

Regional Languages in the Linguistic Landscape: The Visibility and Status of Occitan and Corsican in
Southern France

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Unless otherwise stated, all translations and photographs are my own.

Abstract

This thesis explores the interconnections between the French regional languages (RLs) Occitan and Corsican and their visibility in the linguistic landscape (LL). Through an assessment of written signage photographed in the city centres of Marseille, Toulouse (Occitan), Ajaccio, and Bastia (Corsican), the analysis examines the relationships between the RLs and other languages, and their expression in multiple political, commercial, and cultural contexts.

The study is structured both as analyses of empirical data collected in the four cities, and two case studies addressing specific elements of RL visibility. For the purposes of the primary analysis, 100-metre stretches of twenty streets were selected in each of the four cities. For the case studies, the data are composed of a set of bilingual street signs in Toulouse, and a corpus of signage collected on the Mariani campus of the University of Corsica in the historic town of Corte. The thesis employs an original methodology, which is based on elements of both the qualitative and quantitative arms of the LL field. Information is thus recorded not only for the RL items, but for every item encountered in the streets. This permits not only an evaluation of the contexts in which Occitan and Corsican are visible, but also of how this relates statistically to the presence of French, English, and other languages in these contexts. The purpose of this approach is to assess the visibility and status of the RLs in a relative way to the other languages visible on the streets. The analyses consist of data-driven conclusions about the spaces and contexts in which the RLs were recorded, alongside close analysis of individual items photographed during the fieldwork. The case studies are considered in isolation of the street survey data, though they are discussed in relation to the wider study in the conclusion. The conclusion also contrasts statistical comparisons between Occitan and Corsican with the wider corpora from both language areas. The findings confirm a number of hypotheses about the visibility of RLs in French contexts, and provide empirical evidence for the existence and proliferation of Occitan and Corsican in specific settings. Since the quantitative data record information about materiality, authorship, contextual placement, and the subject matter of texts, the study reports not only the visibility of the RLs in a general sense, but also provides close detailed contextualization of this visibility. The thesis thus addresses research questions relating both to the RLs and to the methodology itself, since it is situated in the context of the developing LL field and the experimental nature of its research methods. Hence, the conclusion reflects on the data both from the perspective of the immediate study and a more general discussion about the future of the field, and potential for further development of large-scale, quantitative LL research methods.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. General Introduction

In recent years, the focus of a number of political debates in France has been the question of regional languages. Autochthonous to the territory and predating the establishment of the French nation state, the regional languages have been in a state of decline for over a century. Encouraged by activists and incentivized by the European Union, governments elsewhere in the continent dedicate time, public money, and human and material resources to the recognition and support of regional languages, both in terms of public visibility and education (Agarin, 2014; Edwards, 2010; Extra & Gorter, 2001; Hogan-Brun & Wolff, 2003; Wright, 2016). As demonstrated both in and beyond academia, France is generally considered less supportive of this philosophy than many other EU members (Adamson, 2007; Ager, 1999, 2001; Judge, 2007). This is partly because the nation's identity, since at least the Revolution in 1789, has been officially characterized by an unbreakable bond with the French language, at the expense of alternative varieties. This thesis examines the position of two of France's regional languages (hereafter RLs), Occitan and Corsican, as they exist in the present day. Numerous books, journal articles, academic conferences, and public debates attest to the scholarly interest in these two RLs, particularly in terms of their literary canons (e.g. Gardy, 2001; Thiers, 1977) and their role in public and private education (e.g. Jaffe, 2013; Lyster & Costa, 2011). However, researchers associated with the field of language policy have long considered France an archetypal example of the effects of language management strategies, and on the promulgation of nationalism, political centralism, and linguistic hegemony (Lodge, 1993; Spolsky, 2004; Wright, 2000). Officially, at least, these ideals are assumed to be upheld as vigorously in Corsica and the Occitan territory as they are in Paris.

The goal of this thesis is to assess the contemporary situation of Occitan and Corsican at their intersection with the linguistic landscape (hereafter LL). The project has not focussed on their presence in the classroom, in books, film, and other media, nor in regional and national law-making, but rather on their appearance in cities belonging to the territories which the languages are claimed to inhabit. These and other LLs are the objects of interest in an increasing number of sociolinguistic studies, as they represent the nexus at which languages,

policies, and people interrelate. Since Landry & Bourhis (1997) renewed the sociolinguistic interest in written signs in the LL twenty years ago, the growing global interest in this phenomenon has resulted in hundreds of journal articles, several edited volumes and monographs, and the launch, in 2015, of a dedicated journal.

Informed by the theories and methodological developments of the field of LL, this thesis considers Occitan and Corsican in the light of three research questions:

1. To what extent are Occitan and Corsican visible in the LL?
2. To what extent does the LL illuminate associations between the RLs and specific political, commercial, or cultural contexts?
3. What are the limitations of the LL in exploring these questions, and what is its future potential?

In addition to exploring the status of the RLs, therefore, the thesis aims to offer some reflections on the shortcomings and benefits of the LL as a method of sociolinguistic research. Whilst the sign data are at the heart of the investigation, the thesis also draws together elements of several sub-fields related to the LL. Following brief historical and sociolinguistic overviews of Occitan and Corsican, this introductory chapter outlines these, demonstrating how they relate to the study of RLs and their analysis in the LL.

1.2. Occitan

The Occitan language has formed a major part of France's linguistic history in the post-Roman period. From about the 9th century AD, Vulgar Latin had evolved into a number of varieties collectively referred to as Gallo-Romance, from which two major groups emerged: the *Langues d'Oïl* in the north, and the *Langues d'Oc* in the south.¹ As a number of commentators maintain (Adamson, 2007: 84; Ager, 1999: 15–23; Judge, 2007: 107), the superior status accorded to the *Oïl* varieties, established and maintained by the powerful elites in Paris, forged a political divide between the Gallo-Romance groups which lasted for centuries. During the rise of French as the national and dominant code, which spanned from the early 16th century through

¹ For overviews of France's linguistic evolution in the post-Roman period, see Lodge, (1993), Martel (2001), Price (1971), and Rickard (1989), *i.a.*

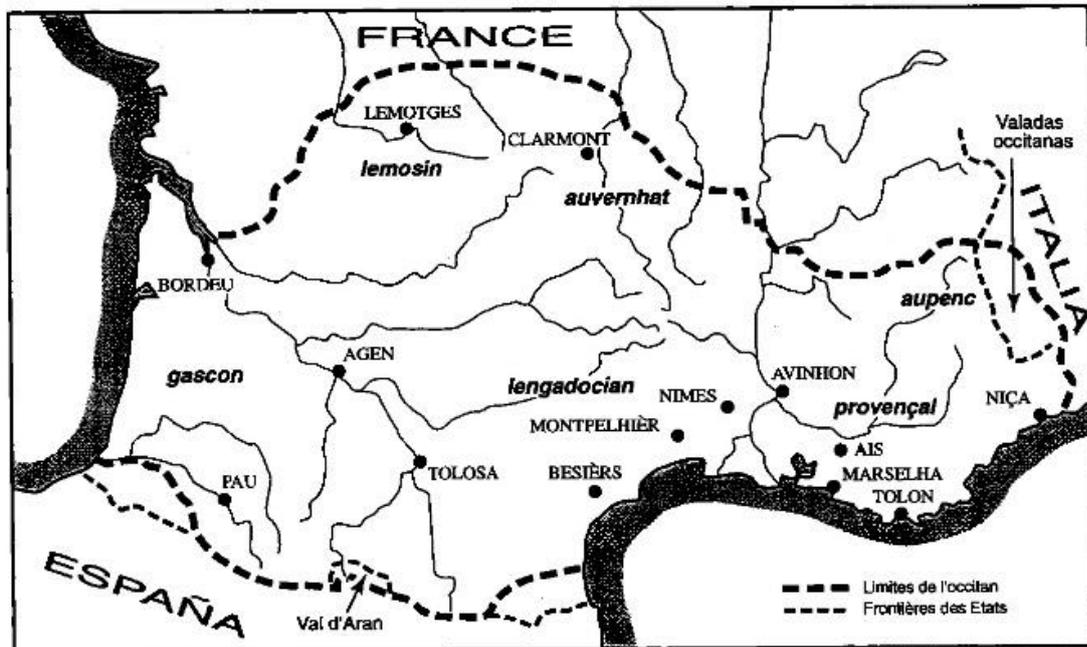
the Revolutionary period and into the 20th century, the *Langues d’Oc* were subject to robust language management, resulting in a sustained process of language shift (Lodge, 1993; Walter, 1988). As Judge (2007: 107–112) comments, the most important era for Occitan is therefore widely considered to be the medieval period, where its use spread to administrative and legal contexts, and the scientific fields of mathematics, medicine, theology, and grammar across most of the southern portion of France. Also important in terms of the history of Occitan is the 19th-century literary and cultural movement known as the *Félibrige* (*Lo Felibritge* in classical Occitan), established by writer and activist Frédéric Mistral (among others) in the south-eastern area of Provence, which aimed to re-establish the Provençal variety of Occitan and promote its writing and culture. It is important to note, however, that despite its success throughout the medieval period and during the *Félibrige* renaissance, Occitan continued to be characterized by internal divisions between its many varieties. As Boyer & Gardy (2001) note, to speak of Occitan in terms of a single code is problematic, given the long-standing disagreements about its linguistic varieties and their boundaries across what is a major portion of France and the territories which surround it in Italy and Spain (cf. figure 1.1).

In the present day, the Occitan debate remains fraught with disagreements about its linguistic and geographic boundaries. The space afforded to RL teaching within the public school system is limited, despite supportive legislation such as the *Loi Deixonne* (the ‘Deixonne Law’) having been in force for over half a century.² Activists remain divided on the standardization of the language, since a common orthography has not been agreed between supporters of Provençal and the other major form, Occitan or *Languè d’Oc*, historically spoken in the west of the territory and endorsed by the 35 offices of the activist organization *Institut d’Estudis Occitans* (hereafter IEO), spread across the south of the French mainland. Though arguably harmful to its development, this divide has not reduced the support for Occitan entirely, particularly at the municipal level (as discussed in chapters four and six), and through education in the form of the Occitan medium and bilingual schools known as *Calendretas*.³

² The *Loi Deixonne* (1951) constituted the first pro-RL piece of educational legislation in France, permitting schools to provide up to three hours’ worth of instruction per week of Basque, Breton, Catalan, and Occitan. For overviews of RL teaching in the French education system, see Blackwood (2008), Costa (2016), Fusina (2012), Hélot (2003), and Jaffe (2013).

³ For overviews of Occitan in the public and private education systems, see Dompmartin-Normand (2002), Klingebiel (2016), and Vetta (2013).

Figure 1.1. Map of the Occitan territory.⁴



A recent development may yet prove to be important for the evolution of Occitan. Between 2014 and 2016, France underwent a period of regional restructuring which saw the establishment of a new *Occitanie* region, fusing the former regions of *Languedoc-Roussillon* and *Midi-Pyrénées*. The right to suggest names for the new regions was accorded to the newly appointed regional councils, and whilst some opted for titles based on position relative to Paris (e.g. *Grand Est* ('Great East') or *Hauts-de-France* ('Upper France')), the temporarily named *Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrénées* regional council voted in June 2016 for *Occitanie*, claiming that the name represents 'a unifying name and a vehicle of collective ambition and common identity' (La Région d'Occitanie, 2017). The name was subsequently ratified by the *Conseil d'Etat* (France's supreme court for administrative justice) in September 2016. Debates about the impact of the name on the official identity of the region are ongoing, with a number of activist groups arguing that *Occitanie* represents a 'unilateral appropriation' of the language varieties and communities within the territory, and that it is insufficient as it only covers a

⁴ Image reproduced from (Boyer & Gardy, 2001: 5). As the map indicates, the list of varieties associated with Occitan normally includes Gascon, Languedocien, Provençal, Limousin, Auvergnat, and Vivaro-Alpin; though other linguistic and geographical denominations, such as Corrèzien (Filhon, 2016) or Nord-Occitan (Judge, 2007: 107) have also been reported.

small portion of the Occitan space (La Marseillaise, 2016). Perhaps in response to such criticisms, the region has since redesigned its logo to incorporate the Catalan flag, stylized in yellow alongside the Occitan cross, as well as the subtitle *Pyrénées-Méditerranée*, in reference to the region's new coastline (cf. figure 1.2). Rather than placate those arguing for a more specific recognition of the region's territorial identity, however, this development has drawn criticism from Catalan activists who argue that the inclusion of the RL in the emblem but not in the name represents a 'mascarade' aimed at 'buying off' those lobbying for an officially recognized Catalan identity within the new region (La Dépêche, 2017).

Figure 1.2. 2017 *Occitanie* logo.⁵



Although these developments have occurred after the planning and fieldwork for this thesis, they demonstrate the contemporary importance of Occitan for many living in the region and beyond. It is also relevant to note that the establishment of *Occitanie* further underlines the division between Provençal and the other Occitan varieties, since the historical *Provence* region with Marseille as its capital remains in the *Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur* region, whose name and organization are unchanged since the restructuring. As chapters four and five

⁵ Image reproduced from <http://www.laregion.fr/>

demonstrate, little evidence of these developments was visible in the LL when the fieldwork was carried out; however, they offer some recent contextualization of the situation, and provide a basis for comparison with Corsican.

1.3. Corsican

In contrast to Occitan, whose borders are unclear, Corsican represents a linguistic space whose limits are indisputable. The Mediterranean island of Corsica lies some 100 miles off the southern coast of the French mainland, about 15 miles north of the Italian island of Sardinia and 40 miles west of mainland Italy. The island was exchanged between several Italian powers during the post-Roman period, including the Kingdom of the Lombards and the Republics of Pisa and Genoa (Arrighi & Jehasse, 2008; Istria & Pergola, 2013). Corsica achieved a brief period of independence between 1755 and 1767 under Pasquale Paoli, who has subsequently become a figure of nationalistic pride and identity, and is discussed further in chapters five and seven. Following the establishment of the French Revolutionary government in 1789, Corsica came under the control of the French Republic, a bond that was strengthened by the ennoblement of the Bonaparte family, whose legacy within France's national historical narrative is still tangible today.⁶ A number of scholars maintain that it is due to Corsica's insularity that it has carved out a unique niche within France's national identity. Arrighi (2002: 23) argues, for example, that the island's physical separation from the mainland has helped to maintain a strong sense of identity throughout history and the modern era, culminating in the *Statut Joxe* which accorded Corsica the title of *Collectivité territoriale* ('Territorial Collectivity') in 1991. As Blackwood (2008: 11–25) explains, the atypical position of Corsica within the French political structure has meant that the trends in language shift experienced elsewhere in the country (for the purposes of this thesis, a particular comparison can be drawn with the Occitan territory) did not play out in Corsica at the same pace. Indeed, the failure of both pre- and post-Revolutionary national governments to replace Tuscan Italian as the prestige form meant that, until at least the late 19th century, there was a significant lack of interest in using French amongst the majority of the island's population (cf. also Blackwood

⁶ For comprehensive overviews of Corsica's political history, see Arrighi (2002) and Boswell (2006).

& Tufi, 2015: 104–107). The far-reaching effects of this indifference are underlined by Carrington (1971), who claims that it was possible until the late 1950s to encounter first-language Corsican speakers who spoke no French. Whilst this is no longer the case in 2017, it is clear that the historical trajectory of Corsican is radically different to Occitan.

Although the *Loi Deixonne* provided no allowances for Corsican until 1974 (Judge, 2007: 126; Blackwood, 2008: 47–49), the RL has benefited from several important pieces of legislation in the last fifty years. The *Loi Haby* (1975), for instance, permitted the optional teaching of RLs at all levels of public and private education (i.e. primary and secondary schools and at universities), on the condition that there was a local demand for the languages to be taught. Fusina (1994: 142) points out that the implications of this condition were rather vague; however by 1981 a number of RLs had become established subjects within the CAPES, France's principal secondary teaching qualification (equivalent to the PGCE in the UK). At this time, Corsican was the sole RL permitted to be studied as an individual subject: other RLs (among them Occitan) were required to be taken alongside a second subject. Another significant piece of legislation was the 1991 establishment of *Collectivité territoriale* status, which not only established Corsica as a then-unique political entity within the context of France's metropolitan and overseas territories, but also saw a significant increase in the teaching of Corsican language and culture, now the only RL to be incorporated into the public school system at all levels.

Like Occitan, Corsican cannot be considered a singular, bound language, but rather a collection of varieties which span the length and breadth of the island. A difference between the two RLs, however, is that a formal process of standardization is not widely desired amongst Corsican activists, who according to Judge (2007: 102) are more receptive to a permanent state of diversity than to the establishment of an agreed standard to be practised and taught everywhere on the island.⁷ This results in an uneven transmission of the language through schooling, in which variation (particularly in the written mode) is considered acceptable, so

⁷ In the few years preceding the *Statut Joxe* in 1991, Corsican political discourse was heavily focussed on the question of an agreed standard. Discussions (then and since) have centred on the model of 'polynomia' proposed by sociolinguists at the University of Corsica at Corte, which advocated acceptance of internal variation whilst recognizing all forms as Corsican (Marcellesi, 1990; for overviews and discussion see Comiti, 2005; Coyos, 2004; and Jaffe, 2014).

long as it is consistent with local norms. As Jaffe (1999: 29) notes, this approach is remarkable in terms of both its liberal stance and linguistic imprecision, since it promotes unity between users based on social cohesion rather than linguistic homogeneity. It is for this reason that Corsican is said to be intensely variable, for, since the 1960s, both academic and anecdotal accounts attest to the widely-held belief that the RL differs from one village and valley to the next (Comiti, 2005; Jaffe, 1999; Thiers, 2014).

Clearly, much more can be said about the histories and management of Occitan and Corsican. As explained above, however, the central goal of this thesis is not to investigate the political or linguistic status of the languages, but to demonstrate how the LL can assess their visibility in the public space, and their uses in various settings. An obvious benefit of this approach in the French context is that the LL offers a degree of precision to the study of RLs which has been historically lacking. The principal reason for this (and a common point of comparison with other countries) is that the French Constitution forbids national censuses from containing questions on language use, religion, and race, in line with the guarantee that the Republic is *une et indivisible* ('one and indivisible'). The result of this is that the few comprehensive surveys carried out into RLs indicate wildly inconsistent conclusions. A survey commissioned by the former Languedoc-Roussillon region (now absorbed into *Occitanie*) in 1998, for example, found that 34% of interviewees stated that they could understand Occitan, of which 20% claimed that they could understand it 'easily' (Judge, 2007: 111–112). Surveys elsewhere, however, cite speaker proportions at 63% (Lozère), 35% (Aquitaine), and 25% (Hérault – *ibid.*). An often-quoted source is Sibille (2000: 38–9), whose consultation of various data streams led to the conclusion that three million people (15% of the population) spoke Occitan at the turn of the millennium. As several commentators (Judge, 2007: 103; Tabouret-Keller, 1999) point out, however, these surveys have mostly been self-evaluative and based on simplistic lines of questioning, and are therefore not entirely reliable. Figures for Corsican are similarly erratic, where a 1982 survey carried out by France's national statistics office *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* ('National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies', hereafter INSEE) claimed that 96% of the population of the island understood Corsican, of which 90% spoke it regularly (Sibille, 2000: 33). A decade later, surveys presented results ranging from 64% to 80% which, as Judge (2007: 103) notes, still appear rather generous since the widespread desire to learn the language at school suggests

that intergenerational transmission is suffering.⁸ Despite these figures, it is worth noting the status of the RLs according to UNESCO (2010), who cites Occitan and Corsican as ‘severely endangered’ and ‘definitely endangered’ on its respective language endangerment lists.

The decision to explore the current visibility and status of the RLs through the LL rests partly on the fact that both languages have been subject to specific recent legislation concerning their promotion through visibility in the public space. In Corsica, the *Agence d'aménagement durable, de planification et d'urbanisme de la corse* (‘Corsican Agency for Sustainable, Long-term Town Planning’) has since 2009 been developing a ‘strategic plan for the organization and linguistic development of the Corsican language’ (Collectivité Territoriale de Corse, 2012). Referred to informally as the *Charte de la langue corse* (‘Charter of the Corsican Language’), the measure targets the ‘reinforcement of the use and visibility of Corsican in social life and in the public space’. Currently, 90 of the island’s 360 communes have signed the charter, in addition to a series of official and unofficial organizations: regional bodies relating to agriculture, commerce, the environment, and tourism; independent organizations such as the petrol station chain *ViTO Corse*, the *Lama* film festival, and *In Piazza* magazine; and political and language activist groups *a Casa di u Populu Corsu* and *a Casa Balanina di a Lingua* (*ibid.*). The most important endorsement has come from Paul Giacobbi, President of the *Conseil exécutif de Corse* (‘Corsican Executive Council’), who signed the charter in May 2015, announcing the official intention to promote Corsican by forging ‘concrete ties with the collective movement to grant Corsican its rightful place at the heart of society’ (Collectivité Territoriale de Corse, 2015). In the Occitan territory, a schema implemented by the Midi-Pyrénées region between 2008 and 2013 aimed to increase the visibility of the RL in a number of domains including the public space, citing also the intention to collaborate with similar RL bodies in Spain, Italy, and Portugal (Conseil régional Midi-Pyrénées, 2008). This precipitated the publication of a bilingual city charter in Toulouse in 2012, which specifically cited the ‘promotion and reinforcement’ of Occitan in the public space (Mairie de Toulouse, 2012).

⁸ It is generally considered by sociolinguists (e.g. Comellas-Casanova, 2016; Erlewine & Kotek, 2016; Judge, 2007) that surveys such as these are fundamentally flawed, since they rely on self-evaluation, compare inconsistent sample sizes, and contain vague terminology and badly defined questions. This means that very little progress has been made about understanding the actual vitality of RLs in France, beyond basic trends (cf. Judge (2007: 65–68) for a detailed overview of the principal surveys carried out into RLs in France).

By analysing the visibility of the RLs in the LL, this thesis examines processes of language activism which are on-going. The data do not relate to the schemes and charters cited above *per se*, nor is the investigation designed to assess the variable impact of these specific measures. Rather, the thesis approaches the analysis of RL visibility and status in a holistic way, inclusive of multiple contexts, spaces, and authors. It is important to note, therefore, that the project does not claim to provide a definitive judgment on the status of Occitan and Corsican in contemporary society. However, it does offer a precise examination of this issue within the context of visibility of the RLs in the principal towns and cities with which they are associated. This examination is supported by an extensive number of theories and methodological approaches related to sociolinguistics and the field of LL. The rest of this introductory chapter discusses these, highlighting the most relevant areas for the research questions above.

1.4. Language Policy

Since the first international LL workshop held in Tel Aviv in 2008, it has been argued that the field of LL shares a 'natural link' with language policy (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009a). This continues to influence contemporary LL research, and is referred to in numerous publications either as the main or a subsidiary focus. Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy spans three distinct phenomena: beliefs, which refer to ideas and opinions of languages; practices, which are the actions and choices of language users; and management, which denotes the strategies employed by individuals, groups, businesses, and governments to influence the beliefs and practices of others. The LL provides one way to put the study of language policy into practice, specifically in terms of the writing visible in public spaces. The study of LL is indeed fundamentally a study of language choice, as signs within a limited space are in a constant state of competition (Shohamy, 2006: 110). Language policy in the LL may therefore be considered an important indicator of the status of Occitan and Corsican, and how they relate to the space, to other languages, and to each other. The signs on display in the LL also offer insight into the authorial dynamics of language management, in particular how the RLs are used (or not used) by official public bodies as opposed to private individuals, local businesses, and multinational corporations. Hence, the LL is an instrument to draw out the *de facto* policies (Shohamy, 2006:

73) exhibited by multiple actors, who support, violate, or undermine the declared policies of officialdom.

Alongside the contestation of power, the LL contains information about the role of languages in context, such as the places in which they appear, what their purposes are, and with whom they are intended to communicate. Parallels have been drawn in this regard with the works of Bourdieu (1990) and Goffman (1963, 1981), in particular concerning socio-political power and the self-presentation of identity.⁹ These discussions intersect meaningfully with the LL in a number of ways relevant to this project, particularly in terms of the layering of multiple and competing ideologies towards RLs, and the contexts in which they are written.

1.5. Revitalizing Endangered Languages

There are multiple sources which link Occitan and Corsican to the questions of language shift and revitalization. This thesis seeks to investigate the presence of the RLs in the LL in light of their severe endangerment, as established by UNESCO (2010), and the variety of surveys and academic studies discussed in section 1.3. Processes for and efforts towards reviving languages have been the subject of a great deal of scholarship since at least the 1990s (cf. Fishman, 1991 and Bratt Paulston, Chen, & Connerty, 1993 for early overviews; cf. also Costa, 2015). Much of this work concerns language planning on the corpus and status levels, and a number of theories have emerged for modelling the practical revival of dead or dying languages, and for rendering this process (and its results) positively amongst the wider population. In France, works by authors such as Courouau (2001), Hornsby (2008), Maurand (1981), and Tabouret-Keller (1999) are relevant, whilst other studies report on similar processes elsewhere (e.g. Fishman, 1991; Romero-Little, McCarty, & Warhol, 2007; Smith-Christmas & Armstrong, 2014). However, as Costa (2015: 7) argues, language revitalization essentially describes the desire of certain individuals to control ('manage', in Spolsky's (2004) terms) the language practices and beliefs of others; it is not merely the attempt to disseminate and increase general competence of a language for its own sake. At the heart of all RL activism, especially in France, therefore, is the pursuit of a regional ideal and the promulgation of a perceived genuine

⁹ These and other relevant theories are discussed in more detail in chapter two.

regional identity, for which language is frequently upheld as the principal vehicle (O'Rourke, Pujolar, & Ramallo, 2015; Urla, 2012). Part of the complexity of studying this process lies in the question of whether the promotion of the periphery inherently implies a rejection of the centre, a contrast which has also been discussed in other linguistic contexts (cf. Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2013). Another part of this complexity, however, concerns the specifics of language revival: the contexts in which the RLs are used, the people who write and read them, and the associations and perceptions constructed by their visibility in the public space. Amongst calls for reclassifications of numerous elements of and to do with RLs, this thesis examines the potential contribution of the LL to this debate.

1.6. LL Visibility and the Theory of Public Space

This thesis identifies the LL as a suitable field of study based on the principle that it comments in some way on the relative status of languages. This position has been upheld since the early years of scholarly reference to the LL, as one of Landry & Bourhis' (1997) goals was to contrast the impact of the LL on language attitudes with more established lines of sociolinguistic enquiry. Subsequently, studies engaging with the LL began to discuss the possibility that language policies and attitudes may be directly represented by signs, and could therefore be assessed according to the distribution of languages throughout the LL. Alternative positions have since been argued, supported by claims that the link between visibility in the LL and vitality in reality is not necessarily a direct one (Barni & Bagna, 2009, 2010). As discussed further in chapter two, one of the aims of this thesis is to investigate this issue, and to explore whether such a direct comparison can be justified.

Though there is disagreement about the extent to which the LL can be considered representative of social realities, it is widely acknowledged that urban spaces exhibit useful panoramas of the multilingual dynamics within a given society, expressed both on individual signs and across the space as a whole. This is based on the principle that the LL is a 'melting pot' of ideas, strategies, and policies, which come into contact by virtue of their appearance in shared or public spaces (Kayam, Hirsch, & Galily, 2012; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010). The LL is the point at which the common function of all signs — to be read — is realized;

hence, studying the LL is inherently a study of language as it is expressed in public, by and for actors which compose multiple strata of society.

This line of sociolinguistic thinking has risen at a time when the understanding of public space is undergoing evolution. There are broader economic and social developments that have contributed to the reshaping of the public/private paradigm (cf. Plummer, 2003 and Weintraub & Kumar, 1997 for overviews), but there is a tendency in sociolinguistics to focus on one in particular, namely globalization. This is a term often used in tandem with the LL, frequently cited as one of the most productive reasons for research to be undertaken in this area (Gorter, 2006a; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009a). Linguistically, scholars are interested in the ways increased human contact has affected language on a global scale, in particular the so-called 'super languages' (Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011) used in multiple and varied contexts around the world. This follows the long-debated issue of the evolution of English in late-modern era. One argument maintains that the spread of English — historically through the British Empire and more recently through Anglophone mass media — underpins that its linguistic form and structure at the basic level are unmodified in every place in which it can be found (Crystal, 1997; Quirk, 1985, 1990). The opposing argument claims that a series of world Englishes (Kachru (1992) *my emphasis*) exist around the world, and are changed, reshaped, and responded to in a variety of ways, dependent on the sociolinguistic contexts of their communities (cf. also Bolton, 2012; Friedrich & Berns, 2003; Martin, 1998, 2007). Whilst this debate tends to concentrate on more traditional forms of sociolinguistics, the LL has introduced an alternative perspective with which to analyse and understand linguistic globalization, namely the use of written languages in public spaces. The idea that the public can be studied in order to give insight to the social is not original to the LL, but has its grounding in various branches of sociological and anthropological sciences (Lefebvre, 1974; Mitchell, 1995, 2003). With this theoretical foundation in mind, it is understandable that the LL views the public space as the ideal site for analysing languages in society. The focus, implicitly, is on the distribution and manipulation of languages within shared spaces in ways that relate to society at large, rather than on the individual (private) practices of language users at home. For this reason, the LL understands globalization and other sociolinguistic phenomena as inherently 'public' — in other words as relating to targeted and spontaneous sign readers that may or may not be determinable by the sign writers. Much LL work deals

with language use in urban centres, which has prompted the suggestion that the field might be (re)named ‘linguistic cityscape’ (Aiestaran, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2010; Gorter, 2006a). However, a more accurate description still might be linguistic *publicscape*, since the scientific focus is on the dynamics of public expression, rather than the physical characteristics of a place as *city* or *land*. Even within the recent rise of inventive studies on tattoos (Peck & Stroud, 2015), the semiotics of public art and smells (Jaworski, 2015; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015), and learning environments (Malinowski, 2015), an underlying common factor is that these languages are expressed in inclusive spaces to which all sections of society have access.

Yet, as the studies referenced here also demonstrate, the LL is equally useful for analysing the intersections of the public and private spheres. This has been declared a feature of globalization, accelerated by the increasing capacity of individuals to broadcast their private expression to an ever-widening audience (Blommaert, 2013; Vertovec, 2010). Intrinsically, the internet is largely responsible for this, as the speed of telecommunication has quickened exponentially since the advent of broadband, fibre-optic data transfer, and the growing number of portals through which to communicate. All the billions of social networking sites, blogs, news outlets, and commentary threads contribute to a world that is globalized in a way never seen before the 1990s. As such, the internet can justifiably be considered the largest and most commonly visited public space on earth. As (Blommaert, 2016: 7) likewise states,

[The internet] has entirely reordered what we understand by “repertoires”, “knowledge of language”, and “language use”. It also reshuffles the empirical character of what is *public* and what is *space*...in ways that not just invite but demand profound theoretical imaginations.

In his contextualization of the first largescale LL study, published in 2007, Backhaus (2007: 32) turns to Calvet’s (1993: 112–113) ‘in vitro/in vivo’ discussion, which defines public and private agency according to the desired outcomes of the user. This points to the shortcomings of generalizing the LL as ‘public’, Backhaus argues, since it is commonly used as a gloss for ‘in vitro’. To claim that top-down signs are ‘public’ in a way that bottom-up ones are not is nonsensical, if one accepts that both are erected within the *publicscape*. As I explain more in chapter two, this distinction was further solidified by the concentration on commercial signs, as opposed to those produced by official bodies. From a linguistic perspective, this makes a comparison between official policy and actual practices of individuals relatively

straightforward. More broadly, however, the LL engages with a reshaping of ‘public’ that is not simply a study of various ‘sites’ — towns, cities, streets, schools, protest marches, skin, and so on — but rather the study of linguistic agency within spheres that host both outward-looking and self-shaping attitudes simultaneously. The public character of these spheres therefore relates to the fact that they are accessible to a potentially indiscriminate audience, in other words that they are *open to the public*. If one is to believe that such places exist in so simple terms (i.e. that all of ‘the public’ have access to all of ‘the space’), then it is acceptable that the LL be the object of studies attempting to understand social action. This thesis takes this view, as it concentrates on language use in society in France based on the understanding that any actor is capable of expression therein. Though it is not viable to suggest that all aspects of society are represented in a space, for the purposes of a study which incorporates all the written expression in a selected geographic area, the comparison of language use among specified fields is justifiable. Whilst the divisions between public and private spaces are becoming less pronounced, therefore, they do not limit the impact or viability of studies in the LL.

1.7. Semiotics: Space, Place, and Meaning

Another branch of sociolinguistic enquiry to which this thesis contributes concerns semiotics, and meaning making in contextualized space. Place semiotics, as defined by Scollon & Scollon (2003) in their seminal monograph, has been particularly influential in the field of LL. As such, code preference, materiality, and emplacement are all terms used in this thesis, for which Scollon and Scollon are responsible. Elsewhere, the introduction of time as a factor in meaning-making has inspired several recent works in the LL (Blommaert, 2007, 2013; Vandenbroucke, 2015). The LL is describable as a ‘snapshot’ (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010) of the language situation in a given place at a given time; though it also has the potential to reveal language change over a period of time, by comparing contemporary and historic data collected in the same space (Gorter, Aiestaran, & Cenoz, 2012; Pavlenko, 2010; Pavlenko & Mullen, 2015). The data discussed in this thesis are synchronic, though occasional comparisons are made with MA research carried out in Toulouse, as well as to prior investigations of LLs in Marseille (Blackwood & Tufi, 2015) and Corsica (Blackwood 2011, 2014). The outcome of applying semiotic theories to the LL is the realization that meaning can be created and

interpreted by physical and material characteristics of objects as well as the texts which are written on them. This refers not only to the ‘visual geometry’ (Sebba, 2014) of signs (colour, framing, letter-forms, spacing, method of inscription, and so on), but also to the unique meaning created by the emplacement of an object in a specific place. The classic example offered by Scollon & Scollon (2003: xii–xiii) is the ‘stop’ traffic sign, which only achieves its meaning potential when cemented to the road at a road junction; it is meaningless (or at least carries different meaning) when it is sitting on the workman’s bench or on the factory conveyor belt.

The contextual emplacement of signs is therefore an important factor to consider when analysing the impact of their words, images, size, and language(s). For Spolsky & Cooper (1991), who conducted a study of public signage before the term ‘linguistic landscape’ was widely circulated, it was the situated meaning of signs which underpinned their judgements about language use and power. Their initial interest derived from a trilingual street sign which was not remarkable in itself, but because its emplacement (as a permanent object set into the wall by the local authority) constituted a material indicator of official attitudes towards Arabic, English, and Hebrew. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 28) later provided the nomenclature, describing this emplacement as pointing to, or ‘indexing’, the contextual meaning of the sign (cf. also Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) on the ‘grammars of visual design’). Such multimodal aspects of the LL have since been qualified in various ways (cf. Bever (2014) for an overview). This thesis seeks to engage with multimodality in terms of quantitative data collection, and posits a model for recording and comparing such aspects alongside language and authorship.

1.8. Thesis Goals and Outline

Through a discussion of sign data collected on city streets in France, this thesis engages with these debates to examine the status and use of the RLs, and to scrutinize the LL as a viable field of study for doing this. As explained in section 2.3 and further in chapter three, the data are recorded and classified quantitatively. Bearing in mind criticisms relating to the simplicities of ‘counting signs’ (Blackwood, 2015; Spolsky, 2009b), this investigation adopts a more complex approach to this type of LL analysis, assessing multiple layers of communication and

meaning that construct the identity of RLs in the recorded spaces. This draws on a significant body of work dealing with the qualitative analysis of empirical data, permitting both detailed classifications of signs and distributional comparisons between the two RLs. Additionally, the data illustrate how Occitan and Corsican relate to French in their domains of use, offering useful input to the question of language revitalization.

Beyond the research questions stated above, the thesis aims to demonstrate that the LL constitutes a viable space for conducting sociolinguistic research. In particular, it illustrates that the LL approach provides a necessary foil to ethnographic methods for assessing RLs such as questionnaires, interviews, and other self-evaluated data such as censuses. Alongside established indirect methods such as matched-guise tests (cf. Kircher (2016) for an overview), the LL is a reliable route to uncovering language beliefs, practices, and management strategies that are unmediated by respondents at the point of recording. The data therefore reveal actual policies of individuals and groups, and provide insight into the characteristics of the RLs, their use in particular fields and contexts, and their status in relation to French. The data are corpus-based, from which trends and deviations from norms can be assessed. This variationist approach (cf. also Amos & Soukup, 2016) assesses the RL items as the main focus, but due to the same depth of analysis across the dataset, it permits comparison with other languages and an assessment within the contexts of broader, definable sociolinguistic norms visible in the space.

Chapter two provides a literature review of LL research, the examination of RLs therein, and the methodological aspects of the field relevant to this thesis. Chapter three outlines the model for collecting, recording, and analysing data, both in terms of the survey areas and the survey items. Chapters four and five present the results of the primary data analysis, discussing the research questions in relation to the signs recorded during the street surveys. Chapters six and seven provide case studies of Occitan on street signs in Toulouse and Corsican in a university campus in Corte, Corsica. Chapter eight offers final conclusions on the data in the light of the principal research questions, and reflects on some of the issues raised by the thesis concerning future directions in the field of LL.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This thesis contributes to the growing body of work which treats the public space as a site of sociolinguistic enquiry. Historically, the analytical focus of sociolinguistics has largely been the spoken mode, where scholars have focussed on standard forms and their variants, and their use by those who shape, manage, and manipulate them. Control and management of language are equally important in the LL, though the emphasis in this sub-field is on the written mode. Hence, the analysis is not of notional speakers of language, but of physical items of written text. A corollary of this is the focus on freely accessible, open public spaces — and so it may be said that LL is as much a sociological and geographical field of enquiry as it is a linguistic one.

Compared with some of the more established sociolinguistic disciplines, LL research represents a relatively fledgling field. It has grown at a rapid pace over the last decade, however, aligned with the rise of scholarly interest in globalization and linguistic pluralism, now central research themes in the humanities in the UK and abroad. As Gorter (2013: 191) points out, the rise of the field correlates with the wider recognition that most of the developed world can no longer accurately be described as monolingual. Due to the growth of emerging markets, the mass internationalization of global economies, and the pervasion of brands, products, and services across borders, languages are spreading, evolving, and coming into contact at an exponential rate (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2003; Pennycook, 2010). Research associated with the LL, in turn, is part of the scholarly concern to understand this evolution of multilingualism and the developing forms of language contact that it creates. Arguably, therefore, the relationship between globalization and multilingualism is fundamental to the field, as scholars from various disciplinary backgrounds explore the spread of multiple languages across public spaces around the world.

Credit for the field's conception is widely attributed to Landry & Bourhis (1997), who introduced the term 'linguistic landscape' to a study of English-French bilingualism in a series of Canadian schools. In their seminal article they refer to the LL as 'the visibility and salience

of languages on public and commercial signs' (1997: 23), and proceed with a description which has become possibly the most cited piece of literature in the LL cannon:

'The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25).

Whilst it is rapidly becoming unnecessary for scholars to reproduce this quotation, retrospectively it illustrates the potential that Landry & Bourhis saw in the public space to tackle complex questions relating to language beliefs. Their article interrogated empirical evidence supporting the hypothesis that participants build perceptions about language through the LL independently of other factors (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 45). As I shall tackle in more detail below, some of the surrounding discussion — for example that control of the LL can be attributed to a binary 'governmental'/'non-governmental' division, or that public spaces are composed of mutually exclusive 'commercial' and 'official' dimensions — have subsequently been challenged. Moreover, whilst it should be noted that Landry & Bourhis did not set out to establish a field *per se*, the notion that LL research has been inaccurately attributed to them is explored by Backhaus (2006, 2007), who provides a lengthy overview of analogous scholarship undertaken prior to the coining of the term in 1997. Backhaus' work followed a nine-year lull in publications, where the term only appeared in a small number of articles until a 2006 special issue of the *International Journal of Multilingualism* re-introduced the LL as a 'new approach to multilingualism', citing the Landry & Bourhis paper as precursory (Gorter, 2006b). The issue contains four articles, and it is these, rather than Landry & Bourhis' (1997) contribution, which are arguably responsible for the contemporary momentum in the field. In the launch issue of the first journal to be dedicated exclusively to the LL in 2015, one of the editors describes a number of the 2006 findings as pivotal in the shaping of the discipline (Shohamy, 2015: 153): first, that the LL is not random or accidental, but rather the result of systematic and consistent efforts of those who write signs; and second, that a sign is not necessarily directly representative of the author's ability in that language (cf. also Barni & Bagna, 2009; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). On the one hand, this means that an individual's use of a language is not solely reliant on linguistic proficiency, but can be the result of a myriad of factors which expose more complex aspects of language management. On the other hand, it means that the LL is the physical result of, and written testimony to, the combination of the

array of language beliefs, choices, and management as described by Spolsky (2004). To these two pivotal findings articulated by Shohamy (2015: 153) we might add a third: that the LL reflects realities about languages that might remain undiscovered by more traditional methods of sociolinguistic analysis. The LL is therefore an essential medium through which to analyse the processes and functions of multilingualism.

Belief in this principle is the ideological driving force behind this thesis, as well as the reason for which the LL is chosen as the field of study for the analysis. The aim of this chapter is threefold: Section 2.1 offers a review of LL theory and its methodologies, discussing the aspects that are most pertinent to this thesis and providing the necessary theoretical background for its methodology; Section 2.2 applies these theories to the study of RLs in general, and of Occitan and Corsican in particular; and Section 2.3 lays the ground for the methodology developed for this thesis, explained in detail in chapter three.

2.1. Linguistic Landscape: Theories and Methodologies in an Expanding Field

2.1.1. Foundational Research: 1977–2006

Whilst Landry & Bourhis (1997) are generally considered responsible for the term ‘linguistic landscape’, the concept dates back to at least the 1970s. It is important however to note that, as Backhaus (2007: 12) stresses, the lack of standard terminology meant that pre-1997 research about public signs was ‘conducted in ignorance of similar types of research that had already been done’. Landry & Bourhis do not mention, for instance, the pioneering work of Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, & Fishman (1977), who in 1973 conducted a small-scale study of 50 names of shops, restaurants, and offices on a commercial street in central Jerusalem as part of a larger project about language distribution in the city. The authors made several discoveries that have since become central to the LL, though this is rarely credited. First, they detected a marked difference in language choice between the names of public institutions and those of private offices and businesses. Non-governmental signs displayed ‘a much higher tolerance’ (p. 189) towards foreign languages, particularly English, than signs managed directly by the State, whose official language policy encouraged the dominance of Hebrew, the national language. Second, the authors explore the tendency amongst non-official actors to use Roman

script — which they (possibly reductively) gloss as ‘English’ — as motivated by what they term ‘snob appeal’ (*ibid.*: 187). The idea that English contains some form of ‘prestige factor’ (as Gorter (2013: 192) puts it) is widely developed in LL research and elsewhere, particularly in discussions about the global spread and evolution of English (e.g. Friedrich & Berns, 2003; Kachru, 1986, 1992, 2002; Quirk, 1985, 1990) as well as the commercial reach of the language and its manipulation in advertising in non-English-speaking countries (Martin, 2007; Reh, 2004; Schlick, 2002; Seargeant, 2009; Stanlaw, 2004). Equally, Rosenbaum *et al.*’s (1977) distinction between official and non-official signs set a precedent for the LL, recognised (if not discussed in detail) by the majority of publications in the field to date.

Also in the late 1970s, Tulp (1978) conducted a survey of large advertising billboards, which she argued were contributing to a shift in Brussels and its suburbs from Flemish towards French. Among her conclusions is the important assertion that the visibility of a language in communal spaces is linked to the public’s perceptions of that language, in particular its relative status to other languages. This hypothesis was empirically confirmed several decades later by Landry & Bourhis (1997). In the late 1980s, a study carried out in Montreal returned to the issue of language policy, using the public space as the object of observation (Monnier, 1989). In a similar way to Brussels, this city is at the heart of a political struggle for language rights, where at the time of Monnier’s study, activists of the Francophone majority had been struggling for official recognition since the 1960s (cf. Bouchard, 2000; Burnaby, 2008; Oakes & Warren, 2007). Building on the basic private-public distinction drawn by Rosenbaum *et al.* (1977), Monnier sought to test how far the traits of official signs were visible in non-official ones. The study informed subsequent developments of the selection of sign units and survey areas, to which we return in section 2.3. The following year, Calvet (1990) illustrated the potential for the LL to inform the comparison of multiple spaces, namely the cities of Paris and Dakar (Senegal). As with the preceding studies discussed here, his conclusions are focussed on the divisions between official and private signs. He found that, in Dakar, French and several autochthonous languages co-exist on the same signs, creating various formations of code mixing and multilingualism. On equivalent signs in Paris, however, languages other than French were unanimously absent.

Another important work is Spolsky & Cooper's (1991) monograph on language distribution in Jerusalem. In terms of its geographical focus it builds on the early work of Rosenbaum *et al.* (1978), though its methodology is much more detailed. Rather than separating signs according to a public/private binary, the authors develop a set of rules to account for language choice through a variety of matrices. Eight 'types' include street signs, advertising signs, warning notices, building names, informative signs, commemorative plaques, labels, and graffiti. Each of these is further broken down into two, three, or four variations, relating to the material of the sign and its physical form, and the origin (local/national/international) and status (official/private/commercial) of its author (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991: 76–81). Informed by these classifications, the authors posit three fundamental 'rules' which dictate language choice: (1) choice is limited to the language(s) that the sign-writer knows; (2) choice is driven by the author's assumptions about the languages understood by the reader; (3) choice is driven by the author's desire to be associated with a particular language or languages (*ibid.*: 81–84). The work is instrumental in forging early understandings of the symbolic power of language choice, which Spolsky investigates further in two major monographs (Spolsky, 2004, 2009a), which founded the related field of Language Policy. The fundamentals of this theory are indeed present in the second two conditions, which deal with the values attached to languages by users and vice versa. Whilst the authors recognise that these two conditions are often in conflict (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991: 94), it could feasibly be argued also that these two conditions can also conflict with, or erase entirely, the first condition. In other words, that the desire to use and be identified with a specific language is not subject to knowledge in that language. It follows that individual authors may enlist the help of others, which means that the processes of authorship can be layered and multidimensional (Malinowski, 2009). This is discussed further section 2.3.

Spolsky & Cooper's (1991) work on the functions of signs and the motivations of their authors may well appear as a direct precursor to Landry & Bourhis' (1997) article, though it is not mentioned. In fact, none of the works discussed in this section are cited by Landry & Bourhis, which is perhaps the reason for which the LL is often said to have originated with them. Despite this inaccuracy, Landry & Bourhis' contribution to the field is important, not least through the signposting of the term in the article's title. Indeed, one may even choose to overlook the suggestion, offered tentatively by Backhaus (2007: 17) and reaffirmed here, that

the term was lifted from Monnier's (1989: 36) explicit reference to the *paysage linguistique* ('linguistic landscape'). Nevertheless, it remains that the major success of the Landry & Bourhis article — and one of the reasons for which it is widely heralded as seminal to the early growth of the field — is the relationship drawn between the LL and linguistic vitality. Moreover, the authors argue that the LL is considerably more instrumental in forming language attitudes than other sociolinguistic factors. This is because, they suggest, the LL represents a distinct 'exo-centric' stimulus, influencing the language beliefs of individuals on a level separate to the majority of beliefs that are embedded internally (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 33). Following cognitive orientation theory (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1972, 1976, 1982), they determine that the LL has a tangible impact on the perceived construction of the language situation — in other words that the presence or absence of signs dealing with certain subjects and written in certain languages directly forges beliefs about the strength and power of those languages. This is referred to throughout as 'ethnolinguistic vitality', a term which has subsequently been revisited in several studies relating to language presence in the LL (e.g. Barni & Bagna, 2010; Franco-Rodríguez, 2011; Kasanga, 2012b; Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). Implicitly, the article also quantifies the effects of many of the 'types' of written information described by Spolsky & Cooper (1991). This study scrutinizes sign factors that are both absolute and variable, the resolution of which is one of the aims of the Landry & Bourhis (1997) article. Whilst the Jerusalem study considered such variation something of a methodological impasse, however, the Quebec investigation took steps to quantify a significant number of different aspects of meaning creation and perception in the LL. The most important of these is the difference it draws between the 'informational' and 'symbolic' functions of the LL. The former is described as an objective identifier of the geographical territory inhabited by a language community (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). As with much of the previous research discussed in this section, the authors make a distinction between private and government signs; though they also introduce the critical point that the informational function can signpost the power relationship between two languages without any interpersonal communication between the reader and the language users. This direct link between visibility and vitality has since been dismissed by some studies (cf. Barni & Bagna, 2009, 2010), and it is more often argued that the LL contributes to, rather than constructs in a complete way, the language attitudes harboured by passers-by. The 'symbolic' function has

been the subject of significant critical development, and was also at the centre of much of the previous work relating to language use, including the so-called ‘snob appeal’ of English (Rosenbaum *et al.*: 1977) and Spolsky & Cooper’s (1991: 84) ‘symbolic value condition’.

Until the release of the special issue dedicated to the LL in 2006, it was the symbolic functions of language that motivated the few articles that were published about signs in the public space. As has been commented on in reviews of early literature (cf. Blackwood, 2015; Gorter, 2013; (Kallen, 2016), this has been based on ideas relating to public expression as discourse, for example Goffman’s (1959) theory of ‘presentation of self’ and Eastman & Stein’s (1993) notion of ‘language display’. A recurrent theme of the interrogation of the symbolic functions of language is the study of English in commercial settings in non-English-speaking countries. A commonly cited example is Schlick’s (2002) study of shop signs in cities in Austria, Italy, and Slovenia. She compares her results with McArthur’s (2000) earlier study carried out in Switzerland and Sweden, offering a broad assessment of language contact with English in the three places. Her final conclusion is that, whilst the national languages are consistently present (between 63% and 67%) in all three cities, the use of English differs significantly (between 25% and 58%). Other studies make similar observations (cf. Dimova, 2007; Griffin, 2001, 2004; MacGregor, 2003; Martin, 1998; Stewart & Fawcett, 2004), though these tend to be descriptive and provide little scientific insight into the relationships between languages.¹⁰ The publication of Scollon & Scollon’s (2003) *Discourse in the Material World*, however, provides a relevant theoretical framework for carrying out this type of research. Whereas McArthur, Schlick, and the other studies cited above analyse English only as far as a generic feature of mass and global commerce, Scollon & Scollon attempt to theorize the meaning behind this generalization. Arguably, the field was lacking in supportive theories up until this point, as these articles are based on generalized and vague assumptions about the languages of signs and unsubstantiated conclusions about their meaning. Through their theory of ‘geosemiotics’, however, Scollon & Scollon (2003: 1–24) build on the discourse approaches of Goffman (1959) and Eastman & Stein (1993) to offer a framework through which to analyse these processes scientifically. Importantly, they propose that the informational and symbolic functions of signs are not separate, as Landry & Bourhis (1997) argue, but rather simultaneous properties of a wider

¹⁰ The shortcomings of descriptive and anecdotal qualitative research are discussed further in section 2.2.5.

reality termed ‘indexicality’, which identifies the meaning of signs as dependent on their context. This suggests not only that reader interpretation is driven by the placement and material features of the sign, but also (and simultaneously) that the meaning construction of the signs themselves depends on the properties of the place in which they are found. Identifying ‘geosemiotics’ as this wider interpretation beyond the sign-reader binary, the authors in effect demonstrate how the LL brings together ‘the social meaning of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world’ (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 211). Thus, signs are not only the material results of human action, but material stimuli of it as well.

2.1.2. Quantitative Approaches

As the works discussed in this chapter exemplify, research relating to the LL draws on a variety of methods in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, such as translation theory, semiotics, and corpus textual analysis. The methodological development of the field has been characterised by a turn, over the last decade or so, towards the collection and analysis of qualitative data. At the field’s initial (re)introduction in the special issue of the *International Journal of Multi-lingualism*, however, much of the assessments were based in some way on quantitative data. This initial focus defines what Lanza & Woldemariam (2015) refer to as the ‘first wave’ of LL research, though, since qualitative and quantitative approaches have developed in different ways since before 1997, it might be more useful to refer to different (but not opposing) arms of the field. The special issue’s editorial introduction maintains that the quantitative interest was driven by the unprecedented capacity of digital media to collect and store ‘potentially unlimited’ photographs of the LL (Gorter, 2006a; cf. also Gorter, 2013: 198). However, it must also be acknowledged that the analytical benefits of documenting a systematic inventory of signs were presented in the first instance by Rosenbaum *et al.* (1977), and reaffirmed by Spolsky & Cooper (1991). At the launch of the special issue in 2006, all four studies adopted quantitative methods to survey the LL: Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Hasan Amara, & Trumper-Hecht (2006) recorded 1007 signs in 8 survey areas; Huebner (2006) reported on 613 in 15 areas; Backhaus (2006) on 11,834 in 28 areas; and Cenoz & Gorter (2006) on 207 in two areas. Each of the studies examined the distribution of languages, comparing visibility in terms of presence on mono- and multilingual items and authorship.

The model for assessing authorship followed Landry & Bourhis' (1997) binary separation of signs as official and non-official. Adopting the terms 'top-down' and 'bottom-up', the works in the special issue (along with the majority of early quantitative scholarship) divide the data according to this principal categorization (cf. also Akindele, 2011; Blackwood, 2011; Dunlevy, 2012; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009). This is a useful distinction to draw since it indicates the differences in practice between the official language policy governing a particular space and the actual language practices of individuals. Cenoz & Gorter (2006) apply this to compare Basque in Spain with Friesian in the Netherlands, which are subject to different policies but which also indicate differing popular opinions towards the language. They demonstrate that the LL provides a useful alternative to demographic data for assessing language attitudes: whilst existing evidence suggests that Basque is generally in a weaker position than Friesian (22% of the population claim to be bilingual compared with 65% in Friesland), the LL indicates the reverse. Backhaus (2006; cf. also 2007) demonstrates significant differences in language preference between top-down and bottom-up signs, commenting on the power relationship (Bourdieu, 1990) between official and independent sign-writers. In addition to a reaction to official language policy, the bottom-up domain also reports on commercial attitudes towards globalization and the appropriation of languages (particularly English) for advertising purposes, likewise discussed by Huebner (2006).

Early LL research was primarily characterized by the use of quantitative data as a starting point, where most of the work made empirical counts of signs according to the languages they display. This approach comments on the distribution of languages throughout the space, and the use of various codes by top-down and bottom-up actors, as well as on the ways in which languages co-exist on individual items and more generally throughout the LL. As Cenoz & Gorter (2006) demonstrate, this indicates the 'weight' of a given language in terms of its frequency and combination(s) with other languages. In this approach, signs are categorized as monolingual, bi-lingual, and multilingual, indicating the relative distribution of languages and their use on top-down and bottom-up signs. Going beyond a simple count of languages, Reh (2004) offers a theoretical framework for analysing the degree to which signs are multilingual, based on the translation of information between the different codes. According to her schema, 'duplicating' multilingualism features information repeated in both texts, 'fragmentary' and 'overlapping' cases display partly repeated information, and 'complementary' indicates no

information be-tween texts. This was adapted by Backhaus (2006, 2007) into a three-part typology metaphorical of musical harmonies. He considers duplicating signs as ‘homophonic’, fragmentary and overlapping ones as ‘mixed’, and complementary translations as ‘polyphonic’ (2007: 91). These frameworks account for a series of multilingual structures, the adaptation of which for this thesis is explained in chapter three.

