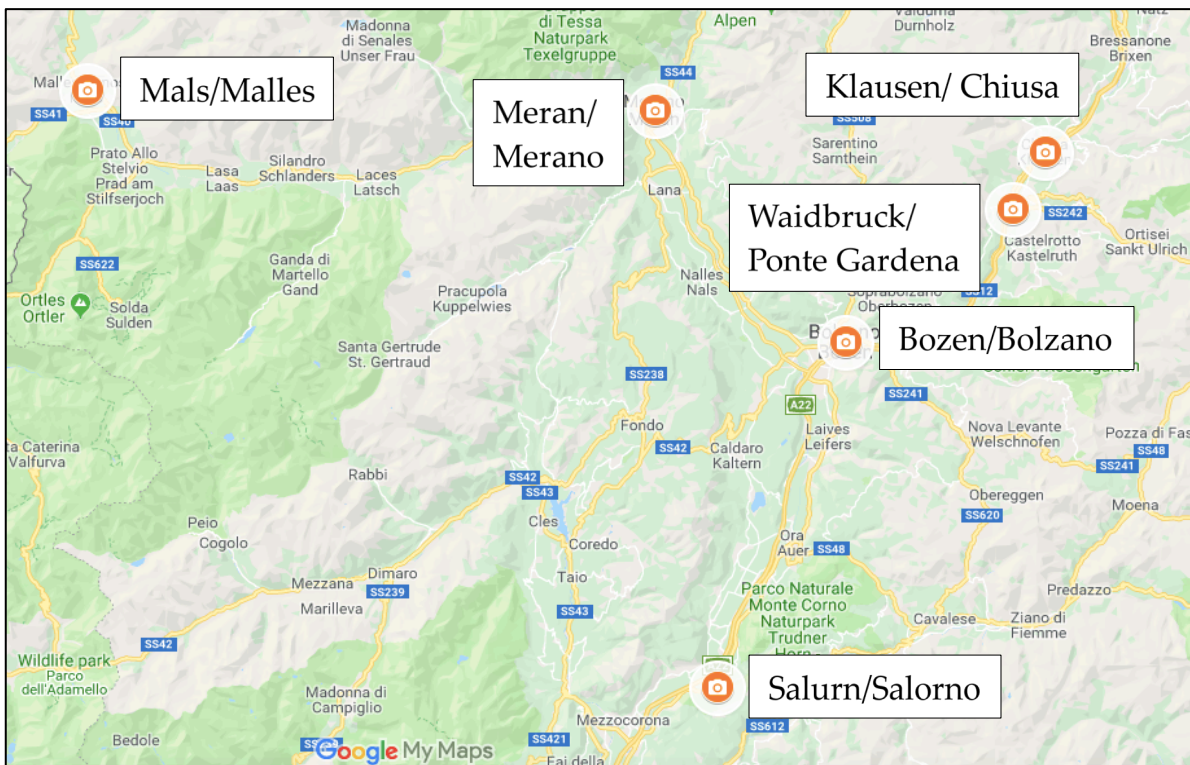
Fig. 9: Locations for LL data collection (Google Maps, 2019)

One of the main approaches to LL research is use LL data to measure (both quantitatively and qualitatively) the presence of specific languages in multilingual regions. In the case of multilingual regions with multiple official languages, one expects to find all official languages present in the LL, although to varying degrees. Non-official languages will also be present, but inevitably to a lesser degree than the official languages. The exact percentage of the presence of the official languages in the LL of South Tyrol is of a secondary interest to this research. In Table 2 above, I provide the percentages of the language group declarations in each of the locations where the LL data were collected. These percentages are the official figures used by the province of South Tyrol to state what percentage of the population speaks which of the three official languages (see discussion of these statistics in Section 4.2) and were used as a guide in selecting the locations for data collection. Because I did not

collect my LL data with the goal of carrying out a quantitative or statistical analysis, I cannot make any comparisons between the language percentages shown in Table 2 and percentage of each language seen in my LL data. In South Tyrol, government-produced signs are always written in at least German and Italian, and also in Ladin in the Ladin-majority municipalities. In the case of such signs, the order of the languages is determined by the majority group in that municipality, as determined by the *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung*, or declaration of language group affiliation (Glück et al., 2019). In all of the locations where I collected LL data, both Italian and German were present on at least some of signs, although to varying degrees and not on every sign. Signs without either German or Italian are extremely rare in my corpus. However, my research cannot make any claims as to whether one language tends to be more dominant overall, either in specific locations or in all of South Tyrol. This was not the intention of my research, which instead gives priority to a qualitative approach to the LL.

7.7 LL Data Analysis

Now that I have established a theoretical and methodological background and introduced my corpus of LL data found in South Tyrol, I turn my attention to the data analysis. My goal with this data analysis is to use the methodology described in Section 7.4 to examine selected signs taken from my corpus of LL data. As discussed in Section 7.4, the main aspects I consider are: 1) the language(s) present on a sign; 2) the physical and semiotic characteristics of a sign; and 3) the function or displayed message of the sign. I will use these aspects as a starting point in a detailed analysis of each sign, with the goal of following Blommaert's (2013) approach of "[s]igns lead us to practices, and practices lead us to people" (p. 50). Signs construct and inform the spaces that are occupied by users, whose practices are both informed and constrained, and in turn reflected by signs.

Signs also reflect capital-D Discourses, defined by Gee (2014) as "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (p. 143). I argue that there is an "official" Discourse in regards to the official languages in South Tyrol, namely that the official languages of German and Italian and their corresponding language groups have an equal status.[37] Evidence of this Discourse can be seen in the LL of South Tyrol, but it is not reflected by all of the signs in the LL. The signs shown in this section were selected for analysis based on how use language and how that language use does or does not reflect this official Discourse. The choice of language(s) is highly salient in South Tyrol, because of the connection of each official language to its cultural language group and the *Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeitserklärung*, which requires citizens of South Tyrol to declare their affiliation to one of the three official language groups. These group identities extend beyond just language choice and are rooted in all of the aspects described by Gee's (2014) definition of a Discourse. However, similar to the choice of speaking a particular language, the choice of which language(s) for the text of a sign is an immediately recognizable characteristic and semiotic resource that can be used to display a particular Discourse.

As discussed in Section 7.5, government-produced signs in South Tyrol are either bilingual (German and Italian) or trilingual (German, Italian, and Ladin). On these signs, the same information is presented in each of the languages, displaying what Cindark and Ziegler (2016) term 'complete information management', one of the categories the authors use for multilingual signs. By displaying all information in

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[37] This equal status extends to the Ladin language and language group in the municipalities where Ladin is the majority language. Only a handful of signs from my data corpus were collected in one of these municipalities (Urtijëi/St. Ulrich/Ortisei), and in the rest of my data, the Ladin language rarely appears.

each language, those languages are given equal status on that sign, meaning that the government-produced signs in South Tyrol both reflect and reinforce the Discourse that all of the official language groups share equal status. This also means that a reader of such a sign only needs one of those languages to understand all of the information that is displayed on such a sign; no language group is privileged in the amount of information it can glean from a government-produced sign.

In addition to the category of 'complete information management', Cindark and Ziegler (2016) offer two other categories for multilingual signs: 'partial information management' and 'extended information management' (see Table 1 in Section 7.3 above). According to the authors, partial information management means that all of the information on a sign is presented in one language, but is only partially displayed in the other language(s). This means that speakers of the one language are privileged over the speakers of the other language(s) in which less information is displayed. In the case of signs showing extended information management, some of the information is displayed in one language, and some of the information is displayed in the other language(s). This means that no one language displays all of the information present on the sign and only speakers of all of the languages present on the sign are able to understand all of the information. With extended information management, a multilingual recipient is privileged over monolingual recipients, who will only be able to understand the information on the sign presented in the language they can speak. These types of 'information management' from Cindark and Ziegler (2016) only apply to multilingual signs, as monolingual signs display all information in one language. In the case of monolingual signs, speakers of languages other than the one on the sign are not considered as potential recipients.

The signs in the LL of South Tyrol which display complete information management for the official languages display this official Discourse as described

above. I view this official Discourse of giving the official languages equal status as the default or prescribed Discourse in regards to how the official languages and language groups in South Tyrol are handled. What interests me is how certain signs potentially do not reflect this Discourse and how signs in the LL use these the official (and unofficial) languages as a communicative and semiotic resource, much in the same way they would be used in spoken language. Many private signs also display complete information management, which means they also reflect this official Discourse. However, the producers of private signs have the option to not give each language equal status, an option that is not available to the government institutions in South Tyrol. For my analysis, I begin by first looking at both government-produced and private signs which reflect this official Discourse. I then examine looking for signs that do not reflect this Discourse in some way, examining how their choice of language(s) deconstruct this Discourse and produce a different meaning by not giving the official languages equal status.

7.7.1 Signs displaying the official Discourse

I begin with the signs that display this official Discourse, which are those that display all information in both German and Italian. In the case of many of these signs, this is as simple as displaying the place name in both languages, such as on an *Ortstafel* like the one seen in Fig. 7, or displaying both *Weg* and *via* or *Straße* and *strada* when giving street names, such as in Fig. 2 above and Fig. 12 below. Other government produced signs, however, may display a larger amount of information, all of which will be displayed in both languages, such as on the sign seen in Fig. 10 below, which shows a sign at the entrance of a recycling yard in the municipality of

Salurn/Salorno, where Italian is the majority language. Every piece of information is displayed in both German and Italian, with practically one-to-one translations.[38]

Fig. 10: A sign produced by the municipal government of Salurn/Salorno showing all information in both German and Italian.

In this way, the sign seen in Fig. 10 above can be seen as an example of this official Discourse, which is that both languages and therefore both language groups are given equal status. In rarer cases, complete information management (Cindark &

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[38] A note on my use of the word 'translation': I understand this to mean a one-to-one representation of the two languages. It is not my intention to say that one language is the base text and the other is an after the fact translation, rather it is to highlight the strong structural and lexical overlap between the two texts.

Ziegler, 2016) can also extend beyond just the official languages, meaning that another language is given equal status on that sign, a status that could potentially extend to the space in which that sign is found. Fig. 11 shows a sign found outside of a police station in Bozen/Bolzano that uses English in addition to Italian and German, with each piece of information presented in all three languages. This means that not only can a speaker of English read this sign, but they can assume that the use of English shares the same status as German and Italian in the space where this sign is found, namely in this particular police station. The addition of English on signs in South Tyrol is seen most often where tourists are expected, and in my corpus, English is found more often on private signs than on government signs.[39]

