

The Linguistic Landscape of Toulouse

Theories and Methodologies for Exploring Urban Multilingualism

Master's Dissertation

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Introduction

Over the past 15 years, the term ‘linguistic landscape’ (hereafter LL) has evolved from implying the general language situation of a given country, territory, town, or locality, to referencing a specific discipline for exploring the complexities of language contact in public spaces. Whilst the study of language interaction in society is not a new development, research has traditionally focussed on spoken language, and until recently the written medium has attracted relatively limited interest. This shift in focus means that the city is now not only considered a ‘place of talk’ (Halliday, 1978: 154), but a showcase for the visual display of words, symbols and images.¹ In the years following the first LL conference held in Tel Aviv in 2008, enthusiasm has grown in sociolinguistics to develop existing research techniques and methodologies in order to further our understanding of language issues in global urban spaces. These developments have been far-reaching, with scholars from an ever-expanding array of disciplines across the humanities applying LL to numerous research areas. These have included (but have not been limited to) ethnic and cultural divisions (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht, 2006); translation (Reh, 2004); commercialism (Huebner, 2006); tourism (Kallen, 2009); political conflict (Puzey, 2012); immigration (Garvin, 2010); education (Brown, 2012); advertising (Bagna and Machetti, 2013); and art (Mor-Somerfeld and Johnston, 2013).

A substantial number of publications credit Landry and Bourhis (1997) as the first to identify the term ‘Paysage linguistique’. In a special issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* (2006) dedicated to the LL, all four papers cited this article in their introductions and hence, for many scholars, the work of Landry and Bourhis has become the de facto origin of the field (Gorter, 2006; Shohamy and Gorter, 2009; Marten, Van Mensel and Gorter, 2012). Although we can argue that the LL in its current format originated in 1997, sociolinguistic interest in the language of signs dates back at least to the 1970s. Backhaus (2007: 12) hails studies carried out by Masai (1972), Tulp (1978) and Monnier (1989) as important foundations of the LL cannon, all of which, he

¹ Cenoz and Gorter (2008), Coulmas (2009: 14), Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre and Armand (2009: 256) and others have suggested variations of ‘multilingual citiscape’ as a technically better definition in the growing science of reading multilingualism in contemporary societies.

argues, were built on pre-existing studies of speech patterns carried out by Labov (1972), Trudgill (1974) and Halliday (1978). More recently, the introduction of the term LL by Landry and Bourhis in 1997— and its renaissance by Gorter, Cenoz, Huebner, Backhaus, and Ben-Rafael and colleagues in 2006 — has sparked a renewed interest in written language and the ways it is governed, perceived, and exploited in our contemporary globalised world. The last seven years have seen the publication of over 85 chapters in edited volumes devoted to the LL, as well as dozens of articles in a number of prominent journals.² Despite many of these pulling the field in new and interesting directions, they share the common view that the public space is the forum in which diverse and opposing language attitudes interact and compete, shaping the multilingualism of the spaces in which we live.

The subject of this dissertation is the city centre of Toulouse, an area which is not ostensibly multilingual. The French state pursues a rigorous monolingual language policy, and the visibility of other languages is limited not only by legal regulation, but also by the resulting widespread monolingualism of the majority group. In other words, not only is this policy visualised on signs written and mediated by the state, but it is also supported on private inscriptions, written by those whose monolingualism pays testament to the success of official language management strategies. Despite the apparent hegemony of French, however, this LL is not an exclusively monolingual space. In this way, the project underscores the most important outcome of LL research: that no spaces in our rapidly globalising world are truly monolingual (Hélot, Jansses, Barni and Bagna, 2013: 17).

The data collected in this study describe a LL in which French enjoys a majority presence, but where other languages have a marked impact in various situations and contexts. English plays a significant role on particular types of sign, most frequently slogans, advertisements and trade marks in the commercial sector. It is, therefore, unsurprising that it features as the most common language alongside French on multilingual signs. This supports the assertion offered by Pennycook (1994), and upheld by Phillipson (2003) and Cenoz and Gorter (2009: 57), that the omnipresence of English

² This includes sociological journals, such as the *International Journal of Multilingualism*, the *International Journal of Linguistics*, *Language in Society*, and the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*; and others focussing more specifically on linguistic disciplines, such as *French Language Studies*, *French Studies*, *English Studies* and *English Today*.

in diverse spaces throughout the world is 'one of the most obvious markers of the process of globalisation'. A particularity of this study is Occitan, a regional minority language originating from the south of France, for which Toulouse is the symbolic capital. Despite the dearth of Occitan speakers and the general agreement that the language is 'moribund' (Judge, 2007: 112), the presence of its written form in Toulouse indicates that efforts are being made to encourage its revival. This aspect of the dissertation reflects on a contemporary research direction in the field, examining how the LL can reflect, obscure, contribute to, and even initiate, linguistic revitalisation.

The dissertation consists of five sections. Following the introduction, section two provides the background context for the project. It examines the demographic and linguistic situation in Toulouse, and grounds the study in the theoretical and analytical approaches of existing work in the field. Section three outlines the methodological model adopted by the project, and discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the research framework. Section four constitutes the principle data analysis and discussion, demonstrating the visibility, roles and uses of various languages in the LL. Finally, section five concludes the study and places it in the context of the wider field, and offers insight into possible directions for future research. The aim of the dissertation is to answer the following research questions:

1. Which languages are present, and in which contexts?
2. Is there a linguistic hierarchy?
3. To what extent is Occitan being revitalised in the LL?

The first research question calls for an overview of the languages that can be seen in the LL, and on which types of signs they feature. In most cases throughout the world, the language of the majority community enjoys dominance in the LL (Xiao, 1998; Ramamoorthy, 2002). Accordingly, studies of French LLs have unanimously found the official language to be present on at least 87% of signs, with this domination largely unchallenged on both mono- and multilingual items (Bogatto and Hélot, 2010; Blackwood, 2010, 2011; Bogatto and Bothorel-Witz, 2013). This question asks whether the Toulouse LL pays further testament to the success of language policy and the hegemony of French, or whether in fact multiple languages coexist alongside French, in spite of the legislation which aims to curtail their presence in the public space.

Linguistic diversity is an important consideration in the second research question, which calls for an analysis of the relative status of each language in the LL. Not only can a hierarchy be measured by the comparative presence of each language across the dataset, but also by the semiotic power relations between codes on multilingual signs. In terms of a linguistic hierarchy, this question tests Shohamy's (2006: 10) contention that the presence (or absence) of languages 'sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society'. Not only does language visibility index issues of identity and cultural or commercial globalisation (Crystal, 1997); it also informs us about the complex relationships between the dominant official language, and the presence of immigrant groups or the revitalisation of regional languages.

The third research question looks specifically at Occitan. The introduction of the language in pre-recorded station announcements on the metro (and more recently on the tramway) has provoked various reactions amongst the city's inhabitants (Diver, forthcoming); but the role of the language in the visual landscape, and the implications of this as an indicator (and initiator) of language revitalisation are less clear. Even though the whole of France is subject to a uniform language policy, stark contrasts have been noted in degrees of regional language visibility in different regional areas (Blackwood, 2010: 304). On the one hand, Occitan may be confined to certain, specific contexts; alternatively, its supporters might be attempting to increase its visibility in a wide variety of spaces. This research question examines how Occitan activists use the written medium, and whether or not their cause suffers under pressure from the dominant francophone ideology, which is manifested on both official and non-official signs.

Context and Literature Review

2.1 The Background

With a population of just over 440,000 people, Toulouse boasts the fourth largest city centre in France (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, 2012). Its size is also significant in more local terms, as the city is home to 20 more inhabitants per square kilometre than the surrounding département of Haute-Garonne (ibid.). Haute-Garonne is the second largest of eight départements in the Midi-Pyrénées region, which itself is the largest in mainland France (larger even than the Netherlands). Despite its substantial size, it is the 6th most sparsely populated region in the country (INSEE, 2010). Central Toulouse is thus one of the major urban hubs in France, and its place as the administrative and symbolic centre of such a vast and scantily-populated region emphasises both its topological significance within its immediate area, and its social, economic and political importance as one of France's principal cities.

Shohamy and Gorter are among leading scholars who have recurrently argued that LL research is central in the growing belief throughout the social sciences that the towns and cities of our world are rapidly becoming more multinational, multicultural, multi-ethnic, and therefore multilingual (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009: 1; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Barni, 2010: xiii; Hélot, Barni, Janssens and Bagna, 2013: 17). The forces of globalisation now resonate even in the furthest and most isolated areas of the planet, and the world languages through which international politics, companies, brands, enterprises, and individuals communicate have become habitually visible in diverse places. A principle benefit of the LL is that it permits analysis of the ways in which specific spaces are shaped by this globalisation, as the international meets the national, and both come into contact with the local.

One way these trends are represented in the LL is by the languages of immigrant groups, who, in any town, city or country, are typically a minority. Such numerical disparity is evident in Toulouse, where in 2010 immigrants accounted for 13.4% of the population (INSEE, 2010b). Of these, 20% come from Algeria, and a further 20% from the wider North African Maghreb. The rest of the immigrant community originate from a range of countries, predominantly in Europe and Africa. Although an exhaustive list is not available, an earlier study indicated that Midi-Pyrénées was home to immigrants of

over 100 different nationalities (INSEE, 1999: 16). From the perspective of the LL, such data provide a useful backcloth on which to project quantitative findings. Here, the LL is used to explore the visibility of different linguistic communities on public signs with a view to assessing the ideologies of the authors who write them. Yet, since nationality does not always imply language, correlations between demographic statistics and the LL must be drawn cautiously. Whilst it is fair to assume that migrants to Toulouse are likely to write in their first languages (Spolsky and Cooper 1991: 81), this does not discount the possibility that they may also write in French. Moreover, given the high number of immigrants who go on to achieve French citizenship — almost 50% in 1999 (INSEE, 1999: 12) — the classifications ‘français’ and ‘immigré’ do not delimit the language practices of those they describe.

In terms of Occitan, assessing the links between language ideologies, regional identity and the LL is particularly challenging. Whilst the French state provides succinct definitions for ‘français’ and ‘immigrés’, its ideological refusal to recognise any regional subdivisions of national identity means there are no demographic data against which to measure the vitality of Occitan in Toulouse. At this point, the LL offers a useful opportunity to illustrate how languages transcend nationality as defined by the state. It points to the prevailing attitudes of migrants from diverse linguistic backgrounds that have come to the city, and explores how the languages of various groups are used in conjunction with French (or other languages) on mono- and multilingual signs. The LL may exhibit the continuing endurance of minority languages in various contexts, or it may testify to the extinction of their written form, in an illustration of what Romaine and Nettle (2000) refer to as ‘vanishing voices’. It is in this respect that we value the LL, as it permits a systematic and controlled exposure of social realities that may otherwise appear random and unidentifiable.

2.2 Occitan

Occitan is one of France’s principal regional languages. This is partly a result of a rich literary history which dates back to 950,³ but mainly because it is said to have the greatest and most widespread number of speakers. Exact figures are unknown, but

³ See Sibille (2003: 179-183) for an overview of the Occitan canon.

recent estimations have ranged from 600,000 to 3 million, prompting some scholars to declare Occitan the second language of France (Sibille, 2002; Lyster and Costa, 2011: 5). Such estimations are due, on the one hand, to the size of the geographic area in which the language has traditionally been spoken: it has been said that Occitan covers 31 départements (Judge, 2007: 107), reaching as far north as Limoges (Boyer and Gardy, 2001: 5), and into Spain and Italy where it benefits from official status (Suils and Huguet, 2001). On the other hand, the vast range of Occitan may in fact result from its comprising a group of languages rather than a single standardised form. There has long been disagreement over the definition of ‘Occitan’, and many still consider it an umbrella term for several sub-varieties such as Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, Provençal, Auvergnat, Niçois, and Corezien (Sibille, 2000: 35; Blanchet, 2004: 3; Judge, 2007: 111). It is also important to note that, unlike some of its regional counterparts, such as Alsatian or Breton, the boundaries of Occitan are unclear because no nominal region exists.

