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The Role of Language Policy in the Revitalization of Occitan:
A Comparative Analysis of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées

A thesis submitted to the University of Dublin, Trinity College for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Laura Carmel Diver

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences

2012
Declaration

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“Words are easy, like the wind; Faithful friends are hard to find.” – Shakespeare

For Ger, tu seras toujours dans mon cœur et dans mes pensées.
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First and foremost, I would like to thank my family. To my father, John, and brother Simon, and my aunts, Marie and Kathleen, thank you for your unending love and support. I would never have made it this far without you.

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Summary
This thesis aims to investigate language revitalization in terms of policy and planning in Occitan France. It comprises three main research questions. The first of these questions addresses the effectiveness of regional and municipal level language policy in the revitalization of an endangered language. The policies of the neighbouring regions of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées in France are analysed using a number of theoretical frameworks (Cooper, 1989; Ager, 2001; Spolsky, 2004: Shohamy, 2006). The second research question focuses on the use of endangered languages in the public space and seeks to analyse to what extent this domain can be used as a mechanism for language revitalization. The third, and final, research question concerns the revitalization goals of the Occitan-speaking community in both regions. It is indicated in the literature that speakers of an endangered language community tend to aim too high in their revitalization goals (i.e. official status, legal protection, language in education) before first ensuring the language is stable in lower domains (Fishman, 1991) such as in the family home with continued intergenerational transmission. This thesis will examine the revitalization goals of Occitan speakers in Toulouse (Midi-Pyrénées) and Montpellier (Languedoc-Roussillon) in order to investigate if Occitan speakers conform to this trend of aiming too high in terms of their revitalization goals.

This thesis uses three research methodologies, namely Linguistic Landscape surveys, qualitative-quantitative questionnaires and focus group interviews in order to investigate how Occitan speakers in Toulouse and Montpellier perceive the current regional linguistic policies, as well as their goals for Occitan revitalization. In addition, a critical analysis of the linguistic policies of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées, using the frameworks outlined above, will provide a better understanding of the issues involved in the endangerment and revitalization of Occitan and the role which language policy can play in both of them.

The data presented in this thesis will show that Occitan speakers in both cities feel that regional language policy is more effective, and therefore best placed to engage in the revitalization of Occitan. Finally, the data will demonstrate that Occitan speakers' revitalization goals are in line with those outlined in the literature in that they believe that legal protection, equal status and teaching the language in the education system are the most important factors in the revitalization of Occitan.
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Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate the role of language policy in the revitalization of endangered languages. Taking the endangered language Occitan as the case study this thesis will examine the role of regional and municipal language policy in the revitalization of the language. Furthermore, it seeks to investigate how members of the Occitan community perceive language policy at regional/municipal level. These issues will be investigated through a detailed and critical analysis of language policy implemented by the French state, as well as that of the councils and municipal authorities at regional and city level. Two neighbouring Occitan regions – Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon – will be used as the case study for this thesis. A further issue that will be investigated is the role and perception of the use of an endangered language in the Linguistic Landscape (LL) and Linguistic Soundscape (LS). These relatively new fields of study provide important tools for the analysis of policy outcomes and the use, or lack thereof, of an endangered language in the public space have significant implications for its survival. Therefore, the roles of language policy and of the LL and LS in the revitalization of Occitan form the three main research questions investigated by this thesis. The primary research tools used are questionnaires, LL surveys and focus group interviews. The principal frameworks and models drawn upon for the analysis of language policy in this thesis are those of Cooper (1989), Fishman (1991), Ager (2001), Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006). Other frameworks such as that of UNESCO (2003) will also be used in order to evaluate the extent to which the Occitan language is currently endangered and the aims of the revitalization policies put forward by the administrative authorities in the two regions in question.

The first research question with which this thesis is concerned is the effectiveness of regional and municipal level language policy in the revitalization of an endangered language. The language policies of two neighbouring administrative regions in France where Occitan is spoken (Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon) and their various forms of regional and municipal authorities will be analysed with a view to investigating how effective their policies are, or can be, in the revitalization of Occitan. Though each region currently implements policies of support for the Occitan language, the aims, form and structure of the two policies differ significantly, thus allowing for a critical analysis of differing forms of language revitalization policy and its potential for aiding the survival of an endangered language.
The second research question of this thesis focuses on the use of endangered languages in the public space and seeks to analyse to what extent this domain can be used as a mechanism for language revitalization. The LL and LS areas serve to highlight the current linguistic policies of public authorities and private enterprises. They can be used both as tools of policy implementation and reflections of the current policies which are in place. Given both their informational and symbolic functions, inclusion or exclusion of an endangered language from the LL and LS can have an important impact upon the perceived prestige and future survival of the language in question. It is with this in mind that the LLs of the capital cities of each region studied in this thesis, namely Toulouse (Midi-Pyrénées) and Montpellier (Languedoc-Roussillon) will be studied in order to investigate the use of the LL as a revitalization tool and means of policy implementation by municipal authorities. The use of Occitan in the Toulouse metro will be compared with its exclusion from the tram system in Montpellier in order to provide a basis for the examination of the effects that inclusion and exclusion of Occitan can have upon speaker perceptions of the language.

The third and final research question presented in this thesis concerns the revitalization goals of the Occitan-speaking community in both regions. Following on from the analysis of the regional linguistic policies, this thesis aims to investigate, firstly, if Occitan speaker goals are compatible with those of the administrative authorities and, secondly, whether or not speakers are aiming too high in their goals for the revitalization of Occitan, in particular according to Fishman’s (1991) GIDS model. As discussed in the literature, many endangered language communities put too much emphasis on the language in education and official recognition rather than stabilising the language in the home, re-establishing intergenerational transmission and expanding domains of use.

In order to provide a basis for a clear understanding of Occitan endangerment and revitalization, a brief introduction to the Occitan language and its culture will be given in this section.

Chapter 1 will introduce language policy in relation to language endangerment, looking specifically at the situation of the regional languages in France.
Occitan: An Introduction

Occitan, a Romance language, is the largest regional language in Europe in terms of estimated number of speakers and the size of the geographical area in which it is spoken, and spans three countries – France (the southern third of the country), Spain (Val d’Aran) and Italy (Piemonte valleys).

Figure 1 Occitan-speaking region of Europe (source: commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Occitanie)

Comprising six main dialects, each with a number of sub-dialects, Occitan has been in use since approximately the 9th Century (Martel, 2001) and has a long and rich cultural and literary history dating back to the time of the Troubadours and continuing today.

The Occitan-speaking area of Europe spans several countries, each of which affords a different status and level of protection to the language and its speakers. Occitanie, the name given by speakers to the area in which the language is spoken, ranges from Southern France and Monaco to parts of North-western Italy and the Val d’Aran in Northern Spain. While this thesis focuses on Occitan in the regions of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon in France, a brief overview of Occitan in both Spain and Italy will be presented here in order to give a better understanding of the current sociolinguistic situation of the language.

France

Occitanie covers the whole of southern metropolitan France (with the exception of Roussillon which is a Catalan-speaking area and the French Pays Basque to the south-west).
This corresponds to approximately one third of the total area of the country and contains nearly a quarter of the population. As with many languages, the linguistic boundaries of Occitanie do not correspond with political boundaries that exist today. Statistically, there is little variation in terms of the overall geography and demography of the area. Dupuy (1976: 8) describes Occitanie as covering 200,000km² 12.3 million inhabitants or a quarter of the total French population, 33 départements and covering six economic regions. A similar description is given by the Parti de la nacion occitana, a political party, who describe Occitanie as: 7 regions, 32 départements, 97 arrondissements, 1,252 cantons, 10,363 communes over 193,331km² and having 14,612,660 inhabitants. According to the most recent national census data (2004) from INSEE, the populations for the various Occitanie Regions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midi-Pyrénées</td>
<td>2,776,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languedoc-Roussillon</td>
<td>2,524,115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PACA</td>
<td>4,815,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhône-Alpes</td>
<td>6,021,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limousin</td>
<td>730,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquitaine</td>
<td>3,119,757</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auvergne</td>
<td>1,355,994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 Population numbers for Occitanie Regions (Source: INSEE)

In total, 21,334,168 people, or 33.76% of the total French population (63,186,098 people) live in Occitanie.

In terms of physical geography, the Occitan-speaking area of France stretches from the west coast to the eastern border with Italy, and has its northern boundary along the "confluent de la Dordogne et de la Garonne, évite Angoulême, Bellac, Gannat, Châteldon, Saint-Etienne pour franchir le Rhône entre Tournon et Tain-l’Hermitage, passé au midi de Grenoble avant d’atteindre la frontière franco-italienne."

(Lafont, 1971: 11)

There is a zone of linguistic transition from the Occitan-speaking area of southern France to the northern, French-speaking area, known as le croissant, so named because of its croissant-like shape. It stretches from the Tardoire valley in Charente in the west to the Monts de la Madeleine at Allier to the west, along the Limousin and Auvergne regions. This area is illustrated in Figure 2. There are, therefore, seven administrative Regions within Occitanie, namely Auvergne, Limousin, Rhône-Alpes, Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées, Languedoc-Roussillon, and Provence-Alpes-Côte-d’Azur or PACA as it is commonly known.
Thus, Occitanie in France covers a considerably large geographical area. As previously mentioned, there are, however, Occitan-speaking areas of Italy and Spain.

**Spain: The Val d’Aran**

Occitan is also found in the Val d’Aran in northern Spain. Geographically, the Val d’Aran is in the Spanish region of Catalonia along the north Pyrenees and has Viella as its capital as can be seen in Figures 3 and 4. Bordering France and, until 1964, only being accessible from the French side in the winter months, has led to the movement of Occitan speakers into this region. This has, as such, resulted in the use of an Occitan dialect by many of the residents.

Figure 2 French Occitanie including le croissant (source: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Los_dialected_de_1%27occitan)

Figure 3 Val d’Aran (Source: www.christusrex.org/ www1/pater/maps/aranais.gi)
The Occitan dialect spoken here is a variety of Gascon, known as Aranese or Aranais. It is spoken alongside Castilian and Catalan and has official status. Until 1964, with the opening of the Port de Vielha tunnel, the Val d'Aran was almost completely cut off from the rest of Spain, a fact that may account for the survival and continued use of Aranais in the region. This limited the contact between Aranais and both Castilian and Catalan. However, there have been some lexical influences from Castilian such as the use of the words después (after), hasta (until), pregunta (question), quedar (to stay) (Viaut, 2001: 406). Words adopted from Catalan are mainly religious and family terminology. There are approximately 7000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) people living in the Val d'Aran in approximately 33 villages (Dupuy, 1997: 189). In 1990, the Catalan Parliament approved legislation giving recognition, protection and promotion to the Aranese dialect of Occitan. This recognises Aranese as an official language, along with Catalan and Castilian, in Catalonia. The Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, Article 6.5 states that “The Occitan language, known as Aranese in Aran, is Aran’s own language and is official in Catalonia, as established by this Estatut and the laws of linguistic normalization” (Catalunya, 2006: 9).

This law makes Aranese the preferred language in all Val d'Aran institutions, in particular the General Council and town halls. It also allows for the language to be used regularly for communication between the Catalan administrations and those of Val d'Aran. Aranese is the language of instruction in schools up until the age of 14 and after this it becomes the primary language of instruction, followed by Catalan and Castilian. It is also used within the media in the form of television, radio and newspapers.
The Occitan language is also spoken in certain regions of North-west Italy. Having been introduced in the 13th and 14th centuries by the Waldesians and Vaudois who were fleeing persecution, Occitan dialects continue to be spoken in the provinces of Torino and Cuneo in the Italian regions of Liguria and Piemonte, in the valleys of Val Mairo, Val Varacho, Val d’Esturo, Entraigas, Limoun, Vinai, Pignerol, Sestriero (Ethnologue, 2009), as can be seen in Figure 5.