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[39] One notable exception to this is the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, which is officially trilingual (German, Italian, and English), meaning English is often seen on signs on its campus. The public funding for this university comes only from the Province of South Tyrol and not from the Italian state (Die unibz in Zahlen, 2018).
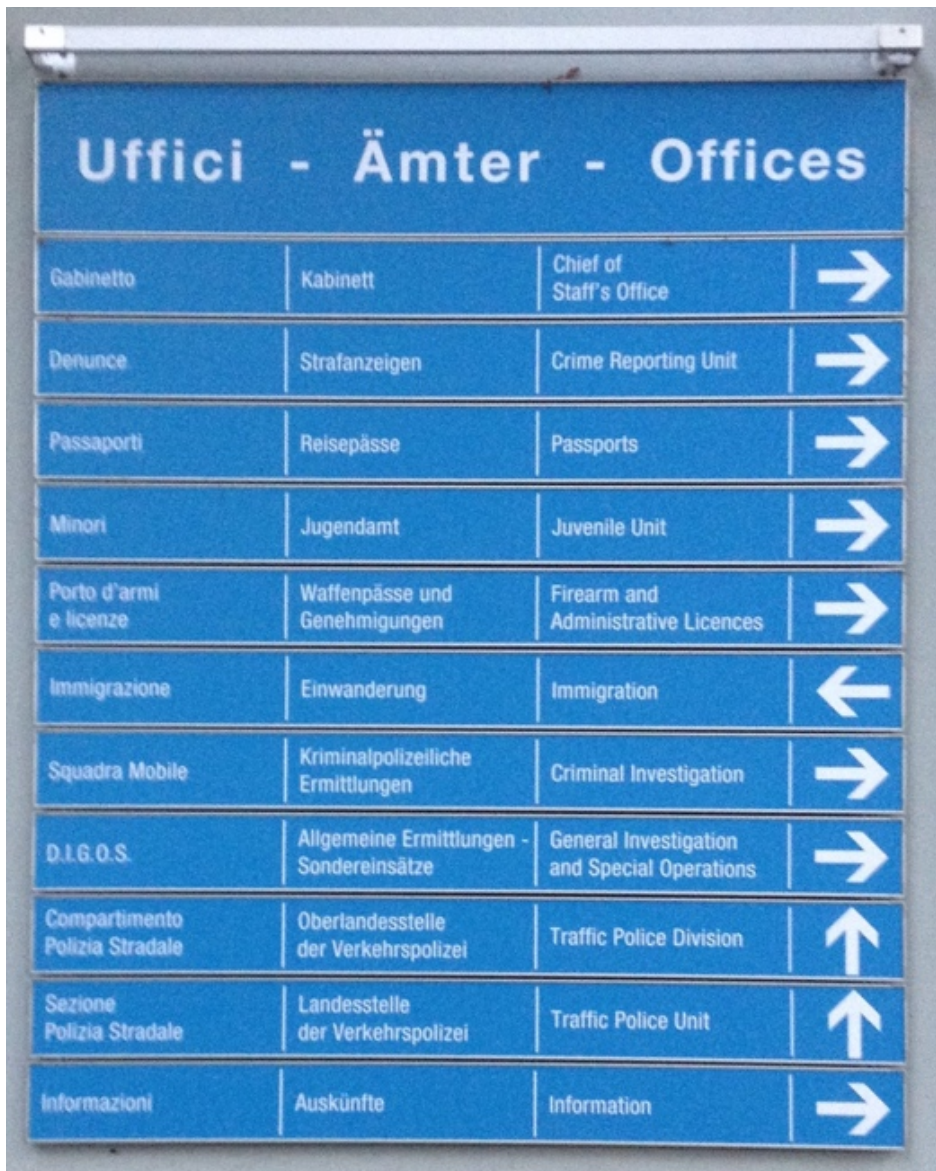
Fig. 11: Complete information management with Italian, German, and English
on a sign from the police headquarters in Bozen/Bolzano.

One of the most commonly seen signs that display this official Discourse are
signs displaying street names. All such signs must be bilingual and are seen on
practically every street corner in South Tyrol. This leads to some streets bearing
names that are only displayed once, but have the type of street in both languages,
such as the *Straße/strada* or *Weg/via* part of the street name. In other cases the name is

seen as a one-to-one translation in both languages.[40] An example of both of these can be seen in Fig. 12 below, which shows a street sign marking the square in front of the train station and an adjacent street in the city of Bozen/Bolzano. On the left part of the sign, the square is labeled as *piazza della stazione* or *Bahnhofsplatz*. The adjacent street is named after the Italian general Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose name is displayed twice, first after *via* and then before *Straße*, with slight punctuation changes. On both sides of the sign, the Italian designation precedes the German, as the Italian-speaking population forms the largest percentage of the population in Bozen/Bolzano (see Table 2 above), which determines the order of the two languages on street signs (Glück et al., 2019). While this is true for street signs, it is not always the case for other government produced signs, as can be seen on the sign in Fig. 10 above, which was found in the majority Italian-speaking city of Salurn/Salorno (see Table 2 in Section 7.6 for the language group percentages).

Fig. 12: Street names in both German and Italian on signs just outside the train station in Bozen/Bolzano.

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[40] This sometimes results in direct translations, for example with the street name *vicolo Stretto/Enge Gasse* in Meran/Merano. The name of the street is a description of the street, with the adjective 'narrow' being used as the name in each language. See Fig. 36 in Appendix A.

Another commonly seen type of government-produced sign is that of regulatory signs, which have the function of regulating the activity of the users of the space in which the sign is found. However, regulatory signs are not always government produced. A shop owner could also use them to regulate activity in their shop, for example with a sign stating '(no) dogs allowed', such as the signs seen in Fig. 13 below, which explicitly state whether dogs are allowed in each of these shops in the city of Bozen/Bolzano. Such signs would only have authority within that particular shop; in the public space outside of the shop, government regulations concerning dogs would have authority.

Fig. 13: Signs on the windows of two different private shops in Bozen/Bolzano displaying rules for dogs within the space of those shops.

Before looking at private signs, however, I will first turn my attention to government-produced regulatory signs. According to Glück et al. (2019), "Verbots-, Warn- und Hinweisschilder" (p. 273) must also be bi- or trilingual, with the order of the languages being determined by the percentages of language group declarations. Fig. 14 shows a standard example of a government-produced regulatory sign. This sign was found near the main train station in the city of Meran/Merano, where the

German language group makes up 50.47% of the population and the Italian language group 49.06% (ASTAT, 2018), meaning that the German text should be placed before the Italian text on such signs, as is the case on the sign in Fig. 14.

The function of the sign in Fig. 14 is to both name and regulate a particular place. In this case, I am using Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain's (2013) definition of 'place', which states that, "a place is constructed through deliberate, top-down human action such as that carried out by urban planners or interior designers, as well as through the use of particular manners or foods or linguistic practices habitually carried out in those places" (p. 16). This sign designates this place as the *Bahnhofspark* or *parco della stazione*, named so because it is a park adjacent to the train station. This name and the presence of this sign shows that this place is the result of top-down planning. Below the name of this park on the sign in Fig. 14 are regulations concerning the use of the park: it is to be kept clean, dogs are to be kept on a leash, and access to the park is forbidden in the case of heavy wind, heavy snowfall, or ice. Below these regulations, emergency telephone numbers are provided. Similar to Fig. 10 and Fig. 11 above, the German and Italian texts are nearly one-to-one translations. In addition to these texts, there are pictograms or symbols that provide additional information, which can be considered another code or semiotic system alongside the languages present on the sign (Auer, 1990). The first pictogram is the standard Italian pedestrian symbol, which indicates that this area is reserved for pedestrians (and not for bicycles, automobiles, or other vehicles). At the bottom of the sign, the emergency numbers for the fire department (115) and for a medical emergency (118) are indicated using pictograms and no text; these emergency numbers are used in all of Italy. The use of pictograms rather than text allows for the information at the bottom of the sign to be understood by readers of the sign who speak languages other than German or Italian; however, these pictograms add to, and do not repeat, the information provided in the German and

Italian text. With the combination of German and Italian text and these pictograms, I would consider this sign to display 'partial information management', as defined by Cindark and Ziegler (2016), meaning that some recipients can understand all of the information on the sign. In this case, that would be the speakers of German or Italian, whereas speakers of other languages can only partially understand the information on the sign, namely the information provided by the pictograms. In this way, the German and Italian languages are given equal status on this sign, and as such, the official Discourse is still displayed. The information provided by the pictograms can be understood by speakers of potentially any language, assuming they are able to recognize the information encoded in the pictograms, while speakers of German and Italian will be able to understand all of the information on the sign, both the text and the pictograms. Due to the broader potential audience of the pictograms, they have a higher granularity, as defined by Auer (2010), who argues that signs with a higher level of granularity sometimes have as their audience recipients who are not familiar with the location, e.g. tourists. This is reflected in the sign in Fig. 14, as a local resident in Meran/Merano is likely familiar with these emergency numbers, but a tourist or other visitor may not be. However, in the case of a local resident, the visual reminder of these emergency numbers could increase the likelihood that are dialed in the case of an emergency. In a multilingual setting like South Tyrol, the use of symbols or pictograms without accompanying language both broadens the audience of the sign, but also allows the producer of the sign to avoid issues of language ideology, since neither German nor Italian is used and therefore neither language has a different status than the other (see discussion of Fig. 5 and Fig. 6 in Section 7.4 above).

Fig. 14: Regulatory sign found near the train station in Meran/Merano.

As seen from the results of Cindark and Ziegler (2016), regulatory signs represent a large portion of government-produced signs, but are still a minor part of the overall number of signs in the LL. A much more significant part of the linguistic landscape is advertisements.[41] The producers of these advertisements can range from small, local organizations businesses on up to large, multinational corporations. When examining advertisements from larger corporations, it is worth noting how they do or do not tailor their advertisements to fit the local audience in South Tyrol.

Fig. 15 below shows an advertisement from Decathlon, which is a French sporting goods chain with stores in over 50 different countries. In the advertisement seen in Fig. 15 all information is presented in Italian and German, with the Italian

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[41] See discussion of the results of Cindark and Ziegler (2016) in Section 7.3 above.

text always visually preceding (either to the left of on top of) the German. The Italian and German texts are presented in the same type and size of lettering, meaning they share equal space on the sign. What is noteworthy is the customer review of the shoes being advertised, which is presented in both languages. The name of the customer is given as Severina, a name that is of Latin origin and appears to be more Italian than German. The information in the review is the same in both languages, but it cannot be determined which of the two languages was originally used. This customer review displays the same one-to-one display of both languages that reflects the official Discourse discussed above, but in a manner that is unexpected, due the translation of this quote from the customer. In this way, speakers of Italian and German would be equally addressed by this advertisement. The use of a customer review in an advertisement lends it a more personal feel, as the reader is supposedly seeing the opinion of a real person or even a peer, instead of just the claims of the company trying to sell the product. By providing this opinion in both Italian and German, the reviewer Severina could be a member of the Italian or the German language group in South Tyrol. The constructed audience of this sign is therefore both language groups.

Fig. 15: An advertisement for the sporting goods store Decathlon found near the main train station in Bozen/Bolzano.

Other examples of the direct translation of a quote can be found elsewhere in the LL of South Tyrol and on signs belonging to other discourse types. One such example can be seen in Fig. 16 below, which shows a commemorative plaque. The function of this sign actually twofold: to commemorate the painter Karl Plattner and to name the place where the plaque is found. The primary function appears to the commemorative one, as the majority of the text and space of the plaque is dedicated to that purpose. Additionally, the medium of an engraved stone plaque indicates that this sign has a commemorative or historical function. This sign uses both German and Italian displays almost all of the information in both languages (more on this below). In terms of granularity, it is the name "KARL PLATTNER" that is displayed in the largest lettering and is therefore the most visible. The act of the recipient of the sign reading this name fulfills the commemorative function of the sign. The next largest lettering is used for identifying Plattner's occupation and what he most remembered for: "MALER PITTORE" (painter). The quote at the top of the

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plaque is similar to that in Fig. 15 above in that it is also produced in one-to-one translation. The "Ich" or the assumed "io" of the statement is Karl Plattner, but is not clear if this statement was originally spoken or written. Because the quote is displayed in both languages, it can be understood of speaker of both languages. The only aspect of this sign to not be displayed in both languages is the indication of the locations of Plattner's birth and death. He was born in the village of Mals (Italian: Malles), which is only displayed in German, and he died in Milan (German: Mailand), which is only displayed in Italian (Milano).

Fig. 16: Commemorative plaque for the painter Karl Plattner, with a quote in both German and Italian. Found in Mals/Malles.

By describing the signs seen in Fig. 10 through Fig. 16, my goal was to establish examples of signs that display the official language Discourse in South Tyrol, which is that the German and Italian languages and language groups have equal status. Even though the order of the two languages may vary, on these signs they are both presented in equally sized writing and are thus allotted the same amount of physical space on the sign (with small deviations due the different length of words or phrases in each language). However, as seen in Fig. 11 and Fig. 14, there

are ways for signs to both display this official Discourse and broaden the range of potential recipients, seen by the addition of the English language or pictograms.

7.7.2 Less complete information management

I will now turn my attention to signs that do not reflect this official Discourse, due to their use of each official language in unequal ways to display information. Some of these signs could still be considered to display complete information management, as the same basic message is presented in both German and Italian. However, how it is presented in each of these languages is slightly different, showing a more individualized way of addressing each of the language groups. I consider these variations to be style shifts indicative of audience design (Bell, 2001). Different linguistic resources are used in each of the languages, even if these differences are small and sometimes subtle. These style shifts show more than just a one-to-one 'translation' of the message that is seen in the examples discussed in Section 7.7.1.