This semantic, cultural and ideological disagreement has given way to increasingly contradictory data concerning speaker numbers. Sibille (2003: 187) notes that a survey carried out in 1999 suggested there may have been as many as 2 million Occitan speakers; but many have since labelled this a generous overestimate.⁴ What does seem clear, however, is that the majority of speakers are now over 60 (Tabouret-Keller, 1999: 110; Sibille, 2003: 187), which is coherent with the significant declines suffered by regional languages since 1920, when Occitan is supposed to have boasted 10 million speakers (Sibille, 2000: 39).⁵ Along with the rise of French in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the lasting Occitanist/dialectist debate means that, in the words of Boyer and Gardy (2001: 7), it is difficult to analyse a language which is now ‘torn apart and barely visible’.⁶

Since the millennium, steps have been made to overcome the ideological differences between those who consider Occitan a single language, and those who wish to preserve its local varieties. In terms of revival, the most promising area is perhaps education,

⁴ This viewpoint is put forward most pointedly by Judge (2007: 111-112), who reasons that the survey was not scientific because it differentiated only between ‘understanding’ and ‘speaking’ Occitan, and because it was subject to the political agendas of the various regional bodies that conducted it.

⁵ See Ayres-Bennett, 1996: 13; Ager, 1996: 46; Judge, 2000: 81-82 for overviews of the decline of regional languages in France.

⁶ ‘[Occitan est] une langue que l’on peut qualifier de déchirée, ou encore de mal visible’.

where the move towards an agreed orthography has facilitated the learning, acquisition, and dissemination of the language (Blanchet, 2004: 151). Occitan is now a language option in many public and private institutions, as well as the language of instruction in a small number of immersion schools, named Calendretas. These institutions currently teach the orthography set forward by the Occitanists, yet also encourage the spoken use of local dialects and variants (Judge, 2000: 64). Furthermore, there have been economic benefits from partnerships with the Catalan Bressola schools, which have encouraged mutual collaboration between activists of both regional languages (Lyster and Costa, 2011). Though Occitan has carved out a niche in education, the effect this has on language shift in society at large remains unclear. Judge (2000: 64) argued that the 12,532 school children learning Occitan in 1997/8 represented a promising statistic for language revivalists, yet, according to Lyster and Costa (2011: 6), this number had halved by 2010/11. Importantly, enrolment in the immersion schools has gradually risen since the mid-1990s at both primary and secondary level (Sibille, 2003: 188-189); and in the Occitan Studies departments at the Université II Le Mirail in Toulouse and the Université Paul Valéry in Montpellier, both of which offer undergraduate programmes in Occitan language and culture.⁷

2.3 Language Policy and English

Of principle importance in this dissertation is the legislation which has, in the last twenty years or so, dominated academic discourse about France and its languages (see Lodge, 1993; Ager, 1996, 1999; Blackwood, 2008 for overviews; and Judge, 2000, 2007; Adamson 2007 for examples). In France, language policy is best summarised as the state's strategy to restrict the influence of other languages in order to protect the hegemony of French. Although this applies to any presentation of language in the public domain, the state focusses considerable resources in the commercial sector, where multiple languages are becoming more and more visible. Not only have the languages of advertising, marketing and commercial cultures attracted widespread scholarship in French studies (Grigg, 1997; Schlick, 2003; Martin, 2007), but also in the LL, with several early studies heralding multilingualism the outcome of international

⁷ For more information on Occitan degree programmes in Toulouse, see http://w3.letmod.univ-tlse2.fr/occitan/index.php?page=2_1; and in Montpellier, <http://www.univ-montp3.fr/occitan/>.

commercialism (Backhaus, 2006, 2007; Huebner, 2006; Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006). Throughout LL research, the use of English in the public space has been variously explained in terms of prestige and style (Ross, 1997: 33); modernity (Kasanga, 2010); creativity and humour (Mettewie, Lamarre and Van Mensel, 2013: 213); success and sophistication (Piller, 2001, 2003); and wealth (Dimova 2007). It is in this sense that Kelly-Holmes (2000), Huebner (2006), Edelman (2009), and others talk about the ‘fetishisation’ of English in order to promote ideas, ideals, lifestyles, and products by appealing to consumer emotions through the connotation of languages. Moreover, the ubiquity of English in LLs the world over underlines its importance as the global language, as it has gradually expanded beyond Kachru’s (1985, 1986, 1992) Outer Circle into the so-called Expanding Circle: in which a significant number of countries now actively promote the education, dissemination and literacy of English amongst their populations.⁸

However, as Kasanga (2012: 49) notes, despite its emergence as the *de facto* international language, English has yet to become a major medium of communication inside the borders of non-English speaking countries, where it is more often restricted to the commercial domain. His contention that this is often due to the presence of strong competing languages is particularly relevant in the French context, as the basic premise of language management in France is to provide competition to English not only within its borders, but on an international level as well.⁹ It is important to recognise also that the concept of English as a ‘global language’ is in itself problematic. Considering both the position of Quirk (1985, 1990) and Crystal (1997), who speak of standard English spreading across linguistic, cultural and national borders, and the opposing views of Kachru (1985, 1986) and Seargeant (2009, 2011), who argue the case for a variety of disparate ‘world Englishes’ in different global settings, it seems that whilst the abstract notion of English (or at least the sociocultural value that many attach to it) may be ‘spreading’ in a more general sense, the language itself clearly takes on many structural guises and various global forms. Certainly, in the French context, the defence against

⁸ Since the development of Kachru’s paradigm, it has been argued that English is becoming more influential on every continent, with specific areas of expansion including East Africa (Mkuti, 1999); China (Lo Bianco, 2009); Brazil (Friedrich and Berns, 2003) and the Baltic States (Marten, Lazdina, Pošeiko and Murinska, 2013).

⁹ See Ager (1999) on the ‘image’ of language policy that France seeks to project in international contexts, notably through the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie.

English expansion is built as much on conceptual grounds as it is on lexical or grammatical ones. Whereas many countries accept (and even encourage) the penetration of English into their societies, the French perspective more often considers English a 'killer language' (Phillipson, 2009), and its policies buck the global trend of accommodation by striving to halt the spread of the 'World Englishes map' (Kasanga, 2012: 49) at its borders, and curtail English visibility in the LL.

This policy is currently embodied by the Toubon Law, which aims to uphold the hegemony of French as the official language, and, at the same time, seeks to restrict the singular use of languages which the state sees as posing a threat to the supremacy of the national code. In explicit terms, the law requires all inscriptions in public spaces to be written in French (article 1), and, wherever translations into other languages are made available, that 'the presentation of French must be as readable, audible or intelligible as the presentation of foreign languages' (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 1994: article 4).¹⁰ The law was initially received with cynicism from the media, which produced a host of sardonic cartoons mocking the impossibility of policing it; but also with widespread public alarm at its dictatorial connotations (Adamson, 2007: 28). Whether or not the small number of excessive fines imposed on specific offenders have served to demonstrate the power of the Toubon Law,¹¹ or merely to highlight its limited application in more ordinary cases, awareness of language policy is apparently widespread amongst French citizens: a famous example is the well-known failure to replace 'walkman' with 'balladeur' (Hajek, 1998); and there is evidence to suggest that language policy is upheld as much by virtue of popular assumption as it is through official legislation (Judge, 2000: 78; Schiffman, 2006: 117-120). Yet, neither of these factors appears to limit the presence and visibility of foreign languages in France to any great degree. A number of quantitative studies have discovered a high frequency of English in French LLs, particularly on product advertising, commercial signs, and in shopping districts (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010; Bogatto and Hélot, 2010; Blackwood, 2010, 2011). Here, English is 'the language of international communication and not the language of a particular national community' (Piller, 2001: 164), and its ordinary

¹⁰ 'La présentation en français doit être aussi lisible, audible ou intelligible que la présentation en langues étrangères'.

¹¹ Adamson (2007: 28) cites the case of General Electric Medical Systems, who in March 2006 were fined €580,000 for not translating documents used by its technicians, as a landmark in what *L'Express* have dubbed the growing 'patriotisme linguistique'.

function is thus symbolic of language attitudes favourable to its use, rather than indicative of any proportional number of English speakers.

2.4 Visibility and Vitality in the LL

From the perspective of the LL, the quantitative measuring of languages and their vitality remains controversial. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 28) contend that ‘the presence or absence of rival languages in specific domains of the linguistic landscape can come to symbolize the strength or weakness of competing groups’. This has given way to two opposing arguments: Garvin (2010) and Sáez Rivera and Castillo Lluch (2013) have interpreted a distinct correlation between language visibility and language vitality; yet Barni and Bagna (2009, 2010) and Barni and Vedovelli (2013) have argued the contrary, supporting Ben-Rafael and colleagues’ (2006: 7, my emphasis) assertion that languages define the ‘*symbolic* construction of the public space’. Insofar as the LL is representative of language vitality, this dissertation takes the position that it is important to consider languages in the light of the spatial contexts in which they appear. In other words, the linguistic hierarchy is not assessed in terms of the numbers of signs on which languages are written, but rather by their comparative visibility in diverse contexts. French dominates the LL of Toulouse not only because it appears on the most signs, but also because it is the most common language throughout the various informational, instructive, commercial, and communicative contexts examined in this study. However, there is undoubtedly some measure of correlation between the visible salience of a language and its place in the linguistic hierarchy, even if Sáez Rivera and Lluch (2013: 318) may be overstating the claim that a person in Madrid ‘can live his whole life in Chinese without having to learn Spanish’. The issue of misrepresentation (or over-representation) of languages in the LL has been partly explored by De Klerk and Wiley (2010), who argue that the minority status of a language means its limited visibility assumes an even greater symbolic value, as it becomes a mark of resistance for minority groups. Whereas a linguistic hierarchy may in one regard be defined by official policy or speaker numbers, its representation may differ in the LL as its actors use the public space to a greater or lesser extent than others.

The imbalance between dominant and minority groups is particularly marked in the post-soviet states, exemplified by anti-Russian agendas in Ukraine (Pavlenko, 2010, 2012), Moldova (Muth, 2012), and Belarus (Sloboda, 2009), where Russian has been removed as an official language and is the target of increasingly stringent legislation in the private sector. These studies consider the LL from the perspective of language policy, yet Van Mensel and Darquennes (2012), Coluzzi (2012), and Salo (2012) have shown how activists themselves use the LL to demonstrate their support for regional languages, thereby defying official regulations and, along with immigrant groups, claiming the LL as a domain of resistance. Another example is the Basque city of San Sebastián, in which the regional language is apparently commonplace, yet Cenoz and Gorter (2006) conclude that since the lingua franca in the city is indisputably standard Spanish, this is not fairly representative of speaker numbers. Hence, whilst the high presence of a regional language might indicate the significant power of those who are trying to revive it, this can simultaneously be misrepresentative of its status in the linguistic hierarchy.

2.5 The Methodologies of the LL

This project explores multilingualism in Toulouse, with a view to analysing a linguistic hierarchy according to the contexts in which signs are written. It also discusses how the choices of private individuals compare with the language ideology of the state and its management strategies. Authorship, therefore, is an important consideration in the assessment of the language beliefs that construct the LL. In this regard, Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 27) speak of LL 'actors', who 'concretely participate in the shaping of LL by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies.' Following different theoretical models developed by Bourdieu, Boudon and Goffman, they analyse language beliefs from three perspectives: 'Bourieusard', where language choice is determined by the perception of one code's dominance over another; 'presentation-of-self', in which sign-writers' code choice reflects their own practice, and the identity they wish to project; and 'good-reasons', which implies the writer's choice is based on who might be reading the sign. Barni and Bagna (2010: 130) take authorship beyond this and address the 'social forces'

which drive the actors' choices. These forces may be economic, political, or cultural, and may invoke representations of ethnicity, race, fashion, food, and so on. Although Barni and Bagna do not state it explicitly, such an approach implies that language choices are not necessarily a conscious decision of the sign author, but may be influenced to a greater or lesser extent by wider social variables that shape our opinions on languages and the purposes for which they are used.

This study considers that language practices are determined by one or more of Spolsky and Cooper's (1991: 81-84) sign-writer conditions. Hence, authors use languages either a) because they choose to write in a language they know; b) because they write in a language intended readers are assumed to understand; or c) because they write in a language with which they wish to be identified. The signs they write may be advertisements, notices, civic instructions, event publications, menus, plaques on private or public institutions, and price tags or shop names, and may be authored by individuals, private collectives, companies, municipal and federal agencies, or multinational conglomerates. In early scholarship, organising the analysis of such a melting pot of language practices, beliefs, and authors consisted in distinguishing signs authored by the state from those written by individuals. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 26-27) differentiated between 'government' and 'private' signs, and the special issue edited by Gorter (2006) subsequently branded this dichotomy 'top-down vs. bottom-up'. Hence, it was proposed that top-down signs indicate the official language policies in the space (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006: 68), and consequently that bottom-up items reflect the degree to which this policy is respected by individual actors (Huebner, 2006: 49). Yet, as Malinowski (2009: 109) subsequently pointed out, although top-down units might be expected to reflect a consistent language strategy, this two-part classification assumed a similar uniformity amongst bottom-up signs. Shortly thereafter, Kallen (2010) proposed an expansion of the bottom-up, suggesting the LL be analysed as a series of 'frames'. Whilst the civic frame describes the top-down domain, the other four — the market place, the wall, portals, and the detritus zone — widen the diverse bottom-up contexts in which autonomous actors operate. In this way, Malinowski and Kallen argue that the LL is not merely a visualisation of the dominated reacting to the dominant, but a linguistic representation of the social hierarchy which flows throughout official and private writers. Here, we may talk about space owners and space visitors: a sign in a

shop window represents a power flow from the owner towards the customer, implying top-down, and yet it has not been written by the state. Thus, the challenge of assessing power relations is more complicated than assuming a single flow from the state down to its citizens, when we consider that participants may be top-down in some cases and bottom-up in others. Whilst the expansion of the bottom-up has gone some way to answering Spolsky's (2009: 31) call for a more thorough assessment of sign writers, it is regrettable that a number of subsequent studies have continued with this rather restrictive methodology (Edelman, 2010; Akindele, 2011; Dunlevy, 2013).