This area of Alpine valleys is a mountainous region, which does not have much industry thus leading to mass migration out of the area. Its position means that Italian-occitanophones are in contact with other linguistic groups i.e. Franco-Provençal to the north, the local Piedmont dialect as well as the state language, Italian.

Occitanophones living in Italy, as in many parts of French Occitanie, reside in rural, isolated areas. The Euromosaic study (B, 1996:1-2) states that over half live in rurally isolated areas of the Alpine valleys, in “villages of less than 1,000 inhabitants”, while the remainder live in “semi-rural areas (villages with over 1,000, or towns with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants”). Due to the location of these valleys and their geographical isolation, there is little or no industry to be found here and consequently few employment opportunities, which has given rise to emigration out of the area. As a result of the sparse employment opportunities in these areas, there has been a steady flow of emigration by workers, and, as a result, of Occitan speakers, out of this part of Italy.

The Italian Republic officially recognises Occitan as a minority language under law no. 3366 Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche, which was signed into law by the President of the Republic on the 15th of December 1999. As part of this law,
the Italian State acknowledges the linguistic minorities within its borders and states that it values their contribution to Italian heritage and culture:

In the implementation of Article 6 of the Constitution and in harmony with the general principles established by the European and International organizations, the Republic protects the language and culture of the Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian and Croatian populations and of those who speak French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladino, Occitan and Sardinian.

(In attuazione dell'articolo 6 della Costituzione e in armonia con i principi generali stabiliti dagli organismi europei e internazionali, la Repubblica tutela la lingua e la cultura delle popolazioni albanesi, catalane, germaniche, greche, slovene e croate e di quelle parlanti il francese, il franco-provenzale, il friulano, il ladino, l'occitano e il sardo) (Art. 2, Gazetta Ufficiale, 1999)

Consisting of twenty articles, this law provides for the use and teaching of Occitan in Italian schools and for its use in other domains such as the media and state administration but, notably, not with the police or the army. These provisions give the Occitan language in Italy the status of a protected minority language. The state also gives some, though not much, financial support to Occitan language and cultural organizations.

While it is useful to have an overview of the Occitan situation in Spain and Italy, this thesis will henceforth be concerned with Occitan in the French Regions of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon.

Occitan Dialects

The Occitan language is divisible into three supra-dialectal groups, namely Nord Occitan (north Occitan), Sud Occitan (southern Occitan) and Gascon. Figure 5 illustrates the dialectal divisions in Occitanie. The Nord Occitan group consists of the Auvergnat, Provençal-Alpin and Limousin dialects, while Sud Occitan is made up of the Languedocien and Provençal dialects. Gascon is considered by many scholars to be unique among the Occitan dialects as it is linguistically closer to Basque than to the other dialects of Occitan.
Speakers of Occitan are inclined to accept Gascon as being one of their dialects, despite its linguistic differences, which have, as Nouvel (1977: 45) points out, differentiated it from Languedocien since the 12th century and whose particularities can be traced back to a prehistoric Aquitanian substrate. It has been argued (Lavelle, 2004: 27) that, as a result of migration from Spain in Roman times, Gascon is linguistically more closely linked to Basque than to Occitan.

Gascon can be seen to be different from other Occitan dialects on

"The basis of [a] bunch of features tending to cluster closely in the south-western part of the Occitan domain, in particular Gascon has [h] (hilh, “son”) for [f] elsewhere in Occitan (filh), Latin –ll- yields [t’] and [r] in Gascon (beth, bera, “beautiful”) in the rest of the language, [n] deletes intervocally in Gascon (plea, “full” – f) but is preserved elsewhere (pleana)."

(Dupuy, 1997: 20) further adds to this, saying "en Gascon, le “f” se transforme en “h” (ex. ‘hlor’, fleur)."
While there are morphological and phonetic differences among the various dialects of Occitan, those in Gascon make it stand out from the others. Though linguists are still debating whether or not to include it along with the other Occitan dialects or to class it as a completely separate language, Occitans themselves are prepared, for the time being, to accept it as one of their own, with it being taught in both the Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail and the Université de Montpellier III – Paul Valéry alongside the other dialects.

Cultural and Literary History of Occitan

Occitan has a long and prestigious literary history that can be traced as far back as the end of the 9th century. The first known works in Occitan were the Passion de Clermont (950 AD), the Poème sur boèce (around 1000 AD), the religious poems of Saint-Martial de Limoges at the beginning of the 11th century and the Chanson de sainte Foi in 1040 (Cerquiglini, 2003: 179). However, it was the poetry of the Troubadours which brought the language to prominence throughout Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries, with their works numbering approximately 2,500, with 250 melodies (Cerquiglini, 2003: 180). There were also other works written in Occitan such as treatises on mathematics, medicine and the natural sciences. The first printed work in Occitan was the Compendion de l'Abaco, a treatise on applied mathematics by Niçois François Pellos (Cerquiglini, 2003: 180). During the 14th and 15th centuries, Occitan came to be used more and more in administration and the judiciary but also saw a decline in its literature. It was in the 19th century that Occitan literature once again received international recognition when Frédéric Mistral wrote his famous epic poem, Mireio. This won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1904.

From the 12th to the 15th century, Occitan was used in the writing of municipal archives, commercial contracts, administrative documents, accounts and personal correspondence, thus showing that, for the majority of people living and working in Occitanie, Occitan was the language used in every domain. From the end of the 14th century, French began to be used in these same documents and eventually overtook Occitan in terms of use until 1539 when François I declared that all administrative and judicial documents must be in French in the Édit de Villers-Cotterêts (Judge, 2007: 17)

There have been a number of other notable Occitanophones with perhaps one of the most famous being Pope Jean XXII (Nouvel 1979: 18). Jacques Duèze was born (1249) and raised in Cahors in the Midi-Pyrénées region of southern France. He was raised as an Occitan speaker and never learned to speak French. In 1316 he became Pope, taking the name Pope Jean XXII and speaking only Latin and Occitan "When he became the head of
Christianity, he only knew Latin and Occitan (Quand il devint le chef de la Chrétienté, il ne connaissait que le Latin et la Langue d’Oc)" (Nouvel, 1976: 65).

That a man elected as Pope knew only Latin and Occitan highlights the fact that, during this time, even those people who held the highest offices did not speak French, preferring to speak Occitan.

Occitan is a language with a long, rich and diverse culture and heritage. The language flourished up until the time when the French kings and later, successive French governments began legislating against the use of other languages in France. Today Occitan is listed by UNESCO as an endangered language. Chapter 1 will discuss the role of language planning and policy in France and how this has impacted upon the regional languages.
1. Language Policy in France

1.1 Introduction

France has a long history of implementing rigorous language policy in favour of French (Judge, 2007: 7) which has been put in place in all domains and at all levels of society. France is a striking example of a modern nation-state which uses explicit and direct language management strategies to enact linguistic policy aimed firstly at establishing France as a monolingual country and secondly at maintaining this status (Blackwood & Tufi, 2012: 113). Ager (2001: 15) echoes this assertion, stating, "France is usually thought of as the country which invented the concept of the nation-state, and which has most consistently followed a policy based on bringing together the geographical, the political, the social, the cultural and the linguistic". French language policy can be divided into two periods: 1) unification and stabilization through language and 2) defence and maintenance of social integrity and identity (Ager, 1999). The process of linguistic unification, beginning with the Edict de Villers-Cotterêts in 1539, along with a number of other factors, has led to the endangerment of the regional languages (RLs) languages of France, and of Occitan in particular. At the same time the State’s language management policies also continue to have an impact upon the RLs and limit the measures that can be put in place for their revitalization. This chapter provides a background to the analysis of Occitan endangerment (Chapter 2) through an examination of French language policy and its impact upon the RLs.

1.2 Language Policy and Motivation

The four language policy frameworks that will be drawn upon in this thesis are those of Cooper (1989), Ager (2001), Spolsky (2004), and Shohamy (2006). Reference will also be made to UNESCO’s model of language vitality and endangerment (2003) and Fishman’s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1991). Utilising these policy frameworks will provide a critical examination of the language management policies pursued by the French state since the 16th century and the impact that they have had upon the RLs of the country (Section 1.4). Before moving on to look specifically at the history of French language policy, this section will give a brief introduction to the main concepts of language policy drawn from the above four models.
Language Policy

While legislation, rules and regulations are the most obvious form which language policy can take, other forms such as covert policies, practices and ideologies also combine to form language policy. In its basic sense, language policy can be defined as language regulation, with one person or authority making language choices for the wider public. The motivations for these language decisions range from the creation of a nation-state (Schiffman, 1996; Ager, 2001; Grenoble, 2003; Spolsky, 2004) to the solidification of dominance of one language in a monolingual state. Language policy can also be considered on a much broader scale, referring to language practices, beliefs and management decisions of a community (Spolsky, 2004: 9). Language planning and policy are often broken down in the literature, with the former being seen as the ways by which a community seeks to influence the language behaviours of its members (Ager, 2001: 5), and the latter being regarded primarily as a set of principles regarding language behaviour, as well as constituting the main rules and regulations put in place by political authorities (Shohamy, 2006: 49; Ager, 2001: 5).

Language planning is further divided (Cooper, 1989) into three strands: corpus, status and acquisition. While corpus planning has been crucial to the establishment of French as the standard language of France, its role in the revitalization of Occitan is less important and as such will only be discussed in relation to French national language policy. Status and acquisition planning, however, underpin the language policies put in place by regional and municipal authorities for the revitalization of Occitan. Language planning is not simply limited to linguistic undertakings but rather involves politics, policy formation and administration (Jernudd & Das Gupta, 1971: 211).

Both Cooper (1989) and Shohamy (2006) note the need to distinguish between ostensible and actual, overt and covert goals in language policy. Rarely is language policy put in place solely for the purpose of improving communication but rather there are political or economic considerations at play. Shohamy (2006) sees language policy as a mechanism for organising and manipulating language practices, for both stated and unstated reasons. In particular, she notes the use of language as a tool for the manipulation of ideologies and behaviours, linking the change from language as a means of communication to language as a symbolic political instrument with the development of the nation-state. "From the early nation-state period, language and culture have served as major tools of the state apparatus" (Shohamy, 2006: 250) and from the 19th century onwards, language has served in the construction and maintenance of national identity.
The national languages of these nation-states were legitimised as mechanisms of control and of power, becoming symbols of inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state society (Shohamy, 2006: 29).

In expanding the scope of language policy, Shohamy identifies five mechanisms used in the creation of de facto language policy: 1) rules and regulations; 2) language education; 3) language tests; 4) language in public space; and 5) ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion (Shohamy, 2006: 58). It is these mechanisms, she argues, that authorities use both overtly and covertly to implement language policy in order to achieve their end goals (Cooper, 1989).