Fig. 17 shows a regulatory sign found alongside a pedestrian and cycle path in the village of Blumau/Prato all'Isarco, which is about 8 km east of Bolzano. The main function of this sign is to inform dog owners about the 150 € fine for not picking up after their dog. The sign is in both German and Italian, with the German being placed above the Italian. While the general message is the same in both languages, the German contains a play on words that is not present in the Italian. The German phrase 'Sind Ihnen 150,- € Wurst?' is understood to mean 'Do 150 € mean nothing to you?', a formulation that already uses colloquial German (but not dialect). The word 'Wurst' can also be understood as a crude way of referring to dog excrement, creating a wordplay that would not be present if the sign were to read 'Sind Ihnen 150,- € egal?'. This wordplay is underscored by the combination of the text with the cartoon picture of dog excrement and the image of an actual dog. In this way, the sign indicates that the person who does not pick up their dog's waste

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doesn't care about 150 €, as well as making the analogy that leaving your dog's waste could be the same as leaving 150 € behind. The use of the phrase 'jemandem Wurst sein' to mean 'to not matter to someone' is also a use of more colloquial language, despite this being a government-produced sign that informs the reader about the consequences for an infraction.

In the Italian part no such wordplay is present, as the text 'Preferisce pagare 150,- €?' just means 'Do you prefer to pay 150 €?', a wording that is straightforward and does not use any colloquial language. Both languages use the formal second person, *Sie* for German, and *Lei* for Italian. As is the case for the German text, the combination of the images and the text is necessary for complete understanding of the sign in Italian, but the images do not create any kind of wordplay in Italian. The main message of the sign can be understood completely in both languages without the other one present, but the Italian message is more direct and does not contain any wordplay or use of colloquial language.

The composition of text and image is based on the German text, as there is not a direct connection to the Italian text. I would argue that the message of the Italian text is not as complete as the German, as the reader of the sign must infer more from image and type of sign. Auer (2010) comments on the reduced (grammatical) forms found in messages on public signs, which he argues are often made shorter in order to maximize the physical space offered by the sign. Often, the reader must infer from the context of the space and the potential activities the full meaning of the message. In neither language does the sign explicitly state that there is a 150 EUR fine for not picking up dog waste; the reader must make the connection between the image of the dog and dog waste and the 150 € fine. The Italian text of the sign approximately maintains the message of the German text, just without the wordplay.

Based on the fact that the German message is prioritized (it is placed physically before the Italian message) and that there is wordplay within this

message, the producer of this sign has intended it for a German audience first. According to the 2011 census (ASTAT, 2018), in the municipality Völs am Schlern, the producer of the sign, of the population 94.92% belongs to the German language group and 4.46% to the Italian language group. Unlike the official Discourse, both languages are not given equal status.

Fig. 17: A sign informing dog owners about a fine for not picking up after their dog.[42] Photographed in the village of Blumau/Prato all'Isarco.

The type of wordplay found in Fig. 17 above was not found often on the signs in my corpus, either in German or Italian. In Fig. 41 in Appendix A, another sign with a

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[42] The text in the yellow section of the sign reads: "GEMEINDE VOLS AM SCHLERN - COMUNE DI FIÉ ALLO SCILIAR - der Bürgermeister/il sindaco."

word play in German can be seen be seen, again without any wordplay in the Italian text. Similar to Fig. 17, the Italian text is much more pragmatic.

Returning to regulatory signs, a similar sign warning dog owners about the consequences of leaving dog waste behind can be seen in Fig. 18 below. This sign was found on a bike path which runs along the Eisack River, approximately 20 km northeast of Bozen/Bolzano. The producer of this sign is not the local government, as is the case in Fig. 17 above, but rather the *Südtiroler Bauernbund*, or the South Tyrolean Farmers Association, a private organization that does however receive government money. In contrast to the sign in Fig. 17 above, this sign does not threaten the offending party with a fine, but rather warns of the dangers of letting farmland be contaminated by dog waste. The sign is in both German and Italian, with all information being provided in both languages, although with slight variations. The German text appears on the left side (one part is slightly higher) and the Italian on the right side. The text of each language appears in four different styles of lettering. The largest lettering (all capitalized) is used for the words "BITTE" and "SI PREGA," which are followed by text in smaller lettering (still all capitalized) that completes the main message of the sign "BITTE NICHT MIT HUNDEKOT VERSCHMUTZEN!/SI PREGA DI NON INQUINARE I CAMPI!" The German text reads, "Please do not contaminate with dog excrement!," while the Italian reads, "Please do not contaminate the fields!" Each of these is missing one piece of the entire message (German: where?, Italian: with what?). The graphic in the middle of this sign also communicates this main message, showing a dog with dog waste behind it in a crossed-through circle. The where of the message is also communicated in the location of the sign, which can be assumed to be at the edge of the affected field(s). Although the general message of this sign could be understood almost anywhere (do not contaminate agricultural land with dog waste), the sign is most effective when placed at the sight where this offence might actually occur and

where the intended audience, i.e. dog owners, would see it. Underneath the main text of the sign is a further message, written in smaller lettering with only one word in all capital letters. The German text "Hier werden auch IHRE Lebensmittel produziert." ("YOUR food is also produced here") and the Italian text "Gli alimentari prodotti qui arrivano anche sulla VOSTRA tavola" ("The food produced here arrives on YOUR table also") vary slightly. In both languages the possessive determiner 'your' is emphasized with capital letters, but the noun that follows it is different: in German it is the food, while in Italian it is the table on which food will end up. In the German text, only the food is the emphasis, whereas in Italian the site where the food is consumed is emphasized. The use of the word 'tavola' indexes not just the consumption of the food but also the tradition of a table shared with friends and family, none of which is indexed in the German text. At the bottom of the sign is another text portion, which is written in the smallest lettering. This text explicitly addresses dog owners ("Liebe Hundebesitzer"/"Cari proprietari di cani") explains in more detail the effects of contaminating agricultural land with dog waste and ends by emphasizing again that this is in their best interest ("im eigenen Interesse"/"nel vostro interesse"). The four levels of text on this show decreasing levels of granularity (Auer 2010), with each text introducing more information. While a non-dog owner might be interested in the effects of contaminated agricultural land, dog owners are the main addressee of this sign, despite them only being explicitly addressed in the smallest text. Auer (2010) states that signs with higher granularity often have a reduced amount of information in order to present a message in the largest possible lettering. This means that the reader of the sign must fill in the gaps in the information provided. In the sign in Fig. 18, the image in the middle presents the core message of sign, both without text and in a form easily seen (from a distance). Each piece of text provides more information, with only the final and smallest text stating explicitly who is addressed and what they must do (keep dogs

on a leash). Returning to the language differences, it is only in this final and smallest text that term 'dog excrement' appears in Italian ('deiezioni di cani'), in German 'Hundekot' is in the second largest lettering and is the fourth word to appear. Taking into account the absence of the term 'dog excrement' together with the use of 'tavola' described above, the three largest text portions in Italian maintain a more polite tone overall, whereas these three German texts are more direct in presenting the information of the sign.[43]

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[43] For a detail image of the text on the bottom of the sign in Fig. 18, see Fig. 38 in Appendix A.

Fig. 18: Sign warning dog owners to pick up after their dog. Found on a bike path along the Eisack River.

In this next example, I show another regulatory sign that shows subtle style shifts in its use of Italian and use of German. I argues that these style shifts show a prioritizing of one language group over the other, even if it is just a small difference. The sign seen in Fig. 19 is a sign produced by a mixed public/private institution and shows a constellation of three signs found outside of the main train station in the city of Bozen/Bolzano. The producer of these signs is the *Ferrovie dello Stato Italiane S.p.A.*,

or the Italian State Railways;. Because this company is state-owned holding company, these signs can be categorized as a mixture of government and private. Looking first at the top two signs, they appear to be a one-to-one mirroring of each other, both in their visual layout and in the information presented in each of the two official languages. The Italian sign on the left is likely found in many other train stations across Italy, but the accompanying German version likely only in stations in South Tyrol. The German sign on the right could exist separately, since it contains all of the information presented on the Italian sign, but would likely only appear together with its Italian counterpart; a German-language sign produced by the Italian State Railways would only appear in train stations in Italy (more specifically, South Tyrol), where the Italian language is the de facto priority language. On the signs inside the train stations, the Italian name or text always appears above the German, regardless of the majority language in that municipality. This is especially noticeable on the large signs displaying the place names at each station, where the German name is displayed second, although in the same size and style lettering as the Italian name (see examples in Fig. 39 in Appendix A).[44]

In Fig. 19 the Italian sign is situated to the left of the German sign, giving the Italian language slight priority. Although the visual layout of the two signs does appear to be the same, the information presented in larger lettering is not the same on both signs. On the Italian sign, the words "Vietato l'accesso" (entry prohibited) appear in larger lettering, while the words "alle persone non autorizzate" (to non-authorized persons) appear in smaller lettering. The information in larger lettering represents the core of this sign's message, which is to alert the reader that entry is

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[44] A noticeable deviation from this is the trains that are operated by the *Südtiroler Transportstrukturen AG*, a railway operator that is fully owned by the Province of South Tyrol. Inside of these trains, the German place name precedes the Italian name, both in the text on visual displays and in the spoken announcements in the trains.

prohibited; to whom it is prohibited is described in the smaller lettering below. On the German sign, however, this core message is incomplete when viewing only the larger lettering. The word "Zutritt" (entry) by itself would actually convey the opposite message of the sign, and the actual message of the sign can only be understood together with the words "für Unbegfugte verboten" (prohibited to [those] unauthorized) in smaller lettering below. The difference between the messages displayed in the largest lettering is subtle, but I argue that this is enough to show a slight privileging of the Italian-speaking audience over the German-speaking audience, which is expected given the fact that the producer of the sign is the Italian State Railways. Due to the fact that this producer operates trains and train stations all across Italy, there can be an expectation that there is a uniform appearance to their signs, meaning that Italian is the primary language, no matter in which province of Italy the sign is found. Additionally, this producer is funded by the Italian State, which has Italian as its de facto official language.

Looking at Fig. 19 in terms of granularity (Auer, 2010), the larger lettering represents the information with higher granularity and a larger potential audience. In this case, the broader message of 'entry prohibited' (in Italian) will be enough for most readers, but for the smaller subset of readers who still need more information, both signs present in the smallest lettering the potential fines and specific legal offences for entering this area. For a close-up detail of the smallest lettering on this sign, see Fig. 38 in Appendix A.

There is still a third sign below these two, which all work together as an ensemble (Auer, 2010). The third sign indicates that there is group for whom entry is allowed, namely those persons using a wheelchair. This sign presents information in Italian, German, and English, but then uses the symbol of a person in a wheelchair to indicate who this entry is allowed for. The use of this symbol potentially opens up this sign to be understood by a larger audience than just speakers of Italian, German,

and English, similar to the signs seen in Fig. 11 and Fig. 14 in Section 7.7.1 above. As discussed in this section, English tends to appear in places in South Tyrol where more tourists are to be expected.

Fig. 19: Signs prohibiting entry outside of the main train station in Bolzano/Bozen.

Using the sign seen in Fig. 19, my goal was to show an example of the Italian language being given priority over the German due to the producer of the sign, the Italian State Railways, being an institution that operates in all of Italy, as well as being funded by the Italian State. Although the Italian language is prioritized on the signs from this producer, the signs from this producer in the train stations in South

Tyrol are all consistently in both German and Italian, given the fact that they are government-produced signs in South Tyrol. As discussed in Section 7.5, private signs in South Tyrol do not have the same obligation to be bilingual. Returning to commercial advertisements, an advertisement similar to the Decathlon advertisement seen in Fig. 15 above can be seen below in Fig. 20. Whereas the Decathlon advertisement does display the official Discourse in the form of complete information management, the sign in Fig. 20 only uses Italian. This advertisement is from the car manufacturer Opel and is in the exact same location in Bozen/Bolzano as the sign in Fig. 15, only it was photographed one year later (2017 vs. 2016). The producer of the sign is Opel, another very large multinational corporation. This sign, however, is only in Italian, and makes no attempt to address a German-speaking audience. The only aspect of this sign that connects it to its location in South Tyrol is the addresses of the Opel dealerships listed along the bottom of the sign in smaller lettering. Besides for the addresses, this sign could be found anywhere else in Italy. Due to the fact that the city of Bozen/Bolzano has the highest concentration of Italian-speaking South Tyroleans, a monolingual Italian advertisement has an obvious audience. Using the sign in Fig. 20 as an example, my goal is to show that not all commercial advertisers customize their advertisements to address all potential recipients in South Tyrol, i.e. both German and Italian speakers.