The capturing of LL data can be broken down into two main processes: the classification of individual signs, and the selection of survey areas. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define signs by their physical borders, identifying 'public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings'. Cenoz and Gorter (2006), however, assess LL items by their semantic value. According to their methodology, the unit of analysis is not one single sign, but the ensemble of signs all representing the language choice of a single shop, business, or establishment. Despite their claims that data collection is more straightforward by this method (p. 71), it is a justified criticism that any collective analysis may have the undesirable effect of generalising the dataset. Furthermore, it seems speculative to assume that all signs in a given establishment are representative of a singular and uniform ideology.

Two perspectives have emerged for analysing multilingualism on signs. The first assesses the degree of translation, and the second evaluates the semiotic emplacement of languages on the sign. For the former, Reh (2004: 8-15) proposes four variations: duplicating signs provide a completely mutual translation between languages; fragmentary and overlapping signs provide a partially mutual translation; and complementary signs provide no mutual translation. Although signs in conventionally multilingual spaces such as train stations may be expected to provide duplicating translations, complementary translations can be restrictive to certain language groups. In this instance, multilingual proficiency is required in order to benefit from all the information on the given sign. In Uganda, Reh (2004) concluded that the broad variety of translation types on both top-down and bottom-up signs reflected the widespread multilingualism of the inhabitants in the space. Conversely, in Tokyo, Backhaus (2007:

102) discovered that many official signs displayed duplicating multilingualism, while non-official signs tended towards complementary. This, he argued, suggested that individuals in the LL anticipated a multilingual audience, whereas the state assumed a collection of monolingual groups. The second perspective for analysing multilingualism concerns the physical position of languages on a sign, as this can reveal the sign-writer's preference for one code over another. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 120) explain that 'the preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the centre and the marginalised code is on the bottom, on the right, or in the margins.' Code preference is also an expression of power on the part of the writer, and this has been discussed in terms of language policy in Taipei, Québec, and Belgium (Curtin, 2009; Backhaus, 2009; Janssens, 2013); but also from the perspective of marketing and product communication on commercial signs (Juffermans and Coppoolse, 2013; Sergeant, 2013).

The second step in the process of data collection is identifying the survey areas: it must be decided where, or in which streets, the survey is to be carried out. Given the considerable size of the city, and the rapidity with which written language is created, changed, and removed within it, it would be unworkable to attempt a general representation of the language situation in Toulouse. It is for this reason that the LL has been described as both a 'snapshot' (Hult, 2009: 98) and a 'window' (Huebner, 2006: 32), for it provides us only with a limited view of the many intricacies which construct the social space. Whereas Spolsky and Cooper (1991) were able to isolate and focus on the main pedestrian arteries of the Jerusalem Old City, Backhaus (2007) was examining a significantly larger territory, for which survey area selection proved a challenge. Thus, his study could only reveal 'various insights about Tokyo's linguistic landscape' (p. 2). These spatial constraints restricted his survey areas to the immediate spaces around metro stations. Moreover, data collection then relied on 'ad hoc decisions' (p. 66), the inconsistencies of which became methodologically problematic. In the same vein, this project does not claim to be representative of the city as a whole, but rather a limited illustration of the range of linguistic diversity that can be found within it. The methodology adopted by this study is the subject of the following section.

Methodology

This study examines the LL of Toulouse by investigating linguistic objects visible in the public space. The inscriptions, or LL items, that make up the dataset are written signs visible in areas of the city accessible to the general public. The items include signs under the jurisdiction of government and municipal agencies, such as street names, traffic instructions, and directions, and also signs written and displayed by private actors such as business slogans, shop signs, and local and commercial advertisements. Whilst the project takes the position that a quantitative count of signs points to the relative salience of languages in the LL, the functions and uses of languages should not be measured solely on a numerical basis. Thus, an empirical survey was carried out to discover which languages were present, under which circumstances, and in which contexts they operate. The data were then reinterpreted qualitatively, through the use of comparative case studies of individual signs in the LL. It is hoped that this dual approach will deliver a fuller assessment of the functions of languages, and the ways in which they are governed, perceived, and exploited in the public space.

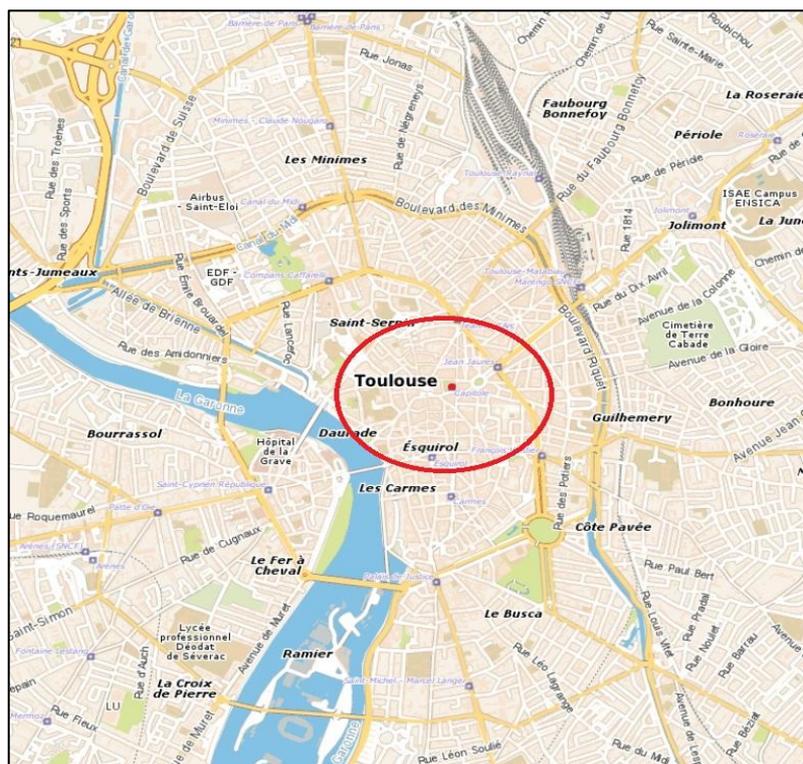
3.1 Survey Areas

An interesting aspect of this study is that it explores the multilingualism of a city that one might not immediately consider multilingual. Although immigration has brought, and continues to bring, a substantial number of languages to Toulouse, the most recent figures show that over half of the immigrants who arrived before 1999 had applied for and been granted French citizenship before the millennium, which points to the policy of integration pursued by the state during these years (INSEE, 1999). A great deal of LL research has focussed expressly on spaces where multilingualism is a norm defined by the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural composition of the given society. In terms of survey area, many scholars have used these divisions to categorise their research: Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) identified specific Jewish, Palestinian-Israeli, and non-Israeli Palestinian localities; Huebner (2006) distinguished between Thai, Mon, and Chinese neighbourhoods; Lou (2010) made particular reference to Chinatown; and Du Plessis (2010) was able to delineate linguistic zones for each of Sesotho, Setswana, and IsiXhosa in Bloemfontein. In this way, many researchers have recurrently chosen survey

areas based on data concerning ethnic communities and neighbourhoods assumed to be inhabited by, and therefore representative of, specific linguistic groups.

As such, an initial contention in the field, outlined by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) and supported by Ben-Rafael (2006), Huebner (2006), and others, held that the LL ‘serves to delineate the territorial limits of the language group it harbours relative to other linguistic communities inhabiting adjoining territories’. In central Toulouse, however, no such delimitations exist. In lieu of attempting to mark out geographic boundaries of speech communities, therefore, this project identified its survey areas based on a single criterion, namely proximity to the central square. This is the Place du Capitole, which is the symbolic and administrative centre of the city. The survey area comprised of ten streets: Rue de la Pomme, Rue Saint-Rome, Rue Romiguières, Rue du Taur, and Rue Lafayette, all of which lead off the Place du Capitole; Boulevard de Strasbourg and Boulevard Lazare Carnot, which form part of the ring road around the Place; Rue de Bayard and Rue de Metz, two connecting arteries which lead to the central train station and the more residential half of the city West of the river; and Rue d’Alsace-Lorraine, the city’s principal shopping avenue which runs between the ring road and the Place. The middle 50 metres of each street was surveyed on both sides, meaning that in total this project counted signs over the space of 1 kilometre of central Toulouse.

Map 1. Central Toulouse within the greater Toulouse area (Toulouse Métropole, 2013)



printed frame of a poster in a shop window. Each sign was counted as one item and classed as either monolingual or multilingual. A total of 770 signs were recorded, of which 220 were photographed. This meant that an average of 77 items were found in each survey area, though in practice signage on some streets was more prolific than on others. Having considered various existing approaches, and in recognition of the value of broadening the social contexts by which signs are analysed, items were classified according to the Blackwood (2010) methodology. Thus, signs were recorded as one of nine types: business names; business signs; graffiti; information; instructions; labels; legends or slogans; street signs; and trademarks. Multilingual signs were qualified in line with Reh's (2004) taxonomy. This permits the examination of both official and non-official signs, and the wider contextual parameters in this methodology make for a more concise and fruitful dataset than a simple top-down vs. bottom-up comparison.

The empirical data collected in the quantitative survey prompt conclusions based on numerical statistics. In line with more recent studies (Blackwood and Tufi, 2012; Hanauer, 2013; Juffermans and Coppoolse, 2013), the conclusions drawn from the data are complemented with a focussed assessment of a small number of the signs in the dataset. These signs are not selected at random — they are broadly representative of the presentations of languages, translation types, and linguistic functions unearthed by the quantitative survey. This comparative semiotic assessment of signs both demonstrates trends and highlights inconsistencies in the dataset. Nevertheless, caution must be taken not to draw generalised conclusions here, as the qualitative assessment only deals with a small corpus of signs, and cannot be considered representative of the dataset as a whole.

Data Analysis

4.1 The General Picture

The data collected in the ten survey streets revealed the presence of 12 languages: French, English, Occitan, Japanese, Italian, Arabic, German, Latin, Portuguese, Irish, Catalan, and Spanish. Of the 770 signs counted, 90.1% (694) were monolingual, and 9.2% (71) contained two or more languages.¹² Addressing the first research question, which asks which languages are present and in which contexts, it is first pertinent to evaluate the frequency of each language in the LL. Table 1 illustrates the presence of the 12 languages:

Table 1. Presence of languages on mono- and multilingual signs (%)

	Fr	Eng	Oc	Jap	It	Ar	Ger	Lat	Por	Ir	Cat	Spa	Illegible	n=
Monolingual	87.9	9.8	0.1	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	-	694
Multilingual	91.5	73.2	16.9	8.5	4.2	2.8	4.2	0.0	2.8	1.4	0.0	0.0	-	71
Overall	87.7	15.7	1.7	1.3	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.6	770

The dominant language in the LL is French, which featured on almost 90% (675) of LL items. English was the second most common, though it was far less frequent, and the rest of the languages were visible on just 5.9% (45) of the signs. Therefore, three levels of visibility emerged concerning the 12 languages counted in the dataset: French, which dominated on both monolingual and multilingual signs; English, which had a significant presence on multilingual items (73.2%) and emerged as the only other language of any widespread visibility in the LL; and the other ten languages (hereafter referred to as third-category languages), which appeared on too few signs to draw any significant statistical or empirical conclusions.

¹² 5 signs in the dataset were illegible graffiti, and it was unclear which or how many languages they contained.