Assessing the presence and combinations of languages and top-down/bottom-up authorship reports on fundamental aspects of the LL. However, whilst many early studies aimed to assess empirical distribution, their methodologies testify to a number of subjectivities which impair the process of consistent data collection. Huebner (2006) relied on a number of students to collect data independently of one another, with a yield far below that which might be expected of a study carried out in 15 neighbourhoods of a capital city. Even allowing for the potential differences in sign numbers between squares, shopping centres, and whole streets, the assertion that ‘all of the signs’ (p. 34) on lengthy stretches of 15 main streets number only 613 items is not credible in the light of other studies: Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) found over a thousand in fewer areas; and Backhaus recorded almost twenty times as many in less than twice the space. Even by quantifying whole shop displays as the smallest units of analysis, Cenoz & Gorter (2006) counted 207 units on just two streets. When strictly recording every piece of text found in the LL, more recent quantitative studies have frequently recorded over 200 items for 100m stretches of single streets (Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Lyons & Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2015; this thesis). As such, it is remarkable that studies of comparable urban areas of similar size record such discrepancies in unit numbers, particularly when following Backhaus’ (2007: 67) model of a sign as the smallest ‘spatially defined’ unit of text. This is because quantitative data are frequently subject to deliberate post-selection in order to discuss particular aspects of the LL. This is case for both Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) and Huebner (2006), who collect data with specific research interests in mind. Within this model, however, the characteristics of arbitrarily selected signs cannot easily be compared with the rest of the LL, which may feature signs with different and/or unrelated traits. The distributional comparison of these specificities is therefore flawed, given that the quantitative data is itself a product of qualitative selection. Spolsky & Cooper (1991: 74) indeed warn of the difficulties of accounting for mass variation with a limited number of pre-determined classifications. Their response was to develop a ‘parsimonious’ schema of as few values as possible, opting to exclude many of the

varied features of signs and record only basic information. The necessary restrictions of this approach are likewise detectible in many early quantitative studies, where empirical classifications are frequently limited to language combinations and the top-down/bottom-up nature of signs. A number of studies also attempt to quantify various contextual elements, concerning either the geographic sub-location of items within the larger surveyed area (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006) or the various commercial and societal fields in which the signs are relevant (Comajoan & Long, 2012; Franco-Rodríguez, 2009). However, it remains the case that the majority of data collected through quantitative methods thus far have been restricted to limited descriptions of language distribution and official or non-official authorship.

2.1.3. Qualitative Approaches

Discussions leading up to and during the first international LL workshop held in Tel Aviv in 2008 (many of which are reproduced in Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) focussed on a series of problems with the quantitative model, concerning the identification of sign units and spaces, the agency of sign authorship, language classification, and the operational difficulties of collecting empirical data. Huebner (2009: 71–72), for example, criticizes the generic spatial definitions of signs, which ‘afford equal weight to a 3 x 6 inch sign reading “pull”...to a 20 x 40 foot sign proclaiming the name, telephone number, and products of the shop itself’. Earlier, Backhaus (2007: 66) had acknowledged that the classification of large numbers of signs often relies on *ad hoc* decisions, meaning that specific characteristics of signs are ignored if they are not within the classification schema. Evidently, and as Spolsky & Cooper (1991: 74) had argued previously, generic classifications make accurate comparisons of complex spaces virtually impossible. Researchers thus began to focus on more specific classifications of smaller numbers of signs, rather than the distribution of these elements across large numbers of units. According to this approach, elements of a given LL are selected and discussed individually, rather than compared empirically with other signs in that space. Trumper-Hecht (2009), for example, discusses issues relating to the LL in general, concerning readers’ attitudes towards the emplacement and removal of signs in various neighbourhoods. Following a non-exhaustive general surveying of the LL, Curtin (2009) comments on various aspects specific to her research questions, drawing out individual examples to illustrate her observations. Similar

approaches are adopted by Hanauer, Malinowski, Pennycook, and Sloboda (all 2009). In the years that have followed, examples of qualitative surveying have been provided by Coupland & Garrett (2010), Kallen & Ní Dhonnacha (2010), Marx & Nekula (2015), Muth (2015), Pavlenko (2010), Rasinger (2014), Screti (2015), and Tufi (2013). Throughout all these, the emphasis has been on specific aspects of a given area, language group, or society, with examples from the LL used to provide observations of these realities *in situ*. A number of studies transcend both the quantitative and qualitative arms of the discipline, using empirical surveys to give a general overview of language distribution, but relying on select qualitative data to exemplify the more central discussions of the analysis (Blackwood, 2011; Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Kallen, 2009; Lou, 2010). Within this, attempts have been made to apply the detail of the qualitative to the inclusivity of the quantitative. For the most part, this has meant expanding the quantitative to include classifications beyond top-down/bottom-up and the combination of languages on signs. This is discussed further in section 2.3.3, though at this stage it is prudent to note that this development has evolved the traditional and non-specific notion of ‘signs’ as described by foundational LL research. It has also taken the field beyond the traditional boundaries of linguistics and into alternative research areas dealing with education (Brown, 2012; Cenoz & Gorter, 2008), art (Jaworski, 2015; Mor-Sommerfeld & Johnston, 2012), memory (Abousnnouga & Machin, 2010; Busch, 2013), and economics (Peukert, 2015). The development of these and other aspects of the field has expanded the definition of ‘language’ to include semiotic aggregates other than text. The theoretical basis for the incorporation of images, colours, and materials with written language was provided by Scollon & Scollon (2003), and driven further by the development of nexus analysis, which incorporates these fundamental semiotic aspects into the social action and change of humans (Pietikäinen, Lane, Salo, & Laihiala-Kankainen, 2011; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 2007). Throughout a series of international workshops devoted to the LL since 2008 in Tel Aviv, Siena, Strasbourg, Addis Ababa, Namur, Cape Town, Berkeley, Liverpool, and Esch-sur-Alzette (Luxembourg), the object of focus has varied from the traditional textual sign to public marches and protests (Hanauer, 2012; Seals, 2012), tattoos and human bodies (Kitis & Milani, 2015; Peck & Stroud, 2015) space and time (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009; Vandenbroucke, 2015), food (Blackwood, 2017) and so-called ‘soundscapes’ (Backhaus, 2015) and ‘smellscapes’ (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015).

2.1.4. Language Policy and Competition

Of all the established and emerging themes in the field, the most fundamental theory linked to the LL is language policy. Whilst Spolsky's (2004) tri-partite model may be considered the foundation stone of language policy theory, it is worth noting these ideas about language beliefs, management, and practices were evidently inspired in part by Spolsky's earlier findings in Jerusalem (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). His later monograph on language management specified this connection explicitly, describing the LL as a sub-field of language policy (Spolsky, 2009: 66). Within the Spolskian model, it has been argued that the LL belongs specifically to the component of language practices (Gorter 2013: 197); though the growing interest in authorship and the intentions and objectives of signs suggests that LLs characterize language beliefs and management theory as well.

A particular aspect of language policy made visible in the LL concerns the parallel concepts of competition and contest. This is foregrounded on Shohamy's (2006) reasoning that the LL is a public arena of contestation and battle, in which languages struggle for visibility and inevitably create a hierarchy of dominance. This idea has principally been applied to the study of ethnic and immigrant groups (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2012; Garvin, 2010; Lou, 2010; Pavlenko, 2010), but it is also relevant in terms of RL rights, which are commonly in a state of competition with dominant national languages (Coupland & Garrett, 2010; Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, 2012; Moriarty, 2012). The LL has also proven a useful resource for studying the contestation of English globalization: since the series of early articles published in *English Today* (Griffin, 2001, 2004; MacGregor, 2003; McArthur, 2000; Schlick, 2002; Stewart & Fawcett, 2004 — cf. section 2.1.1 above), the LL has been employed to investigate the evolution of English and its effect on places, people, and languages around the world (Juffermans & Coppoolse, 2012; Kasanga, 2012a; Korzilius, van Meurs, & Hermans, 2006; Seargeant, 2011). The 'McDonaldization' (Heller, 2003) of the LL similarly demonstrates how English has become a commodified resource of sign-writers operating in a variety of situations and contexts. It also suggests that Ben-Rafael *et al's* (2006: 25) assertion that English is a 'neutral resource' is rapidly becoming refutable. LL scholarship has demonstrated, in fact, that English is beginning to have a profound effect not only on advertising, commerce, and other

international discourses, but also on the form and structure of languages themselves (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009; Kasanga, 2010; Lawrence, 2012; Ross, 2008).

2.2. RLS in the LL

Over the time spanned by most of the works discussed in this chapter there has been a steady interest in RLS and their relationships to the spaces in which they are visible. A particular benefit of using the LL to examine this — as testified to in much of the research — is that it permits the establishment of a linguistic hierarchy, allowing visual comparisons between multiple languages in contact. A number of ways have emerged for interpreting these visible hierarchies. This section discusses these, in particular those which assess the status, use, vitality, and perceptions of RLS.

2.2.1. Locating RLS in Space and Place

A recurrent theme throughout the research into RLS has related to space and the positioning of minority languages in the landscape. Various studies draw Landry-Bourhisian links between language visibility and the vitality of the social or ethnic group with which they are associated. Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh (2012), for example, identify specific spaces in which Hebrew and Arabic predominate, drawing comparisons between the places in which speakers live and those in which they work. Comajoan & Long (2012) similarly isolate particular neighbourhoods in Barcelona in which Catalan is more prominent than in other parts of the city. This type of investigation has meaningful implications for locating languages in space and place, which this thesis considers are the geographic (space) and contextual (place) locations in which certain languages are visible.¹¹ Stjernholm (2015) identifies

¹¹ This differs to Scollon & Scollon's (2003: 13–17) adoption of the terms from various relevant theories. Whereas they identify 'place' as the nexus of three inter-linking systems of human action, time, and space, this thesis draws a more fundamental difference. 'Space' is here perceived as a basic geographical phenomenon, and is used to refer to specific physically defined areas in the cities. 'Place', on the other hand, is a contextual definition, which describes specific characteristics of signs. Different types of place are present in multiple spaces throughout the LL, and form the basis of the methodological categories explained in chapter three.

associations between languages and the socio-economic characteristics of inhabitants of various neighbourhoods, exploring different perceptions of and between writers and speakers. She relates this to city-wide use of varieties of the national language, whereas Edelman (2014) makes specific links between language distribution and the ethnic demography of certain districts (cf. also Franco-Rodríguez, 2009; Yanguas, 2009). On the one hand, this comments on the spatial demarcation of ethnolinguistic zones — the existing evidence for which is generally quite speculative (cf. Appadurai, 1990; Collins, 2007; Pang, 2007 on 'ethnoscapes') — and has facilitated comparisons between RLs in different countries and continents (Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Coluzzi, 2009, 2012; Marx & Nekula, 2015; Muth, 2012). On the other hand, RLs have been located in a non-spatial sense. Sloboda (2009: 180–185), for instance, identifies 'regions', 'patches', 'corridors', and 'genres' as fields of RL existence. The former three are functionally-defined: commercial, administrative, industrial, and residential 'patches' of the LL; roads, bridges, rivers etc. which act as 'corridors' between them; and whole 'regions' influenced by a single language status, ideology, or management strategy. 'Genre', on the other hand, refers to elements which transcend the different spaces, forming isolated pockets of contextualized place.¹² Elsewhere, Dal Negro (2009) ascertains a variety of 'speech islands' in which RLs exist to degrees uncommon in the LL more generally. Her work also indicates a basic distinction between rural areas, in which RLs are more visible, and urban spaces, in which national and immigrant languages tend to dominate (cf. also Dunlevy, 2012; Puzey, 2012; Salo, 2012). If contexts, zones, or situations of RL salience are identifiable, it follows that they may be compared with those of other languages, illustrating the relationships between and across languages and places. In their study of Strasbourg, Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz (2012) highlight not only a distinct geographic zone of Alsatian, but also indicate the different areas in which the language is subjected to interference by French. Whereas the RL is less visible on the North side of the city towards the German quarter, the authors identify an epicentre of RL salience around the cathedral, particularly prevalent in the contexts of commerce, tourism, and identity. Kostanski's (2009) term 'toponymic attachment', referring to the symbolic links drawn by readers between language and place, is relevant in this regard (cf. also Kostanski & Clark, 2012), as RLs constitute an expression of place identity alternative to the dominant

¹² 'Genre' loosely follows the model of geosemiotics described by Scollon & Scollon (2003), elsewhere described as 'sign type' (Blackwood, 2010; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991).

language. This thesis will engage in particular with processes of claiming and reclaiming the space in certain ‘nested layers’ (Pietikäinen *et al.*, 2011) of the LL, for example in the street sign case study discussed in chapter five.

2.2.2. Comparing Minority Spaces

In addition to establishing linguistic hierarchies and locations, the LL also provides a framework for comparing RLs in multiple spaces and places, and for developing new understandings of how these relate to majority languages. Regarding RLs as autochthonous to France, the common position is that those contained within French borders face a tougher struggle than those which are supported in other countries (cf. Judge, 2000, 2007 for overviews; cf. also Albizu & Arrieta, 2012; Diver, 2015). Hence, Occitan is frequently said to benefit from corpus and status planning and raised levels of social awareness due to the support it receives in Spain and Italy as well as cross-border initiatives promoting the language in France.¹³ Corsican does not enjoy comparable support internationally, though a number of domestic initiatives promote the languages in various domains (cf. chapter one; Costa & Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013; Hélot, 2003; Lyster & Costa, 2011). Research in the LL, however, suggests that this trend may not be so sharply defined. The results of Blackwood's (2010) survey suggest that Catalan is considerably less salient in Perpignan than (for example) in Barcelona, where Solé Camardons & Romaní (1997) report the presence of the RL in a wide range of contextual fields (cf. also Solé Camardons, 1999). Additionally, whilst Blackwood's (*ibid.*) evidence suggests that Catalan signs in France are aimed at tourists and visitors, Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau (2015) demonstrate a conspicuous lack of visibility in this domain in Mallorca. Methodologically, it is problematic to compare spaces across international borders, which are subject to diverse policies and attitudes towards RLs. The spaces discussed in this thesis are however comparable both in terms of official language policy, as all four cities are subject to the same national legal framework, and in terms of the general supremacy of French and salience of other languages (particularly English) in various contexts. It is uncontroversial to state that French and English dominate the LL, though this basic commonality between the

¹³ The support offered to Occitan from adjoining areas in Spain and Italy is discussed further in chapter four.

four cities provides a useful backdrop against which the visibility of RLs can be compared. This is not only relevant for contrasting the Occitan of Toulouse with that in Marseille, and the Corsican of Bastia with that of Ajaccio, but also for comparing the two RLs between the two linguistic territories. The comparison of RLs against common norms in different spaces will be discussed further in section 2.3.6.

2.2.3. Minority Language Visibility and Vitality

As outlined above, recent years have seen a methodological shift towards qualitative LL analysis. For the study of RLs in particular, this is precipitated by the fact that marginalized languages are by definition a relatively rare sight in many LLs. Reflecting on a collection of surveys in Brittany, Corsica, Northern Catalonia, various Mediterranean coastal cities, New Caledonia, and Guadeloupe, Blackwood (2015) indicates that empirical analyses are often made difficult by the paucity of signs featuring RLs. Here and elsewhere (Blackwood, 2017; Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Gorter, Marten, & Van Mensel, 2012), it is suggested that RLs are better suited to qualitative examinations. This thesis contests this, as the results suggest a promising future for a combined qualitative-quantitative approach. This shall be explained more in section 2.3 and in chapter three.

Despite the statistical infrequency of RLs, the LL is undoubtedly useful for unpicking the complex power relations (Bourdieu, 1983, 1990, 1993) between minority and majority languages. Various studies have stressed the importance of visibility to language vitality (Gade, 2003; Kallen, 2009), with others contending in stronger terms that the LL is an essential aspect of reversing the processes of language shift (Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Edwards, 2010; Trumper-Hecht, 2009). Scholarship in the field has illustrated this in a number of geographic spaces and political contexts. In Ukraine, for example, the LL testifies both to former linguistic regimes favouring Russian over Ukrainian, as well as to current policies which encourage the use of Ukrainian over Russian, now considered both a regional and 'historical' language (Pavlenko, 2010; cf. also Laitinen & Zabrodskaia, 2015). The study of RLs in the LL runs parallel to debates about the extent to which language contact relates to language conflict, in other words whether the presence of a RL on a given sign illustrates an implicit struggle with the dominant

language(s) in that space (Diver, 2011; du Plessis, 2010; Shohamy, 2006). This echoes the wider discussion about the extent to which the LL can be considered empirically illustrative of language policy (Pavlenko, 2012; Van Mensel & Darquennes, 2012), or whether it reveals alternative realities (Muth, 2012; Salo, 2012). On the one hand, Shohamy (2006: 110) argues that the LL is ‘a mechanism to create a *de facto* language policy’, where the power relationship between languages on signs can be considered ‘the main structuration principle’ of the LL (Ben-Rafael, 2009). On the other, several studies indicate disconnections between visible and actual RL status, as the signs are not always reflective of language attitudes indicated by secondary data (Aiestaran *et al.*, 2010; Hornsby & Vigers, 2012). In Israel, for example, Trumper-Hecht's (2010) respondents considered Arabic to be present on 90% of signs, whereas the LL survey indicated a presence of only 5.8%. In France, Hornsby (2008) reported that only a minority of respondents were aware of Breton signs and menus in a local restaurant, despite many visiting the establishment regularly. Clearly, there are methodological considerations when comparing anecdotal data provided by long-term inhabitants of a space with a sign survey conducted over a short period of time, though undoubtedly this also represents an opportunity for sign corpora to be supplemented by secondary data (Blommaert, 2013; Gilinger, Sloboda, Šimičić, & Vigers, 2012; Malinowski, 2009; Trumper-Hecht, 2009).

The investigation of Occitan and Corsican in this thesis is based on the principle that the LL illustrates relationships of power between minorized and dominant languages (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006; Ben-Rafael, 2009). Throughout the literature, it has been argued that the visibility or absence of a given language compared to others illustrates its relative status. Through this relativity, the LL testifies to the values, relevance, and priorities driving actors’ language choices. It is also particularly useful for uncovering subtle and unusual aspects of relationships between RLs and dominant languages. In Ethiopia, for example, Lanza & Woldemariam (2009) describe how the majority of official texts in Addis Ababa follow the language policy promoting the RL, which appears dominant in the space because of the high frequency of this type of sign. However, many display grammatical features of the national language which visibly influences the authors’ writing of the RL. Though the vocabulary of many of the signs is standard Tigrinya, the addition of Amharic grammatical forms thus indicates a complex combination of linguistic traits not satisfied by the traditional definition of multilingualism.

Whereas studies normally consider multilingualism to be the co-presentation of two or more distinct codes, Lanza & Woldemariam (*ibid.*) describe strata of language mixing not yet classified by quantitative LL studies. Elsewhere, terms such as ‘metrolinguism’ (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), ‘polylinguaging’ (Jørgensen *et al.*, 2011), and ‘translinguaging’ (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015) capture the sociolinguistic interest in describing more complex variations of language contact than can be captured through the *multi-* prefix. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the hybridization of minorized languages with more powerful ones, described by Kallen & Ní Dhonnacha (2010: 22) as ‘metaphorical reference’. This process has been commented on in detail in Japan, where traits of Japanese are frequently detectable in the presentation of English (Inoue, 2005; Seargeant, 2011, 2012; Tanaka, 1994). Despite the well-documented associations with modernity and internationalization, such findings suggest that many English texts require a degree of Japanese input in order to be understood. This constitutes the textual form of what Blom & Gumperz (1986) describe as ‘metaphorical codeswitching’, in which the distinctive associations of each language become part of the implied message. This offers further evidence that language choice is itself an element of meaning, rather than merely the vehicle through which meaning is transported (Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). In addition, it testifies to a dynamic of inter-language competition within words themselves, rather than only between whole texts in the traditional definition of multilingual signs. Studies have investigated similar processes of contact and interference in Sardinia (Bosch i Rodoreda, 1998), Bangladesh (Banu & Sussex, 2001), and Sweden (Hult, 2009). In Montréal, Mettewie, Lamarre, & Van Mensel (2012) identify this as a reaction to language policy, where apparent ‘French’ texts include deliberate elements of English, whilst *de jure* adhering to the ruling that French must remain uncontested. Their examples include the shoe shop *ChouChou*, the jeweller’s *Bijou Tree*, or the café specializing in homemade potages *Soup Blime*. My own research has similarly discussed the ‘Frenchification’ of English in Toulouse (Amos, 2014): the slogan *My Jean is my boyfriend*, popularized by the clothing chain *Jules*, displays a bi-lingual pun on the French forename *Jean* and the English term *jeans*. The final <s> is omitted, however, indicating that the French loanword *jean* is both more important than using Standard English, and central to the success of the wordplay. Such combinations operate on a level of multilingualism that may be considered covert (Lanza & Woldemariam (2009: 203) use the term ‘abstract’), indicating

a depth to multilingual signs beyond their traditional definition. We return to this idea at various parts of the analysis, and in the case study of bilingual street signs in chapter five.

2.2.4. LL and RL Shift

In addition to reflecting the language situation, the LL has also been described as an agent of change for RLs. This has been analysed in terms of language attitudes, where passers-by modify their views as a direct result of the LL (du Plessis, 2010; Puzey, 2009). It has also been demonstrated that the LL influences readers in ways unintended by the authors. The Latvian RL Latgalian, for example, has undergone a significant status change since the fall of the Soviet Union and the Latvian State's continued determination to uphold Latvian as the uncontested dominant language (Ozolins, 2003; Schmid, 2008). This ideology is formulated on the desire to reverse the shift towards Russian that occurred in the 20th century; it is not aimed at the repression of Latgalian. Nevertheless, the simultaneous promotion of Latvian and relegation of Russian has caused many to assume that equal hostility is aimed towards the RL (Marten, 2010: 129). In this sense, the LL has an effect on readers at odds to the aims of the authors, who claim to encourage the use of Latgalian. Such 'legal hypercorrection' (*ibid.*) is equally visible in France, where it is generally assumed that RLs are subject to official laws aimed at their suppression, due to the well-known desire of the state to protect French from the influence of English. Judge (2000: 75), for example, argues that anti-English legislation in France makes 'no concessions to the RLs', and Blackwood's (2010) investigations in Rennes and Perpignan conclude that the infrequency of RL texts 'might well be motivated by the explicit State ideology of France'. However, a recent addition to the *Loi Toubon* (the 'Toubon law') — the principal piece of legislation that governs language visibility in French LLs, and to which we return in more detail in chapter five — confirms that it is not aimed at diminishing France's RLs in any way. In fact, they are guaranteed a level of *de jure* recognition by the 2008 amendment to the Constitution, which declares RLs part of the nation's heritage. One of the aims of this thesis is to explore how far the moniker of 'heritage' can be considered a form of support, and to what extent language laws affect the actual visibility of languages in the LL.

2.2.5. RLS and Symbolic Power

An interesting aspect of RL signs is that they often appear in areas where the number of speakers is low. As discussed in chapter one, Occitan and Corsican are respectively considered ‘severely endangered’ and ‘definitely endangered’ by UNESCO (2010), with academic scholarship concurring that Occitan is the more at risk of the two (Judge, 2007; Lyster & Costa, 2011). It has similarly been argued since at least the 1970s that the vitality of France’s RLS is embedded in rural areas, and that their revitalization suffers from negative perceptions of antiquity, old-age, and a disassociation with modernization (Boyer & Gardy, 2001a; Costa, 2015; Hoare, 2001; Maurand, 1981). This thesis engages with the rural–urban debate in the LL (Dunlevy, 2012; Laitinen, 2015; Muth, 2015), offering evidence that the desire remains in official, commercial, and private domains in both urban and more rural spaces to write the languages, even when authors accept that many readers cannot understand the texts easily. The process of writing texts without hoping to achieve comprehension, but nevertheless targeting a ‘tokenistic’ (Van Mensel, Marten, & Gorter, 2012: 321) presentation has been explored only sparingly in the LL, despite the suggested importance of this for language revitalization (Fishman, 1991, 2001; cf. also Costa, 2016; Reyhner, 1999; Tsunoda, 2006). Franco-Rodríguez (2009), for example, separates texts into a ‘main section’ and ‘informative section’. The former describes the symbolic function identified by Landry & Bourhis (1997), namely the identification of author, delivery of focal message, and anticipation of the content in the informative section; the latter complements the main section with additional or more specific information. According to Franco-Rodríguez (2009: 6), the main section is ‘much more vulnerable to language prestige, globalization, and ethnolinguistic pressure’, whereas the informative section performs a more instrumental function, driven by a pragmatic necessity to communicate with the reader (cf. also Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). On the one hand, Franco-Rodríguez argues that the utility of a minority language in the informative section is a marker of ethnolinguistic vitality. On the other, there is a parallel indication that its presence in the main (symbolic) section is somehow less impactful and less important, given the lack of (what he considers) the pragmatic utility of the language in this type of communication.

This position echoes many recent and contemporary studies, which tend to dismiss RL texts as relatively inconsequential forms of tokenistic symbolism. Frequently, this results in the

analytical privileging of signs performing a pragmatic (informational) function to a wider audience. Particularly in spaces where national languages are ubiquitous, RL signs are recurrently characterized by generalized discussions of history, regionalism, or folklore (Coluzzi, 2009; Dal Negro, 2009), where it is implied that they have less communicative importance than languages for which a specific speaker-group can be easily identified. As such, the qualities, effects, and impact of these signs are rarely explored as symbolism that is beyond ‘emblematic’ (Blommaert, 2014: 136), ‘vogue display’ (Curtin, 2009: 221), or ‘banal’ (Puzey, 2012: 141). Dal Negro (2009: 216), for instance, groups all RL texts under the general descriptions of ‘traditional and mythical’, and dedicates more of her analysis to unpicking the ‘actual communicative purposes’ of the majority language signs. Loester (2015) argues that commercial Chinese signs in Winchester are ‘superficial’, based on census data indicating that only a small number of Chinese reside in the city (cf. also Puckey & Loester, 2015). This position is likewise maintained by Cook (2013), who identifies mutually exclusive forms of ‘atmospheric’ and ‘community’ Chinese signs, based on the presumed intended audience. In these studies and others (cf. also Kasanga, 2010; Leeman & Modan, 2009) examples are frequently chosen to support descriptive and anecdotal representations of the LL at large, without any supportive empirical evidence.

Parts of the LL may well support such conclusions, but it is problematic that they are driven by pre-existing evidence (censors, opinion surveys, and subjective local knowledge) complemented by a handful of specifically selected examples from the LL. In these cases, the conclusions are not based on an independent analysis of the signs, but on ideas and evidence external to the data. To borrow a term from the field of cultural geography, such a process relies on the researcher’s cognitive map (Portugali, 1996a, 1996b), rather than independent and objective LL data. Analysing space through pre-conceived ideas that are personally developed (Bauman, 1997) is arguably the scientific opposite of the LL, in which the signs themselves supply the data. Whilst participants’ reactions to signs may be useful as additional sources of input, caution must be taken to separate subjective preconceptions from objective analyses. This is particularly important when exploring the vitality of RLs in France, which is already subject to widespread assumptions.

2.2.6. Minority Language Relativity

The goal of much of the scholarship discussed in this section has been to qualify the relativity between RLs and other languages. Within the field more broadly, the analysis of multilingualism has developed along two levels. The first concerns single signs written in more than one language, which are commonly assessed according to Reh's (2004) typology or related models. The second level concerns a more holistic interpretation of the space as a whole, and views multilingual relationships through their expression in certain domains, subjects, and fields (Coupland, 2012; Kallen, 2010). To date, most research into RLs has undertaken the first approach. Individual RL items are isolated and assessed qualitatively, occasionally alongside a basic numerical comparison with signs of other languages (Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; G. Y. Leung & Wu, 2012; Tufi, 2013). Within this approach, multilingualism is analysed only on the first level, according to language combinations of the items selected for analysis. This means that the comparison of multilingualism in various places, discourses, and contexts is not possible. It is a fundamental shortcoming of this approach, therefore, that these studies do not compare the contextual uses of RLs with those of the dominant languages. Rasinger (2014), for example, discusses the use of Slovene in three domains (the civic, the commercial, and the church), but forgoes any discussion of German therein. Similarly, Coluzzi (2009) draws specific links between RLs and tourism, religion, and identity, but does not examine how these fields relate to Italian and other languages. The multilingual relationship is thus assessed according to a handful of multilingual texts, rather than the linguistic competition within the contextual dimensions running throughout the LL. The extent to which these frames are exclusive to the RL or also written in other languages is therefore unknown. Whilst the first level of multilingualism indicates interesting aspects of competition on single items, the way these items inter-relate is generally ignored in RL studies, because qualitative detail is rarely applied in a quantitative way.

Given that the LL is formed of a nexus of constructed, inter-dependent multilingual layers (Pietikäinen *et al.*, 2011; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), this thesis argues that one aspect of it cannot be analysed in isolation. Although RL items form only a small part of a larger whole, they cannot be understood without assessing their specific relativity to the rest of the LL. RL texts are viewed and consumed by readers passing through the space, whereupon their

interpretation is formulated, in part, by their experience of the space as a whole (Bauman, 1997). In other words, since the reader analyses a given text according to their knowledge of the rest of the space, the LL methodology must be equally holistic. Qualitative studies depict interesting aspects of individual RL signs, therefore, but only an inclusive (quantitative) comparison with the rest of the signs in the LL illuminates the relationships between multiple codes, revealing the relative status of the RL within the contextual frames and spaces in which it is found. This minority language relativity is the subject of further discussion in the following section.

2.3. Towards a Methodology

This section explains the development process of the methodology employed in this thesis. The methodology contributes to the small number of studies which are seeking to re-open the quantitative arm of the field (Amos & Soukup, forthcoming; Lyons & Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2015; Soukup, 2015). On an operational level, the methodology may be considered quantitative. On a theoretical level, however, it is helpful to understand it as an empirical model capable of quantifying many of the aspects more often associated with the qualitative arm of the field. To borrow terms from Barthes (1977: 37), the qualitative turn exemplifies a shift from the ‘enumeration of elements’ to their ‘structural description...to grasp the relation of these elements’. This thesis attempts to reconcile both approaches into a single, detailed model. The aim is to quantify the visibility of Occitan and Corsican in the four cities, but also to capture this visibility to a significantly higher level of detail than has yet been attempted in the field. This will not only provide an accurate empirical breakdown of the contexts in which the RLs are visible, but will also make possible a statistical comparison with the presentation of French and other languages in the LL.

Chapter three provides a technical description of the methodology; this section discusses the principal theoretical considerations for its construction, namely the definition of the survey unit and survey areas, the classification of languages, and the assessment of languages through empirical and contextual distribution.

2.3.1. Identifying the Sign Unit

Throughout the field's history (and at least since 2006), scholars have revisited ways to define the unit of analysis. This was identified as a key issue before the first international workshop (cf. Backhaus, 2009; Spolsky, 2009), though it has become a less central concern since the qualitative turn. Throughout early literature, the unit of analysis is most often determined according to the physical boundaries of signs, for which 'spatially definable frame' (Backhaus, 2007: 66) is the most frequently cited definition. Several studies adopt a more general approach, defining the unit as a collection of signs bound by common agency in an author-controlled space. The conception of this method is commonly attributed to Cenoz & Gorter (2006), who consider entire shop fronts as singular, multilingual units (cf. also Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Coluzzi, 2012), though Monnier's (1989) previous analysis of 'information units' adopts the same principle.

This thesis contributes to the discussion about the unit of analysis in quantitative studies. The starting point for this is that, whilst providing conceptual definitions of the 'sign' in a general sense, neither the spatial-frame nor shop-front method provides particularly detailed data. As discussed in section 2.1.3, Huebner (2009: 71–72) criticises the Backhausian description as operationally unworkable, since 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame' pays no consideration to size, prominence, position in the landscape, nor indeed the salience of multilingual texts on different items. Additionally, it cannot account for the layering of multiple authors, such as graffiti overwriting existing signs, or combinations of authors contributing to the same spatially defined area. The failure to quantify multifarious authorship is more obvious still in the shop-front approach, where whole areas are designated 'multilingual' whilst the diverse author combinations and their intentions are not analysable. Inevitably, this has a significant impact on the categorization of multilingualism in the LL.

Figure 2.1. Multiple texts types within a spatial frame.



According to the spatial frame model, figure 2.1 exemplifies a single unit, identifiable by the metal border around and glass background of the printed text, within the wider context of a large opaque glass window on which there is no other writing. The unit is multilingual, containing mostly French, with the addition of Spanish and Catalan under the blue and green icon of the Midi-Pyrénées-Mediterranean Euroregion. Following Reh's (2004) schema, the multilingual texts overlap, since all the information is provided in French, and certain parts are reproduced in other languages — in this case the text *Euroregion Pyrénées Méditerranée*, replicated in Catalan (*Euroregió Pirineus Mediterrània*) and Spanish (*Euroregión Pirineos Mediterráneo*). Evidently, the spatial model as described by Backhaus is not sufficient for capturing the multilingualism displayed here, since only the Euroregion text contains more than one language. The other texts on the sign are distinguishable from the Euroregion one primarily in terms of spacing, but also through their authorship, since the logos and their accompanying descriptions in the red bands represent the offices of the respective

organizations within the building. Evidently, there is very little statistical value in coding these images and texts as an ensemble simply because they exist within the same material frame. The vagaries of ‘spatially definable’ are such that *ad hoc* decisions are almost unavoidable and, moreover, such an approach does not make for reasonable comparisons between different objects. A unit containing several languages within a material border may be classified multilingual, whilst a single sign with stylistic borders between texts may be coded as multiple independent monolingual signs. As figure 2.1 demonstrates, a common spatial, material, or stylistic frame does not necessarily indicate a single text.

2.3.2. Classifying Communications

Whilst the texts in figure 2.1 are identifiable in terms of authorship, it is also possible to separate them on another level. Borrowing from Spolsky & Cooper (1991), several text ‘types’ are identifiable: the logos for the *Comité régional du tourisme* (regional tourism office) and the holiday company *Clévacances* contain the slogans *DESTINATION MIDI-PYRÉNÉES* and *LOUEZ EN TOUTE QUALITÉ*; all four of the organizations publish a website URL; and at the bottom of the sign a short instruction indicates that the entrance to the building is to be found further along the street. Hence, a textual analysis of the words themselves provides a useful classification of meaning production. The texts in figure 2.1 may therefore be identified thus (table 2.1):

Table 2.1. Breakdown of messages in figure 2.1.¹⁴

Text	Sign Type
DESTINATION MIDI-PYRÉNÉES	Slogan
COMITÉ RÉGIONAL DE TOURISME	Name of organization
www.tourisme-midi-pyrenees.com	Website
EUROREGIÓ PIRINEUS MEDITERRÀNIA	Logo (multilingual)
EURORÉGION PYRÉNÉES-MÉDITERRANÉE	
EURORREGIÓN PIRINEOS MEDITERRÁNEO	
EURORÉGION PYRÉNÉES-MÉDITERRANÉE	Name of organization
www.euroregio.eu	Website
CLÉVACANCES	Logo
LOUEZ EN TOUTE QUALITE	Slogan
CLÉVACANCES MIDI-PYRÉNÉES	Name of organization
www.clevacances.com	Website
Offices de Tourisme de France	Logo
<i>Fédération Régionale</i> Midi-Pyrénées	Logo
OFFICES DE TOURISME DE FRANCE — FÉDÉRATION...	Name of organization
www.frotsi-midi-pyrenees.com	Website
Entrée 15 rue Rivals	Direction

Certain elements of these sign types are spatially definable. The logos are made clear, for instance, by the addition of a specific font, styling, use of colour, or a bordered background. However, it is through their entextualized meaning that they are most obviously distinguishable. By this reasoning, spatial and material borders may be indicators of, but do not define exclusively, the unit of analysis. Whilst others rely on arbitrary discretion to identify units (e.g. Backhaus, 2006, 2007; Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Huebner, 2006, as discussed), this thesis maintains that their common definition as ‘spatially definable’ is fundamentally flawed. In order to understand the dynamics of multilingualism, it is more useful to identify the different communications in the LL, rather than spatially or materially defined ‘signs’. Hence, this thesis proposes that it is the communications which are multilingual, rather than

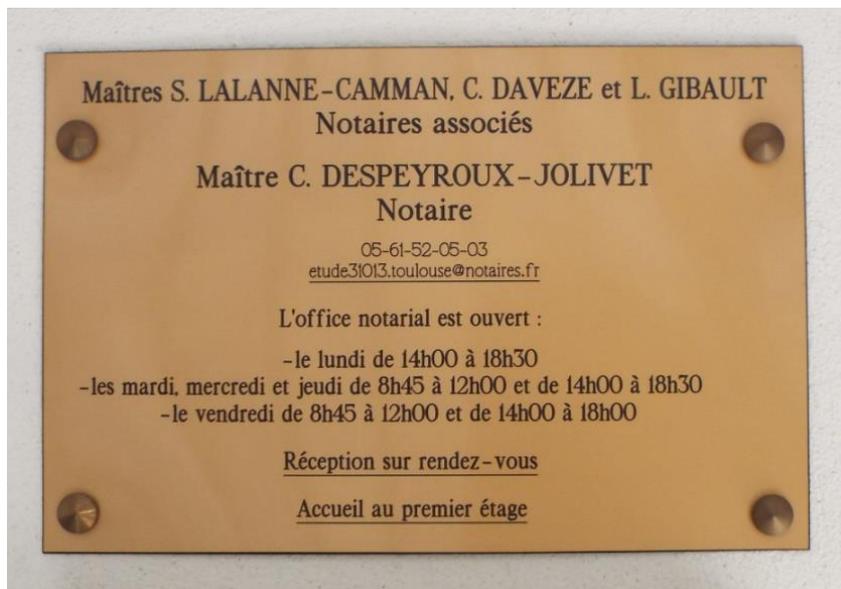
¹⁴ Capitalization and line breaks have been reproduced for clarity.

the physical objects on which they are printed. From this perspective, it follows that LL items may be categorized more accurately in terms of message and meaning production, rather than in relation to their visual presentation or physical characteristics. Whilst this position does not represent a dismissal of the semiotic importance of items (which is captured by the materiality variable, discussed in chapter three), it is the contention of this thesis that identifying the unit of analysis in this way permits a closer look at the functional aspects of different languages across the LL at large. Classifying figure 2.1 above as ‘multilingual’ in the same way as a sign in a shop window reading ‘welcome/bienvenue’ would thus not be an accurate representation of the reality. Rather, as table 2.1 shows, figure 2.1 contains multiple monolingual messages and one multilingual message displayed on the same physical carrier.

The methodology developed for this thesis quantifies a detailed itemization of written communication in the LL. It shifts the analytical focus away from the physical objects and onto the messages that are written on them. This offers an alternative to quantifying simply the number of signs in a certain language, and accounts for the extent to which different languages figure in different forms of communication. Commercial and political slogans, trademarks, advertisements, event posters, push/pull stickers, instructions about parking, information about opening times; names of streets, shops, cafés, and businesses; communications relating to food and drink, music, finance, security, night life, and sport — this is a study of communicative messages, not of physical objects analysed through the simplistic practice of ‘counting signs’ (Spolsky, 2009). This approach follows Cook’s (2015) call for multilingualism to be studied as an ‘overall system’ in a multifarious way (cf. also Cook, 2013). It informs on trends of language use, the probability of combinations of uses, and the degree to which a given combination is normal, unusual, or unique. The benefits of this approach are exemplified in the slogan *More on Jennyfer.com* found in the window of *Jennyfer*, a French chain clothing store. More generalist studies (particularly those during the early period of LL research) would label this as an English ‘bottom-up’ sign, perhaps commenting on its presence in the context of fashion. However, the communications approach expands the classification not only to fashion, but also to the pointing of shoppers towards a website. Such signs are relatively common on shop windows (e.g. the URLs in figure 2.1), yet their accompanying instructions are universally written in French (85 items in the data collected for this thesis). The fact that this example is in English is therefore remarkable, particularly given that *Jennyfer* is not the most prolific user

of English within the sub-corpus of clothing shops. This brief analysis demonstrates the value of quantifying the use of languages in detailed and specific situations, which cannot be achieved by recording ‘signs’ in a generic way. Moreover, the identification of these communications is not pre-determined, but informed by the data. The determination of categories is thus carried out during the data collection stage of the research, where each new communication defines a new classification. This is done in order to avoid the shortcomings of ‘impressionistic interpretation’ (Cook, 2015: 107) brought about by fitting signs into pre-defined categories.

Figure 2.2. Office plaque.



The office plaque shown in figure 2.2 thus contains the following communications: personal names; the description of the organization (*Notaires associés* — ‘chartered accountants’); contact details; opening times; an indication that admittance is by appointment only; and a direction towards the reception desk. The identification of categories for recording these separate communications is informed by the rest of the dataset, as many similar signs perform all or some of these functions. It is not necessarily remarkable if another office plaque contains only part of this ensemble — many contain only names and descriptions of the business, determined by the desires of the sign owner. Nor is it necessarily important that this sign

contains only French. The importance in categorizing these communications lies in the fact that, when they are conveyed in languages other than French, the field of association can be more specifically identified. Not only does this permit a finer understanding of the utility of the RLs, but it also quantifies a more granulated list of the norms of language use in the LL. Hence, considering the entire corpus, it is possible to detect the language(s) which are more or less common to specific communications. This provides a reference against which RL communication can be compared, quantifying the relative visibility of the RLs to other languages. The following section discusses the categorization of communications.

2.3.3. Expanding the Categories

As overviewed in section 2.1.2, scholarship in the quantitative canon normally classifies signs according to two principal criteria: the language or combination of languages used on the sign, and the top-down/bottom-up nature of their authors. A number of studies also assess certain contextual characteristics, such as areas of commercial activity or neighbourhoods within a specific city (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2012; Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006; Bogatto & Hélot, 2010; Comajoan & Long, 2012). Elsewhere, Goffman's (1974) notion of 'discourse frames' has been invoked to classify signs according to various types of social action, such as civic management, tourism, commerce, and immigration (Coupland, 2012; Coupland & Garrett, 2010; Kallen, 2010). Spolsky & Cooper's (1991: 76–81) typography of signs foregrounded similar approaches made by Landry & Bourhis (1997) and later Blackwood (2010), who nominate five and nine categories of sign respectively. More recent quantitative research has classified not only the purposes, characteristics, and roles of the signs themselves, but also the characteristics of the places in which they are found (Lyons, 2015b; Peukert, 2015).

When compared with the array of variables that are analysable by qualitative assessment, early quantitative schemas appear simplistic and scientifically unsatisfactory. This is because most of these studies have actively sought to reduce the number of variables in order to make data collection less complicated. Blackwood (2010: 296) speaks of limiting the divisions of sign types 'for ease of use', and, as mentioned above, Spolsky & Cooper (1991: 74) admit to taking a 'parsimonious' approach in order to expedite the coding of data. This thesis, however,

explores the outcomes of a more detailed quantitative assessment, the model for which is designed to account for variation across the dataset. This approach is informed by the work of Jackendoff (1983), who demonstrated the possibility of considering multiple converging sources simultaneously in order to yield a singular evidential outcome. In his ‘preference rules’ model, data inputs are not defined by absolute conditions such as ‘top-down vs. bottom-up’ or language combination factors, but rather by varying degrees of converging conditions, which apply (or do not apply) one of a series of classifications to a given data point. This approach shares some parallels with Spolsky & Cooper’s (1991: 74) study of Jerusalem, which identifies ‘typicalities’ of language use based on a series of conditional variables. As outlined in chapter three, the data in this methodology are delineated across eight variables, each containing a series of secondary, independent conditions. When comparing RLs with other languages in the LL, it is not statistically relevant simply to record the number of items written in each language; but rather to apply this primary data within a matrix of gradient data, incorporating variables of materiality, authorship, and place contextualization. As mentioned above, this level of granularity has already been attempted in certain qualitative studies, in the form of ‘discourse frames’ (Coupland & Garrett, 2010; Hornsby & Vigers, 2012; Kallen, 2010), and the ‘geolinguistic’ approach of language mapping (Barni & Bagna, 2009; Barni & Extra, 2008). It has yet to be applied to the quantitative arm, however, where it has been suggested that the complexity of variation in the LL is not easily adapted to empirical models (Blackwood, 2015; Blommaert, 2010; Laihonon, 2015). It is reasonable to suggest, though, that a preference model goes further to categorizing the ‘fuzzy data’ (Schauber & Spolsky, 1986: 8) produced by existing methods. Moreover, it avoids the theoretical impasse of attempting to extrapolate empirical conclusions from descriptive or generic data. The aim of the methodology, in summary, is to apply the detail of the non-specific qualitative approach to a complex and detailed assessment of statistical information.

This approach engages with a handful of recent studies which revisit the question of the unit of analysis, pre-empting the return to the quantitative to which this thesis contributes. Over the last two years in particular, several matrices for the categorization of signs have emerged. The terminology is not uniform, though can generally be grouped under the following terms: authorship, communicative function, materiality, and contextual emplacement.

Building on the foundations of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’, this thesis defines authorship in several mutually exclusive categories, incorporating different levels of official and non-official agency. The potential disconnections between the message conceiver, the physical constructor of the sign, and the sign displayer *in situ* were the subject of significant debate before the qualitative turn (cf. Ben-Rafael, 2009; Franco-Rodríguez, 2009; Malinowski, 2009; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Franco-Rodríguez (2009: 4–5) views agency as a combination of multiple factors, relating not only to ownership of the sign, but also of the place in which it is found. Texts in his system are labelled as ‘guest’, ‘borrowed’, and ‘shared’. More recently, Cook (2013) conceived of a model in which authorship is not categorized as a duopoly, but according to a five-part ‘system of control’, combining various elements of sign commission, conception, and construction. Refining these processes, this thesis expands the traditional top-down/bottom-up binary into 11 categories, explained in more detail in section 3.2.

Categorizing the pragmatic role of texts is essential to the empirical analysis of language use. Sloboda (2009: 181) refers to this as ‘communicative function’, classifying units according to the pragmatic purpose of the message. Other studies focus on related aspects such as the opposition between social necessity and commercial luxury (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009) or various social actions such as selling, controlling, informing, or advocating (Dray, 2010). Cook (2015) cites four communicative functions of signs — locating, informing, controlling, and service — which are determined by authorship and spatial context, as well as function. Whilst some of these definitions are more specific than others (‘service’ incorporates very few signs such as fire hydrants and manhole covers), generic terms like ‘informing’ are not particularly useful. Determined by the data, this thesis discusses 14 functions of texts in the LL.

As discussed in section 1.7, the theoretical foundations for classifying and analysing material features of signs rest in a number of fields, such as social semiotics and systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1978; Hodge & Kress, 1988), visual design and design language (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001), and place semiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). According to Scollon & Scollon (2003: 135), also, the materiality of signs conveys meanings about permanence and durability, temporality and newness, and quality, which are themselves conveyed through the medium of inscription (painting, engraving, printing, etc.), the material of the sign itself (metal, wood, plastic, paper), and the ‘freshness’ of installation (wet paint,

shiny unmarked surfaces, old weathered surfaces, etc.). These material indexicalities prompt judgments about the agency of the sign, and thus about the use and status of the language in which it is written. This thesis considers that two principal characteristics of signs are depicted by materiality: first, the length of time the sign is intended to survive; and second, the resources available to the author in constructing the sign and placing it in the given part of the LL.

The theories of geosemiotics and nexus analysis offer insight into an additional metafunction of materiality, in which meaning is depicted through the emplacement of signs in certain contexts, and according to the actions of those who create them (Pietikäinen *et al.*, 2011; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 2007). Various terms and classifications have been suggested for categorising the contextual emplacement(s) of sign in the LL. Building on Reh's (2004: 3–5) discussion on stationary and movable objects, Backhaus (2007: 66) introduced the term 'carrier', meaning the 'object to which a sign is attached (a shop window, a door, a building, etc.)'. Here and elsewhere (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015), the notion of carrier combines physical spaces (establishments, bus stops, lamp posts, billboards) and contextual places (souvenirs, travel, vehicle hire). The spatial emplacement of signs is likewise theorized in detail by Scollon & Scollon (2003: 142–160) in their model of geosemiotics. Sloboda (2009: 181) applies a related system, incorporating the placement, size, and design of individual signs. The contextual emplacement of signs has also been commented on in detail elsewhere: Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006) nominate three 'areas of activity', namely clothing and leisure, food and house ware, and private offices; Solé Camardons & Romani (1997) classify twenty 'types of activity' in eight 'sectors', including food, jewellery, textiles, finance, animals and plants, education, and leisure; Reh (2004) refers to 'social realms' in which signs are found, such as the health sector, books shops, photocopying and computer services, post offices and banks, politics, and advertising (Reh, 2004: 28–38); and Franco-Rodríguez (2009: 9) nominates 'social domains' of food, beauty and personal care, education, religion and beliefs, entertainment, hobbies, and leisure time. The 'frames' approach introduced by Kallen (2010) and developed elsewhere (cf. Coupland & Garrett, 2010; Jaworski, 2010) also interprets the contextual emplacement of signs, classifying them according to both spatial emplacement and their domain of use. This thesis quantifies both the social realms of the signs as well as those of the place in which they are found, referred to respectively as 'field' and 'site'. The purpose of these classifications is to gain an understanding not only of language use at the micro (item) level,

but also more broadly at the macro (place) level, allowing the cross-comparison of types of place (shops, businesses, restaurants, etc.) with fields of association (food and drink, fashion, finance, etc.).

2.3.4. Identifying the Survey Area

The various methodologies employed in the quantitative arm of the field are characterized by their focus on streets, on which signs are recorded and classified for analysis. As illustrated by the theories of patches and corridors (Sloboda 2009: 180–181; cf. also Beier & Noss, 1998; Jordán, Báldi, Orci, Rácz, & Varga, 2003) and geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), an ensemble of semiotic functions is visible on city streets. Within these street zones, signs relating to any number of patches are visible, as shops are seen alongside restaurants, residences, public buildings, construction sites, and metro stations. The layering of these multiple fields means that city centre streets can justifiably be considered the best representation of the semiotic aggregates that compose a place known as a village, town, or city. A number of researchers have engaged participants (generally inhabitants, workers, or university students), asking them to demarcate relevant areas of larger cities, often with the aim of covering most of the spectrum of the city's known multilingualism (Huebner, 2006; Lanza & Woldemariam, 2009; Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). Elsewhere, particular signs that are previously known to the researcher have been selected for specific analysis. Such approaches are arbitrary, and useful for examining particular aspects of the LL such as tourism (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009, 2015; Kallen, 2009), mooted ethnic zones (Leeman & Modan, 2009, 2010; Lou, 2010), and food (Blackwood, 2017; Bagna & Machetti, 2012). When considering such specificities, however, caution is required not to project general conclusions onto the town or city at large.

In another approach, scholars elect to survey only the inner-most areas of the city, arguing that the centre acts as the connecting point for areas in the periphery (Dunlevy, 2012; Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2013a). Whilst the centre may be seen to represent the most prominent aspects of a city's LL, questions remain over sample sizes, and the accurate representation of selective corpora. Quantitative datasets thus vary in size, ranging from hundreds of signs

(Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Gorter *et al.*, 2012; Peukert, 2015) to several thousand in one or different areas of the city (Barni & Bagna, 2009; Blackwood & Tufi, 2015; Sáez Rivera & Castillo Lluch, 2012). Sample sizes are generally measured in terms of street length, though occasional studies have focussed on central squares (Dunlevy, 2012), public transport stations (Backhaus, 2006, 2007), or topographical features such as parks and rivers (Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012). Quantitative studies tend to select equal lengths of a given number of streets, which offers a non-specific sampling of data visible within the city centre. For this project, the selection of streets was arbitrary, though the sampling of signs therein was not determined by the researcher's existing knowledge. The aim of this is to discuss a selection of data that are not pre-determined, by sampling indiscriminately selected data on central streets, considered active sites of representation of the multilingual value systems (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2013: 157) that construct their identities as cities.

2.3.5. Defining Languages

The methodology developed for this study records not only the multilingualism of individual items, but a hierarchy of languages across multiple variables. Throughout LL scholarship, it has been demonstrated that quantitative data are capable of illustrating language salience on individual items, mostly through the visual models introduced by Scollon & Scollon (2003) or the translation of information model developed by Reh (2004). These approaches categorize the multilingualism of a given LL according to language contact at the sign level. However, it is also useful to consider multilingualism in a broader sense; not as seen on separate signs, but flowing throughout multiple contexts across the dataset. This thesis thus assesses the multilingualism not only of single objects, but also of the various communications threaded throughout the LL. The methodological systems provide the variables along which the functions of languages are attributed in terms of authorship, materiality, and contextual emplacement. One of the principal difficulties for this type of study is therefore the determination of languages. Whilst the majority of texts are fairly straightforward to classify, scholars consistently encounter difficulties in assigning named languages to brand names and trademarks, which are ubiquitous in the commercially saturated LLs of city centres (Edelman, 2009; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010). Though various brand names reference a specific language or

a deliberate association with a linguistically defined culture, many are not semantically indicative of a particular language. This is because such inscriptions are frequently composed of proper names which are not bound to a single language, but reproduced identically in multiple languages. Whilst this might be considered a feature of borrowing, many of the most ubiquitous brand names are integrated into so many languages that any original linguistic association is not grammatically or lexically determinable. On the one hand, the precise establishment of a linguistic hierarchy demands unambiguous linguistic attribution to every sign (Edelman, 2014); on the other, since many brand names are on the lexical boundaries of multiple languages simultaneously (Bade, 2006; Crystal, 2003), this process is theoretically challenging.

Although studies do not generally engage with this problem explicitly, several methods have been proposed for classifying proper names in the LL. One approach considers brand names and trademarks independent of mainstream language, and classifies them according to the language of the surrounding slogans, advertisements, and explanations (Backhaus, 2007; Edelman, 2014). An alternative perspective subjects brand names to semantic analysis, by which their language is determined by the use of common nouns bound to specific languages, and the etymology of proper nouns (Edelman, 2009; Korzilius *et al.*, 2006). Considering the corpus discussed in this thesis, whilst this was possible for names such as *Whirlpool* or *Aigle Azur* ('Azur Eagle') over 17% of the 2826 brand names did not contain morphemes bound to a particular language. As an alternative to the semantic approach, Tufi & Blackwood (2010) look to the relationship between languages and countries, suggesting that the association of a brand name with a particular country is central to that brand's language of representation (LOR). According to this principle, the globally commercialized product *Givenchy* — paired with specific imagery that pertains to the wider dissemination of the brand through various visual media (e.g. a scene featuring a yacht, the sun, the Mediterranean sea, or a (stereo)typical café beneath the Eiffel Tower) — produces explicit links with a given country, in this case France. Given that languages are not exclusively analogous to individual countries, however, it is plausible that the language of brands is constructed socially, rather than by linguistic or geographic means. Moscovici (1988: 26) for instance argues that the figurative component of brand names is more impactful than the intellectual component — in other words, that it is the visual impact of brand names as images, rather than texts, that speaks to the reader (cf.

also Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2006 and Moscovici, 1984). It has been argued that this is evidenced by the commercial use of English throughout the developed world, where it is frequently employed to represent paradigms of internationalism, sophistication, progress, and modernity (Heller, 2003; Piller, 2001, 2003; Schlick, 2002), rather than to make explicit reference to the English language or to any English-speaking country.

It is important to consider that choice is at the heart of the question of brand names and trademarks. Whereas they may convey (either more or less obviously) association(s) with a particular language, their communicative function is not the same as an instruction, a direction, or an advertisement. Brand names are (small) units of information whose meaning is not conveyed through grammatical and lexical composition, but through known associations with the brand they represent. For many of these, lexical presentation is not a choice but a 'given' (Edelman, 2014; Korzilius *et al.*, 2006), driven by connotation with a product rather than denotation of a verbal message. This means that brand names do not represent choice in the same way that translatable signs do; it is often their accompanying slogans and catchphrases which demonstrate a decision to denote meaning to a specific linguistic community. The language of the brand name, conversely, relates to the brand and not to the reader. Haarmann (1986) refers to this function as 'impersonal'. In the data analysis in chapter five and the future directions discussion in chapter eight, brand names are explored in more detail. Due to their specific classification within the function system, it is possible to isolate them for comprehensive analysis. Given that the brand names recorded for this study do not generally relate to RLs, the potential for removing brand names from future studies will also be discussed.

