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Project VVV and the Issue of Revitalising Valoc'

Introduction¹

In Italy, dialects have always expressed the cultural heritage of communities where they are spoken, and in part they continue to do so even today (Avolio, 2009). Since the national union in 1861, the country tried to impose Italian as the national language of writing but also of everyday speech. According to statistics, 75% of the population of Italy was illiterate in 1861; this rate dropped to 40% in 1911, and finally to just 14% in the 1950s, thanks to education and television (Turchetta, 2005, p. 5). Even though these policies of education have changed oral practices, dialects still maintain an important role for elder people, mainly in remote areas. These minority languages and dialects, endangered today, need actions and initiatives in order to protect their linguistic and cultural heritage in their territories.

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The reality of Val Masino (Sondrio), Northern Lombardy, is a good example of a small territory where the local language is still alive and present in daily life. The glottonym Valoc' (pronounced: [val'otʃ]), which is also the demonym (cf. Borghi, 2009, p. 349) used to refer to inhabitants of the valley, has been lost due to negative stigma and replaced by the common *dialèt* ([djal'et] 'dialect'). As in the case of other "dialects of Italy" (Avolio, 2009), Valoc' is in danger and its survival over time is uncertain. Consequently, our project focuses on observing the local context and language practices, the evolution of those practices in contact with Italian, and examining the transmission from generation to generation.

Our goal in this contribution is to give some insight into Valoc' and provide information about our research project called *Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäsen – VVV* [Vocabulary of Valoc' of Val Masino], highlighting its linguistic specificity and geographic isolation. The revitalisation process proposed would subsequently generate social issues around language practices and representations. In addition, considering that Valoc' is exclusively practised orally, it is difficult to promote without envisaging an action taking into account the writing, which justifies our lexicographic project of a dictionary and a descriptive grammar. Finally, the importance of social media today is also an opportunity to bring to light Valoc', its practices and reality, as well as to open a meeting platform used as a research field to observe written practices.

In this article, we present the context of our research and describe our project, its theoretical framework and methodological approach. We also propose a description of Valoc', followed by a presentation of actions taken to promote its practices via the Internet and through activities organised at school.

1. Context of research

Val Masino is a lateral valley in lower Valtellina in the province of Sondrio,² the northernmost territory of Lombardy located between lake Como, Rhaetian Alps and Switzerland (north and north-east) and Bergamasque Alps to the south (see Fig. 1).

This mountainous province is the most direct link between northern Italy and Switzerland, and has been of strategic importance in history, mainly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, it became a very important connection between Milan

² *Provincia di Sondrio*, n.d. [<https://www.provinciasondrio.it/>].

and the Netherlands, both controlled by Spain during the seventeenth century. However, from 1512, Valtellina (with the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna) belonged, albeit with different levels of subjection, to the Swiss Republic of the Three Leagues, today the canton of Graubünden. Valtellina has been also known for giving its name to a part of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) called the Valtellina War (1620–1626) (Sella, 2003), and for a very sad episode during this period marked by religious tensions between Catholics and Protestants: the so-called *Sacro Macello* (the sacred slaughter), when many Protestants were massacred with the support of the Spanish troops on the night of 18/19 July 1620 (Cantù, 1853). In October 1797, the valley was annexed to the new Cisalpine Republic, before joining the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Valtellina was finally attached to the Kingdom of Sardinia in 1859, and then the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.



Fig. 1. Val Masino, province of Sondrio, Lombardy, Northern Italy (Federica Salamino)

Val Masino, which takes its name from the Masino River, is an isolated valley with only a single access to the lower part of Valtellina. This meant that the valley was very important, both as a refuge during wars and a way to reach Switzerland for smuggling, even though there are only two crossing points: *pas da zòca* at 2,746 m (Zocca Pass) and the *pas de bund* at 3,169 m (Bondo Pass). Since the end of the nineteenth century, the municipality of Val Masino has been autono-

mous. However, the homonymous valley is split between different neighbouring municipalities: Civo (south-west), Ardenno (south-east) and Buglio in Monte (east).