Whereas the majority of monolingual items were written in French (87.9%) or English (9.8%), greater linguistic diversity was noted on multilingual signs. Here, although French (91%) and English (73%) were still the most common languages, Occitan (16.9%) and Japanese (8.5%) were more visible. Hence, although French (and to a lesser extent English) dominated throughout the LL, third-category languages were markedly more visible alongside other languages on multilingual signs. French featured most frequently alongside third-category languages, though in a handful of cases they appeared with English. There were no items on which multiple third-category languages appeared without French or English.

Table 2. Language combinations on multilingual items

	Fr Eng	Fr Oc	Fr Ar	Fr Jap	Fr Ger	Fr It	Eng Ir	Eng Jap	Eng Por	Eng Ger	Fr Eng Jap	Fr Eng It	Eng It Por	Total
Signs	43	12	2	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	71
%	60.6	16.9	2.8	2.8	2.8	1.4	1.4	2.8	1.4	1.4	2.8	1.4	1.4	100

Given the hegemony of French on both monolingual and multilingual items, it is interesting to note that English featured as the sole language on 9.8% (68) of the signs. Hence, whilst the limited number of foreign language items tended to include translation into French, sign writers more frequently leave English un-translated, which suggests a recognition of its symbolic potential (see part 4.4). In this way, English emerges as the second language in the LL.

The third most common language in the LL is Occitan, though its presence (1.7%) was far below that of English or French. Given the historical importance of the language, it is tempting to label it the 3rd language in the LL. This is difficult, however, since it was only slightly more visible than Japanese (1.3%). Furthermore, Occitan appeared almost exclusively on bilingual signs, where in every case it featured alongside French (see part 4.5). Other third-category languages did not share the same trait, though again it is

difficult to draw trends securely with such limited corpora. Table 3 details the spatial contexts in which the third-category languages were found:

Table 3. Spatial contexts of third-category languages

Language	Occitan	Japanese	Italian	Arabic	German	Latin	Portuguese	Irish	Catalan	Spanish
Number and places of appearance	10 street name signs; 2 historical information boards; 1 trade mark	2 restaurants; 2 shops	2 shops; 1 pharmacy; the Italian Consulate	1 shop; 1 block of flats	1 shop; the German Honorary Consulate	1 shop; 1 newspaper stand; 1 vending machine	1 shop	1 pub	The Andorran Studies Institute	The CRIJ ¹³

The second part of the first research question calls for an analysis of the contexts in which the twelve languages were found. Since the third-category languages were present on just 5.9% (45) of the signs, their analysis is well-suited to a more qualitative approach, which examines their uses and features on some of the few signs on which they appeared. This is the focus of part 4.3, where it is also discussed how far their infrequency affects their importance in the linguistic hierarchy. From the perspective of French and English, which feature more extensively in the dataset, quantitative assessment is useful in shedding light on the linguistic contexts and sign types in the LL.

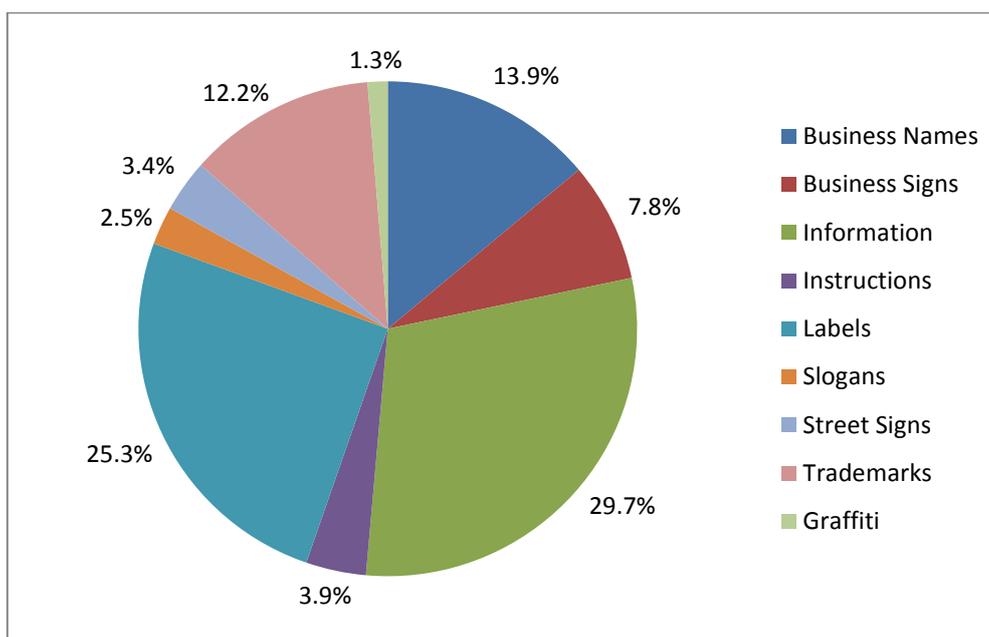
4.2 Contexts and Sign Types

As outlined in the methodology, the data were qualified based on the typological model conceived by Blackwood (2010). Hence, business names indicate the headings of shops, restaurants or institutions, and business signs describe that establishment (such as ‘hair salon’ or ‘jeweller’); information included commercial advertisements, opening times, special offers and parking tariffs; instructions were interpreted as direct guidelines or orders, such as ‘no smoking signs’ and public order messages; labels, legends and

¹³ The CRIJ (Centre régional d’information jeunesse) is a publicly-funded regional youth information centre, which provides help for young people regarding accommodation, legal and economic advice, education, employment and other social services. (More information available at <http://www.crij.org/>)

slogans referred to price tags, catchphrases and product or company mottos, and were often found beneath a business name or business sign, or as part of an advertisement; street signs indicate traffic instructions, parking meters, and road name plates; and trademarks referred to product or brand names, and were the most challenging sign type to classify (see part 5.2).

Fig. 1. Distribution of sign types



Information signs were the most common items in the LL (29.7%), followed by labels (25.3%), with business names (13.9%) and trademarks (12.2%) totalling about half as many fewer. Aside from business signs (7.8%), the rest of the sign types yielded fewer than 30 signs each, collectively accounting for 11.1% of the dataset. Classifying the data by sign type not only indicates the most common methods by which LL actors communicate, but also demonstrates meaningful trends in the language(s) sign writers use in various contexts. For instance, though 14% (33) of information signs displayed English, French was present on 95% (217) of them. Despite the apparent supremacy of French on this sign type, English was visible on 24% (26) of business names and on 34% (32) of trademarks, as well as on almost half the slogans. However, whereas the English on business names and slogans tended to be accompanied by French, the official

language was visible on only 64% (60) of trademarks. This can possibly be attributed to the exception of brand names from the language policy prescribed in the Toubon Law (JORF, 1994), yet it is also reflective of the desire of LL actors to use multiple languages in the names of their products, a notion which is further discussed in section 4.4.

Table 4. Languages by sign type (monolingual and multilingual items) ¹⁴

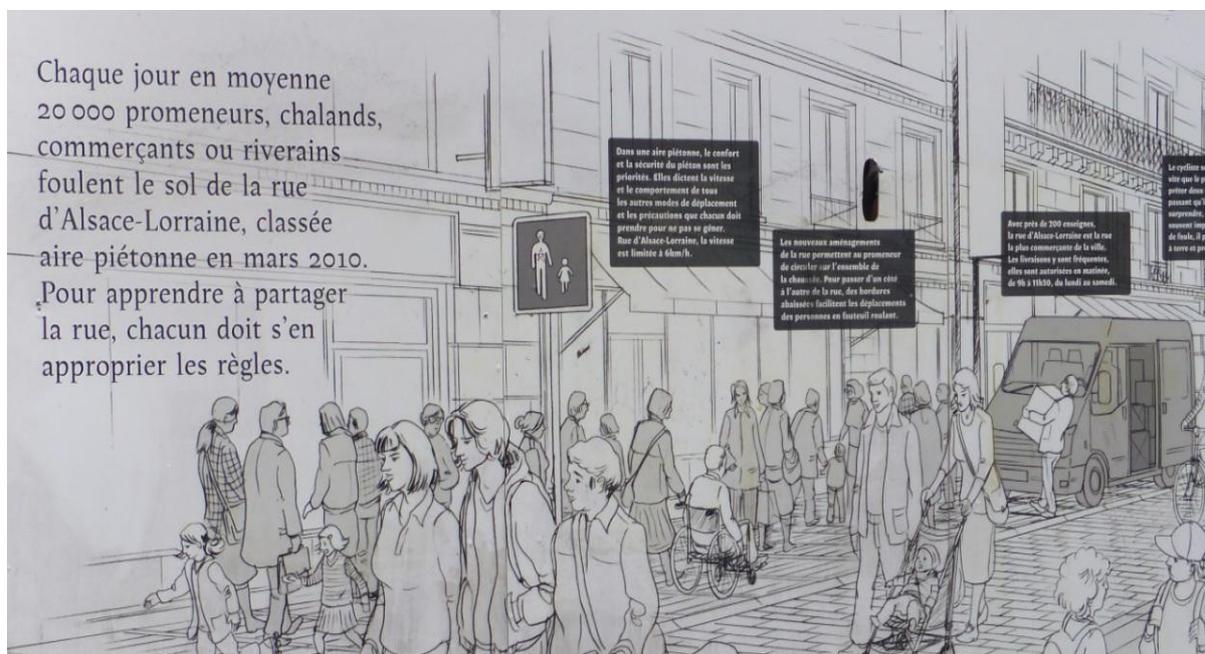
	Business Name	Business Sign	Information	Instruction	Street Sign	Label	Trademark	Slogan	Graffiti
French	77%	92%	95%	100%	100%	94%	64%	84%	50%
English	24%	15%	14%	-	-	6%	34%	47%	-
Occitan	-	-	1%	-	38%	-	1%	-	-
Japanese	6%	-	1%	-	-	1%	-	-	-
Italian	3%	-	-	-	-	-	2%	5%	-
Arabic	-	3%	-	-	-	1%	-	-	-
Other	4%	-	1%	-	-	-	5%	-	-
Illegible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50%
<i>n</i>	107	60	229	30	26	195	94	19	10

Categorising signs by type also revealed noticeable trends regarding multilingualism: although labels tended to be monolingual, over half the slogans were recorded as multilingual. This included phrases with French-English code-mixing, such as a rugby poster displaying the mantra ‘All bleus’; as well as slogans translated by the asterisk technique (see part 4.4), such as ‘Stripe up your life – Fais vibrer ta vie’. Though accounting for only a small portion of the dataset, street signs was a particularly multilingual sign type, with far fewer single-language items than business signs or instructions. It is notable also that instructions were exclusively monolingual, and

¹⁴ Incidences where languages appeared on fewer than two signs in a given category are not individually specified in this table. Section 4.3 looks more specifically at those languages with a more limited presence in the LL than French and English.

always in French. These included signs forbidding dogs from entering certain shops, directions on recycling bins, and signs indicating dedicated entrances for deliveries. The nature of an instruction also meant that this category included parts of what has traditionally been labelled the top-down domain, such as traffic directions or official notices, but also messages aimed at the general public. One example was the temporary board erected on Rue d'Alsace-Lorraine, detailing the plans for refurbishment and calling on residents to 'learn to share the road in comfort and security':

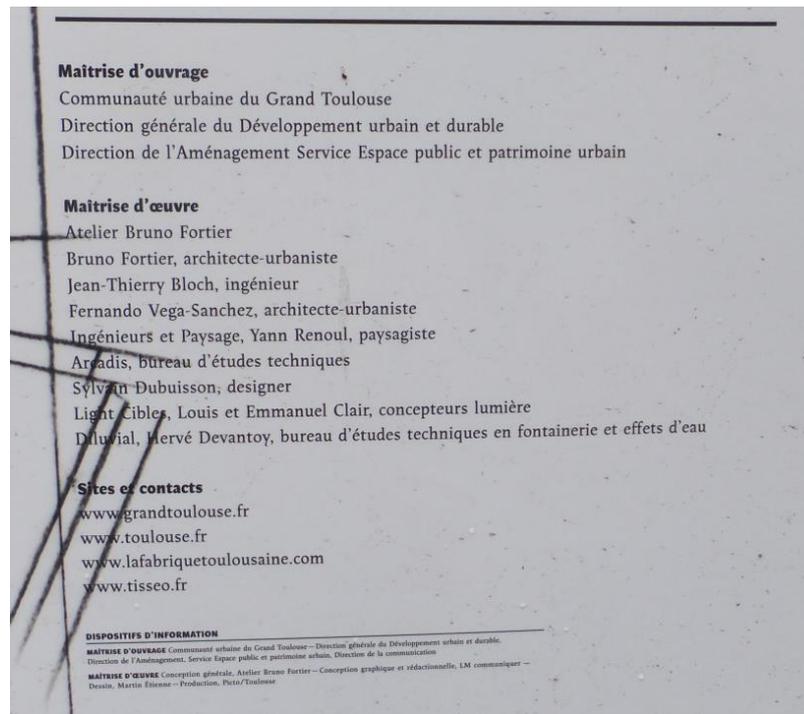
Fig. 2. Pedestrian instruction



The large panel on which this sign was erected also displayed the logo of the Toulouse Métropole, signaling its authorship by the civic authority. The authors of various other instructions, however, such as the 'no smoking' stickers commonly found in the doors of shops, bars, and restaurants, are less easily traced. On the one hand, it may be argued that, since they refer to the official legislation outlawing smoking in public places (JORF, 2006), their authorship is initiated by the state. Yet, as Spolsky (2009: 31) points out, the design, printing, distributing, and displaying process of such a sign engages several participants. It is difficult, therefore, to speculate on authorship based solely on the spatial context in which a sign is found. This is illustrated by a small section at the

bottom right of the pedestrian sign, which identifies its managers (referred to by Spolsky as ‘initiators’) as the civic authority, yet simultaneously attributes the responsibility for the artwork to a variety of urban architects, designers, and engineers:

Fig. 3. Collaborative authorship



It is apparent, therefore, that the origin of this sign lies in more than one of the authorship domains traditionally discussed in LL research. In the past, studies may have described the sign as top-down, yet the influence of individual actors (themselves originating from the bottom-up) has had an important impact on its construction. That the top-down can collaborate with the bottom-up in this way demonstrates an interesting direction for future research, but for the present analysis it is useful to note that despite the complexities of authorship, the monolingual status of the sign supports the dominant language ideology, and official policy, in place in Toulouse.