Fig. 20: An advertisement for Opel found near the main train station in Bozen/Bolzano.

This same phenomenon can be seen in other private advertisements and announcements. Towards the other end of the spectrum of these are small posters made by local organizations and groups, announcing local events, such as those in Fig. 21. These advertisements are typically range in size from DIN A4 (21cm x 29.7cm) to DIN A2 (42cm x 59.4cm) and are placed near similar advertisements produced by other similar groups. In contrast to the costs associated with placing the larger and somewhat permanent advertisement seen in Fig. 15 and Fig. 20 above, there are presumably no costs for these groups for using the space for the advertisements seen in Fig. 15. Blommaert (2013) offers a scale of categorizing signs as more "amateurish" vs. "professional" (p. 62). The Decathlon and Opel advertisements in Fig. 15 and Fig. 20 would be considered professional, meaning that they likely have higher production costs and were produced by an established organization, in addition to the sign being placed in a rented advertising location. Lower quality signs, on the other hand, "point towards an emergent, inchoate form of organization" (Blommaert, 2013, p. 62), an aspect that applies to some of the signs

in Fig. 21, but not all. None of the producers are anything close to multinational corporations, but some are established music and art associations. However, the cost of producing these signs is significantly lower than that of professional advertisements and they occupy a space which likely has no costs associated with it. What also differentiates these signs from those in Fig. 15 and Fig. 20 is that they all advertise specific events rather than consumer goods, such as clothing and cars. In the case of the signs in Fig. 21, these events include music and cabaret events, as well as a lecture and a roundtable discussion, all taking place in or just outside the city of Meran/Merano, where the signs are found. The individual signs in Fig. 21 all have different producers, but they share a compact space, and even slightly overlap each other (professional signs would likely not overlap), causing them to be perceived as an ensemble. According to Auer's (2010) definition of an ensemble, the signs in an ensemble "stehen in unmittelbarer Nähe zueinander," with the result that they "können mit einem Blick wahrgenommen werden," and "beziehen sich inhaltlich auf einander" (p. 286). In the case of the signs in Fig. 21, their content does not necessarily directly correlate, however they all are part of a discourse of signs that are used to advertise local events. When an observer sees such an ensemble of sign, he or she expects to find announcements for these kinds of local events (and would not expect an advertisement for Opel). Similar ensembles can be seen elsewhere in Meran/Merano and in other locations in South Tyrol (see Fig. 42 and Fig. 43 in Appendix A). I argue that these signs therefore belong to a specific type of sign discourse. Looking more closely at the individual signs in Fig. 21, all but one of these has been approved by the city of Meran/Merano, as seen by the stamp in the lower right corner of each sign, meaning that this discourse is regulated to some degree by the city. Returning to Auer's (2010) explanation of top-down (authorized) vs. bottom-up (transgressive), I argue that these local event signs occupy a space between these two categorisations. They are produced by private groups, but they

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do not appear on a space owned by these groups, rather in a public space. In many of these cases, the groups producing the signs likely do not even own a private space, but would rent or be invited to use a space, such as a theater or auditorium, for their event. The signs are not transgressive, as they have been authorized by the city of Meran/Merano, as seen by the stamp found on each poster.

Fig. 21: An ensemble of advertisements for local events found in a shopping street in Merano/Meran.

What is noteworthy in terms of language use is the mixture that is present in this ensemble of signs. Seen in Fig. 21 are two signs completely in German, one sign completely in Italian, one sign that offers all information in both German and Italian, and one sign that is predominately in Italian, but has some bits of information offered in German as well.[45] All of these signs were approved for display by the city of Meran/Merano, which indicates that there is no regulation of the language used (at least not in the case of German and Italian).

The language choice for each of these signs indicates the language of the event itself. The signs for the lecture (*Frei sein*) and the cabaret show (*Kabarettgarten Kallmünz*) are completely in German, meaning the reader can assume that these events will be conducted completely in German. The same would apply to the roundtable discussion (*EcologicaMente*), only that the event will be conducted in Italian. In the case of the first music event (*Serate di Primavera*), the reader can assume that these groups will sing in Italian. The information presented in German on this sign is a duplication of information in Italian, but it is not enough to understand the entire sign. The final sign in this ensemble (*Associazione Musicale Meranese – Meraner Musikverein*) offers all information in both German and Italian, making this event open to speakers of both languages. Most of the musical performances listed appear to be instrumental, but one would feature singing in Latin and one other potentially featuring singing in Italian. Based on the presentation of the information on the sign being presented in completely in German and Italian, it is likely this event is designed to equally address speakers of both languages.

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[45] For detail images of each of these signs, see Appendix A.

7.7.3 Graffiti and transgressive signs in the LL of South Tyrol

In the last two sections, I focused on signs that both did and did not display the official Discourse of treating all official languages equally, by examining how these signs use the German and Italian languages in specific ways. Regardless of how they used these two languages, all of the signs seen in Sections 7.7.1 and 7.7.2 were all top-down signs, meaning their producers had the authority to place these signs where they were found (Auer, 2010). I now turn my attention to examples of graffiti in the LL of South Tyrol, which are most often bottom-up or transgressive signs (Cindark & Ziegler, 2016), which are signs that have not been authorized by the government or other private institutions. However, not all examples of what could be considered graffiti are transgressive, as some can be specifically authorized and commissioned by the government (see Fig. 26 below). Fig. 22 below shows a graffito found in the Zwölfmalgreinerstraße in Bozen/Bolzano, on the side of the building of the *Verbraucherzentrale Südtirol* (consumer advice center). This street is not a main tourist or shopping street, but it is only a few blocks away from the main train station. A few things are immediately obvious when looking at this sign. It is a graffito and is therefore likely transgressive, and it uses both Italian and German. In order to understand the entire sign, both languages are necessary. The information in one language is not a translation of the information in the other, rather each one complements the other one, which Cindark & Ziegler defines as 'extended information management'. In this way, it is a clear demonstration of the coexistence of the Italian and German languages in Bolzano.

In the context of this research, this graffito has been photographed on four separate occasions, first in September 2016 and the latest time in June 2019. Using archived photos from Google Maps, it can be determined that this graffito was sprayed sometime between May 2012 and June 2014. The fact that it has been allowed to remain for at least five years is noteworthy. It is a transgressive sign, but

its message is clearly a peaceful one and is not meant to disparage any party (language group or otherwise). Both languages are given equal space and consideration in this sign.

As is very often case with graffiti, the producer is anonymous; it is also unclear whether the same producer sprayed both the Italian and German parts, or whether they were sprayed by different producers, or even at different points in time. Given the intended message of the sign, the Italian part must have been sprayed first. I imagine the producer to be a young person, based on the type of message (public declaration of love) and the fact that it was illegally sprayed on a building. The intended recipients could be restricted to just the two romantically involved partners, but such a public declaration is intended for others to see as well. Such a declaration is reminiscent of other public displays, such as romantic partners displaying their initials together, by carving them into trees or wooden structures, or by painting or writing them on other surfaces in public places. According Blommaert (2013), graffiti are public statements and "cannot be easily traced to a specific producer (a shop owner, an identified organization), but are manufactured by producers who remain unknown and unidentifiable (except for a small in-crowd in the case of graffiti tags)" (p. 54).

I would like to emphasize the playfulness of this sign. This is one of the few signs in my corpus that displays what Cindark and Ziegler (2016) call 'extended information management', which describes multilingual signs that display different information in each of the languages, rather than repeating the same (or some of the) information in each language. The sign in Fig. 22 is a multilingual sign that uses German and Italian to display different information, meaning that a recipient needs both languages to understand the entire message of or the information displaying on this sign. Within my corpus it is fairly unique, in that it is a sign that is bilingual, transgressive, and contains a positive message that is both legible and

comprehensible on its own. Its message contains nothing political or ugly, such as racial slurs or other profanities and could be seen as a positive example of the coexistence of the Italian and German language groups in South Tyrol.
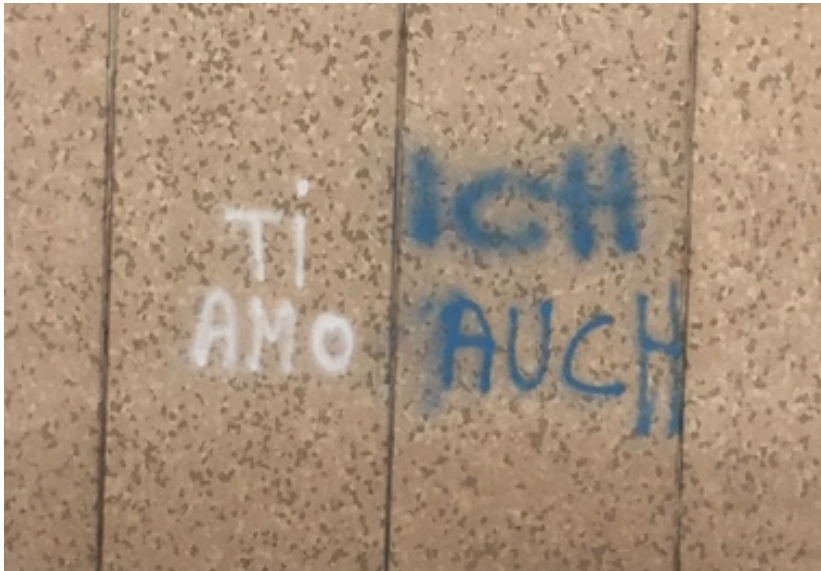

Fig. 22: Graffito found in the Zwölfmalgreinerstraße in Bozen/Bolzano.

Another graffito written for a romantic partner was found in the city of Meran/Merano, sprayed on the outside wall of a former military barracks in the neighborhood of Untermais/Maia Bassa, in the south of the city. This graffito is in two parts, each painted on a wall on the opposite side of the street from the other one. Fig. 23 shows the graffito on the left side, Fig. 24 the graffito on the right side. As mentioned above, this sign contains the oft-seen initials framed by a heart, along with other hearts accompanying the message. The writing in Fig. 23 states, "Tia amerò per sempre Raffi" (I will love you forever Raffi) and in Fig. 24, "Sei la mia vita perdonami" (You are my life forgive me). Unlike the graffito in Fig. 22 above, Italian is the only language used here and there is only one producer, whereas in Fig. 22, one could assume two different producers. The message of this pair of graffiti is not positive, as the producer is seeking forgiveness from a romantic partner, meaning

that the primary recipient of this message is the romantic partner who has left or has been wronged. As is the case with Fig. 22, I would argue here also that the medium of graffito presupposes a broader audience, in addition to the primary recipient. Due to the lack of punctuation, it is unclear which of the two partners, R (Raffi) or J, is the producer and which is the intended recipient. Although the graffito in Fig. 22 is at least five years old, the age of the graffiti in Fig. 23 and Fig. 24 is at most three years – it was photographed in June 2019 and does not appear on archived Google Maps photos from August 2016. The location of Fig. 23 & Fig. 24 is the wall surrounding a military barracks that appears to be out of use. This area borders an industrial area in the south of Meran/Merano and is about 1.5 km away from the main tourist and shopping areas of the city.

Fig. 23: First part of a graffito found outside a former military barracks in Meran/Merano

Fig. 24: Second part of a graffito found outside a former military barracks in Meran/Merano.