2.3.6. Towards an Empirical Model

This thesis offers a contribution to the field which may be considered a part of the (re)focussing on quantitative methods. The qualitative turn resulted from the notion that 'counting signs' (Spolsky, 2009b) was subject to too many variables, and that the assessment of multilingualism through the basic variables of official/non-official authorship and language

combinations was limiting and generalist.¹⁵ This view is well represented in Blommaert & Maly's (2014: 3) critique of early quantitative scholarship:

'While this approach yielded useful indicative 'catalogues' of areal multilingualism, it failed to explain how the presence and distribution of languages could be connected with specific populations and communities and the relationships between them, or with the patterns of social interaction in which people engage in the particular space. Such levels of analysis require a more maturely semiotic approach, in which the signs themselves are given greater attention both individually (signs are multimodal and display important qualitative typological differences) and in combination with each other (the *landscape*, in other words).'

The methodology developed for this thesis attempts to answer this call for a more 'maturely semiotic approach', as it develops a model to quantify the multimodal typological elements of signs which are normally only examined through qualitative means. As Blommaert & Maly (*ibid.*) suggest, this will permit the empirical analysis not only of individual signs (and of 'qualitative' features thereon), but also of the combinations of elements which run throughout the corpus, across multiple signs in different spaces and places. A corollary of this is a reopening of the debate about the representation of language vitality in the LL. From the first workshop, the consensus has been that the salience of languages in the LL cannot be understood as a literal indicator of their salience in a given society (Barni & Bagna, 2010; cf. also Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). The foundations for this view, as expressed by Huebner (2009) and critiqued by Blommaert & Maly (2014), are based on the operational difficulties of categorizing the superdiverse aspects of language vitality. The criticisms levelled at the 'parsimonious' (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991) approaches of early quantitative studies are sustainable in this regard, as assessing language vitality requires more complex categorizations than simply top-down/bottom-up and language combinations. However, this thesis aims to demonstrate that when the fields of classification are determined by language use in the data, it is possible to draw a direct link between visibility and language status. Moreover, such an analysis is empirically sound when surveying great numbers of values in a large survey area: if the wide spectrum of communications-in-context can be accounted for, then visibility can be more confidently judged against general vitality. Hence, this quantitative model is designed to

¹⁵ This view has been expressed by Weber & Horner (2012), who stress the 'problematic' notion of counting languages on signs. See also the critical assessments of the field in the launch issue of *Linguistic Landscape* (Barni & Bagna, 2015; Blackwood, 2015).

yield a representative empirical sample of language distribution and use, with a dataset sufficiently large to capture the dynamics of the French-RL relationship.

As touched upon briefly in section 2.2.6, the competition nature of the LL means that the multi-layered presentations of languages are relative to one another. In terms of the research questions, this means that the impact of RL visibility is inexorably related to French visibility, as the languages exist in a majority/minority dichotomy. Empirically, this binary relationship is assured by the fact that the number of signs in the LL is finite. This thesis thus proposes an empirical LL model as a way to assessing the relative status of languages to French. Though this project does not pretend to have surveyed the four cities entirely, the principle of competition remains applicable within the 80 street corpus in which the frequency of signs written in both the majority and minority languages are quantified. According to this principle, the French-RL relationship is not only 'implied', as Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, (2012: 6) suggest, but guaranteed by the fact that the signs are read in relation to one another. In other words, judgements about the use and status of Occitan are not constructed by Occitan signs in isolation, but through a broader understanding of the competition dynamics between the multitude of French, English, Occitan and other languages in the LL. As the data demonstrate, the relativity of minority and majority languages is not only political (Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012), but constructed by multiple aggregates of authors, materials, spatial contexts, and informational fields. Given that these aggregates are quantifiable, this thesis argues that the relative status of the RLs to French is also quantifiable.

By collecting and classifying all texts within the survey areas, this thesis has constructed an empirical breakdown in which the RL signs are statistically representative of their actual presence in the LL. This will act as a 'control' cognitive map (referring once again to Portugali's (1996b) term), indicating the empirical use of French, English, and other languages, against which the use of the RLs may be measured. This will determine the status of the written RLs relative to the other languages, within the various spatial and place contexts categorized by the methodological model. Additionally, the combined corpus of signs from both Corsica and the Occitan territory provides data against which a detailed comparison of the RLs is scientifically justifiable.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1. Survey Areas

In order to yield the amount of data necessary to permit substantial statistical analysis, four cities were chosen for the street surveys. An additional advantage of surveying two cities for each language is that it allows for comparisons within each language area as well as between the Occitan territory and Corsica. For each area, the two largest cities by population size were selected, as determined by data collected for the 2013 census and published by France's national statistics office, INSEE. In the broad area representing the Occitan territory, Marseille is the largest city with 855,393 inhabitants, followed by Toulouse with 458,298 inhabitants (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, 2013). In Corsica, the two largest urban areas are Ajaccio (67,507 inhabitants) and Bastia (42,254 inhabitants; *ibid.*).

During the pilot survey, it was decided that 20 streets in each city would be selected for surveying. This number was reached because it is at the limit of the data that is realistically collectible and analysable by a single researcher within the timeframe for this project, whilst providing sufficient data for empirical analysis.¹⁶ The street selection was not informed by prior knowledge of specific items, nor the search for interesting or relevant objects encountered during the pilot surveys. Rather, clusters of streets spanning the cities' most prominent central areas, as well as major arteries leading to and from them, were identified by maps provided by the local authorities and Google mapping software.¹⁷ This was a more straightforward process in Corsica, where the size of both Ajaccio and Bastia is well-suited to a 20-street representation. However, it was necessary to be more selective in the larger cities of Toulouse and Marseille, in which a great many more than 20 streets can be considered representative of the centre.

In order to achieve ample data collection within the timeframe, it was decided that 100m sections of each street would be surveyed on both sides. Given the fine-grained approach to

¹⁶ This decision was taken based on MA research and pilot study fieldwork experience.

¹⁷ In the case of Ajaccio, this approach required adaptation to account for the fact that the city curves around a bay. The maps indicate that the city centre lies on the west side of the bay, amongst the majority of the largest streets, shops, and public buildings. This aspect of survey area selection is reflected upon in section 8.3.1.

data unit selection (cf. section 3.2), it was not necessary to make arbitrary decisions about the cut-off points of each street, based on buildings or shop fronts. During the selection process based on the maps, it became apparent that the 20 x 100m stretches represented radically different proportions of each city centre, a contrast particularly stark between Toulouse and Marseille and the Corsican cities, which are smaller both in population and area. This difference was not deemed problematic in itself, since the cities were selected based on their size as the two largest in each language area, and the contrasting proportional coverage of the total urban space is hence intrinsic to the comparison. However, during the pilot survey it became clear that a blind selection of 20 streets did not yield the most representative sample of the city centres. In Bastia, in particular, it was challenging to select 20 streets that could realistically be described as the city centre, due to the small overall area of the town. Therefore, it was decided that the three longest and most central streets — the Boulevard de Gaulle, Boulevard Paoli, and Rue Napoléon — would be subject to 200m samplings, still within the middle section. This not only ensured a more even sampling of the city centre, but also accounted for the proportional representation of the largest streets alongside the smaller ones, for some of which 100m represents the majority of the length. In addition, the double-sampling of larger streets reflects their importance in terms of city centre space and as major thoroughfares at the heart of the city. To maintain consistency across the dataset, the same process was applied to the other three cities. It was decided that 200m would be sampled on the Rue de la République in Marseille, the Boulevards Lazare Carnot, Strasbourg, and the Rue d'Alsace-Lorraine in Toulouse, and the Boulevard Charles Bonaparte in Ajaccio. The Cours Napoleon, also in Ajaccio, was subjected to a 300m survey, based on its position as the city's most prominent street, leading to, from, and through the centre.

Given that the data are intended to represent a general sampling of the city centres rather than 20 individual streets *per se*, this selective process prevents the omission of data on streets that are topographically and commercially prominent, and which attract the majority of passers-by. The survey areas cannot truly be defined as the 20 most-central 100m areas, nor as the objective 'heart' of the cities as some streets stretch out for long distances and their middle 100m sections are further away from the centre than those of the shorter streets. However, given that the distribution of signage on any given street is neither uniform nor consistent, it would be unscientific to seek out a pre-determined number of items within each street section.

The selection of the middle part of each street (100m, 200m, or 300m) is therefore a pragmatic choice, but one which is consistently upheld throughout the data collection process, and one which was never based on the contents of that area, or driven by data bias.

The study thus sampled about 4000m of space in each city. This extends to a comparison between 8km of urban space in each of the language areas. Whilst I contend that the street surveys represent a balanced sampling of the city centres, however, it is important to acknowledge that the data are not representative of the cities nor of the language areas at large. Figures 3.1 to 3.4 provide representative illustrations of the areas surveyed in each city, with street stretches highlighted in crimson.¹⁸

¹⁸ A full list of survey areas by city are provided in Appendix I.

Figure 3.1. Marseille survey area

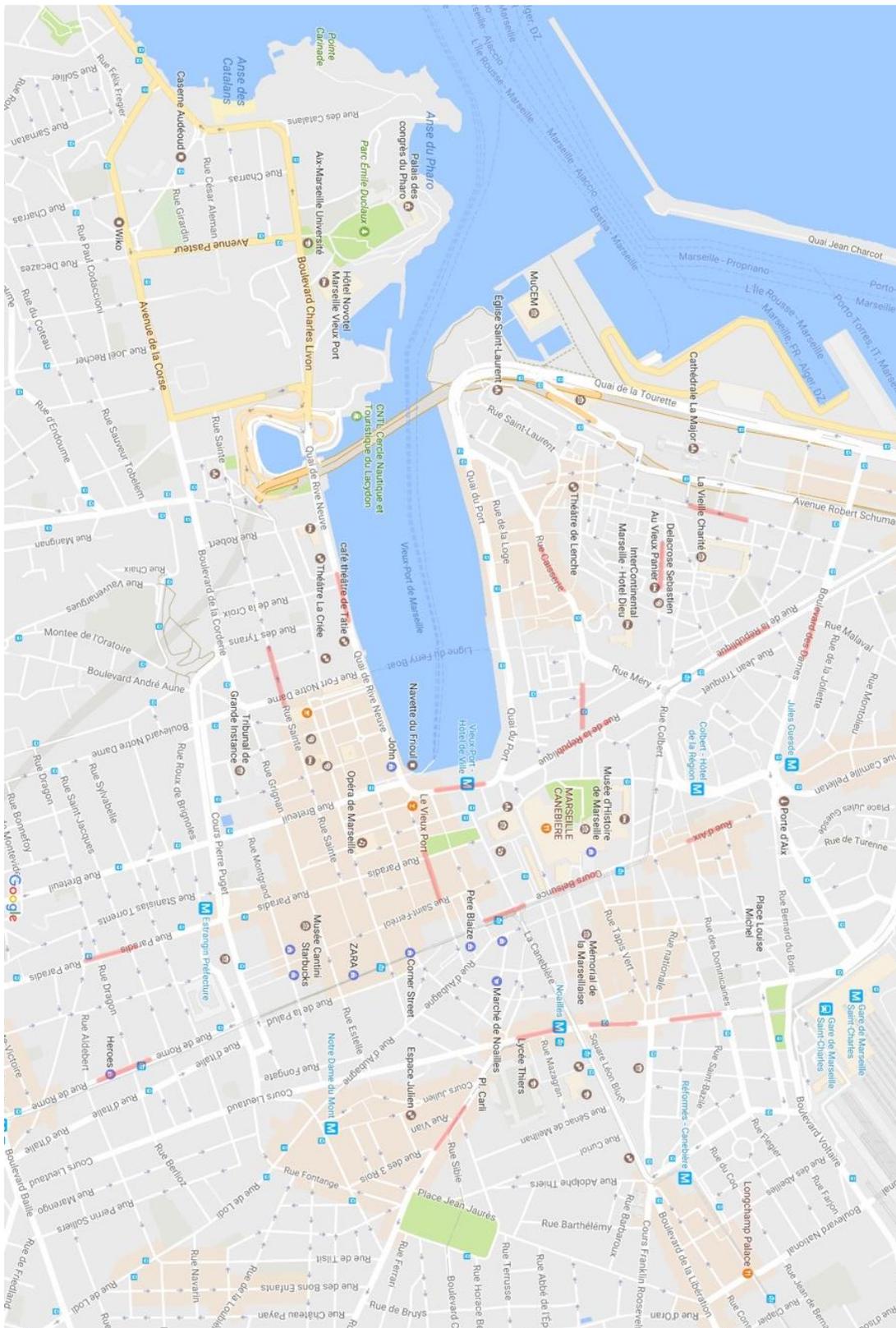


Figure 3.2. Toulouse survey area

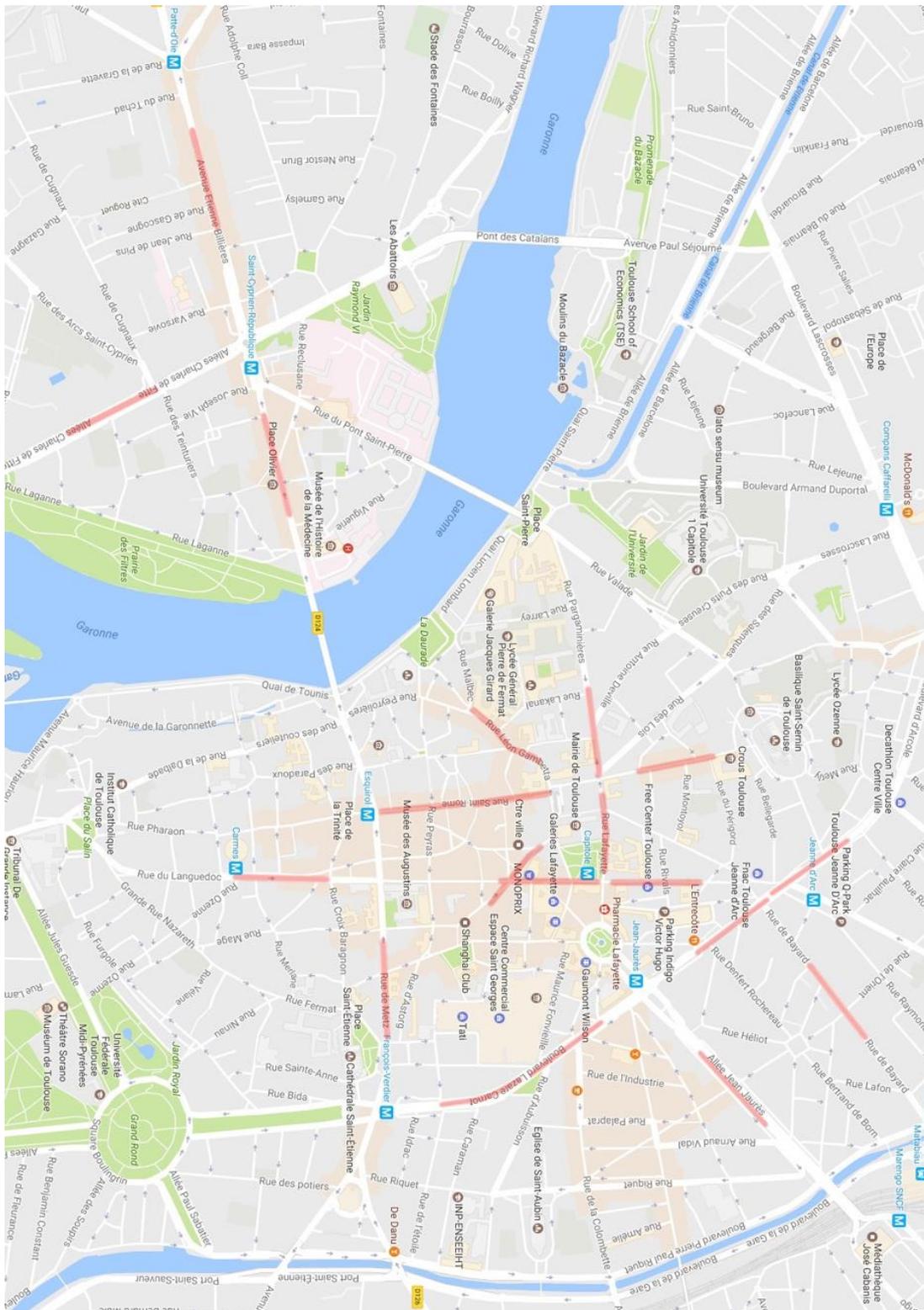


Figure 3.3. Ajaccio survey area

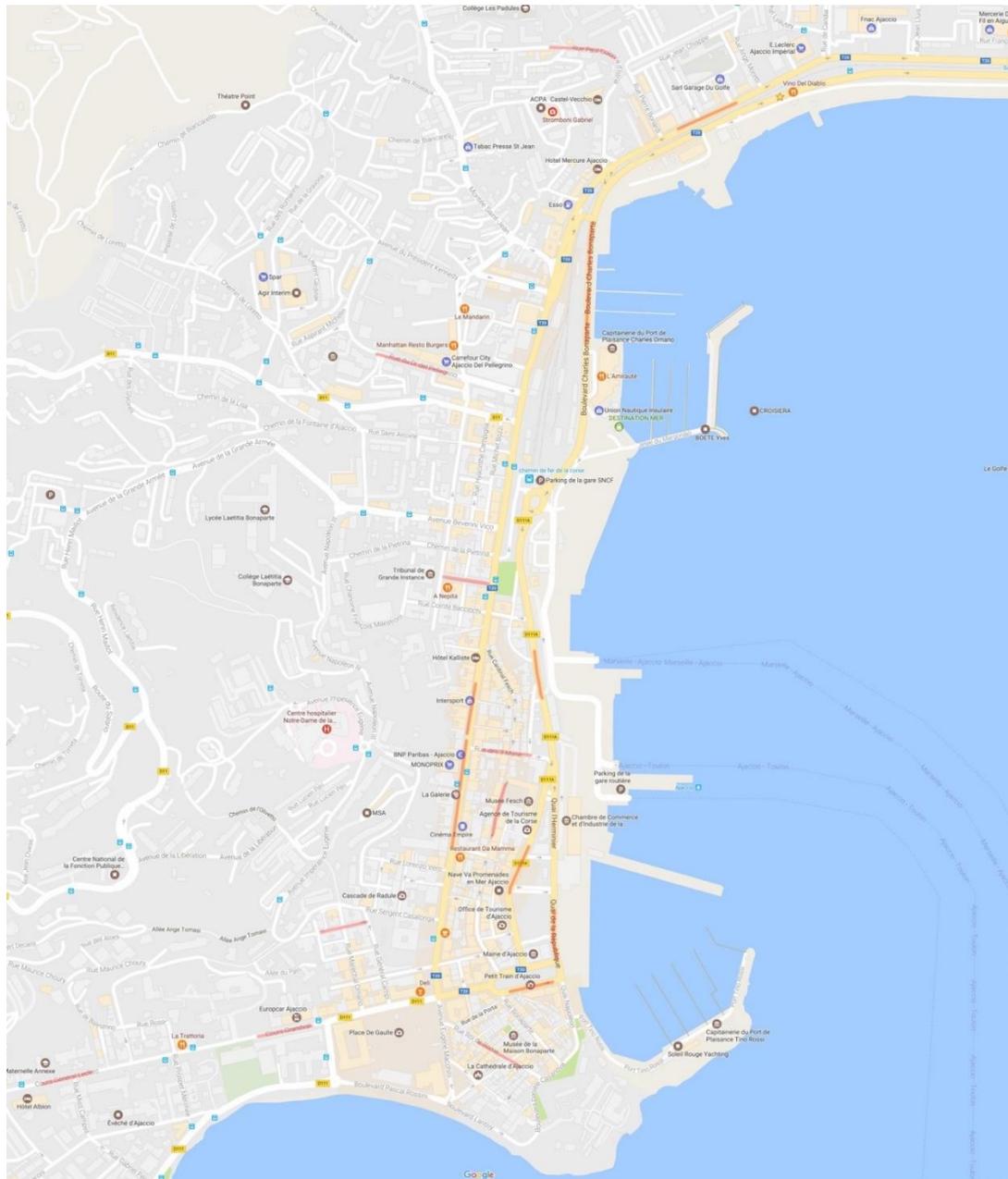
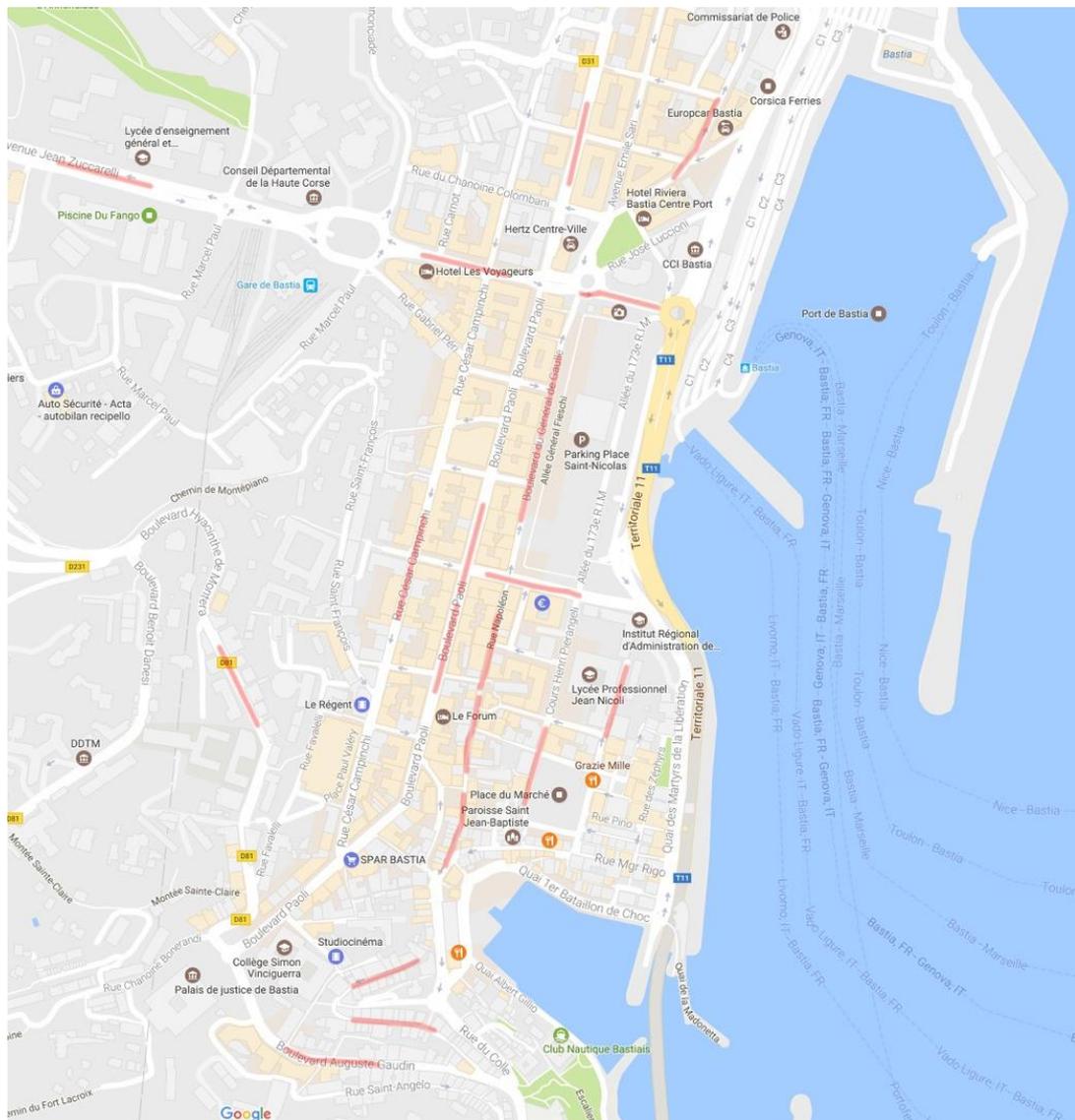


Figure 3.4. Bastia survey area



3.2. Coding Variables and Values

As explained in section 2.3.3, this thesis adopts an approach to item identification based not on the common spatial frame model, but according to the discursive functions of LL texts. Thus, individual items were identified as discrete messages rather than by the physical properties of their carriers. These messages are referred to as functions, the classification of which delimits individual LL items. A list of values was conceived, built on research carried out for the MA and existing theories in the field (cf. Kallen, 2010 on 'frames'; and Blackwood,

2010 and Spolsky & Cooper, 1991 on 'sign types'). The feasibility of the values was tested during the pilot study, and developed during a trial study in Liverpool.¹⁹ From these activities, a set of 14 values was established:

- Announcement
- Direction
- Establishment Description
- Establishment Name
- Event Advertisement
- Information Item
- Instruction
- Label/Tag
- Product
- Slogan
- Small Advertisements
- Street Sign
- Trademark
- Warning

Each LL item was thus attributed a discrete function. Where a single sign featured multiple texts with different functions, each item was isolated and coded individually. Following identification, items were coded along seven variables and accorded a single value for each. Reflecting quantitative and qualitative LL methods, these variables account for both the physical properties of the signs on which items were found, and the contextual properties of their meaning. Table 3.1 lists and explains the seven variables, and provides example values for each.

¹⁹ The trial study examined the LL of the area known as 'Chinatown' in central Liverpool, the results of which are published elsewhere (Amos, 2016).

Table 3.1. Coding variables²⁰

Variable	Explanation	Example Values
Language	Language(s) contained on the item	French; Occitan; Corsican; English; Spanish (and combinations)
Multilingualism	Semantic relation between multiple translated texts	Replicating; interrelated; complementary
Locus	Location of carrier	Wall; door; billboard; self-supporting
Materiality	Material type of carrier	Permanent; hand-written; professionally printed; digital
Authorship	Author status type within public/private dichotomy	International chain; municipal; independent business
Site	Contextual description of sign space	Bank; café; external; supermarket
Field	Subject matter of text	Finance; gardening; sport; travel

As with the function values, these variables have been developed from existing theories. The multilingualism types are based on Backhaus' (2007) 'part-writing' adaptation of Reh's (2004) translation typology, in which the middle categories ('overlapping' and 'fragmentary') are collapsed. Replicating translation refers to the reproduction of the same text in one or more languages; interrelated to the reproduction of part of the original text but with omissions or the introduction of original meanings in the translated text; complementary refers to no informational similarities between the texts. The locus refers to the location of the item's carrier, in other words the physical objects on which signs are found. This allows for cross-comparisons between items visible on walls with those hanging in shop windows or attached to lamp posts. The values are mostly self-explanatory, though it is worth noting that self-supporting refers to items which have no carrier — in other words free-standing signs such as

²⁰ A comprehensive list of values recorded for each variable is provided in Appendix II.

blackboards outside cafés and restaurants. The locus variable has a close relationship with materiality, which was recorded in order to account for the permanence of items and the resources with which authors create them. The materials *per se* were not recorded; the study therefore does not account for differences between establishment names painted on wood, etched into stone, or emblazoned on metal panels. Following the research discussed in the previous chapter regarding the ephemerality of items and the interpretation of permanence in the LL, signs such as these are grouped as permanent, in comparison with non-permanent varieties such as hand-written, professionally printed, or home printed objects. Concerning authorship, this thesis expands the established official/non-official binary into a variety of domains, including local, regional, and national authorities and chains, and independent businesses, individuals, and collaborations. The latter refers to combinations of author types, but since LL items are defined by function, signs with multiple author inputs (such as sponsorship logos on the bottom of a film poster, for example) normally contained multiple items which were categorized individually. The site variable is closely related to Kallen's (2010) use of the term; although here it refers only to physical spaces such as shops, supermarkets, residences, and bus stops, rather than to socio-contextual places as well (e.g. 'the marketplace' or 'the civic frame'). Finally, the field variable classifies the subject matter of the item, elsewhere described as 'area', 'type of activity', 'social realm' or 'domain' (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006; Franco-Rodríguez, 2009; Reh, 2004; Solé Camardons & Romaní, 1997). This is particularly useful in conjunction with the other variables, as it reveals trends about the associations of specific authors, languages, contexts, loci, and materials with various subject matters in the LL.

Following this method, the analysis does not aim to cross compare every aspect of each variable with the dataset, as although this is possible not all the results would be relevant for the research questions at hand. Rather, it provides detailed contextualizations of the presentation of the RLs, from which trends can be drawn, and which can be cross-compared with the presentation of other languages. Together, these lines of enquiry construct a data-informed assessment of the visibility and status of the RLs, as they are represented in the LLs of the four cities.

3.3. Procedure for Collecting and Analysing Data

Evolving the approach taken during the MA research and the Liverpool Chinatown project, in which data were coded by hand at the point of collection, for this project items were identified and classified from photographs. This made data collection in the streets quicker, as during the pilot study it was found that it would be unworkable to record the amount of data yielded by the surveys within the relatively short period in which it was possible to finance and conduct fieldwork. Based on the pilot observations of the cities, it was thought that between 15,000 and 18,000 items would be recorded on the 80 streets. Hence, it was not considered time-effective to identify, classify, and record each item along seven variables *in situ*; rather, photographs would be taken and the data coded subsequently.

Photographs were taken of every text visible from street level in the selected survey areas. Single items often appeared in more than one photograph, but were not included in the dataset more than once. Photographs of the street names, printed in advance on A4 paper, were taken before commencing each street section, to act as labels for sets of photographs and to ensure that items were recorded within the correct streets in the spreadsheet. A wide-angle shot of each site (e.g. a café, shop, or bus stop) was taken before the individual items within that site were photographed. Once all the items in a given site had been captured, a photograph of clear sky was taken to allow items to be accurately assigned to the relevant site once the photos had been uploaded.

A total of 5473 photographs were taken during the fieldwork, and stored on digital memory cards, an external hard drive, and a laptop. On returning to Liverpool, the images were uploaded to a computer and assigned to folders for each city and subfolders for each street. A datasheet was then created in Microsoft Excel, which would serve as the principal storage and tool for the analysis. The datasheet contained one column for each variable. It also catalogued the city, street, photograph file name, and number of each item in order to facilitate the retrieval of examples to be used in the analysis. A 'notes' column was also included, in which the text (or part thereof) of the item was written.²¹

²¹ A sample portion of the dataset, including column headings, is provided in Appendix III. A full readout of the data is available upon request.

Item and language classification were carried out by the author. Where an unknown language was encountered, *Google Translate* language recognition software was used, corroborated by internet searches for terms and the *Lexilogos* multilingual lexicographical databases. The data were recorded, classified, and analysed consistently, and are free from any unreasonable arbitration or modification on the part of the author.

The implications of the strengths and weaknesses of this methodology are reflected upon in chapter eight. The case studies discussed in chapters six and seven used their own methodologies, which are explained separately. The following two chapters present the street survey data collected in the Occitan territory and in Corsica, and report on the main body of analysis carried out for this thesis.

Chapter Four

Street Surveys: Occitan

4.1. The Empirical Data

The street surveys recorded a total of 10926 items in Toulouse and Marseille. 9071 (83%) contained French, and 126 (1.2%) featured Occitan.²² 22 additional named languages were recorded and coded where necessary via machine language recognition: Arabic, Bambara, Catalan, Chinese, Corsican, Dutch, English, Esperanto, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Portuguese, Russian, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Twi, and Wolof. The multilingual diversity here compares strikingly with the Corsican survey, which contained only 13 languages beyond French and the RL. This comparison is discussed in detail in chapter five.

Returning to Toulouse and Marseille, table 4.1 illustrates the frequency and proportion of French and Occitan in the LL.

Table 4.1. Frequency and proportion of French and Occitan items

	# Items	# French	# Occitan	% French	% Occitan
Toulouse	6453	5416	103	83.9	1.6
Marseille	4473	3655	23	81.7	0.5
Total	10926	9071	126	83	1.2

The almost negligible presence of Occitan echoes findings in other studies: Blackwood & Tufi (2015) found no signs attesting to the RL in Marseille, resorting to case studies of items sought-out subjectively by other means, and the works referred to in the previous sections (Blackwood, 2010, 2011, 2015; Hornsby, 2008) found similarly few RL signs in French LLs. It can therefore be said that a 1.2% proportional distribution across both cities is not a particularly surprising discovery. It is notable however that, within the corpus, such a stark contrast was recorded between Toulouse and Marseille, where the former contained over one

²² All percentages are rounded to the nearest .1%.

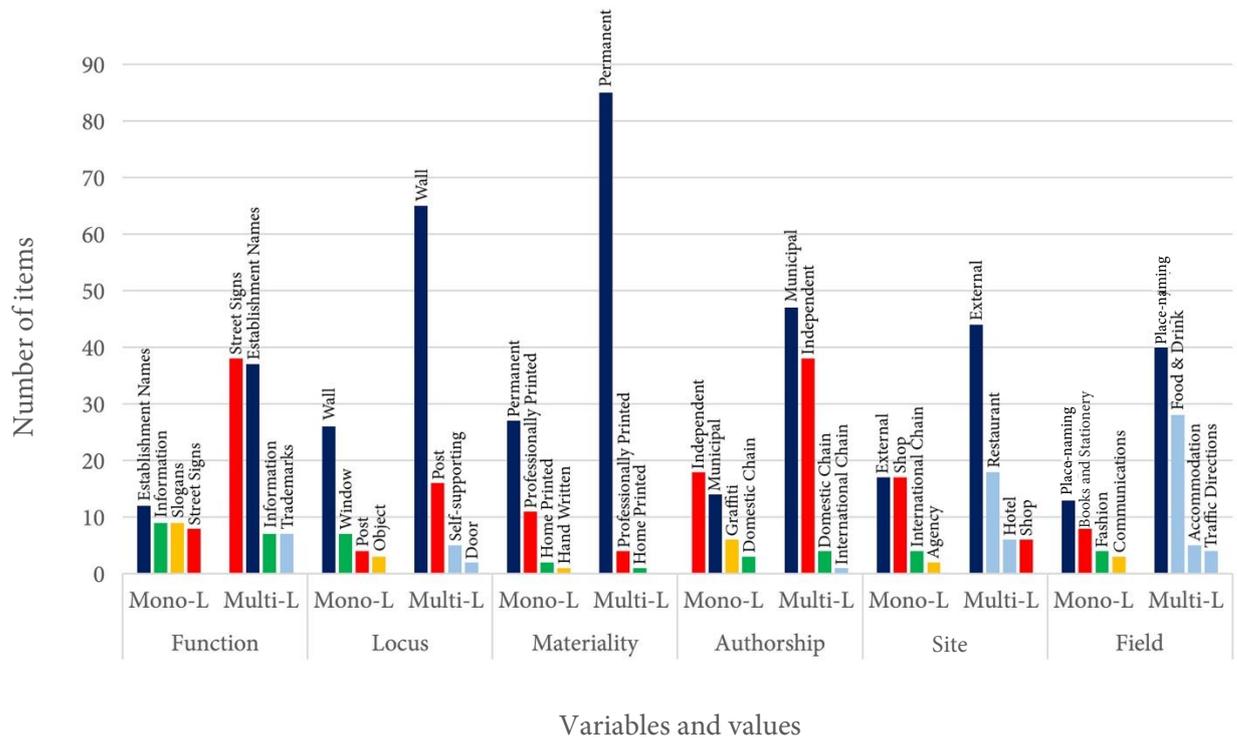
hundred RL items and the latter only twenty. This is remarkable given the general multilingual character of Marseille, which attests nineteen languages in total. Toulouse contains only one language fewer, yet testifies to a significantly higher presence of Occitan. The minor visual presence of Occitan compared with French and other languages in Marseille is well-illustrated by the examples in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Multilingual signs in Marseille



Despite an obvious absence in these intentionally multilingual inscriptions, Occitan nevertheless features on 126 items across the two cities. Chart 4.1 illustrates the four most common values recorded across the six classification variables.

Chart 4.1. Most frequent Occitan values by variable.²³



The frequency of values in each variable is represented by colour, from dark blue (most frequent) to red, green, and gold (least frequent). Within the mono- and multilingual divisions, values are ranked in descending order from left to right. Hence, Establishment Names were the most common function of monolingual items, yet only the second-most frequent within the multilingual group. Overall — signified by colour — they were the most common value recorded across both mono- and multilingual items. Items which figure among the four most-frequent in both the mono- and multilingual sub-corpora are thus represented by the same colour, and together represent the total number of data points recorded for that

²³ A full numerical breakdown of the data is provided in Appendix IV.

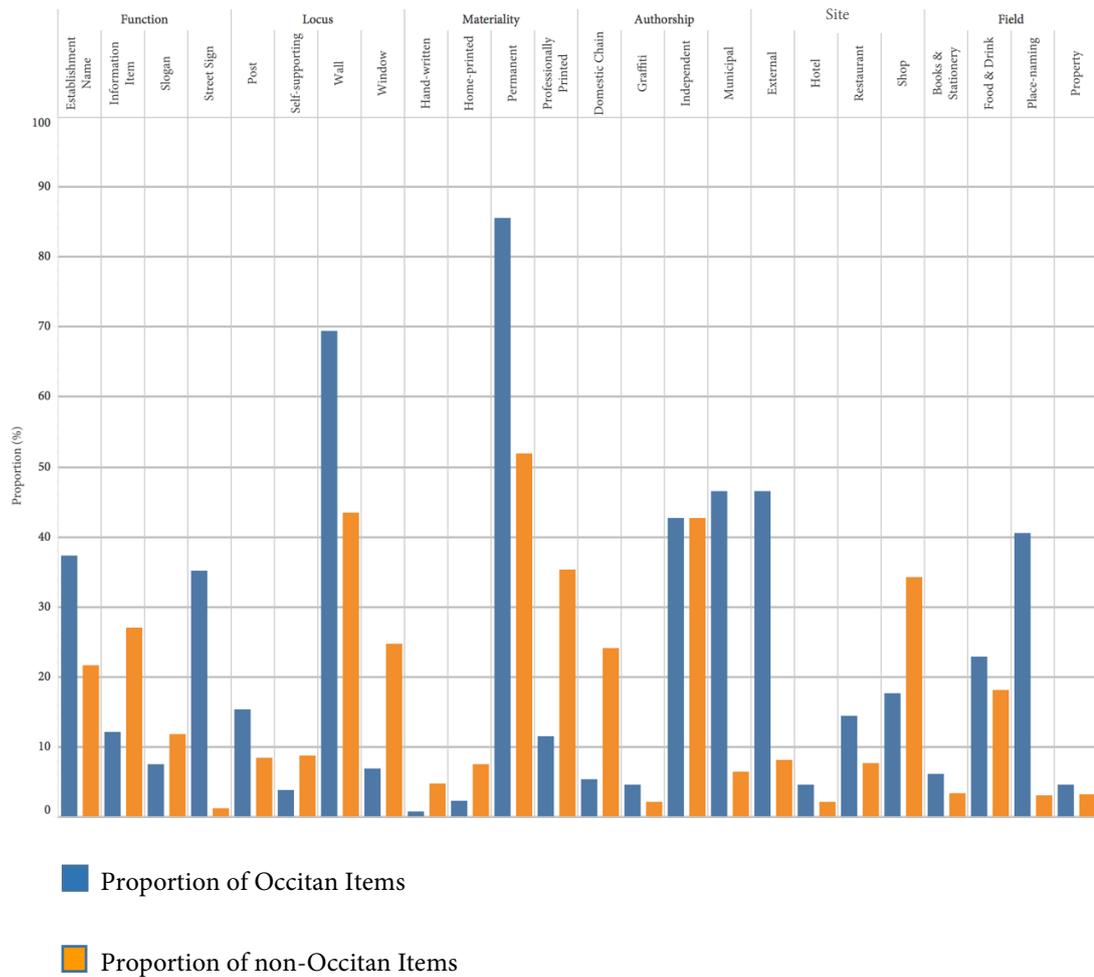
value. The light blue bars represent values for which no monolingual items were recorded, but which remained one of the four most frequent multilingual values in their respective variable.

The data indicate a number of statistical relevancies. First, the majority of Occitan items are permanent inscriptions (85.5%), located predominantly in the external site (46.6%), and to a lesser extent in shops (17.6%) and restaurants (14.5%). Second, Occitan tends to appear in the fields of food and drink and place-naming when presented alongside another language (usually French); on monolingual items it has a more balanced field distribution, but one which is less significant overall. Third, this trait is repeated in terms of function. Whilst street signs (42.2%) and establishment names (41.1%) account for the majority of multilingual RL items, these roles do not stand out amongst the monolingual items. On the contrary, they appear more evenly as establishment names, information items, slogans, street signs, and trademarks. Moreover, Occitan monolingual slogans, information items, and establishment names all marginally outnumber monolingual street signs, of which only eight were recorded.

In terms of authorship, the majority of Occitan items were attributed either to the municipal authority (46.6%) or to independent actors (42.7%). The municipal Occitan items were expressed predominantly as street signs (46 items), though 11 information items were also recorded. The independent items were mostly establishment names (46 items) as well as a handful of trademarks, information items, and slogans. It is significant that these independent actors are responsible for almost half of the monolingual Occitan items (18 occurrences; 43.9%), which account for a considerable proportion of the entire Occitan sub-corpus (13.7%). This is discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

In order to gain a detailed understanding of the Occitan data, it is useful to consider their statistical relevance within the context of the wider multilingual corpus. There are a number of ways in which the presentation of Occitan compares with French and the other languages. Chart 4.2. consolidates the mono- and multilingual Occitan data displayed in Chart 4.1 and contrasts the most common four values of Occitan visibility with the proportional visibility of other language items in those same values.

Chart 4.2. Comparison of Occitan values with the whole corpus.²⁴



Considering the statistical norms derived from the corpus at large (represented in chart 4.2 by the orange bars), Occitan (represented by the blue bars) stands out in a number of ways. The most straightforward discrepancy with non-Occitan items concerns street signs. Whilst these account for over a third of the Occitan items (46; 35.1%), their presence in the overall LL stands at just 1.3% (137 items). This proportional juxtaposition is expressed similarly in the place-naming field, in which Occitan is considerably salient (40.5%; 53 items), but which had little numerical impact overall (3%; 328 items). On the one hand, this renders the high proportion of Occitan street signs insignificant in the context of the LL at large; on the other hand, it may be argued that this indicates a particular niche which is pointedly characterized by the RL. This

²⁴ A full numerical breakdown of the data is provided in Appendix V.

is not the case in Marseille, where only one Occitan street sign was recorded. In Toulouse, however, the majority of street signs in the city centre feature Occitan; moreover some omit French. As discussed further in chapter six, this identifies street signs as the principal function of Occitan in the corpus.

A second important aspect of Occitan visibility illustrated by the data concerns authorship. Whilst the municipal authorities in Marseille and Toulouse account for only 6.4% (698 items) of the corpus, they are responsible for almost half of the Occitan items. There is also a significant presence of independent agency (42.7%; 56 items), though the proportion is almost identical with other languages (42.7%, 4666 items). Whilst it may be said, therefore, that multiple non-official authors contribute to the multilingual cityscapes at large, the inscription of Occitan in the LL is mostly limited to the civic authorities. In terms of site, too, the RL is marked out most prominently in the external site (46.6% vs. 8% across the whole corpus). This is unsurprising, given the function of municipal street signs, which commonly serve an exclusive semiotic purpose and are unaffiliated to buildings, businesses, residences, and other establishments. Whilst a large number of these external signs contained French and other languages, they account for a higher proportion within the Occitan sub-corpus, of which almost half (46.6%; 61 items) were categorized as external. The dominant trend associating the RL with street signs is supported by indications from the locus variable: 70% of the Occitan items appeared on walls. The majority of the remaining items (15.3%) were categorized as additions to or posted on larger signs ('posts'), including transgressive stickers attached to lamp posts and road signs, as well as the addition of 'Ô' as a regional modifier of standard French.²⁵ Within the corpus at large, however, loci were generally more variable. It is noteworthy, for instance, that doors were the locus for 12.2% (1332 items) of the entire corpus, yet only 2.3% (3 items) of the Occitan items. Similarly, Occitan signs were far less likely to be visible in windows (6.9% vs. 24.8%), and slightly less likely to appear as the single item on self-supporting signs (3.9% vs. 8.8%).

These data identify distinct contexts in which Occitan is visible; though they also indicate its sheer paucity in the LL at large, and its absence in some of the LL's most common traits. Whilst the language has a meaningful presence on external, permanent, municipal-authored street

²⁵ Examples of these are discussed in detail in sections 4.3 and 4.4 respectively.

signs, its empirical presence beyond this is almost negligible. In many contexts, therefore, the RL is entirely invisible. At the same time, French penetrates almost every area of the LL, appearing on 9071 items (83%); whereas Occitan (126 items; 1.2%) is numerically disadvantaged both to English (1186 items; 10.9%) and Italian (147 items; 1.3%).

Based on these findings, it is possible to isolate three contexts in which the visibility and status of Occitan in the LL may be discussed: heritage, in terms of the positioning of the language as a part of local history; language activism and contemporary use; and its conspicuous absence in French regional variation and regional identity discourse.

4.2. Heritage

Most commentators maintain that the Occitan language in late-modern France is characterized by associations with heritage, nostalgia, and the past (Ager, 1999: 35–41; Courouau, 2001; Judge, 2007: 120–145). Investigations since the 1980s have recurrently found the language to be widely stigmatized in this regard (Bratt Paulston, 1987; Mark, 1987; Maurand, 1981; Tabouret-Keller, 1999), though commentators also note its increasing uptake in education, aided by recent progress in the move towards establishing an agreed orthography (Boyer & Gardy, 2001a; Lyster & Costa, 2011; Sumien, 2006). A number of scholars have also discussed the RL in the context of a late modern revival of Occitan in literature and music, which is characterized by the perceived links between the RL and its mythologized history (Calin, 1995; Chabaud, 2013; Martel, 2013; Spanu, 2015).

It is important to acknowledge that these associations are not borne of any structural or linguistic elements inherent to the language itself: they are social constructions which have been developed by revivalist movements in order to construct and maintain linguistic identity through the invention of a ‘glorious and mythologized past’ (Costa, 2016: 80). There are also indications that retrospective associations with the language have been appropriated into more recent discourses, which are both ironic and self-aware. Toulousain music ensemble *Fabulous Trobadors*, for instance, have claimed parallels between Francophones who replace ‘oui’ with ‘òc’ and Anglophones who replace ‘yes’ with ‘yo’, stressing the horizontal ties between two non-dominant cultures (Gross & Mark, 2001: 77). At the same time, however,

the moniker *Fabulous Trobadors* cannot be disassociated from its intentional reference to the Occitan past, for which troubadour discourse is iconic almost to the point of proxy, nor from the added baggage of its inclusion of English. A similar reference to heritage is implied in the name of Marseille group *Massilia Sound System*, though here both Latin and English is preferred to Occitan. This is discussed in more detail below.

As discussed in section 4.1, many of the locations and contexts in which Occitan is visible in the LL indicate an intentional association with heritage and the past. This is part of the policies responsible for the street signs discussed in chapter six, though it also applies to a number of Occitan items elsewhere in the LL.

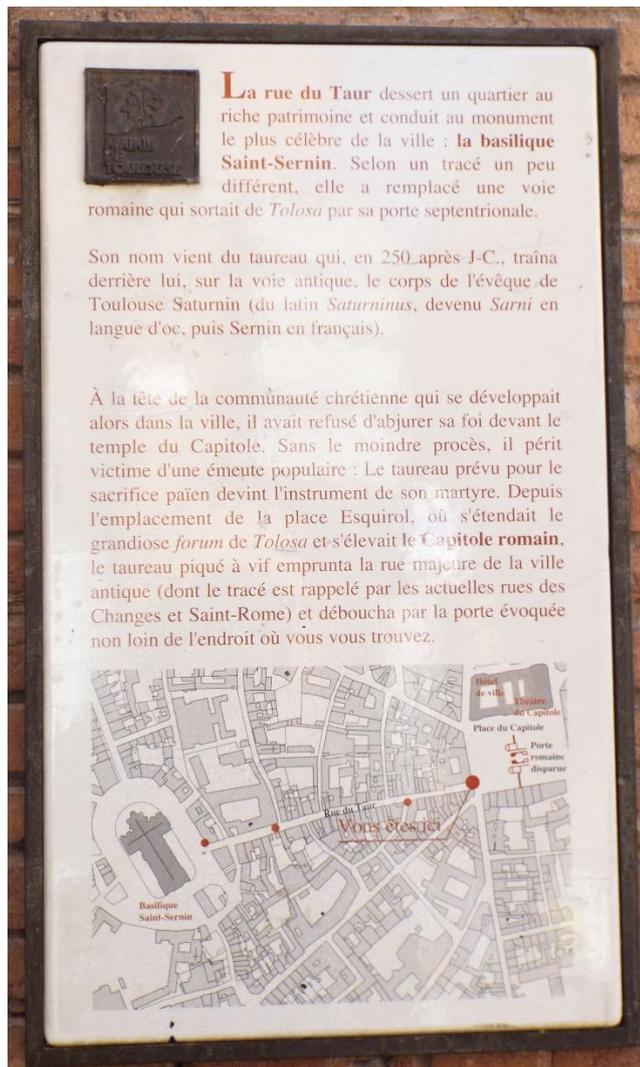
One example of this discourse of heritage is represented by the word *Taur* on the Rue du Taur in Toulouse. The street signs present *Taur* identically alongside the place-marker ‘road of’, which appear in both French (*Rue du*) and Occitan (*Carrièra del*). Since the official identification of the street is required by law to be in French, the suggestion appears to be that *Taur* is a French word. There are two possible interpretations of this, however: first, that *Taur* is a proper noun expressed within the boundaries of French; and second, that *Taur* has been imported from another language, has converged with French, and is now part of the national language. The word is not only displayed on the street signs, but also appears in the establishment names *Hotel du Taur* and the estate agency *Agence du Taur*, as well as a road sign directing traffic towards the *Notre-Dame du Taur* church. Alongside these and other standard French terms on the street, this indicates that the practice of morphologically embedding *Taur* into French is well-established.

On the wall of the church facing the main thoroughfare is a large, permanent plaque offering information about the history of the street, erected by the municipal authority (figure 4.2). These commemorative signs are common in many cities and, in Toulouse as elsewhere, serve to construct the ‘historical authenticity’ (Hanna & Hodder, 2015; Waite, 2000) of the city.

The text on this particular plaque tells the tale of the bull which is said to have martyred Saint Saturnin, the first bishop of Toulouse, in the third century:

‘The *Rue du Taur* runs through an area rich with heritage and leads to the most famous monument in the city: the Saint-Saturnin Basilica. [...] Its name comes from the bull which, in 250 AD, dragged behind it, on the ancient road, the body of the bishop of Toulouse Saturnin (from the Latin *Saturninus*, becoming *Sarni* in Occitan, then *Sernin* in French).’

Figure 4.2. Commemorative plaque on the Rue du Taur



The explicit reference to a bull, *taureau* in French and *taur* in Occitan, indicates beyond doubt that the street name represents a choice to associate the space with the Occitan history of the city. Further, the highlighting of the different spellings of the term in French and Occitan underlines the decision to retain the RL in the street's name. Reconsidering the bilingual street signs in knowledge of the commemorative plaque encourages this assumption further: 'bull'

does not appear in standard French on the upper sign; its rendering as *taur* on both plaques thus indicates that the term is Occitan. Coupled with the information on the church plaque that the street name commemorates an event that happened in the distant past, as well as the direct reference to Occitan ('Sarni en langue d'oc'), it is reasonable to assume that readers of the plaque will thus consider *Taur* to have been borrowed from Occitan into French. Hence, although the *Hotel du Taur*, *Agence du Taur*, and *Notre-Dame du Taur* privilege French in the other elements of their establishment names and throughout the rest of their general signage (64 items), their incorporation of the street name signifies a visible appropriation of and therefore engagement with the RL. This is not brought about by the term itself, which is well-established within French morphological boundaries due to its ubiquity alongside other French terms and in the francophone life of the city; however the commemorative plaque, in explicitly stating that *taur* represents an Occitan over a French choice, encourages readers to rethink the origins of the street name, and its effects on the linguistic identity of *Agence du Taur* and other items, which thus appear closely linked to the RL.

The associations of Occitan with heritage are similarly emphasized on the historic plaques visible on other roads around the Place du Capitole, which feature translations of the current street names in Occitan, details of their former Occitan names, and, as on the Rue du Taur, information relating to the history of the streets.

The signs in figure 4.3 draw explicit links between the Occitan language and the history of the city, achieved not only by the references to bygone eras, events, and figures, but also by the illustrative style of the houses and streets around the Place portrayed on the pictures and maps. The central plaque on the Rue St Rome, in addition, makes explicit reference to *vièhl occitan* ('old Occitan'), further reinforcing the importance and depth of the RL in the history of the city, its roads, and its monuments.

The plaques also present the former names of streets *Carrièra dels Bancs Majors*, *Carrièra Serminièras*, and *Carrièra dels Anhelièrs* in Occitan alone, thereby depicting a history which is inexplicable in French and unavoidable in Occitan. On the one hand, it is clear that the former streets have been incorporated into new roads, expressed in French as the Rue Saint-Rome and Rue Tripière. The plaque even hints at a symbolic triumph for French over Occitan, stating that the former roads were destroyed during the Revolution. On the other hand, the

fact that the former streets are expressed only in the RL suggests that a French name (either an equivalent or a translation) is not available or necessary to neologize. In this particular niche, the municipal authority declares explicit preference for Occitan.

Figure 4.3. Commemorative plaques on the Rue Tripière and Rue Saint-Rome



Given the established practice of naming streets after prominent figures of French national history, it is remarkable that these streets include such explicit references to Occitan. These plaques are not only *lieux de mémoire* ('places of memory'), to borrow Nora's (1986) term, but also concrete manifestations of 'the past', that is, the particular version of history authorized by the municipality. Azaryahu (1996: 320) argues that the seemingly obvious and quintessentially mundane presence of street signs initiates a 'low voltage interaction with the past', compared with the 'high voltage interaction' of larger memorials and objects of more obvious public commemoration. Whilst the name Rue du Taur itself may have a relatively

insignificant impact on the passer-by, the historical plaques convey more significant connotations between the space and its Occitan history. Unlike the street signs, these plaques have as their primary purpose the role of historicizing the space, and legitimizing the official history determined by the municipality. These signs are instrumental in associating a discourse of heritage with the RL.

It is not just the municipal authorities, however, who contribute to the historical associations of Occitan. At the intersection of the Boulevard des Dames and the Rue de la République in Marseille, a plaque can be found commemorating the women who are said to have played a key role in reinforcing the city's defences during the siege of 1524 (figure 4.4). The city emblem — a blue cross on a white background emblazoned at the top of the sign — suggests official agency, reinforced by the subtitle '*Histoire de Marseille*' ('History of Marseille') which indicates the series of similarly styled plaques visible around the city.

Figure 4.4. Commemorative plaque on the Boulevard des Dames



The last part of the text reads:

‘In 1909, a marble commemorative plaque celebrating the courage of the women of Marseille was erected at the corner of the Rue de la République and the Boulevard des Dames.’

The plaque in question is visible on the wall above, several inches from the municipal sign (figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5. Occitan commemorative plaque on the Boulevard des Dames



Its most striking aspect is not its gold lettering, the subject matter of its text, nor its production in marble as the municipal sign mentions, but rather the fact that it is written in Provençal, the local variety of Occitan. Displaying the city crest in the same style at its head, this sign informs us that it was erected by the organization *..?Prouvènço!..* in 1909, the year of its establishment. Although the municipal plaque acknowledges the pre-existence of the *..?Prouvènço!..* sign, it fails to mention the significance of its appearance in Occitan, and the implication of the municipality's own re-imagining of the past in French. As both plaques indicate, this particular story had already been told by the time the municipal plaque appeared; its inclusion in the municipal, French historical narrative is more recent. As such, it may be

argued that the presence of the *..?Prouvènço!..* plaque attests to a ritual of resistance (Azaryahu, 1996: 316) against the official language, which is here shown to be overwriting an Occitan past in a newer, French historicization.