There are four villages in the whole territory (see Fig. 2). Cevo (Civo) is located in the lower valley, Cataeggio and Filorera – in the centre, and San Martino – in the upper valley, at the meeting point of Val di Mello (east) and Val dei Bagni (west), a valley famous for its thermal springs (see Fig. 3 and Fig. 4). In terms of ecclesiastical organisation, Cevo is part of the parish of Caspano (Civo), while Cataeggio and San Martino belonged to the parish of Mello and became autonomous in the eighteenth century (Libera, 1926). Each village has its own patron, and feasts are held throughout the year in order to show typical cuisine and traditional costumes: Saint Peter in Cataeggio, Our Lady of Carmel in Cevo, Saint Cajetan in Filorera, and Saint Benedict in San Martino. An important myth in the valley is the *Gigiat*, a character, half man and half goat, who lives hidden in the forest.

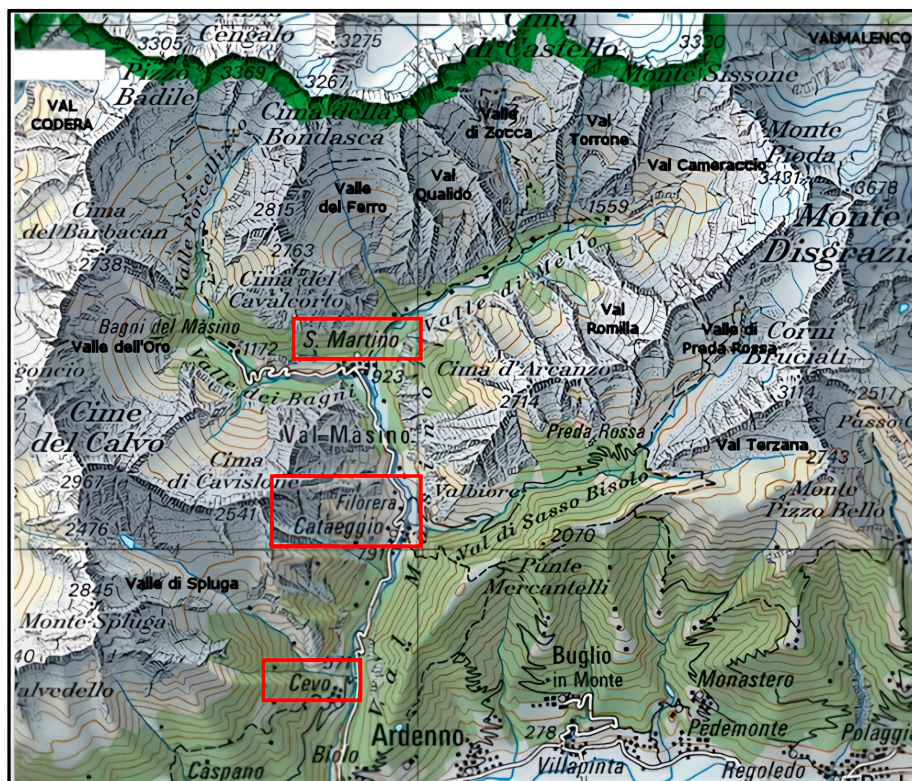


Fig. 2. Map of Val Masino. San Martino – upper valley, Cataeggio and Filorera – centre, and Cevo – lower valley

According to statistics³ there are around 900 inhabitants in the valley. The area lived on agriculture, breeding (mainly cows, sheep and goat), wood and granite production, the cultiva-

³ Some inhabitants are registered with AIRE (*Anagrafe degli Italiani Residenti all'Estero* – Register of Italians Living Abroad). Created in 1990 (Act No. 470, 1988), AIRE is a civil status registration service for the census of Italians living abroad for more than 12 months.

tion of chestnuts and tourism, thanks to its thermal springs of Bagni Masino (Songini, 1997), known since the sixteenth century. Today, the valley is also well known as an international tourist area, mainly for climbing, hiking, sky-running and more recently bouldering. Events such as *Trofeo KIMA*⁴ and *Melloblocco*⁵ have achieved fame worldwide.