Much of the graffiti that I found in South Tyrol was illegible to me, or contained single words or phrases out of context, such as "Bored," "Tuner," or "E poi" (and then), which are without a more explicit message that could be understand by most readers. I would expect to find such graffiti in almost any city in the world. Some of these graffiti are likely recognizable by other local taggers, especially ones that are found in different locations across the city, but many appear to be one-off productions from producers who are unknown to the vast majority of those seeing the graffito.

Fig. 25 below shows another legible graffito; similar to the one in Fig. 22 above, it contains two different styles and colors, indicating that it has two different producers. In this case the graffito produced first is the red one, which contains an upper illegible part and a lower part that reads "Gemelli," signifying either the Italian word for 'twins' or the star sign Gemini. Above this and slightly overlapping is the text "Curva Sud Obermais," which is fan association for the soccer club FC Obermais, which is the local soccer club in the city of Meran/Merano. Similar to the

one seen in Fig. 22 above, this graffito shows a playful combination of both German and Italian. The notation *curva sud* (south curve) is an Italian expression referring to a specific section at a soccer stadium, namely the stands behind the south goal, where the most dedicated fans are found. This Italian expression is used to designate the fans of the soccer club FC Obermais, a club that uses the German name of its home, rather than the Italian one or a combination of the two. The graffito below shows the German language group using pieces of the Italian language to create a practice that indexes the Italian language and culture, yet still remains part of the practices of the German language group in South Tyrol.

Fig. 25: Graffito in a shopping street in Meran/Merano.

Not all graffiti are transgressive. In some cases, the artists or sprayers work with government institutions or private businesses to obtain permission for spraying their work on certain wall or space. Fig. 26 below shows an example of this, in this case a bilingual graffito sprayed on the wall of an underpass in the train station in Waidbruck/Ponte Gardena. I show this picture because it displays the official Discourse that treats both language groups as equal, albeit on a sign that does not appear to be a government-produced sign in the same way as regulatory signs seen in Section 7.7.1.

Fig. 26: Bilingual graffito found in the train station in Waidbruck/Ponte Gardena.

7.7.4 Political advertisements in the LL of South Tyrol

The next signs that I would like to examine fall under the category of political advertisement or campaigning. In Fig. 27 and Fig. 28 below are two examples of political placards that were displayed for the 2019 European Parliament elections. These particular examples were found in the city of Meran/Merano in June 2019, shortly after the elections held at the end of May 2019. These placards were placed on a wall across from the main train station. This section of wall is presumably reserved for these types of political placards, based on the handwritten numbers seen at the top, which mark each political party's space for advertising. On either

side of this section of wall reserved for political advertisements standard commercial and event advertisements can be found. Looking at archived photos of this wall from Google Maps, one can see that in April 2019, this section as well was covered with standard advertisements.

Looking first at the form of these signs, it is noteworthy that consist of two seemingly duplicate placards, one placed above the other. This appears to be a common practice for these types of placards, either political or commercial, as many other advertising placards found in Meran/Merano were displayed in this same fashion, with duplicate placards placed one above the other.[46] While the non-political advertisements were typically two of the exact same poster, these political placards utilize this format to display one placard in Italian and the other in German. This can be seen in Fig. 27 and Fig. 28, in which both pairs of placards display the German text above and the Italian text below. For each of these, the language is different but the remaining candidate picture and graphics remain unchanged. Not all of these political placards take advantage of this format to display both languages as can be seen in the two sets of placards in Fig. 29, both of which only use Italian text. The two parties in Fig. 29, the *Partito Democratico* and *Forza Italia*, are national Italian parties, whereas the parties in Fig. 27 and Fig. 28, *Team Köllensperger/+Europa* and the *Südtiroler Volkspartei* (SVP), are only present in South Tyrol,[47] meaning they need to address both Italian and German speakers in their political message.

These kinds of political placards do not fit neatly into one of Cindark & Ziegler's (2016) 'discourse types', as they are neither 'infrastructural' or 'regulatory', the two categories that most often capture government-produced signs, nor 'commercial', despite the fact that they are a type of advertisement. According to

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[46] See Appendix A for examples of commercial advertisements displayed in this fashion.

[47] The party *Team Köllensperger* is present only in South Tyrol, but it partnered with the pro-Europe Italian party *+Europa* for the European Parliament election.

Blommaert's (2013) categories, they would be 'event-related' (type) and 'recruitment' (function), as they recruit the reader to vote in one particular election for a candidate/party, which is seen clearly in the message in Fig. 27: "Am 26. Mai +Europa ankreuzen und Renate Holzeisen deine Vorzugsstimme geben!/Il 26 maggio barra il simbola di +Europa e dai il tuo voto die preferenza a Renate Holzeisen!" (On May 26th check +Europa and give your preference vote to Renate Holzeisen!). It could be argued that these placards also have an informational function, although the information they provide about the political does not extend beyond slogans and vague messages.

What sets these signs apart is how they use the two languages, German and Italian. Instead of displaying two placards with one-to-one translations of their message in each language, they display different messages in each language. Looking first at Fig. 27, the text contained in the speech bubble makes a slight change in the content. In German it reads "Mehr Südtirol in Europa" (More South Tyrol in Europe), while in Italian it reads "Più Europa in Alto Adige" (More Europe in South Tyrol). The German text emphasizes that voting for this candidate will put a South Tyrolean in the European Parliament, offering local representation at the level of the European Union. The Italian text is a play on the name of the associated Italian-wide party *+Europa*, which is spoken as 'più Europa', since the plus sign '+' is spoken as 'più' in Italian. This wordplay does not work in German, as the *Pluszeichen* in German is spoken as 'plus', which has a separate usage than the word *mehr*. The emphasis of the Italian text is that voting for this candidate will bring the *+Europa* political party to South Tyrol, a party that is pro-European Union. The remainder of the text on these two placards is a one-to-one translation of the text with only minor differences. However, the dual messages offered by the German and Italian versions of the text in the speech bubble allow these placards to offer a larger combined message when seen in unison, something that is not possible in each language alone.

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The placards in Fig. 28 also offer different messages in each German and Italian. The German texts reads "Unser Südtiroler für Europa" (Our South Tyrolean for Europe) while the Italian text reads "La voce forte per la nostra terra" (The strong voice for our land). These placards are for the *Südtiroler Volkspartei*, or SVP, which is the major center-right party in South Tyrol. In the most recent *Landtag* elections in South Tyrol (October, 2018), the SVP was the strongest party with 41.9% of the votes, giving them 15 of the 35 seats in the current *Landtag*. In fact, the 2018 election result was the lowest since the creation of the *Landtag* in 1948, and from 1948 until the 2013 *Landtag* election, the SVP has never had lower than 50% of the total vote (Ergebnisse der Landtagswahlen seit 1948, n.d.). The SVP was established on May 8, 1945, and became the major political party fighting for South Tyrol's self-determination (Das Südtiroler Landesregierung, 2019). According to Alcock (2001),

> In the years to come [the SVP] would represent massively the political views of the South Tyrolese people of all shades of opinion, left and right, employers and trade unions, professions and occupations, regularly obtaining some 85 per cent of the South Tyrolese and over 60 per cent of the Ladin vote. (p. 4) [48]

Despite being the political party that largely represents the interests of the German and Ladin language groups in South Tyrol, this placard from the SVP still uses the Italian language. However, the message changes, as seen in the quoted text above.

The German text uses "Unser Südtiroler" to refer to the candidate, Herbert Dorfmann, which emphasizes that his group identity and that he is *einer von uns*, one of the *Südtiroler*, i.e. a member of the German language group. Similar to the German message on the placard in Fig. 27, this message emphasizes that a vote for this candidate is a vote for a German-speaking South Tyrolean who is going to represent

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[48] In this article, Alcock uses the term 'South Tyrolese' to mean the German-speaking population in the area that is now known as the Province of South Tyrol, both prior to and after the formation of the province in 1948.

other German-speaking South Tyroleans in the European Parliament. The Italian text on the other hand does not refer to the language group that would be represented by this candidate, but rather to "la nostra terra," or "our land." By referring to the land, the Italian message does not refer to any specific language group, meaning that this candidate potentially represents any group that lives on this land, i.e. in the province of South Tyrol. The Italian message does not refer to the candidate with a particular label, choosing rather to state that a "strong voice" is what matters – if this voice is speaking for our land, then it does not matter to whom the voice belongs. Finally, the use of the term 'our land' in the Italian text indexes not only the political province of South Tyrol, but also the actual soil and physical ground, including geological features, that is found within the borders of the province of South Tyrol. Indexing the actual soil evokes agricultural and potentially environmental associations, meaning that this candidate is not only a voice for the people of the province, but also for the agricultural and natural resources of the province. The differences in the messages in each language in Fig. 28 are similar to those in Fig. 18 above.[49] In both of these examples, it appears that a different message is used to address speakers of each language and therefore members of each language group. In the case of Fig. 28, the group identity of the 'Südtiroler' is used to address the German-speaking audience, while the land (both figuratively and literally) and its agricultural resources are used to address the Italian-speaking audience.

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[49] According to one my interview participants, the producer of the sign in Fig. 18, the *Südtiroler Bauernbund*, is a large supporter of the SVP and advises its members on which candidates to vote for in elections. Ahead the 2018 *Landtag* election, the members of *Südtiroler Bauernbund* recommended four candidates as voted on by its members, all of which were from the SVP (Deltedesco & Höllrigl, 2018). This participant was not shown this sign and brought up the topic of the *Südtiroler Bauernbund* on his own.

Fig. 27: Differences in content found in German and Italian on political placards found in Meran/Merano.

Fig. 28: Political advertisement showing language differences in German and Italian. Found in Meran/Merano.

Fig. 29: Political placards displaying either only Italian text or displaying a a one-to-one translation of German and Italian text. Found in Meran/Merano.

7.7.5 German dialect in the LL of South Tyrol

A final aspect that I would like to consider is the use of German dialect[50] on signs in the LL of South Tyrol. The three official languages in South Tyrol are German, Italian, and Ladin, but when it comes to spoken language, German dialect is by far the preferred code amongst German-speaking South Tyroleans (Franceschini, 2011). According to the 2014 *Sprachbarometer*, 93.4% of the German language group completely understand spoken German dialect and 93.0% are able to fluently speak it, and only 0.7% understand nothing or only a few words and 1.0%

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[50] I use the term 'German dialect' as an umbrella term for all German dialects in South Tyrol. Most likely, a sign displaying German dialect would use a regional dialect that could be used in all of South Tyrol (and would considered a regional dialect in Tirol in Austria, as well). The actual dialect situation in South Tyrol is more complex, with three approximate main dialect regions along a West-East axis: *Vinschgau* in the West, the *Etsch- und Eisacktal* in the center, and the *Pustertal* in the East (Glück et al., 2019).

are able to say only a few words or nothing at all (ASTAT, 2014, p. 138). Franceschini (2011) states that for German-speaking South Tyroleans, German dialect is their L1, followed by High German as their L2, and Italian as their L3. Additionally, Franceschini makes a few points about the German dialect in South Tyrol: firstly, it "is the colloquial language (it is hardly ever written), so to say: the use of dialect is the default case," even in professional settings; secondly, "it is a distinctive language between dialect speakers and speakers of other languages, that could be put to cryptographic use," which "therefore has the function of an *in-group* language" (p. 143). Franceschini states that German dialect is used across all levels of education, meaning it is a "class-neutral colloquial language" (p. 143). She further argues that the German dialect in South Tyrol presents a barrier between German L1 and Italian L1 speakers, because the German dialect is the preferred colloquial language of German-speaking South Tyroleans, but Italian L1 speakers have difficulty acquiring this dialect. The results of the *Sprachbarometer* show that 35.5% of Italian language group understand only a few words or no German dialect at all and 53.7% are only able to speak a few words or none at while, while only 13.8% the Italian language group are able completely understand German dialect and 9.7% are able to speak it fluently.