In terms of linguistic diversity, business names displayed more variation, using different combinations of French, English, Japanese, Italian, German, and Latin. Classifying signs by type also revealed interesting trends concerning authorship. The 26 street signs

were all written and erected by the state, whereas graffiti reveal the subcultures of those who transgress against the authorities in the belief that their actions are not in line with the law (Pennycook, 2009, 2010). In terms of language choice, French was the language of preference in this sign type; though 50% of items were illegible and could arguably contain private or secretive codes or scripts. Though some carry determinable messages (fig. 4), others appeal to an apparently restricted readership and appear as unidentifiable 'tags' (Pennycook, 2010: 138) to those unable to decipher them (fig. 5).

Fig. 4. 'Non au front national'



Fig. 5. Illegible graffiti



4.3 Third-Category Languages

The general picture so far is an LL which is essentially French with a marked presence of English, but where other languages appear comparatively infrequently. Despite Italian, Japanese, Spanish, Arabic, Catalan, German, Latin, Portuguese, and Irish featuring throughout the ten survey areas, they figured on only 5.9% (45) of the signs in the dataset.¹⁵ Thus, it is appropriate to explore further the relationship between quantitative visibility and comparative importance in the linguistic hierarchy. These third-category languages in their monolingual forms are mostly visible as business names, labels, and trademarks, whereas on bi- or tri-lingual signs they appear most commonly as business names or information items. In a dataset of almost 800 signs, one might argue that such a sparse showing for third-category languages means their presence is relatively inconsequential, yet, following Barni and Bagna (2010), De Klerk and Wiley (2010), and Hornsby and Vigers (2012), this dissertation hopes to demonstrate that the status of minority languages is more often determined by their symbolic interpretation, rather than by their numerical quantity.

A language that is quantitatively rare, and therefore that constitutes an unusual presence in the LL, contributes to what Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) describe as the 'symbolic construction of the public space'. Though Japanese appeared about as often as Occitan in the LL, it was the subject of more varied language management strategies, as its writers use it to experiment between its informational and symbolic functions (Landry and Bourhis, 1997):

¹⁵ The presence of Occitan (1.7% - 13 signs) also contributes to this figure, and is discussed in part 4.5.

Fig. 6. Yoshi restaurant front



Fig. 6 shows the front of the Japanese restaurant Yoshi. As outlined in the methodology, identifying signs by their physical borders meant that four signs were counted here: the business name 'Yoshi'; the French business and information signs either side of the central panel; and the middle graphic containing Japanese characters. 'Yoshi' may be translated as meaning 'alright', 'ok' or 'good', yet whilst its lexicon is Japanese, it may be argued that its use of Roman script contradicts its Japanese status — although Sergeant (2011: 187) and Yano (2011: 141) agree that Roman script has become so common in the Japanese urban landscape that one might almost consider it a feature (or at least an important contributor) in Japanese linguistic culture. Indeed, the assumption that the word is Japanese is more likely based on the knowledge that this is a Japanese restaurant (communicated to the consumer in French), rather than on any independent understanding of the Japanese language. In order to bridge this linguistic gap, the sign's use of 'mimicry' (Sergeant, 2013: 192) indicates a semiotic strategy where the intention is to create a typeface reminiscent of Japanese linguistic tradition, all the while retaining a script comprehensible to French speakers. In this sense, the sign simultaneously exhibits two of Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) sign-writing conditions: the script appeals to an audience who is likely to be able to read it, whilst the calligraphy and lexicon references the language with which the sign is intended to be identified. There is a similar meaning process in the two French language signs, which use style

imitation to represent the Japanese theme of the restaurant in a lexicon understandable to the predominantly French-speaking public. The same cannot be said for the middle sign, however, which uses Japanese in both its lexicon and script. The sign reads 'Nippon' ('Japan') and thus is linked to (though it does not translate) 'Yoshi' and the Japanese script mimicry on the windows. It is also interesting to note that the characters are in descending format, whereas '日' ('Ni') and '本' ('Pon') are normally written horizontally from left to right. This presentation references traditional Japanese calligraphy, which is further indicated through the red sun (the symbol on the national flag) on the head of the fish next to the word.

The signs on the front of Yoshi provide an interesting comparison with an item found outside the restaurant Planet Sushi (fig. 7), whose general use of English suggests a closer proximity to what Crystal (1997) describes as the 'global language' than to Japanese. The sign contains no Japanese script, nor is the typeface ostensibly reminiscent of far-eastern cultures. Moreover, the increasing commonness of sushi bars and restaurants in Toulouse (and in France more generally) supports claims by Cenoz and Gorter (2008) and Bruyèl-Olmedo and Jaun-Garau (2010) that words such as 'sushi' are slowly becoming nativised.

Fig. 7. Planet Sushi poster



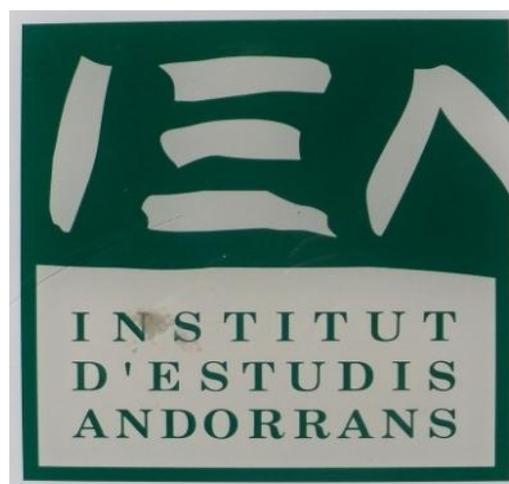
Given the high number of French-only speakers — indicated in socio-demographic data and illustrated by the supremacy of French in the LL — it may be that most third-category language writers apply the first two of Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) sign writer conditions rather than the third. In other words, Japanese, Catalan, Latin, and others are more often used in the LL because the sign writers are competent enough to write them and/or they wish to be identified with that language, rather than because they are looking to target any specific speech community. However, as anticipated, there are marked inconsistencies between the demographic data and the LL. For instance, this survey found twice as much Japanese as Arabic; yet the data show no significant flow of Japanese immigration to the city, whilst over 40% of immigrants in central Toulouse originate from Arab-speaking countries (INSEE, 2010b).

It is clear, then, that this limited survey is not descriptive of the numerical power of speech communities in Toulouse. However, it does provide a useful illustration of how languages other than French are used to symbolise certain ethnolinguistic cultures. This is exemplified in the business name and business signs on the front of the restaurant 'Yoshi', which demonstrate the restricted yet specific visibility of what Mondada (2000) refers to as 'sufficient' use of language. In other words, Japanese may be visible on just 1.3% of the signs in the LL, but the specific role it plays in immediate spatial contexts (such as a restaurant) means it impacts significantly on the linguistic makeup of that space. Whereas French is the most common code of communication and English is recurrently visible on commercial signs, the third-category languages constitute a series of notable exceptions, where they imbue the spaces in which they are written with tangible foreign languages and cultures. Reinforced by the political status of the Italian Consulate, fig. 8 demonstrates a reversal of normal code preference as Italian appears above French, identifying the institution behind the sign as a predominantly Italian-speaking space. Moreover, on signs featuring third-category languages but not French, the official language is conspicuous by its absence. This is the case with the Institut d'Estudis Andorrans, whose business name appears entirely in Catalan (fig. 9):

Fig. 8. Italian Consulate plaque



Fig. 9. Andorran Studies Institute plaque



Whilst the number of third-category languages is limited, their tokenistic value (Bhatia, 1992) must not be underestimated, or dismissed as banal symbolism.¹⁶ Indeed they stand out in the LL, and thus, as individual elements, they arguably have a greater impact than signs featuring languages that may be more common, and less remarkable. Such LL items may not indicate the presence of any sizeable language communities, but rather visualise the language beliefs of individuals, acting alone or (as in figs. 8 and 9) through a specific and well-marked institution.

In terms of multilingualism, third-category languages were more commonly seen alongside French than on monolingual items. Although Spanish, Catalan, and Latin were only found on monolingual signs, Japanese, German, and Portuguese featured more regularly on multilingual signs, and the same can be said for Occitan (see 4.5). Though foreign languages may be accessible to French-only readers through translation, multilingualism can also be understood as the process by which foreign languages acquire the features of French, and through code-mixing are able to maintain their linguistic impact whilst remaining understandable to dominant language-only readers (Annamalai, 2004). Nativisation thus illustrates how third-category languages adapt and merge with the more dominant languages of French and English to support their presence in the LL. Such a process can be seen in the trademark 'Colissimo', which

¹⁶ See Billig (1995) on 'banal nationalism', and Puzey (2012: 141) on its symbolic application in the LL.

denotes the most rapid parcel delivery service offered by La Poste, the national postal service:

Fig. 10. Postal services



Colissimo is a play on words where the French word 'colis' refers to a parcel and the Italian suffix '-issimo' implies a superlative. The intention is to suggest that this is the greatest, best, and fastest parcel service, further reinforced by the English adverb 'so'. It is impossible to assess how far readers in the space might recognise the Italian and English features on this sign, but it does indicate the choice of La Poste to include multilingual elements in its advertising strategies. On the graphic at the top of fig. 10, the brand name 'Pickup' signifies an emerging competitor to the traditionally more common 'Point Relais', yet it is complemented by an information sign, in French, announcing that customers can pick up and drop off their parcels inside. There seems to be, therefore, a degree to which sign writers are happy to leave languages un-translated, and, by extension, a point at which it is felt French is needed to ensure the message of the sign is properly understood. It is therefore interesting to remark that the symbolic function (Landry and Bourhis, 1997) of language is considered less important by sign-writers than any communicative function, for which French is persistently a necessity.

4.4 English and Multilingual Translation

English is the second language in the Toulouse LL, visible on 15.7% (121) of the signs in the dataset. Whilst fewer than 10% of monolingual items were in English, it was present on almost three quarters of multilingual signs (52). Of the 71 multilingual items, French and English was by far the most common combination, recorded predominantly on information signs (28.1%), slogans (10%), and business names (8.5%). The fact that English is used outside the boundaries of informational and instructional contexts challenges Smalley's (1994) contention that all English in the LL is aimed at foreigners. Rather, the data suggest that the use of symbolic English on commercial advertisements is more often aimed at a non-Anglophone readership. In this sense, the English in French advertising may not be intended to indicate specific British, American, or Anglophone cultures, but rather may reflect a French perspective of those cultures (Piller, 2003). This is manifested in two ways: first, by translation, through which English is made accessible to French-speakers; and second, as has been touched on above, by combining borrowings and nativised terms with standard French to create a comprehensible code mix.