Geographically isolated, inhabitants descend daily from the valley to the nearest urban centres of Morbegno and Sondrio for work, official matters or leisure activities. This isolation, in the past, was a major reason for leaving and finding new opportunities elsewhere. Migration flows to Argentina and the United States began at the end of the nineteenth century and lasted up to the 1950s. At the beginning, these waves of migration were individual – men used to migrate seasonally or for a long period of time (about 8–10 years); entire families joined them later and resettled in these countries. After World War II, another wave of migration from Valtellina was observed – to Australia, especially to Adelaide, South Australia. From the 1960s, flows moved towards Italian urban areas such as Milan, Rome, and the region of Brianza (Lecco, Como and Monza); neighbouring Switzerland (in particular cantons such as Graubünden, Ticino, Basel-Landschaft and Zurich); and to a lesser degree – Germany, the United Kingdom and France.



Fig. 3. View of Val Masino Cataeggio, Filorera, and San Martino (upper valley)

⁴ *Trofeo KIMA*, n.d. [<https://www.trofeokima.org/>].

⁵ *Melloblocco*, n.d. [<https://www.melloblocco.it/>].



Fig. 4. Cevo in the lower part of Val Masino

2. Method

This project was initiated in 2017, the year in which our research team met the family of Mario Songini and established the label VVV (*Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäßen*). Songini was a major actor in the valley, publishing manuscripts about the population (Songini, 2006) and its language. He also collected the local toponymic vocabulary for the series published by *Società Storica Valtellinese*⁶ (Songini, 1997). His desire to publish a comprehensive dictionary of Valoc' went back to the 1960s and 1970s, when he collected numerous interviews with people living in the valley. His idea was to frame an encyclopaedic dictionary with lemmas, definitions and detailed explanations of the history and culture of Val Masino. He assembled a body of audio recorded interviews and observations from 1960s to 2000 – audio reels (1960) and audio cassettes (1980–2000) were digitised thanks to the support of Endangered Language Archive (ELAR), School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, in 2020 (Scetti, 2020), and are now available on Pangloss Archive website⁷ (France).

This corpus, together with interviews and observations collected between 2017 and 2021, constitutes the body of data handled by our team for the project. About 50 interviews were conducted with speakers born between the 1920s and 1940s, focusing on the speak-

⁶ *Società Storica Valtellinese*, n.d. [<https://www.storicavaltellinese.it/>].

⁷ *Pangloss – Archive ouverte de langues en danger et sous-documentées*, n.d. (CNRS) [<https://pangloss.cnrs.fr/>].

ers' age and their use of Valoc', looking for a sort of "ancestral code" (Childs et al., 2014). Fieldwork also took place in Argentina (2013) and the United States (2014 and 2018). Our methodological approach being qualitative and ethnographic (Copland & Creese, 2015), observations and interviews were carried out from a sociolinguistic perspective. Semi-structured interviews, uncontrolled but only guided by the researcher, were conducted with speakers of Valoc' in Val Masino and in locations where they migrated. Our ethnographic approach was also important in order to collect a record of daily practices in Valoc'. Ethnography, being the qualitative study of a group or community, includes the observation, recording and description of patterns of language and culture, behaviour, norms, and beliefs (Snell et al., 2016). Consequently, the interviews led us to an analysis of both language practices and representations about these practices. In addition, they allowed us to highlight main discourses about language power, ideologies of language prestige, the stigmatisation of Valoc', and their role in the process of collective identification.

The main objective of our team is to correct, improve and complete Songini's version of the dictionary and add a descriptive grammar of the characteristics of Valoc'. Hence, in order to complete this lexicographic manuscript, it was important to digitalise the previous version using a clean-up program developed using FileMakerPro. It then became possible to manipulate and categorise lemmas, and add examples taken from interview extracts. To do so, our team, which includes linguists who are experts in computational linguistics and sociolinguistics, adopted a methodological approach including five major components: lexicographic, ethnographic, dialectological and sociolinguistic, IT and digital, and lastly, reflective and collaborative.