The vast majority of the signs that I photographed for my corpus display High German, only with lexical variations, such as the use of *Quästur* instead of *Polizeipräsidium* for 'police headquarters' or *Schulsprengel* instead of *Schulbezirk* for 'school district'. Given the widespread use of German dialect in South Tyrol, I expected to find more instances of German dialect on the signs in the LL, but there were only a handful of instances in my corpus. I would argue that this is due to the fact that German dialect in South Tyrol is considered a spoken language and is rarely written. Because German dialect can create barriers between the German and Italian language groups, its use on signs in the LL could be viewed as indexing 'in-

group' status, which would be exclusive to Italian speaking South Tyroleans. In their discussion about the use of dialects (both German and Italian) in South Tyrol, the authors of the *Sprachbarometer* echo the points made by Franceschini (2011) concerning the use of German dialect: "Mundarten können einerseits als geschätzte Tradition und kultureller Reichtum angesehen werden; sie stellen einen wichtigen Aspekt der lokalen und regionalen Identität dar. Auf der anderen Seite können Dialekte auch ein Handicap darstellen, und zwar für Angehörige aller Sprachgruppen" (ASTAT, 2014, p. 137).

The first example of dialect can be seen in Fig. 30, which shows an advertisement found on the side of a bus stop in Bozen/Bolzano. The advertisement is for a local shopping mall called 'Twenty', which is located the southwest side of Bozen/Bolzano, outside of the city center. Looking first at the text on the sign, the use of English is immediately noticeable; all of the text in the upper third of sign is English.[51] The remaining text is in both German and Italian, with the German text always appearing before the Italian. More striking than the text, however, is the picture of a scowling woman holding out a rolling pin, with a line connecting her mouth to the text "BRING MI INS TWENTY SCHUSCHT…/PORTAMI AL TWENTY se no…" (Take me to Twenty [the shopping mall] or else…). German dialect is used for this text, but the only remaining text, found in the bottom right corner, is Standard German and Standard Italian: "bis zu/fino a -70%" (up to -70%). The placard itself is framed by a black border, the bottom and top of which is used to display text from the advertising agency that offers this space for advertisements. Although the text on this black frame is related to the actual advertisement within the frame, it is not from the same producer and I therefore consider it a separate

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[51] On another advertising placard for Twenty in my corpus, the same layout can be seen: the top third uses English for the name and the current promotion in the top right of the placard.

item.[52] The text-picture combination of the Twenty advertisement indexes a certain membership category of a female. What is indexed here is a potentially outdated and sexist category of a wife/woman: she is well-dressed in the style of the 1950's and is demanding to be taken to the shopping center, which implies she is not capable of doing this without help (from a husband). The use of this stereotype on an advertisement in South Tyrol shows that it not necessarily considered to be outdated by the producers and the imagined recipients of this advertisement. The rolling pin indexes the perceived role of the woman as a homemaker who cooks for her husband. This image is combined with the German dialect, which indexes colloquial speech and the in-group status of the speaker. According the 2014 *Sprachbarometer* (ASTAT, 2014), German dialect is the predominant language used by German-speaking South Tyroleans at home, with their family, and with German-speaking friends, whereas Standard Italian is the predominant language in those domains for Italian-speaking South Tyroleans. Because this advertisement displays this text as spoken words coming from the mouth of the woman pictured, the use of German dialect and Standard Italian represent the codes used by a woman speaking to her husband or partner. This is similar to the advertisement seen in Fig. 15 above, which also displays written text as if it were actual spoken language. In contrast, however, the advertisement in Fig. 15 chooses Standard German as the code to address German-speaking readers of the sign.

The advertisement in Fig. 30 combines modern elements with traditional and locally-oriented elements. The modern shopping mall and its use of an English name and description ("Shopping | Food | Cinema") stands in contrast to the traditional use of German dialect and an outdated gender stereotype. Standard German is used

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[52] This text is in Standard German and Standard Italian (one-to-one) and reads "Scan this poster with the Cippy App and discover the interactive content."

for the information on the sign related to the details of the sale (bis zu -70%) while English and German dialect are used for the attention grabbing aspects of the adverstisement.[53] The abstract depiction of mountains at the bottom of the sign also index the mountains and therefore the localness of South Tyrol.

Fig. 30: Advertisement for shopping center in Bozen/Bolzano. Dialect is used for the German text.

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[53] I found a similar switch from German dialect to Standard German on a sign in the Munich Hauptbahnhof. The dialect sentences "Des schmeckt net nur zua Wies'nzeit! Das Ries'n-Sandwich huift gega jeden Kohldampf für nur 3,60 EUR*" were followed by "*zum Mitnehmen und nur solange Vorrat reicht!" Dialect is used for attention getting, while Standard German is used for the details of the offer.

The next examples of dialect both use the same word, but in different contexts and on signs from different sign discourses. The sign seen in Fig. 31 is an advertisement for a festival centered on chestnuts, a type of tree and food that is often seen in South Tyrol. This sign was found in Meran/Merano, but the festival itself takes place in four villages just south of Meran/Merano. The name of the festival, "Keschtnriggl," is displayed in the largest text, while the remaining text is significantly smaller. On the right of the sign, an actual *Keschtnriggl* is shown, which is the namesake of the festival. A *Keschtnriggl* is a woven basket that is used to separate roasted chestnuts from their hull so that they edible portion inside can be consumed. The first part of the word, *Keschtn*, is dialect for *Kastanien* (chestnuts) and the second part, *Riggl*, is derived from the verb *riggln*, in Standard German *rütteln* (to shake) (Keschtnriggl -Kastanientage). The rest of the name of the festival is in Standard German and Italian: *Kastanientage* (chestnut days) and *Festa della castagna* (festival of the chestnut). The fact that the sign in Fig. 31 displays German dialect is only due to the name of the festival; all other information about the events of the festival are displayed in Standard German and Italian. The website for the event explains the meaning and use of the *Keschtnriggl* device, showing that this is potentially not common information for the those seeking information about the festival.

Fig. 31: "Keschtnriggl" festival advertised in German dialect. Found
in Merano/Meran.

The sign in Fig. 31 is advertising for a festival that is supported by both
private funding and the municipalities of Lana and Tisens and could be considered a
private sign from a commercial producer. The use of dialect for the name of a local
festival (*Gollimorkt*) can also be seen in Fig. 43 in Appendix A.

Fig. 32 shows a standard street sign, similar to the one seen in Fig. 12 above.
What is noteworthy about this street sign, however, is the fact that the German name
of the street uses the dialect word *Keschtn*, which was discussed above. The Italian *la
castagna* refers to the chestnut (fruit of the chestnut tree), while *il castagno* refers to
the chestnut tree itself, or in this case, the plural form *i castagni*, which is the
namesake of this alley. Despite the name itself being in German dialect, the type of
street (*Gasse*) is displayed in Standard German. Similar to the examples above (and
to Fig. 33 in Section 7.8 below), German dialect is used for just for the name, but for
the official part (*Gasse*), Standard German is used.

Fig. 32: Example of German dialect being used in a street sign in Dorf Tirol, just north of Meran/Merano.

7.8 Discussion of the LL analysis

My goal with the examples in the previous section was to examine instances of how multiple codes are used on signs in the LL of South Tyrol. Most of the time, these codes are some combination of the official languages of German and Italian. Returning to the methodological section of this chapter, there are three main aspects that can be considered when examining a sign in the LL: 1) the language(s) or code(s) present on the sign; 2) the physical and semiotic characteristics of the sign; and 3) the perceived function or message of the sign. Of these three, it is the language(s) or code(s) used on the signs in the LL of South Tyrol that are most readily noticed. In all of the locations where I collected LL data, German and Italian were always present on signs and there were practically no areas where just one of these languages was present. At least half of all signs were bilingual (most often with one-to-one translations) and wherever a monolingual German or Italian sign was found, a sign displaying the other language was only a few meters away. The official Discourse that both official languages and language groups should be given equal status has as an underlying assumption that there are two separate languages and two separate language groups. All signs displaying information in both German and Italian in a one-to-one fashion provide speakers of each of those languages the ability to ignore the other language and rely on their own language for information.

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To use a slightly extreme example, a monolingual German speaker with absolutely no Italian knowledge would be able to understand one of these one-to-one bilingual signs just as well as a monolingual Italian speaker with absolutely no German knowledge. Although these more extreme examples could be a monolingual German speaker from Germany or a monolingual Italian speaker from Southern Italy, such examples are rather rare within the residents of South Tyrol. According to the *Sprachbarometer* (ASTAT, 2014), an extensive language survey that is conducted in South Tyrol, a majority of German and Italian L1 speakers are highly competent in the other language as an L2. Of those in South Tyrol who speak German as an L1, 93.5% "beherrschen" Italian as an L2 and of the Italian L1 speakers, 64.9% "beherrschen" German as an L2. Amongst the Ladin L1 speakers in South Tyrol, 74.4% "beherrschen" German as an L2 and 82.0% Italian as an L2 (pp. 24-25). I quote the original term "beherrschen" here because this term is not explicitly explained in the *Sprachbarometer*, other than seemingly being used as an equivalent term for 'to speak as a second language' ("als Zweitsprache sprechen"). Based on this usage, I assume this to mean that these speakers have a near-native speaker level of mastery of this L2, meaning that they would be able to understand a sign written in either German or Italian. Additionally, the *Sprachbarometer* reports that 93.3% of South Tyroleans are multilingual, with only 2.5% being monolingual German speakers, 4.0% monolingual Italian speakers, and 0.2% monolingual speakers of other languages (ASTAT, 2014, p. 34).[54]

Having access to both languages only adds resources to the repertoire of the producers and recipients of these signs. The official Discourse of replicating all information in a one-to-one fashion must be reflected on government-produced

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[54] Data are only provided for German, Italian, and other languages. Monolingual Ladin speakers would be captured under 'other languages', meaning that practically all Ladin speakers are multilingual.

signs, while private producers have the option to deviate from this Discourse. Despite that, this one-to-one displaying of information in German and Italian is seen quite often on private signs. There are also many examples of instances where signs deviate from this discourse, as seen in some of the examples above. However, as can be also be seen from these examples, only rarely does a sign use only one official language or the other. Despite the fact that a majority of the population in South Tyrol can speak both German and Italian, most private signs in the LL do not seem to make the assumption that only one language or the other is necessary.

As a final example, I take a sign that was found in the town of Mals/Malles, which can be seen in Fig. 33 below. This sign is printed on A4 size paper and was hanging on the front door of a cycling and skiing shop in the center of Mals/Malles. The sign advertises a *Lichterumzug*, a lantern parade, that took place in Bozen/Bolzano. The sign was actually photographed a week after the parade took place, meaning the owner/employees of the shop did not remove the sign immediately after the event. The shop allowed the sign to be placed in their storefront, even though the shop is not the producer of the sign. The parade itself is "für saubere Luft, reines Wasser, lebendige Erde, gesunde Menschen heute und morgen" (for clean air, pure water, living earth, healthy people today and tomorrow). Such a pro-environment event likely matches the values of the customers of a shop that promotes outdoor sports, making this an example of an indexical sign being placed where its potential audience will be found. What I would like to focus on is the languages used on this sign. The name of the event is displayed in the top half of the sign and is displayed in four languages, all spoken in South Tyrol: Standard German, German dialect, Italian, and Ladin, all of which translate to 'healthy land, healthy people'. An internet search for further information about this event revealed that the primary name used for the event was the German dialect version, "Xunds Landl Xunde Leit." On the sign itself, the name is the only

information that appears in dialect. The type of event (*Lichterumzug* / *fiaccolata* / *manifestaziun*)[55] and the location (Bozen/Bolzano/Bulsan) are displayed in Standard German, Italian, and Ladin, while all further information is provided in just Standard German and Italian. This is noteworthy because this further information is necessary for understand what exactly the event is and when and where it takes place. The name at the top hints at the cause for which participants will be marching, but it is only in the smaller white text about two-thirds of the way down that the specific cause is displayed. Some final pieces of information are technically only in German, like the start time (only displayed as "18 *Uhr*") and the names of the start and finish locations of the march, but these are fairly insignificant. However, this still means that to completely understand this sign and the information it is providing about this event, either Standard German or Italian is necessary. What then does the addition of German dialect and Ladin contribute to the sign? With all four of these languages being used, in theory, everyone in South Tyrol is being addressed by this sign. Even if one of the three official languages is not a South Tyrolean citizen's mother tongue or even preferred language, they still have declared their affiliation to one of the three language groups. Although German dialect is not the same language as the official language of German, it is, as discussed in Chapter 4, the preferred language of communication amongst German-speaking South Tyroleans. This dialect references localness and in-group status for South Tyroleans, connecting that status to the "Landl" and "Leit" in the name of the event. This march is specifically about keeping healthy the land and people not just anywhere, but specifically those in South Tyrol.