In spite of this handful of items associating heritage, historiography, and commemoration with Occitan, there are signs elsewhere which perform this function in other languages. Overall, 51 items were coded in this field, recorded on 19 streets in the two cities. 48 of these feature French, and the Occitan items discussed above account for only 5.8% of the entire sub-corpus in the field of history. In fact, there are as many items in this field which feature English and/or Italian. This includes a bilingual French/English item relating to the establishment of the clothing chain *Somewhere*, and a trilingual French/English/Italian description of the history of the Rue de la République.

Figure 4.6. Trilingual historical sign



The sign shown in figure 4.6 is part of a series relating to the ‘*Voie historique de Marseille*’ (‘the Marseille Historic Route’), managed by MuCEM (*Musée des civilisations de l’Europe et de la Méditerranée* — ‘Museum of European and Mediterranean Civilizations’) and funded publicly by the municipal authority.²⁶ At the top of the sign are the street’s name and the indication that it relates to the 19th-century era of the city’s history. In addition to a simplified map of the route with French descriptions, the sign contains an historical information item, instructions for using a QR code, and photograph captions, all of which are written in French, English, and Italian. As the sign number and map indicate, this is one in a series of eleven signs along the distance of the *Voie historique* which provide written and interactive information (via the QR code) for visitors in French, English, and Italian.²⁷ The code preference (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) of the languages is not controversial: French first as the national and official language; English second as the international language of tourism (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009; Prachanant, 2012); Italian third as the nearest international border state and the common language of the c. 850,000 tourists who visit from Italy every year.²⁸ However, these signs do not include Occitan, either as text or reference. Unlike the municipal plaques in Toulouse and the *...?Prouvènço!..* plaque on the Rue des Dames, the authority in Marseille does not include the RL in its historicization of the city on the *Voie Historique*. Not only does this bear a stark comparison with the official position in Toulouse, but it also undermines the efforts of *...?Prouvènço!..* to associate the city’s past with the RL.

This is compounded by the not infrequent references to *Massilia* elsewhere in the LL, the Latin name for Marseille which was recorded on six items on three streets in the city.

²⁶ Information about the *Voie historique* is available at www.visite.marseille.fr.

²⁷ This particular sign also attests to a graffiti inscription, *NUL*, which may either be a tag or a comment on the quality of the museum (‘*nul*’ is familiar French for ‘bad’ or ‘rubbish’).

²⁸ This figure accounts for the joint highest proportion (15%) of international tourists who visited the region of *Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur* in 2011. Source and details: <http://tourismepaca.fr/pros/chiffres/>.

Figure 4.7. 'Massilia' in the LL of Marseille²⁹



²⁹ Massilia BD logo retrieved from <http://www.reserveabulles.com/massiliabd/massiliabd/>.



The examples in figure 4.7 illustrate the use of *Massilia* in several contexts: as part of the establishment name *Massilia Voyages*, a branch of the French travel agent association *Selectour Afat*; in the trademark of *Massilia BD*, sponsor of a *bande dessinée* (comic book art, commonly referred to as *BD*) exhibition advertised on a poster in a window of the *Alcazar* library (not pictured here) and an enormous banner draped down the face of the adjacent building; as the name of a tattoo convention *Massilia 1st* held in May 2015; as the name of a local Karate club *Massilia Karate Club*; and as a stylized text printed on the side of a classic convertible car displayed in the front window of *Havana Café*. Whilst the use of Latin is itself an act of performative heritage, its appearance in multiple, multilingual, and seemingly unrelated situations indicates its relevance beyond this context. With so few examples it is difficult to sustain the argument that *Massilia* is a term widely associated with travel, Cuba, classic sports cars, the arts of *BD* and tattoos, or karate; it is plausible however that these examples indicate a local trend of applying the term as a proxy for the standard French term *Marseille*. This is arguably also the case for the name of the reggae music ensemble *Massilia Sound System*, who not only identify as living descendants of medieval troubadours, but link their use of Occitan lyrics to the contemporary city space and a politicised local identity (Boucher, 1998; Haines, 2004; The Scene, 2006). Nevertheless, and despite the group's frequent use of the RL in their songs and live performances, the choice of a Latin-English name indicates a preference for these languages over Occitan.

It is not the purpose of this thesis to investigate these intriguing uses of what is ostensibly a Latin term; it is however relevant to the present investigation to note that there is an alternative naming culture in Marseille which does not look to the Occitan term for the city, *Marselha*. Arguably, the *Massilia* signs represent a practice that may be defined locally rather than according to specific associations with karate, Cuba, *BD*, or tattooing. This is because the contexts in which it is used appear eclectic and unrelated, but also because these signs appear to deviate from normative naming practices in France. The branch of *Selectour Afat* in Toulouse, for example, refers to itself as *Voyages d'Oc*. The branch clearly identifies itself regionally, and although the argument can be made to code 'Oc' as Occitan, the absence of a grave accent over the <O> and the common use of the term in French suggests no obvious strategy to use the RL. In any case, this dispels any suggestion that the use of *Massilia* is the result of a top-down request from *Selectour Afat* that its member agencies use Latin branch

names. This is further supported by the list of the 850 agencies in France on the company's website, which depicts no obvious preference for any language other than French (Selectour Afat, 2016). Similarly, the sister branch of the Havana Café in Bordeaux presents itself as *Havana Club Bordeaux* (not *Bordèu* in the Gascon Occitan variety or *Burdigala* in Latin; cf. figure 4.8). Internet searches give similar indications about the names of karate clubs, tattoo festivals, and *BD* societies across France. Such a conclusion must be approached with caution, but it appears that *Massilia* in these examples testifies to an established alternative culture of local representation, which draws heavily on associations with the past and the local without including Occitan.

Figure 4.8. Havana Club Bordeaux³⁰



The RL-Latin dynamic in Marseille differs to that in Toulouse. Whereas the preference for Latin over Occitan is made evident by the lexical differences between *Massilia* and *Marselha*, the term *Tolosa* represents Toulouse in both languages. Although the historical plaque on the Rue du Taur identifies *Tolosa* in the context of Latin (c.f. figure 4.2 above), local readers may recognize the term also as Occitan, as it appears on official *autoroute* signage at major city entrances and exits.³¹ Whilst the homonymy of *Tolosa* affords it the potential to be styled and

³⁰ Image reproduced from http://epinal.weemove.com/Havana_cafe_Le-Havana_Clubbing_-evenement_fiche1-24283-648643-0-0.aspx.

³¹ The erection of *Tolosa* signs caused controversy in 2011 when the new panels failed to include French. When challenged by the national press, representatives argued that Toulousain culture ‘*passé par l’occitan*’

interpreted simultaneously as Latin and Occitan, the diverse representations of *Massilia* in quite different contexts gives the impression that Latin, and not Occitan, dominates the heritage discourse in Marseille.

4.3. Language Activism

Various elements of the heritage discourse relate to language activism. A trend in the actions and words of groups such as *Massilia Sound System* and Toulouse's *Fabulous Trobadors* is to express both a sense of solidarity with the past and activism for the present. As the historical plaques indicate, the presentation of Occitan in the LL may be considered in the context of the solidarity dimension (Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982: 9), in that they are closely related to identity, belonging, and group membership. In the LL, there are several examples of this which transcend the field of history and the specific association of Occitan with heritage, and focus on a contemporary solidarity with, and activism for, the language.

Figure 4.9. Grand-Rue



(‘comes through Occitan’; La Dépêche, 2011), but that the absence of the national language must have been down to *‘un simple oubli* (‘simply forgetfulness’; *ibid*). Additional plaques with *Toulouse* began to appear several months later.

Figure 4.9 depicts a view along Grand-Rue in Marseille, which falls in the city's 2nd *Arrondissement* and links the Rue Caisserie (which runs parallel to the northern edge of the Vieux Port) with the Rue de la République. Like the majority of streets in the corpus, Grand-Rue is dominated by French texts. Of the 171 items recorded on this street, 147 (86%) contained French. Other languages included English (16 items, of which 8 monolingual) and Italian (10 items, of which 5 monolingual). As the image illustrates, the road attests a great variety of signage: establishment names and descriptions (25.1%), slogans (26.3%), and information signs (33.3%) predominate in shops, a supermarket, a pharmacy, a café, a restaurant, a bakery, a butcher's, and a bus stop, in fields including food and drink, history, accommodation, music, transport, textiles, and finance.

Whilst this breakdown is generally representative of many individual streets in the LL, Grand-Rue also contained three Occitan items. These were found on a single sticker adhered to the bottom-right of a bus stop sign, which is visible in the foreground of figure 4.9. Unlike many of the Occitan signs in the LL, however, this example is not a permanent plaque erected by the municipal authority which relates the RL to the past by commemorating a place or an event. Rather, it is a sticker which has been attached to a bus stop sign by an unauthorized agent. As Pennycook (2009) and Soukup (2016) similarly argue, this sticker carries not only a textual message, but serves also as a marker of performative transgression, indicative of a desire on the part of its instigator to express this message in a spatial context to which they are formally denied access.

The sticker (reproduced in figure 4.10) features the name of the organization *Libertat!*, the slogan *Esquèrra Revolucionària d'Occitània* ('Revolutionary Left of Occitania'), and the website URL 'libertat.org'. Although the URL is not as immediately interactive as the QR codes on the museum signs discussed in the previous section, it links to a website, reachable from the LL via any smartphone, which provides information about the organization, news about its activities and those of related groups, and links to social media and the digital version of *Libertat!*'s annual review magazine *Revista*.

Figure 4.10. *Libertat!* sticker³²



Like the sticker which appears only in Occitan, the website's homepage indicates a preference for the RL. French is used sparingly, though translations are available underneath many of the articles and links that take the reader further into the site. In terms of the LL, it is not possible to determine how successful the sticker is in directing readers towards the website. However, the use of red and yellow, colours closely associated with Occitan, and the five-pointed red star combine with the text to form a semiotic aggregate associating the RL with the political left in general, and the *Libertat!* movement in particular.³³

Although the presence of one sticker can hardly be said to indicate a significant impact of Occitan, the *Libertat!* sign is not unique in the LL. Just seconds' walk from the Place du Capitoul in central Toulouse, the sign pictured in figure 4.11 was photographed on the Rue du Taur. It contains the slogan *Òc per l'Occitan* ('Yes to Occitan') and the URL *www.occitan-oc.org*.

³² Image reproduced from www.libertat.org.

³³ As of May 2016, the organization has dissolved with the aim of establishing a new movement (as yet unnamed) which will aim to support Occitanist ideals within the broader context of the economic crises and the growth of the far right in Europe and France (Libertat!, 2016). It sets its principal objectives as defending the democratic rights (including 'linguistic rights') of people in the Occitan territory, linking the 'political' issue of Occitan self-determination to the 'cultural' issue of Occitan language officialization, and 'beginning the fight' for socialist revolution (*ibid.*).

Figure 4.11. *Òc per l'Occitan* sticker



Similarly to the *Libertat!* sticker, this sign indicates support for the Occitan language by visualizing it in the LL. However, it serves a joint purpose by also indicating the membership of the establishment on which it is found to the *Òc per l'Occitan* sticker campaign. Coordinated by the organization *L'Office Public de la Lengua Occitane – Ofici Public de la Lengua Occitana* ('Public Office of the Occitan Language [bilingual French-Occitan]') alongside partner group *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* ('Institute of Occitan Studies', hereafter IEO), the campaign aims to encourage 'the use of Occitan in economic life' by distributing labels and posters to be displayed on doors, in windows, and in the premises of participating businesses (Ofici Public de la Lengua Occitana, 2016b). Three labels are offered, and adherents have the choice of aligning themselves with the slogans *Aicí l'Occitan nos agrada* ('we love Occitan here'), *Aicí Parlam Occitan* ('we speak Occitan here'), or *Aicí l'Occitan es Pertot* ('Occitan is everywhere here'), according to the level of competence of their employees, and the extent to which they intend to display the language on their premises. The campaign cites three axes, defined by the IEO, which it considers to be the fundamental principles of 'linguistic politics': the public display of the Occitan language; the diffusion of its knowledge; and its use in public relations (OPLO, 2016a).

In this case, the sticker was photographed on the rolling shutters of an outlet for the internet-based business *Macarel*, a self-identified ‘militant shop’ which promotes Occitan through the sales of clothing, flags, magnets, jewellery, keyrings, and other objects as well as Occitan-language music and film. The *Macarel* website claims that the enterprise is ‘proud’ of its independence from public financial support and owes much to its volunteers and private funders who have supported the establishment of two premises in Toulouse and Montpellier (Macarel, 2016). This recognition is visible in the sign erected above the establishment name:

Figure 4.12. *Macarel* outlet signage



The sign includes an alphabetical list of those who have contributed to the purchase and establishment of the shop, underneath an explanatory phrase given in Occitan and English. There is a slight tonal difference between ‘*ajuda financièra*’ (‘financial help’) and the less explicit ‘generous aid’ given in the translation, but what is more remarkable is the fact that the phrase is not given in French. Here as elsewhere (cf. section 4.4), such an omission appears to suggest an intention to make the national language conspicuously absent, as the sign not only demonstrates a preference for Occitan as the first language, but nominates its second as English. French is absent from the display completely.

This strategy is reflected in the signage visible on the premises of the *Ostal d’Occitania* (‘Occitania House’), a linguistic and cultural institution managed by the activist association

Convergència Occitana ('Occitan Unity').³⁴ Located a few steps off the Rue des Changes in Toulouse, the *Ostal* incorporates the offices of *Convergència Occitana* with a book shop and public exhibitions and displays of its news, events, and publications. A number of Occitan items were recorded in the publicly accessible areas of the *Ostal*, many of which contained Occitan.

Figure 4.13. Occitan items in the *Ostal d'Occitània*



³⁴ More information is available on the organization's website (<http://ostaldoccitania.com/accueil>).



Pelegrinatge d'Occitània a Lorda

Pèlerinage d'Occitanie à Lourdes

Dissabte 25 d'abrial de 2015

Samedi 25 avril 2015

Programa

Dissabte 25 d'abrial de 2015

2 oras e mièja de l'après miègjorn : Reünion dels pelegrins a la Sala Joan XXIII. (Salle Jean XXIII.)

4 oras de l'a. m. : Camin de crotz, a l'Arribèra del Gave. (La Prairie).

6 oras de l'a. m. : Messa anticipada del dimenge, a la Capèla Sant Josèp (chapelle Saint-Joseph) celebrada en occitan pel Paire Jòrdi Passerat.

7 oras de l'a. m. : Cadun sopa al siu otèl.

9 oras de l'a. m. : Procession dels candelons.

Dimenge 28 d'abrial de 2015

Après aver dormit a Lorda, cadun seguís son programa personal e torna partir a l'ostal.

*

Per ne saber mai

Paire Jòrdi Passerat — Director del pelegrinatge — Telefòn : 05 63 64 45 94. Corrièl : <jordi.passerat@wanadoo.fr>

Marie-Odile Lacaze — Telefòn : 05 65 34 71 31. Corrièl : <marieodilacaze@yahoo.fr>

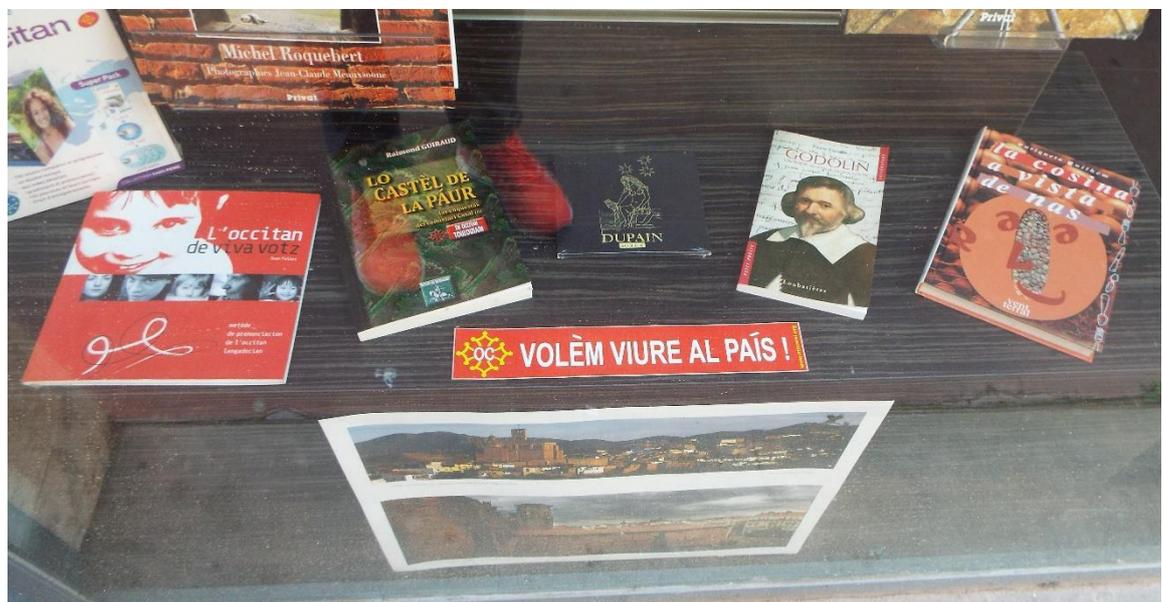
Otèls recomandats

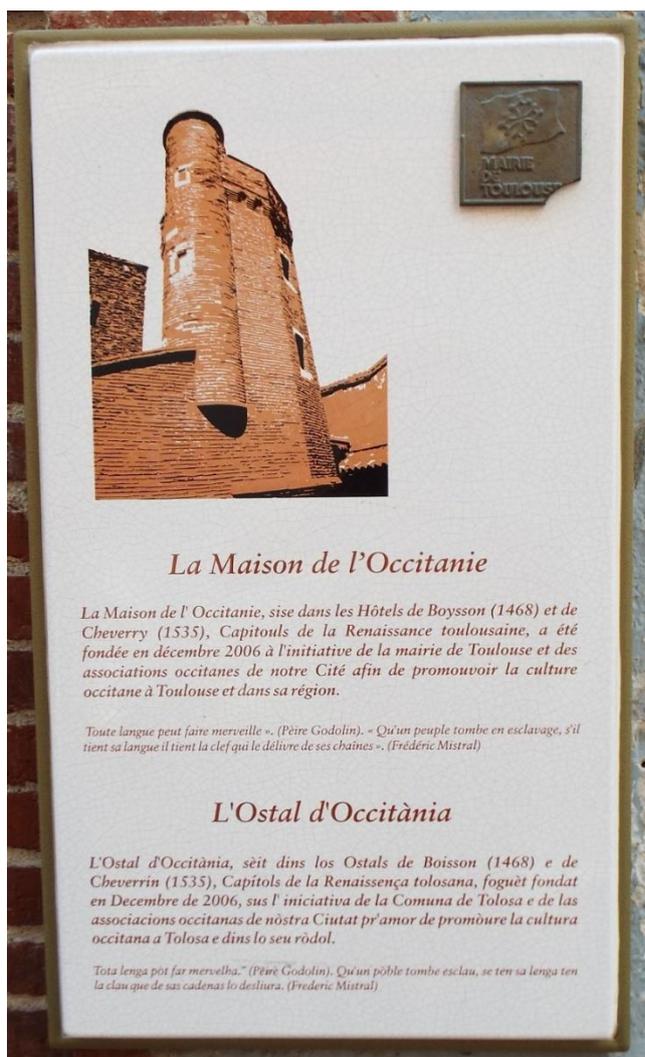
Otèl *Astoria-Vatican* — 93-95 Rue de la Grotte — 65100 Lorda —

Telefòn : 05 62 94 06 96 — <hotel@astoria.fr>

Otèl-restaurant *Saint-Avit* — 32 Rue de l'Égalité — 65100 Lorda —

Telefòn : 05 62 94 06 35 — <saint.avit@wanadoo.fr> 7-4-15





Whilst the majority of items discussed thus far contribute to the association of Occitan with the past, the signs in the *Ostal* indicate a more practical function of the RL. Of the 40 Occitan items recorded on the premises, ten were classified as home-printed.³⁵ As the examples in figure 4.13 illustrate, these signs were word-processed and printed onto ordinary paper, occasionally placed in protective poly-pockets. To borrow from Sáez Rivera & Castillo Lluch (2012: 316), such signs are a testament to the ‘real’ vitality of Occitan in a way that the depersonalized municipal signs are not. In other words, and as Cook (2015) also argues, the amateur materiality of these signs indicates a tangible ‘community’ of users, within which

³⁵ Most of these items were found within the central courtyard of the hostel and were not visible from the Rue des Changes. As such, they were not included in the original street survey, but are discussed here. The methodological implications of this are debated further in chapter 10.

Occitan plays a central role. Undoubtedly, this is the intention of the *Ostal* and those who are active in promoting its aims. This contrasts with the Occitan signs elsewhere in the LL, particularly the street signs and historical plaques in Toulouse, which indicate that official support for the RL is not reciprocated to the same degree in the private sector. The *Ostal*, however, presents an Occitan space which privileges the RL as much in its permanent signage of place-naming and heritage as in its political slogans, events advertisements, and directions to the toilets. This can be seen in the opening information provided in the central reception and on the door of the *Tuta d'Òc* book shop: although the timings *11h–14h* and *15h–19h* will be understood by French readers, the business days *del dimars al dissabte* ('from Tuesday to Saturday') are given only in Occitan (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.13. Occitan opening hours



This contrasts significantly with the other 370 opening hours items in the corpus, all of which appeared in French only, even when the establishments in which they were found used other languages in their signage. This reliance on French indicates that opening hours signs may be considered ‘sites of necessity’ (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). In other words, most authors consider it necessary to use French when communicating opening hours and times of their businesses. The *Ostal*s use of Occitan for describing its business days is therefore unique, though its opening hours are nevertheless provided in a French style (*h* standing for *heure* — ‘hour’; in Occitan, *o* (*òra*) might be more appropriate). The Occitan bilingual commemorative plaques and street names may be said, conversely, to constitute ‘sites of luxury’ (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). Whilst the RL is restricted to a sense of luxury elsewhere in the LL, therefore, the *Ostal* uses it to convey essential information as well.

4.4. Conspicuous Absence

Despite the examples discussed in the previous two sections, the statistical presence of Occitan is almost negligible within the LL at large. To reiterate the results of the empirical analysis, the RL was visible on only 1.2% (126 items) of the entire corpus of almost 11,000 items. Hence, although Occitan prevails in a number of specific contexts, the majority of categorization values feature French, occasionally alongside English and other languages. Indeed, there are a number of contexts which indicate potential for the inclusion of Occitan, but on which French nevertheless is the preferred code. This section discusses certain fields which may be linked in various ways to Occitan, but in which the RL is absent. As many of the examples demonstrate, the obvious exclusion of Occitan in these areas challenges the potency of the associations of the RL discussed in this chapter so far.

It is useful to remark at this stage on the multilingual composition of the cities. Although French unsurprisingly dominates the LL, its presence is not ubiquitous on every item. It appeared on 81.8% of the items and, given that Occitan was recorded on only 1.2%, it is clear that other languages play a more significant role than the RL. Proportionally, most of this gap is filled by English, which was visible on 1186 items (10.9%). Italian attested to marginally

more items than Occitan (147; 1.3%), Arabic was visible on 59 items (0.5%), and Spanish on 49 (0.4%). These data illustrate that the challenge to the dominance of the national language is mounted predominantly by English, whereas Occitan is restricted to the specific contexts discussed above, and is empirically less visible than Italian. It cannot therefore be argued that Occitan has a major impact on the linguistic composition of the LL beyond French. This is particularly prevalent on items which are conspicuously or deliberately multilingual, but from which the RL is absent.

Figure 4.15. *Esprit Client* sign.³⁶



Figure 4.15 is a reproduction of a sign recorded in several doors and windows of shops throughout Marseille (13 items — cf. figure 4.1). Copies of the sign were distributed by the Marseille-Provence Chamber of Commerce, as part of its *Esprit Client* ('Customer Spirit') initiative launched during the preparations for Marseille's European Capital of Culture celebrations in 2013 (Ville de Marseille, 2013). The aim of *Esprit Client* was to encourage

³⁶ Image reproduced from www.ccimp.com/esprit-client

businesses to improve customer service by, amongst other things, ‘speaking some basic English and other languages’ (*ibid.*). The choice of languages on the signs suggest that ‘other languages’ is intended to include Spanish, Dutch, Italian, Swedish, Russian, German, Portuguese, and Chinese; but not Occitan. With the exception of Swedish, Portuguese, and Chinese, the other languages featured on the flyer were all visible in the LL. However, whilst Occitan items outnumbered all of these languages except for Italian, *Esprit Client* evidently omits the RL from its definition of ‘other’ languages. This is arguably unsurprising in a sign which is designed to signal an international outlook and to attract international attention; however similar choices on signs elsewhere in the LL suggest that Occitan is no more a concern of non-official actors who wish to write multilingually.

Figure 4.16. Multilingual blackboard (reproduced from figure 4.1)



The hand-written blackboard sign exemplified in figure 4.16 was photographed on the wall of *La Boule Bleue* (‘the Blue Ball’) shop on the Rue du Panier in Marseille. Located at the end of the road in a small courtyard, the stylized, deep azure façade stands out against more plain colours of the surrounding buildings.

Figure 4.17. Shop front of *La Boule Bleue*



The establishment description indicates that this ‘*Maison de la Boule*’ (‘Boules House’) deals in the recreational sports *Pétanque* and *Jeu Provençal*, with descriptions either side of the entrance indicating that it houses a museum, exhibition space, playing area, and shop selling souvenirs and gifts. The slogan next to the door reads *111 ans de la Boule Bleue comme les 111 quartiers de Marseille!!!* (‘111 years of *La Boule Bleue* like the 111 districts of Marseille!!!’). The blue and white colours of the façade and in the depiction of the city shield on the 111 years sign combine with the inscriptions *musée* (‘museum’) and *histoire* (‘history’) to indicate the self-identification of the establishment with local iconography and imagery, as well as the history of Marseille and Provence. The blackboard sign reading ‘Happy Easter’ in nine languages, alongside the French word *bienvenue* (‘welcome’) next to a depiction of a smiling face clearly signify the establishment’s desire to reach out to international readers, or at least to appear willing to do so. As well as with sport, the words *cadeaux* (‘gifts’) and *souvenirs* indicate an association with tourism. Given the local spatial connotations of the words *Marseille* and *Provençal*, it may be argued that potential tourists here are not only the international audiences targeted by *Esprit Client*, but also visitors from elsewhere in France, all of whom can be considered newcomers in a local context. It is significant, therefore, that

Occitan (including its Provençal variety) is absent from the façade. *La Boule Bleue* expresses itself multilingually, and defines itself in the context of local, rather than national history and culture; yet it does not include any reference to the RL.

Another area in which French prevails in a context of potential visibility for Occitan concerns the field of food and drink. 1991 items were recorded in this field, accounting for 18.2% of the corpus. Food and drink items were recorded alongside a large number of values in the other variables, appearing predominantly in independent restaurants (620 items) and cafés (304 items), on permanent signs (1198 items), fulfilling the functions of establishment names and descriptions (834 items) and information items such as menus and price lists (644 items). In terms of language distribution, beyond French which appeared on 1594 items (80.1%), English featured on 286 (14.4%), Italian on 100 (5%), and Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, German, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish were visible on a handful of items. Occitan was recorded on only two items (0.2%): the brand name *Croustidor* and the name of a bar *Le Gardian*.

Figure 4.18. *Croustidor* sign



Croustidor is a bakery brand managed by the *Gers Farine* group, based in the *Gers département* of the *Occitanie* region. The term is a blend of the French *croûte* and the Occitan *crosta* ('crust'), and the Occitan suffix *-idor* which roughly equates to the French *-eur* ('-ter'/'-tor' in English) signifying '(a/the) person who'. This example of creative translanguaging thus combines the essence of crust (with the accompanying representation of a wheat sheaf) with the idea that the product is made on-site by a specialist. This is further underlined by the French slogan above which reads: *je pétris, façonne et cuis votre pain dans mon fournil* ('I knead, shape and cook your bread in my oven' — cf. figure 4.18, right), indicating a deliberate strategy to associate the products on sale with ideas relating to legitimacy and authenticity (Heller, 2003; Pietikäinen, 2010; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011). To borrow Cook's (2013) terms, such an association relies on both the 'community' function conveyed through French, and the 'atmospheric' connotations of the brand name. In addition to its Occitan lexical elements, the *Croustidor* brand identifies with the RL in the references, on the adjacent sign, to the local and the region. Phrases such as *tout vient du Sud Ouest* ('everything comes from the South West'), *tous nos pains sont fabriqués chez nous, avec les meilleurs produits bien de chez nous* ('all our breads are made here [lit. our house, meaning where we are from], with the best products from here') thus combine to construct the assumption that *Croustidor* is at once artisanal, high-quality, authentic, local, and Occitan.

Figure 4.19. *Le Gardian* bar front



Le Gardian is a bar on the Rue Dugommier in Marseille, which presents itself as a place to eat, drink, and watch Marseille's widely supported football team, *Olympique de Marseille*, or *l'OM*. On both sides of the entrance, permanent signs list prices and hand-written notices inform customers that games can only be watched when food or drink has been purchased. Along with the establishment description — *salon de thé / café / crêperie* ('tea house | café | pancake house') — the LL of the bar is overwhelmingly French. Despite there being no obvious reference to local identity in the signage, however, the Occitan *Gardian* ('guardian', or 'goal-keeper' in a football context) is preferred to the French *Gardien*. Whilst this has been coded in the category of food and drink, it bears parallels with the associations between the RL and football in Corsica and elsewhere in France, discussed in chapter five (cf. also Blackwood & Tufi, 2015: 53–54 on Nice). It must also be considered, however, that this sign constitutes a typographical error or a reference to the accented speech associated with Marseille and the south east, in which nasalized vowels are more open than in Standard French (Fagyal, Nguyen, & Boula de Mareüil, 2002; Gasquet-Cyrus, 2013; Petitjean, 2008). The use of the standard French definite article *le*, rather than the Occitan *lo*, also hints that *Gardian* is associated with French, even if its spelling relates more closely to the RL.

Despite these fleeting references to the RL, there were significant absences of Occitan in a number of food and drink items which, remarkably from the perspective of linguistic vitality, make reference to regional products, associations, and ideas but choose to do so in French. Figure 4.20 illustrates one example of this. Written on the window of the *Boîte à Panisse* bakery on Grande-Rue in Marseille is a sign notifying passers-by that the local cheese variety *brousse* is for sale.³⁷ The sign indicates that this particular variety hails from Le Rove, a commune some 30km from the city. It is notable that the standard French *brousse* is used instead of the Occitan *brossa*, though this might be considered unsurprising given that the rest of the message is written in French.

³⁷ The plural form *brousses* is used here to imply that whole wheels of the cheese are available to take away, as the blackboard next to the door confirms.

Figure 4.20. *La Boite à Panisse* shop front



It is relevant to note that a number of sources indicate that *brossa* is commonly loaned into French (see, for example, Aymavilles, 2016 and Etapes Gourmandes, 2016). The presentation of the cheese as *brousse* therefore suggests a deliberate preference to use French over the borrowing *brossa*, by which process Occitan is omitted. This omission is upheld less forcibly in the establishment's name, however, which references the Provençal word *panisseria* ('bakery'). Similarly to the *Croustidor* discussion above, this highlights an intentional

association between the local language and local produce, again alongside references to high quality produce such as *fine* ('fine') and *dégustation* ('tasting/savouring').

The treatment of language on *brousse* contrasts with the inscription of *filetta*, a Corsican cheese on sale in a branch of the *Super U* supermarket further along the same road. The cheeses in the window display attest to the promise inscribed on the door (but not pictured here) that regional products can be found inside: the labels depict several varieties associated with different corners of France. Whilst a number of Italian cheeses (*Pecorino Romano*, *Grana Padano*, *Parmiggiano* [sic] *Reggiano*) are also present, most of the other names include the French identifiers *doux* ('sweet'), *tendre* ('soft'), *frais* ('fresh'), and *vieille* ('old'). *Filetta* presents an exception, since the noun-ending <-a> is not a feature of standard French.

It would be speculative to judge that this collection represents a deliberate omission of Occitan cheeses or Occitan cheese names. However, it is worth noting the contrast in language choices between *Super U*, a chain with hundreds of branches all over France, and the *Boite à Panisse*, a local artisanal grocery.

Figure 4.21. Regional cheese varieties



Whilst the former elects to present the Italian and Corsican cheeses in their original languages, the latter misses the opportunity to use a local name for a local product, despite sources indicating that *brossa* is established within the French culinary repertoire, and therefore might well be comprehensible to French readers.

The tendency to overlook Occitan in the presentation of local food and drink is not unique to cheese. The wine shop and tasting gallery *Les Domaines Qui Montent* on the Boulevard des Dames displays a number of signs relating to southern wine in general and the Occitan territory in particular, all of which are written in French.

Figure 4.22. *Les Domaines Qui Montent* shop front



There is a particular reference throughout the signage to the Languedoc area of the adjacent former region of Languedoc-Roussillon: *Le printemps du Languedoc-Roussillon* ('The springtime of Languedoc Roussillon'), *Découvrez ici nos vins AOC du Languedoc* ('Discover our AOC wines from the Languedoc here'), and *AOC du Languedoc, le nouveau monde des grands vins* ('Languedoc AOC, the new world of great wines') appear alongside the text *Sud de France* ('[The] South of France') and a stylized image of the emblematic Occitan cross. These elements construct a metalanguage (Barthes, 1957; Jaworski & Coupland, 2004) which express the territory's identity and its wines entirely in French. The appearance of the cross,

in particular, plainly visible on the large colourful posters in the shopfront window, serves to disassociate the RL from this discourse. Various stylings of the cross were recorded elsewhere in the LL, in a number of sites and contexts.

Figure 4.23. Occitan crosses in French language items







Whilst *Croustidor* maintains a visible linguistic attachment to Occitan, *Les Domaines Qui Montent*, *La Maison du Cassoulet*, and a number of pharmacies, shops, and the local newspaper *Voix du Midi* (Voice of the South) construct spaces of conspicuous Occitan absence by presenting a common discourse of localness in French alone. A number of cafés and restaurants in Toulouse also featured the trademark of local drink supplier *Café in Occitanie* ('café in Occitania' — not pictured here). The brand's red and black colour scheme is indicative of colours associated with Occitan in general and Toulouse in particular; it is more notable however that the non-French element of the item ('in') is not manifested in Occitan. It is not clear whether this is intended as English (*in* is also standard Italian, for example); however, given the explicit reference in this sign to *Occitanie*, the choice to diversify the message through another language demonstrates a significant diminishment of the RL.

A similar process is visible in signs which use regional French, rather than Occitan, to convey local ideas. The LL attests, in particular, to the visibility of the grapheme <ô>, in the replacement of the standard French word *au* ('at'/at the') and the word-final vowel <o>. This references a regional variety of French associated with the Occitan territory in which mid vowels are laxed in closed syllables, in other words where /o/ is expressed as /ɔ/ (Durand & Lyche, 2004; Mooney, 2016; Nguyen & Fagyal, 2008).

Figure 4.24. *VélôToulouse* station



Figure 4.24 represents one of the 253 *VélôToulouse* stations dotted around Toulouse and the surrounding area. Publicly financed and managed by the international company *Cyclocity* in conjunction with the municipality, *VélôToulouse* is a bicycle rental network which allows users to borrow from and return bicycles to any station independently. The red and yellow *VélôToulouse* logo, often accompanied with the municipal trademark *Mairie de Toulouse* and the Occitan flag, is therefore ubiquitous throughout the city, visible not only on the stations, kiosks, and pay-points, but as mobile signs on the bicycles themselves, transported around the city over 20 million times since the system's inauguration in 2007 (*VélôToulouse*, 2014). *Vélô* ('bike') is a stylized adaptation of the standard French word *Vélo*, where a circumflex has been added to the final <o>. This serves both to emphasize the final vowel phoneme within the spoken form of the word, and to create a visual link with the word *Toulouse* through the white colour, emboldening, and italicization. The result is a modified French form which indicates

a process of deliberate branding and desired association with a variety of spoken French associated with the city and the wider region. This cannot be described as a wholly Occitan construction however, despite the phonetic similarity of <ô> with the RL. In fact, if Occitan were the intended code, the terms *bici* or *velò* would be more appropriate.³⁸ Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that *VélôToulouse* demonstrates the extent to which the RL is overlooked by *Cyclocity* and the municipality, who opt to express local linguistic identity in regional French rather than in Occitan.

This practice is also visible on signs erected by independent actors. This is mostly as a direct replacement for the French word *au*, common in many names of cafés, bars, and restaurants in France. Examples of this are *Ô Boudu Pont*, *Ô Délices d'Emilie*, *Ô Bon Coin*, and *Ô Monaco*. The LL also testifies to the use of <ô> in a variety of creative ways: as a regional stylization of the French phoneme /o/ in the bar name *L'Apérô* ('The Aperitif'); alongside English in *Ô Chicken Grill*, or as a proxy for the genitive article *du* in *Lisle ô Pizzas* ('Pizza Island').

Figure 4.25. Use of the <ô> grapheme in independent establishments



³⁸ The online *Lo Congrès* dictionary cites *bici* and *velò* as the most common Occitan terms for bicycle. It therefore appears that *Vélô* is an original creation designed as a brand name of this particular product.





Ô Boudu Pont, in addition to replacing *au* with *Ô*, references the celebrated south-western phrase *bouducon*, which is commonly considered a combination of the Occitan expression *bon Diu* ('good God') and the French expletive *con* ('bloody idiot', or something more vulgar; cf. Pustka, 2011). Avoiding the impropriety of *con*, the bar opts for the half-rhyme *pont*, in reference to the nearby Pont Neuf bridge which spans the Garonne river.

Scholars have commentated since the 1960s (cf. Blackwood & Tufi, 2015: 3 and Raffaelli, 1983: 19 for detailed overviews) on the incorporation of dialectal elements into shop signs and the impact of this on perceptions of local authenticity. However, as with *VélôToulouse*, the argument that <ô> in these signs constitutes Occitan or renders the establishment names multilingual is unconvincing. Whilst these are undoubtedly markers of a local linguistic identity which is promulgated by both official and non-official actors, the overall impression is that these signs illustrate modified, regional French, rather than explicit forms of Occitan.

This is not only because <ô> is not a recognised form either in the Provençal or Langue d’Oc norms, but also because it appears as a phonetic proxy for standard French words and phonemes, embedded within otherwise-French constructions. It can be confidently argued therefore that the intention is not to imply Occitan, but to scribe an accented variety of French which differs visually from the standard.

Whilst these signs suggest that the RL is widely overlooked in discourses relating to local identity, the brand name *VentilO* provides an exception.

Figure 4.26. *VentilO* logo.³⁹



VentilO is a free bi-monthly cultural magazine circulated by the Marseille-based publisher *Aspiro*. The magazine is distributed throughout the Bouches-du-Rhône *département*, covering news and events relating to music, theatre, comedy, cinema, exhibitions, public festivals, and street art.⁴⁰ Unlike the signs discussed above, there is a suggestion that the stylized <O> at the end of the word is not a substitute for the standard French *au* or <o>, but replaces the infinitive ending of the verb *ventiler* (*ventilar* in Occitan). Indicating ‘to aerate’, ‘to uncover’, or ‘to expose to the wind’, the epenthesis –O (capitalized and emboldened for visual impact) also indicates the inclusion of the idea ‘yes’ (Occitan *òc* — /ɔ/). This conveys a sense

³⁹ Image reproduced from www.journalventilo.fr

⁴⁰ More information is available on the organization’s website (www.journalventilo.fr).

of positivity, which combines with the *ventil-* root to construct *VentilO* as a successful and important news service with a distinctly regional identity. Whilst this case indicates a creative translingual use of the RL, it must also be noted that the meaning of *ventil-* is as accessible in French as it is in Occitan. It cannot, therefore, be argued that the term is exclusively Occitan; indeed, it seems likely that the brand name exploits the coincidence that the root form is written identically in both languages. Nevertheless, the addition of -O encourages associations to be drawn between the company and the RL, and lends a distinctly regional character to the brand name.

4.5. Conclusions

The fundamental finding of the Occitan corpus is that the RL is empirically minorized in the LL of Toulouse and Marseille. The Marseille sub-corpus, in particular, provides statistical evidence to support Gasquet-Cyrus' (2004, 2013) claims that the paradoxical relationship between Occitan and Marseille is such that the city is 'the least Provençal town in Provence'. In the LL, this is indicated by the fact that Occitan makes only a minor contribution to the multilingual character of the city. The LL suggests, moreover, that there are few engaged participants in Marseille. Both the *Ostau dau pais marselhés* ('House of the Marseillais Country') on the Rue de l'Olivier and a permanent exhibition in the tourist office on La Canebière are working to increase the symbolic visibility of the RL, but neither place was included in street survey. This shows on the one hand the restrictive nature of selecting data that can be realistically managed by one researcher; on the other it highlights the infrequent visibility of the language since it has not been revealed by the sampling method. A similar conclusion was reached in Blackwood & Tufi's (2012) investigations in Marseille, which found no Occitan signs in the initial survey area and had to rely on existing (or specifically researched) knowledge to locate signs for the discussion (cf. also Blackwood, 2015; Blackwood & Tufi, 2015). Of all the data discussed here, this is perhaps the most concrete indication of the language's negligibility in the LL at large. Nevertheless, there are interesting aspects of RL use in other spaces to which the LL occasionally points. The URLs on the stickers supporting the *Libertat!* and the *Òc Per l'Occitan* campaigns, for instance, direct the reader towards online portals where the use of and support for the RL is easily visible; it is also interesting to note

that the entry for *Ostau dau pais marselhés* on the popular encyclopaedia website *Wikipedia* is available only in Occitan and not in French.⁴¹

There seems, therefore, to be an undercurrent of Occitan support in Marseille, yet one that is not visible within the mainstream of the LL. Despite the widespread visibility of the Occitan cross in the city's emblem on street signs, commemoration plaques, and a variety of items authored by the municipal authority, French is overwhelmingly the preferred code of communication. Whilst the emblem also appears on the *..?Prouvènço!..* sign at the intersection of the Rue de la République and the Boulevard des Dames, its use elsewhere alongside French indicates an appropriation of local history into the national language, now the preferred code of the municipality. These findings support Kremnitz's (2001: 22) claim that assuming the existence of Occitan 'requires an *a priori* ideological stance'. On the one hand, this raises questions about the capabilities of the LL to uncover aspects of the reality in an accurate way; on the other, it indicates that the 'reality' of some of the RL's activists is not in line with the situation in the communal space, in which the majority of stakeholders have no interest in using the RL.

In Toulouse, the data indicate a stronger presence of Occitan, and its distribution in a number of contexts (street signs, memorial plaques, and in the fields of education, food and drink, and language activism) also contrasts with the situation in Marseille. This is particularly visible in terms of language activism in the premises of *Macarel* and the *Ostal d'Occitania*, which demonstrate significant use of Occitan in the LL. Indeed, 74.7% of the items in these two places contained the RL, on signs of different materiality and dealing with a range of subjects and issues. In addition, the many street signs (discussed in detail in chapter six) and commemorative plaques erected by the municipality across the city centre testify to the significant official interest in sustaining the visibility of the language in the public space.

Whilst the use of <ô> indicates an interest in conveying a sense of local linguistic identity, it is difficult to argue that this equates to Occitan. However, it does suggest that there is considerable and widespread interest in identifying with a local, rather than national identity. This is shared not only by various independent cafés, bars, shops, and takeaways, but also by

⁴¹ https://oc.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ostau_dau_Pa%C3%ADs_Marselh%C3%A9s

the municipal authority through the *VélôToulouse* initiative. In much of this signage, <ô> appears as a replacement for the standard French *au*. However, the emphasised <O> in the name of the Marseille-based publication *VentilO* hints at no obvious French construction. It is arguable therefore that this example translanguages elements of both Occitan and French, in line with the local identity upheld in the paper's coverage and distribution.

Throughout the Toulouse/Marseille corpus, it is also relevant that there are many areas in which the RL is conspicuous by its absence. This is not only in terms of the LL at large, but particularly in some of the places which might carry an expectation for Occitan but are nevertheless dominated by French. Particular examples are provided by the municipal *Esprit Client* signs, the independent shop *La Boule Bleue*, and the widespread appropriation of the Occitan cross. Whilst inscriptions like *Croustidor* draw on pre-existing associations between local food, nature, and tradition, the absence of Occitan in *La Boule Bleue* is typical of tourist and souvenir shops throughout the cities. Of the 36 items in the ten shops selling souvenirs, only 1 contained Occitan (*Violeta de Tolosa* ('Toulouse Violet'), visible at the right edge of figure 4.12). Whilst Occitan is undoubtedly minorized in this context, the above-average presence of English (38.9% compared with 10.9% across the corpus at large) indicates the importance placed in English in the tourism field. This trend, widespread amongst independent shop owners, is mirrored in the *Esprit Client* campaign pursued by the municipality in 2013, which chose to mention explicitly only English in its guidelines, and to indicate the presence of nine languages but not Occitan in the LL.

In conclusion, the Toulouse and Marseille surveys illustrate the general paucity of Occitan in the LL, whilst simultaneously identifying several niches in which the RL is visible and prevalent. The following chapter presents an analysis of the Ajaccio and Bastia surveys, with which the findings discussed in this chapter will be compared.

Chapter Five

Street Surveys: Corsican

5.1. The Empirical Data

The street surveys recorded a total of 5638 items in Ajaccio and Bastia. 4339 (77%) featured French, whilst Corsican was visible on 768 items (13.6%). 13 additional named languages were recorded and coded where necessary via machine language recognition: Basque, Chinese, Dutch, English, Finish, German, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish. Table 5.1 details the distribution of French and Corsican in the LL.

Table 5.1. Distribution of French and Corsican items

	# Items	# French	# Corsican	% French	% Corsican
Ajaccio	2600	1994	416	76.7	16
Bastia	3038	2345	353	77.2	11.6
Total	5638	4339	769	77	13.6

The most obvious point of comparison between the two RLs is that Corsican is significantly more salient in Ajaccio and Bastia (13.6%) than Occitan is in Toulouse and Marseille (1.2%). These figures represent a clear proportional difference between the RLs in their respective cities, though it is also significant that the Corsican items were recorded in a dataset of half the size: whilst 126 Occitan items were counted amongst 10926 items, Corsican attested over six times that number on only 5638 items.⁴² The data inform a number of general findings: first, that Corsican is more visible in Ajaccio (416 items; 16%) than in Bastia (352 items; 11.6%); second, that French is proportionally less salient in Corsica (77%) than in the Occitan territory

⁴² The Corsican total figure is comparatively low due to the different sizes of the Ajaccio/Bastia and Toulouse/Marseille survey areas. Although 4km were surveyed in each of the cities, the density of items decreased more rapidly in Corsica outside the smaller number of central streets. Chapter eight offers some reflections on the implications of this for survey area selection and analysis.

(83.1%); and third, that French and the respective RL account for a higher proportion of items in Corsica (90.6%) than in the Occitan territory (84.3%).

In order to examine these observations in more depth, chart 5.1 illustrates the four most common values for monolingual and multilingual items in each of the six variables.

Chart 5.1. Most frequent Corsican values by variable⁴³

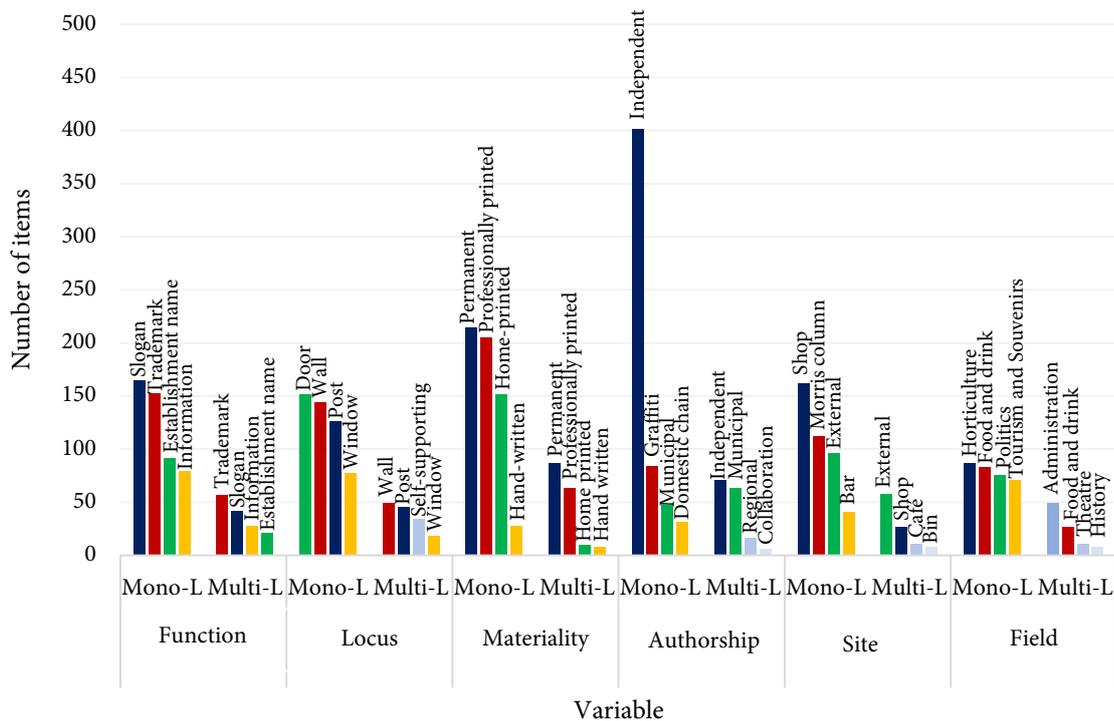


Chart 5.1 highlights a number of trends in Corsican visibility as well as some interesting comparisons with the Occitan data discussed in chapter four.⁴⁴ The first concerns the numerical discrepancy between mono- and multilingual items across the variables. Whilst Occitan was recorded predominantly on multilingual items (68.7%; 90 items compared with 41 monolingual items), the presentation of Corsican in the LL is overwhelmingly monolingual.

⁴³ A full numerical breakdown of the data is provided in Appendix VI.

⁴⁴ Chart 5.1 depicts the data in the same way as Chart 4.1 in chapter four.

601 of the 769 items (78.1%) are written in Corsican only, whereas only 168 (21.8%) include another language alongside the RL.

A second interesting aspect of the Corsican corpus concerns authorship in terms of official and non-official agency. In his study of Ajaccio, Blackwood (2014) concluded that since the RL is visible in many of the street names (and thus on many of the streets) in the city, the extent to which Corsican appears in the island's public space can be overestimated. A similar view may be taken of the Occitan data collected for this thesis, where street signs are overwhelmingly the most common carrier of the RL, and represent a consistent source of Occitan visibility. The data collected in Corsica, however, report that street signs in Ajaccio and Bastia account for only nine items. This means not only that the RL is a rare sight on street signs generally, but also that the street signs that do feature Corsican account for an almost negligible proportion (1.2%) of the Corsican items in the LL. The argument that RLs in France experience a level of municipal support that is generally not reciprocated by private sector actors has been commented on elsewhere (Blackwood, 2011; Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Bogatto & Hélot, 2010; Hornsby, 2008). The data collected for this thesis, however, suggest the contrary. As chart 5.1 illustrates, private actors are responsible for the majority (601 items; 78.2%) of Corsican visible in the public space.

A third point of note is the sheer diversity of situations in which Corsican is visible (cf. Appendix VI). This is not only in terms of authorship, but also in terms of field, site, and function, all of which are more varied than in the Occitan corpus. This might be expected of a larger number of items, though it is useful nonetheless to emphasize the multiplicity of Corsican in the LL. In comparison to Occitan's appearance in a select number of contexts, Corsican appears in more varied situations, attesting dozens of values in most of the variables. Although the appearance of Corsican is generally more evenly distributed across the variables than Occitan, a number of statistical relevancies stand out. Concerning function, the data indicate that Corsican is most commonly visible as monolingual slogans and trademarks (318 items; 41.4%). A second group is composed of monolingual establishment names, information, and event advertisements (240 items; 31.2%), and the rest of the items are shared relatively evenly amongst multilingual trademarks, slogans, information items, and establishment names, and monolingual objects. A similar breakdown is visible in terms of loci,

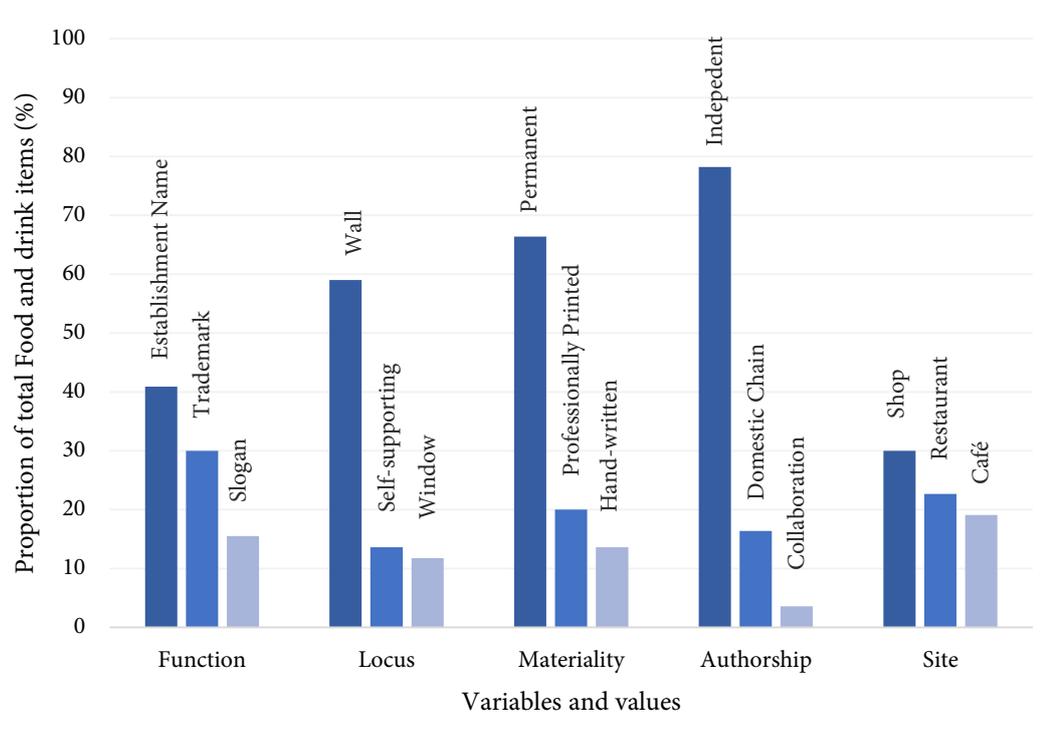
where doors, walls, and posts account for the majority of monolingual items (422 items; 54.9%), alongside a relatively even distribution of multilingual items amongst walls, posts, and self-supporting signs (129 items; 16.8%). The data also indicate that Corsican most frequently appears on permanent (302 items; 39.3%) and professionally printed (268 items; 34.9%) signs, though a significant number of home-printed monolingual items was also recorded (152; 19.8%). As mentioned above, the authorship of Corsican is dominated by independent actors (472 items; 61.4%), since the municipal authorities in the cities account for only 65 items (8.5%). These top-down items are outnumbered by graffiti (92 items; 12%), of which all but four items are monolingual. In terms of site, Corsican was predominantly recorded in shops (189 items; 24.6%), the external site (154; 20%), and — due to a vast number of items advertising a flower show — on posters attached to advertising Morris columns (115 items; 15% — cf. section 5.4). Beyond these, the RL is distributed relatively evenly across 38 sites (of which nine contained at least ten items) 44 fields. The site and field variables, in particular, illustrate the breadth of Corsican’s coverage compared with Occitan, for which only 13 and 19 values were recorded respectively. In order to explore these findings in more detail, the following sections will discuss the situations and contexts most associated with Corsican as illustrated by the data.