1.3 French Language Policy: Past and Present

16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} Centuries

The establishment of French as an official language is linked to the rise of France as a centralised state, a process that began with the Romans (Judge, 2007: 16). The first piece of official legislation in favour of French came in the form of the \textit{Edit de Villers-Cotterêts} in 1539 and this began France’s long history of linguistic legislation. Decreed by François I, this edict declared that French was to be the language of the judiciary, thus removing Latin and all other languages from all legal settings. The success of this law was bolstered by numerous famines and epidemics which resulted in a shortage of clerics able to draft documents in Latin. This resulted a rise in documents being written in the French vernacular and compounded by the fact that Latin was studied less owing to the spread of Protestantism (Judge, 2007: 16). Within twenty years of the issuing of this decree, French had been established as the sole official language of France (ibid). From this point onwards, the use of French in all domains increased with state linguistic policy being aimed at reducing regional power bases (Ager, 2001: 16). Due to the increase in the use of French in formal domains in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries,

A need emerged to develop and cultivate it. There arose a movement to cultivate and purify French by pruning it of obscure archaic and regional terms. At the same time, to satisfy the purists, the language of the common people, perceived as coarse and potentially indecent, was also proscribed. What resulted was an aristocratic, literary language, with high status and authority (Spolsky, 2004: 64)
The Académie française was integral to this ‘purification’ and language prescription. Founded in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu, the Académie was to become the primary mechanism of the state for the codification and standardisation of French (Judge, 2007: 25). A key figure in, and founding member of, the Académie, Vaugelas, is credited with creating the foundation for ‘le bon usage’ through his work Remarques sur la langue française. His book fixed the usage of French and he was a strong proponent of removing all vulgarity from the language. Malherbe also greatly influenced the standardisation of French, setting out style and grammar rules and rejecting borrowings from other languages, Latinisms, and expressions borrowed from dialects. The effects of the decisions made by the Académie were far-reaching and both writers and those in power followed their linguistic prescriptivism for the following two centuries (Judge, 2007: 25). Though the Académie has seen its power decline in modern times, it still maintains a level of influence and continues to produce dictionaries and awards for literary works. For Cooper (1989: 3), the establishment of the Académie française was a first and defining example of language planning. It was a step in language planning and policy that was to develop the monolingual hegemony of French not only in France, but also in the French-speaking world (Spolsky, 2004: 65). Spolsky (2004: 66) identifies the Académie as a language management tool, with its position and duties being explicitly established by language policy that was to follow.

Impact on the Regional Languages

While the Edit de Villers-Cotterêts was considered the beginning of French language policy and management, in reality it had little impact for the majority of French citizens. Those not concerned with legal matters continued to use their RLs in everyday life. The 16th and 17th centuries did not see the RLs disappear. Rather, France operated in a diglossic situation with French being used in the H domains (judiciary, the royal court) and the RLs continuing to be the vernaculars in the L domains (Ager, 1999). This period did, however, begin the important process of the codification and standardisation of French which would later facilitate its establishment as the sole official language of France to the detriment of the RLs. The 16th and 17th centuries also saw the beginning in the belief of the universality of standard French and the exclusion of all languages except French from a number of domains. Domain restriction, as is commonly noted in the literature, is a significant cause of language endangerment and death (Fishman, 1991; Tsunoda 2006). Such exclusion
would, in the future, contribute to the decline in use and endangerment of the French Rls, a factor against which they continue to struggle to this day.

18th and 19th Centuries
While the Edit de Villers-Cotterêts and the establishment of the Académie française constituted a blow for the Rls of France, many continued to use them, with only the elite being those primarily affected by the replacement of Latin by French. It was, rather, the Revolution of 1789 that was the first real step on the road to regional language endangerment in France. The revolutionaries made language policy one of their priorities, as they needed to spread their republican ideals to as many citizens as possible and this would be greatly aided by the use of one national language.

Having commissioned the Rapport Grégoire in 1790, it was found that out of 83 départements only 15 were found to have French as their exclusive language. This meant that 6 million citizens did not speak French with an equal number having some French but of an insufficient level to communicate (Judge, 2007: 21). As a result of this report, the Décret du 2 Thermidor (20th July 1794) was issued, beginning what Adamson (2007: 8) refers to as a "reign of linguistic terror". It decreed that only documents written in French would be legally recognised, with harsh penalties for any servant of the Republic who failed to do so. Though the Décret was suspended in September 1794, the Décret du 30 Vendémiaire (17th November 1794) re-instated several aspects of it, furthermore declaring that French was to be the only language of education used in France (Adamson, 2007: 8). The latter policy of French only education was enforced by placing a French teacher in every commune (Judge, 2007: 21). This came about in 1791 when Talleyrand submitted a report to the Assemblée constituante in which he asked for the establishment of schools in every commune in France, with French being the language of instruction. However, owing to financial constraints, this policy was not successfully put in place until the following century.

The language policy set out by the Revolutionary government can be seen in terms of several motivating factors. Two factors – identity and integration – taken from Ager’s (2001: 12) model of language planning and policy motivation can be applied to the language policy of the time. The motives, Ager argues, are based on attitudes towards different types of language policy and planning. They represent the emotion behind the specification of ideals, objectives and goals (2001: 9) and can explain why a given course of policy is followed. For the motive of identity, Ager identifies the relationship between
ethnicity and nationalism. They are interlinked and language is used both in the
construction and maintenance of cultural and national identities. He states that the three
aspects of identity are culture, politics and economics. Again, these are interrelated.
Identity is particularly close to the political aspect, he argues, with the identity of a political
community being very important to it, "language is generally believed to be its symbol and
as such its own identity is created in and through the language which it symbolizes, and
whose use it aims to control" (Ager, 2001: 38). The goal of such political linguistic policy
can range from assimilation to a nationalist ideal, as is found in the case of France. The
revolutionaries sought to bring citizens together through a common language, thus
achieving integration of those who, up to this point, did not speak French. The expression
of identity through language was to become one of the main motivating factors behind the
linguistic policies pursued by successive French governments and leaders to the present
day. Later, other motivating factors such as image and insecurity would also play a role in
French language policy.

In terms of Spolsky’s nation-state typology, the policies pursued from 1789 onward
in France are the first evidence of the country following a Type 1 policy, where one
language is associated with the national identity with all others being marginalized and a
monolingual nation is created though corpus, status and acquisition planning (Spolsky,
2004: 60). It is characterised as monolingual (though this may not be the case in reality),
monoethnic, ethnolinguistically homogenous (e.g. Japan, China, USA) and one where
linguistic minorities are considered to be small or insignificant in addition to being
demographically and/or socially isolated. Spolsky notes that it is important to distinguish
between countries that are constitutionally monolingual (where they may be multilingual
in practice) and those that are monolingual in practice and ideology. Examples of the
former, where the country has declared itself to be monolingual through legislation and
cultural policies are Algeria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Egypt, France, Jordan, Libya,
Morocco, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Yemen (though this is far from an exhaustive
list). He goes on to discuss the cases of France and Iceland as examples of monolingual
polities, the former being a case of a country which is declared monolingual (Type 1) but
which, in reality, is multilingual; and the latter is monolingual in practice, ideology and
management.

Looking to Cooper’s (1989: 98) accountancy scheme for language planning also
provides a deeper analysis of the language policy that was to be followed by the
Revolutionary government. The actors involved in language planning and implementation
of policy were those in power and those to whom responsibility for the spread of French was delegated (*Académie française*, teachers). The actors aimed, through language planning, to influence the behaviours of all French citizens through setting out goals for where the language was to be used and the level of proficiency that was to be achieved. The ends to which they aimed were both overt and latent; overt in that the government wanted all citizens of France to be able to speak French as a means of communication and administration and latent in that creating a monolingual nation would aid in the diffusion of their republican values and ideologies. The means used to achieve these ends were a combination of authority and force, with harsh punishments for those found using their regional language, particularly in schools. The resulting effect was the beginning of the decline in the use of the RLs and the increased use and stability of French as the language of wider communication.

Napoleon’s rise to power, followed by the first Restoration meant that full implementation of the Republican government’s language policy was delayed for a period of time. In 1833, the issue of French-language education once again came to the fore in the form of the *loi Guizot* by which a system of primary education was established (Judge, 2007: 27). This was followed in 1850 by the *loi Falloux*, which stated that French was to be the sole language of education. The imposition of French as the only language of education was further bolstered by the *lois Ferry* in 1881 and 1882 made education free and compulsory within France. Judge (2007: 27) states that up until this point the implementation of French as the only language to be used in France had been slow but following the passing of the *loi Falloux* and *lois Ferry* its progress was to become more ‘devastating’ particularly in relation to the regional language which had, up until now, felt little impact from the French only policy being pursued by the state.

Applying Shohamy’s language policy framework to the language-in-education policies of the French state at this point illustrates that the authorities were using language as a tool for the manipulation of ideologies and behaviours. Shohamy (2006) links this change from language as a means of communication to language as a symbolic instrument with the development of the nation-state, noting that “From the early nation-state period, language and culture have served as major tools of the state apparatus” (Shohamy, 2006: 25). It was from the 19th century, the time when the French state began fully implementing language in education policies, that the use of language in service of national identity began. The national languages of these nation-states were legitimized as mechanisms of
control and power, becoming symbols of inclusion and exclusion within the nation-state society (Shohamy, 2006: 29).

**Impact on the Regional Languages**

It was over the course of these two centuries that major blows were dealt to the RLs as a result of the language policies instituted by the French State. The Revolution is seen as the culmination of the centralising and control of language (Ager, 1999: 23), with linguistic unity being a principal aim of the Revolutionary government. Monolingualism was necessary in order to promulgate laws that could be understood by everyone in the country. The Jacobins rejected the possibility of multilingualism in favour of forced monolingualism, with the RLs being regarded as unnecessary in the future of the country. Their concept of one language for one nation-state was a fundamental element of the new Republic and one which would be supported and pursued for the following two centuries (Blackwood, 2008: 18). The drive towards monolingualism was further strengthened by the equating of the RLs with rejection of the values of the Revolution. The *Rapport Barère* of 27th January 1794 linked the RLs with attacks on the Revolution (Ager, 1999: 25). It further stated that the languages were unsuited to the communication of modern ideas. The RLs came to symbolise political fragmentation (Ager, 1999) and as such came to be hated and feared. Coupled with the *Rapport Grégoire* in May of the same year, which advocated the repression of the RLs, the policy of repression of the RLs for the good of France, a policy that has continued into the 21st century, commenced. From this point onwards, rejection of the RLs was seen as evidence of patriotism (Ager, 1999: 26).

From 1794 onwards, language became a political issue and France began to develop a centralist linguistico-cultural ideology. The newly founded Republic limited the rights of regional language speakers on the pretext of ensuring their equality (Blackwood, 2008: 18), with liberté, égalité and fraternité being associated with being a French speaker.

Although language-in-education policies began at this time, and were, in the coming decades and century, to be the primary mechanism in bringing about French monolingualism and the repression of all other languages in France, they were not immediately effective. Though the Jacobins had decreed that a French teacher be appointed to every commune in France, the policy did not take full effect until the introduction of free and compulsory education in the 1880s. Linguistic unification of France had begun but the process was slow.
Under the Napoleonic Empire, language management followed a similar, albeit less strict, policy. The First Empire continued the previous gallocentric language management decrees (Blackwood, 2008: 20) insofar as it was forbidden to record any act in a language other than French. However, Napoleon seemed less concerned with linguistic policy than the preceding government, declaring that he did not care what language the troops spoke so long as “they used their sabres in French” (Ager, 1999: 30).

Despite the continued policies of monolingualism, the RLs, repressed though they were, had not disappeared. Throughout the 19th century publications in the various RLs, and in Occitan in particular, appeared regularly, evidence of their continued use. The very fact that the state wished to repress them seemed to give the languages a sort of “black-market value” (Adamson, 2007: 30). Speakers continued to use them widely in the home and with family, refusing to see them as less worthy than French. The result was that by 1870 France had still not achieved its aim of linguistic unity, with the RLs continuing to be the means of everyday communication for much of the French population.

This was to change towards the end of the 19th century with the Ferry laws almost dealing a deathblow to the RLs. Shohamy (2004) has noted that language-in-education policies are an extremely effective mechanism for achieving both overt and covert goals (Cooper, 1989). The introduction of the Ferry laws in 1881, following on from 1832 when primary education was made universal (though with an insufficient number of teachers), saw schools become the foci of the process of gallicisation. With education being compulsory until the age of 16 and delivered exclusively through the medium of French, the Jacobin aim of monolingualism was finally within reach and the RLs would see the beginning of a serious decline in their use. While the use of language-in-education policy mechanisms at this time were overt in terms of achieving French-language hegemony, the covert goal remained the same as it had been in 18th century – complete repression and elimination of the RLs. It was this continued process of repression in order to achieve monolingualism that saw the 3rd Republic become the culmination of the “French and French alone language ideology” (Blackwood, 2008: 27).