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[55] The exact type of event varies between the languages. *Lichterumzug* means a 'parade of lanterns or lights'; *fiaccolata* means a 'torchlight procession'; and *manifestaziun* means 'event'.

Standard German and Standard Italian are the two lingua francas in South Tyrol. They may not be the languages used by some South Tyroleans in all domains of their lives, but they are the languages that will allow a person to communicate with other South Tyroleans, no matter which language group they belong to, a fact that is strongly reflected in the LL of South Tyrol.

Fig. 33: A sign using four different languages of South Tyrol: Standard German, German dialect, Italian, and Ladin. Found in Mals/Malles.

Chapter 8
Discussion and Future Directions

My goal with this dissertation was to use empirical data to gain insight into aspects of language use and identity in the German-speaking community in South Tyrol. The focus was on language use in two settings: spoken data from interviews with German-speaking South Tyroleans and signs found in the linguistic landscape of South Tyrol. In this final chapter, I present some concluding remarks and final points of discussion, followed by some potential future directions for this research. To introduce this concluding discussion, I return to my two research questions:

1) How is "being a South Tyrolean" constructed in guided conversations and linguistic landscapes? What are recurrent Discourses and linguistic patterns that make visible aspects of identity?

2) How is language choice in particular used to position other South Tyroleans with regard to local (both urban and rural) and global identities? What are relevant identity categories?

My goal with these two questions was to examine aspects of identity and the Discourses to which these aspects are connected. These Discourses are important because they can inform political and policy decisions in the province of South Tyrol and in the broader context of the country of Italy and the European Union. South Tyrol is seen as a model region in terms of its language policy and its successes in the fight for autonomy in the 20th century. Additionally, South Tyrol has seen great economic success over the past few decades and is currently the province with the highest per capita GDP in Italy (eurostat, 2019). Within this province, German is the majority language and, due to the proportional ethnic representation (*ethnischer Proporz*), the members of the German language group receive a larger number of

public jobs and public funding. Despite being a minority in the country of Italy, the German-speaking population is the majority in South Tyrol, where the German language is almost omnipresent. Although these current successes paint a bright picture for the German-speaking South Tyroleans today, this same group suffered a great deal under the fascist rule of Mussolini in the 1920's, 30's, and 40's and continued to struggle after the end of the Second World War until the province achieved autonomy rights in 1972. This combination of factors creates a complex situation in regard to group identities. Language plays the most important role in group identities in South Tyrol and language policies (part of the *Autonomiestatut*) have established protections for all three language groups. However, these protections have also led to these groups existing parallel to one another, despite there being constant contact between the groups.

As I discussed in Chapter 5, identity is a complex topic and the claims that a researcher can make about identity largely depend on the methodological approach and the type of data being analyzed. My approach to identity is grounded in the constructivist perspective, which holds that all identity is a product of interaction. However, my goal for this dissertation is that my analysis will be able to offer insights into not just the particular instances of interaction in my data, but also into larger Discourses in South Tyrol, something that is possible using a theoretical approach to identity like those of Zimmerman (1998) and Blommaert (2005). My focus was first and foremost on the use of the German language in South Tyrol, an approach that does have some limitations, as I will discuss below.

Looking at the first research question, "being a South Tyrolean" is a broad concept that encompasses a wide range of practices. These practices are the pieces that work together to construct a specific Discourse as it is defined by Gee (2014), which says that a Discourse consists of "ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using

various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity" (p. 143). In my analysis, I am restricted by my data on the types of practices that I can examine, which, using Gee's terms are primarily 'language', 'interactions,' and 'using various symbols'. Language is the primary focus in both my interview data and my LL data. Interactions are clearly found in the interview data and in a very limited fashion in the LL data. I argue that Bell's (2001) framework of 'audience design' applies to the language used in the LL, as the producer of a sign chooses a particular style (including the choice of code) to align with that of the intended audience. Finally, symbols can be found predominantly in the LL data. I consider these to be not only symbols such as arrows and pictograms commonly seen on signs, but also the sign discourses (Auer, 2010) that make certain types of signs (based on their location, shape, form, etc.) recognizable as such.

In the interview data analyzed, some of these practices included attempting to explain the complexities of South Tyrol to outsiders, such as why three languages are spoken there and why an understanding of the history is necessary for understanding how South Tyrol is today. In their interview, the participants MAR and SEB co-constructed the membership category of 'guest/newcomer to South Tyrol' which highlighted some of the complexities of how South Tyroleans see themselves in contrast to non-South Tyroleans. The category of 'non-South Tyroleans' proved to be complex and one that shifted depending on context of the conversation. Because these shifts occurred in the same conversation with the same interlocutors, it was evident that this category can be used to index different category-bound activities (Sacks, 1992). This practice is exemplified in how the term 'Italiener' could be used to index the category of 'non-German-speaking Italian', the members of which could include someone as geographically close as an Italian-speaking neighbor from South Tyrol or someone as far away as an Italian Sicily.

The linguistic practices described above point to a particular Discourse. I would summarize this Discourse by saying that it holds that South Tyrol, and the German-speaking South Tyroleans in particular, are distinct from the rest of the provinces and Italians in Italy. I argue that German-speaking South Tyroleans are able to move fluidly in and out of multiple language and cultural contexts, something that is greatly aided by the languages they speak. All five of my German-speaking interview participants, including the two that were not part in the interview analysis, were all happy to converse in Standard German and appeared to have no difficulties doing so. At the beginning of the interview, they were told they could use dialect as needed, but none of the participants ever resorted to this during the interview. As mentioned above, German-speaking South Tyroleans enjoy a privileged position not only due to the economic prosperity of South Tyrol, but also due to their broader linguistic repertoire. There is still a tension between them and their Italian-speaking neighbors, one potential cause of which is German speakers' proficiency in Standard Italian and Standard German.

Turning to the title of this dissertation, "Being a South Tyrolean" could be said to be the practice of "being not an Italian while still being from Italy." Evidence of this practice could also be seen in how SEB and MAR described their own maps of the place they are from. Group identity is of great significance to German-speaking South Tyroleans. As discussed in Chapter 4, the German language group in South Tyrol uses German dialect as a central symbol of their identity. Despite German dialect being spoken in practically every domain of South Tyrol, it was rarely seen written in the linguistic landscape. In the few cases that were found, the dialect seems to serve an indexical function rather than a pragmatic or communicative function. Glück et al. (2019) note that "[e]in wichtiger Aspekt ist weiter die Funktion des Deutschen, insbesondere des Dialekts, als Identitätsmarker der Minderheit, die sich auch bewusst von der italienischen Nation abgrenzt" (p. 273). However, this

does not mean that German-speaking South Tyroleans do not embrace the Italian language. Evidence from the linguistic landscape showed that, at least within the places where my data were collected, truly monolingual places in South Tyrol are quite rare. However, just because there are signs in both languages, does not mean that there is a mixing of the groups. In fact, the bilingual signs that display one-to-one translations in German and Italian reinforce the Discourse that there are two separate language groups and that they should be treated as equals. This Discourse is not just a way of thinking or an ideology, since the protection of both groups is encoded in the laws of the Autonomiestatut.

However, there is evidence for a mixing of these languages on an individual level, even if it is rarely seen in the signs of the LL. This mixing is mentioned by the participant RIV in her interview, in which she describes how in her home area of the *Unterland*, the proximity to the province of Trentino creates more opportunities for intermixing of the German and Italian language groups. One thing is abundantly clear in the analysis of this data, and that is that South Tyrol and German-speaking South Tyroleans are multilingual by almost any definition of the word.

This dissertation has just scratched the surface of the kind of research that could be carried in South Tyrol and in other multilingual areas. There are two main areas I would recommend for expanding this kind of research in South Tyrol: The first major goal for future research would be to extend the scope of the linguistic landscape portion of the project. This would include interviewing both producers and recipients of the signs in the LL of South Tyrol. My current corpus of LL data could be used when interviewing recipients. This could be done with participants from anywhere in South Tyrol looking at signs from a variety of locations and settings. However, comparing different age groups would be a productive approach, especially by focusing on younger South Tyroleans who have experienced a more recent version of South Tyrol. Interviewing the producers and recipients of signs in

the LL is something that is recommended in a number of articles on LL research, but to date, it seems it has only been done by Ziegler et al. (2018).

The second future direction would be to expand the focus to languages beyond German and Italian. Due to this dissertation coming out of the field of German Studies, it explored language use and identity primarily in the German-speaking community. However, as has been shown in this dissertation, the lines between these language communities in South Tyrol are often blurred, both due to the increasing number of bilingual South Tyroleans (not to mention the Ladin speakers, the majority of whom are already trilingual), but also the increasing amount of immigration to South Tyrol. Another current gap is that much of this research on South Tyrol has not taken into account the foreign-born population there, which has grown significantly over the past 15 years (ASTAT, 2017). When examining the language groups and language use, those living in South Tyrol whose L1 is not German, Italian, or Ladin are often not mentioned. Such migration only increases the number of languages and adds more complexity to questions of group identity. Expanding the linguistic landscape research to focus on the businesses and restaurants owned by recent immigrants would be an important next step in introducing these voices and languages to constructions of identity in South Tyrol. Amongst these immigrants, there appears to be an orientation to Italian, something that is evidenced in signage for those businesses. A handful of such shops and restaurants appear in my corpus, but they could not be included in the scope of this dissertation. Interviews with these producers and business owners would also be insightful, although these interviews would likely need to be conducted in Italian or the participants mother tongue, and would likely not be conducted in German.

Due to the complexity of identity in general and in particular to the combination of languages and history in South Tyrol, there is more work to be done on this topic. South Tyrol continues to be lauded as a success story for

multilingualism and for autonomy, accolades that are not misplaced. The goal of this dissertation is not to criticize or problematize the successes of German-speaking South Tyroleans, but to offer a more nuanced understanding of how particular Discourses are constructed and displayed through language use.

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Appendix A

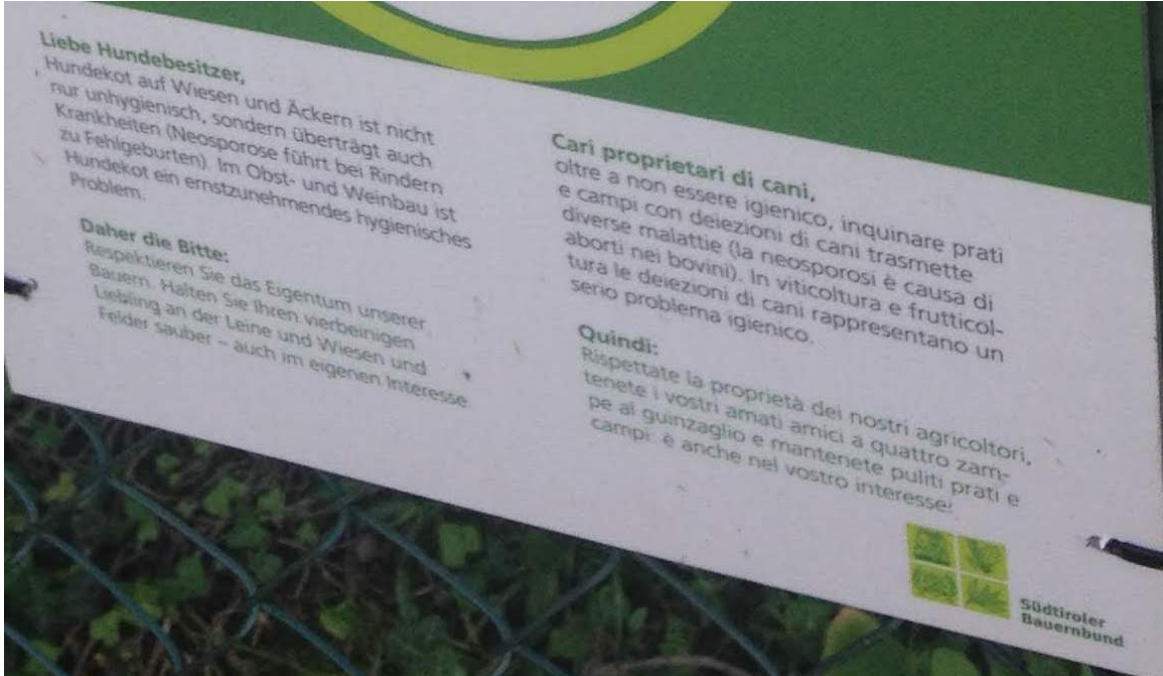# Additional Items from Linguistic Landscape Corpus

Fig. 34: Detail of sign seen in Fig. 18 on p.168.