Concerning the latter point, our team has organised various events to meet local speakers of different age. Open days of Valoc' were offered to pupils at the primary school in the valley and at the secondary school in Ardenno; seminars and workshops were offered to local residents; an annual event is organised at the end of the year to follow up on the project. Due to the rise of social media networks and the role they play today, as a final point, a Facebook group page was launched in 2017: *Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäsen*;⁸ this allowed us to continue our study mainly during the Covid-19 pandemic. The page was of key importance for collecting evidence of written practices in Valoc', mainly "e-chat style" (Androutsopoulos, 2006, p. 420) since there were not many written records collected before

⁸ Facebook page *Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäsen*, n.d. [<https://www.facebook.com/VocabolarioValocValmasino>].

(diaries, school notebooks, poems, songs, letters sent between families in the Americas and Italy). Finally, our commitment with the population is therefore to carry out this project, aware of the importance of this heritage for the valley, its people and Valoc'.

3. A description of Valoc'

3.1. Valoc' and its varieties

Geographical isolation in former times caused the linguistic isolation of Valoc' in the region. However, its use in contact with other languages (in the context of migration) and with Italian shows how Valoc' evolved in time and space. An interesting fact is that Valoc' is also spoken in Argentina and Australia, and its last speaker in the United States died recently, leaving no descendants speaking the language.

In Val Masino, Valoc' is spoken today by older people living there, whereas the young generation mainly use Italian, which spread after the 1960s through school education. According to Mario Songini, before this period Italian was used only in dealing with the priest and the doctor (2006). Songini, who published a great deal about the valley and its Valoc', played a significant role in this process. When he was young, he was the teacher imposing the study and use of Italian on local children, but in later years he became an actor in promoting the use of Valoc' and devoted his entire life to his project. He wrote the first unpublished version of a dictionary which is the first record of written Valoc' in the area and the basis on which the project VVV was established. The 1960s was a very important period in the history of Italy as it was during this decade that, owing to education and television, the Italian language became widespread, thus limiting the use of dialects in oral practices.

The process of language transmission has been interrupted and young children rarely speak Valoc' today. The majority of speakers of Valoc' are older and often have a low level of education. They have learned Italian but they seldom speak it – they still use Valoc' for most of their daily activities. Negative discourse about the use of this “dialect” being a non-dominant variety with less prestige has contributed to accelerating the process of its decline.

With regard to Valoc', it is a variety of Lombard, described as a variety of Western Lombard, and belongs to the Gallo-Italic group. Valoc' is very close to other varieties of Valtellinese spoken in Lower Valtellina (cf. Branchi & Berti, 2002) and other dialects of the Upper Lake

Como area. There are three main varieties within the valley: upper Valoc' in San Martino (SM), central Valoc', spoken in Cataeggio (CA) and Filorera (FI), and lower Valoc', spoken in Cevo (CE). Another variety has been recorded in Cornolo (CO), an old hamlet located between Cataeggio and Cevo on the western side of the valley, nowadays uninhabited. Thanks to our study, we also observed that the CA and FI varieties converged into one variety with few differences. Moreover, through our observations, mainly in Argentina, we found more common points between CA/FI and CE in former times, due to the proximity of this variety to other dialects of the Civo municipality, to which the village is attached. These varieties are very often differentiated in their vocalic and consonantal systems, morphosyntactic structure and lexicon.

3.2. Distinctive features of Valoc'

This Gallo-Italic variety first came under study in the nineteenth century (Biondelli, 1853). Described as a variety of the Western Lombard group, it was considered to be influenced by Eastern Lombard varieties only a century later. Studies have been conducted on the Cevo (CE) (Merlo, 1952) and Cataeggio (CA) varieties (Valsecchi Pontiggia, 1960). The influence of Eastern Lombard is still observed in these varieties today; they preserve different features in both the vocalic and consonantal systems, as well as in the morphosyntactic structure and lexicon (Bracchi, 1997).