5.2. Food and Drink

The most common value in the field variable is ‘food and drink’, in which 110 Corsican items were recorded (14.3%). The most frequent values associated with this field are illustrated in chart 5.2. The data indicate several statistical relevancies in the food and drink sub-corpus. The variable with the highest proportional variation was authorship, in which 86 items (78.1%) were coded as independent. This contrasts slightly with the distribution of Corsican throughout its other 43 fields, in which independent items were proportionally fewer (61.4%). As the site column indicates, the independent food and drink items were visible predominantly in shops (27 items; 31.4%), restaurants (22; 25.6%), and cafés (19; 22.1%), with a handful also recorded in two bars, a takeaway, a grocery, a sign in the external site pointing towards a butcher’s shop, and in the butcher’s shop itself. In terms of trends across the other

variables, independent food and drink items appeared mainly as permanent items (58 items; 67.4%), recorded on walls (54; 62.8%) and as establishment names (45; 52.3%).

Chart 5.2. Three most frequent values in the Corsican food and drink field⁴⁵



A particularly noteworthy feature of the Corsican food and drink field is the proportion of hand-written items. Although only 36 hand-written items were recorded across the 44 fields in the corpus at large (4.7%), almost half of these (15 items; 13.6%) were food and drink items. That these were written in Corsican is also statistically significant in terms of the broader LL, since they make up almost a fifth (18.8%) of the 80 hand-written food and drink items in the whole Ajaccio-Bastia dataset. Hand-written materiality and the food and drink field thus represent co-dependent values which are statistically characteristic of Corsican but not of Occitan. Further comparisons between the RLs are made in chapter eight; the rest of this section will examine the visibility of Corsican in the food and drink field in more detail.

⁴⁵ A full numerical breakdown is provided in Appendix VII.

5.2.1. Establishment Names and Descriptions

The most common function of Corsican food and drink items is to serve as establishment names for a variety of bars, cafés, restaurants, takeaways, groceries, and food shops. Examples in Ajaccio include *A Piazzetta* ('The Little Square'), *Masseria* ('Small Farm Holding'); *A Conca d'Oru* ('The Golden Vat'), *U Palazzu* ('The Palace'), *Dall'A Pizza* ('[Place] of The Pizza'), *Casa Corsa* ('Corsica House'), and *L'Aiuccinu* ('The Ajaccien' or 'The One from Ajaccio'); in Bastia the RL was visible in names such as *L'Olivella* ('The Privet'), *Noi* ('Us'), *A Stonda* ('The Moment'), and *A Buttega* ('The [Artisanal] Delicatessen').

Figure 5.1. Corsican establishment names in the food and drink field





As these examples illustrate, an interesting dynamic of the multilingual relationship between French and Corsican is played out between the establishment names and descriptions. Whilst a number of establishments display Corsican names, only *A Stonda* featured the RL in the establishment description as well (*caffè* — ‘café’). The majority display Corsican names alongside French descriptions such as *café*, *bar*, *restaurant*, *brasserie*, or *crêperie*, for example *A Buttega*, whose description reads in French *fruits & legumes | alimentation | produits traditionnels Corses* (‘fruits and vegetables | groceries | traditional Corsican produce’ — cf. figure 5.1). Other examples include *A Conca d’Oru*, described in French as *brasserie* (‘brewery/bar’) and *l’Olivella*, for which the French establishment description *crêperie* (‘pancake house’) is given. Whilst these signs differentiate the Corsican name from the French descriptions through the size, colour, and positioning of the texts, *A Stonda* and *Masseria* position the descriptions ahead of the name and in the same size and typeface.⁴⁶ Across all 44 fields, the data report that just over ten per cent of establishment names feature Corsican (113 items), whilst only four establishment descriptions contain the RL (0.6%). However, the norm is for French to appear in both functions, as 64.1% (675 items) of establishment names and 96.7% (636 items) of establishment descriptions feature the official language. Empirically, the four instances of *caffè*, *CHRS Sperenza* (‘Social rehabilitation centre’) and *cusgitura | ritocca* (‘haberdashery | adjustments’ — cf. figure 5.2) are therefore relatively negligible; however at least within the immediate spaces in which they are visible, they serve to highlight an unusual and remarkable use of the RL in this specific context of the LL.

⁴⁶ It might be argued that, in these two examples, the words *caffè* and *bar* are incorporated into the names and thus the names should be coded as multilingual. However, the data indicate that these two terms in particular are common accompaniments to unique establishment names, and since they serve to associate otherwise unrelated terms to the role of the establishments, they have been consistently coded as separate establishment descriptions.

Figure 5.2. Corsican establishment names



Beyond establishment names and descriptions, the RL was recorded in a variety of other contexts relating to food and drink. Examples include the names of the cheeses *Sulana*, *Ninu*, and *Fiumorbu* on sale in the Corsican produce shop *Noi* on Boulevard Paoli in Bastia. On Avenue Sebastiani, the *Leoncini* bakery offers local speciality pastries such as *fiadones*, *castagnus*, and *canistrelli*. The international supermarket chain Spar also uses the RL in the slogan *Core Cità* ('heart of the city') displayed outside its branch on the Cours Grandval in Ajaccio (cf. figure 5.3). Alongside the French *Proche de vous* ('close to you'), the signs depict a sense of localness and intimacy which is reinforced by the appearance of Corsican, indicating that the language, as well as the supermarket and its produce, are at the heart of Ajaccio. This particular example demonstrates not only an association between food and drink and the RL, but also between a multinational company and the local community.

Figure 5.3. Corsican food and drink signs



5.2.2. Local Brands and Products

The most prominent expression of Corsican in the food and drink field, however, is provided by the brand of Corsican beer *Pietra*, whose logo commonly appears on walls, windows, and doors of bars, cafés, and restaurants, as well as in advertising spaces (billboards, bus stops, etc.) all over the island. Based in Bastia, *Pietra* is Corsica's largest brewer, supplying the majority of bars, cafés, and restaurants in Bastia, Ajaccio, and elsewhere on the island. In addition to a variety of alcoholic and soft drinks, *Pietra* distributes marketing materials in the form of parasols, posters, ash trays, and other paraphernalia to its distributors on the island. Its

flagship product is the chestnut beer marketed simply as *Pietra*, whose logo incorporates the Corsican slogan *Biera Corsa* ('Corsican Beer').

In terms of spatial distribution, *Pietra* was found to be one of the most prominent displayers of Corsican, responsible for 17 items recorded in four bars, a café, a restaurant, and a shop. In a number of studies conducted across several years, Blackwood (2011; cf. also Blackwood & Tufi, 2012, 2015) reports that *Pietra* items significantly boost the presence of Corsican on the island, claiming that the company is responsible for over 20% of monolingual RL items and 5% of multilingual ones. The 17 *Pietra* items recorded in this study account for a smaller proportion of the Corsican corpus (2.5% of the monolingual items and 1.2% of the multilingual items): it is possible that this results from methodological differences in terms of survey area selection and item coding, however given the significance of the discrepancy, it is likely that the more recent data reflects an expansion of the RL into new spaces since the previous studies were carried out.⁴⁷ Whilst studies elsewhere have yet to report on the use of RLs in commercial branding in France to the extent of *Pietra*'s use of Corsican, the indications from the data collected for this thesis are that the practice of using the RL in product branding is significantly more established on Corsica than in the Occitan territory.

The *Pietra* signs convey ideas associated with Corsican both through the slogan *Biera Corsa* and the stylized image of the island, overlaid with traditional red-roofed buildings clustered together on a steep hillside. At the top of many of the logos, the word *Brasserie* appears in French, indicating that *Brasserie Pietra* may be considered a primarily French construction, at least in terms of its description. However, as Blackwood and Tufi (2015: 142) discuss, several of the signs reconfigure the logo to appear without the French *Brasserie* at the top of the sign, which is replaced by *Biera Corsa* (cf. the top right image in figure 5.4).

However, though Blackwood and Tufi (*ibid.*) argue that this indicates a significant shift in the hierarchical presentation of the languages, the introduction of another French term, *Bière Ambrée* ('Amber Beer') underneath the image suggests that the authors of the text are not intent on erasing the national language completely. The brewery's website confirms this,

⁴⁷ Chapter eight considers the temporal factors of language visibility in more detail.

where the logos for its seven beers and two fizzy soft drinks, marketed under various names, are consistent in the use of both languages.

Figure 5.4. *Pietra* logos on various merchandising materials⁴⁸



The brewery tends to prefer Corsican to French in the names of its products: *Corsica Cola*, *Limunata*, *Serena*, *Pietra Bionda* and *Pietra Rossa* appear in Corsican, whilst only *Colomba Rosée* and *Pietra de Noël* use French. The descriptions and slogans, however, are almost

⁴⁸ The lower right image is a reproduction of the sign in the lower left image, retrieved from <http://www.brasseriepietra.corsica/>.

unanimously produced in French, with the exception of *Biera Corsa*. Examples of these include *Bière Blonde* ('blonde beer'), *Bière Rouge* ('red beer'), *Pur Malt* ('pure malt'), and *Bière Blanche de Corse* ('Corsican White Beer').⁴⁹ A particularly interesting development during the fieldwork for this project was the launch of the brewery's newest product, *Pietra Rossa* ('Red Pietra'), for which only one advertisement was recorded, in the window of the *Simpl' & Chic* café on the Boulevard de Gaulle in Bastia (figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5. *Pietra Rossa* poster⁵⁰



The poster advertises the launch of a new variety of *Pietra*, introduced by the French slogan at the top of the image as *Pietra, La Rouge* ('*Pietra*, the Red One'). The labels on the bottles and glasses associated with this variety illustrate the preference for the Corsican *rossa* on the main logo, although the French *Bière Rouge* is included at the bottom of the label. Unlike the logos in figure 5.4, however, both halves of the *Pietra Rossa* circular ribbon design appear in

⁴⁹ Detailed information on *Pietra* products is available at <http://www.brasseriepietra.corsica/fr/>.

⁵⁰ The right image is a reproduction of the poster photographed in the left image, retrieved from <http://www.vogliadifranzia.it/2015/06/16/corsica-storia-damore-e-di-birra/pietra-rossa/>.

Corsican, whilst French is accorded a minor position underneath the logo and in a smaller typeface. Since the brewery is inconsistent in its management of the two languages across its range of products, it cannot be assumed that the *Rossa* campaign indicates a definitive change of policy; however it is clear that, particularly as more *Rossa* posters become distributed throughout the LL, *Pietra* plays a significant role in maintaining Corsican visibility in the LL in general, and in the food and drink field in particular.

Another brand which impacts on Corsican's association with food and drink is *Les Charcuteries de Corse* ('Cooked Meats of Corsica', hereafter LCC). Though the brand name appears consistently in French, a number of LLC posters and stickers include the names of products in Corsican as well as the national language.

Figure 5.6. LCC poster



Figure 5.6 depicts one such example, where the products *Prisuttu*, *Coppa di Corsica*, and *Lonzu* appear in Corsican, with translations into French underneath. Below the product names is a stylized picture of the island of Corsica alongside the text *Corsica*, which appears

in the RL and not as the French *Corse*.⁵¹ On the left, super-imposed onto a picture of succulent-looking cured meat, is the French slogan *authenticité !*. It is reasonable to argue that the intention is to associate the product (and in doing so the LCC brand) with legitimacy and authenticity which, alongside the image of the island and the word *Corsica*, merges with a sense of a local, island identity. This echoes recent discussions about the indexical properties of food texts, which have been described as archetypal markers of identity commodification in cities (Jordan & Collins, 2012; Shaw & Bagwell, 2012; Zukin, 1992, 1998).

The use of Corsican on the LCC sign exemplifies both of Spolsky and Cooper's (1991: 84) third sign rule ('write in a language with which you wish to be identified') and the commodification of the RL within the local economy (Heller, Pujolar, & Duchêne, 2014; Leeman & Modan, 2009). However, whilst the text *Corsica* appears on the island sketch in Corsican, *authenticité !* in the main segment of the poster is written in French. Despite the intentional linking of the geographic space with the RL in the island image, therefore, the notion of authenticity in terms of the product is expressed in French alone. This bears similarities with the *Croustidor* items recorded in Toulouse, on which ideas of artisanal high quality and localness are conveyed in the official language and not the RL.

One interpretation of this is that Corsican (and Occitan on the *Croustidor* signs) is not considered as appropriate as French for these communications, which are of central importance to the advertising role of the sign. The same conclusion may be drawn of *Pietra's* advertising campaigns, where phrases such as *Pietra, La Rouge* indicate a preference for the majority language even where several other elements on the same signs appear in Corsican.

Returning to the LCC sign, the product names themselves offer a number of contributions to this discussion. On the one hand, the linguistic hierarchy is unclear as it is not resolved within Scollon and Scollon's (2003) code preference paradigm: French appears consistently above Corsican, yet the Corsican texts are larger. On the other hand, however, this size difference suggests that the lower texts serve as follow-up corrections, or at least clarifications, of the terms above. This strengthens the case for the terms to be classified as Corsican, supported also by the difference in the names themselves. *Prisuttu*, for instance, is expressed as *Jambon*

⁵¹ The multilingual relationship between *Corse* and *Corsica* is discussed further in section 5.2.

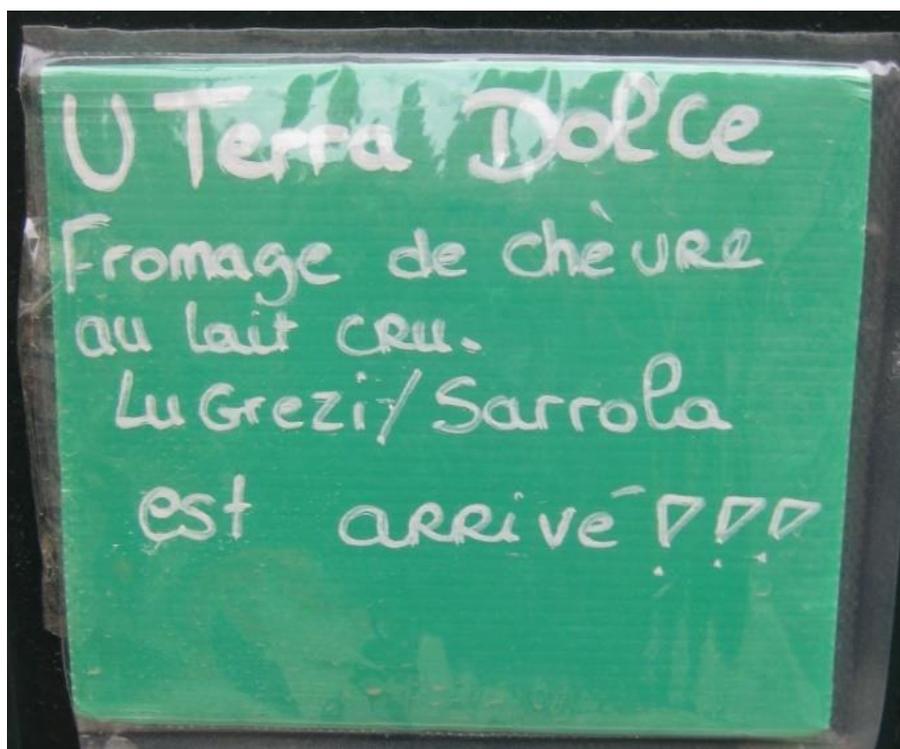
de Corse ('Corsican ham'). Whilst *Prisuttu* is a generic term for ham, *di Corsica* is not included in the RL, and thus the ham appears implicitly Corsican. The reverting to a generic description in French indeed suggests that the meaning is not pre-packaged in the national language, at least not within a single morpheme. *Prisuttu*, therefore, confirms not only the existence of the idea in Corsican, but also its exclusivity to the RL. The same interpretation can be made of the third product *Lonzu*, the French translation for which (*Lonzo de Corse*) includes both the geographic modifier and a gallicization of the noun ending to <o>. The second product, *Coppa*, is similarly unlikely to be interpreted by readers as French, despite the inclusion of *de Corse* | *di Corsica* in both languages. This is not only due to the italo-romance lexicographical appearance of the word (the noun-final <a> is not a normal feature of standard French), but also because of its identical presentation in the Corsican text below.

The notion that the lower texts constitute a more appropriate code for the products is reinforced by the image at the foot of the sign, which links them to the RL through the word *Corsica* and to the island itself through the picture. Along with the large-print Corsican texts, this sloganized image indexes the desirable qualities of localness, conveyed through marketing imagery but also through the RL, which constructs a verbal association with the ideas of tradition, quality, and authenticity. Blackwood and Tufi (2015: 142) posit that this process also depicts a sense of self-sufficiency, as the *authenticité* of the produce is anchored in the insularity of its market and Corsica's physical separation from the French mainland. It is interesting, therefore, that the LCC sign is explicit about the products with AOC (*Appellation d'origine contrôlée*; 'Controlled designation of origin') status. This not only confirms an established acknowledgement of their prestige, but also that Corsican quality has been recognized on a national scale. The inclusion of the AOC mark thus marries the ideas of local produce with national (and even international) appreciation, further underlining the legitimacy of the product's claims to quality and authenticity, and the projection of these values onto the RL.

Despite the visibility of Corsican in the names of products and establishments, French plays a major role on many of the signs and in many of the spaces in which these RL items were found. The cheese names and the *Core Cità Spar* sign displayed in figure 5.3, for instance, are surrounded by French texts, and French is the language of almost every other function in the

establishments in which they are found. Elsewhere, the cheese name *U Terra Dolce* betrays a non-standard use of the masculine article <u> with a feminine noun, and various establishment names written in the RL include French articles. The restaurant *A Conca d'Oru* (discussed at the beginning of this section), for example, is presented as *La Conca d'Oru* on the side of one of its awnings, but as *A Conca d'Oru* on other signs within and around the establishment. The same process is visible in the *La/A Vinoteca di u Mercà* wine bar and *La/A Villetta* bakery (cf. figure 5.7). The names themselves retain their Corsican lexical characteristics; however, whether deliberate or unintentional, the additions of the single letter 'L' hint at a process of Frenchification which undermines any claims to exclusivity that Corsican may have in the context of the establishment names. Such a reliance on French articles is suggestive of a lack of competence in Corsican, which has significant implications for the vitality of the RL as it is expressed in the LL. However, the use of Corsican in establishment names also indicates a significant desire among business owners and managers to engage with the language, unimpaired by ignorance of the accepted forms of definite articles.

Figure 5.7. Non-standard Corsican and French articles in Corsican texts





The impact of Corsican is also reduced by the appearance of other items alongside it on the same signs, which are often presented in French. Whilst the products in figure 5.8 display the Corsican and Corsican/French names *Oliu di Corsica* ('Oil of Corsica') and *Limoncellu Corse* ('Corsican Limoncello', a variety of lemon liqueur), the descriptive information written on the labels and the practical details about the companies which produce them are given in French. Similarly, the hand-written price tags indicate a preference for French in the shop's product labelling, as well as the modification of *Limoncellu* to the more established Italian borrowing *Limoncello*.⁵² On these hand-written signs and others like them, the implication is that, at the level of authorship closest to the consumer, the national language is preferred to Corsican. Nevertheless, the sheer volume of items which engage with the RL demonstrates its salience in the field of food and drink, where it is frequently used to engage with ideas of localness, authenticity, and quality, and commodified for the sake of the 'experience economy' (Jaworski, 2015; Pine & Gilmore, 1999).

⁵² Italian interference is discussed in more detail in section 5.3.

Figure 5.8. French alongside Corsican on product labels



5.3. Tourism

5.3.1. Souvenir Shops

The second most common field in which Corsican items were coded was ‘tourism and souvenirs’ (77 items; 10%). In particular, the LL testifies to the visibility of the RL on objects sold in souvenir shops. Appearing on t-shirts, keyrings, bags, fridge magnets, postcards, and other merchandise, Corsican permeates these shops and their displays. The objects are often not confined to the shop windows, but spill out onto the main thoroughfares, hanging from or propped up by rotating stands. The most common text on these items is the word *Corsica*, examples of which are visible in figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9. *Corsica* printed on objects sold in souvenir shops



From the perspective of language identification, the coding of these signs is not straightforward, since the lexeme *Corsica* is not unique to the RL. A number of European

standard languages express the name of the island in the same way, including English.⁵³ From a lexicographical perspective, therefore, *Corsica* is not uniquely Corsican. The tattoo parlour *Corsica Ink*, for example, displays several English items in addition to its name, such as the phrase ‘by Gerard Tattoo’ and an English ‘open’ sign in the door, the ensemble of which lends *Corsica* an English identity. This makes its coding across the dataset challenging, especially given its prominence in tourism contexts, the associations between English and which are well established (Heller, Pujolar, et al., 2014; Jaworski, 2010; Prachanant, 2012). Blackwood (2011) debates this precise issue, concluding that the coding of the term as Corsican is justified by its context in-place; in other words, its appearance on objects relating to the island sold within the island permits the assumption that they are Corsican (cf. also Tufi and Blackwood, 2010). The data discussed here provide further evidence to support this view, as many of the *Corsica* items display a variety of semiotic aggregates which reference ideas of Corsicanness, with the aim of presenting this to the tourist market. Many identify with the island itself, either with an outline of its coastline or a pictorial representation of mountains, roads, flora and fauna, and the names of cities and towns; others reference specific historical, cultural, or recreational activities associated with the island’s tourism industry, constructing links between the place and the language; a number also feature recipes for traditional Corsican dishes written on placemats and postcards. The frequency of Corsican associations with the *Corsica* lexeme challenges previous suggestions that the term can be considered English in a tourist context. However, this does not apply to *Corsica Ink*, whose peripheral signage indicates an intentional association with the Anglophone world. Here, *Corsica* may be interpreted as a creative piece of translanguaging, which fuses the English term with a sense of local identity. For the purposes of the empirical survey, therefore, all instances of *Corsica* were coded in the context of their field, and thus items such as those in figure 5.9 were categorized as Corsican.

A prominent agent of Corsican in the tourism field is the company *Le Trait d’Humour*, whose designs marketed under the trademark *Broutch!* were recorded on a number of aprons, fridge magnets, mouse mats, and other merchandise visible in and outside souvenir shops. According to the company’s website, the *Broutch!* brand represents a desire to ‘escape from the prescriptions of the old-fashioned postcard in order to make fun of everything’ (Le Trait

⁵³ Languages for which *Corsica* is the standard lexeme include Dutch, Georgian, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Latin, Romanian, Swedish, and Welsh; the term is also used in a number of African and Asian languages.

d'Humour, 2016). *Broutch!* designs specifically target Corsican identity discourse, though *Le Trait d'Humour* markets several series tackling a number of mainland and overseas regional stereotypes including Alsace, the Basque Country, Brittany, Burgundy, Normandy, the French Caribbean, and the island of Réunion in the Indian Ocean. It also targets practices and activities, such as *Montagne Hiver* ('Winter Mountain', mocking the ski season and winter sports), *Montagne Été* ('Summer Mountain', applying the same principle to the summer season), *Monde Paysan* ('The Countryside World', targeting agricultural and rural communities), and '*Naturistes*' ('Naturists'). It can be argued, therefore, that *Le Trait d'Humour* defines itself within the context of identity discourse.

However, only 24 of its current 311 designs (all of which are freely available on the company's website — cf. f.n. 54) contain RL texts. The majority (14) are found in the *Broutch!* range relating to Corsica, many of which were recorded in the LL. It is interesting to note that, whilst French remains the dominant language used by *Le Trait d'Humour* across its range of regional designs, Corsican is clearly an important medium through which to relay wordplay and jokes about the island. Moreover, several of the designs are adapted to apply to different regional stereotypes, yet tend to use French in contexts other than Corsican. One example is the 'happy birthday' design, which reads as *felice anniversariu* (Corsican) in *Broutch!*, and *Bon anniversaire!* (French) in the *Tipe Taupe* Burgundy series (cf. figure 5.10).

Figure 5.10. Comparison between 'happy birthday' signs⁵⁴



⁵⁴ Images in figures 5.10 and lower images in 5.11 reproduced from www.letraitdumour.fr/index.php.

Figure 5.11. Examples of *Broutch!* Designs



As the examples in figure 5.11 attest, not only do the *Broutch!* items indicate playful mockery of Corsican stereotypes and cultures, but also of French ones, where phrases such as

Reconnaître un Pinzutu ('how to recognise a mainlander') mock the national identity. The use, in this example and others, on Corsican to convey the pejorative *pinzutu* lends the design not only a sense of regional identity but also an implication of resistance and otherness, carried by the RL. Even though the meaning of *pinzutu* is inaccessible to non-Corsican readers, the pictorial representation of well-known national stereotypes and their accompanying texts in French hint heavily at its intended meaning which, significantly, allows it to be understood by French-speaking visitors to the island. This is further assured by the inclusion of *reconnaître* in French. Rather than presenting Corsican ideas, places, objects, or people that visitors may wish to take away from the island, therefore, this and other *Brouch!* designs subvert the normal role of the postcard and make the non-local the subject of its commentary. Hence, the idea that French people are obviously recognisable to locals and are the butt of the joke is presented from the perspective of the local, and the national culture is presented as the 'other'.

As the other examples in figure 5.11 suggest, a number of *Brouch!* designs reference the discourse of Corsican nationalism (discussed in detail in section 5.5). Alongside the phrase *felice anniversariu* is a birthday cake on which several cartoon-style bombs are resting, fuses burning. This represents violence both in an abstract way and in terms of its covert perpetration under the guise of congratulatory celebration. This plays on the notion of targeted assassination which is widely associated with Corsica, and links this phenomenon to the RL. The adjacent example depicts the practice of erasing place names on road signs, which may be considered (stereo)typical of RL activism (Gorter *et al.*, 2012; Puzey, 2012; Sloboda, 2009). Whilst the upper signs depict the erasure of the French place names *Ajaccio* and *Col de Vergio*, the bottom sign illustrates the reverse, where the French has been left untouched and the Corsican removed. The phrase *retour continent* serves both as an imperative ('go back to the continent') and a noun ('this way back to the continent'), and thus the indication is that the only sign available for non-Corsican French readers is one which results in their leaving the island.

The shop *Bianc' & Neru* constitutes another context in which the RL is visible within the tourism field. *Bianc' & Neru* has outlets in both Ajaccio (figure 5.9) and Bastia (figure 5.12), and contributes to Corsican visibility in the LL both in terms of its establishment name and the slogans *Cumerciu di rivendita ufficiale* ('official resale outlet') and *fattu in Corsica* ('made

in Corsica', replicated bilingually in figure 5.12 with English). *Bianc' & Neru* can be discussed in the context of tourism because, although the shopfronts do not exclude Corsican customers, the texts and designs adorning the bags, t-shirts, and other products in the displays suggest an engagement with international ideas and a non-French speaking market, and hence the intentional targeting of visitors to the island.

Figure 5.12. *Bianc' & Neru* Shopfront and multilingual items on products



The slogan on the webpages of the company's online shop and on some of its merchandise reads 'original T-shirt styled & printed in Corsica' in English only, confirming the interest in

exporting Corsican ideas beyond the island and beyond mainland France. This is further supported by the presence (e.g. lower image in figure 5.12) of the Corsican text *donna in viaghju* ('woman on holiday'), signifying travel from a point of Corsican origin. Similarly to some of the *Le Trait d'Humour* items, *Bianc'* & *Neru* thus demonstrates willing to communicate Corsican ideas through English. The general impression of the items in figure 5.12 is therefore that *Bianc'* & *Neru* aligns the RL more closely with English than with French, which is often omitted entirely. This can be understood within the context of the widespread associations of English with ideas linked to style, travel, and cosmopolitanism (Blommaert, 2010; Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Lee, 2006; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002). Although the handwritten price lists and tags in the window indicate a preference for French on the part of the employees, the company's use of English/Corsican bilingual signage thus constructs powerful associations between the RL and internationality, modernity, and fashion.

5.3.2. The Corsican Tourism Board and Multilingual Tourism Contexts

Beyond postcards and items visible in souvenir shops, the RL is also visible in the slogan for Corsica's regional tourism board, *Agence du Tourisme de la Corse* (hereafter ATC). The sign pictured in figure 5.13 features both the name of the tourism board and the black and white logo of the regional authority, *Collectivité Territoriale de Corse* (hereafter CTC). The ATC section of the design, presented with white text on a blue background, displays the acronym ATC above the French name *Agence du Tourisme de la Corse*, followed by the Corsican *Agenza di u Turismu di a Corsica*. The italicization of the Corsican name echoes the code preference on the CTC logo above, on which the RL text is greyed out. The appearance of the RL in the logos of both the regional administrative authority and its official tourism body illustrate the importance attached to the language at this level. Whilst the general code preference indicates the privileging of French, the acronym *ATC* applies to both languages. This not only demonstrates provision for Corsican, but challenges any suggestion of exclusivity to French. In addition, it indicates ATC's objective (shared with *Broutch!* and other authors that use the RL) to illustrate to tourists and visitors that *Corse* does not just represent a place, but 'also a history, a language, and an identity' (Agence du Tourisme de la Corse, 2016).

Figure 5.13. ATC logo



Despite the visibility of the RL in establishments associated with souvenirs, tourism, and visitors, the data indicate that other sites closely associated with tourism, namely bars, cafes, and restaurants, reported a significant lack of RL visibility. The RL was here overshadowed by a variety of European languages, the most prominent of which was Italian, which was visible in a number of establishment names and descriptions such as *Gelateria di Corsica* ('Corsica ice cream parlour'), *Restopresto* ('fast food restaurant'), and *Pizzaiolo* ('pizza-maker'), as well as on menus and blackboards displayed in their windows or in the street outside. The nexus of the bar/café/restaurant sites and the food and drink and tourism fields constitutes one of the most multilingual aspects of the corpus, attesting (in addition to French and Corsican) Italian (30 items), German (3 items) Spanish (3 items), and Portuguese (1 item) in a variety of establishments on central thoroughfares and on the sea fronts of both cities. As argued elsewhere (Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009, 2015; Heller, Pujolar, et al., 2014; Kallen, 2009), such places are indicative of a desire to attract visitors and tourists. The additional visibility of English, German, Italian, and Spanish on parking meters, public toilets, and flags outside the tourist offices indicate the municipal provision in both cities to cater for the tourist market (cf. figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14. Corsican absence in multilingual contexts



Despite Corsican's appearance in the ATC logo, however, it was not recorded alongside any other language except for French and English, and was therefore noticeably absent from some of the most obviously multilingual signs, which reproduce information and instructions in several languages but not the RL. This simultaneous engagement with non-French languages and ignoring of the RL echoes the policies visible on many menus, specials boards, and other items visible in establishments seeking to attract tourists. Moreover, it suggests that writing in the RL is generally not considered a priority among restaurant, café, and bar owners who rely heavily on tourism. Unremarkably, French remains the dominant language on most signage in these places (515 items; 75.3%); however, the use of English (85 items) and Italian (30 items) in particular, and to a lesser extent German and Spanish, indicates an obvious desire to communicate with international visitors and to attract their custom. This pragmatic approach to language choice does not incorporate Corsican, which can be assumed, therefore, not to represent a target group of these establishments.

The ATC, *Bianc' & Neru*, *Broutch!*, and a number of other authors who distribute Corsican texts on souvenirs and items targeting visitors to the island, however, demonstrate that the RL is nevertheless an important commodity in the tourism economy. This not only includes varieties of physical souvenirs which may be purchased by visitors and taken away from the island, including many of the food and drink items discussed towards the end of section 5.2, but is also expressed through representations of practices, traditions, and identities associated with the island.

5.4. Events and Festivals

5.4.1. Public Festivals and Celebrations

Returning to the empirical data, the LL also indicates that Corsican has significant currency in the context of local events and festivals which, unlike souvenir shops and quayside eateries, are not ostensibly aimed at tourists and visitors to the island. Figure 5.15 depicts a poster advertising the public event *Zitelli in Festa* ('Children's Festival'), held in Bastia in April and May 2015.

Figure 5.15. *Zitelli in Festa* poster



The event was a preliminary activity of the inaugural edition of the public festival *Bastia in Festa* ('Bastia Festival'), which since 2014 has taken place in the city each summer, hosting 90 events over 90 days between July and September. As demonstrated by the *Zitelli in Festa* poster, the names of both festivals are always described in Corsican, with no French translation provided. Similarly, the festival's slogan, *A l'ora di l'estate* ('in the summertime'), is never reproduced in French. This demonstrates the importance attached to the RL by the festival's organizers, which cite making 'discoveries about [our] heritage' among their goals (Cità di Bastia, 2016).⁵⁵ Moreover, the consistent presentation of the festival's name and slogan in Corsican has penetrated French-language media on the island, where news website *Corse Net Infos* embedded the phrase within its French-language coverage of the 2015 event (Corse Net Infos, 2015). Returning to the *Zitelli in Festa* poster, the dates, times, and locations of the sessions are given in French, whereas towards the bottom of the sign, the phrases

⁵⁵ The 2016 programme is written predominantly in French, though Corsican is used throughout in the names of days and months of the events, and in several large slogans. It is available at <http://www.bastia.corsica/fr/actualites-20/bastia-in-festa-2016.html?cHash=ead297731813eac6cef15c50e8e65276>.

Rinsignamentu Serviziu Animazione ('activities service enquiries') and *Animazione Gratisi* ('free activities') are provided only in Corsican. On the one hand, this indicates the reliance on the official language for communicating the most important aspects of the advertisement; on the other, it demonstrates a desire to include the RL in more than just a symbolic way. The fact that the word *Zitelli* is given in Corsican only supports this further, since there is no indication offered in French that the festival is aimed at children.

Whilst several elements of the design (the animals, the bubbles, the bright colours, and the informal, child-like typeface) reference children indirectly, it is only the RL which explicitly informs the reader of the festival's target group. As discussed below and in chapter seven, dates and times lend themselves more easily to Corsican due to their lexical similarities with French. *Zitelli*, however, bears no similarities with the French word *enfants*, and thus it may be argued that the event's organizers are willing to risk the potential misunderstanding of readers in order to retain the name of the festival exclusively in Corsican.

Figure 5.16. *Mostra Participativa* poster



Figure 5.16 features a poster advertising *Ritratti Bastiacci* ('Bastia Portraits'), a public art festival hosted by the Bastia municipality in partnership with the political campaign group and think tank *Demucrazia Partecipativa* ('Participatory Democracy'). In addition to the event name in the centre, the poster features several Corsican items. At the top, the phrases *mostra partecipativa* ('participatory exhibition') and *aperti à tutti* ('open to all') invite members of the public to participate in the event, details of which are given in Corsican at the bottom right of the sign:

'Please share or send your images before 1st June by email, on the *Parolle Citadine Bastia* ['Bastia Citizens' Remarks'] Facebook page, or via the QR code.'

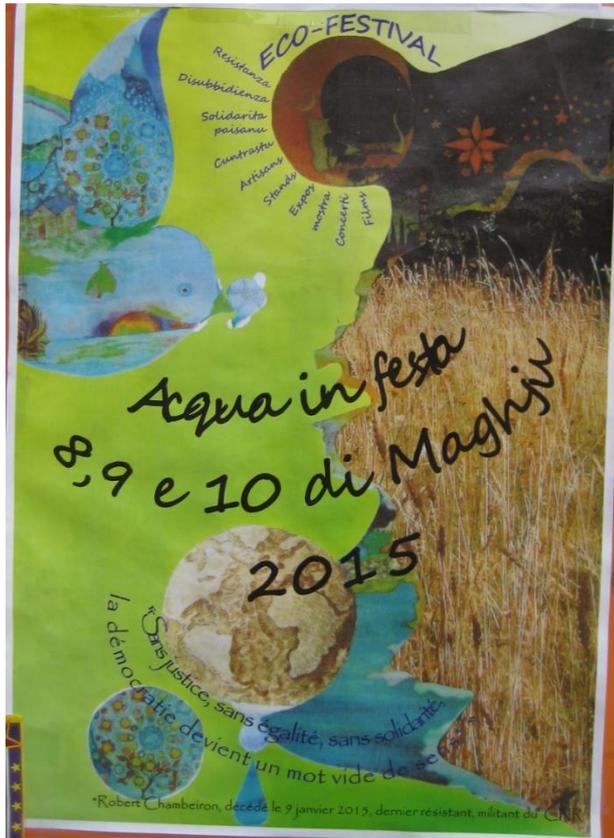
Unlike the *Zitelli* sign, this poster gives no information in French. The image of a camera with a perspective of Bastia's harbour points to the subject of the event, however it is difficult to argue that comprehension can be achieved without a degree of competence in Corsican. Whilst the phrases *mostra partecipativa* and *aperti à tutti* bear similarities with the French forms *montrer*, *participatoire*, and *ouvert à tous*, the Corsican lexeme *ritratti* translates into French as *images* or *portrait*, and would not be recognized by French-only readers. Similarly, the call for participants to provide the organizers with their portraits in advance requires significant proficiency in the RL. This suggests not only that *Ritratti Bastiacci* is seeking the participation of the in-group, but also that its interpretation of *tutti* ('everyone') does not necessarily include the non-Corsican-speaking majority.⁵⁶

5.4.2. Nature

Beyond cultural and artistic festivals and events, the LL illustrates a significant association of the RL with nature, horticulture, and ecological preservation. Figure 5.17 exemplifies a poster advertising the event *Acqua in Festa* ('Festival of Water'), held in Ajaccio in May 2015. Whilst the name and dates are given in Corsican only, the phrase *eco-festival* at the top of the poster indicates the nature of the event in French. Beneath this are 11 additional phrases, serving both as slogans describing the event and as a list of the activities on offer.

⁵⁶ Linguistic exclusion is discussed in more detail in section 5.5.

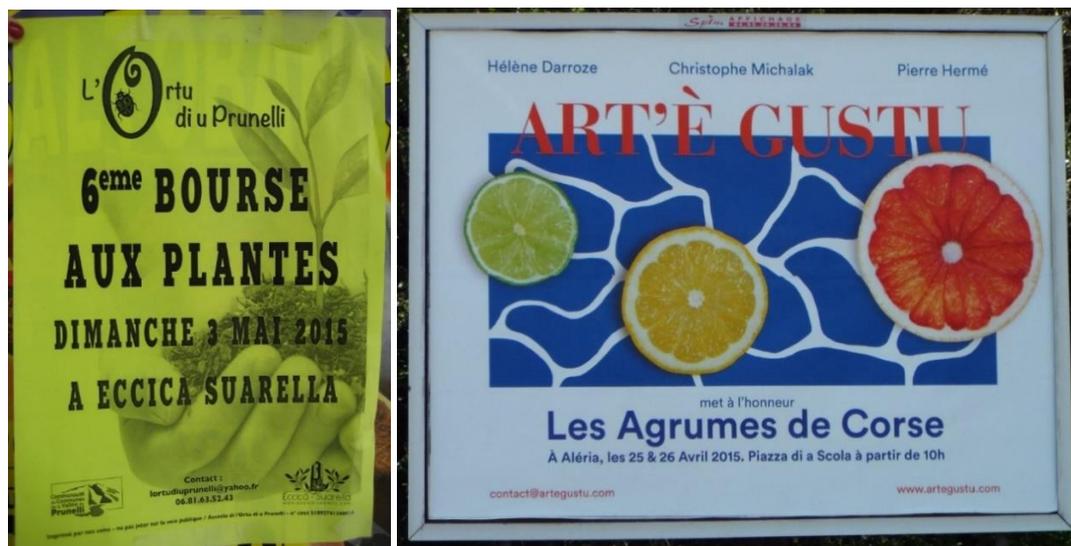
Figure 5.17. Associations of Corsican with the natural world



Seven of these are written in Corsican: *resistanza* ('resistance'); *disubbidienza* ('dissidence'); *solidarita [sic] paisanu* ('solidarity with the countryside'); *cuntrastu* ('contrast'); *mostra* ('shows'); and *concerti* ('concerts'). The remaining four — *artisans* ('artisans'); *stands* ('stalls'); *expos* ('exhibitions'); *films* ('films') — are written in French. The language choice in this list is remarkable because, with the exception of *mostra* and *concerti*, the Corsican terms bear no obvious relation to a festival celebrating water and ecological preservation. In fact, they are more closely related to the broader discourse of Corsican political nationalism, borne out in a number of ways elsewhere in the LL (discussed in section 5.5). The phrase *solidarita paisanu*, in particular, implies solidarity not only with the countryside in a physical sense, but in a metaphorical way with 'the land', in other words with Corsica itself. The terms *resistanza*, *disubbidienza*, and *cuntrastu* introduce similar notions of nationalism, and their appearance in Corsican strengthens this association further. Contrastingly, French is used exclusively for

terms which are not ostensibly related to these ideas, but rather to generic activities which may be associated to any type of event. The politicization of the festival is embedded further in the French quotation, visible at the bottom of the poster, *sans justice, sans égalité, la démocratie devient un mot vide de sens* ('without justice, without equality, democracy becomes a word void of any sense'). The caption below attributes the phrase to Robert Chambeiron, the longest-surviving member of the Second World War French Resistance, whose death in January 2015 achieved nationwide media coverage. That Chambeiron bore no obvious association with Corsica — he was born in Paris and has been upheld since his death as a symbol of national liberty and pride⁵⁷ — does not prevent the authors from appropriating his words into the Corsican nationalist discourse. Associations with nature are elsewhere not politicized: the horticultural association *l'Ortu di u Prunelli* ('the Sloe Garden') makes no reference to Corsican nationalism in its advertisement for its 6th annual market day, and the organization *Art'è Gustu* ('Art and Taste') advertises its *agrumes de Corse* ('citrus fruits of Corsica') event series without referencing any aspect of the Corsican nationalist debate (cf. figure 5.18).

Figure 5.18. *l'Ortu di u Prunelli* and *Art'è Gustu* event posters



⁵⁷ See, for example, obituaries in national newspapers *Libération* (http://www.liberation.fr/societe/2015/01/01/le-resistant-robot-chambeiron-est-mort_1172554) and *Le Monde* (http://www.lemonde.fr/disparitions/article/2014/12/31/mort-de-robot-chambeiron-dernier-survivant-du-conseil-national-de-la-resistance_4548236_3382.html).

The examples discussed in this section all relate to local organizations. It is worth noting, therefore, that the French multinational oil and gas company Total also uses the RL in the nature field, specifically in relation to its *Total Corse* ecological project which aims to preserve forests and woodland areas on the island by funding planting and forest management schemes and promoting ‘the protection of natural island heritage’ through educational programmes (Total, 2016). The sticker pictured in figure 5.19 attests to the use of Corsican both in terms of the campaign’s name *Isula Verde* (‘Green Island’) and the slogan *10 anni d’impegnu e di fatti* (‘10 years of the pledge and of action’). The interest shown by a multinational corporation in using the RL to engage with a local linguistic identity echoes the *Core Cita* sign erected by the supermarket Spar (cf. figure 5.3, p. 129). The scheme’s webpages (*ibid.*) provide information about the nine forestation projects supported by *Isula Verde* since 2004. This sticker offers little detail about the organization’s activities; however it demonstrates Total’s interest in contributing to the preservation of Corsica’s natural and linguistic ecology, and testifies to the link drawn, here and elsewhere, between the RL and the island’s natural environment.

Figure 5.19. *Isula Verde* Total sticker.



5.4.3. The Performing Arts

The data also indicate a relationship between the RL and performing arts. A number of posters were photographed on Morris Columns and in windows of various establishments in Bastia, advertising events at the *Teatru di Bastia* ('Bastia Theatre'). The first example in figure 5.20 illustrates one such event, advertising a concert by Corsican polyphony group *Barbara Furtuna*.

The poster features both French and the RL, reflecting the theatre's official website which is available in both languages. The theatre is owned by the municipal authority, who presents it with the bilingual name *Théâtre municipal | Teatru Municipale* (Cità di Bastia, 2016b). The city authority's description identifies the role of the theatre as *u fiore di a pulitica culturale di a cità* ('the city's beacon of cultural politics'), which it claims serves as *l'accolta di l'ultime creazione di e cumpagnie regiunale di ballu è di teatru* ('the centre of the latest creations by regional dance and theatre companies').

Despite the clear intention to express the island's performing arts industry in Corsican, the *Barbara Furtuna* poster features only the establishment name in the RL. All other aspects of the event — the *en concert* event descriptions, the names of the accompanying instruments, and the date and time and ticket office information — are provided in French only. This contrasts with the second and third posters in figure 5.20, which advertise performances in Ajaccio given by the theatre troupe *Teatru Nustrali* ('Indigenous Theatre') and the singing group *Surghjenti* ('men of the source'). Except for the words *renseignements* ('information') and *tarif* (price), these posters are written entirely in Corsican. These posters not only demonstrate the artists' desire to express their work and advertise their performances in the RL: they also indicate that performing arts is a context in which the RL is prevalent not only in proper nouns and slogans (as on many of the items above), but also for performing functions essential to the subject of the texts.

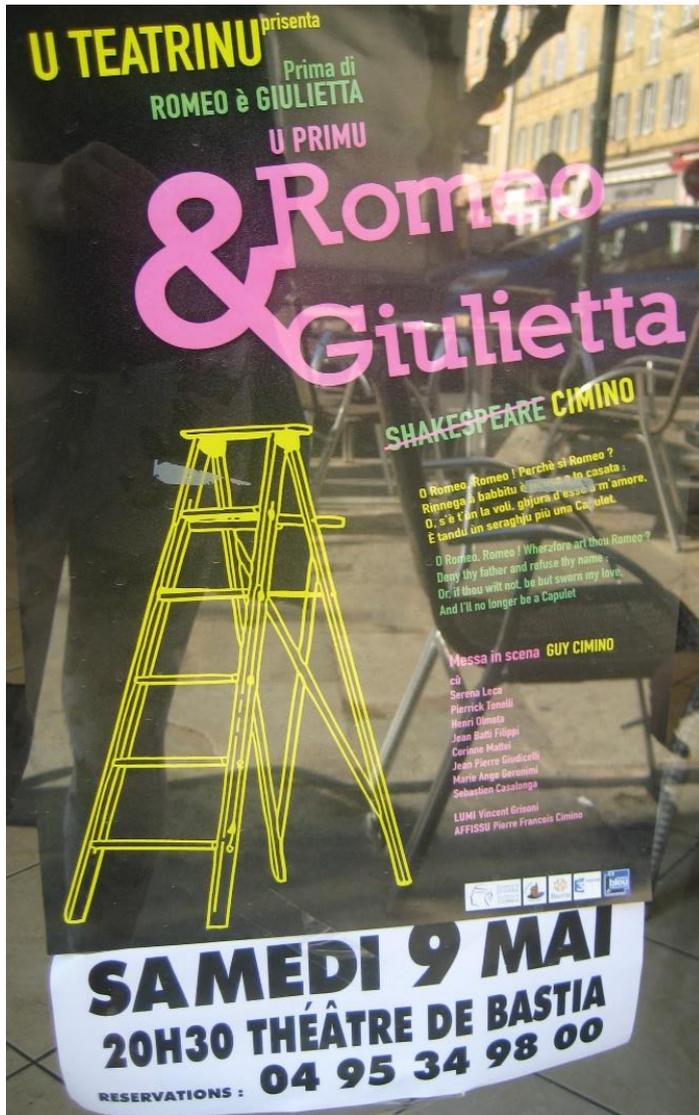
Figure 5.20. Corsican in a performing arts posters



Figure 5.21 exemplifies one of nine identical posters advertizing another event to be staged at the municipal theatre in Bastia. The posters were produced by the theatre company *U Teatrinu* ('Little Theatre') in order to promote a production of *Romeo and Juliet*. *U Teatrinu* is a company based in the commune of Furiani, located about three miles south of Bastia. The company is publicly funded by the CTC and the Bastia municipality, and cites its principal

goal, in French, as *developper la creation et la diffusion d'un theatre en langue corse* ('developing the creation and diffusion of Corsican-language theatre' — U Teatrinu, 2016).

Figure 5.21. *Romeo & Giulietta* performance poster



This aim is evident in the poster, which uses the RL both in the introductory text and the title of the production. The texts read *U Teatrinu presenta | prima di Romeo è Giulietta | U primu* ('*U Teatrinu* presents | adapted from *Romeo and Juliette* | the first'), with the title *Romeo & Giulietta* presented not as the version authored by Shakespeare (whose name is crossed out underneath), but that of playwright Guy Cimino, who has adapted a number of plays into

Corsican for the company.⁵⁸ The colour scheme throughout indicates this process of adaptation into the RL, where green represents the original title, the crossed-out *Shakespeare*, and the famous quotation from the play, and the yellow represents their re-imagination in Cimino's Corsican adaptation, identified also by the addition of an ampersand in exchange for è ('and'). The bottom of the poster displays black and white block capitals providing the date, location, and telephone number for ticket reservation in French. This is common to all the production posters being staged in the municipal theatre, indicating that the time and location information represents the agency of the theatre rather than *U Teatrinu* itself. The stated goal of the theatre company to promote Corsican cultural production is therefore evident in this poster (the organization's website attests a similar policy in all its productions); and along with the other examples discussed in this section, the data make clear that festivals, public events, and the performing arts are significant contexts within which Corsican is visible in the LL.

5.5. Corsican Nationalism

The empirical data report that 76 items were recorded in the field of nationalism (cf. appendix VI). This was the third most salient field for monolingual items, though it also bore the greatest discrepancy between the mono- and multilingual categories, since only 3 nationalism items featured the RL alongside another language. Statistically, therefore, items in this field were not only common within the corpus at large, but also overwhelmingly monolingual. Much scholarly research has been conducted into the various nationalist movements on Corsica, past and present (though only a handful of studies engage with this in the context of the LL — cf. section 2.2). Much of this work testifies to the often fractious relationship between the French nationstate (and associated organizational and political bodies) and the various elements that claim the existence of a Corsican 'nation' on the island (Blackwood, 2008; Jaffe, 1999; Reid, 2004, *i.a.*). In terms of the data discussed here, nationalist discourse is mediated by expressions of French nationalism on the one hand, and Corsican nationalism on the other. Whilst there

⁵⁸ Cimino has written a number of original productions in, and adapted several famous plays into, Corsican. Examples include *Don Ghjuvanni*, *Aspetta Puru*, *U Ventu di i Castagni*, *A Strage di Urè Lear è di e so Trè Figliole*, and *A Scusa di Pasquale Paoli* (full list available at www.uteatrinu.com/creations/).

are numerous items which declare and maintain the existence of a Corsican nation, significant support for the island's French identity is also visible in the LL, particularly in official domains.

5.5.1. Official Domains

References to the Republic such as *République française* and the national slogan *liberté, égalité, fraternité* ('freedom, equality, brotherhood') is visible on flags, noticeboards, and etched into stone doorways in schools and public buildings (16 items; cf. figure 5.22).

Figure 5.22. French nationalist discourse





References to the Napoleonic era and its importance in terms of France's historical narrative were also common in both official and non-official domains, such as historical information boards and commemoration plaques, street names (the Cours Napoléon in Ajaccio and the Rue Napoléon in Bastia were both included in the survey area), museums, names of eateries, and merchandise on sale in souvenir shops.

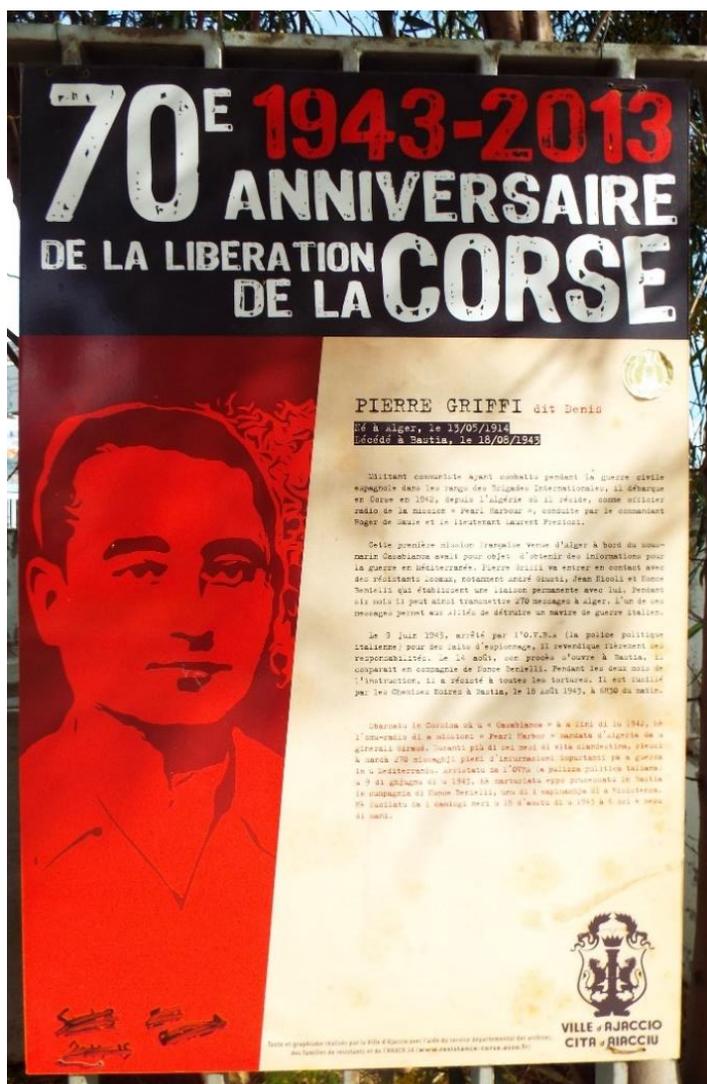
To reflect briefly on the methodology, the coding of different levels of official agency was particularly useful for unpicking the dynamics of the French and Corsican nationalist discourses, as the data indicate significant differences in the approach to language management between national-level actors and more local regional, departmental, and municipal agents. Whilst items authored by organizations at the national level tend to be expressed in French, those within Corsica tend to afford more space to the RL, despite their position within the national (French) hierarchy (cf. Blackwood, 2014). This includes the emblems of the CTC (cf. figure 5.13, p. 146) and the Ajaccio municipality, which is presented with the French *Ville d'Ajaccio* above the Corsican *Cità d'Aiacciu* (37 occurrences; cf. figure 5.23).⁵⁹

⁵⁹ In contrast to Ajaccio's municipal logo, Bastia's logo appears simply as one word: 'Bastia'. The implications of this for language coding are discussed below.

Figure 5.23. Bilingual Ajaccio municipal emblem.



Figure 5.24. Liberation anniversary plaque.



At the bottom right of the plaques in figures 5.24 and 5.25 are further examples of the 37 bilingual city crests. It is worth noting that whilst these crests all featured the same colouring, typeface, and design, they are inconsistent in their management of the two languages. French appeared on 31 of them and Corsican on 29; it is notable however that six of them appear only in Corsican (e.g. figure 5.26). Although relatively negligible in terms of empirical distribution, the absence of the national language on the official city logo (as well as its inconsistent presentation on other items such as the bin instructions pictured here) makes a significant impact on the city's official management of the RL.

Figure 5.26. Corsican Ajaccio municipal crest



This is mirrored at the regional level by the CTC logo and at the *département* level on signs produced by *Corse du Sud* (2 occurrences; cf. figure 5.27). The single item authored by *Haute Corse* (the administrative body responsible for the island's northern *département*), on the contrary, appeared only in French. Despite the handful of regional and departmental items, therefore, the data indicate that the visibility of the RL in official frames is concentrated at the municipal level.