Fig. 35: A second ensemble of advertisements in another shopping street in Merano/Meran.

Fig. 36: Example of a direct translation of a street name in Meran/Merano.

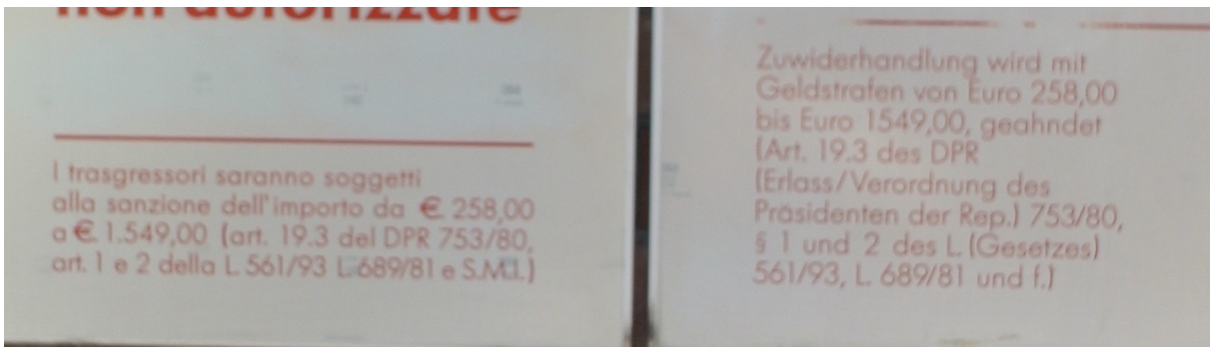Fig. 37: Example of duplicate advertising placards found in Meran/Merano.

Fig. 38: Detail of sign seen in Fig. 19 on p. 175.

Fig. 39: Place name signs found in South Tyrol train stations. The Italian name precedes the German one such signs.

Fig. 40: Another instance of the dialectal "Keschtn". Found in a shop window in Klausen/Chiusa.

Fig. 41: Advertisement for *Speck* in the window of a butcher shop in Merano/Meran.

Fig. 42: An ensemble of advertisements found in the village of Malles/Mals.

Fig. 43: Ensemble of advertisements found in the village of Malles/Mals. No Italian is used on these signs.
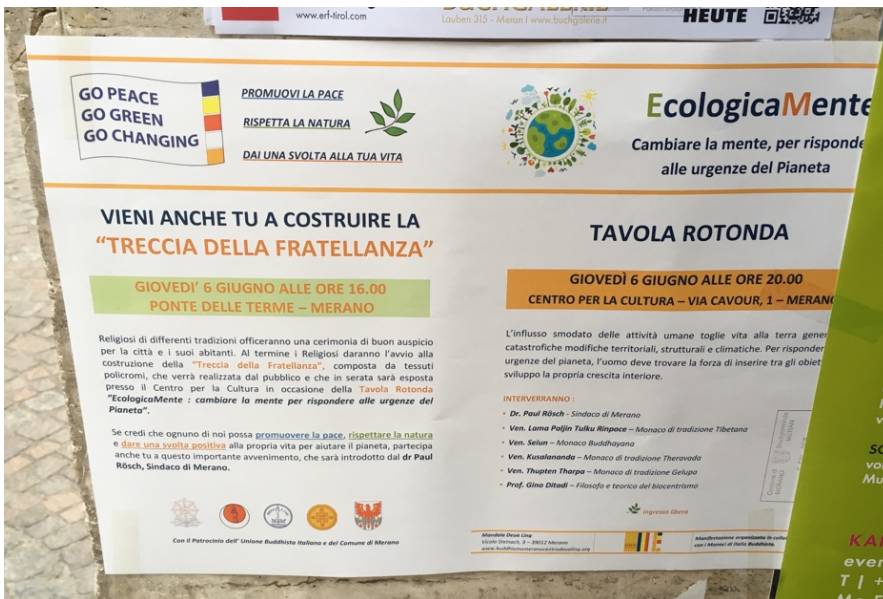
Fig. 44: Detail of advertisements of local events in Meran/Merano.

Fig. 45: Detail of advertisements of local events in Meran/Merano.

Fig. 46: Detail of advertisements of local events in Meran/Merano.

Appendix B
Transcription Conventions

For the interview transcriptions, the following GAT2 (Selting et al., 2009) conventions were used:

Sequenzielle Struktur/Verlaufsstruktur

`[   ]` `[   ]`	Überlappungen und Simultansprechen

Ein- und Ausatmen

`°h / h°`	Ein- bzw. Ausatmen von ca. 0.2-0.5 Sek. Dauer
`°hh / hh°`	Ein- bzw. Ausatmen von ca. 0.5-0.8 Sek. Dauer
`°hhh / hhh°`	Ein- bzw. Ausatmen von ca. 0.8-1.0 Sek. Dauer

Pausen

`(.)`	Mikropause, geschätzt, bis ca. 0.2 Sek. Dauer
`(-)`	kurze geschätzte Pause von ca. 0.2-0.5 Sek. Dauer
`(--)`	mittlere geschätzte Pause v. ca. 0.5-0.8 Sek. Dauer
`(---)`	längere geschätzte Pause von ca. 0.8-1.0 Sek. Dauer
`(0.5)`	gemessene Pausen von ca. 0.5 bzw. 2.0 Sek. Dauer
`(2.0)`	(Angabe mit einer Stelle hinter dem Punkt)

Sonstige segmentale Konventionen

`und_äh`	Verschleifungen innerhalb von Einheiten
`äh öh äm`	Verzögerungssignale, sog. "gefüllte Pausen"

Lachen und Weinen

`haha hehe hihi`	silbisches Lachen
`((lacht))((weint))`	Beschreibung des Lachens
`<<lachend>   >`	Lachpartikeln in der Rede, mit Reichweite
`<<:-)> soo>`	"smile voice"

Rezeptionssignale

`hm ja nein nee`	einsilbige Signale
`hm_hm ja_a` `nei_ein nee_e`	zweisilbige Signale
`ʔhmʔhm,`	mit Glottalverschlüssen, meistens verneinend

Sonstige Konventionen

`((hustet))`	para- und außersprachliche Handlungen u. Ereignisse
`<<hustend> >`	sprachbegleitende para- und außersprachliche Handlungen und Ereignisse mit Reichweite
`( )`	unverständliche Passage ohne weitere Angaben
`(xxx), (xxx xxx)`	ein bzw. zwei unverständliche Silben
`(solche)`	vermuteter Wortlaut
`(also/alo)` `(solche/welche)`	mögliche Alternativen
`((unverständlich, ca. 3 Sek))`	unverständliche Passage mit Angabe der Dauer
`((...))`	Auslassung im Transkript
→	Verweis auf im Text behandelte Transkriptzeile

Basistranskript

Sequenzielle Struktur/Verlaufsstruktur

`=`	schneller, unmittelbarer Anschluss neuer Sprecherbeiträge oder Segmente (*latching*)

Sonstige segmentale Konventionen

`:`	Dehnung, Längung, um ca. 0.2-0.5 Sek.
`::`	Dehnung, Längung, um ca. 0.5-0.8 Sek.
`:::`	Dehnung, Längung, um ca. 0.8-1.0 Sek.
`ʔ`	Abbruch durch Glottalverschluss

Akzentuierung

`akZENT`	Fokusakzent
`ak!ZENT!`	extra starker Akzent

Appendix C

Interview questions

Die ersten Fragen dienen nur, ein paar Hintergrundinformationen zu Ihnen zu sammeln. Weitere Fragen dienen, ein Gespräch anzuregen. Auf diese Fragen gibt es keine richtigen oder falschen Antworten und Sie dürfen später im Gespräch Ihre Antworten auf frühere Fragen gerne ändern oder korrigieren. Die Themen sind hier grob angegeben und Sie müssen sich nicht fest an diesen Fragen halten. Das Ziel ist es, dass Sie ins Reden kommen.

Wie heißen Sie?

Wie alt sind Sie?

Woher kommen Sie? Wie lange haben Sie da gewohnt? Wo sind Sie geboren?

Was für eine berufliche Ausbildung haben Sie? Wo haben Sie das gemacht? Was sind Sie jetzt von Beruf?

Sind Sie verheiratet? Woher kommt Ihre Frau/Ihr Mann? Welche Sprache(n) spricht sie/er?

Haben Sie Kinder? Wie alt sind sie? Welche Sprachen können sie?

Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie im Alltag? Bei der Arbeit? Mit Ihrer Frau/Ihrem Mann? Mit Ihren Kindern? Warum?

Können Sie mir ein bisschen von Ihrem Alltag erzählen? Welche Leute begegnen Sie im Verlauf des Tages?

Woran erkennt man einen echten Südtiroler/eine echte Südtirolerin? Gibt es sowas überhaupt? Was sind Merkmale oder Kennzeichen, die man als Südtirol haben muss? Was sind welche die man nicht die haben darf?

Wenn Sie im Ausland sind, wie beantworten Sie die Frage, „Woher kommen Sie?" Warum? Woran würden Sie einen anderen Südtiroler im Ausland erkennen? Haben Sie das schon gemacht? [Beispiele von anderen Ländern geben?] Welche Sprachen sprechen Sie im Ausland? Vermeiden Sie oder bevorzugen Sie bestimmte Sprachen?

Sind Sie Mitglied irgendwelcher Vereine oder Clubs in Südtirol? Welche Rolle spielen diese Vereine? Wer darf Mitglied werden?

Wenn ich in Südtirol leben würde, was müsste ich machen, um als Südtiroler wahrgenommen zu werden? Könnte ich je ein echter Südtiroler werden?

Welche Medien verwenden Sie im Alltag?

Welche Kleidung sollte man in Südtirol tragen? Welche nicht?

Was sind Marken oder Produkte, die besonders zu Südtirol gehören oder damit verbunden sind?

Gibt es Geschäfte oder Lokale, in die Sie gerne oder oft gehen? Warum? Gibt es welche, in die Sie nicht gehen würden? Warum?

Welche Sportmannschaften oder Nationalmannschaften feuern Sie an?

Womit identifizieren Sie sich? Was sind wichtige Teile Ihrer Identität? Wie möchten Sie wahrgenommen werden? Denken Sie überhaupt darüber nach? [letzte Frage]

Impulse/Aufhänger

Was halten Sie von den folgenden Begriffen?
Tirol
Nordtirol
Welschtirol
italienischer Südtiroler
deutscher Südtiroler

Bitte schauen Sie sich die folgenden Fotos an. Was assoziieren Sie mit diesen Fotos? Wo könnten die aufgenommen worden sein?
[ausgewählte Fotos von Orten/Lokalen in Südtirol, Zweisprachigkeit, aber auch Fotos von Orten, die Südtirol angrenzen, z.B. Österreich und Italien]

Bitte schauen Sie sich dieses Video an. Was halten Sie davon?
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ENyBHY8fLk

Was halten Sie vom folgenden Zitat:

„Ich bin kein Deutscher, kein Österreicher, kein Italiener – sondern ich bin Südtiroler. Eventuell noch Tiroler." – Reinhold Messner