20th and 21st Centuries

The motivating factors behind the linguistic policy of the French state up until the 19th century were those of integration of all citizens to the new nation-state, national identity through a single, common language and ideology in terms of being able to disseminate
their republican ideals and values to the masses. From the time of the Revolution onwards, the French language was seen as being the key to the unification of the French people and the creation of the French state. Paradoxically, no sooner had it been established as the language of the nation than it was to be put on the defensive by English and the RLs. With the rise of English as an international language, French began to lose the prestige position it had previously held in international circles (Blackwood, 2008: 56). In addition, with the advent of the EU and freedom of movement, English was increasingly impacting upon the internal structure of the French language, in particular the lexicon (Blackwood, 2008: 56), leading to a rise in the number of anglicisms being used throughout France. Once again the French government turned to legislation and linguistic policy to ensure the protection of French and to plan for the future of the language. This insecurity (Ager, 2001) over the position of French as an international language was the impetus for the modern-day linguistic policy of French governments and the motivation behind a number of significant pieces of legislation aimed at defending the use of French at all costs.

One of the primary issues concerning French authorities was corpus planning. Due to increasingly fast technological innovation and advancement there were issues of terminology in the French language, with neologisms failing to be coined with equal speed to the concepts they were to describe. As a result, there was a growing tendency to adopt the existing English-language terminology (Adamson, 2007: 12). France once again looked to legislation and institutions to tackle the perceived threat to French from other international languages, notably English, and the resultant loss of prestige experienced by French on the world stage. In setting up the Commission de terminologie technique in 1933, the French government turned to corpus planning in order to safeguard the French language from external influence. Many other institutions, agencies and commissions were created in the following years and decades, such as the Office de la langue française (1937 – 1942), Comité consultative de langage scientifique (1952), Comité d’étude des termes techniques français (1954), Office du vocabulaire française (1957), Commissions de terminologie pour l’enrichissement de la langue française (1972), Frantermé (1980) and the Commission générale de terminologie et néologie (1994) (Adamson, 2007: 12). While there are those that would argue that the creation of neologisms indicates the health of a language (Adamson, 2007: 12), in the French context, with their history of strict language management, such terminological agencies are evidence of further insecurity on the part of the authorities regarding the use of French both within France itself and abroad.
Unlike the previous corpus planning (carried out since the establishment of the Académie française), this newer wave of measures are reacting to the perceived threat from the growth of English and can, therefore, be attributed to Ager’s insecurity motivation.

In addition to establishing agencies tasked with creating terminology, successive French governments once again turned to the legislative process in order to defend French in France. It was in the second half of the 20th centuries that a number of important, and high profile, laws were passed whose aim was to promote and defend the use of French in various aspects of society and everyday life, namely the loi Bas-Lauriol, the loi Toubon and Articles 2 of the Constitution. However, though it was not their intention, these laws also impacted upon the use of the RLs of France and are consistently referenced by regional language activists as contributing to the decline of their languages. During this period, one crucially important law, the loi Deixonne, was passed in favour of the RLs and their position in the education system. This piece of legislation will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

Loi Bas-Lauriol and loi Toubon

Under President Giscard d’Estaing, the loi Bas-Lauriol of 1975 was wide-ranging and aimed to establish French as the sole and obligatory language in three domains: (1) in commerce and advertising; (2) employment contracts; and (3) information given to consumers by business or public bodies. Furthermore, it ensured that the neologisms coined by the various terminology commissions and agencies would be compulsory in all government documentation, contracts and in the education system (Judge, 2007: 28). The law’s insistence on the use of French in important domains such as the economy reinforced the government’s determination to impose French as the dominant and prestige language in the working and everyday lives of all French citizens. Despite its wide-reaching goals, the loi Bas-Lauriol was revised due to its incompatibility with the legislation of the European Economic Community (EEC) as “any linguistic legislation which contrived the basic principle of the freedom of movement of workers or goods between member states would be illegal at the supra-national level” (Judge, 2007: 29). It was thus modified by the circulaire of October 1982 (Judge, 2007: 29) in order to make it compatible with supra-national legislation.

Despite the low number of prosecutions that arose from the passing of the loi Bas-Lauriol and the criticism which it attracted (Adamson, 2007: 26), the law did serve as a point of reference for those who considered the use of English, both internationally and its
increasing influence on the internal structures of French, as a threat to the French language. It was to provide the basis for further legislation, passed in 1994, namely the *loi Toubon*. A clear example of status planning, the *loi Toubon* was passed in order to protect French consumers, as well as the French language, in areas such as retail, business transactions, science and technology (Judge, 2007: 23). It sought, like its predecessor, to reinforce the position of French in the face of the advances made by English (Blackwood, 2008: 75). While the *loi Toubon* does not legislate against the use of the RLs, it does not, by the same token, make any concessions to them (Judge, 2000: 75). The impact of the law on the RLs of France will be discussed later in this chapter. The law attracted much more attention, both in political and media circles, owing to the acceptance on the part of the general public in France, that English was now a part of everyday life in Europe and in France. The *Conseil constitutionnel* examined the law to determine its compatibility with the Constitution. In its decision (no. 94-345 DC), the council upheld certain complaints that had been made against the *loi Toubon*, in particular, noting that it impinged upon free speech according to the *Déclaration des droits de l’homme* (1789) and the *Constitution de la Vème République* (Blackwood, 2008: 76). Once the appropriate amendments had been made, the legislation took effect.

The *loi Toubon* covers all aspects of education, research environments, the workplace, public life, as well as advertising and media. Judge (2007: 27-8) notes that many in France were taken aback by the totalitarian overtones of the legislation, leading to protests both by members of the Assemblée nationale and members of the general public. Relatively few prosecutions have taken place as a result of the *loi Toubon*, with cautions being the primary punishment for those found to be infringing upon it. Judge (2007: 28) states that there were no prosecutions taken under this legislation until 1997 and since that time the number of such cases has declined steadily. Despite this, the authorities continue to implement the law, with many French-language defenders making complaints against companies under the auspices of the act. Authorities are seen to be relying now, however, on advice and encouragement rather than the threat of prosecution and fines (Judge, 2007). The state’s continued reliance on language management, in particular in the face of the perceived threat from English, can be attributed to the motivating factor of insecurity (Ager, 1999: 9). The nation feels itself to be under attack from external forces (in this case the growing popularity and use of English as an international language and the increasing number of anglicisms being used in French). Language maintenance in France, therefore, is motivated mainly by a sense of insecurity surrounding the French language,
rather than on motivations of identity, which formed the basis for language policy in preceding centuries. While the two motivations are interconnected, it is insecurity which is now the driving force behind French state linguistic policy. Legislation passed in recent decades serves to ensure the continued defence of French from external influences.

Regardless of the low impact, in terms of prosecutions, the loi Toubon has served as a rallying point for those wishing to defend the French language from external influences. At the same time, it has since repeatedly been held up by language activists, in particular Occitan speakers, as a prime example of heavy-handed language management on the part of the state, illustrating the stringent language policies for which the French state has been known since the 18th century.

Article 2 of the Constitution
While the lois Bas-Lauriol and Toubon highlighted the state’s continued language management ideology which favours linguistic hegemony within France, the law which has had the most significant impact came in the form of an amendment to the Constitution de la Vème République in 1992. The ratification of the 1992 Maastricht Treaty caused controversy in France, with many fearing that French would continue to decline in prestige on the European stage. In response to the growing insecurity around the position of French, the government passed loi constitutionnelle no. 92-554 on the 5th June 1992 and modified Article 2 of the Constitution. Not only did it formalise the national flag, motto and anthem, but it enshrined French as the language of the Republic, stating "la langue de la République est le français". While the motivating factor of insecurity (Ager, 1999, 2001) can be found in the state’s decision to include the position of French in the Constitution. It is argued here that the main motivating factor behind this decision is that of identity. Harking back to the time of the Revolution, when French came to be intertwined with the concept of France, the belief of "French is France’ (Ager, 1999: 11) once again came to the fore in 1992. By amending the Constitution to include the position of French as the sole official language of the country, the government was cementing the position of the language as a fundamental component of French identity (ibid).

Baldauf & Kaplan (2003) class this cementing of the position of French through the Constitution as a classic example of language policy and is in keeping with France falling under Spolsky’s (2004) Type 1 category on his nation-state typology. Intended not only to confirm the hegemony of France, the inclusion of Article 2 also aimed to influence both language practices and attitudes (Spolsky, 2004) within France. With this amendment, the
state asserted its authority in terms of language policy and management and demonstrated its continued commitment to defending the French through legislation. While some (Spolsky, 2004; Adamson, 2007; Blackwood, 2008) have noted that it is unusual for a country that has such stringent language management policies to have waited until 1992 to solidify the position of French in the Constitution, the growing uncertainty relating to political arrangements within Europe (with the EEC and later the EU) and accompanying loss of sovereignty were the main motivating factors for the French state amending the Constitution when it did.

Though the loi Bas-Lauriol and the loi Toubon have both been stumbling blocks for the RLs and their revitalization, it is Article 2 that has proven to be the main obstacle for regional language activists. The impact of Article 2 on the RLs will be discussed later in this chapter. The inclusion of this article has reaffirmed France's commitment to protecting the standard language in the face of growing expansion of the European Union and the perceived increase in Anglophone dominance (Blackwood, 2008: 75). Within France, it gave rise to a tightening of existing policy, with postal workers refusing to deliver letters written in a regional language (Judge, 2007: 32; Blackwood, 2008: 75) and government authorities such as the tax office refusing to correspond in languages other than French (Judge, 2007: 32). The latter illustrates that the implementation of recent legislation had already begun to affect language attitudes and behaviours of French citizens.

Article 2 further served to reinforce and strengthen the loi Toubon, which was put in place two years later. The issuing of two pieces of strong linguistic legislation in quick succession further highlights the insecurity felt by French authorities in light of the growing use of English as a language of international communication. Ager (1999: 116) refers to Article 2 and the loi Toubon as "two high status public statements" having the potential to change language attitudes, which is already in evidence. However, Judge (2000: 78) states that this attempt to influence language attitudes has less of an impact today than previous linguistic policies in the past. This is owing to the fact that language attitudes in France had already undergone change, with many being less in favour of strict language management than had been the case in the past.

Impact on the Regional Languages

While the 19th century focused on policies confirming the prestige status and position of French, the 20th and 21st centuries saw a move away from policy aimed at linguistically unifying France (a goal long since achieved) and towards one of defending French from
external influence (both in terms of prestige and internal structural changes of the language). This shift has also seen a weakening in the covert goal of repressing the RLs, with several concessions being made to their speakers (Section 1.4). However, despite the State relaxing its stance towards other languages in France, its defence of French led to the passing of several pieces of legislation which (covertly) impacted upon them. Coupled with a number of economic and political factors, the 20th and 21st centuries saw an increasing decline in use of the RLs with loss of status and economic power also being contributing factors.

Both World Wars had a significant impact upon the use of the RLs, both through conscription and post-war effects. French monolingualism was seen as the only way in which to operate an army made up of men from all regions of France, who may or may not have spoken a language other than French. As such, use of French and French alone was to further aid in cementing its position as the prestige language and contributes to the decline of the RLs with soldiers no longer speaking them. The post-war effect also played an important role in the decline of the RLs after both wars; there was an unwritten policy of restoring privilege to French and in doing so strengthening the state (Ager, 1999: 30). Furthermore, there was the desire to improve the status of both themselves and their families on the part of soldiers returning from the war, and speaking French was a means to doing so (Blackwood, 2008: 34). During both wars the very act of speaking French became symbolic of patriotism and loyalty to France, much as it had been during the Revolution. However, sentiments such as these towards French were to lessen towards the end of the 20th and beginning of the 21st centuries.

There has been increasing disagreement in France with French language management policies, with many finding them to be too strict. (Adamson, 2007). The state has responded in two ways – a number of concessions have been made to the RLs in terms of legislation and linguistic policy but by the same token French monolingualism has been shored up and enshrined in legislation with many high profile politicians and presidents refusing to concede anything to the RLs.