Fig. 11. Asterisk technique

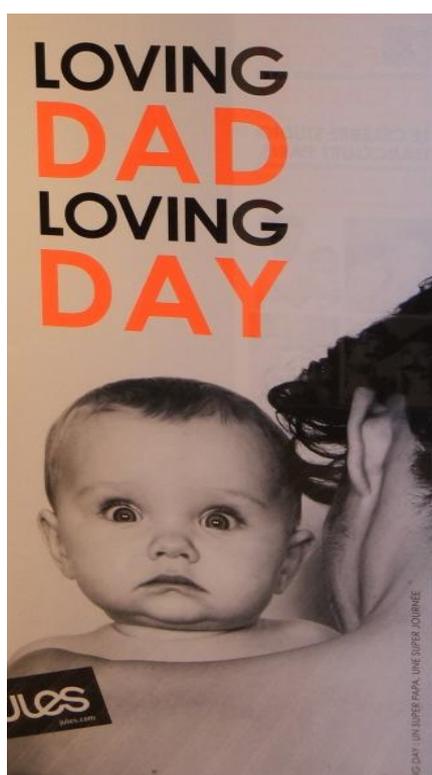


Fig. 12. Duplicating translation



Fig. 11 exemplifies a fairly common trait on multilingual advertisements in France, where the main body of text (often a slogan or product description) appears in English, but a French translation is provided in a footnote. Semiotic code preference, as discussed by Scollon and Scollon (2003), implies that English is the visually dominant language on this sign – though it is unclear whether this indicates a desire to conform to the Toubon Law, or whether it was felt that translation is required for the predominantly Francophone audience. An assumed non-Anglophone readership is also evinced in the direct translation method seen on fig. 12, where French and English appear in tandem. According to Reh (2004), the equal representation of both codes implies not only a multilingual readership but also, and more importantly, that a significant number of people only have access to one of the languages. However, as an ensemble the three signs in fig. 12 appear to assume a readership that is more French than English: whilst the bottom sign is not translated it is evident that it contains an address, and its message is not unclear for a non-English speaker given that the French translation of ‘contact’ only requires one more letter. The suggestion, manifested on the bottom two signs, that this is a space where French exists in equal measure to English, is diluted by the information sign at the top of the trio, which warns passers-by that they are under the scrutiny of the shop’s security cameras, and that smoking and dogs are forbidden. It may be a mere oversight that this sign exhibits no English translation, yet this was common on many such labels on shop doors in the LL, even in establishments which displayed multilingual signs. That the sign cites specific government legislation calls into question the assumption that it is authored by, or belongs to, Adidas. Whilst it is possible that the sign was written in light of the law, it is reasonable to suggest that its authorship can be traced to the law-makers themselves, who are in fact writing *through* Adidas. This not only illustrates that top-down and bottom-up are complex terms to define, but also that they are interchangeable on individual items in the LL.

The fact that such signs of informational necessity appear exclusively in French suggests that English is not considered a vital language of communication. Whilst it has been suggested that English is generally tokenistic in advertising around the globe (Bhatia, 1992; Schlick, 2003), the translation strategies on these signs suggest that their writers actively desire its conversion into a code accessible to the majority. Even on signs where a translation is not provided, English is frequently used in such a way that it can be

understood without translation. This is achieved by incorporating borrowed terms into French, but also by using words and phrases that are morphologically close to the official language.

Fig. 13. English borrowing

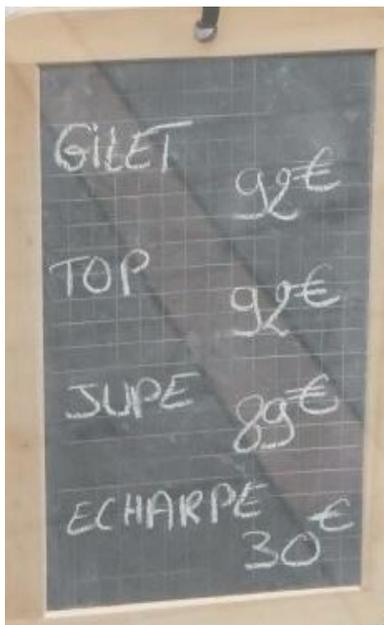


Fig. 14. Idéal Models shop front



The word 'top' features as one of four items on the price list in fig. 13, the other three of which appear in French. Whilst using an English term in isolation might present a potential risk to the communicative function of the sign, an unsure reader may achieve comprehension by process of trial and error (i.e. it does not refer to the 'gilet', the 'jupe', or the 'écharpe', thus it must indicate the 'haut'). Fig. 14 exemplifies a different linguistic strategy, where the two codes are mixed within the same business name. The acute accent in 'Idéal' identifies the word as French, yet 'models' is missing both a grave accent and a second 'e', and appears ostensibly English. Moreover, the word order (adjective preceding noun) is markedly un-French, and lends a distinctly English flavour to the sign. In terms of language beliefs, the strategies of the sign-writer are unclear, as other signs featuring the name of the shop exhibit an inconsistent linguistic practice:

Fig. 15 *Idéal Models door sticker*Fig. 16. *Idéal Models opening times*

The apostrophe in fig. 15 implies a desire for an Anglicised business name, 's being a typically English grammatical marker. However, the lack of apostrophe in fig. 16 encourages the possibility that both signs may not originate from the same author. This obscures any assumption we can make about a uniform language strategy for *Idéal Models*. On the one hand, we may argue that the three forms of the business name imply a 'cover all bases' approach, aimed at presenting a comprehensible English that is part-way nativised into French; on the other hand these signs might testify to the incapability of the writer(s) to use standard English correctly, and indicate an impulsive or only partial desire to codemix consistently. This is further compounded by the treatment of French on fig. 16, where 'Lundi' ('Monday') and 'Dimanche' ('Sunday') are not normally capitalised in standard French; though it is unclear whether this indicates a deliberate decision to project English stylistic features onto the French on the sign, or whether it is a (intended or accidental) mistreatment of the standard.

The assumption that language capabilities play a role in the LL is plausible, given that a recent survey commissioned by the EU found that only 39% of French respondents claimed to be able to hold a conversation in English (Eurobarometer, 2012: 23). Yet, the examples from *Idéal Models* confirm that a language does not have to be written 'correctly' in order to have an impact in the LL. The term 'non-foreign' has recently emerged to describe the appropriation of English by non-native English-speaking advertisers around the globe (see, for example, Kachru, 1986; Piller, 2003; Ben-Rafael, *et al.*, 2006), and we can therefore begin to explore the possibility that a particular

language demographic, namely non-native English speakers (or writers), expects to find and contributes to the visibility of English in the LL (Bruyèl-Olmedo and Jaun-Garau, 2010). Furthermore, following Bhatia's (1992) claims that mixing with English is near-universal in advertising all over the world, the case can be made for place-specific varieties of English. One indication of this is its use to imply 'foreignness' without necessarily denoting 'Englishness'.

Fig. 17. Oriental Center



We may assume that the French in fig. 17 applies to the second sign writer condition — write in a language readers are assumed to understand — and that the Arabic intends both to index the linguistic culture of the space, and to appeal to Arabic-speaking clientele (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991). The overlapping translation (Reh, 2004) between the two languages, where 'Hikma' ('wisdom') appears in Roman script but does not translate into French, restricts accessibility to monolingual French-speakers, who are provided with the business sign but remain ignorant of the meaning of the business name. Whereas French and Arabic play discernible roles on this sign, it is difficult to speculate as to the intended purpose of the English business name. It is possible that it references a particular American (implied by the spelling of 'center') language strategy; alternatively it may serve to highlight that this is foremost an international and Arabic space, rather than a Francophone one. As Takashi (1992: 134) notes, English in advertising does not necessarily index American or even Western cultures, but rather a modern, sophisticated, and cosmopolitan identity for the products and the intended

consumer. Thus, argues Haarmann (1989: 15), English is more often used not as a cultural or ethno-linguistic symbol relating to the Anglophone world, but rather as a social (and commercial) stereotype that is applied in transnational contexts and multiple languages. Accordingly, the presence of English in the LL appears to result from a more varied set of language beliefs and strategies than other languages. One such approach consists in the ‘mock language’ (Hill, 1995) exemplified on these signs showing the common (mis)use of the English word ‘so’:

Fig. 18. So Colissimo (reproduced from fig. 10) Fig. 19. So Extreme



The intensive use of the adjective ‘so’ may be designed to appeal to the multiculturalism of those who can read and understand it, yet it may also contribute to a wider culture of what Hill (1995) describes as ‘racist discourse’, identifying English as an undesirable Other by subversely mocking it for its simplicity or triviality. That the English, particularly when printed in italics, reads almost as sarcastic to a native-speaker suggests some distance between the standard and this particular brand of nativised English. This ‘French’ variety of English appears to challenge Quirk’s (1985, 1990) hypothesis that English exists either as a standard, or as an incorrect (and therefore non-English) substandard. Only 32% of French citizens claim to be able to read English sufficiently well enough to understand newspaper or magazine articles (Eurobarometer, 2012), though competence for individual words may be higher. Nevertheless, so long as the author’s code choice is at least moderately identifiable, any ‘incorrect’ use of language might not detract significantly from the socio-cultural impact

of a sign, where its connotation is more important than its meaning. Moreover, using English in a specific way (which may or may not be intentionally 'incorrect') may allow for a more creative range of linguistic devices than those available within the structured boundaries of standard French or English (Stanlaw, 2004: 102). This implies that languages can combine in a way beyond the capabilities of a methodology based on a 'standard vs. non-standard' sign classification.

From the perspective of defensive language management in France, future observation must explore whether English continues to remain in these comparatively nativised forms, or whether its increasing presence will permit the language to establish itself as part of the French-speaker's 'identity repertoire' (Yano, 2001: 127). Data revealed by this study suggest that, at present, English exists more as a conceptual literary device, linking products with foreign cultures, rather than as a substantial element of naturalised French linguistic practice. Since it never appears on instructions, and rarely features without translation into French, English cannot be considered an informational language in the LL. This was illustrated in the lack of translation on the legally-required security message on the Adidas sign (fig. 12), but also on small labels such the price tag in fig. 20, the hand-written nature of which underlines the preference for French in immediate and personal contexts:

Fig. 20. Idéal Models price tag



This offers promising potential in the discourse surrounding authorship in the LL. Unlike other posters in the window, which advertise specific products and were printed by the companies who make them, the sign in fig. 20 has been handwritten. This shortens the chain of authorship considerably, as it is probable (though we cannot be sure) that it was authored in the shop itself. It appears, therefore, more specific to *Idéal Models* than mass-produced posters, for which the shop only acts as intermediary.

Broadly speaking, this LL demonstrates that certain contexts are open to the use of multiple languages, but that French remains the uncontested language of instruction and information. Even in those instances where foreign languages are used as symbolic markers of international cultures, as soon as the need to communicate becomes more pronounced, French is consistently the most common code of choice. Though English may be the only foreign language to have thus far penetrated Toulouse to any significant quantitative extent, niches of ‘foreignness’ exist as rich pockets of alternative linguistic cultures, with a minor, but nevertheless distinct, position in the linguistic hierarchy.

4.5 Occitan

In terms of social contexts, classifying the visibility and use of Occitan is more straightforward. The survey revealed 13 items containing the language, only one of which was monolingual. The other 12 were bilingual French-Occitan inscriptions, which were mostly street signs (though there were also two information items and a business name). According to the methodology, the classification ‘street signs’ included various types of external sign, such as parking meters, ‘give way’ signs, traffic directions, and so on. The ten street signs on which Occitan appeared emerged as a specific sub-category, specifically the metal plates attached to buildings which mark out the names of roads in the city. Despite its prevalence in this particular context, it is important to recognise that the regional language barely features in the Toulouse LL. Moreover, it frequently appeared alongside French, where more often the national language remained the visually dominant code on the sign. This emphasises the historic status of the language in a space that has since become French-speaking; though it also demonstrates that wider interest in its writing is limited, as it only once appeared on a commercial sign, and it never featured alongside any third-category languages.

Of the nine streets to feature name plates in the survey, seven had bilingual signs. In most cases these were in the style of two white plaques, the upper one in French with the Occitan underneath:

Fig. 21. Overlapping bilingualism



Fig. 22. Fragmentary/complementary bilingualism



Whilst the ten French-Occitan street signs were classified bilingual, they demonstrated no obvious translation strategy. The term 'translation' is itself complicated in this sense, as many streets are named after people or places and, as such, contain proper nouns.¹⁷ The result was that signs were often contradictory, where terms such as 'Alsace-Lorraine' and 'Saint-Rome' had noticeable Occitan equivalents; and others, such as 'Metz', appeared identical in both languages. This inconsistency was particularly marked on roads with long or detailed names, or where the sign provided supplementary information about the object or person after which the street is named. Whereas the signs on Rue d'Alsace-Lorraine and Rue Saint-Rome featured duplicating multilingualism, the Occitan 'del marques de' on the Rue Lafayette sign (fig. 21) does not appear in French. Nonetheless, this particular phrase is close to its French equivalent,

¹⁷ The discussion over proper nouns and their translation is an interesting one, and has yet to attract any significant scholarship in the context of regional languages. It is relevant to note, however, that some researchers use both the regional and national language terms for their survey areas (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006; de Plessis, 2010; Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz, 2012).

and its communicative function is unlikely to be lost on non-Occitan speakers, provided they speak French. The same cannot be said, however, for the sign on Rue de la Pomme (fig. 22), which portrayed a considerable distance between its French and Occitan interpretations: whereas ‘pomme’ (‘apple’) remains a comparatively unremarkable statement, the Occitan ‘poma d’aur’ (‘golden apple’) conjures a distinctively different flavour more akin to classical mythology than an ordinary fruit.