In his comprehensive description of Valoc', Remo Bracchi (1997) observes the following:

- a) the vocalic and consonantal systems, e.g. changes, palatalisation, nasalisation, and elision;
- b) the morphosyntactic structure, i.e. convergence between the masculine singular *el* and the feminine plural *el*, the use of positional deictic adverbs oriented towards the speaking subject,⁹ phrasal verbs in combination with adverbs or prepositions (such as *sö* [s'ø] 'on, over'; *gió* [dʒ'o] 'down, below'; *inch* ['ink] 'in, inside'; *via* [vi'a] 'away'; *fœ* [f'œ] 'out, outside'), verbal truncation, uses of enclitic in verbal conjugation and collocations;
- c) lexicon with different uses, with the variety of San Martino (SM) being the closest to Lombard and Italian, e.g. 'hazel' is *colör* [kol'ør] CA/FI/CE or *nisciulä* [ni'ful'æ] SM; and 'cellar' is *cašel* [kaz'el] CA/FI, *nivölt* [niv'ølt] SM or *envölt* [env'ølt] CE.

⁹ This phenomenon is also found in other dialects of the Alps (cf. Ebnetter, 1993; Irsara, 2010; Prandi, 2015; Tognina, 1967).

In terms of lexicon, it was also interesting to observe that in some domains, such as flora and fauna, health and the house, pre-Latin forms (Celtic, Germanic, Lombardic) are preserved: *ämpoi* ['æmpoj] (Germ. *ampa*) 'raspberry'; *bar* [b'ar] (pre-Lat. *barr*) 'ram'; *värca* [v'ærka] (pre-Lat. *vraica*) 'heather'; *margunzin* [margunt'sin] (pre-Lat. *maga*-) 'lingonberry'; *scrana* [skr'ana] (Lomb. *skrana*) 'coffer'; *väsech* [v'æzek] (pre-Lat. *was*) 'garbage'; *napel* [nap'el] (Germ. *hnapp*) 'bowl'.

Valoc' is characterised by similar and divergent patterns between its varieties, each one maintaining its own characteristics and identity. This was the main point to consider while working on a dictionary covering all the varieties, even though the central one (CA/FI) is the most represented due to the origins of Songini.

4. Activities promoting Valoc' on the Internet and at school

One of the main objectives of our project is to promote activities concerning practices and representations of Valoc' within the community. What has been a major tool in this respect is the Facebook page as well as workshops organised at school.

The Facebook page opened in 2017 and has been used as the most direct way to stay in contact with the people of Val Masino and speakers of Valoc' elsewhere. At first, it was used to provide information about events and general information on the VVV project. However, during the pandemic, this page became very useful for studying written practices, a sort of "breathing space" (Fishman, 1991) for Valoc', and the creation of a proper virtual community (cf. Belmar & Glass, 2019). A corpus of written exchanges allowed us to consider in depth the notion of "purity" and the question of standardisation as opposed to creativity, highlighted by the very strong desire to write by some participants. To address the notion of "purity", it is interesting to consider ideologies around a language seen as "pure", "proper" or "exact", observed in language practices, but also in terms of identity representations (Maurer & Desrousseaux, 2013) as well as projects concerning uniform orthography (cf. Brasca, 2011).

The Facebook page offered a platform for visibility (conferences, meetings, events) and promoted practices in Valoc' in an entertaining way. Weekly publications started by animating the site and encouraging members to react and write in their variety of Valoc'. The publication project was well defined from the outset, when we decided to propose three thematic sections (Scetti & Salamino, 2020). The section *Provèrbio del lönedé* [The Prov-

erb of Monday] was published on Monday, focusing on a proverb in Valoc' extracted from Songini's collection. On Wednesday, in the section *I mode de dé del mercoldé* [Sayings of Wednesday], sayings were published, concluding with a photo game called *Ġiöghè ensem a gnün?* [Do You Want to Play with Us?], published every Friday. In this section, members could try to find words describing all the objects presented in the picture. The team would collect the answers and produce a second version of the picture, including terms describing every object and published at the weekend. In the process, local people and other Valoc' speakers could play and find an interesting way to learn the written language. Many members commented in Italian or trying to do their best in Valoc'. Sometimes they corrected their own or others' writing, but they often requested proper corrections by a member of the research team. Spelling was a crucial point – the approach we adopted was not to discourage members from participating in the games and from writing in Valoc'. We offered alternatives in different varieties trying to help them in an in-depth reflection about the diversity of each variety. Italian was also very useful in order to maintain contact with members and when an explanation or correction was needed.