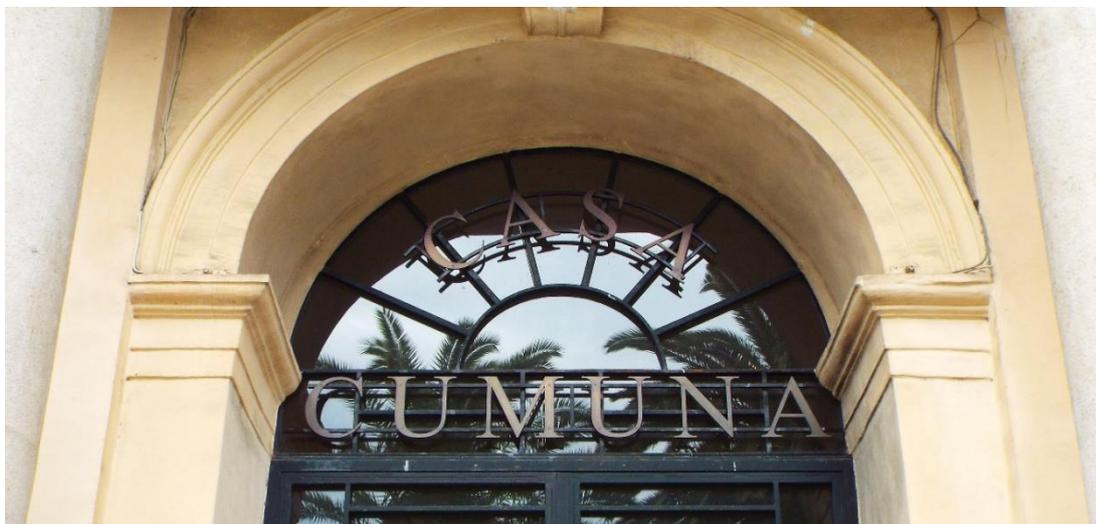
Figure 5.27. Departmental Corsican items



The most prominent example was recorded above the central entrance to the city hall in Ajaccio (figure 5.28). The only French indications of the function of the building are the words *Hôtel de Ville* ('City Hall') etched into the stone at the very top of the bell tower and not visible from street level, and the city emblem *Ville d' Ajaccio* (produced in French only) above a smaller door about 30 feet away from the main entrance (not pictured here). Instead of reproducing *Hôtel de Ville* or *Mairie* above the central door, the text *Casa Cumuna* ('public house') suggests a Corsican interpretation of the idea. This contrasts with the city hall in Bastia (cf. lower image in figure 5.28), which includes both the French *Mairie* and the more

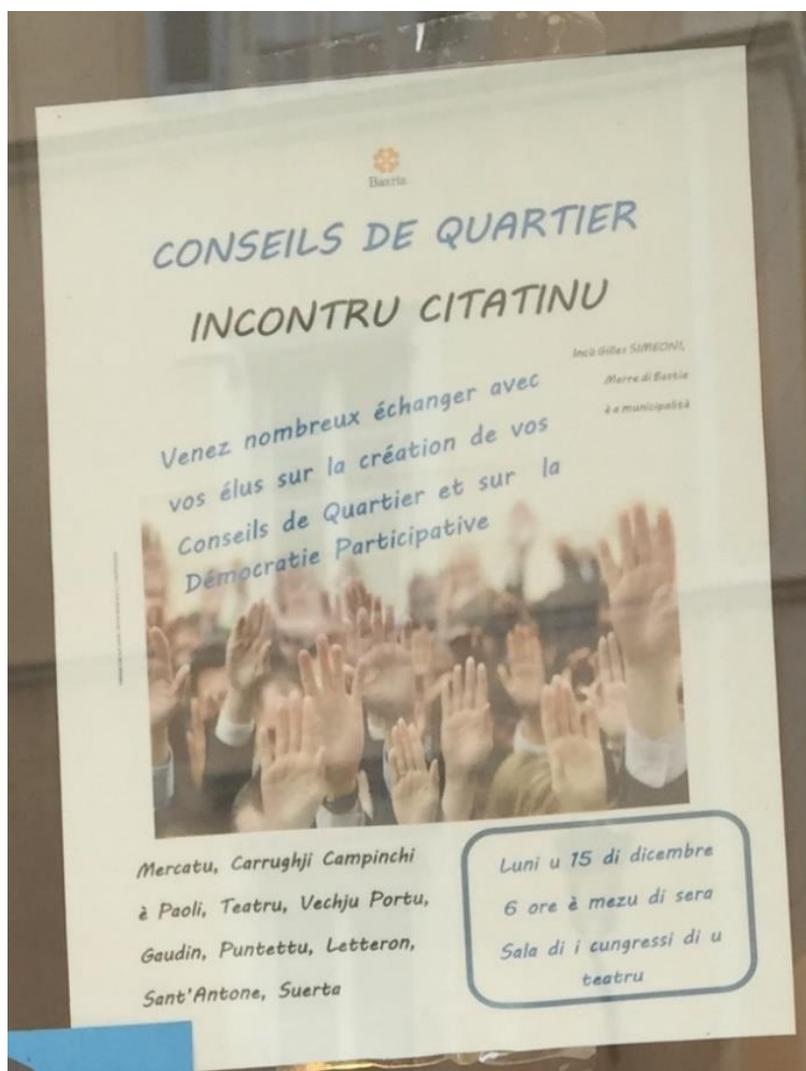
established Corsican equivalent *Merria* at its entrance. The metal letters to the side suggest an earlier preference for French; the more recent sign however includes both a translation of the establishment name and of its opening hours. The sign indicates a minor preference for French through the use of a bolder typeface and blue lettering, as opposed to grey for Corsican. However, this provision for the RL in a context intrinsically linked to the French political and organizational hierarchy is enough to challenge the constitutional claim that ‘the language of the Republic is French’ (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 1958).

Figure 5.28. Corsican in Ajaccio and Bastia city halls



Moreover, it raises a question as to the coding of the city's name, as the evident interest of the municipal authority in using the RL permits the possibility that it considers *Bastia* to be Corsican, since this is the only item on the sign not to be translated (unlike *Ajaccio/Aiacciu*). To argue beyond all doubt that the lexeme is therefore Corsican and a loanword in French is difficult; however its emplacement on an otherwise bilingual sign at least discourages the assumption that the city's official name is exclusive to the official language.

Figure 5.29. *Conseils de Quartier / Incontru Citatinu* poster



These municipal challenges to the sovereignty of French are echoed in the item featured in figure 5.29, which shows a poster stuck in the window of the independent clothes shop

Boutique Welcome on Boulevard Paoli in Bastia. The poster advertises the introduction of *conseils de quartier* ('district political meetings'), expressed in Corsican as *incontru citatinu* ('citizen meetings'). The logo at the top centre of the poster identifies its authors as the Bastia municipality, and the picture of hands raised in the air implies a sense of group participation, decision-making, and democracy. In terms of the text, the blue slanted paragraph reads, in French, 'Come and exchange views with your elected officials about the establishment of your district think tanks and Participatory Democracy'. The other texts on the poster appear in Corsican only: the names of the representative districts at the bottom left; the date and place of the meeting at the bottom right; and the addition, to the right of the French text, *incù Gilles Simeoni, Merre di Bastia è a municipalità* ('with Gilles Simeoni, Mayor of Bastia and of the municipality'). Whilst this was not the only item in the corpus to advertise details of a public event in Corsican (cf. section 5.4), it was the sole example produced by either city authority, which, aside from the establishment names and city emblems discussed above, tend to address public messages in French. The appearance of the RL alongside the city logo and in the specific reference to the mayor, however, make a significant impact on the interpretation of official language management, as an office of the State is here demonstrating a clear preference for Corsican over French. Given the statistical negligibility of one item, such a conclusion must be approached cautiously; however along with the city hall signs and crests, this item provides further indication of the challenge brought by the RL to the hegemony of French at the level of municipal language management.

5.5.2. Identity Discourse

The expression of Corsican identity through the RL is also visible in non-official contexts. Stickers on sale in souvenir shops and photographed on lamp posts and in the windows of parked cars, for example, indicate a sense of Corsican identity and pride. A link is forged between this and the RL both through its visibility on the stickers, for example *so [sic] corsu e ne so [sic] fieru* ('I am Corsican and proud') and *sò corsu aghju l'autocollant* ('I am Corsican [so] I put up this sticker' — cf. figure 5.30).

Figure 5.30. Corsican identity stickers



In some cases, language and identity are merged through the specific association of 'being' Corsican with 'speaking' Corsican, seen in the example *so [sic] corsu parlu corsu* ('I am Corsican and speak Corsican' — figure 5.31, left).

Figure 5.31. Corsican car window stickers



These stickers not only represent private individuals' maintenance of the RL in the LL, but also the appropriation of bumper-sticker culture (Doyle & Tranter, 2015; Newhagen & Ancell, 1995) and its application to language activism. The translingual phrase *piulelli a bord* ('cutie pie [lit. 'little chick'] on board' — figure 5.31, right) is a particularly strong indicator of this process. The text appears to be written primarily for a French audience, since *a bord* appears only in French, and the Corsican *piulelli* is explained by the combination of the picture and the expected knowledge of the 'baby on board' cliché (Case, 1992). The use of Corsican in the first word therefore stands out against the more widely accepted French *a bord*, further supported by the depiction of the presumed *piulelli* as an infantilized moor's head — the emblem which appears on the island's official flag — shown here sucking a dummy. This sticker not only uses the RL as a medium of communication therefore, but as an expression of a linguistic and cultural identity which cannot be explained in French.

Corsican texts elsewhere reference the notions of group identity and ownership, through terms such as *noi* ('us') and *nostra* ('our'), for example in the establishment names *Noi* and *U Paese* ('the Country/Nation'), *Ajacciu Città Nostra* ('Ajaccio, Our City'), and *Corsica Patria Nostra* ('Corsica, Our Fatherland'; cf. figure 5.32). In addition to the moor's head, which is ubiquitous on items engaging with Corsican identity discourse, many items feature an emblem which depicts the outline of the island with straight lines (cf. lower-left image in figure 5.32 and inside the 'o' in figure 5.33), which — as attested elsewhere in the LL and discussed in more detail below — is an established marker of the Corsican nationalist movement.

Figure 5.32. Group identity construction in Corsican texts





5.5.3. Football

The LL also testifies to an established relationship between the RL and the island's principal football teams, *Athletic Club Ajaccien* (hereafter ACA) and *Sporting Club de Bastia* (SCB). Figure 5.33 exemplifies one of the 12 establishments in Bastia which was displaying items of support for SCB at the time of the survey. As indicated right of the window, *Solemare* ('sun and sea') is a souvenir shop which also deals in jewellery, gifts, and beachwear and leisure

equipment, as well as in t-shirt printing and the popular Corsican gemstone *oeil de Sainte Lucie* ('Eye of Saint Lucie'). In the window hangs a SCB supporter's flag (also on sale at the official club shop on Rue Campinchi) featuring the slogans *testa mora* ('[the] moor's head'), *Bastia vince* ('victory to Bastia'), and *a noi dai vittoria per l'eterna gloria* ('victory to us through eternal glory'). Hand-written on the window, *SCB, Uniti!* ('United!'), and *Forza Bastia* ('Go, Bastia') appear alongside a heart, indicating admiration and support for the club.

Figure 5.33. *Solemare* shop front



Throughout the LL, similar slogans of affinity with SCB were visible in the windows of bars, cafés, restaurants, shops, and other establishments (26 items), such as the *uniti* and *abbunatu* ('member') stickers exemplified in figure 5.34.

Figure 5.34. SCB affinity slogans



These items testify not only to widespread support for the local football clubs, however, but also to an established corollary between football and Corsican national identity.⁶⁰ This is constructed in part through the notion of group identity created by words and phrases such as *nostra*, *noi*, *uniti*, and *mentalita nustrale* ('indigenous mentality' — cf. figure 5.35).

Figure 5.35. Nationalism through football



It is also upheld directly, through slogans such as *fieri d'esse Corsi* ('proud to be Corsicans') visible on an *Orsi Ribelli* ('Rebellious Bears' — an official ACA supporters' group) sticker (figure 5.36). That there is no mention of football and no obvious indication of the link to ACA (beyond the name of the group) is an indication of *Orsi Ribelli's* concern with promoting Corsican identity, which on this sticker is prioritized over supporting the football team. The addition on many of these examples of the moor's head (the flag in *Solemare* even includes the phrase *testa mora*) underlines further the links between the regional identity of the island and its two most successful football clubs, both of which feature the moor's head in their club crest. To borrow Coupland's (2014) terms, these items reflect a process of metacultural projection of pride, unity, and identity onto the RL, both in terms of the football clubs and

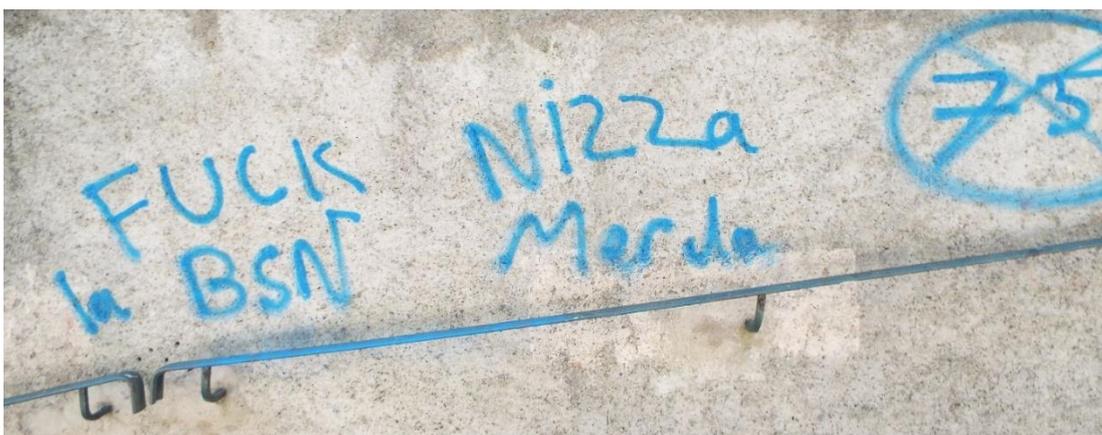
⁶⁰ Investigations into football and identity are well-established in sociolinguistics (see, for example, Beard, 1998; Duke & Crolley, 1996; Luhrs, 2008; and Schiering, 2008). This has been discussed in the LL in detail by Siebetchu (2016; see also Blackwood & Tufi, 2015: 53–53).

their supporters, and of their symbolism as advocates and upholders of Corsican linguistic identity.

Figure 5.36. *Orsi Ribelli* sticker



Figure 5.37. SCB-supporting graffiti



It is interesting that the graffiti shown in figure 5.37 contains expletives both in English and Corsican as well as the Corsican word for the mainland city of Nice, *Nizza*. The author appears

to attack both the Nice-based team *Olympique Gymnaste Club Nice Côte d'Azur* (commonly abbreviated to OGC Nice), a local rival of both SCB and ACA, through its 'ultra' supporters' group *Brigade Sud Nice* ('Nice South Brigade'). The dominant language is French and the English contribution is a well-known expletive which may be considered translingual; the inclusion of *Nizza* however demonstrates a deliberate avoidance of *Nice*, which is identical in both French and English. *Nizza* therefore not only reflects the author's desire to use Corsican, but demonstrates the importance of the RL as a resource of group identity. This graffiti thus represents not only a football rivalry, but a targeted attack on the French language, further supported by the graphic to the right of the text depicting the striking-through of the France's 75th département, Paris. It is plausible to argue that, taken as a symbol of French national and political identity, its crossing out indicates a sense both of absence (i.e. 'this is not Paris') and banishment ('Paris is not welcome here'). The colour of the graffiti and its reference to a competing supporters' group contextualizes it within the domain of sporting rivalry; however, along with the other items discussed here, it also stands as an expression of identity rivalry, and illustrates the links drawn between supporters of Corsica's football clubs and the RL.

The expression of football as a political statement can similarly be detected in the widespread exhibition of SCB flags in Bastia, over half of which appeared in souvenir shops (12 occurrences). Particularly in this site, the flags can be considered as expressions of support both for the club, and for the public dissemination of a local identity that is not just Bastian and related to football, but that is Corsican and conveyed through the RL. The idea that objects relating to SCB, in particular, serve as a proxy for Corsican identity is sustained by the use of blue and black colours in nationalist graffiti, and the combination of football slogans with those supporting the Corsican nationalist movement.

The upper image in figure 5.38 depicts the text *i francesi fora | FLN vincerà* ('Out with the French | the FLN [*Fronte di Liberazione Naziunale* ('national liberation front')] will be victorious') written in the SCB colours. The lower images in figure 5.38 exemplify the phrase *Bastia 1905* (a common name for SCB, referring to the year of its inauguration) beneath an image of a moor's head depicting the text *Corsica libera* ('free Corsica'); and a drawing of Great

Britain in black and blue with a clearly marked border between England and Scotland, seemingly idealizing the independence movement in Scotland.⁶¹

Figure 5.38. SCB references in nationalist graffiti



⁶¹ Several scholars have commented on the parallels drawn by various European regionalist movements with the Scottish case. See Pittock (2008) for an overview, as well as Moreno (2006), Paquin (2002), and Sorens (2009).

Figure 5.39. SCB flag outside the *Hôtel de Ville* in Bastia



As the image in figure 5.39 shows, this type of activism is not restricted to private actors, since the SCB flag was the only emblem photographed on the *Hôtel de Ville* at the time of the survey. The reason for this is unknown, though the displaying of a Corsican identity symbol on a public building in the absence of any French national signage is suggestive of a preference to exhibit the local identity of the building rather than its function within the national hierarchy. The texts on these items not only constitute items of Corsican activism, therefore, but serve a collective role in the maintaining of a local identity, defined through membership of the in-group and the use of the RL.

5.5.4. The Independence Movement

Corsican nationalism is also expressed through explicit references to the political independence movement, articulated as graffiti slogans on walls, printed posters advertizing meetings, demonstrations, and referencing the ideals and goals of the movement, and transgressive stickers stuck on signs, trees, and lamp posts. 16 hand-sprayed graffiti items were recorded, featuring single words or phrases such as *A Terra Corsa a i Corsi* ('The Corsican Land to the Corsicans'), *Corsica Libera* ('Free Corsica'), *Libertà* ('Freedom'), and *U Fronte*

Vincerà ('The Front Will Win'; cf. figure 5.40). Six of these included the initials of the FLNC, sometimes abbreviated to FLN, and two referenced student group *Ghjuventu Indipendentista*, which is discussed more detail in chapter seven.

Figure 5.40. Independentist graffiti





The slogans pictured in Figure 5.41 illustrate a particular practice associated with the nationalist movement, in which buildings considered by militants to represent mainland French political power are the target of graffiti acts and, in a number of cases, physical damage by explosives or other means (Sanchez, 2008). The target in this case is a local branch of the French bank *Caisse d'Epargne*.

Figure 5.41. *Caisse d'Epargne* graffiti.



Large slogans in red and black — colours associated with the liberation movement (cf. posters in figure 5.44 and 5.45 below) — have been sprayed on the walls between the bank's windows. They include *IFF* (a common abbreviation of *i Francesi Fora* ('Out with the French')), *A Francia Fora* ('Out with France'), as well as a reference to the death of Ghjuvan' Batti Acquaviva, a FLNC militant killed by French landowner Ferdinand Roussel in 1987, here memorialized as *mortu per a Corsica* ('dead for Corsica').⁶² The practice of writing graffiti on the walls of public and private organizations deemed to be organs of French colonization was established in 2007 with the dual goal of commemorating the 20-year anniversary of Acquaviva's death and protesting the official visit of then-Justice minister Rachida Dati.⁶³ It is

⁶² The details of Acquaviva's death are not clear. Roussel claimed that he was defending his property from a bombing attempt, whilst the FLNC continues to maintain that Acquaviva was shot in the back whilst getting into his car. Regardless of the true course of events, Acquaviva — or *GBA* as he is frequently represented — is now considered a martyr of the FLNC and the Corsican liberation movement in general, many supporters of which still consider his death to be an unpunished crime in which the French State is complicit by allowing Roussel to live in an undisclosed location under a new identity. Little information is easily accessible, though versions of the story have been published in the national press (*Libération*, 2004) and on a number of blogs and websites (e.g. *Blog des Peuples en Lutte*, 2009; *U Ribombu Internazionale*, 2015).

⁶³ A report on various actions carried out to protest Dati's visit can be found on the website of *Corsica Infurmazione*, the online press affiliated with the Corsican nationalist organization *Unita Naziunale* (<http://www.unita-naziunale.org/portail/151107-ACTIONS-FLNC.htm>).

unlikely that the graffiti pictured in figure 5.41 have been there since 2007, and the precise motivations of the author(s) cannot be speculated at. However, the texts undoubtedly illustrate a key battleground for the liberation movement in which the visibility of Corsican is a deliberate expression of defiance, and, as the posters above demonstrate, a consistent indicator of the RL's exclusivity as the movement's code of communication.

In addition to hand-written graffiti, 47 stickers relating to the independence movement were recorded in the 'post' locus. These were photographed stuck to lamp posts, bins, street signs, junction boxes, and post boxes, exemplifying what Soukup (2016) describes as 'transgressive' emplacement. The stickers featured both images and slogans relating to Corsican nationalism, one example of which is given in figure 5.42.

Figure 5.42. Independentist sticker



This item has been placed over an existing sticker advertising a demonstration for members of the national union CGT (*Confédération générale du travail*; 'General Confederation of Work') which supports professionals in the private sector. The Corsican sign displays the slogan *i nostri primà l'altri* ('our own before others') above the word *indipendenza*. It is plausible that the placement of the sticker over the CGT item, rather than below or above it, is

deliberate. It may therefore be argued that, in a similar way to the graffiti on *Caisse d'Epargne*, the author is intending to create a visual manifestation of defiance, where the Corsican sticker literally comes before the French one both in terms of its language and the political subtext.

This is further supported by the items illustrated in figure 5.43, which encourage readers to vote for the alternative union STC (*Sindicatu di travagliadori corsi*, 'Corsican workers' union'). The positioning of *i nostri primà l'altri* therefore suggests an intention to devalue CGT by erasing it from the LL. This not only represents a preference for one union over the other, but — given the direct reference to 'our own' and 'the others' — for a Corsican organization over a French one.

Figure 5.43. Corsican electoral stickers



The LL also attested 22 items on posters advertizing demonstrations, aspirations, and objectives of the independence movement. The first example shown in figure 5.44 contains the slogans *Tutti in Ajacciu* ('Everyone in Ajaccio') and *libertà per i patriotti* ('freedom for the

patriots'), as well as the phrase *Corsi | dumane saremu ghjudicati* ('Corsicans | tomorrow we shall be judged'). A text in biro adds: *libertà per i patriotti in priggio* ('freedom for the patriots in prison').

Figure 5.44. Independentist events posters



The lower-left poster in figure 5.44 advertises a public demonstration in aid of a ‘political solution’ in the town of Corte in the centre of the island, organized by *Ghjuventu Indipendentista*. The poster to its right advertises a fundraising ‘evening for the patriots’ in the commune of Biguglia, about seven miles south of Bastia, organized by *Associu Sulidarità* (an organization which campaigns for the release of Corsican political prisoners), with the promise of a veal roast, tombola, and performances by Corsican-language singing groups *Arcusgi*, *Chjami Aghjalesi*, and *Surghjenti*.

The striking difference between these and the events posters discussed in section 5.4 is the unanimity of Corsican and the complete absence of French, not only in the political slogans and names of the events, but also in the key information given about their times and locations. On the one hand, this demonstrates that the authors are prepared to risk excluding the majority of the readership which does not understand Corsican; on the other hand, it illustrates their prioritizing of Corsican as a symbolic resource and indicator of the nationalist movement.

Figure 5.45. *Amnistia* poster calling for the release of political prisoners



This politicization of the RL is further substantiated by the 21 posters calling for *Amnisitia pà i patriotti incarcerati è ricercati* ('Amnesty for the imprisoned and hunted patriots' — cf. figure 5.45). The visibility of this anonymous poster on seven streets across both cities demonstrates the significant effort put into its distribution (copies were also found on the university campus discussed in chapter seven). Moreover, their salience in the LL is suggestive of a lack of desire to remove the posters, at least until the point at which the fieldwork was carried out. Along with the demonstration posters and the invitations to social events in support of the independence movement, these items demonstrate an established function of Corsican in the LL.

5.6. Conclusions

This chapter has discussed several settings in which Corsican is visible in the LL. Informed by the empirical data, in particular the field and authorship variables, these have been presented thematically as food and drink, tourism, events and festivals, and Corsican nationalism, with several sub-areas also identified. By way of conclusion, these can be organized into three fundamental contexts: official domains, nationalist discourse, and commodification.

Following previous LL studies conducted in Corsica (in particular Blackwood, 2011; cf. also Blackwood, 2014 for a non-contrastive analysis of 'top-down' Corsican visibility), the data suggest that official authors are responsible for a significant proportion of the Corsican items. The most prominent example, recorded 37 times in Ajaccio, was the bilingual *Ville d' Ajaccio/Cità d' Aiacciu* city logo. The RL was also prominent on the permanent historic plaques that can be found around both city centres, as well as on the temporary signage in Ajaccio commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Liberation of Corsica in 2013. The data also highlight the prominent displaying of the RL in the names of the city halls, as well as in the call for public participation in the *conseils de quartier / incontru citatinu* poster (cf. figure 5.29, p. 166). Also in the official domain, the regional authority CTC and the *Corse du Sud département* were seen to use Corsican in their signage.

It is in these official domains that the use of the RL may be considered a political statement, not least because its appearance alongside French is not a requirement of the centralized state, but rather a result of actions of local administrators. Moreover, it is possible to argue that Corsican's use in signs relating to contemporary administrative structures mounts an implicit challenge to Article 40 of the constitution, which states that RLs belong to the heritage of France. On the one hand, the visibility of Corsican on the signs commemorating the Liberation and the historical plaques strengthens its association with heritage; on the other, its use in the Ajaccio city crest, on rubbish and recycle bins, and in the names of social services and the city halls indicate that, on the island, Corsican is considered in a more contemporary official context than can be described by 'heritage'.

The data indicate that the contemporary expression of Corsican has strong associations with identity. This is both in terms of the tourist market, where the RL is used as a resource for souvenirs, mementos, and descriptions of the island, its language, and its people; but also within the context of Corsican nationalism and the independence movement, items relating to which tend to privilege Corsican over French, or even to omit the official language entirely. These items include not only the graffiti in terms of political slogans and modifications of French place names (also alluded to by *Broutch!*), but also the advertizing of public events promoting Corsican nationalism and (through its use on the signs) the Corsican language. The notion of group identity and the juxtapositioning of a Corsican 'us' against a French 'them' is also conveyed through the context of football, predominantly through support for SC Bastia, whose slogans are unanimously presented in the RL.

The most statistically relevant characteristic of Corsican, however, was its visibility on private signs in commercial contexts. These conditions not only represent the majority of Corsican items collected for this thesis (601 items; 78.2%), but also contradict findings of previous studies, which have repeatedly concluded that Corsican and other RLs are supported to a greater extent by official (particularly municipal) actors than by private individuals, companies, and organizations (Blackwood, 2011; Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Bogatto & Hélot, 2010; Hornsby, 2008). The diversity of authors, sites, fields, and functions recorded by this project therefore represents a significant finding, as it indicates that Corsican linguistic identity is expressed in a variety of ways, situations, and in relation to different subjects. The

discussion in this chapter has focussed on tourism and food and drink, which returned the largest number of items; the table provided in Appendix VI provides a complete indication of the breadth of this diversity.

Though not relating directly to the nationalist discourse, these items indicate that Corsican identity remains a key objective of authors who commodify the RL as a commercial resource. Most of the examples do not reference this process directly, but rely on the implicit links between place and language, supported by images and emblems of the island which marry the RL with notions of quality, authenticity, and tradition. The additional linking of these values to group identity, upheld through phrases such as *noi* ('us'), and *nostra* ('our'), further underlines the RL's currency in this context, and indicates an inherent resistance of Corsican expression to the national (French) linguistic ideology and its concomitant identity. As much as the textual references to Corsica and its language, pictorial representations of the island draw a direct link between Corsican identity and the RL, which is projected onto the products, goods, and services on sale in the LL. As Magini, Miller, & Kim (2011) posit, this contributes to constructing associations of the RL with the products and places in which it is visible. Whilst Henderson (2000: 531) suggests that this often amounts to a 'packaged' experience of authenticity, at the very least it demonstrates the extent to which Corsican is commodified within the island's internal economy (Blackwood and Tufi, 2015: 142). It may be argued, in addition, that this process represents a commodification of the RL that reaches beyond Corsica's shores, as products are sold to both mainland French and international visitors.

The commercializing of local products in Corsican — ranging from *Pietra* to cured meats and cheese, and from beach bags and clothing to football — indicates that, to borrow Fishman's (1991: 20–4) terms, many actors consider the RL to be 'the most appropriate' conveyer of localness. In the instances where Corsican is preferred to French, therefore, it may be argued that this represents a challenge to the national language. It cannot confidently be claimed that every Corsican text is intended as a direct affront to the national language to the same extent as many of the nationalist graffiti slogans; however, the establishment and maintenance of the RL as a marketable commodity nonetheless indicates the power of Corsican to exist in multiple contexts, from many of which French is absent.

As in the Occitan territory, however, the salience of the RL in certain contexts is juxtaposed to its absence in others. At the intersection of the tourism and food and drink fields, namely the restaurants and cafés on main thoroughfares and around the harbours and beachside areas of the two cities, the RL is minorized not only by French but by international languages such as Italian, English, Spanish, and German. The established practice of providing menus and other signs in multiple languages but not Corsican indicates that many restaurants and cafés consider the RL unsuitable for the communication of their products. Whilst these establishments are clearly targeting non-locals, they do not demonstrate the local language to visitors in any way. This is not reciprocated by the regional tourist board, who prioritize Corsican visibility through a variety of signage including its logo, or by independent souvenir shops, in which the RL is used as a resource to convey notions of Corsican identity, language, and culture.

In conclusion, therefore, the Corsican corpus illustrates the extent to which the RL is embedded not only in the island's traditions, but also in the contemporary expression of its identity. Chapter eight examines the parallels and contrasts between Occitan and Corsican in the context of the research questions laid out in the introduction. The following two chapters present case studies of the RLs in two contexts not discussed at length in the street survey data, namely street signs in Toulouse and Corsican visibility in the Mariani campus of the University of Corsica.

Chapter Six

Case Study: Street Signs in Toulouse

6.1. Introduction

This chapter reports on data collected alongside the street surveys carried out in Toulouse during the fieldwork, as well as on data and additional information provided by Toulouse city council. In chapter four, heritage and municipal authorship were identified as key contexts of Occitan visibility. This chapter expands this investigation from the particular perspective of street signs in Toulouse which, throughout my previous experiences of the city, the pilot studies, and the fieldwork, remained the most consistent and obvious carrier of Occitan in the LL.

Although the names of streets in Toulouse have been written in French since before the Revolution, 2001 saw the arrival of plaques written in Occitan. This followed the election of Philippe Douste-Blazy to the position of city mayor, who sanctioned the implementation of RL street names in response to his electoral pledge to make Toulouse ‘the capital of Occitania’ (La Dépêche du Midi, 2001). Along with the historic plaques (examples of which are discussed in chapter four), the street signs illustrate the support of the municipal authority for the RL, which it continues to make visible in the LL today. This echoes the efforts of language activism at regional level, where between 2008 and 2013 the *Midi-Pyrénées* regional council implemented a schema aiming to increase the visibility and use of the RL in various domains (education, public events, symposia and festivals, written, visual, and online media) and through international collaborations with initiatives in Spain, Italy, and Portugal (Conseil régional Midi-Pyrénées, 2008). 11 years after the initial construction of bilingual name plaques in 2001, in 2012 a bilingual city council charter was published, pledging to increase the visibility of Occitan in the city in order to ‘value, promote, and reinforce’ the language in the public space (Mairie de Toulouse, 2012). As the data discussed in this chapter illustrate, this promotion has seen a significant increase in the number of streets which display an Occitan name since the Douste-Blazy administration, where only the city’s most central and principal thoroughfares were given new plaques.

According to data supplied by the municipal authority, 547 streets in the city centre currently feature bilingual French/Occitan street signs (Toulouse Métropole, 2013). These are broadly located in the historic medieval heart of the city, around the central stretch of the Garonne river in the Capitoul/Jean-Jaurès district on the east side, and the St-Cyprien district on the west. During the photographing and recording of some of the signs between 2012 and 2015, it became clear that they exhibit more than the ‘banal symbolism’ described by Puzey (2012: 141) and argued by Ben-Rafael (2009), who posits that their uniformity constitutes a ‘tiresome repetition’ which warrants little further analysis. This type of dismissal has gained traction because the role of street signs is often perceived as obvious and regular. Commentaries on bilingual street signs around the world tend to be remarkably vague, and most studies do not look beyond basic interpretations of symbolic language activism.⁶⁴ However, the evolving language management activities at municipal, regional, and national levels indicate that the Toulouse signs are of major importance in the analysis of Occitan status. Despite the second article of the Constitution naming only French as the language of the Republic (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 1958), the perception of a long-standing State hostility towards RLS was tempered by the 2008 addition of an article recognizing them as heritage (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 2008). Subsequently, both the regional and municipal charters can be said to be taking advantage of this addition. The municipal charter in particular references this specifically, stating in its introduction that it seeks to make Toulouse’s Occitan heritage accessible to the entire population of the city (Mairie de Toulouse, 2012: 2). Prior to this, a 2009 project, overseen by the municipal-led group *Signalisation bilingue français-occitan* (‘French-Occitan Bilingual Signage’, hereafter SBFO), expanded the bilingual street sign coverage beyond the original Douste-Blazy set. From the perspective of the LL, this has granted a degree of autonomy to Occitan, whose official enshrining in the public space appears to be legal and, arguably for the first time, State-supported. Although national law makes it clear that, officially, designations of street names remain possible only in French, the street signs in Toulouse testify to a municipal eagerness to exploit their heritage status and display them in the contemporary LL.

⁶⁴ See, for example, discussions on street signs in Israel (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991), the Basque Country (Gorter *et al.*, 2012), Wales (Hornsby & Vigers, 2012), Scotland (Puzey, 2012), Italy (Tufi, 2013), Ukraine (Pavlenko, 2012), the Czech Republic (Sloboda, Szabó-Gilinger, Vigers, & Šimičić, 2010), Belarus (Sloboda, 2009), Ireland (Kallen, 2010), Argentina (Coupland & Garrett, 2010), and France (Blackwood, 2010).

As has been discussed in other contexts (Azaryahu, 1996; Ben Said, 2010; MacIlleathain, 2011; Spalding, 2013), the street signs are therefore an essential consideration in the question of Occitan vitality. The principal objective of this chapter is to analyse how the signs challenge the perceived hierarchy of French over Occitan. At first glance, it would appear that the spatial arrangement — French on the upper plaque, Occitan on the lower — indicates that French is the dominant code. However, there are more subtle interpretations which contradict this hypothesis. These are prompted by certain features of the signs visible within the frame of the general code preference, and can therefore be considered as hidden in plain sight. These hidden hierarchies concern not only the place semiotics described by Scollon & Scollon (2003), but also the ways French texts are translated into Occitan, and the language associations (Tufi & Blackwood, 2010) this creates. This chapter therefore aims not only to investigate the relationship of French and Occitan in-depth in a specific context, but also to suggest some original methods for analysing bilingual street signs.

6.2. Methodology

Whilst the data discussed in this chapter were recorded on the streets of Toulouse city centre, the method of their collection differed from the street survey data discussed in chapters four and five. Given that the only units of analysis were street signs, few criteria were necessary to identify items: linguistically, items were identified as names of streets, made obvious by the ubiquitous addition of determiners such as *rue* ('road') and *boulevard* ('boulevard'); it was also possible to identify items according to their materiality, locus, and authorship, which correspondingly allowed for the discounting of street names on other signs such as historical plaques or establishment names.⁶⁵ In addition to text, therefore, the items were identifiable as white and black metallic plates attached to walls, bearing the recognisable hall-marks of official street signage.

Following research for a Master's project and a pilot study conducted in May 2013, the data discussed here are drawn from the official record of the 547 streets featuring bilingual French/Occitan street names, made available following consultations with employees of the

⁶⁵ Whilst the use of street names in other signage is not part of the empirical corpus, individual examples are discussed in this chapter.

municipal authority (Toulouse Métropole, 2013). The examples in the figures were photographed during my visits to the city, though the majority of data is presented as transcribed textual examples which are cited in the official documentation. The corpus is therefore comprehensive of the entirety of bilingual signage on record at the time of recording. Moreover, given the pre-determined location of street signs on streets around the medieval centre of the city, a process of survey area selection was not necessary.

However, given the semiotic complexity of the signs, which includes informational presentation, translation, and text arrangement, the data have been analysed according to a specific methodology of three systems. As for the main corpus collected for this thesis, items are not identified by spacing and borders, but rather in terms of the functions performed by different elements of the signs. Each bilingual unit is separated into three functions, labelled F1, F2, and F3. These represent the three fundamental communicative elements of the signs, identifiable by the size and positioning of the lettering, and the informational role they perform. The functional approach is useful because it permits a comparative assessment of French and Occitan in three contexts, allowing for a more granular analysis of language status and use on street signs.

Figure 6.1. Functions of bilingual street signs



F1 refers to the type of place the signs are marking, represented in figure 6.1 by the words **RUE**|CARRIÈRA⁶⁶ ('road' or 'street') in French and Occitan respectively. F2 is the name of the street, written in large capitals, exemplified above by **METZ**|METZ, **JEAN-ANTOINE ROMIGUIÈRES**|JEAN-ANTOINE ROMIGUIERES, and **LAFAYETTE**|DEL MARQUES DE LAFAIETA. F3 refers to the supplementary information given about the person, place, or event after which the street is named, exemplified in the middle sign by the words **JURISCONSULTE**|JURISCONSULTA (a historical term indicating 'senior jurist and legal scholar'). F3s are present on 328 (60%) of the signs — 275 (84%) in both languages, 50 (15%) in Occitan only, and 3 (<1%) in French only — and range from one to twelve words in length. The following sections address each of the functions in turn, examining trends across the corpus of 547 signs.

6.3. F1: Street Denomination

The SBFO policy document refers to F1s as *dénominations des rues* ('street denominations' — Mairie de Toulouse, 2009). 28 Occitan translations of the official French designations are provided, including **RUE**|CARRIÈRA, **AVENUE**|AVENGUDA, **ALLÉE**|ANDANA, **BOULEVARD**|BALOARD, **PLACE**|PLAÇA, and **QUARTIER**|BARRI, etc.⁶⁷ Despite these clear stipulations, some signs have been incorrectly labelled, though it is probable that these were erected before the 2009 schema. For instance, REDOND describes 34 roundabouts visible in the LL despite not featuring in the approved list, where GIRATÒRI and ROTONDA are given. CAMINÒL is listed as the Occitan for **SENTIER** ('path'/'way'/'track'), but in the LL occasionally appears under the French word **CHEMINEMENT** ('little path') — for which the SBFO translation CAMINAMENT is absent from the LL. Two translations are provided in the document for **IMPASSE** ('cul-de-sac') — ANDRONA and CARRIÈRA ÒRBA — yet four streets use CARLÒT, which does not figure on the list at all. In summary, 493 (90%) streets feature the F1s stipulated in the policy document, six (1%) streets contain listed terms used underneath a non-corresponding French F1, and 48 (9%) streets feature terms (REDOND,

⁶⁶ For clarity, French terms are given in bold capitals and Occitan terms in underlined capitals.

⁶⁷ A complete list of street denominations is provided in Appendix VIII.

CARLÒT, ANDADAS, PASSADA, PASSATGE, VANÈLA, PÒRGE, CARRAT) not currently sanctioned by the SBFO.

These discrepancies testify to the ongoing disagreements about the standardization of Occitan, a polemic which continues to characterize discourse about RL varieties in southern France (Boyer & Gardy, 2001b). In terms of the signs, they reflect the discrepancies between the original Douste-Blazy signs and the newer SBFO ones, since the former were translated voluntarily and individually by employees of the city council. Following the more consistent approach of SBFO, the responsibility for the signs was, in 2015, passed on to the newly formed *Signalisation bilingue* commission, which incorporates etymological research carried out in the *Lettres Modernes, Cinéma, et Occitan* department at the *Université de Toulouse — Jean Jaurès* (formerly *Université de Toulouse II — Le Mirail*) and the independent organization *Congrès Permanent de la Lengua Occitana* ('Permanent Congress of the Occitan Language'). The use of 'correct' terms is obviously important to the city authority, though the status of Occitan is sufficiently moribund (Judge, 2007) that the marrying of Occitan terms to French F1s remains an arbitrary process. Judging the quality or appropriateness of the translations is not the aim of this chapter; from the perspective of the LL it is important simply to note that the Occitan terms are comprehensible to French-only readers by virtue of their positioning on the signs. It can therefore be argued that, through their consistent spatial presentation, the F1s contribute an 'input source of language learning' to the LL (Cenoz and Gorter, 2008). Whilst instruction on Occitan road type designations represents only a small success for language revitalization at large, the F1s illustrate the transcendence of Occitan from phonologies, grammars, and lexicons to visibility on official text objects — a process which Fishman (1991: 88) argues is an essential (if rudimentary) stage of language revitalization. It is not yet clear whether this will initiate more advanced stages of language shift reversal, though the symbolic impact of the F1s, at the very least, illustrates a clear top-down desire to Occitanize the urban space, as well as the process of defining it.

6.4. F2: Street Name

The premise of the bilingual street signs is that the lower plaques are Occitan 'translations and adaptations' (SBFO, 2009: 1) of established French terms. Whereas the policy for F1s allows

for the ‘re-establishment’ of Occitan terms which the SBFO considers to have been generalized by inaccurate French translations (*ibid.*: 2), the fact that the policy documents lay out a series of directions for ‘adapting and translating’ F2s from French into Occitan implies that French is considered the primary (or at least origin) language in many cases. This is upheld visually in the LL by the consistent placing of the Occitan plaques underneath the French ones. The majority of F2s (92%) are personal names and are therefore proper nouns. However, whilst borrowing is elsewhere considered the most straightforward strategy for conveying proper names in multiple languages (Adalar & Tagliamonte, 1998; Park, 2006), the signs illustrate a desire to adapt names as much as possible. The SBFO (2009: 2) justifies this both historically (‘names with origins in the south of France or before the Revolution’), and contemporarily (‘more recent names explicitly linked to Occitan language and culture’). This results in the mass adaptation of forenames such as **HENRI** (ENRIC), **FRANÇOIS** (FRANCÈS), and **ANTOINE** (ANTÒNI). These are informed by a list of 874 Occitan equivalents of French names published by the IEO (2011). It is therefore surprising that all eight instances of **PAUL** are reproduced identically as PAUL in Occitan, despite the IEO-recommended *Pau* and the fact that many qualify for lexical adaptation along historical lines. Indeed, despite the lengths taken to justify Occitanization, less than a fifth of personal names are adapted into Occitan orthography.

Table 6.1. Occitan presentation of personal names

	Number	Proportion
Identical to French	414	83%
Adapted from French	87	17%

Given that the conditions under which proper names of people are described in such detail, it is remarkable that names of places are not mentioned in the policy document. This is possibly because there are only 15 among the signs, though many also figure in the F3 texts, to which we return below. In spite of the absence of a clear policy, place names tend towards adaptation: only four are identical on both plaques. This is possibly facilitated by the referencing of local

places, terms for many of which have already been established in the wider Occitan movement. **TOULOUSE** consistently takes the form TOLOSA on the lower plaques, though adaptations are also noticeable for places beyond the Occitan territory covered by the regional charter (e.g. **BOURGOGNE**|BURGONDIA), and even outside France itself (**NAZARETH**|NAZARET).

Adjectives and common nouns are not mentioned in the guidelines either. This is surprising, as they feature on 143 F2s (26%). Some signs contain two or three common nouns and/or adjectives (e.g. **RUE DU CHAPEAU ROUGE** ('Road of the Red Hat'), **IMPASSE DES DAMES DE LA PORTE** ('Cul-de-Sac of the Women of the Gate'), **DESCENTE DE LA HALLE AUX POISSONS** ('Fish Market Hill')), of which many (e.g. **SAINT** ('Saint'), **PORTE** ('Gate'), **PROFESSEUR** ('Professor')) are found on multiple streets. In total, there are 117 common nouns and adjectives on the Occitan plaques. The vast majority (91%) are replicating translations of the upper plaques. However, ten streets feature partial or unrelated translations on the lower plaque.

Figure 6.2. Partially translated F2



The French **POMME** ('apple') in figure P4-Bravo is unremarkable, though in Occitan the addition of D'AUR ('golden') changes the meaning to 'orange'. Whilst *irange* would also be an appropriate term, D'AUR introduces the idea of gold, accessible to French readers through the lexical and phonetic similarities with the equivalent French term *or*. Thus, the authors choose a translation that differs from **POMME** not only in meaning, but also through a visual juxtaposition that is accessible to non-Occitan readers. This indicates that the languages not only have different names for the street, but also that the authors seek to communicate this difference to French-only readers. Moreover, the inclusion of the second word on the lower plaque encourages the assumption that Occitan is the more detailed of the two languages, for even if French readers do not understand the meaning of POMA D'AUR, the term constitutes a visible differentiation from French, indicating that the full meaning (POMA + D'AUR as opposed simply to **POMME**), is available only in the RL. In this way, it may be argued that the work of SBFO has been to project a sense of generalization onto the French term through the addition of a new plaque. Moreover, given the goal of the street sign to mark out the official labelling of the public space, this intersecting multilingualism suggests that the French description is less accurate, and perhaps therefore less valid, than the more detailed Occitan term.

Throughout the city, there are sporadic indications that Occitan F2s convey more information and symbolic nuances than their French equivalents: **RUE DES CHEMINÉES** ('Road of the Chimneys') is translated as CARRIÈRA DE LAS TRES CHEMENÈIAS ('Road of the Three Chimneys'); **RUE ESPINASSE** (a proper name) includes forenames and military rank in Occitan (CARRIÈRA DEL CORONÈL PÈIRE-MARIA ESPINASSE). Elsewhere, whilst IPOLITE OLIVIER is identified with his forename (and with the Occitan F3 describing him as benefactor to the development of the St-Cyprien district in the 19th century), the French plaque offers only **OLIVIER** after the F1 **PLACE**. Whilst *Olivier* is an accepted personal name in French, on the plaque it also allows for the potential meaning of 'olive tree'. For the sake of clarity one might consider *Place des Oliviers* ('Olive Tree Square') a more appropriate translation of this idea; though **PLACE OLIVIER** remains ambiguous. This is in part because the use of capital letters throughout the LL obscures the distinction between proper names and common nouns. As such, the meaning of **OLIVIER** — as a personal name or an olive tree — is unclear in the upper plaque. The addition of the first name *Ipolite* and a F3 biography in

Occitan, therefore, demonstrates a discrepancy between the languages concerning the level of detail offered to the reader. Another street indicates an even more substantial departure from the official language, where the RUE DE L'HOMME ARMÉ ('Road of the Soldier') is expressed in the RL as CARRIÈRA DEL SALVATGE ('Road of the Savage').

Such differences are particularly relevant in terms of the visual hierarchy. The alternative and often more detailed Occitan 'translations' of French F2s highlight an informational difference between the codes, but this is made even more obvious by the amount of text on each plaque. The reader's interpretation of the language situation is partly driven by these visual presentations, where Occitan regularly outweighs French in terms of word count. Evidently, this challenges the traditional notion of code preference as indicated by the upper/lower arrangement of the languages.

Table 6.2. Code preference on F2s by word count

Dominant language	Proportion
Neither	85%
Occitan	13%
French	2%

The majority of F2s exhibit an equal number of words in the upper and lower plaque. A significant number (73; 13.3%), however, feature more Occitan than French. 13 of these discrepancies are due to structural differences in the languages, for instance **ARC EN CIEL** ('rainbow') and the proper noun **PEYROLADE**, both of which are expressed with a different number of words in Occitan (ARCOLAN and PÈIRA LADA respectfully). However, 60 pairings (11%) feature Occitan which intersects with French in its information as well as word count. These include name and titular additions (e.g. **FURGOLE**|JOAN BAPTISTA FURGÒLA, **BELLEGARDE**|BARON GUILHÈM DE BÈLEGARDA, **NINAU**|GUILHÈM UNAUT DE LANTA); place and common noun descriptions (**MOULINS**|MOLINS DE COMENGE, **MAGE**|MÀGER DELS AFACHADORS, **TROIS PILIERS**|POTZ DELS TRES PILHÈRS); and historical references (**TROIS JOURNÉES**|TRES GLORIOSAS,

CANTEGRIL|FORN DE CANTAGRIL). Although the majority of streets feature no such discrepancies and revert to favouring French through the general code preference, these 60 mount a challenge to this hierarchy by exhibiting Occitan-dominant F2s. This illustrates the municipality's desire to 'promote bilingualism' (Mairie de Toulouse, 2012: 2), though arguably also reneges on the condition not to direct this promotion against French.

A covert Occitan preference is also detectable in the F2s which make reference to local places, people, and events. Although the policy documents state that Occitan F2s are generated from existing French terms, many resonate more powerfully in Occitan. For instance, the meanings of LENGADÒC, GARONETA (a tributary of the Garonne river), TOLOSANA, OCCITANA, and JOANA DE TOLOSA are all anchored locally, with specific reference to the Occitan world. Whilst it is difficult to argue that these terms are somehow 'more' Occitan than French, or that their origin is particular to the RL — **LANGUEDOC** and **OCCITANE** are well-established French terms in a commercial context, for instance — their local association indicates that this is a possibility. This is particularly relevant for **OCCITANE**, given the recent creation of the new *Occitanie* region, of which Toulouse is *préfecture* and capital. Whilst the use of the term in the new region's name is likely to strengthen associations between the space and ideas connected to the RL, the fact that the French *Occitanie* is preferred over the Occitan *Occitània* indicates the continued dominance of the national language. Nevertheless, the referencing of local phenomena makes it difficult to argue that the terms originate in French, or that they are new creations in the RL. Rather, their appearance in Occitan serves to underline the desire of the municipal authority to draw links between the RL and local places, people, and histories.

It may be argued, therefore, that the addition of the Occitan plaques encourages a thought that was previously impossible: that French is not the origin language of street names in Toulouse. Not only is Occitan frequently presented as more appropriate for describing the historic context of local places and people, but it also challenges the established French ownership of terms such as *Languedoc* and *Toulouse*. This contradicts the official position of the SBFO, which (in order to conform to the law) states that the lower plaques are translations of French. Additionally, it has implications for borrowed terms, the French origins of which are cast into doubt. Previously, French was the undisputed medium for labelling the city. Since the addition

of the lower plaques, however, the exclusivity of this ownership has been lost. This is particularly detectable in personal names which are common in French. For instance, **ARNAUD BERNARD** and **PIERRE BRUNIÈRE** are likely to have been considered French for years, when the street signs were known to be written only in the national language. The additions of NAUT BERNAT and PÈIRE BRENÈRI, however, introduce the possibility that Occitan has at least an equal stake in their identity.

The sense of ownership is reinforced by the shields, present on all the upper plaques, which depict the red and yellow Occitan cross, the official and nationally recognized symbol of the former *Midi-Pyrénées* region.⁶⁸ The crosses are not discussed in the SBFO policy documents, though it is a reasonable assumption that the medieval shield is intended to suggest a long-standing regional identity of the names. More recent evidence, provided by the current *Signalisation bilingue* commission, indicates that the crosses are intended to signal the Occitan identity of terms that are original to the RL and have been borrowed into French, in order to ‘complete’ the sign (*Signalisation bilingue*, 2014: 2). In light of this, the appearance of crosses on the upper plaques in Toulouse indicates a distinct Occitanization of ostensibly ‘French’ terms.

Figure 6.3. Adapted/borrowed F2s



⁶⁸ As discussed in section 1.1 (cf. figure 1.2, p. 5), the Occitan cross remains a feature of the newly established Occitanie region.

This is particularly striking for terms whose language is unclear because they are lexically identical on both plaques (e.g. **METZ**|METZ in figure 6.3); in these cases the addition of the shield (and absence of any national emblem) arguably tips the balance in favour of the RL, rather than French. The widespread use of the digraph <tz> in Occitan texts elsewhere may also contribute to the interpretation of METZ as Occitan; though with this particular example, it must be borne in mind that *Metz* is a well-established term in the national language.

The support for Occitan may be considered covert because the signs frequently surpass the limitations of the official translation policy. The term **ALSACE-LORRAINE** (cf. figure 6.3) refers both to an historic region of France and to two recent adjacent administrative regions, incorporated with *Champagne-Ardenne* to form the new *Grand Est* region in 2016 (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 2015). According to the SBFO policy, the term does not qualify for adaptation into Occitan: it does not originate in the south of France, nor does it have any tangible link to Occitan language or culture. It is likely, however, that the justification for its adaptation lies in Sumien's (2006) work on Occitan standardization, which is referenced in the policy documents. *Lorraine* is not mentioned, though Sumien's lengthy technical passage on the phonetic adaptation of *Alsace* (pp. 231–264) is possibly responsible for ALSACIA, which figures on several Occitan plaques spanning the length of this prominent commercial street situated in the heart of the city.

It is interesting that the Rue de Metz has undergone no such process, particularly given that Metz is the second city of the Lorraine region, near the border with Alsace. If we are to accept that **METZ** is not adapted for a lack of sufficient criteria, then the creation of ALSACIA-LORENA is fundamentally contradictory. Indeed, Sumien's rationalization for the adaptation of French terms is hardly definitive, as it is dependent on two seemingly incongruous conditions: first, according to a vague sense of whether a term is deemed to be 'in usage'; and second, depending on whether equivalents already exist in Italian and Catalan, arbitrarily selected as 'example languages' for Occitan to replicate. Moreover, despite encouraging the use of minorized RL names 'through solidarity', Sumien also advocates the use of French names 'through pragmatism' (2006: 398). The adaptation of **ALSACE-LORRAINE** and borrowing of **METZ** therefore attests to a rather opaque language policy, and suggests that the

development of Occitan terms is driven by political, historical, and legal concerns. From a linguistic perspective, therefore, the creation of Occitan F2s appears rather unconsidered.

At this stage of the analysis it is apparent that describing unmodified F2s as ‘borrowings’ may be inappropriate, as this implies transferal from one language to another. This is of course difficult to establish when the origin language is unclear. Additionally, the direction of adapted terms — from French to Occitan or from Occitan to French — is rarely obvious. This has encouraged criticism from some quarters, such as the *Mouvement républicain de salut public* (‘Republican Movement for Public Safety’ — hereafter MRSP), a minor political party based in Montpellier which considers opposition to RLs a fundamental principle of Republicanism. In 2010, the MRSP disputed the growing presence of Occitan names of towns and villages in the south, arguing that their ‘separatist and antinational’ emplacement in the LL had no historical basis and threatened the equality and unity of the French people (MRSP, 2010). Following the initial removal of the signs, an appeals court in Marseille ordered their reinstatement in 2012, on the condition that the French texts remain ‘sufficiently and correctly’ visible (Le Télégramme, 2012). This happened shortly after a discussion held in the Senate (the upper house of the French government) acknowledged the possibility that many French names may in fact be inaccurate translations of existing RL names:

The description ‘translation into the RL’ is misguided because it is the French name which is a translation or an adaptation and not the reverse. Allowing historically founded inscriptions in RLs serves to value the heritage of France.

[President of the Senate:] In paragraph two, replace the words ‘the translation of the name’ with ‘the name of the conurbation’. (Sénat, 2011).

As (Diver, 2011) similarly comments, despite the difficulties of establishing the authenticity of terms, therefore, it appears that the adaptation of long-established French names is enough to initiate the consideration that Occitan may have a more established claim to legitimacy than French.

Whilst the intricacies of translation/adaptation/borrowing are too complex to untangle fully in this chapter, from the perspective of Occitan revitalization it may be more important that the lower plaques demonstrate a lexical difference to French. Whilst the morphological appropriateness of ALSACIA-LORENA is not an insignificant question, it is remarkable simply that steps have been taken to establish a relative term in Occitan. In the whole corpus,

there are 942 meanings written identically in French and Occitan F2s.⁶⁹ 57% replicate the French lexeme exactly (e.g. **CHARLES MALPEL**|CHARLES MALPEL), though almost half (43%) are adapted (**SAINTE SCARBES**|SANTAS CARBAS). From a casual reading of the signs, it is impossible to judge whether the Occitan adaptations are historically or linguistically justifiable. The frequency of these code-convergent borrowings (Brown, 2003), however, illustrates the capacity of Occitan to compete with French in lexical terms. Moreover, it evidences a clear municipal interest in demonstrating that 405 street names exist in their own right in Occitan. In terms of the linguistic hierarchy, this adds significant symbolic weight to the bottom plaques, and to the vitality of the RL.