Though the loi Bas-Laurirol and its successor, the loi Toubon, did not legislate against the use of the RLs (in fact, the loi Toubon specifically states in Article 21 that “The provisions of the present law apply without prejudice to the legislation and regulations relative to RLs in France and is not against their use” http://www.dglf.culture.gouv.fr/droit/loi-gb.htm ) many RL speakers still cite them as obstacles to their languages’ revitalization. Given the reluctance with which successive
governments have addressed the issue of the RLs and the delays in implementing what few concessions they have made to them (Section 1.4), it is not surprising that many RL speakers hold a certain level of hostility towards the state in linguistic matters. Many politicians have, over the course of the 20th and 21st centuries, condemned the RLs, citing their lack of utility in the course of France’s future. One such example was the comment made by then President Pompidou in 1972 when he stated “Il n’y a pas de place pour les langues et les cultures régionales dans une France qui doit marquer l’Europe de son sceau” (Pompidou, 1972 http://brezhoneg.gwalarn.org/vezh/kinnig.html).

In addition to a general lack of support from the authorities, the RLs suffered during this period as a result of the continued defence of French in light of the growing influence of English. The creation of terminological commissions to create neologisms further contributed to the ideology of French and French only. Despite certain concessions being made in the form of the loi Deixonne, the addition of RLs to the purview of the DGLF, the loi Haby and the Savary circulaire, the French state continued to resist giving too much to the RLs. In 1980, France refused to ratify the section on linguistic minorities in the Pacte international relative aux droits civils et politiques, stating that no such minority existed within France (Adamson, 2007: 31).

Another example can be found in the case of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Charter was welcomed by many campaigners for regional language rights in France and the outlook appeared positive when the Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, commissioned the Poignant report on France’s RLs (1998) which concluded that the RLs should be supported (Blackwood, 2008: 78). The Jospin government therefore signed the Charter on the 7th of May 1999, demonstrating favourable language management in relation to the RLs. However, following on from the Cerquiglini Report in 1999, which found that there were seventy-five languages within France and its territories, reluctance set in on the part of the government. Though it indicated that it would adopt thirty-nine articles of the Charter, they were never to be implemented. President Chirac referred the Charter to the Conseil constitutionnel to assess its compatibility with the Constitution. Two months after France’s signing of the Charter, the Conseil reported (Décision no. 99-412 DC) that to implement the Charter would be incompatible with France’s Constitution, thereby preventing its ratification. In an effort to continue the ratification process, Prime Minister Jospin requested President Chirac authorise changes to the Constitution which would allow the Charter to be ratified, a request which was denied. Following on from the failed ratification, many commitments were made on behalf of the
government to the RLs, though many see these as being for the sake of impending elections (Blackwood, 2008: 81). While the failure to ratify the ECRML\(^1\) was a blow to the hopes of RL speakers, it should be noted that many, if not all, of the thirty-nine articles which France had chosen to adopt could be put in place without the need for the Charter itself or, in fact, for legislation. Despite this, France’s failure to ratify the treaty is held up as a prime example of the perceived “anti-regional language” policies to which the French government still clings.

Though the situation surrounding the ECRML did not aid State-RL relations, it was the amending of the Constitution in the form of Article 2 that poses the most serious obstacle for regional language revitalization. Much of the legislation in favour of the RLs which has been proposed in recent years has failed or been dismissed, with Article 2 cited as the primary cause. The State notes that legislating for the RLs, much like ratifying the ECRML, would contravene this article of the Constitution and therefore gives them a “get out” clause not to address RL issues. The inclusion of French as the national language within the Constitution is a classic example of language management (Blackwood, 2008: 75) as defined by Kaplan and Baldauf (2003). While it may seem unusual that a country with such a long history of stringent language policy and control would wait until 1992 to officially include French in the Constitution (Spolsky, 2004, 63), the fact that it has not been included has dealt yet another blow to the RLs. While the latter have also been included in the Constitution (Art. 75-1 see section 1.4), Article 2 now constitutes the main reason for rejecting all attempts to further the position and representation of the RLs and is the most important stumbling block which any future RL legislation must try to overcome.

The 20\(^{th}\) and 21\(^{st}\) centuries, therefore, have seen a change in French language policy from one aimed at linguistic unification to one based on defence of the standard language. A number of key pieces of legislation have been passed in order to defend French, while at the same time a number of initiatives for aiding the RLs have been rejected, clearly showing the State’s continued commitment to a French and French alone language policy. However, this period also saw a number of concessions being made to the RLs, which will now be discussed in Section 1.4.

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\(^{1}\) European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages
1.4 Concessions to the Regional Languages

Although French history since the 16th century had witnessed strict language management in favour of French-language hegemony, there have been a number of steps taken in favour and recognition of the RLs. Adamson (2007: 30) notes that the RLs have gone from being 'ces jargons barbares et ces idiomes grossiers' to being valued as part of the national linguistic heritage.

Beginning with the key piece of legislation in favour of the RLs, the *loi Deixonne* of 1951 constituted a move away from the traditional language policies of France. In the post-war period France found itself faced with organised resistance to its language policies (Blackwood, 2008: 44). From the early 20th century, the RLs and their activists realised that they were in need of political allies in the face of increasing marginalisation (Adamson, 2007: 30). Several regional language groups set up political parties, such as the *Parti autonomiste breton* in 1927 (which later became the *Parti nationaliste breton* in 1931), and the *Parti de la nacion occitane* (PNO, 1959 – present). These political parties and groups, sometimes left wing and often extremist, campaigned for less centralisation and, in some cases, independence, using the defence of language as their launchpad. Despite being unsuccessful in many of their goals, they did succeed in bringing about renewed interest in, and attention to, the situation of France’s RLs. Breton regionalists highlighted the RL issue by proposing a resolution in the parliament in 1947, followed by a similar resolution put forth by the Communist party in 1949 (Blackwood, 2008: 47). It is ironic that the post-war period, when the French language was once again equated with national unity, should see a wave of regionalism and renewed interest in the plight of the RLs.

The *loi Deixonne* was the first piece of legislation which marked a digression from centuries of strict, French-only, language policy. The law, named after the Socialist Maurice Deixonne who produced a report on regional language teaching, was passed in 1951. For the first time since the Revolution, the RLs were brought back into the classroom as the law allowed for the limited teaching of Basque, Breton, Catalan and Occitan in both primary and secondary education. Both Alsatian and Corsican were omitted. Furthermore, the teaching of the RLs was limited to areas in which they were traditionally spoken, meaning that speakers who had moved to other parts of France were unable to be taught their language in schools. The teaching of the RLs was optional and there was no obligation on schools or teachers to engage in their teaching. Where schools did offer the RLs, their teaching was limited to one hour per week. However, it was one of the most important steps towards acceptance and recognition of the RLs.
Despite the legislation being passed in 1951, it was not to be fully implemented for a further eighteen years (Ager, 1999: 31) owing primarily to the lack of teachers, teacher training and pedagogical materials available for the RLs. It was not until a ministerial circular (Ager, 1999: 31) in 1969 that the provisions of the *loi Deixonne* were brought into effect and it would be another year until the RLs were included as part of the overall score for the *baccalauréat*. Unlike legislation and policy implemented for the defence and promotion of French, changes in favour of the RLs were implemented at a slow pace. The motivations behind the *loi Deixonne* cannot be placed in the same categories as previous linguistic policy (identity – though they do form part of France’s cultural identity and insecurity) but rather are related more so to that of image. The French government, in addition to the pressure it was coming under from regional activists, wished to portray a positive image in aiding the RLs. Ager (2001: 75) notes that policy makers aim to create the most favourable impression of their "product", in this case the product being a France which takes account of the wishes of its citizens. Insecurity is also to be considered as motivation in the passing of the Deixonne law. Though, Ager (2001) states that the insecurity motivation is normally attributed to fear from external attack, it can, in the case of the 1951 legislation, be considered as arising out of fear of internal fragmentation of the French nation. Were concessions not to be made to the regions, activists were likely to have pushed for greater measures for their languages, leading to internal disunity in France – something against which all previous linguistic policy had been designed to fight. Instead, the *loi Deixonne* forestalled, temporarily, calls for greater recognition of the RLs.

In terms of Spolsky’s language policy model, the *loi Deixonne* did not greatly alter language practices (2004). Owing to the limited number of teaching hours and the geographical isolation of the areas in which the languages may be taught, only a limited number of RL speakers were able to avail of its provisions. As previously mentioned, those living outside of the language regions were unable to take classes in the RLs. Thus, while being a positive step forward insofar as it allowed the RLs back into the classroom, the *loi Deixonne* did not greatly affect language practices on the part of RL speakers. It did, however, serve to improve language beliefs. As Blackwood (2008b: 21) notes, it was the first break in the Jacobin tradition of French-only and ended “the century and a half of systematic attacks on the use of the RLs” (Ager, 1999: 31). In terms of the language beliefs of Spolsky’s model, the legislation is to be seen as fostering positive beliefs regarding the RLs, increasing their prestige and demonstrating the worth of learning them. It is to be
considered the “foundation for all subsequent legislation favouring and strengthening the minority languages” (Blackwood, 2008b: 21).

Despite being a positive step forward in addressing the regional language situation in France, the loi Deixonne did not respond to France’s linguistic situation on the whole and it was always unlikely that one piece of legislation would ever undo the centuries of anti-RL language policies that had been put in place. Its limitations and slow implementation meant that the linguistic aspects of the loi Deixonne were not as significant as some would have hoped. However, it was the first break with the tradition of French-only language policy in two hundred years and came to be held as a symbol of hope upon which RL speakers could build future initiatives and measures.

Further positive measures for the RLs came in the form of the loi Haby and Savary circulaire in 1975 and 1982 respectively. As part of a reform of French education, the Haby law decreed there be a provision of RL teaching “tout au long de la scolarité” (Haby, 1975). In addition, the Haby Committee recommended increasing the teaching hours for the RLs from one to three per week and including elements of civilisation and culture to their syllabi. Being only a minor improvement on the loi Deixonne, the loi Haby nevertheless continued to improve the position of the RLs with regard to teaching by extending the hours which could be devoted to them. However, the geographical teaching restrictions remained in place.

Further support for the RLs was to be found in the election campaign manifesto of François Mitterrand in 1981. Of the 110 propositions set forth by Mitterrand in the run-up to the presidential elections, the 56th made reference to the RLs insofar as “la promotion des identités régionales sera encouragée, les langues et les cultures minoritaires respectées et enseignées” (Mitterrand, 1981). Mitterrand was to put in place a number of measures, such as decentralisation, which would aid in the revitalization of the RLs and was, personally, disposed to their presence within France. Once again, in breaking with tradition, President Mitterrand did not actively seek the repression and extinction of the RLs.

Following on from Mitterrand’s election came the Rapport Giordan in 1982, commissioned by the Ministry of Culture. In his report, Henri Giordan advocated correcting the previous injustices which had been inflicted upon the RLs. The report stated, “to repress, devalue and marginalize other languages is part of an inhuman logic of elitist cultural imposition, in contradiction with the right to be different and the democracy of
social and cultural life” (Giordan, 1982: 45). Many of the more political suggestions made in the report were ruled out. It did, however, give rise to the Savary circulaire in June 1982.

The Savary circulaire established three new principles for the teaching of the RLs: 1) that the State was to be responsible for their teaching; 2) that they were to be taught at all levels of the education system, from primary to tertiary level; and 3) that their teaching should be based on the volontariat of the teacher and students (Ager, 1999: 33). Welcomed by many activists as another positive step for RLs, the Savary circulaire set out provisions for the creation of a CAPES, which would allow for the training of teachers in RLs. Though the loi Deixonne had been passed in 1951, it took until 1982 for the State to implement measures which would allow for adequate teacher training in the RLs, demonstrating further evidence of the State not making a complete break from previous linguistic policy. Following on further from the recommendations of the Rapport Giordan, in 1983 the Conseil national des langues et cultures régionales was established, and adjustments were made in other areas allowing for such measures as the use of bilingual road signs. The impact of these measures, however, was insignificant for the most part, as the Conseil met only three times in six years and had negligible influence (Ager, 1999: 33).