Another important activity organised by the research team was an annual workshop offered to pupils at primary and secondary school. These interventions were proposed, in general, before the Christmas break at the primary school *Pierangelo Marchetti KIMA* in Cataeggio (children from 6 to 11 years old) and at the secondary school *Ezio Vanoni* in Ardenno (children from 12 to 15), the first big town down the valley. The workshops were intended to introduce Valoc' to young children who have a passive knowledge of it. At first, as an ice-breaking activity, the researcher would speak Valoc' to them, making contact and creating an atmosphere different from a normal class. Each pupil would then talk about practices in Valoc' within their family and outside. During these workshops, it was rare to find a pupil who used Valoc' within the family. The case would normally be to use it mostly when grandparents were present. We observed that language transmission across generations had been lost, as well as that Valoc' was used in situations of irony and mockery. Our role was then to show how it was used as a language of everyday communication, and to show how the dictionary project proved its importance.

In the second sequence of the intervention, the researcher would ask the pupils to play with the dictionary: to find a word, to read it, write it and to propose a sentence with this word in Valoc'. This activity was generally well received. Pupils proposed sentences they had heard at home or new ones, related to the situation, the context or directed to

a classmate. There were differences observed between the primary and the secondary school. Firstly, the pupils at the primary school are all from Val Masino and know Valoc'. They were the most interested and happy to "play this new game". On the other hand, the pupils at the secondary school are from different localities around the Ardenno district and discourse had to be more general – how local varieties of lower Valtellina were used at home. We could observe that the pupils from the municipality of Buglio in Monte (the eastern side of Val Masino) were more active while using their own "dialect" than others. Here, age played a major role. The pupils were more concerned about their peers' observations and comments; the tasks were sometimes unfinished or finished early. However, this allowed more time to discuss the dialectal situation in the province and to bring to light the dialectal reality of the entire country – Italy being rich in language variety, with more than 8,000 municipalities where a dialect is spoken. Each one represents one piece in an extraordinary mosaic (Avolio, 2009).

To sum up, these activities were important during our study – they promoted the practice and use of Valoc', both in person and orally, but also remotely and in the written form. In general, the speakers were very interested and participated in games, enquiries and exchanges.

Conclusion

In conclusion, our aim is to bridge a gap between the older and the younger generation in the Valoc' reality in Val Masino, as well as to create a bridge to connect the valley to Valoc' speakers who migrated elsewhere; in both cases we mainly rely on the use of the Internet. In order to promote Valoc', our group and community are going to continue the dictionary project, in print and online, as well as the website and interventions in schools. We would like to stress the importance of Valoc' as part of the heritage of the region and its residents, but also to awaken young people's curiosity about the identity of their families – doing all this, however, without trying to advocate for a sort of "micro-ethnicity", which would isolate them even more, something that local inhabitants do not want.

Indeed, preserving the diversity of its varieties and the identity of Valoc' in its territory is our main goal, as is ridding it of the stigmatising discourses about who speaks Valoc' and how. Promoting a so-called "dialect" today also means promoting a political ideology and publicising its practice, as well as seeking an advantage and economic interest in doing

so (Duchêne & Heller, 2012). In this sense, it would be interesting to review Val Masino's tourism policies, taking into account the use of Valoc' along with foreign languages such as English, French and German used currently to attract a much larger European public.

In terms of education, the most perplexing of challenges would be to see Valoc' taught at school one day. At first, we should pay attention to the support of the school, often seen as the first step (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006), since it is due to school education that Valoc' and other so-called "dialects" have been lost in the past (Romaine, 2002). Secondly, it seems very difficult to envisage this today, considering the national policies towards regional and provincial languages (cf. Coluzzi et al., 2018). Nonetheless, classes could be given privately within associations. Consequently, it is important to consider that young people who would use Valoc', written and oral, become responsible for its future but who could equally be agents of its destruction (O'Rourke & Pujolar, 2015). This dichotomy would necessitate the review of the position of these "new speakers" (cf. Coluzzi, 2019) in relation to the diagram of O'Rourke and Ramallo (2011, pp. 150–151), and the interest mainly coming from middle-class young people from a city and more left wing. Indeed, we should think about political decision-makers and municipal administrations having an important role in these actions, however without imposing a precise political ideology which often revolves around certain conservative ideologies, often aligned with the right wing.