6.5. F3: Supplementary Information

Of the 547 bilingual signs in Toulouse, 328 (60%) feature F3s. These short texts provide information about the F2: the occupation(s), activities, and roles of individuals in historic events; and descriptions of buildings, former streets, and other places. Despite the prevalence of F3s in the LL, the SBFO offers no guidance on how they should be translated. This non-policy (Blackwood & Tufi, 2012) is perhaps the reason behind the significant variation in the multilingual composition of the signs, where Occitan repeatedly undermines the general hierarchy privileging French. In terms of code preference and the visual hierarchy, a word count analysis reveals Occitan to be the most common code on F3s, since only 17 signs (5%) contain more French text than Occitan. Although 68% of the F3s do not favour one language over the other, 89 (27%) privilege Occitan. In addition, 50 F3s appear only in the RL, and the corresponding space on the French plaque above remains conspicuously blank.

Despite commonly held assumptions about the legislation designed to protect French, the presence of Occitan in the absence of French does not, in fact, contravene any laws. As the MRSP pointed out in 2010, and as the legislation itself clearly stipulates, the regulation widely known as the Toubon law only demands French be more visible than foreign languages (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 1994). However, the MRSP argued that bilingual street signs are nevertheless unlawful under the current Constitution, whose 2008 amendment

⁶⁹ Determiners (de, de la, du, des, aux, etc.) are excluded from this analysis.

in their view ‘restricts’ the RLs to heritage, making their appearance on contemporary official signage impossible (MRSP, 2010: 2). In 2014, an addition to the Toubon law confirmed explicitly that it ‘does not oppose’ the use of RLs (Journal Officiel de la République Française, 1994: article 21 (2014)). It is plausible, therefore, that this addition will end the relevance of this legislation to the RLs, since it was always intended (and now states this explicitly) to protect French through limiting the visibility of English. Those who oppose the appearance of RLs in the LL may well argue that this new addition no more permits their use than outlaws it; however it now appears more certain that there is no legal requirement for Occitan F3s to be translated into French. It is unclear whether this legislative opacity is responsible for the lack of SBFO guidelines on F3s. However, it is important to note that the relationship between the languages in this function is significantly more variable than in F1 and F2. Adapting Backhaus’s (2007) simplified format of Reh’s (2004) translation model also used for the street survey data, table 6.3 details the proportion of replicating (identical information in both plaques), intersecting (information partially duplicated in both plaques), and unrelated (no informational relationship between plaques) instances of the 275 bilingual F3 texts.

Table 6.3. Translations of bilingual F3 texts

Translation Type	Proportion
Replicating	82%
Intersecting	12%
Unrelated	6%

Almost a fifth of bilingual F3s demonstrate significant inter-lingual variation: **INSTITUTEUR** (‘school master’) is expanded to REGENT DE L’ESCOLA DE SANT ÇUBRA (‘master of St-Cyprien School’), and **DÉPUTÉ** (‘member of parliament’) to CONSOL MÀGER E DEPUTAT DE TOLOSA (‘mayor and member of parliament for Toulouse’). In terms of informational balance, the majority favour Occitan: **PRÉHISTORIEN**|DIRECTOR DEL MUSÈU SANT RAMOND (‘scholar of prehistory|director of the Sant Ramond Museum’); **MORT EN DÉPORTATION**|ERÒI DE LA RESISTÈNCIA (‘died during deportation|hero of the Resistance’); **INGÉNIEUR MILITAIRE**|ARQUITÈCTE EN FORTIFICACIONS (‘military engineer|architect of fortifications’). 17 Occitan F3s are

unrelated to their French counterparts: François Boyer Fonfrede’s French F3 reads **CONVENTIONNEL** (‘National Assembly member’); whilst the Occitan elects to ignore the person and describe the place — AUTRE CÒP, CARRIÈRA DE LA VACA (‘formerly, Cow Street’). This introduces the possibility that the street has a longer-established profile than the upper plaque conveys, and therefore that the French F2 is an erasure of an historic Occitan space. This suggests that the nationalist and political memorializing of Fonfrede is actively avoided in the Occitan inscription. Indeed, Occitan F3s routinely contradict and challenge the French ownership of the space: Anatole France is described in French as an **ÉCRIVAIN** (‘writer’), whilst the lower plaque reads PLAÇA DELS CAPUCHINS DESEMPUÈI LO SÈGLE XVI (‘Square of the Capuchins since the 16th century’); and Henry de Gorsse, **AUTEUR DRAMATIQUE** (‘playwright’), is over-written by CARRIÈRA DEL FORN DE LA DALBADA (‘Road of the Dalbade Foundry’ (referencing a local church)).

F3s are therefore a major site of expression for Occitan, particularly in terms of the visual impact of the word count, which is frequently longer on the lower plaque. On a number of signs, moreover, this dominance spreads to the F2, which becomes Occitanized through the implications of the F3.

Figure 6.4. Occitan appropriation of French F2 texts



On the example given in figure 6.4, only the Occitan plaque contains a F3, which reads PINTORS TOLOSENCES DELS SÈGLES XVII E XVIII ('XVII- and XVIII-century Toulousain painters'). This information is absent on the French plaque and, as on the other 49 signs with Occitan-only F3s, this suggests that the street has a more relevant association with the RL than with French. In addition, the Occitan reveals information unavailable in the national language: the words JOAN PÈIRE E ANTÒNI indicate that the F2 refers to two people, whilst a reading of **RIVALS** in isolation would likely imply that the street was named after one person, or even that **RIVALS** referred to something else entirely. The F3, however, informs us that the street commemorates two men whose forenames are given only in Occitan. From the perspective of ownership, this encourages the assessment that RIVALS originates in Occitan, and thus that **RIVALS** is a borrowing. This directly contradicts the municipal assurance that the lower plaques are translations or adaptations of official French terms.

A similar process is identifiable on the **RUE DU CANARD**|CARRIÈRA DEL SÈNHER CANHARD. Whilst CANHARD is a proper name (identified by SÈNHER: 'sir' or 'Mr'), **CANARD** implies that the road is named after a duck. The Occitan for duck, *canard*, only differs by one letter to CANHARD, which may indicate an error of transcription into the RL. However, it seems unlikely that the street is named after a farmyard animal rather than a person, given that 92% of the city's streets take their names from historical figures. In fact, the inclusion of the title SÈNHER indicates that Occitan holds the stronger claim to legitimacy. This makes **CANARD** look like a rather inappropriate adaptation, in which the 'h' has been omitted to conform to French orthographic norms regardless of the error in translation. The lower plaque not only reveals an alternative street name, therefore, but hints at the long-term French manipulation of an Occitan space.

This process of Occitan re-claiming is not just visible on signs relating to the south of France or to events preceding the French Revolution, as the policy indicates. Frequently, F3s on the lower plaques imply a deliberate attempt to associate Occitan with a wide range of non-local and more recent street names. **DR LOUIS DELHERM**, for example, is commemorated on the upper plaque only by the years of his life: 1876–1953. Despite these dates falling far from the Revolution, the Occitan F3 reads MEDECIN DELS ESPITALS DE PARIS, NASCUT E MÒRT A TOLOSA ('doctor of Parisian hospitals, born and died in Toulouse'). Elsewhere, JOAN

BAPTISTA FURGÒLA, whose full name is given only in the RL, is undefined in French whilst simultaneously described in Occitan as a 17th-century professor of the Faculty of Law. Importantly, the F3 omission in French means that readers are obligated to access the supplementary information through the RL. It is against this sort of appropriation that the Toubon law was designed to protect French; yet these signs clearly demote French to a medium of labelling, whilst Occitan serves both to label the streets and to inform passers-by about their relevance. This promulgation of specifically Occitan histories has a particularly forceful effect on the F2s, whose identity as French is called into question.

The strategies for borrowing and adapting terminology from other languages are also significant. The **SQUARE DE LA VIERGE ROUGE** (‘Square of the Red Virgin’, referring to the famous leader of the Paris Commune Louise Michel), for example, appears as JARDIN DE LA VERGE ROJA. The information is replicated in both texts, though whilst French contains the English loanword *square*, JARDIN indicates a preference not to borrow. The same resistance is detectable in **ELYSABETH**, borrowed in French (conventional spelling: *Élisabeth*) but translated as ELISABETH on the lower plaque. This name is approved by the IEO, and its use on the Occitan plaque demonstrates the lengths taken to avoid borrowing foreign names where alternatives are possible. Further descriptions of Rosa Parks (FIGURA DE LA LUTTA CONTRA LA SEGREGACION RACIALA — ‘figure of the fight against racial segregation’), Robert Baden Powell (FONDADOR DE L’ESCOTISME — ‘founder of Scouting’), Frida Kahlo (ARTISTA PINTORA MEXICANA — ‘Mexican painter and artist’) and others likewise demonstrate the international breadth of Occitan, capable of discourse beyond its own heritage.

6.6. Variation and Standardization

The functional analysis above highlights variation amongst general trends in translation and code preference. Additionally, the discussion underscores the inherent lack of order in the management of Occitan and its relationship to French. This is partly a result of the multiple influences on Occitan plaque creation, which has been managed by different bodies across several phases. Whilst the plaques erected under Douste-Blazy and the 2009 enlargement overseen by the SBFO concentrated on the medieval centre of Toulouse, the body currently

responsible for the signs, the *Signalisation bilingue* commission, seeks to expand the coverage to the city limits (Signalisation bilingue, 2014). In addition, the commission targets a wider provision for the RL across the region in traffic and pedestrian direction and entry/exit signs, as well as in terms of lexical standardization, neologizing, and financial support for the installation of panels (*ibid.*). However, as this expansion of the RL into new areas of the LL evolves, Occitan's general non-standardization has become more perceptible. There is a significant body of scholarship which discusses this (cf. Costa, 2016; as well as Boyer & Gardy, 2001a; Costa, 2015; Sumien, 2006; and Tabouret-Keller, 1999); insofar as language management and activism are concerned, however, most of the proposed solutions remain theoretical, and active language management remains hampered by opaque generalizations such as 'Toulouse Occitan' (SBFO, 2009), whose basis is unclear. *Signalisation bilingue* can claim an improvement in this direction by working in close collaboration with Occitan scholars at the *Université de Toulouse — Jean Jaurès* and the IEO, with whom it seeks to establish a quasi-definitive database of terms based on collectively standardized local place names, and invites input from members of the public in both the establishment of new terms and the acceptance of suggested ones (Signalisation bilingue, 2014: 4–5). It remains the case, however, that the diminished state of the language, brought about in part by the failure of its supporters to establish enough common ground between its varieties, makes consistency of its presentation in the LL difficult to achieve.

Therefore, and as the examples discussed above demonstrate, it is difficult to consider Occitan a bound language. The difficulties of conducting LL analysis of unbound languages are discussed in Blackwood's (2017) exploration of the relationship between French and Creole in the LL of Guadeloupe. The author argues for a general distinction between the two forms based on standardization: namely that French is regulated by commonly known and accepted grammatical and lexical norms, and creoles are not. His method is to consider any non-French-looking item as Creole, such as the phrase *prix bon maché mem!* ('and really good prices!'). The absence of the standard French *prix bon marché même* indicates variation; however, as with Occitan and its variants, it is difficult to code consistently in more detail than simply 'not French' or 'variety of French', due to the unbound nature of the island's Creoles, and their regular contact with French. In the same study, the phrase *ti marché an nou* ('our little market') is also considered Creole, despite the fact that *marché* this time includes the <r>

indicative of standard French. Whilst the lack of standardization of Creole(s) means that a number of varieties exist (this is accordingly acknowledged by the author), the French/Creole dichotomy does not account for the potential for certain Creole texts to appear more (or less) lexically symmetrical to French. Although it is indisputable that *marché* is standard French and *maché* is not, the field is only beginning to theorize the complexities of translingual variation, and few methodological models for its analysis have been suggested (cf. Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Moriarty, 2015).

Similarly to the Creole case, a lack of standardization is affecting the ways in which Occitan is presented in the LL. As demonstrated by the examples discussed in this chapter, and to a lesser extent by *Signalisation bilingue*'s prioritization of the need to establish norms, the Occitan street signs in Toulouse do not bear the hallmarks of a definitive bound language. Rather, they form a spectrum of representation ranging from 'obviously not French' at one extreme, to 'potentially French' at the other. The range of adaptations, transcriptions, and translations thus indicate that Occitan may be considered at once a separate language to French and a close relative to it. The intersecting nature of the languages is also supported by suggestions that long-standing 'French' terms are original to Occitan, as has been argued both in the Senate (cf. section 6.4) and by *Signalisation bilingue* (2014: 2). In terms of practice, is it reasonable to suggest that Occitan authors might wish to produce texts which appear as distinct from French as possible. This is supported by Joseph (2006), who posits that language activists commonly take an essentialist approach to language management in order to co-ordinate their activities and render their output consistent. The desire to avoid using Occitan terms that may be interpreted as anything other (but particularly as French) is visible in the Toulouse data, where the signs indicate that steps have been taken to display lexical constructions that are as un-French in appearance as possible. Examples include the pairing of RUE DE L'HOMME ARMÉ ('Road of the Soldier') with CARRIÈRA DEL SALVATGE ('Road of the Savage') which not only indicates a different interpretation in the RL (cf. section 6.4), but also a visible distinction between the texts. A similar differentiation is visible in one of the three street signs recorded in Marseille, in which *li Cascarelto* ('the humorous tales') is added to a plaque commemorating the Provençal author Jòusè Roumanille (cf. figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5. Commemorative street sign in Marseille



Although the French term **BAVARDAGES** ('stories' or 'chit-chat') loosely covers the meaning of CASCARELETO in which the idea of humour is also implied, the absence of an entirely replicating translation emphasizes the linguistic relativity of the idea to the RL and the inaccuracies of its expression in French. Moreover, the presentation of the term following a non-French article (LI) and within quotation marks emphasises the specialist role of the RL in conveying the idea. This method of lexical separation is similarly detectable in the policy documents of the SBFO (2009: 1), which argue the need for 'adaptations' to differentiate the languages, and *Signalisation bilingue* (2014: 2), which speaks of preserving the 'original Occitan orthography' in such terms, and marking its variance to French.

6.7. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter has been to demonstrate the hierarchies hidden within the general vertical arrangement of the languages. Overtly, the hegemony of French is made clear by the code preference, which unanimously presents the official language above the RL. However, there are a series of covert communications which simultaneously reverse this hierarchy. Occitan is the more common code in terms of word count, and F3s in particular illustrate a significantly higher proportion of RL text. Whilst word count is arguably part of the code

preference system (Scollon & Scollon, 2003), a covert Occitan/French hierarchy is also visible in the translations and symbolic associations of texts. Occurring in unison, these aspects of the signs embody the competition between French and Occitan for the linguistic ownership of the streets.

It is evident that the Occitan plaques have been created with informational invention in mind. The F1s demonstrate the RL's lexical capacity to provide equivalents for established French denominations. Meanwhile, 33 F3s offer more information in Occitan, 50 contain no French at all, and several dispute the assumption that French is the original language of the street name; a position that is reinforced by the policies of the *Signalisation bilingue* commission. Though 83% of street names are identical on the lower plaque, only 2% feature more text in French. This means that Occitan recurrently offers more detail; and when titles, ranks, forenames, and other information are absent in French, a powerful meaning about the respective importance of the languages is transmitted.

This is also supported by the translation of ideas between the languages, where 60% of the meanings conveyed in French differ on the lower plaques. This suggests an intention to avoid presenting the lower plaques as borrowings in order to imply RL independence from the national language. The use of the IEO's Occitan names list, the archives of the *Congrès Permanent de la Lengua Occitana*, and the toponymical research being carried out by *Signalisation bilingue* demonstrate the enthusiasm for 'translating' as many aspects of French as possible. As the data indicates, efforts have also been made to ensure that all 143 common nouns and adjectives are translated, and are lexically divergent in Occitan.

Though the arrangement of the plaques observes the perceived hegemony of French enshrined in the Constitution, there are frequent indications that this is not reciprocated in the content of the signs themselves. Through the association of Occitan with local and historical people, places, and events, the signs challenge the French identity of the space, indicating a more contemporary Occitan than implied by the official 'heritage' label. Moreover, the increasing salience of the plaques in the city space since the turn of the millennium indicates that this reference is not just embedded historiographically (Van Assche, Duineveld, De Jong, & Van Zoest, 2012), but anchored in a contemporary re-drawing of the Occitan-French relationship. The covert nature of this process bears similarities with the Hungarian place names erected in

Slovak villages after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, where activists ‘employed acceptable legal means for their goal, even though this was, in fact, an expression of their resistance to the nationalist state policy’ (Sloboda, 2009: 183). Since public proficiency in Occitan is generally very low, the comprehension of Occitan texts is undoubtedly reliant on semantic similarities with French. This reliance on the national language clearly demonstrates the extent to which the RL is minorized; yet it also permits lexical divergences from French to stand out easily, whilst maintaining ease of comprehensibility for French readers. This process is visible in the adaptation of **ALSACE-LORRAINE** as ALSACIA-LORENA. As Azaryahu (1996: 311) similarly maintains, Alsace-Lorraine is so common on streets throughout France that its reproduction in another language is particularly significant. The fact that monolingual French readers can also access the RL not only threatens the assumed dominance of French, but gives some justification to the widespread public use of Occitan in the city. The signs are not only reflective of a municipal desire for language revitalization, therefore, but all but guarantee it in the daily lives of those who pass through the city’s streets.

Although the 2014 addition to the Toubon law, which confirms that it does not apply to Occitan, appears to eradicate any potential illegalities of the street signs, resistance towards bilingual place names remains. Amidst the on-going debate about the authenticity of RL place names, the *Assemblée Nationale* (France’s lower house of government) has twice blocked proposals to standardize bilingual names of towns and cities (Assemblée Nationale, 2011). Less convincingly, the MRSP (2010: 2) has also claimed that the presence of RLs on signs is universally unconstitutional, since in its view Article 2 (‘the language of the Republic is French’) outweighs Article 75 (‘the regional languages are part of the heritage of France’). Clearly, the municipal authority remains undeterred by such arguments, as it continues to standardize the street signs according to what it describes as ‘Toulousain Occitan’ (SBFO, 2009: 1). Perhaps in response to these criticisms, *Signalisation bilingue* (2014: 2) makes clear its position in its policy documents, stating the following:

According to the National Council of Geographical Information, official entry (EB10) and exit panels (EB20) to and from conurbations must be in French. It states that it is possible to add a panel with the name of the Commune in Occitan underneath the official panel.

In addition, *Signalisation bilingue* seeks support from the public, welcoming descendants of those memorialized on street signs to request the adaptation of their ancestors' names into Occitan, either through voluntary contribution to the toponymical research project or by consulting the IEO in order to 'create a more "authentic" place names', and to avoid the 'all too frequent' resorting to naming streets after local flora (*ibid.*: 6). There is no data available to indicate the degree or impact of public engagement in the project, though it is worth noting that both the municipal charter and *Signalisation bilingue* are keen to justify this as a democratic process, in line with Republican values, rather than as an explicit challenge to French hegemony (Mairie de Toulouse, 2012: 2; Signalisation bilingue, 2014: 1). Despite this, the charter verges on constitutional transgression by claiming that Occitan is 'both heritage *and* a means of expression available to the entire population of Toulouse' (Marie de Toulouse, 2012: 2, my emphasis), since this potentially breaches the historical limitations implied by 'heritage'.

This position is indicated by the LL, as Occitan is only covertly presented as the dominant code of place-naming. Methodologically speaking, this finding offers the potential for further research into covert aspects of multilingual signs, which operate simultaneously and within the structures of an overt or perceived linguistic hierarchy. It is clear that street signs are influential for the associations made between space and language and, for the present study, for the ongoing revitalization of Occitan. This demonstrates that the street sign is not only a marker of top-down language policy, but also an active component in the construction of identity, and of the perceptions, held by the reader, of the authority's management of the languages it oversees.

Chapter Seven

Case Study: Mariani Campus, University of Corsica

7.1. Introduction

This chapter focusses on the Mariani Campus of the University of Corsica. The campus is located on the fringes of Corte, a small inland town set in Corsica's mountainous centre, roughly half the distance between Ajaccio and Bastia. Corte has an historic association with Corsican independence leader Pasquale Paoli, who appointed the town the island's capital during the brief 15-year period of independence following Genoese control of the island and preceding its transferal to French ownership in 1768.⁷⁰ The town can be described as a site of regional (and RL) activism, given its historical associations and the symbolic value attributed to it by supporters of Corsica's various independence movements. As the data in this chapter demonstrate, the university can similarly be considered a site of Corsican language activism, and its status as the island's largest educational institutional space firmly underlines the association between Corsica's public education system, its historic independent capital, and its RL. In addition to the Mariani campus, the university operates on five other sites across Corsica: a smaller campus to the south of Corte; a scientific research institute outside the small town of Cargèse on the west coast of the island, about 20km north of Ajaccio; a marine biology research centre at Biguglia, 10km south of Bastia; and two environmental research centres based at the *Centre de Recherche Scientifique Georges Peri* in the small town of Vignola, about 10km west of Ajaccio.⁷¹ The Mariani campus, a large site constructed on a plateau overlooking the town, is the largest of these and the nucleus of the institution.

⁷⁰ For overviews of this period and of Pasquale Paoli's legacy, see Arrighi & Pomponi (1967); Blackwood (2008); Carrington (1984); and Pellegrinetti & Rovère (2004).

⁷¹ For details of the university sites and their activities, see <https://www.universita.corsica/fr/universita/voir/>

Figure 7.1. Mariani campus map



All around the Mariani campus, the university's logo appears in Corsican, bearing the text '*Università di Corsica Pasquale Paoli*' alongside a stylized image composed of the island's outline and a cropped portrait of Pasquale Paoli (cf. figure 7.2). This is reproduced on the majority of its official inscriptions: entrances and exits to the campus, buildings, maps, documents, as well as on the university's trilingual website, available in French, Corsican, and English. Although frequently referred to in French as *l'Université de Corse Pascal Paoli*, the institution's official logo is produced in Corsican on all its written documentation, and French is omitted (Università di Corsica, 2016a).

Figure 7.2. Corsican university logo



This practice of self-identifying in the RL is echoed in the institutional motto ‘*Studia hé Libertà*’ (‘Study and Freedom’), reproduced on merchandise, marketing materials, and on official social media channels, as well as being enshrined in the university’s research ethos which aims to promote the region through ‘transferring knowledge and skills back to the [Corsican] island territory’ (Università di Corsica, 2016b). In addition to the logos, which are commonplace around campus, the majority of permanent, official signage is written in Corsican only, visible in the names of buildings, departments, and research institutes, as well as on signs labelling them on maps and directing pedestrians towards them from car parks, courtyards, and paths (cf. figure 7.3). However, other signage on campus, such as building opening times and information about teaching, meetings, and social activities, are written in French (cf. figure 7.4). To borrow from Stroud & Mpendukana (2009), these items indicate the importance attached to the national language in ‘sites of necessity’, since information essential to the everyday running of the university tends to appear in French rather than in Corsican. The fact that the French signs are authored by members of the university (i.e. staff and students) not only challenges the institutional-wide claim to Corsican identity, but also the structural composition of its linguistic hierarchy.

Figure 7.3. Corsican university signage



Figure 7.4. French university signage

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BOISSONS FROIDES		SANDWICHES / PANINI	
- Saint Georges 33 cl	1,30 €	- Sandwich jambon - Emmental	1,50 €
- Zéro 33 cl	1,30 €	- Sandwich Poulet - Mayonnaise	1,50 €
- Orca 33 cl	1,40 €	- Sandwich Trois fromages	1,50 €
- Coca Cola zéro	1,40 €	- Sandwich jambon - Beurre	2,50 €
- Coca cola canette	1,40 €	- Sandwich jambon cru - Tomates	4,00 €
- Isot Tau Pêche	1,40 €	- Panini jambon - Emmental	4,00 €
- Jus de fruits	1,40 €	- Panini Kebab	4,50 €
- Schewettes agrumes	1,40 €	- Panini Trois fromages	3,50 €
- Liptonic	1,40 €	- Panini jambon - Mozzarella	4,00 €
- Bière Heineken	1,80 €	- Panini jambon cru - Tomates séchées	4,00 €
		- Panini Poulet - Crème	3,50 €
		- Pain bagnat au thon	4,00 €
		- Croque Monsieur	2,00 €
BOISSONS CHAUDES		DESSERTS / PATISSERIES	
- Café expresso	0,95 €	- Panini Nutella - Banane - Coco	1,50 €
- Thé Infusion	0,95 €	- Panini Nutella	3,00 €
- Café Dédouané	1,20 €	- Pâtisseries Fines	2,00 €
- Café crème	1,20 €		
- Chocolat chaud	1,20 €	ACCOMPAGNEMENTS	
- Thé au lait	1,20 €	- Frites	1,50 €
		- Pommes	2,00 €
AMERICAN BURGER		VIENNOISERIES	
- Hamburger	4,50 €	- Croissants	0,70 €
- Cheese burger	4,80 €	- Pains au chocolat	0,70 €
- Nuggets de poulet	3,00 €		
- Wings de poulet	3,50 €		





itself — i.e. the textual objects in the landscape — which mediates the competing linguistic identities which define ‘the institution’ as a collective unit on the one hand, and as a shared space constructed by its individual members on the other. It is argued that the notion of institutional linguistic identity may therefore be usefully conceptualized in terms of authorship.

7.2. Identity and Institutional Space

A university campus is a typical example of an institutional space (Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). It belongs to a larger organization (i.e. ‘the university’) insofar as it is usually owned and managed by that organization, though it also contains a variety of sub-structures with greater or lesser autonomy from the institutional whole. These are normally broken down administratively in terms of faculties, schools, departments, centres, or institutes. They are also manifested physically as buildings, classrooms, libraries, and residences, which formulate institutional members’ and visitors’ conceptions of the structural composition of the institution. Even external organizations who run sports centres, cafés, and other franchises on campus do so with the permission of the institution, and in so doing contribute to its collective identity. Similarly, those who study, work, and visit the institution are normally required to adhere to its rules, and to respect some form of institutional code. These different institutional levels relate in diverse ways to the central management, since they are administered and experienced by employees, students, visitors, and (in the case of accessible campuses) the public. It may be argued, therefore, that the relationships between the core organization and its constituent parts are mediated by individuals, who act both within their microstructures and on behalf of the (macro) institution. As argued elsewhere (Hogg & Terry, 2001; Polletta & Jasper, 2001; Stensaker, 2015), it therefore follows that staff, students, and workers on campus all contribute in various ways to the collective identity of the institution, even if they do not represent the senior management of the organization individually, and have limited or no personal contact with those who do.

The frequency of Corsican on official signs around the campus (such as those exemplified in figure 7.3) embodies the central institutional promotion of and ideological support for the Corsican language. As Mayr (2008) reasons, the embedding of this ideology in physical objects

in the landscape further legitimizes the identity promulgated by the institution. Moreover, it can be argued that the ubiquity of the RL on campus is made all the more striking by its comparative absence elsewhere on the island: as discussed in chapter five, the average representative proportion of Corsican recorded in Ajaccio and Bastia was 13.4%, which contrasts significantly with the 42% recorded in this case study. This discrepancy indicates the visible distinctions between the LLs of the campus and the island's major cities. Moreover, it also underscores the importance attached to displaying the RL in the institutional setting, and the visible impact of this policy in creating a conspicuously Corsican space. As Fairclough (1995: 38) and Kreiner, Hollensbe, Sheep, Smith, & Kataia (2015) argue, this type of containment to a designated space and differentiation from realities in the outside world are both important factors in building a strong institutional identity. Not only is the support for Corsican particularly marked on campus, therefore, but it also contributes to the creation of a site of 'legitimate distinctiveness' (Navis & Glynn, 2011), the visual impact of which strengthens the links between the institution's identity and the Corsican language.

This can also be understood in terms of Luhmann's (1990) theory of self-referentiality, which posits that institutional systems (of which the university's language practices is an example) define their own boundaries, create their own internal conditions, and develop according to their own operational logic rather than any external influences (cf. also Beck, 1997; and Jessop, 2001). Following Celano (1999: 240–241), it may thus be suggested that the institution's maintenance of a Corsican identity relies not on a particular reality (i.e. that the university 'is' Corsican), but on promulgating the belief that Corsican is the most appropriate language through which to express this identity. To borrow from Van Herzele and Aarts (2013: 67), this self-produced linguistic identity is not just a by-product of its signage, but a 'concrete condition for its self-preservation'. The consistent presentation of Corsican on official signs around the campus can therefore be understood not only as a symbolic indication of an institutional policy to display the language, but also as a self-referential marker of this process and its deliberate implementation through the LL.

Despite the distinctiveness of Corsican on signs such as those exemplified in figure 7.3, however, a closer examination of the data suggests that Corsican is not unanimously the preferred code on campus. In fact, the data reveal a number of contexts in which French is the

preferred language, used by a variety of authors in different spaces. This reality illustrates Humphreys & Brown's (2002: 440) argument that institutional spaces are characterized by a 'multiplicity of individual and collective identity narratives which variously stand alone, inform each other, harmonize, and clash'. Applied to the campus LL, the variation of language choice on signs and the absence of the RL in specific areas indicate a clash between users at different micro-structural levels and the official macro-institutional ideology. Further, the inconsistent management of Corsican indicates that the linguistic identity of the institution is subject to mediation on the part of sign authors. Hence, the physical properties of signs provide important indications of authorship, and of author adherence to or divergence from the institutional policy. Following Hanauer (2010), this chapter argues that modality is a key indicator of the hierarchical dynamics of agency at different institutional levels. Echoing similar conclusions of Marx & Nekula (2015) and Waksman & Shohamy (2016), the data suggest that the site of the institution itself, rather than any abstract ideology or policy, is central to the negotiation of its identity as it is interpreted by those inside it. This is because the campus space, or rather the 394 items of written text within it, is the nexus at which various strands of institutional agency meet and are expressed.

7.3. Research Questions and Methodology

Following the broader aim to explore the notion of institutional identity from the perspective of the LL, this chapter addresses three research questions:

- 1) To what extent is the linguistic ideology of the institution expressed in the LL?
- 2) What are the links between language choice and institutional identity?
- 3) To what extent is institutional identity negotiated by different stakeholders in a shared space?

Photographs were taken of the 394 items visible on the Mariani Campus in April 2015. As with the street surveys carried out in this thesis, items were determined not according to spatial boundaries but by the function of text units. Thus, establishment names, establishment descriptions, slogans, instructions, trademarks, event advertisements, information bulletins, and directions were all considered fundamental categories of meaning-making, and were recorded individually as 'items'. Items were then attributed values across six discrete variables:

languages contained; type of multilingualism (based on Reh (2004)); locus (wall, door, window, noticeboard, free-standing, etc.); materiality (permanent, professionally printed, hand-written, word-processed); authorship (management, individual workers, individual students, student groups, external organizations); and field (learning and research, class information, student welfare, accommodation, social and night life, sport and recreation, etc.).⁷²

The following section discusses the general findings, providing an overview of the spaces and places in which the languages were recorded. Section 7.5 focusses on the agency of three institutional levels illuminated by the data, and explores the dynamics between French and Corsican in terms of practical necessity and linguistic symbolism. Comparisons with the street survey data are drawn in section 7.6. The data illustrate that, given the variety of items associated with both languages, the LL offers an important insight into the negotiation of institutional identity by numerous and competing stakeholders in a shared space.

7.4. Overview of Findings: The Language Situation on the Mariani Campus

On the day on which the fieldwork was carried out, 154 signs were visible on the campus. Some, such as word-processed small advertisements or hand-written slogans, contained only one item, other signs, for example a commercially produced poster featuring an event name, a number of slogans, contact details, and the trademarks of various sponsors, featured as many as 19 items. In total, 394 items were recorded across campus. Three languages were visible: French, Corsican, and English. French was present on 240 items (60.9%) and Corsican on 164 items (41.6%).⁷³ The impact of English on the LL was almost negligible, featuring on only 3 items (0.8%). In terms of multilingual distribution, 226 items (57.4%) exhibited only French, 149 (37.8%) only Corsican, and 14 (3.6%) both languages, according to the typology employed in this thesis. Ten functions and 24 fields were recorded. Table 7.1 lists the eight most common values for each of these variables.

⁷² The site variable did not exhibit much variation, and was therefore not as part of the empirical survey. Aspects of item location are nevertheless discussed at points throughout the analysis.

⁷³ As with the street survey data, all percentages given in this chapter are rounded up to the nearest .1%.

Table 7.1. Number and proportion of items by function and field

Function	#	%	Field	#	%
	Items			Items	
Slogan	85	21.6	Learning & Research	70	17.8
Trademark/Group Name	82	20.8	Institutional Administration	50	12.7
Event Advertisement	63	16	Corsican Independence	44	11.2
Direction	37	9.4	Student Welfare	41	10.4
Information Bulletin	36	9.1	Estates Management	23	5.8
Establishment Name	35	8.9	Social & Night Life	22	5.6
Advertisement	23	5.8	Class Information	20	5.1
Announcement	20	5.1	Media	16	4.1
Other ⁷⁴	13	3.3	Other ⁷⁵	108	27.4
Total	394	100	Total	394	100

Whilst 17 fields were collectively responsible for the ‘other’ grouping in table 7.1 (108 items; 27.4% — cf. f.n. 74), the most common single field was ‘learning and research’ (70 items; 17.8%). This field was composed mostly of directions (41.4%) and slogans (30%). The former were typically permanent signs attached to walls or free-standing along pathways (e.g. figure 7.3); the latter were visible on posters advertising educational events. Learning and research items exhibited the most balanced distribution of both languages, where 48.6% contained French and 51.4% contained Corsican. Examining this more closely, the majority of the Corsican items were monolingual direction signs, of which three contained bilingual establishment names (e.g. figure 7.5). Along with the rest of the official signage, this highlights one of the principal characteristics of Corsican on the campus: namely that the names of departments, subject areas, and academic disciplines are predominantly written in Corsican only.

⁷⁴ Establishment Descriptions and Instructions.

⁷⁵ Accommodation; Art; Associations; Jobs & Careers; Small Ads & Sales; Conferences & Conventions; Food & Drink; Festivals; Finance; History, Commemoration & Museums; Language Activism; Lost & Found; Music; Public Administration; Religion; Sport & Recreation.

Figure 7.5. Bilingual building names



This preference for the RL is echoed in the institutional administration field, the second most prevalent in the corpus, in which 34 items (68%) contained Corsican. These were the trademarks denoting the university logo, and campus maps indicating the locations of departments and buildings on the signage discussed above, as well as practical administration signs such as opening hours and signs regulating eating and smoking areas. This field contained only 12 French items: the proper name *Service commun de la documentation* ('General Administration Office' — two occurrences) and *Campus Mariani* (ten occurrences). The former denotes the organization which links university libraries across France. The item's association with a national body therefore suggests that its authorship in French is uncontroversial. The latter, *Campus Mariani*, however, frequently appears directly below the

Corsican university logos (cf. examples in figure 7.3), and is presented in French. This is despite its incorporation (widespread across the campus) of what is ostensibly a Corsican name in *Mariani*. On the one hand, the proper name *Mariani* is likely to be interpreted as Corsican through its historical associations with a figure of the island's heritage, namely the 19th-century Corsican chemist Angelo Mariani, creator of *Vin Mariani*, the first drink to incorporate coca leaves and therefore widely considered the European forerunner to Coca Cola (cf. Freye, 2010: 15; Pendergrast, 2013: 20–22). Coupled with the established practice of naming public institutions (and roads, as discussed in chapter six) after historical figures, as well as the morphological resonance of the noun-final grapheme <i>, which is not a feature of standard French, most readers are likely to associate the proper name of the campus with Corsican. On the other hand, the presence of the word *campus*, a noun without any ostensible Corsican morphological features by contrast, and mirroring the naming process of university campuses across the rest of France and elsewhere in the world, suggests that the dominant semantic function of the sign is not conveyed exclusively in Corsican.⁷⁶ Whilst the historical implications of *Mariani* are important, the primary function of the text *Campus Mariani* is to indicate the role and function of the space, i.e. that it is a university campus. Since none of the consulted sources indicate that *campus* can confidently be classified as Corsican, the term is more likely to be interpreted as a loanword from the national language, in the absence of any obvious Corsican alternative. *Campus Mariani* may therefore be considered as a translingual text incorporating elements of both languages, on which Corsican is presented as a proper name, and which an international term, commonly used alongside French in many contexts, is used for the primary function of the item. Despite this, the learning and research and institutional administration fields offer significant indications of an engrained policy to use Corsican as much as possible around the campus. This is uncontroversial considering the strategic aim of the institution to direct its research towards the island's culture and industry.

⁷⁶ It is difficult to argue that *campus* is definitively a French term, since various etymological sources consider its university context to originate from Princeton University in the 18th-century (e.g. Collins English Dictionary, 2017; Oxford English Dictionary, 2017). Since none of the consulted sources suggest a specific alternative in Corsican, it might therefore be argued that *campus* is here borrowed into Corsican as it has been into French (and other languages). However, the ubiquity of the term's visibility alongside other institutional names in the country, as well as its use within French texts around the university, suggests that the term is more likely to be interpreted as *le campus* in French, rather than *u campus* in Corsican, which was not recorded anywhere in the survey area.

Perhaps in line with the *Studia hé Libertà* ('Study and Freedom') motto, the third most common field in the corpus is Corsican independence. An average of one in ten items engages with this subject, almost exclusively in Corsican. These are predominantly slogans (57%) calling for independence and the release of political prisoners, expressed as transgressive (Soukup, 2016) hand-painted graffiti or printed stickers and posters adhered to walls and other signage (cf. figures 7.6–7.8). These include the names of the student groups *Ghjuventù Indipendentista* ('Separatist Youth') and *Ghjuventù Paolina* ('Paoli's Youth', after the historical revolutionary figure from whom the university takes its name). Most importantly, this field contains items relating to meetings, events, and co-ordinated political and linguistic activism which are described solely in Corsican. A number of posters advertising political demonstrations organized by *Ghjuventù Indipendentista* even display essential information such as dates, times, and meeting places in Corsican, as well as the usual political slogans (cf. Figure 7.8). As discussed in section 5.5.4, important communications in other fields normally rely on French; it is remarkable that signs advertising public activities choose to omit the national language in these sites of necessity (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009) despite the risk of excluding French-only readers.

Figure 7.6. *Ghjuventù Paolina* graffiti



Figure 7.7. *U Fronte Vincerà* graffito



Figure 7.8. *Ghjuventù Independentista* event poster

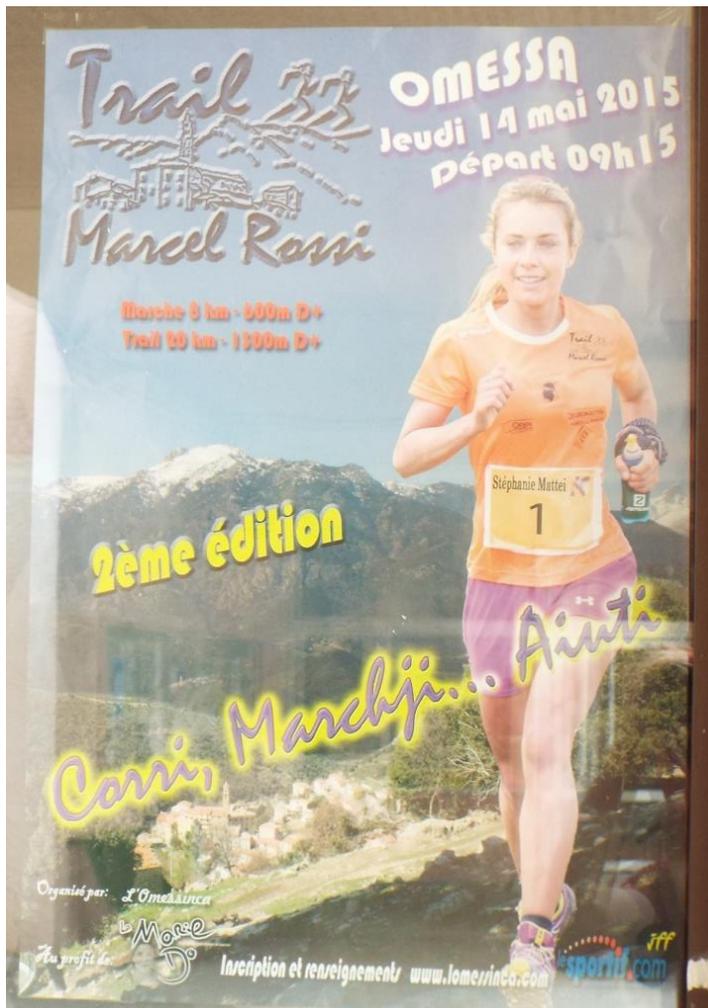


Although French dominates the majority of contexts, Corsican is not restricted to political and linguistic activism and the official institutional signs. It is consistently present (between three and 12 items) on signs relating to a variety of social, educational, and sporting activities. Examples are provided in figure 7.9, referencing a music concert and political debate, a cultural student pass for local events, a club night at the *Casa Studentina* (the ‘Student House’: a bar and social gathering space on campus), an environmental protection convention, an Easter meal hosted by the support group *Aiutu Studentinu* (‘Student Aid’), and a walking and running charity event. On these and other items, Corsican is relatively varied in terms of function, expressed as trademarks and group names (51 items), slogans (38 items), directions (31 items), and event information (28 items), and to a lesser degree as establishment names, establishment descriptions, and announcements.

Figure 7.9. Corsican beyond the independence movement







Unlike the official institutional signs, however, these examples testify to an incomplete reliance on French. Whilst Corsican is used in established names such as *Casa Studentina* and *Aiutu Studentinu*, and slogans such as *Demu una manu* ('lend a hand') and *corri, marchji... aiuti* ('run, walk... help'), much of the information in the above examples is provided in the national language. The sign which features the highest number of Corsican texts is therefore overtly less reliant on French, using the RL both for the event name *Mossa Corsa* ('The Corsican Movement'), the accompanying slogan *seconda edizione* ('second addition'), the organization name *Cunsulta di u Ghjuventù Corsa* ('Corsican Youth Council'), and information relating to events, days, and dates. Whilst the use of Corsican in large, predominant texts on the sign indicates the interest in advertizing the event through the RL, the preference for French in the debate panel titles *l'insertion professionnelle en Corse* ('professional prospects in Corsica'), *la politique d'installation des jeunes agriculteurs et l'université de Corse* ('career politics of young farmers and the University of Corsica'), *doyens des facultés* ('faculty deans'), and *pôle emploi* ('careers hub') indicates that detailed discussions relating to careers and students' futures will take place in French. To echo Humphreys & Brown (2002), these items illustrate the 'clash' between different interests within the structures of institutional agency. These are discussed in the next section.

7.5. Authorship: Three Levels of Institutional Agency

The empirical breakdown of the campus data indicates seven distinct authorship categories: university management (150 items; 38.1%); external organizations (109; 27.7%); student organizations (70; 17.8%); collaborations (27; 6.9%), graffiti (19 4.8%), individual workers (13; 3.3%), and individual students (6; 1.5%). There is a clear division within these between authors which may be considered internal to the institution and those which are external to it. As described above, signs produced by the university management dominate the LL, though they are complemented by other internal items authored by student organizations and groups, and individuals who work and study in the university.

In addition to the internal items, almost one third of the LL testifies to the contribution of external organizations. These identify autonomously from the institution, but are nevertheless stakeholders in the activities of the people who reside, study, and work there. The national



Together, these multiple strands of authorship intertwine to construct what Stensaker (2015) describes as the 'collective' identity of the institution. The large, permanent management signs indicating the name of the campus and its departments and buildings clearly imply the official agency of the institution, as they are detached from the individuals involved in their construction in order to denote production by 'the university'. However, below this primary level of institutional agency lies a secondary level of actors who contribute to, but do not manage the overall identity of the institution. Items of the secondary level are identifiable by their relation to the academic and administrative workings of the university, their positioning in the LL, and their material ephemerality indicating their short-term functionality, essential to the everyday running of the organization. In terms of authors, this level is occupied by individual employees and students who, due to their inclusion in the academic and administrative systems of the university, may be categorized as internal agents of the institution's identity. This category extends to those fields which do not deal with the workings of the institution *per se* — e.g. the small advertisements announcing the sale of a car and student accommodation for rent and sale exemplified in figure 7.10 — since these items are authored by institutional members who are using designated noticeboards provided by the university for this purpose.

The secondary level differs significantly from the primary level in that French is by far the most common code used for communication. The 13 word-processed items authored by individual workers, for instance, contained only two Corsican items, both bilingual and

recorded on the same sign: the establishment name *scularità centrale/scolarité centrale* ('central administration [office]') and its opening hours, which are given in both languages (figure 7.11). It is notable that it is through its materiality that this sign suggests secondary-level authorship. In terms of its content, it performs the same informational role as some of the permanent institutional signs on campus: it features the name and office hours of the university's central administration department, placed in the door at the building's entrance. The other word-processed signs in the dataset display more obvious indications that they were authored by individuals, acting with some degree of autonomy within the institutional structure. Of these, all the announcements, slogans, and information bulletins relating to learning and research, estates management, and lost property appeared in French only.

Figure 7.11. French/Corsican establishment name and opening hours

	MATINA / MATIN	DOPU MEZIORNU / APRES-MIDI
LUNI / LUNDI	9 h 00/ 12 h 00	14 h 00 / 17 h 00
MARTI / MARDI	9 h 00/ 12 h 00	Fermé
MERCURI / MERCREDI	9 h 00/ 12 h 00	14 h 00 / 17 h 00
GHJOVI / JEUDI	9 h 00/ 12 h 00	Fermé
VENNERI / VENDREDI	9 h 00/ 12 h 00	Fermé

Similarly, the six signs authored by individual students, comprising of accommodation requests and the renting and selling of flats, cars, and household objects (e.g. figure 7.10) featured no Corsican at all. The noticeboards on which they are posted are nexus-points of secondary level interaction, yet they are distinctly non-Corsican zones. These differ

considerably from the primary level, 'front region' (Jaffe, 1999: 203; cf. also Goffman, 1959) spaces represented by building names and official university signage, which are subject to consistent top-down control in order to maintain the presentation of Corsican identity desired by the university's senior management. As has been argued elsewhere (Cook, 2015), the ephemeral materiality of noticeboard signs underscores that practical, everyday communications on campus are more commonly carried out in French than in the RL, even when they relate to institutional activities such as teaching or using the library. Since the noticeboards are arguably the most obvious connecting point of the different levels of institutional authorship, the reliance on French contrasts heavily with the preference for Corsican on primary level signs. The notional 'university' thus appears to privilege Corsican in its outward projection, yet the LL suggests that the secondary level of the institution, managed more autonomously by the individuals who work and study there, identifies predominantly in French.

Whilst the internal signs can be categorized straightforwardly on primary and secondary levels of institutional agency, the various examples of graffiti on the campus present a more complex case. It is argued elsewhere that graffiti constitute unusual characteristics of agency, in that their provenance is often deliberately vague or anonymized due to their engagement with taboo or controversial subjects, and because their inscription normally transgresses on the hegemony instilled by those who own or manage that particular part of the LL (Hristić & Antonijević, 2006; Pennycook, 2009; Rodriguez & Clair, 1999). The graffiti on the Mariani campus are no different in these respects, in that one cannot easily assume that the painted slogans on walls, in courtyards, and along corridors have been commissioned or are in some way permitted by the institution. Despite the possibility that they have been authored by individuals who may also contribute to the secondary or primary institutional levels elsewhere on the campus (i.e. registered students or employees), the graffiti imply a sense of extra-institutionality, beyond the control and influence of internal agency.

Yet, certain characteristics of the graffiti on the Mariani campus challenge this assumption, and associate the inscriptions with what might be described as a tertiary level of institutional authorship. This is predominantly in terms of field: without exception, every transgressive text references the Corsican independence movement. This includes nationalistic slogans such as

U Fronte Vincerà ('The [Corsican National Liberation] Front Will Be Victorious' — cf. figure 7.7) and *Tarra Corsa a i Corsi!* ('The Corsican Land to the Corsican People!'). These words are echoed on posters around the campus (and elsewhere on the island, as discussed in section 5.5.4) calling for the release of Felix Benedetti and Eric Marras, and amnesty for other individuals convicted by the French state and considered heroes by elements of the independence movement (figure 7.12). The fact that the messages of the campus graffiti are duplicated on university noticeboards indicates a wider engagement with the subject within the institutional dimension.

Figure 7.12. Nationalist posters⁷⁷



⁷⁷ Upper posters: 'Freedom for Felix Benedetti' and 'Freedom for Eric Marras; four years on remand in Paris'. Below posters: 'Amnesty for the imprisoned and hunted patriots'.

The second argument for considering the graffiti within the limits of institutional agency concerns the associations commonly drawn between universities and social and political protest (De Groot, 2014; Waters, 2004, *i.a*). The Corsican slogans here are undoubtedly protest slogans and, following Schreer (1997), Waldner & Dobratz (2013), and others, the common associations attached to campus graffiti encourage the assumption that they are authored by students, and thus may be considered as institutional markers. The fact that the management had not yet removed the slogans at the time of photographing strengthens this association further. It might therefore be argued that the anonymity of the graffiti is offset by its presence in the institutional space. The ideological alignment with the institutional motto's reference to *libertà* ('freedom' — expressed only in Corsican) constructs a political association between the two that is difficult to ignore. Despite the widespread use of Corsican in the independence field and on the primary level, however, the consistent reliance on French on the secondary level indicates that the institution's actors more regularly express themselves in the national language.

7.6. Comparisons with the Street Survey Data

The Mariani data provides several points of comparison with the trends revealed by the street survey data. In the first instance, the multilingual composition of the campus is markedly different to the situation in the two cities: whilst the street surveys attested to the presence of 15 languages, only French, Corsican, and English were visible on the Mariani campus. Since English was restricted to just three items, the campus LL may be essentially considered a bilingual space, whose linguistic market is shared between French and Corsican in the contexts described above. Conversely, out in the streets of Ajaccio and Bastia city centres, the LL is reflective of a broader array of language management strategies, by which more languages are visible across a wider range of fields. Indeed, the specialist fields recorded in this case study — class information, conferences and conventions, institutional administration, learning and research, and student welfare — were not visible in the street surveys. This underscores a difference between the unbounded nature of the public space, to which numerous and varied

actors contribute, and the more circumscribed university site, where visible writing tends to be constrained to a narrower range of topics and discussion points.

Similarly, the linguistic distribution in the campus LL reflects the language policy of the institution, which provides only for French and Corsican in its official documentation. However, it should be added that, since an overhaul of the university's website in early 2017, the majority of its webpages are now available in English and Italian as well as French and Corsican. Despite this online inclusion of two major European languages, however, the LL of the Mariani campus is yet to reflect this change.

Another interesting comparison is that non-official Corsican use on campus is almost exclusively related to the independence movement. Whilst the official signs employ the RL as a marker of institutional identity, on the secondary and tertiary levels (i.e. in the graffiti texts and posters discussed above) Corsican contributes more explicitly to the discourses of independence and resistance to the national ideology. Contrastingly, in the cities, non-official use of the RL spans a number of domains which, whilst inseparable from ideas relating to identity, do not overtly contribute to a nationalist-separatist discourse. Within the theatre posters, food and drink, souvenir, and football items discussed in chapter five, the RL is undoubtedly a commodified, identity resource; yet explicit associations with independence are not unanimously maintained. On campus, however, items relating to life outside the political dimension — selling cars and other goods, renting, letting, or selling accommodation, registering for student unions, and organising study and social groups — tend to appear in French. Whilst the Corsican on campus is heavily associated with nationalism, re-enforced by its use on the official institutional signage, therefore, there is evidence that secondary-level members employ French to an equal or greater extent in the rest of their interactions.

7.7 Conclusions

The LL of the Mariani Campus represents a stark contrast to the LLs of Ajaccio and Bastia, in that it is an institutionally Corsican space. This is not only because the overall presence of Corsican was found to be far greater than in the street surveys (42% compared with 13.6%), but also because 49.3% of the items authored by the university's management were written in

Corsican, predominantly without French translations, and every official sign was found to contain at least one item written in the RL. Moreover, 149 out of the 164 Corsican items (90.9%) were monolingual, underscoring the university's interest in presenting Corsican without translation from/into (and therefore potential mediation by) French, and the desire to encourage readers to engage with the RL. This not only suggests a deliberate strategy to use Corsican wherever possible, but results in a significant proportional reduction in French visibility. This highlights the self-referential approach to language management, where official signs are used as overt markers of the intention to privilege Corsican over French within the campus boundaries.

The significance of the Corsican items, frequently inscribed on large, permanent signs in prominent positions on buildings and pathways, is amplified by the comparative lack of Corsican on similar types of sign elsewhere on the island. This juxtaposition creates a sense of comparative otherness which accentuates Corsican visibility on campus and strengthens the linguistic identity of the institution. It is also worth noting that the placement of the Corsican directional signs map out a route around Campus that may broadly be experienced in Corsican only. Whilst French appears on noticeboards and in the doors and windows of individual buildings, external spaces and pathways are saturated with Corsican, situating and directing visitors to different parts of the campus in the RL only.

The LL also indicates that institutional agency can be usefully understood as multi-dimensional. Beyond the directions, campus maps, and building names produced officially by the university, there are distinct dimensions of the LL which exhibit alternative varieties of institutional agency, where signs are authored by administrative and academic staff and students. These signs — timetabling information, bulletins about teaching groups and classrooms, and messages about lost items and changes to library opening times — are not representative of the institution's outward communication strategy, but rather of a secondary level of internal agency. These items provide evidence to support Kreiner *et al's* (2015) suggestion that institutional identity is defined not only by 'attributes' determined by leaders and managers, but by 'tensions' between multiple elements of the organizational hierarchy.

On this secondary level, sign authors act individually within, but not independently of, the institution to which their signage contributes a constituent part. In terms of language choice,

signage here frequently challenges the ideology of the primary level. The communications between staff, students, student societies, external partners, and other parties embody what Stroud & Mpendukana (2009) describe as 'sites of necessity'. Whilst the institution is capable of communicating in Corsican on the primary level, therefore, the secondary level's educational, administrative, and social communications rely on French, and Corsican is restricted to secondary information such as slogans, trademarks, and place names. However, by empirically categorizing the associated fields of LL items, it is possible to isolate another area of Corsican use: the Corsican independence movement. This was the third most-common field on campus, in which 48 of 49 items appeared in Corsican only. These incorporated slogans and names of groups on hand-written graffiti painted on walls around the campus, though also key information relating to the organization of meetings, protests, demonstrations, and social events. Whilst Corsican is generally inscribed in non-essential communications elsewhere on the campus, therefore, in terms of the independence political discourse it is the preferred code in sites of necessity as well.

The unclear authorship of graffiti — defined less by its anonymous authors and more by its transgressive nature — suggests that it may usefully be categorized on a tertiary level of institutional agency. This is embedded in the long-standing associations of university spaces with political graffiti, in the parallels between the slogans and the institution's official linkages with Pasquale Paoli, and the frequent references to *ghjuventù* ('youth') which hint at student agency. The various instances of graffiti also raise the question of institutional collusion, since it is possible to consider the failure to erase the texts as an indication of some degree of tolerance, however short-lived. As such, the graffiti appear not in the social margins of the space as Christen (2003) and Pennycook (2009) describe, but rather as established focal points which contribute to one of the most popular conversations on campus.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

This thesis set out to answer three research questions:

1. To what extent are Occitan and Corsican visible in the LL?
2. To what extent does the LL illuminate associations between the RLs and specific political, commercial, or cultural contexts?
3. What are the limitations of the LL in exploring these questions, and what is its future potential?