Up to this point, the concessions made for the RLs were minor and slow to be implemented. The principal achievement had been their inclusion in the education system for, as Shohamy (2006) notes, language-in-education policies are a primary mechanism for influencing language behaviours and ideologies. The fact that there were to be no further measures of any major significance taken for the RLs (bar decentralisation – see Chapter 2) before 2008 is reminiscent of the initial language policies of the French state insofar as the aims of preserving the RLs was far from being achieved. Of the fifty-two proposals for legislation on the RLs put forth between 1977 and 1997, none of them was even discussed in parliament (Ager, 1999: 38), demonstrating the continued reluctance of French governments to deal with the issue.

There has been a notable increase in tolerance for the other languages of France. The 1998 Rapport Poignant put forth ten principles for education within the state, of which those pertaining to the protection and promotion of the RLs are:

1. La République française reconnaît les langues et cultures régionales sur son territoire

2. La politique en manière de langues et cultures régionales doit s’inscrire davantage dans le cadre de la décentralisation

2 Certificat d’aptitude au professorat de l’enseignement secondaire
3. Apprendre une langue régionale est un acte volontaire. Cette faculté doit être ouverte à tous.


This report was accepted by the government and paved the way for the signing of the ECRML in 1999. Despite the positive principles set out in the report, little action was taken at this time in relation to the RLs, and the report itself did nothing to affect language beliefs or practices (Spolsky, 2004), though it is further evidence of a relaxing of the previously held French-only language ideology of the State.

The final measure put in place for the RLs was the addition of Article 75-1 of the Constitution which states that "les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France". This amendment was put in place in 2008 in a further attempt to appease regional activists and dissuade them from the need for legislation on the position of the RLs. Many RL speakers have rejected the inclusion of the RLs in the Constitution with some seeing it as being a merely symbolic gesture, an assertion supported by the fact that in May 2011 the Conseil constitutionnel ruled that Article 75-1 afforded no rights to the RLs and carried no legal weight. In terms of language ideology and beliefs, it may be seen as a further relaxation of previous linguistic policy of RL repression, though being motivated by a policy of appeasement rather than actual acceptance of the RLs and their place within French society.

1.5 Conclusion

French language policy and management can be divided into two distinct periods: linguistic unification through the implementation of monolingualism (16th – 19th centuries) and the defence of this monolingualism once it had been attained (20th and 21st centuries). The former, motivated by identity and the latter by insecurity have resulted in the creation of a nation-state where unity and nationalism are equated with language use and where fear of fragmentation and external threats have given rise to the ideological primacy of French (Spolsky, 2004: 63). The result of centuries of aggressive language policy and management has been the near extinction of the RLs in France.

What can be seen from the 1950s to the present day, however, is a slow and measured break with the linguistic policies of the past on the part of the French State. The policies of acceptance and appeasement, which are now in place, mirror those of the post-Revolution period in that they are often slow to take effect. Furthermore, they do not have
sufficient impact to significantly influence the long-held language beliefs and practices of the nation-state. For regional language activists they do, however, provide a platform for future revitalization efforts.

This chapter has discussed the role of effect of language policy in the decline of the RLs of France. The following chapter will examine the current sociolinguistic situation of Occitan in relation to its level of endangerment. It will also provide a brief discussion of how language policy may be utilized to bring about the revitalization of an endangered language.
2. Occitan Endangerment: An Overview

Chapter one has provided the background context for the examination of the decline of the Occitan language in French in terms of French State linguistic policy. This chapter will discuss the paradox of Occitan being a language that is, at the same time, both in decline and making strides towards revitalization. An analysis of the current data available in relation to intergenerational transmission, number of speakers, availability of Occitan-language resources and presence in the public sphere and media will first be given. Following this, the impact of national linguistic policy upon the language will be examined and extra-linguistic factors such as negative attitudes towards Occitan will also be taken into account when discussing Occitan's current endangerment. Chapter three will then go on to examine the role of language policy in the revitalization of Occitan, with the policies of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon being taken as the case studies for this thesis.

2.1 Level of Occitan Endangerment

The paradox present within the Occitan situation is that it constitutes a language that is currently experiencing continuing levels of decline, while at the same time making strides towards revitalization. Occitan is traditionally the most important of the RLs in France (Judge, 2007: 107) in terms of speaker numbers and the size of the geographical territory in which it is spoken. Despite this, it remains one of the most endangered of the RLs, having experienced serious decline in speaker numbers from the middle of the 20th century onwards. In the aim of assessing the current level of endangerment which Occitan is facing, as well as the revitalization measures which have been put in place, this section will discuss the data currently available pertaining to Occitan in France in reference to UNESCO's model of language vitality and endangerment (2003) and Fishman's (1991) GIDS model.

Intergenerational Language Transmission and Number of Speakers

Fishman (1991) sets out intergenerational transmission as one of the primary factors with which to assess a given language's level of endangerment, as well as being one of the key issues in its revitalization. UNESCO (2003: 7) states that intergenerational transmission is the most commonly used factor in evaluating the vitality of a language. Both Fishman and UNESCO rank intergenerational transmission along a continuum from stable to severely endangered or extinct. This implies that the focus of revitalization efforts should be the home domain and in re-establishing or strengthening intergenerational transmission.
Absolute number of speakers is also an important factor when attempting to establish a language’s level of endangerment, though UNESCO notes that it is impossible to provide a valid interpretation of absolute speakers, but a small speech community is always at risk and that this factor should be examined in relation to the proportion of speakers within the total population.

French law (loi no. 78-17, 1978) prohibits the collecting of linguistic data, as part of the national census and it is difficult, therefore, to gain accurate data pertaining to overall number of speakers. However, a number of large-scale studies have been undertaken over the past two decades in relation to both Occitan use and transmission. These studies have been conducted in three individual Occitan-speaking regions (Languedoc-Roussillon, Midi-Pyrénées and Aquitaine), with no large-scale sociolinguistic study having ever been carried out throughout Occitanie as a whole. While Aquitaine was not taken as a case study for this thesis, the data collected as part of their study provides valuable information regarding the transmission of Occitan and therefore will be discussed here.

Aquitaine
In 2008, the Conseil régional of Aquitaine, in cooperation with the Amassada, commissioned a sociolinguistic investigation into the level of Occitan knowledge and use among its citizens. Carried out by Téléperformance Midi-Aquitaine, the study comprised a sample of 6,002 participants in five départements (Dordogne, Gironde, Landes, Lot-et-Garonne and Pyrénées-Atlantiques). In total, 22% of respondents stated that they had knowledge of Occitan to varying degrees, with 9% declaring they spoke the language without difficulty or to a level sufficient enough to hold a simple conversation (Aquitaine, 2008: 7). Of those participants who were able to speak Occitan, 73% stated that they had acquired the language through familial intergenerational transmission. The study found the highest level of familial transmission in the départements of Landes (81%), Dordogne (79%) and Lot-et-Garonne (77%). Furthermore, of the majority of Occitan speakers aged over 60, their parents were the ones who passed the language on to them. The data revealed that this was no longer the case with those aged under 30 years old as, for the majority of them it was their grandparents (58%), rather than their parents, who had taught them the language. The data indicates that parents themselves are no longer passing on the language directly to their children, with 80% stating that they had not passed Occitan on. Only 12% stated that they had passed the language on in its entirety to their children, with a further 8% having passed on some of the language.
The low level of intergenerational transmission found in the Aquitaine study is in keeping with Occitan's endangered to severely endangered status (UNESCO) where "the parent generation may still understand the language, they typically do not speak it to their children" (UNESCO, 2003: 8). The data from this study is illustrative of the decline in intergenerational transmission of Occitan amongst the current generation. Despite almost a quarter of those surveyed stating that they can understand and speak the language to some extent, less than half of those speakers are passing the language on to their children. The cessation of intergenerational transmission, as noted by Fishman (1991), is one of the key factors contributing to the endangerment and death of languages. This is an issue that must be addressed in any proposed revitalization strategy. A contributing factor to the decline in intergenerational transmission is that of attachment to the language. Negative attitudes towards a language constitute an extra-linguistic factor in their endangerment, and often stem from the dominant culture which stigmatizes the regional or minority language as being inadequate and of little value (Crystal, 2000: 84). Evidence of this can be found in the case of the British colonisation of Australia where approximately 90% of aboriginal languages were lost, with negative attitudes and marginalisation playing a crucial role in their suppression and eventual loss (Crystal, 2000: 87). UNESCO (2003: 2) also notes that the perception of a culture or language as being in a disadvantaged social position leads members of a minority language community to believe that there is nothing to be gained in retaining their languages, thus further contributing to a cessation of intergenerational transmission of the language in question. The Aquitaine study found that less than half of those who participated in the survey felt attached to Occitan (47%, Aquitaine, 2009: 14). Furthermore, 57% of respondents did not feel that the Occitan culture was part of their identity (Aquitaine, 2009: 14). This finding further serves to explain the declining intergenerational transmission with which Occitan is currently faced. Language and identity are more often than not intertwined with one being an expression of the other. Speaking a language serves as an affirmation of ethnolinguistic identity (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 128) and a decline in its use indicates a shift away from this identity. 

Given the data relating to Occitan identity attachment and intergenerational transmission, it is surprising that nearly three-quarters (71%, Aquitaine, 2009: 17) of respondents in Aquitaine were in favour of Occitan in schools, with 69% stating that they would enrol their children in a school that offered Occitan as a subject. The disparity between the results relating to identity and transmission and those relating to Occitan
education are indicative of the trend of endangered language speakers' (over) reliance on the education system for the transmission and safeguarding of the language in question. While schools can be effective in reinforcing language revitalization (Fishman, 1991), it is usually held up by speakers as being the saviour for the language, a measure which is often ineffective as Romaine (2007: 217-8) notes "looking to schools [...] to assist endangered languages is much like looking for one's lost keys under the lamp-post because that is where they most light appears to shine rather than because that is where they have been lost". This point will be discussed further in relation to the revitalization policies of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon in Chapter 3.

The study carried out on behalf of the Aquitaine region shows that Occitan in the region is experiencing severe decline in terms of intergenerational transmission, in line with the language's endangered status in France. In addition, more than half of the region's Occitanophones feel dissociated from the language in terms of identity, a factor which further reinforces its level of decline and endangerment.

*Midi-Pyrénées*

The Regional Council of Midi-Pyrénées commissioned a study similar to that of Aquitaine, which was published in 2010, entitled "Présence, pratiques et perceptions de la langue occitane en région Midi-Pyrénées". The sociolinguistic survey for the region was also carried out by Téléperformance and consisted of 5,000 participants drawn from the départements of Ariège, Gers, Hautes-Pyrénées and Tarn.

Overall, one in two participants stated that they spoke Occitan to varying degrees. Of those, 4% declared themselves to be bilingual French-Occitan: 14% stated that they could hold a conversation in Occitan; while 32% responded that they could understand the language but had difficulty speaking it (Midi-Pyrénées, 2010: 4). These figures illustrate that Occitan is present in the life of Midi-Pyrénées inhabitants. However, use of the language by speakers has declined in accordance with the language's endangered status with 62% of respondents stating that they speak Occitan less and less often. It is interesting to note that 29% stated that they consistently use the language (de façon stable) (Midi-Pyrénées, 2010: 6).