To sum up, in this paper we have reflected on how the promotion of Valoc', through our project, represents only a very small part in a series of multi-pronged actions that would need to be taken by authorities and actors within the territory. Considering how difficult it is to protect somewhat neglected intangible heritage without institutional support, our contribution shows how Valoc' is in danger and needs to be revitalised (cf. Olko & Sallabank, 2021). Its speakers are often aware of this. To carry out our project, it is therefore essential to find the link between language and identity across the region, while attempting to offer a new vision of Valoc' that transcends discourses and stigmas afflicting its practices and its speakers.

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Project VVV and the Issue of Revitalising Valoc'

This article provides an insight into the complex issue of producing the first edition of the dictionary of Valoc' – a variety of Lombard spoken in Val Masino, lower Valtellina (northern Italy). This new lexicographic project was initiated in 2017 and is called *Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäsen* – VVV [Vocabulary of Valoc' of Val Masino].

Our research team works on the material of an unpublished dictionary based on interviews collected in the 1960s and 1970s. Our methodological approach is both that of dialectology and sociolinguistics as we complement our study with observations and interviews among Valoc' speakers of different ages, genders and occupations, to see how it is still used today. Moreover, our approach allowed us to observe the process of the transmission of Valoc' from one generation to another as well as some discourses among speakers on its uses.

In conclusion, this contribution brings us to reflect on how the new “global” society may influence the process of transmission of this endangered language which needs to be revitalised. Interventions at primary and secondary school have been offered in order to introduce Valoc' as a language of everyday communication and not only as the “dialect” of pupils' grandparents. We examine the importance of developing a dictionary in order to promote a norm of reference in writing as a way to preserve Valoc' for the future.

Keywords:

Valoc' (Lombard) dialect; endangered minority language; language contact; language documentation and archiving; revitalisation

Projekt VVV i kwestia rewitalizacji dialektu Valoc'

Niniejszy artykuł przedstawia złożone zagadnienie, jakim jest opracowanie i wydanie po raz pierwszy słownika Valoc', dialektu używanego w Val Masino, w dolnej Valtellinie (północne Włochy). Ten nowy projekt leksykograficzny rozpoczął się w 2017 roku i nosi nazwę VVV (*Vocabolär del Valoc' de la Val Mäsen*) [Słownik Valoc' z Val Masino].

Praca naszego zespołu badawczego bazuje na starszym, nieopublikowanym słowniku, opartym na wywiadach zebranych w latach 60. i 70. XX wieku. Nasze opracowanie obejmuje zarówno dialektologię, jak i socjolingwistykę, gdyż uzupełniamy nasze badanie obserwacjami i wywiadami wśród posługujących się dialektem osób w różnym wieku, różnej płci i różnych

zawodów, chcemy bowiem zobaczyć, w jaki sposób Valoc' jest nadal używany. Co więcej, nasze podejście metodologiczne pozwoliło nam zaobserwować proces przekazywania Valoc' z pokolenia na pokolenie oraz zebrać informacje wśród jego użytkowników na temat zastosowań dialektu.

Podsumowując, praca skłania nas do refleksji nad tym, jak nowe „globalne” społeczeństwo może wpłynąć na proces transmisji tego zagrożonego dialektu, który wymaga rewitalizacji. Zaproponowane działania w szkole podstawowej i średniej mają na celu wprowadzenie Valoc' jako języka codziennej komunikacji, a nie tylko „dialektu dziadków”. Uważamy, że słownik ten będzie spełniał zadanie promowania normy pisanej, która może pomóc w zachowaniu Valoc' dla przyszłych pokoleń.

Słowa kluczowe:

dialekt Valoc' (język lombardzki); zagrożone języki mniejszościowe; kontakt językowy; dokumentacja i archiwizowanie języka; rewitalizacja

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