It is also important to note that street signs on the two Boulevards (Lazare Carnot and Strasbourg) did not feature any Occitan. It is difficult to make assumptions based on only two signs, but following claims by Sáez Rivera and Lluch (2013: 322) that there is a marked difference between the socio-political importance of the major commercial thoroughfares and the less commonly-visited side streets and back alleys of a city (particularly the so-called ‘ghettos’), these signs point to the possibility that steps have been taken to keep the Boulevard plaques French-only. Any such decision might in part have its roots in the controversial events of 2011, when a media campaign brought about the hasty replacement of several signs displaying ‘Tolosa’ (but not ‘Toulouse’), which had recently appeared on the main avenues leading into the city (LaDépêche, 2011).¹⁸ It is, furthermore, particularly striking that the collective analysis of these signs sheds no light on any uniform authorship strategy. As is the case with most items in the so-called top-down category, one might assume that the provenance of the Occitan signs is easy to determine, and that it might reveal a consistent language policy (Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2006; Pavlenko, 2012; Dal Negro, 2009). Yet, qualitative analysis of the signs reveals the inherent inconsistencies in the management of French and Occitan. It is not immediately obvious why the Occitan cross (the emblem of the region) figures on the French plaques but not the Occitan ones, and what relevance regional symbols such as these hold in the wider politics of the state’s management of its regional languages. Whilst Occitan has a marginally higher presence than the other third-category languages, many of these appear on monolingual signs, legitimising their role as individual elements in the LL. Occitan’s widespread appearance alongside French,

¹⁸ A similar situation played out in Montpellier in 2012, when the Mouvement républicain, having won a legal case ordering the removal of bilingual Occitan signs on the main roads leading into the town, was fined €2000 by a public court in Marseille for ‘abusing’ the constitutional right for individuals to write regional languages, accompanied by French, in the public domain. This put the state in the seemingly paradoxical position of defending the visibility of regional languages in the public space, and punishing those who sort to remove them (Le Télégramme, 2012).

however, deprives it of this individuality, giving the impression that it exists predominantly as a variable of and within the French landscape. This is further enforced by the code preference on the signs themselves, where in every case French is written above Occitan. As such, despite the state's apparent willingness to write and include Occitan in the LL, its visibility is subject to a fixed power hierarchy which privileges the national standard over the regional language. This underscores Occitan's role as a symbolic marker of regional identity, whilst simultaneously denying it legitimate status as an independent language in the LL.

Discussion

5.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

This study has examined the languages of ten streets in Toulouse, and discussed some of the most pertinent issues currently under investigation in the field of the LL. To remember, the original goal of the project was to answer the following research questions:

1. Which languages are present, and in which contexts?
2. Is there a linguistic hierarchy?
3. To what extent is Occitan being revitalised in the LL?

Generally, the data reveal that French is the most widely-used language, as it featured on all 9 types of mono- and multilingual sign, enjoying a presence of 87% (675 items) throughout the LL. By contrast, the third-category languages Occitan, Japanese, Italian, Arabic, German, Latin, Portuguese, Irish, Catalan, and Spanish were only counted on 5.9% (45 items) of the corpus, and their impact was dependent on the immediate social context in which they appeared. Therefore, French lies at the top of the hierarchy as it is the most visible language in the widest number of contexts. This position was only partially challenged by English, which had a notable presence on multilingual items in the LL. Quantitatively speaking, third-category languages were almost invisible. The linguistic hierarchy cannot only be measured by numerical values, however, but also according to the relative statuses of languages as based on their given contexts. In this respect, linguistic diversity in Toulouse is for the most part maintained by pockets of cultural otherness, manifested on the one hand in context-specific places such as a Japanese restaurant or an Arabic book shop, and on the other hand in the foreign languages that penetrate the national standard on signs in diverse (though often commercial) contexts. Given the domination of French and the comparative rareness of third-category languages in the LL, the presentation of English is particularly remarkable: it featured on too few items to challenge the overall hegemony of French, yet it penetrated significantly more contexts than the third-category languages. The treatment of English is, therefore, one of the key aspects of the linguistic hierarchy in this LL.

The linguistic hierarchy can also be assessed in terms of the function of languages. The data not only suggest that the informational, communicative, and instructional functions of the LL are almost exclusively performed by French, but also that the roles of other languages are comparatively symbolic, used more often for connotation rather than denotation (Edelman, 2006: 152). As such, there were very few signs which featured English or third-category languages as the most visually-prominent codes of communication. This is congruous not only with the general language situation in Toulouse as implied by immigration statistics and more general data about language capabilities in France, but also with the state's official policy, which prescribes the use of French on signs in the public space (JORF, 1994).

Although the status of French as the dominant code is largely uncontested, there is evidently a widespread interest to write in English, standard or otherwise. This is particularly visible on advertising signs which look to reference cosmopolitan and international products, places, people, or ideas. Indeed, the prevalent use of English in commercial signage illustrates the confidence companies have that consumers more often associate foreign-languages with more expensive and higher quality products (Haarman, 1986; El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996: 415; Piller, 2000). Moreover, it has been shown that many designers of French-English advertisements consider English such a powerful tool that they are willing to risk penalisation for its use (Martin, 1999). Certainly, signs such as the one found on Rue Lafayette (fig. 23), demonstrate a language strategy that is at best ignorant, at worst defiant, of the Toubon Law:

Fig. 23. Monolingual English sign



English does not always appear at the expense of French, however. It also complements and integrates with the official language, where at times it assumes a French identity, superseding its role as a marker of American or British culture (Martin, 1998: 180). This is exemplified in fig. 24, which illustrates a joke delivered through the medium of English, but which celebrates a linguistic diversity that is definitively French:

Fig. 24. Bilingual pun



The French word 'jean' is a homonym which refers to both the trouser and the common male forename. As a native English reader, I at first assumed this sign an example of what Piller (2003: 173) describes as 'ludicrous' English. Given that the trouser is normally pluralised in standard English ('jeans'), I considered this an inaccurate pun that any competent English speaker would deem invalid. From the perspective of a French-speaker, however, 'jean' resonates in French, and its original borrowing (and subsequent modification to the singular) is inconsequential. Thus, whilst the phrase 'my jean is my boyfriend' may appear English throughout, the specificities of the pun are markedly French. Not only does this represent bilingual creativity, but also the reimagining of an English term in a French construction, a process Kachru (2005: 91) refers to as 'acculturation'. Signs such as this further substantiate the power of French, which plays a central role even on signs which might normally be qualified multilingual.

The third research question examines the extent to which Occitan is being revitalised in the LL. Despite its limited visibility (1.7% - 13 items), the salience of Occitan on street signs affords it a distinct position in the contextual hierarchy, reinforced in its authorship as part of the state's own language strategies. However, it rarely appears in wider contexts or independent of French translation, which delegitimises its status as an autonomous force in the LL. In comparison to languages such as Japanese, Italian, German, and Catalan, whose visibility can be boosted by their independence from French, the general impression of Occitan is that it exists within the delimitations of state-owned signs, and perhaps even as a part of the national standard. The data in this study suggest that not only is the regional language dependent on translation into French, but also that there is virtually no interest in the private sector to write Occitan in the public space. Nevertheless, given that the revival of a minorised language normally begins in the medium of the dominant code (Fishman, 1991: 88-90, 2001: 16; Strubell, 2001: 267; Brown, 2012: 289), it is possible that extra-linguistic revitalisation may have a bearing in the LL. Of particular interest is the business name of L'Apérô, a bar on Boulevard de Strasbourg, which makes use of what is known locally as the 'Ô Toulousain', referring to the accent often associated with the south west in which O's are shortened.¹⁹ That regionalism may be represented through the national standard suggests that the Occitan on street signs may not be the only expression of regional activism in the city, though the use of a localised French term further emphasises the power and reach of the official language. Nevertheless, L'Apérô provides evidence to support the hypothesis that linguistic regionalism is more often associated with particularities in the local variety of French (phonetics, syntax, vocabulary, intonation), rather than any capabilities in a regional language (Hoare, 2001; Blanchet and Armstrong, 2006). There is certainly a desire (particularly amongst the younger generations) to maintain spoken regional varieties of the standard (Armstrong and Unsworth, 1999; Pickles 2001), and the example of L'Apérô demonstrates how the LL may be used to evaluate how this is manifested in the written form.

¹⁹ See Lafontaine (1988), Blanchet and Armstrong (2006) and Paternostro (2008) for overviews of regional varieties of standard French, and, in particular, Moreux and Razou (2000) for an evaluation of spoken French in Toulouse.

5.2 Shortcomings and New Directions

This dissertation has attempted to draw together many of the themes and research interests of the LL, but in doing so it also illustrates several of the theoretical limitations and methodological weaknesses in the field. This closing section reviews some of these shortcomings, and offers some potential directions for future research.

Perhaps the greatest drawback of the LL in its current format is that scholars remain unable to discern the relationship between quantitative and qualitative analyses. By empirical standards, most of the languages found in the Toulouse LL are barely significant when compared with French and English, which dominate across the majority of social contexts discussed in this study. Yet, the diversity of individual signs featuring interesting and remarkable language combinations suggests that the visibility of these languages is not as insignificant as the empirical data imply. Whilst the initial premise of the LL was that sign-counts permit a statistical representation of the 'language situation' in a given space (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009) the turn towards more qualitative methods has allowed scholars to be more sensitive to the details which are often lost when collecting data according to fixed classifications. In this respect, the LL has evolved from a structuralist into a more generalist discipline. Although scholars continue to advocate a dual approach, there is little progress being made to apply the specificities of the qualitative method with the statistical robustness of the quantitative. The problem, in essence, is that the field still lacks a methodological model for a collective comparison of items that have been evaluated individually. On the one hand, coding the language(s) on a sign, the sign type, its purpose as determined by its writer, and its intended audience is fraught with sociological complexities specific to the immediate place, region, or social context. On the other, combining all these theoretical concerns to form an overall analysis of the public space becomes even more complicated when we consider that the linguistic dynamics of the LL are determined by those who initiate it, rather than by those who observe it.

In this regard, let us return to the fundamental discussion of how far LL visibility is representative of linguistic vitality (discussed in part 2.4). Both sides of the argument are based on the assumption that multiple ethnic, racial and linguistic groups seek to illustrate their beliefs in the same way. However, a common assessment is difficult,

given that different groups (and individuals within those groups) have varying attitudes as to how far their languages should be visible in the LL. What the LL shows, in fact, is not the positions of various language groups within a common hierarchy, but rather how far each actor feels the LL is a necessary, useful, and valid forum in which to demonstrate their language practices. From one perspective, comparing visibility is difficult because certain languages, regardless of their vitality, are not written as often as they are spoken (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006). From another perspective, assuming that certain languages are reliable indicators of the status quo within a specific linguistic group more often gives way to unhelpful generalisations.

Another challenge concerns the coding of the languages themselves. Whilst multilingualism in the LL is routinely measured by identifying and counting the languages on signs, the classification of proper nouns and brand names remains controversial. Early studies generally ignored the complexities of this, tending to qualify languages on an arbitrary and ad hoc basis (Schlick, 2003; Edelman, 2006). Many others disregard the problem entirely, not considering brand names to have a tangible impact in the LL, or at least not as much as informational or instructional items (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006; Huebner, 2006; Bogatto and Helot, 2010). Others recognise the complexities of the issue, but elect to remove problematic items from the dataset, disregarding them as 'foreign' (El-Yasin and Mahadin, 1996), 'international' (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010) or 'neutral' (Sjöblom, 2005, 2006). Given the significant number of trademarks and brand names in this LL (94), and the substantial presence of diverse languages on commercial signs, the qualification of proper nouns presents an important theoretical priority in the field.