This concluding chapter returns to these questions in the light of the street survey and case study data, first through statistical comparisons between the RLs, and then through specific overviews of the findings. The chapter closes with a reflective discussion on some of the challenges and limitations encountered during the project, and potential future studies to investigate these and related questions further.

8.1. Conclusions from the Data

The empirical data collected for this project provide the basis upon which to respond to the first two research questions, which ask to what extent the RLs are visible, and whether this visibility is associated with specific contexts. Building on the quantitative and qualitative findings discussed in chapters four and five, the following two sections offer inter-language comparisons, contrast various empirical findings from the two datasets, and provide some concluding observations on the distributive analysis of the RLs.

8.1.1. Comparisons across the Variables

As discussed in the street survey analyses, the most basic conclusion that can be derived from the data is that Corsican is both more salient and more variable than Occitan. In Ajaccio and Bastia, Corsican was recorded across 118 independent values, whereas in Marseille and Toulouse, Occitan was recorded in only 57 values. As noted in chapter five, this contrast is

further underlined by the fact that significantly fewer items were recorded in Corsica (5638 compared with 10926 in the Occitan territory). Whilst the data indicate that Corsican was more salient than Occitan (13.7% compared with 1.2%), the fact that this occurred on almost half the number of items provides further indication of the contrasting status of the RLs in their respective territories. This is also detectable in the total number of values recorded for each RL: whilst 57 values were recorded for Occitan, the distribution of Corsican was far more variable, appearing in 118 values. The most common of these were independent authorship (473 items; 61.6%), permanent (39.2%) and professionally printed (34.8%) materiality, the trademark and slogan functions (27.2% each), and the wall locus (25.1%). By contrast, the most frequent Occitan values were permanent materiality (106 items; 83.5%), the wall locus (70.9%), the external site (48.8%), municipal authorship (44.9%), the place-naming field (42.5%), and the establishment name function (37.8%).⁷⁸ These figures support the conclusion reached in chapter four that street signs and commemorative plaques were the most common carriers of Occitan. They also demonstrate the contrasting breadth of Corsican's visibility, many values recorded for which contained over one hundred occurrences. There was only one such example among the Occitan items.

Perhaps the most striking finding of this project is that Corsican was recorded predominantly in the independent authorship value (473 items; 61.6%). This compared with only 112 municipal items (14.6%), and just a handful of other official domain instances (17 regional items and four departmental items — cf. Appendix IX). This contradicts the findings of previous studies, where it has been argued that municipal and other official actors are normally the most prominent authors of RLs in France (Blackwood, 2011; Bogatto & Bothorel-Witz, 2012; Bogatto & Hélot, 2010; Hornsby, 2008). Contrarily, this study recorded a range of non-official Corsican authorship values: independent business names such as *Bianc' & Neru*, *Dall'A Pizza*, *A Murza*, and *L'Ortu di u Prunelli*; musical and theatrical events by *Surghjenti*, *Teatru di Bastia*, and *U Teatrinu*; slogans such as *felice anniversariu* inscribed on souvenirs, postcards, and other products directed towards the tourist market; local food products such as *Pietra*, *Prisuttu*, and *Coppa di Corsica*; and items relating to identity discourse both within political fields and sport, such as *un isula, una passione, fieri d'esse Corsi*, and *i nostri prima*

⁷⁸ A full numerical breakdown of the data is provided in Appendix IX.

l'altri. The Occitan data conform more with the findings of previous studies, since the most prominent items — the street signs and commemorative plaques — were classified as municipal authorship. Despite this, a significant number of items were categorized in unofficial authorship types, including independent businesses such as *Casaïta en Provence*, *Macarel*, and *Rosedo*, and graffiti slogans such as *Libertat!* and *Ôc per l'Occitan*.

8.1.2. Contextualized Analysis

In addition to categorizing the visibility of the RLs, it was also a goal of this thesis to contextualize these findings within the LL at large. As discussed in sections 2.2.6 and 2.3.6, the methodology was designed not only to identify the places and spaces in which Occitan and Corsican were visible, but also to understand this visibility relative to general trends in the LL. By categorizing non-RL items to the same level of detail as the Occitan and Corsican items, the data offer not only a picture of RL use, but also a contextualization of this use within the linguistic makeup of the four cities. Specifically, this permits a comparison of the RL values with their proportional distribution amongst French items. Charts 8.1 and 8.2 demonstrate this contrast, including also a comparison with English items, given the empirical significance of English as the third most frequent language in Corsica, and the second most frequent in the Occitan territory.

Chart 8.1. Comparative proportional visibility of Occitan with French and English

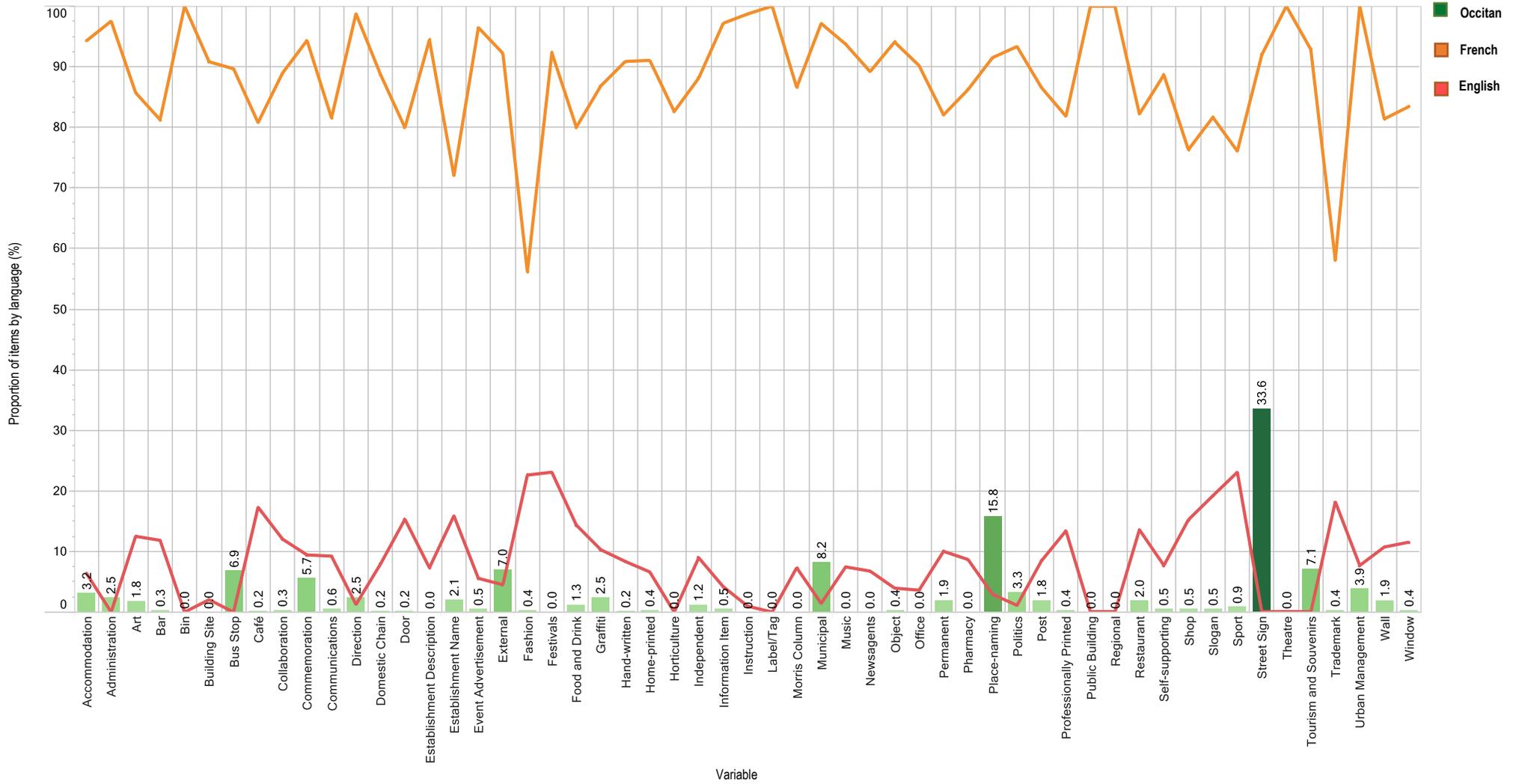
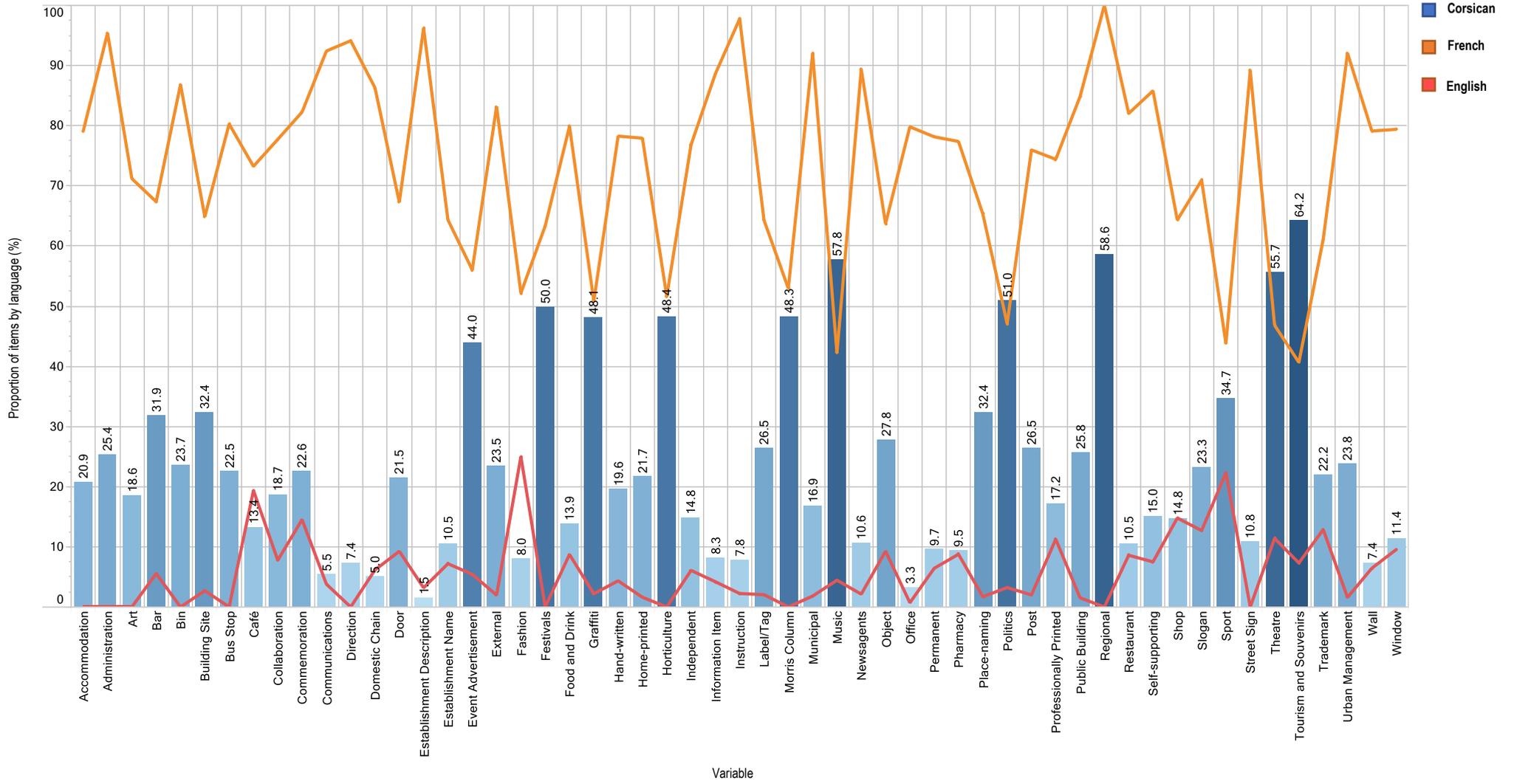


Chart 8.2. Comparative proportional visibility of Corsican with French and English



Charts 8.1 and 8.2 contrast Occitan (green bars) and Corsican (blue bars) occurrences with French (orange lines) and English (red lines) occurrences for the RL values recorded with 10 or more occurrences (cf. Appendix IX). Chart 8.1 thus illustrates the Toulouse/Marseille data, and chart 8.2 refers to the Ajaccio/Bastia data. The charts confirm fundamental observations discussed in this thesis. Most evidently, that French dominates the RLs in most categories, returning a mean frequency of 88.3% in the Occitan territory, and 73.8% in Corsica. The Ajaccio/Bastia surveys recorded Corsican on almost twice as many items as English (13.7% of the total items surveyed compared with 7%), whereas this hierarchy is reversed in the Toulouse/Marseille data (1.2% of items classified as Occitan compared with 10.9% as English). Such was the prevalence of Corsican in Corsica, that it outnumbers the four-city mean English frequency of 8.95%. Moreover, although English was visible in both areas, Corsican was more frequent in 21 values, yet Occitan items only outnumber English ones in four values. The relative visibility of the RLs to English is therefore radically different in each area, to the extent that Corsican replaces English as the second most common language in both Ajaccio and Bastia, yet Occitan remains distinctly minorized in Toulouse and Marseille.

Another noteworthy indication of chart 8.1 is that whilst Occitan is more frequent than English in its more common values (the street sign function, the place-naming field, municipal authorship, and the external site), no instances were recorded in which it was more visible than French. This comparison is particularly significant, for example, in the tourism and souvenirs field, in which French featured on 92.9% of the items but Occitan was only marginally visible (7.1%). In Corsica, however, the RL occurred more frequently in this field (62.7%) than both English (7.1%) and French (41.3%). This provides an illustration of Corsican's position in several contexts in the Ajaccio/Bastia linguistic hierarchy, established through the statistical impact of actors such as *Bianc' & Neru*, *Le Trait d'Humour* and the *Broutch!* brand, as well as the many other independent enterprises and businesses who commodify the RL, and involve tourists and visitors to the island in its communication.

The contrasting salience of Corsican and English is also relevant in a number of other contexts. Many of these concern a level of official authorship, recorded as slogans on bins (discussed in section 5.5.1), in municipal and regional items, street signs, and the urban management field. In many respects, these mirror both the Occitan data and the findings in other studies (see

above) that local authorities are responsible for a significant proportion of RL texts in France. However, 50 other values — e.g. bars, building sites, event advertisements, festivals, graffiti, music, and theatre — demonstrate the privilege shown to Corsican over English in a number of non-official contexts. By contrast, it is worth noting that Occitan offered no challenge to English (nor to French) in any of these values.

8.2. Discourses of Identity

The contexts of visibility identified by the data indicate that the principal role of the RLs in their settings is to convey ideas about local and regional linguistic identity. As discussed in this thesis, this identity can be understood in institutional terms: chapter seven applies a number of theories relating to institutional identity to the University of Corsica, though the data indicate that other organizations such as *L'Ostal d'Occitania* in Toulouse, or even the *Pietra* drinks company in Corsica, are principal actors in establishing an institutional RL presence in the LL. Whilst the use of the RLs in commercial domains targets their commodification for external and internal markets (Heller, Jaworski, & Thurlow, 2014; Heller, Pujolar, et al., 2014; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen, 2015; Pine & Gilmore, 1999), the RLs are also institutionalized by official actors, who seek both to maintain and promote the languages through public visibility. As such, the street signs in Toulouse and items such as the *Ville d'Ajaccio/Cità d'Aiacciu* city crests in Ajaccio function both as symbols of the linguistic identity targeted by local authorities, and as indicators of the willingness to communicate both to locals and visitors through the RL. In the Occitan territory, the majority of the RL items can be described in this way, since they embody both municipal and regional charters which vow to support, promote, and *valoriser* ('give value to') Occitan through the normalization of its visibility in the public space (Conseil Régional Midi-Pyrénées, 2008). In Corsica, however, the greater presence of the RL in unofficial domains indicates the variety of its use by a broader range of actors. It has not been a goal of this thesis to examine the reasons for this development; however, it can be stated that the differences in these findings with previous, similar studies in Corsica (e.g. Blackwood, 2011) suggest an evolution in the treatment of Corsican, where it is expanding into new spaces and contexts.

Local identity discourse thus plays out in different ways in each of the language areas. In the Occitan territory, locality is inexorably linked to ideas about history, tradition, and the past, which are commemorated in the present. Although the street signs contribute to recent and on-going efforts to promote the RL, their descriptions of historic people, places, and events mean that this promotion is often grounded in a non-contemporary sense. A similar process is visible on the commemorative plaques, which make explicit reference to former street names, places, activities, and, as a result, implied former language practices. Whilst *L'Ostal d'Occitania* and *Macarel* attest to contemporary extra-municipal support for the RL, there is little else in the data to suggest that Occitan is considered a contemporary form of communication for any significant proportion of the non-official actors who write in the LL.

Corsican, in contrast, is the subject of multiple and diverse associations with contemporary locality: the *Cità d'Aiacciu* items testify to the use of the RL to express the official and current name of the city in Corsican; the city halls in both cities use the language in their establishment names; local *conseils de quartier* (district political meetings) are advertised as *incontru citatinu*. At departmental level, also, the use of the RL in the names of social services (figure 5.27, p. 165) indicates a process of acceptance and normalisation that has not yet been achieved by equivalent actors in the Occitan territory. These signs, in particular, represent isolated but significant 'patches' (Sloboda, 2009) of RL visibility, which permeate the 'corridors' between the areas in which the RL is more established, such as the city halls. Although it is generally marginalized, the presence of Corsican in these different contextual places suggests potential for normalization of the language on a greater scale than is currently possible for Occitan.

The local identity of Corsican is similarly negotiated in commercial contexts, both in terms of tourism, where items are used to project the island's identity outwards, and in internal markets such as the food and drink items, and advertisements for theatrical events and musical concerts held in and around the two cities (though these are not nominally exclusive of non-Corsicans). This variety is not at all applicable to the expression of Occitan in the LL, where the data suggest that local ideas (and particularly local linguistic identity) are more often expressed with a local variety of French (i.e. the <ô> grapheme discussed in section 4.4), rather than with Occitan. Aside from the brand name *Croustidor* and the establishment name *Le Gardian* (also discussed in section 4.4), there is very little to suggest that Occitan is an

established code in commercial domains. As noted in chapter four, the slogans which accompany *Croustidor* are written in French, and there are no indications that the RL extends beyond this single form inside the bakery. The absence of Occitan commodification is similarly visible in the language policy of *Le Trait D'Humour*, whose products (postcards, mouse mats, badges, etc.) reference seven regional areas (often using their associated RLs), but not Occitan. From this perspective, it is hard to accept the assertion made by Sibille (2000, 2003) and supported by Judge (2007) that Occitan is the most important RL in France. Rather, the LL indicates that the contrasting visibility of the RLs in Marseille/Toulouse and Ajaccio/Bastia constructs differing expressions of local authenticity (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2013b): whilst Corsican may be considered an established metalanguage (Barthes, 1957) of locality in Corsica, this link is less present in the Occitan territory, where the expression of local ideas often takes place in French.

It is also a relevant observation that many multilingual items in the corpus do not include the RLs. Whilst the associations between commodified RL use and the tourist market have been discussed in a number of contexts (e.g. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015; Heller *et al.*, 2014; Kallen, 2009; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011), many of the ostensibly multilingual items in this dataset omit the RLs entirely. This included menus in restaurants and cafés, posters and leaflets outside tourist offices, instructions for on-street parking and public toilets, and — the most diverse example of multilingualism recorded in this project — the *Esprit Client* sign discussed in section 4.4 (figure 4.15). Only one similar item included a RL (Corsican): namely the ‘welcome’ texts printed on a flag outside the tourist office in Bastia (figure 8.1). Located above the main entrance to the tourist office on Bastia’s central Place Saint-Nicolas, opposite the town hall, the flag reads ‘welcome’ in (from top to bottom) French, English, Corsican, German, Spanish, Italian, and Chinese. The additional text *#Bastia tourisme* (in French) indicates the intentional targeting of the tourist market. Alongside other major languages, however, the inclusion of the RL is an anomaly in this case: as exemplified by the *Esprit Client* sign, the LL suggests the assumption that signs aimed at international readers do not require inclusion of the RL, despite the prevalence of Corsican in the tourism and souvenirs field more generally. Whilst the RL is undoubtedly commodified within tourism discourse on the island, therefore, it is rarely used to engage with non-French readers, or at least alongside non-French texts.

Figure 8.1. 'Welcome' tourist sign



The data also indicate an engagement with identity discourse in terms of language activism. In Toulouse and Marseille, this was visible in a small number of items, such as the *Libertat!* and *Ôc per l'Occitan* stickers, and the items recorded at *L'Ostal d'Occitania* and on the shop-front of *Macarel* (section 4.3). In Corsica, the data indicate two major contexts in which language activism is expressed, beyond the commercial contexts discussed above. These were politics and independence discourse on the one hand, and football on the other.⁷⁹ In summary

⁷⁹ Whilst it is reductive to group all ideas relating to the political movements for independence and the official recognition of Corsican identity together, this was deemed appropriate for the purposes of categorizing the survey data. The implications of this approach are discussed in section 8.3.

of the points discussed in chapter five, the data indicate that the RL and Corsican nationalism are intrinsically linked. In itself this is not controversial, as similar parallels have been drawn in research focussed on areas other than the LL (e.g. Adrey, 2009; Blackwood, 2008; Carrington, 1971; Jaffe, 1999; Reid, 2004). However, and as Blackwood & Tufi (2015: 106) also stress, the LL provides empirical evidence of this link, and of how the particularities of Corsica's political discourses relate to the RL as it is written in the public space. In this thesis, this has been discussed in terms of posters advertising rallies, demonstrations, and fund-raising events, graffiti slogans supporting FLNC, *Ghjuventù Indipendentista*, and other groups, and posters calling for the release of political prisoners convicted by the French state for terrorism and other illegal activities. The discourse in terms of football is less overtly politicized, but the link between (local) identity and Corsican remains at the forefront of the posters, flags, stickers, and other football objects recorded in the street surveys. The RL-football link was particularly strong in Bastia, where the blue and black flags of SC Bastia adorn shops, cafés, bars, and restaurants, and are frequently accompanied by slogans written in the RL. As discussed in section 5.5.3, the language of these texts — *testa mora* ('the moor's head'), *noi dai vittoria per l'eterna gloria* ('victory to us through eternal glory'), *mentalita nustrale* ('indigenous mentality'), *fieri d'esse Corsi* ('proud to be Corsicans') — rarely constitutes explicit support for a football team, nor is it ostensibly related to the sport field; rather, it appears more aligned with the political slogans expressed in the graffiti and poster items mentioned above. This layering of discourses challenges the boundaries of Loughlin & Daftary's (1999: 15) tri-partite model of European regionalism: whilst 'autonomist regionalism' might best describe football in Corsica, since it plays on the distinctiveness of Corsican identity but recognizes the position of the teams within the national league system, the slogans are more aligned with the 'separatist regionalism' of the nationalist movement, many signs in support of which argue for *i Francesi Fora!* ('Out with the French!) or a *Corsica Libera* ('free Corsica').

In conclusion, this thesis has analysed original data which report on the empirical distribution of Occitan and Corsican in four cities and identify a variety of physical spaces and contextual places in which the RLs are visible. The following section reflects on some of the challenges and limitations of the project, with specific reference to current methodological and

theoretical developments in the field. Subsequently, the closing section considers potential further research into Occitan and Corsican, and future directions for related LL research.

8.3. Challenges, Limitations, and Future Directions

8.3.1. Representative Data Sampling

As discussed in the methodology and in the street survey chapters, the data inform an assessment of the language situation as it was at the point of recording. This may be considered a natural characteristic of synchronic LL study, which has elsewhere been described as a ‘snapshot’ (Mitchell, 2010; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009a) of the more continuous and actual reality. The count-all approach ensured the integrity of data analysis within this snapshot, since comparisons across variables and independent values were contained within the corpus. Whilst this allows in-depth analysis of the collected data, the extrapolation of these results beyond the survey areas is not possible, given the potential (and probable) presence of unknown values in non-surveyed areas. Extrapolation is a desirable goal since it would allow results from this type of research to relate to larger-scale situations, most particularly to the language situation in whole areas of cities, cities themselves, and even larger denominations. Whilst general assessments may be made based on sample data, the variability of the LL — particularly as it is classified within the variables developed for this thesis — means that estimations of norms beyond the survey areas cannot be scientific or based on any calculable data. This was reflected upon during data collection, where areas of prominent RL visibility were discovered beyond the areas identified for surveying. One example is the *Centre Occitan des Musiques et Danse Traditionnelles* (‘Occitan Centre of Traditional Music and Dance’) in Toulouse. Located on the Rue Pont de Tounis, COMDT fell just south of the area calculated as the city centre. In terms of the city-wide engagement with the RL, however, the centre is important as it represents a major collaboration between language and cultural Occitan activists and the municipal, departmental, and regional authorities, as well as the national Ministry of Culture and Communication (COMDT, 2017). Its impact on the LL is also significant, as its windows and walls are adorned with signage in French and Occitan, describing classes, events, and programmes relating to various activities and public engagement

initiatives. Similar omissions were discovered in the street signage in the citadel area of Bastia, located on the cliff overlooking the harbour and the city centre. Whilst street signs were recorded predominantly in French in the surveyed areas of the city, the citadel signs include Corsican names, often written on separate plaques or alongside the French names. Inclusion of these items would have made an interesting comparison with the Occitan data, since many of the Corsican names appeared unrelated to their French counterparts. In Toulouse, this was discussed in the context of the French over-writing of former Occitan names, and so a comparative analysis of Corsican data, along with language policy information (such as equivalents of the SbFO documents discussed in chapter six) would have benefited the study of municipal place-naming further.

It is due to a desire to include elements such as these that other studies have considered it necessary and useful to incorporate specifically sought-out examples of RL usage alongside less-subjectively designated street sample data. In their comparative assessment of various RLs in France and Italy, for example, Blackwood & Tufi (2015) open with analyses of empirical data, and follow up on some of the trends they reveal with examples from the LL. This thesis has attempted to draw the two approaches together, in that the individual examples given in the figures and discussed in the text are selected based on their statistical significance in the dataset. This approach differs from qualitative studies which rely solely on specifically selected examples from the LL. However, whilst the city-centre method was designed to avoid significant mediation in the survey area selection process, the designation of variables and the classification of data values within them is subject to subjective decisions made by the researcher. This became evident when certain items appeared capable of falling into more than one value category. The greatest example was 'food & drink' which, in a study with differing objectives, or indeed a closer focus on this subject area, may be collapsed into a number of sub-values. On a simple level this might consist of 'food' and 'drink' as separate categories; on a deeper level there may be multiple (and potentially unlimited) sub-values within these. The question of the potential for an agreed canon of variables (which might be considered a standard model) in LL research is one under interrogation elsewhere (cf. Amos & Soukup, forthcoming); at present it remains necessary simply to recognise that the analyses within this project are based on data that are consistently recorded, yet (unavoidably) subject to researcher subjectivity during the classification process.

Returning to the question of survey area, at the start of the project it was decided that the central-most streets in each city would be selected. This decision was informed by the majority of street survey-based LL studies, which assume a link between spatial centre and the nexus of human action (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2013a). However, in many cities, this approach potentially omits major thoroughfares unless they happen to be within the cluster at the very heart of the city. In terms of prominence and the frequency with which the LL is experienced, these streets may host more passers-by across a given amount of time than some of the more central thoroughfares. As discussed in chapter three, the purely spatial approach was not at all workable in Ajaccio, which curves around the bay of the Gulf of Ajaccio. The city centre is located on the west/south western shoreline, yet the city itself does not surround this point. Geographically, therefore, Ajaccio city centre is located on the fringe of the Ajaccien space. The decision was therefore taken to understand ‘city centre’ in a more abstract way, determined by the frequency of public buildings, shops, cafes, restaurants, and therefore of passers-by. The data represented a sample, but of a non-objectively selected group of streets. This did not pose a problem for the analysis, since the conclusions do not claim to stand for the cities in entirety, nor to extrapolate the results even beyond the specific streets surveyed. For future research, however, it may be interesting to consider how survey areas might be selected statistically. Soukup (2016), for example, uses hypothesis-driven stratified judgment sampling to compare areas of Vienna based on resident age, resident country of birth, presence of tourists, and commercial activity. Through these categories, her work aims to investigate the links between super-local populations and the LL within a single city setting. Whilst the classical LL method conceptualizes the city centre in terms of space, this method classifies it based on human patterns and action within it. It would be interesting to develop similar methods to select survey streets based on factors such as commercial activity or frequency of use by different communities/groups, in order to introduce new data into a description of what a ‘city centre’ might be. Moreover, a data-based approach such as that underway in Vienna provides the basis for inter-city comparisons of certain demographic groups, which can feed into broader studies of social trends across Europe and the world.

8.3.2. Language Classification: Trademarks and Brand Names

Language classification is not normally discussed at length within LL methodologies. For this thesis, it was relatively straightforward to carry out this process through researcher knowledge and machine language recognition. However, some of the difficulties of coding trademarks, brand names, and proper nouns discussed elsewhere (Bagna & Machetti, 2012; Edelman, 2009; Tufi & Blackwood, 2010), were experienced during this project. The trademarks relevant to the RLs were assessed individually (cf. section 4.4 on *Croustidor*, for example), since the majority did not affect the analysis in terms of the research aims. However, the process of classifying the 2826 items recorded under the trademark function offered a number of insights into this discussion. Existing theories offer several methods for identifying the language of brand names. In an early study of multilingual commercial signage, Schlick (2002) classifies proper names and trademarks according to the (researcher-designated) country of origin. Later, Edelman (2009) follows a similar approach, also positing an alternative method where brand names are removed from the analysis entirely. Tufi & Blackwood (2010) draw on a number of theories both from linguistic fields and marketing, arguing that the country of origin, manufacture, or design may be more or less influential on certain items as the country of representation or even language of representation. Importantly, they state that these features may differ for the same text across national boundaries. Along with Crystal (2003: 122), this suggests that proper and brand names include either specific or symbolic indicators of given named languages. During the fieldwork carried out for this thesis, a number of items were recorded with the potential to make meaningful additions to this topic in future discussions. They suggest that proper names may be determined not only by targeted or accidental reader associations (such as the specified or symbolized country or language of association), but also by physical proximity to nearby items.

Figure 8.2. Adjacent identifiers



Although the trademark *Katie Nat* shown in figure 8.2 may be determined as English through the presence of the grapheme <k> (Screti (2015) argues that this indicates the absence of a Romance form), its classification as an English brand name is nevertheless not straightforward. This is largely because it does not obviously fulfil the country/language association requirements discussed above in the same way as other items. However, the addition of the modifiers *by* and *shop* constitute adjacent identifiers of English. Although *by* is uncommon in establishment names, here the word projects a deliberate linguistic association onto the trademark, understood as English both through representation and proximity. This contrasts with the trademark *Mappy* (cf. figure 8.3) which, although also inclusive of a word-final grapheme <y> which does not exist in standard French, appears as French given its adjacent slogan *j'y suis !* ('I'm there!'). Along with the accompanying texts *infos, actus, bon plans* ('information, news, suggestions') and *connectez-vous à ce lieu* ('get connected here'), this suggests an intentional association with French, at least to the extent that the company uses the national language in the current space to communicate with passers-by in the LL about how to use the Mappy smartphone application.

Figure 8.3. *Mappy* sticker



A similar process was visible on the nine examples of shop door stickers indicating the possibility for shoppers to use American Express card payments. These stickers bear the text *on dit Yes! à American Express* ('we say Yes! to American Express'; cf. figure 8.4). Whilst the trademark features a clear country of representation in the word *American*, the translingual phrase *on dit Yes à* indicates both a recognition of English and a desire to communicate through and alongside the language.

Figure 8.4. *American Express* sticker



Similar examples of adjacent identifies were found in establishment name and description combinations such as *Urbanis|Aménagement*, or through the absence of translations of terms for which French equivalents exist, such as the names of travel agency *Serenity*, or takeaway *Southern Chicken*. Whilst the former includes the establishment name *Travel & Tourism* in English, the latter's qualification in French as *inspiré du sud des Etats-Unis* ('inspired by the southern United States') indicates a deliberate strategy to use English in the name both through country and language of association. Whilst these examples are not controversial in themselves, they demonstrate the role of adjacency in the process of language classification. Since it has been theorized that brand names such as Mappy may be considered differently in different language areas (Tufi & Blackwood, 2010), adjacency provides one way to consider how proper names might be interpreted in a given setting. This is particularly relevant given that certain brands and companies seek to obscure their country of origin, or to construct specific associations with particular places. Whilst this cannot be said, for example, of the cosmetic brand *Lancôme*, which includes the place-modifier *Paris* in its logo, this is certainly true of the multinational financial services corporation Visa, whose name represents an intentional association with internationalism and the universal financial market (HighNames, 2013).

In terms of coding trademarks and brand names in this thesis, it is useful to note at least that very few were found to feature Occitan or Corsican. As such, the principal focus of the analysis does not rest on this issue. Nevertheless, it is arguably relevant (regardless of how trademarks are problematized and analysed) that the RLs are absent in a domain which appears so obviously multilingual. Moreover, it is not only brand names in the traditional sense that affect categorization in this thesis, but also a significant number of proper nouns, used in names of shops, restaurants, and businesses, information about proprietors, texts on objects for sale, event advertising, and street signs. Future studies may wish to consider these questions closely, in order to develop the coding of languages for large-scale quantitative analyses between contexts and spaces.

8.3.3. Item Classification

As discussed in chapter two, a challenge of devising an empirical study is deciding how LL realities will be essentialized into fixed and limited categories. For this project, categories for the function, authorship, locus, and materiality variables were pre-determined based on previous research and tested during pilot studies. Reflecting on the analysis, it is arguable that recording loci did not offer a great deal of insight into the RLs specifically, other than broad indications of the languages' presence on different carriers. This does not necessarily indicate that recording loci is a useless undertaking in any given study, however, since specific research questions addressing the physical aspects of language and sign visibility may well draw interesting comparisons based on loci values. Other considerations in essentializing the data are the site and field variables. Unlike the other categories, their values were not pre-determined, but designated as they were identified in the LL. This decision was taken in order to avoid the reductivist tendencies of previous studies (cf. Spolsky & Cooper (1991) on the 'parsimonius' approach, discussed in chapter three). The benefit of this is that the structure of the analysis is data-driven; yet it must be recognized that the data description itself is based on the categorization method chosen by the researcher. Whilst all research of this type is therefore subject to mediation — delineating initial categories, coding data once photographed, and carrying out the final analysis — maintaining consistency in the collection and annotation of all these aspects ensures integrity in the cross-comparisons of data in different contexts and spaces.

However, this approach also posed a number of problems. First, it was difficult to allocate some of the data into a single field. This mostly concerned graffiti, where the subject matter of the text was sometimes unclear or illegible. Second, the data-driven approach was found to introduce a large number of field values, in many of which very few items were recorded. This meant that the data discussed in the analysis sections and displayed in the various charts and tables related to the most common fields. Whilst it is not unusual in empirical analyses to focus on the major trends and group less salient instances as 'others', this nevertheless dismisses potentially highly visible or impactful items due to their numerical inferiority. As the tables in Appendix IX illustrate, Occitan was coded in 19 fields, and Corsican in 46. Many of these counted fewer than ten instances (indeed often only one or two), and thus it is difficult to

consider them statistically relevant alongside the more frequent values. From an analytical perspective, nevertheless, they reflect the diversity of the RLs' appearance in multiple fields in the LL.

A third problem with the data-driven approach concerns the designation of values in terms of their specificity, since some appear to include a broader range of ideas than others. This is discussed above in terms of 'food & drink' and its potential collapsing into numerous subdivisions. Here, it can be added that other examples, such as 'trade unions' for example, represents a much smaller range of values. As such, the field values discussed in this project are varied in terms of their application, which may be a concern when comparing their quantitative impact holistically. To a certain extent, this reflects a shortcoming in the collection methodology, since it becomes impractical to modify the corpus constantly to account for new discoveries. For the most part, however, the discrepancies in item instances are not due to the range of the category: food and drink are understandably more common discussion points than trade unions in the areas surveyed. Nevertheless, it may be useful for future research to establish more compatible field values, which become more necessary in larger-scale analyses of more frequent instances. In addition, a dedicated examination of how categories relate to each other would provide a larger view of inter-variable trends. Since the focus in this project was principally on RLs, contrasting e.g. sport items in bars with sport items in bus stops (or written with different materialities) was not a necessary undertaking. However, the depth of information recorded by the count-all approach suggests that further analyses of the data will be useful in addressing research questions concerned with these features.

In addition to these questions, future studies may also address a number of developing issues in LL research. It may be interesting, for instance, to evaluate LL data in the light of passer-by interpretations, in order to record qualitative or statistical responses to signs by readers in the space. This would offer a wider assessment of the ways in which the LL is experienced by those who move through it, and would mitigate individual researcher bias. This method is relatively established alongside qualitative data (Garvin, 2010; Malinowski, 2009; Peck & Banda, 2014, *i.a.*). A number of projects also show that larger-scale, crowd-sourced data through the internet may also provide useful information about the experience and interpretation of LL

items (Lyons & Rodríguez-Ordóñez, 2015; Matras & Robertson, 2015). The empirical approach taken in this project contributes to the re-emerging interest in the LL field in collecting and analysing statistical data. This not only concerns the type of numerical comparisons discussed here, but also inferential statistical modelling aimed at extrapolating results beyond sample data (Lyons, 2015a) and the development of a ‘standard model’ for LL research, aimed at maintaining compatibility across multiple settings (Amos & Soukup, forthcoming). The results of this project illustrate how these developments can apply to future studies of Occitan, Corsican, and of RLs and minority languages in different settings around the world. In addition, they demonstrate the potential for the future development of large-scale quantitative analyses of empirical data, which can provide the statistical basis for greater understanding of language interaction in public spaces, and the management strategies and attitudes of those who shape the LLs of the contemporary world.

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Appendix I. List of Surveyed Streets by City

Marseille

Boulevard d'Athènes
Boulevard des Dames
Boulevard Dugommier
Boulevard Garibaldi
Cours Belsunce
Cours Saint-Louis
Grand-Rue
Quai de la Fraternité
Quai de la Rive Neuve
Rue Caisserie
Rue d'Aix
Rue de la République (200m)
Rue de l'Eveché
Rue de Rome
Rue des Trois Mages
Rue du Panier
Rue Paradis
Rue Sainte
Rue Vacon

Toulouse

Allée Charles de Fitte
Allée Jean Jaurès
Avenue Etienne Billières
Boulevard de Strasbourg (200m)
Boulevard Lazare Carnot (200m)
Rue d'Alsace-Lorraine (200m)
Rue de Bayard
Rue de la Pomme
Rue de la République
Rue de Metz
Rue des Changes
Rue du Taur
Rue Léon Gambetta
Rue Lafayette
Rue Languedoc
Rue Romiguières
Rue St Rome

Ajaccio

Avenue Pascal Paoli
Avenue Serafini
Avenue Vico
Boulevard Charles Bonaparte (200m)
Boulevard Roi Jérôme
Boulevard Sampiero
Cours Grandval
Cours Général Leclerc
Cours Napoléon (300m)
Cours Jean Nicoli
Quai de la République
Rue des Trois Marie
Rue Docteur del Pellegrino
Rue du Cardinal Fesch
Rue François Maglioli
Rue Paul Colonna d'Istria
Rue Roi de Rome

Bastia

Avenue Jean Zuccarelli
Avenue Maréchal Sébastiani
Avenue Pierre Giudicelli
Boulevard Auguste Gaudin
Boulevard du Général de Gaulle (200m)
Boulevard Général Graziani
Boulevard Hyacinthe de Montera
Boulevard Pascal Paoli (200m)
Rue Cardinal Viale Prelà
Rue César Campinci
Rue Chanoine Letteron
Rue des Terrasses
Rue du Commandant Bonelli
Rue Général Carbuccia
Rue du Commandant Luce de Casabianca
Rue Miot
Rue Napoléon (200m)

Appendix II. Values by variable

Language

Arabic	English	Japanese	Spanish
Bambara	Finish	Korean	Swedish
Basque	French	Latin	Twi
Catalan	German	Occitan	Turkish
Chinese	Greek	Portuguese	Wolof
Corsican	Hebrew	Russian	
Dutch	Italian	Slovenian	

Communicative Function

Announcement	Event Advertisement	Slogan
Direction	Information Item	Small Advertisement
Establishment	Instruction	Street Sign
Description	Label/Tag	Trademark
Establishment Name	Product	Warning

Locus

Billboard	Self-supporting
Door	Wall
Object	Window
Post	

Materiality

Digital	Permanent
Hand-written	Professionally Printed
Home-printed	

Authorship

Official domains

Departmental
European
International
Municipal
National
Regional

Unofficial domains

Collaboration
Domestic Chain
Graffiti
Independent
Individual
International Chain
Local Branch

Site

Agency
Arcade
ATM
Bakery
Bank
Bar
Bike Station
Billboard
Bin
Building Site
Bus Stop
Butchers
Café
Car Park
Car Window
Cathedral
Church
Clinic
Coach Station
Cyber Café
Dentist
Department Store
Embassy
Epicerie
External
Ferry Terminal

Fishmonger
Florist
Gallery
Garage
Grocers
Gym
Hospital
Hotel
Institution
Jewellers
Laboratory
Laundrette
Library
Marina
Market
Morris Column
Museum
Newsagents
News Stand
Nightclub
Noticeboard
Office
Opticians
Parking Meter
Pharmacy
Post Box

Post Office
Pub
Public Building
Residence
Restaurant
Salon
School
Shop
Shopping Centre
Showroom
Social Centre
Studio
Supermarket
Surgery
Synagogue
Takeaway
Theatre
Toilets
Tourist Office
Vending Machine
Venue
Workshop
Youth Centre

Field

Accommodation	Festivals	Philosophy
Administration	Finance	Photography
Advertising	Fitness	Place-naming
Animal Welfare	Flowers	Police
Antiques	Food and Drink	Politics
Arabic Culture	Footwear	Prices
Architecture	Freight	Printing
Arms	Funerals	Property
Art	Furniture	Public Service
Arts and Crafts	Gambling	Push/Pull
Astronomy	Games	Recreation
Awards	Gifts	Religion
Beauty	Hair	Reviews
Books	Health	Romance
Bric-a-Brac	Homeware	Safety
Business	Horticulture	Sales
Charity	Hours	Security
Childcare	Insurance	Sex
Cinema	Jewellery	Shopping
Circus	Languages	Smoking
Clothing	Laundry	Social Services
Commemoration	Laws	Societies
Communications	Leisure	Sponsorship
Construction	Literature	Sport
Cooking	Logistics	Stationery
Cultural Association	Lost Pet	Tagging
Customer Service	Mail	Terrorism
Dance	Management	Textiles
Deliveries	Maps	Theatre
Dentistry	Market	Tourism and Souvenirs
Directions	Media	Toys
DIY	Menu	Trade Unions
Education	Motoring	Traffic
Electronics	Museums	Translation
Employment	Music	Transport
Energy	News	Travel
Engineering	Nightlife	Trinkets
Engraving	Organization	Urban Management
Entertainment	Parking	Utilities
Environment	Pawning	Wellbeing
Fashion	Personal Name	
Fast Food	Pets	

Appendix IV. Occitan visibility by variable

System	# Monolingual items		# Multilingual items	
Function	Establishment Names	12	Street Signs	38
	Information	9	Establishment Names	37
	Slogans	9	Information	7
	Street Signs	8	Trademarks	7
	Trademarks	3	Slogans	1
Locus	Wall	26	Wall	65
	Window	7	Post	16
	Post	4	Self-supporting	5
	Object	3	Door	2
	Door	1	Window	2
Materiality	Permanent	27	Permanent	85
	Professionally Printed	11	Professionally Printed	4
	Home printed	2	Home-printed	1
	Hand written	1		
Authorship	Independent	18	Municipal	47
	Municipal	14	Independent	38
	Graffiti	6	Domestic Chain	4
	Domestic Chain	3	International Chain	1
Site	External	17	External	44
	Shop	17	Restaurant	18
	Bus Stop	4	Hotel	6
	Agency	2	Shop	6
	Restaurant	1	Bike Station	4
			Supermarket	4
			Takeaway	3
			Church	2
			Bakery	1
			Bar	1
			Café	1
	Field	Place-naming	13	Place-naming
Books & Stationery		8	Food & Drink	28
Fashion		4	Accommodation	8
Communications		3	Traffic directions	4
Accommodation		3	Transport	4
Politics		3	Religion	2
Food & Drink		2	Events	1
History		2	Marketing	1
News		1	Reviews	1
Public Administration		1	Travel	1
Souvenirs		1		

Appendix V. Comparison of Occitan values with the whole corpus

System	Most common values	Proportion of Occitan items (%)	Proportion of whole corpus (%)
Function	Establishment names	37.4	21.6
	Street Signs	35.1	1.3
	Information	12.2	27.1
	Slogans	7.6	11.9
	Trademarks	7.6	17.2
Locus	Wall	69.5	43.4
	Post	15.3	8.4
	Window	6.9	24.8
	Self-supporting	3.9	8.8
	Door	2.3	12.2
	Object	2.3	2.3
Materiality	Permanent	85.5	51.9
	Professionally printed	11.5	35.4
	Home printed	2.3	7.5
	Hand written	0.8	4.7
Authorship	Municipal	46.6	6.4
	Independent	42.7	42.7
	Domestic Chain	5.3	24.1
	Graffiti	4.6	2.2
	International Chain	0.8	17.6
Site	External	46.6	8.1
	Shop	17.6	34.3
	Restaurant	14.5	7.7
	Hotel	4.6	2.2
	Bike Station	3.1	0.2
	Bus Stop	3.1	0.5
	Supermarket	3.1	2.5
	Takeaway	2.3	2.2
	Agency	1.5	3.3
	Church	1.5	0.03
	Bakery	0.8	1.6
	Bar	0.8	2.8
	Café	0.8	3.8
Field	Place-naming	40.5	3.0
	Food & Drink	22.9	18.2
	Books & Stationery	6.1	3.4
	Property Sales	4.6	3.3
	Accommodation	3.8	2.4
	Fashion	3.1	9.0
	Traffic Directions	3.1	3.0
	Transport	3.1	0.6

Communications	2.3	4.9
Politics	2.3	0.8
History	1.5	0.5
Events	0.8	1.7
Marketing	0.8	<0.0...
News	0.8	<0.0...
Public	0.8	<0.0...
Administration	0.8	<0.0...
Reviews	0.8	<0.0...
Tourism & Souvenirs	0.8	<0.0...
Travel		

Appendix VI. Corsican visibility by variable

Variable	# Monolingual items	# Multilingual items		
Function	Slogan	165	Trademark	57
	Trademark	153	Slogan	42
	Establishment name	92	Information item	28
	Information item	79	Establishment name	21
	Event advertisement	69	Instruction	12
	Object	25	Event advertisement	4
	Street Sign	9	Establishment description	3
	Establishment description	5	Small advertisement	1
	Instruction	2		
	Label	1		
	Small advertisement	1		
Locus	Door	152	Wall	49
	Wall	144	Post	46
	Post	126	Self-supporting	34
	Window	78	Window	18
	Object	60	Door	13
	Self-supporting	41	Object	8
Materiality	Permanent	215	Permanent	87
	Professionally printed	205	Professionally printed	63
	Home-printed	152	Home-printed	10
	Hand-written	28	Hand-written	8
	Digital	1		
Authorship	Independent	401	Independent	71
	Graffiti	84	Municipal	63
	Municipal	48	Regional	17
	Domestic chain	32	Collaboration	6
	Collaboration	30	Domestic chain	4
	Local Branch	3	Graffiti	4
	International Chain	2	Departmental	3
	Departmental	1		
Site	Shop	162	External	58
	Morris Column	112	Shop	27
	External	96	Café	11
	Bar	41	Bin	8
	Café	27	Church	7
	Restaurant	21	Public building	7
	Bus Stop	14	Restaurant	6
	Building Site	12	Bar	5
	Pharmacy	12	Hotel	4
	Office	11	Youth Centre	4
	Bin	10	Morris column	3
	Public Building	10	Museum	3

	Butchers	8	Office	3
	Bank	7	Noticeboard	3
	Tabac	7	School	3
	Museum	6	Tabac	3
	Noticeboard	6	Tourist Office	3
	Opticians	5	Bus stop	2
	Post box	5	Salon	2
	Takeaway	4	Agency	1
	School	3	Butchers	1
	Studio	3	Institution	1
	Workshop	3	Opticians	1
	ATM	2	Pharmacy	1
	Grocery	2	Show Room	1
	Parking Meter	2		
	Florist	2		
	Supermarket	2		
	Youth Centre	2		
	Coach Station	1		
	Gallery	1		
	Post Office	1		
	Residence	1		
Field	Horticulture	87	Administration	49
	Food & Drink	83	Food & Drink	27
	Nationalism	76	Theatre	11
	Tourism & Souvenirs	71	History	8
	Place-naming	57	Urban Management	8
	Sport	41	Festivals & Events	7
	Theatre	33	Communications	6
	Music	22	Tourism & Souvenirs	7
	Fashion	19	Education	5
	Festivals & events	15	Entertainment	5
	Administration	11	Accommodation	4
	Art	10	Directions	4
	Communications	7	Insurance	4
	Directions	6	Fashion	3
	History	6	Parking	3
	Insurance	5	Nationalism	3
	Homewares	4	Traffic	3
	Traffic	4	Social Services	2
	Urban management	4	Charity	1
	Education	3	Health	1
	Environment	3	Homewares	1
	Estates	3	Opening Hours	1
	Health	3	Motoring	1
	Personal Name	3	Music	1
	Recreation	3	Religion	1

Accommodation	2	Sport	1
Beauty	2	Travel	1
Books	2		
Business	2		
News	2		
Societies	2		
Advertizing	1		
Arms	1		
Brick-a-brack	1		
Construction	1		
Event management	1		
Exhibitions	1		
Jewellery	1		
Religion	1		
Trade Unions	1		
Transport	1		

Appendix VII. Corsican values in the food and drink field

Variable	Value	Proportion of total Food and Drink items (%)
Function	Establishment name	40.9
	Trademark	30
	Slogan	15.5
	Information	10
	Establishment description	3.6
Locus	Wall	59.1
	Self-supporting	13.6
	Window	11.8
	Object	10
	Post	3.6
	Door	1.8
Materiality	Permanent	66.4
	Professionally printed	20
	Hand-written	13.6
Authorship	Independent	78.2
	Domestic Chain	16.4
	Collaboration	3.6
	International Chain	1.8
Site	Shop	30
	Restaurant	22.7
	Café	19.1
	Bar	16.4
	Butchers	3.6
	Takeaway	3.6
	Grocers	1.8
	Supermarket	1.8
	Exernal	1

Appendix VIII. Reproduction of SbFO Street denominations document

MAIRIE DE TOULOUSE
Dénomination des Rues

Désignation de la voie	Traduction en occitan	Observations
ALLÉE	Andana	
ALLEES	Andanas	
AVENUE	Avenguda	
BOULEVARD	Baloard	
CHEMIN	Camin	
CHEMINEMENT	Caminament	
COURS	Cors	
DESCENTE	Davalada	
ESPACE	Espaci	
ESPLANADE	Esplanada / Plan	"Esplanada" pour une esplanada créée, "Plan" pour une esplanade existante
IMPASSE	Androna / Carrièra òrba	Suivant configuration et largeur
JARDIN	Òrt / Jardin	
MAIL	Passejada	
PASSAGE	Pas	
PASSERELLE	Palanca	
PARVIS	Placeta	
PLACE	Plaça	
PONT	Pont	
PROMENADE	Passejada	
QUAI	Cai	
QUARTIER	Barri	
ROND-POINT	Giratòri / rotonda	Suivant configuration des lieux.
ROUTE	Rota	
RUE	Carrièra	
RUE DU REMPART	Escorsièra	
SENTIER	Caminòl	
SQUARE	Jardin	
VOIE	Via	

Appendix IX. Corsican and Occitan occurrences by value

SYSTEM	VALUE	CORSICAN	OCCITAN
Function	Direction	10	4
Function	Establishment Description	10	\
Function	Establishment Name	109	48
Function	Event Advertisement	73	1
Function	Information Item	97	13
Function	Instruction	14	\
Function	Label/Tag	26	\
Function	Slogan	210	6
Function	Small Advertisement	4	\
Function	Street Sign	9	46
Function	Trademark	210	9
Locus	Door	165	3
Locus	Object	70	1
Locus	Post	172	17
Locus	Self-supporting	76	5
Locus	Wall	193	90
Locus	Window	96	11
Materiality	Digital	1	\
Materiality	Hand-written	36	1
Materiality	Home-printed	163	3
Materiality	Permanent	303	106
Materiality	Professionally Printed	269	17
Authorship Domain	Collaboration	36	1
Authorship Domain	Departmental	4	\
Authorship Domain	Domestic Chain	37	4
Authorship Domain	Graffiti	88	6
Authorship Domain	Independent	473	57
Authorship Domain	International Chain	2	1
Authorship Domain	Local Branch	3	1
Authorship Domain	Municipal	112	57
Authorship Domain	Regional	17	\
Site	Agency	1	7
Site	ATM	2	\
Site	Bakery	1	1
Site	Bank	7	\
Site	Bar	46	1
Site	Bin	18	\

Site	Building Site	12	\
Site	Bus Stop	16	4
Site	Butchers	9	\
Site	Café	38	1
Site	Church	7	2
Site	Coach Station	1	\
Site	External	155	62
Site	Florist	2	\
Site	Gallery	1	\
Site	Grocers	2	\
Site	Hotel	4	6
Site	Institution	1	1
Site	Library	\	2
Site	Morris Column	115	\
Site	Museum	9	\
Site	Newsagents	10	\
Site	Noticeboard	9	\
Site	Office	14	\
Site	Opticians	6	\
Site	Parking Meter	2	\
Site	Pharmacy	13	\
Site	Post Box	5	\
Site	Post Office	1	\
Site	Public Building	17	\
Site	Residence	1	\
Site	Restaurant	27	17
Site	Salon	2	\
Site	School	6	\
Site	Shop	189	17
Site	Showroom	1	\
Site	Studio	3	\
Site	Supermarket	3	4
Site	Takeaway	4	2
Site	Tourist Office	3	\
Site	Workshop	3	\
Site	Youth Centre	6	\
Field	Accommodation	14	5
Field	Administration	61	3
Field	Advertising	1	\
Field	Architecture	1	\
Field	Arms	1	\
Field	Art	11	2
Field	Beauty	2	\
Field	Books and Stationery	2	7
Field	Bric-a-Brac	1	\

Field	Business	2	1
Field	Charity	1	\
Field	Commemoration	14	3
Field	Communications	13	3
Field	Education	8	\
Field	Entertainment	5	\
Field	Environment	3	\
Field	Fashion	22	4
Field	Festivals	15	\
Field	Food and Drink	111	26
Field	Games	1	\
Field	Health	4	\
Field	Homeware	5	\
Field	Horticulture	90	\
Field	Hours	1	\
Field	Insurance	9	\
Field	Jewellery	1	\
Field	Motoring	1	\
Field	Music	26	\
Field	News	2	1
Field	Parking	3	\
Field	Personal Name	3	\
Field	Place-naming	57	54
Field	Politics	79	3
Field	Property	3	6
Field	Recreation	3	\
Field	Religion	2	2
Field	Reviews	\	1
Field	Social Services	2	\
Field	Societies	2	\
Field	Sport	42	1
Field	Theatre	44	\
Field	Tourism and Souvenirs	79	1
Field	Trade Unions	1	2
Field	Traffic	7	\
Field	Transport	1	\
Field	Travel	1	\
Field	Urban Management	15	2