As is the case in Aquitaine, there is a marked decrease in the level of familial transmission of the language between the current generation and their parents. 71% of Occitanophones surveyed learnt the language in the home compared with only 25% Occitanophones passing it on to their children today (8% for the region in total). Of those
who have passed the language on to their children, the study states that most often they
did not pass on the language in its entirety but rather “quelques notions souvent” (Midi-
Pyrénées, 2010: 7). Only 4% stated that they intentionally passed the language on to their
children, with a further 5% stating that their children learned the language as a result of
having heard their parents speak it rather than being spoken to in the language. 16%
responded that they taught their children Occitan expressions or songs and that this was
their only exposure to the language. When comparing this data with that of the Aquitaine
study, the level of intergenerational transmission is double that of the neighbouring region,
indicating that Occitan is in a stronger position in the region of Midi-Pyrénées, despite its
continued decline.

As is the case in Aquitaine, there is the emerging trend of reliance on the
education system for the transmission of Occitan to the next generation. 36% of 15-29
year-olds learned the language in school, compared to 10% of their parents’ generation. In
the case of the young people who learned the language in the home, the majority stated
that, similar to Aquitaine, it was their grandparents who passed on the language rather
than their parents (71% by their grandmother, 77% by their grandfather, 26% by their
father, 22% by their mother). This corresponds to a higher percentage of the older
generation being proficient in the language (40% of the over 60’s understood Occitan
perfectly, 42% could speak it) (Midi-Pyrénées, 2010: 9). The data, therefore, supports
Occitan’s status of endangered/severely-endangered status. As is often the case (Fishman,
1991; Romaine, 2007) many speakers are no longer passing the language on to newer
generations themselves, but, instead, prefer to let the schools fulfil the role of
transmission.

In relation to attitudes towards the language, over half (57%) of those questioned
stated that they felt attached to the language (Ariège 65%, Tarn 65%, Gers 62%, Hautes-
Pyrénées 59%). Furthermore, 49% of participants felt that Occitan formed part of their
identity, a figure that is slightly higher than the 43% in Aquitaine. In terms of revitalization,
positive attitudes are a necessary pre-requisite for any revitalization measures (Sallabank,
2012: 117) and the Midi-Pyrénées’ data shows that, to a large extent amongst Occitan
speakers, integration of Occitan as part of personal identity and positive attitudes towards
the language are already established. This level will need to be improved upon for any
revitalization strategy to be successful.

Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées, as in Aquitaine, is experiencing increasing cessation of
intergenerational transmission, with parents looking to schools to take the place of
transmitter of the language to the new generations. As previously noted, (Romaine, 2007), while schools are important mechanisms in language revitalization they are no substitute for familial transmission, an issue which must be taken into account and addressed in any revitalization policy implemented by the region.

Languedoc-Roussillon

The most recent sociolinguistic study into the position and use of Occitan in the Languedoc-Roussillon region dates back to 1991 (Hammel & Gardy, 1994). The study, carried out in all départements of the region, consisted of 939 participants. Of those who took part in the study, 73% stated that they understood Occitan to varying degrees (20% understood perfectly, 13% understood easily, 15% were able to understand basic conversations and 25% understood some words and/or expressions (Hammel & Gardy, 1994: 181). The same percentage said they were able to speak the language to some degree (13% used some Occitan expressions, 19% used some Occitan words, 3% knew how to speak it but had forgotten most of it, 9% could speak a little, 8% could hold a short conversation and 22% could speak it well) (Hammel & Gardy, 1994: 182).

Of the Occitanophones questioned, 43% stated that their use of the language had diminished, with 49% saying it had neither decreased nor increased and only 7% stating that their use of Occitan had increased. Though there is no recent data relating to the level of Occitan usage in Languedoc-Roussillon, it is likely that the percentage of those using it on a regular basis has declined in line with the 29% found in MIDI-PYRÉNÉES.

In relation to intergenerational transmission, 90% of those surveyed stated that they had learned the language at home. As with level of usage, it is likely that this number has reduced significantly over the past twenty years, though without any supporting data it is difficult to ascertain the current level of Occitan intergenerational transmission in Languedoc-Roussillon. The study does, however, reveal a decline in usage, and therefore possible transmission, between those surveyed and their parents' and grandparents' generations. 82% of participants replied that their parents spoke Occitan, compared with 73% of the respondents themselves, and 96% said that their grandparents had spoken the language. The data shows a drop in usage of 14% between the grandparents' and parents' generation and of 9% between their parents' generation and their own. Given Occitan's current level of endangerment throughout France, it is likely that this decline has increased substantially between 1991 and the present day, though further sociolinguistic enquiries are necessary to confirm this assertion.
Concerning attitudes towards Occitan, in 1991 over half of those interviewed felt some level of attachment to the language, which is slightly higher than recent data from Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrénées (20% stated they were very attached to Occitan, 26% were quite attached, with 13% being somewhat attached to the language) (Hammel & Gardy, 1994: 181).

Without more recent data, it is difficult to establish the level of use and intergenerational transmission of Occitan in the Languedoc-Roussillon region. Though, given the lack of representation of the language within the region as a whole, it is likely that its decline in Languedoc-Roussillon is in line, if not superior to, neighbouring regions, and therefore underpinning the language's endangered status.

**Total number of speakers and proportion of speakers within the total population**

As there has been no large scale sociolinguistic study carried out to date in order to ascertain the number of Occitan speakers within France, it is difficult to establish the total number of speakers with any great accuracy. In order to do so, it would first be necessary to establish fixed definitions of what constitutes a speaker, followed by a large-scale, and prohibitively costly, study across all regions of Occitanie. The Euromosaic study (1996) estimated that approximately 6 million people in France were Occitan speakers (though to varying degrees of proficiency). However, this study's reliability has been called into question and, given the data from the Aquitaine, Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées studies, the number of speakers is unlikely to be that high. Cerquiglini, (2003: 187) estimates the number to be closer to 2 million.

The few existing studies, crossed with demographic data, allow for estimation of speaker numbers, in 1999, around 2 million out of a population of 14 to 15 million inhabitants, the majority being older than 50 years. In 1920, the linguist Jules Ronjat estimated this figure to be more than 10 million.

If these estimates are held to be accurate then the number of Occitan speakers has dropped by 95% within the space of nearly eighty years, thus highlighting its state of severe endangerment in France.

**New domains and media accepted by the endangered language**

There are a number of initiatives undertaken over recent decades whose aim it is to expand the number of domains in which Occitan can be used, such as the bilingual supermarket run by Auchan (Marsac, Dordogne) (Occ per Occitan, accessed 17/11/12), a
number of Occitan language websites and several forms of Occitan-language media. These initiatives will be discussed in relation to the language revitalization policies of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées in Chapter 3. However, it should be noted that this domain expansion places Occitan between levels 3 (coping) and 2 (minimal) on the UNESCO scale.

**Availability of written materials in the local language**

The availability of written materials is an area in which Occitan is particularly strong compared to other endangered languages. Due to its long and rich literary history dating back to the time of the Troubadours in the 12th century, there is a wealth of written materials available to speakers. CIRDOC, the Occitan médiathèque and documentation centre lists 100,000 documents in its archives. As a result, Occitan can be seen to be at level 5 (safe) on the UNESCO scale as there is “an established orthography [Occitan has four orthographic systems], literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts. Literature” (UNESCO, 2003: 12), though there is a significant lack of everyday media.

**Amount and quality of documentation of a language**

In respect of this factor, Occitan is in a strong position. There are a number of grammars, dictionaries and school textbooks, such as *Oc-ben!*, and several volumes of audio recordings of the language. However, the quality of these resources is varied. There are only a handful of school textbooks for Occitan, with Oc-ben being the most widely used. The latter consists of lessons in four of the main Occitan dialects: Limousin, Languedocien, Gascon and Provençal, thus allowing the book to be used in the different dialectal areas of Occitanie. Native speakers of the various dialects have recorded the accompanying audio CD. The other grammars and dictionaries found in Occitan date from the 10th century to the present day and therefore vary in terms of quality and dialect. Despite this variation in quality, Occitan can be placed at the superlative level of UNESCO’s model in terms of the amount of documentation available in the language.

This analysis, therefore, evidences the paradox of Occitan – the language is, in some aspects, endangered while considered safe in other areas. This paradox is further highlighted when Occitan is examined in relation to Fishman’s GIDS (1991). Occitan is present at several levels on the GIDS to varying degrees. Stage 7, where most users of Xish [the endangered language] are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age, applies to Occitan insofar as the data from the Aquitaine, Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon studies shows that the
language is strongest in the grandparent generation. However, its use is not limited to the older generations, but spoken by others from school-going age to young adults to middle-aged persons, though it is less prevalent among these generations and spoken to a much lesser extent. Stage 6 on the GIDS is the attainment of informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement. Occitan is to be included in this stage as there is evidence (Languedoc-Roussillon, 1991, Aquitaine, 2008; Midi-Pyrénées, 2010) that intergenerational transmission is still present within the home, though its rate is in serious decline. Stage 5 is also achieved in that Occitan is, to varying extents, present within the home, school and community. The passing of the loi Deixonne in 1951, in addition to subsequent legislation, has allowed Occitan to be taught at all levels of education, which places it at both level 5 and 4 on the GIDS. It is present within the community as is evidenced by the bilingual Auchan supermarket in Marsac (Midi-Pyrénées). It is taught in lower education in the Calandreto immersion schools as well as an optional subject in the collèges and lycées thus fulfilling stage 4. Though it is mainly limited to organisations associated with Occitan culture and Occitan-language media, it is present to some extent in the workplace with 52 commercial businesses being certified as providing Occitan-language services by Labél Oc (Labél Oc, 2013) and a further 24 agencies and firms, ranging from architects to solicitors, being certified Occitan-speaking businesses (ibid). Occitan also fulfils the requirements of stage 2 (mass media) as there are Occitan-language media resources (radio, television programmes and newspapers), though its presence within such media is severely limited. Finally, stage 1 (some use of Xish in higher education, occupational, governmental and media efforts – but without the additional safety provided by political independence) has also been achieved. Occitan, though not present in government, is found in higher education in degree and master’s courses, as well as being offered for the CAPES\textsuperscript{3}.

Occitan, therefore, is not easily classifiable in terms of the GIDS, fulfilling the requirements of all but one stage. The fact that Occitan is not straightforwardly quantifiable in relation to the GIDS highlights the drawbacks of Fishman’s model in assessing language endangerment. The sense that an endangered language is present at only one stage of the model and must solidify its position before attempting to achieve the next stage illustrates the static nature of the GIDS. Dwyer (2009:2) gives the example of the three dialects of Tibetan (Central, Amdo and Khams) to illustrate how the stages defined by the GIDS are inadequate for distinguishing a threatened language from one that is being

\textsuperscript{3} Certificat d’aptitude au professorat de l’enseignement du second degré
maintained. While intergenerational transmission is vital to revitalization, many scholars have argued that Fishman places too much weight on this stage (Hornberger & King, 2001: 186). Others have criticised the model for underestimating the importance of media in revitalization (Strubell, 2001: 261; Clyne, 2003: 64). Furthermore, the economic revaluation of the language and its contribution to recommencing intergenerational transmission has been overlooked by Fishman (Grin, 1997; Henrion, 1996; Nelde, 1997). Fishman himself (2001) has acknowledged that some languages may hold several levels of the GIDS simultaneously and that the scale is quasi-implicational, as it does not exclude the possibility of skipping or combining several stages.

Thus Occitan presents a number of issues in terms of assessing its level of endangerment. Given its decline in speaker numbers and the lack of intergenerational transmission, it is classed as severely/definitely endangered, coping/minimal in terms of its use in new domains and the media, while at the same time being at the superlative level of UNESCO’s model in terms of the amount of documentation and the availability of written materials. Such a varied endangerment status poses problems for any proposed revitalization efforts or policy, as they will need to be targeted towards different areas at different times. Certain areas, such as intergenerational transmission, would need to be targeted at the same time as domain expansion, increasing the amount and availability of Occitan-language media and combatting negative attitudes. Any proposed revitalization policy for Occitan needs to be based on a multi-level approach with Occitan’s diverse levels of endangerment in different areas being addressed. Furthermore, areas where it is classed as severely endangered must be the primary focus of such policy, while other areas in which it is stronger need to be strengthened and reinforced.