To date, several methods for this have been suggested: Tufi and Blackwood (2010) introduce concepts used in marketing and social psychology, positing that one way of coding trademarks may be according to their country of origin or country of design. In doing this, they admit that the perception of a product's country of origin (or country of representation) can differ amongst places and people.²⁰ A second approach sees trademarks qualified according to their connotations with certain languages, though, as with the country of representation method, such associations are arbitrary. For her

²⁰ Their research came about from an initial disagreement as to the origin (and therefore language) of the trademark 'Diesel', where one researcher knew it was Italian and the other assumed it was international.

part, Edelman (2006) qualifies languages according to dictionaries (her example is the loan word ‘blender’, which appears in the Van Dale dictionary as Dutch). The problem of loanwords expands the issue beyond trademarks and proper nouns. The limitations of the Edelman solution are that, whilst data collection may be simplified, dictionaries cannot be considered accurate markers of the extent to which foreign terms have penetrated wider speech practices, nor can they gauge the acceptance (or rejection) of nativised loanwords amongst the general population. In this study the word ‘sushi’ appeared on several occasions, and it became unclear whether it should be considered a loanword (it appears in Larousse, 2013, though labelled as a Japanese word), or whether its classification was influenced by the languages surrounding it. A fourth approach is outlined by Korzilius, van Meurs and Hermans (2006), who posit that brand names should only be considered a certain language if a choice has been made to take them away from their ‘given’ presentation. Thus, they argue that whilst international brands such as Nike and Givenchy are untranslatable constants, proper names which evince a deliberate shift from an ‘original’ language to a new one are part of the independent language strategy of that particular shop, café, or institution. Applied to this study, this approach would imply that the street sign ‘Carrièra d’Alsacia-Lorena’ is indeed Occitan, yet the place name in ‘Carrièra de Metz’ remains French.

Of the methods discussed here, qualifying languages according to connotation seems to hold the most promise, yet it is unclear whether a methodology can be developed to measure the associations between certain words and specific languages or countries. At present, it is difficult to assess how many people in a given LL (who themselves may originate from contrasting linguistic and cultural backgrounds) consider Coca-Cola to be English (or American), or L’Oréal to be French. A temptation in this project was to code business names according to the business sign beneath them. In this way, ambiguous items assumed the linguistic identity of their surroundings, which was particularly problematic for business names or trademarks which have an international presence.²¹

The family names written on doorbell tags presented another difficulty for language coding. Their visibility in the LL (entrances to accommodation are common on main streets, amongst shops, cafés, market stalls, road signs, etc.) legitimises their

²¹ An example is the business name and trademark ‘Darjeeling’, which was not deemed to have any particularly French connotation, but was coded as such given its business sign, which read ‘Collection de lingerie’.

contribution to the symbolic construction of the public space (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006); yet since they are proper nouns, they do not implicitly reflect the language practices (or beliefs) of their owners, though they may be loosely representative of their linguistic culture or ethnic background. Proper names may not have the communicative impact of an instruction, an information item or any lengthier sentence, yet the difference between, for example, a French-looking name and a Polish-looking name clearly contributes to the dynamics of the space, though such classifications are of course arbitrary.

The question of the doorbell labels prompts us to ask whether it might be useful to consider authorship more carefully. The typology of 9 sign categories used in this study provide a useful starting point for the roles of signs and their potential or targeted audience, but they offer little insight into the impact and influence that different kinds of sign can have in different circumstances. Reh (2004) has already demonstrated the potential differences between static and moving signs, a theory which has recently been revisited by Juffermans and Coppoolse (2013). It may also be interesting, however, to explore the temporal elements of the LL more deeply. The hand-written sticker in the window of *Idéal Models* (fig. 20) compares with, for example, a 'give way' sign, not only in its type and authorship, but also in its permanence. Similarly, the contextual status of Occitan is due in part to the immovability implied by metal cast street signs, which are more or less permanent features of the LL. As such, we may consider that the LL plays host to signs which speak with varying degrees of impact, as both state- and privately-authored signs display different degrees of permanence in the LL. A useful example was found at the honorary German consulate, where the copper plaque appeared both in German and French (fig. 25), but the paper information notice taped to the door was significantly more detailed in German (fig. 26). This suggests that whilst the official policy of the Consulate is bilingual, its more immediate language practices imply a preference for German over French. The fact that multiple language strategies can be present within a singular institution discredits Cenoz and Gorter's (2006) collective method (see part 2.5). It also resonates with Malinowski's (2009: 120) hypothesis on multimodality and 'simple signs', and it would be interesting to examine how various authorship factors, including official language policy, affect multiple modes of permanence in the LL.

Fig. 25. Permanent sign



Fig. 26. Temporary sign



Methodological problems were also encountered in the classification of the street name plates. Both the Occitan and French signs were counted as a single item, because it was deemed that they were intended as a pair. Yet the absence of Occitan plates on some street corners, and the physical distance between the two plates on others (see fig. 21), suggests that the process of defining signs by their physical borders may require modification. Indeed, the sheer diversity of sign borders in this LL gave way to a number of ambiguities, and decisions occasionally had to be taken on an ad hoc basis. Once again, this highlights the scale of the challenge of developing a quantitative methodology for all the specificities present in the LL. The issue of sign borders also applies to multilingualism, and how we distinguish between single- and multi-language items. In this regard, it might be useful to build on Reh's (2004) typology by differentiating between separate and inclusive translations. Whereas the French-Occitan duality on street name plates demonstrates an aesthetic combination of two languages, the borrowing multilingualism in phrases such as 'Découvrez nos 3 menus love' or 'mon must have' is more implicit. Furthermore, if two codes on a sign carry different messages, it may be inaccurate to record them as a single unit. A reader who has access to both codes may consider the sign multilingual, but two monolingual readers may well interpret independent meanings, for which two LL items can be counted. Conversely, monolingual readers may be ignorant of the distance between the languages, and may incorrectly assume a mutual translation. We return here to the

question of borrowings, and how far ‘macaronic’ (McArthur, 2000) signs, involving or characterised by a mixture of languages, represent ‘French’ or ‘other’ linguistic practices (see ‘my jean is my boyfriend’, fig. 24).²²

One particular shortcoming of this study is that, whilst Toulouse is a city in which Occitan has a growing presence, this was hardly reflected in the data. This underscores the unpredictability of the LL, where the Librairie Occitania (Bookshop of the Occitan Country) was closed for the day on which the Rue Saint-Rome data were collected. Though the dataset revealed no instances of Occitan other than the state-authored street signs, the bilingual website for the bookshop (the URL of which appeared on the shutter covering the entrance) shows photographs of the Librairie in opening hours, where stalls, stands, and shelves protrude into the street displaying a great deal of Occitan books, posters, fridge magnets, and the like, as well as the prominent and colourful French-Occitan business name of the shop.²³ The data captured in this study suggest that the efforts of the Librairie Occitania to make the regional language visible are not reciprocated elsewhere. Nevertheless, future studies of the city will show whether or not visibility and publicity for the language increases. A more qualitative approach might be useful here, which would be able to explore some of the wider contexts in which Occitan is visible. This might include examining the role of the LL in language acquisition (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008), or evaluating the relationship of Occitan to tourists and visitors to the region, at whom the regional language might be directed as a symbolic identity marker (Bruyèl-Olmedo and Jaun-Garau, 2010).

The question of regional representation demonstrates what has become an important focus of the LL, as it is used to test Haarmaan’s (1986: 109) hypothesis that ‘language is the most immediate element of ethnic identity for ordinary people’. Moreover, the theme of identity, and the importance attached to language as a representation of self, (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 55; Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006: 9) may be expanded into commercial signage and the use of so-called ‘international languages’ (Pennycook, 1994; Crystal, 1997; Ross, 1997). On this score, it is possible to conceive of a fourth element to

²² Some credit must here be attributed to Claudine Brohy, who, at the 5th LL conference in Namur, Belgium (2013), introduced the notion of ‘mixed-lingualism’. Whereas multilingualism often refers to a general awareness of multiple languages, she argued, mixed-lingualism implies a series of independent monolingual groups. In light of this, it is interesting to consider that mixed-lingual signs may serve multiple, separate functions, especially when carrying uncommon or unclichéd messages.

²³ www.librairie-occitania.com

Spolsky and Cooper's (1991) sign-writer conditions, namely, 'write in a language you wish others to use or learn'. The Melting Pot Pub (Boulevard de Strasbourg) hosted a significant number of notices in English, for which no French translation was provided. These were both word-processed and professionally printed by beverage companies, and the lack of the national standard at the front of the pub (along with its general presentation as an Irish and Anglophone space) reinforces the informational, rather than symbolic, function of the English:

Fig. 27. Melting Pot opening times



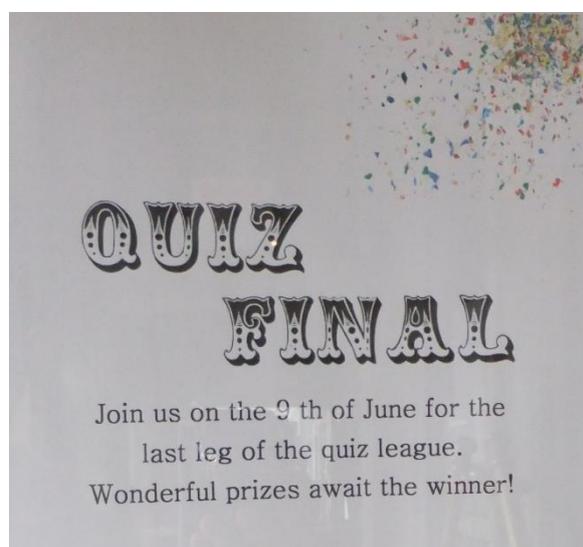
Fig. 28. Melting Pot quiz night



Fig. 29. Brewery-authored sign



Fig. 30. Melting Pot quiz final



Whilst the Melting Pot is a well-known meeting point for English-speakers and expatriots living in the city, it also thrives on business from local customers. Since only a minority of French citizens claim to be able to read English to any proficient level (Eurobarometer, 2012), not supplying information in the official language could be considered a risky strategy. Whilst these signs undoubtedly serve a symbolic function, referencing the pub as an Anglophone establishment, it is also possible that they represent a desire to encourage French-speakers to engage with the linguistic culture of the space, by reading and (if possible) understanding the English on the signs.

5.3 Closing Remarks

The outcome of this dissertation is two-fold. First, it has examined the language situation in Toulouse, investigating the treatment of written languages in relation to the social, cultural, commercial, and political forces that govern them. Second, it has explored the depth of contemporary thinking in the LL by applying and testing some of its traditional and more recent theories. As for the city itself, the project has engaged with demographic data, and compared trends in immigration and the social status of linguistic minorities with the visibility of languages on the streets of Toulouse. It has also discussed the state's position on foreign and regional languages, and analysed their visibility in the light of official legislation. Whilst external languages pose no quantitative threat to the supremacy of French, their visibility is marked in certain contexts. The salience of English, in particular, appears not only to justify the standpoint of the Toubon law, but also casts doubt on its impact amongst authors of commercial signs, many of whom write foreign languages without the mandatory translation into French. Despite this apparent transgression, the LL also plays host to a complex (and hitherto largely un-discussed) variety of multilingualism, in which foreign languages are engulfed by the standard, and become 'Frenchified' both in meaning and connotation. We must question, therefore, whether this casts doubt on the hegemony of French, or whether, in fact, it further emphasises its authority as the principal language of France. A similar assessment can be made for Occitan, which, manifested on street signs, remains under official control, and in the shadow of the official language. In forthcoming research, the question of how far it is being revitalised must look more closely at the

autonomy of local and regional authorities, who may interpret the laws of the country from a more or lesser regional perspective.

The methodological shortfalls of this dissertation have also prompted a discussion on some of the more pressing concerns in the field of the LL. Recent theoretical inputs from marketing, social psychology, language acquisition studies, and global commercialism have shed new light on the capabilities of the LL, though they also underscore existing difficulties, and present new challenges. The most fundamental issues concern the definition and coding of languages, the interpretations of language beliefs, practices, and management strategies in relation to visibility in the LL, and our evolving understanding of the relationship between quantitative sign counts and qualitative analysis.

By way of conclusion, this dissertation has engaged with some of the most useful aspects of LL research, but it also demonstrates that the field is in urgent need of organisation. The conceptual premise of the LL is that it uncovers data concerning social realities, yet the management of the data and their application to a diverse range of sociological, geographical, economic, political and cultural theories is currently under scrutiny. Due to the novelty and continuing expansion of the field, the evolution and adoption of more robust theoretical models will make for a more tangible definition of 'linguistic landscape', and its place within the wider field of sociolinguistics.

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