Chapter 3 will look at the role of language policy in the revitalization of endangered languages in general before moving on to look specifically at the two regions taken as the case studies for this thesis. An analysis of the current linguistic policies towards Occitan of each region will be given in order to address the first research question of this thesis, namely the extent to which regional and municipal level language policy is effective in the revitalization of Occitan.
3. Linguistic Policy and Language Revitalization: Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will address the issue of language policy in terms of its role in the revitalization of languages in order to provide a contextual background to the analysis of Occitan revitalization linguistic policy in Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon at both regional and municipal levels. The analysis of revitalization policy in the two regions, at various levels of government and municipal authority, concerns the first research question of this thesis – to what extent can regional and local government linguistic policies aid in the revitalization of an endangered language? Backhaus (2012: 242) notes that regional level authorities are the first level of contact between citizens and the state and so are well placed to understand the linguistic situation on the ground and to enact and implement language policy in favour of revitalization. Others (Spolsky, 2004; Sallabank, 2011; Backhaus, 2012: 226) note that the policies of regional and municipal authorities might differ greatly from those at national level. Furthermore, linguistic policy at lower governmental levels can be seen to differ from national policy in terms of motivation, goals and measures and thus constitutes an interesting area of study for revitalization policies.

3.2 The role of regional and municipal policy in language revitalization

Baldauf and Kaplan (1997: 52) note that many language policy frameworks, such as those of Haugen and Cooper, see linguistic policy as a large-scale activity in that it occurs mainly at national level. However, they, along with Spolsky (2004), Sallabank (2011; 2012) and Backhaus (2012), state that it can be carried out at different levels “although the micro levels are not well documented in the literature, perhaps because they are not seen to be as prestigious” (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997: 52). They go on to argue that linguistic policies at lower levels have more limited goals that affect a smaller group of people and thus have a better chance of success. Romaine (2007: 232) agrees with this, stating “Evidence from various quarters indicates that grass-roots initiatives are often more effective than top-down directives”, though state polices could also be classed as top-down as they come from an authoritative body with political power. As with linguistic policy at national level, a clearer indication of the motivations and types of polices carried out at regional level can be gained through their examination using the frameworks drawn upon in this thesis,

3.2.1 Motivations for Regional and Municipal Language Policy
As with state level language policy, regional and municipal-level authorities may design and implement linguistic policies for a variety of motivations and reasons. These municipal authorities, sometimes aligned with the endangered language speech communities in question, may seek to implement language policy due to Ager's identity, insecurity and inequality motivations.

Ager (2001: 139) outlines four stages in the sequence of the identity motivation. While each of these stages also applies to national government linguistic policy, they will be used here to explain how regional and municipal-level authorities can come to create their own, separate language policies through the motivation of identity. The first of Ager's (2001: 139) four stages is one where the organism in question (in this case the municipal or regional authorities) creates a personal or social identity through "values and beliefs deriving from heredity, environment and socialisation, developing its ideology". These ideologies and social values may differ from those of the state, being closer to those of the citizens, with whom they are in regular contact, including members of the endangered language community. The second stage consists of the creation and fostering of an image of this identity by the organism. For example, both regions presented in this thesis closely identify themselves with the Occitan identity and image and thus promote themselves thus. At stage three of Ager's model, the authorities evaluate this identity and image against the environment and subsequently set their language policy goals. This is also the stage at which they identify their own reasons for wishing to engage in language planning and establishing language planning. Stage four, Ager notes, depends on the outcome of the previous stage. The regional level organisms may wish to engage in such language policies in order to maintain identity, to defend this identity from attack (which may arise from national policy), to correct inequality or to integrate or associate with a desired community (Ager, 2001: 139). It will be shown in later sections that these are the primary motives for which the Midi-Pyrénées embarked upon a programme of Occitan revitalization and development. The use of identity as a motive for regional language policy is just as important as it is at national level. In using language as a symbol of identity, regional and municipal authorities are aligning themselves with a community within their borders and
showing support for their culture and language, an important factor in status planning and the reversal of negative attitudes.

While Ager discusses politically powerless communities, it can be argued that regional policy actors can also be included in his proposition of a continuum of language policy ideals and objectives. He outlines two extremes of this continuum, at one end "either the community loses its language and possibly its separate identity" or at the other extreme it "maintains its separate existence, together, most usually, with a sense of pride, of innate difference from its neighbours and often with a degree of antagonism towards these and particularly towards the language of the powerful majority" (Ager, 2001: 160). In the case of the first extreme, Ager notes that this is usually carried out as a top-down activity in which the minority community have no say and cites the case of the French Regions as an example. In the second extreme, the minority community enter into direct conflict with the majority community and, as has occurred in France, the minority community use their language as a strong unifying symbol. Ager also proposes a middle ground on this continuum, one, which it is argued, is taken by the Regional authorities in France who wish to revitalize Occitan, where the communities “retain difference without necessarily involving themselves in major battles or being crushed” (2001: 162). In this case the community in question may seek to ensure political control of their territory or “at the very least political recognition of the right to be different” (ibid). Examples of this can be seen in Belgium, where language communities have pressed for separate physical location, and in Wales, where they sought political control within a defined territory. In terms of language, their objectives in this middle ground can include educational efforts to maintain the language, and status, corpus and acquisition policies.

It is from this middle ground that endangered language communities may seek to use inequality as a motivation in enacting linguistic policy at the level of regional government. “Minority communities are by definition powerless when faced with the majority community or with groups holding power at the state level. A minority community thus has a motive to correct inequality within the state in defence of its own identity” (Ager, 2001: 167). An example of this can be found in the case of Maori in New Zealand. It was the inequality between English and Maori and its perception among the Maori people as a sign of inferiority on the part of their language that led them to demand equal rights with English. It can be argued that inequality is also a motive for the regional language policy in France, where state legislation has made it clear that the RLs are not considered to have the same status as Standard French. Perception of this among the minority
community can thus lead to the third motive for revitalizing endangered languages identified by Ager, that of insecurity. While the French national government deals with its linguistic insecurity (though it does not acknowledge that any such insecurity exists) through the creation of terminology commissions and legislation aimed at reducing external linguistic influence, endangered language communities may too see their language as not being up to the task of everyday use. As noted in Chapter 1, Ager states that insecurity is, as an emotion, irrational and is increased if non-members of the endangered language community fail to see the point in revitalization. In order to combat this, regional and municipal authorities may take action to implement revitalization measures, aimed at reducing this sense of insecurity.

However, through examination of Ager’s model it becomes clear that identity is the main motivation in both national and regional linguistic policy, with all other motivations coming about as a result of the creation of social identity.

The correction of inequality, too, depends on both knowledge of the group’s identity and a realisation that it is this identity, which is receiving inadequate resources, is lacking the rights others enjoy or is unjustly treated. [...] One might conclude that the primacy of the identity motive [...] means that other motives are simply alternatives, chosen according to the particular situation of the powerless community. Motivation, like identity construction, is dynamic: it is based on social identity, and seems to relate to a range of language attitudes and strategies. (Ager, 2001: 173-4)

The motivations for linguistic policy at regional level are therefore just as complex and varied as those at national government level. While state, regional and municipal level policies may share certain common elements, they differ in their goals and the type of language planning in which they engage.

3.2.2 The Role of Decentralization in the Revitalization of Occitan

Decentralisation can aid in the revitalization of endangered languages insofar as, where they are permitted to do so, they are in a position to introduce policies which are favourable to the strengthening of the language in question. However, this is not always the case, as Judge (2007: 138) notes in the case of Scots in Scotland. In the case of France, decentralisation, which was long resisted by the state, is of benefit to the RLs in general and to Occitan in particular, as elected regional bodies have to take into account the wishes of their electorate (Judge, 2007: 122).
When the need arose in the 1960s for administrative divisions larger than that of the département, the French State began the process of decentralisation. In 1956, the country was divided into 22 administrative regions in metropolitan France with a further five overseas regions, staffed by civil servants, for the purposes of compiling statistics and data of their respective areas, and were the focus of consultative exercises involving economic and associative actors (Smith & Heywood, 2000: 6). In 1982, twenty-two ‘new’ regions were established under the government of Pierre Mauroy. These new regions did not map exactly onto those created in 1956 despite often adopting the same name. Conseils régionaux, which each had their own elected assembly were established in each region. The Conseils are tasked with the economic, social, scientific and cultural development of their regions and constitute one of the three levels of government below that of national government in France. In addition to the Conseils régionaux, there are Conseils généraux at département-level. Their assemblies, like those at regional-level, are also elected. The final level of local government in France is that of the communes, similar to the Gemeinden in Germany. The 36,000 communes are the lowest level of local government in France, except for the municipal arrondissements in larger cities such as Paris. A Mayor and Conseil municipal govern each commune, with the former being elected by the latter.

Each level of local government is tasked with different responsibilities. These can be summarised as follows:

**Conseil régional**
- regional development (aménagement du territoire)
- economic development
- environment
- education (secondary)
- training
- tourism

**Conseil général**
- social aid
- rural development and infrastructure
- education (intermediate level - collège)
- environment
- tourism

**Commune**
- cultural activities
- social aid
- education (nursery and primary levels)
- town planning
- road and street signage

**Figure 6 Division of responsibilities of local government in France**

Thus there is a formal division of labour between the various levels of local and regional government in France, as set out by the decentralisation laws. The organising principle
between these tiers of authority is one of functions (Smith & Heywood, 2000: 10). As can be seen from the above figure, there is much overlap and duplication of responsibilities between authorities. Another point that must be taken into account is that of the ability of a region to interpret the decentralisation laws in such ways as to afford themselves new functions. Smith & Heywood (2000: 10) cite agriculture as an example of an area which was not mentioned in the decentralisation laws but for which regions, such as Rhône-Alpes, have developed policies under the guise of economic development and environmental interventions. Those who work within these levels of local and regional government also hold much power insofar as they are responsible for the implementation of European structural funding and the Contrat de plan État-région.

Due to the size of the regions, and the fact that politicians can simultaneously hold office at several levels of government such as maire, conseiller général and député, they are theoretically much closer to the citizens than those serving solely at national level. As a result, they are better placed to encourage the participation of interest groups and social partners in directing their area’s public affairs (Smith & Heywood, 2000: 17). This closer relationship with their constituents and their ability to act at varying levels of authority means they are well placed to engage in policies that support the RLs.

While other countries create regions to enhance their populations' identities, the opposite is true of France, with the regions being created deliberately by the state not to reflect traditional identities (ibid). However, once they have gained office, many public representatives within regional and municipal government have sought to foster feelings of local identity through both discourse and policies with the aim of not only bringing citizens closer but also for the promotion of their respective regions, particularly for the purposes of tourism (ibid).

In terms of effectiveness, the regions in France are able to set and fund their own policies in a number of areas. However, their capacity to implement such policies fairly and consistently is relatively weak (Smith & Heywood, 2000: 18) as they do not have sufficient field services of their own and so are heavily dependent on départements and communes to implement their policies. Another issue is that of what Smith & Heywood (2000: 18) refer to as clientelistic practices and compromise, which lead to the dilution of policies and their diversion away from their initial aims over the course of their implementation.

This thesis argues that, despite these drawbacks, the regional and municipal authorities are still best placed to implement language revitalization policies for the RLs in their areas. As is argued by Backhaus (2012: 226) and Sallabank (2011, 2012), they are
better able to engage with the endangered language community and work with them on initiatives and measures of promotion and protection, while at the same time having the authority to put in place language-in-education policies for the RLs, in cooperation with the relevant académies and rectorats.

National Education

Language-in-education policies fall under the remit of the Minister for Education and are devolved to the académies in France who, in turn, delegate responsibilities for the day-to-day running of educational matters to the recteur.

There are thirty académies in total, twenty-six of which are in metropolitan France, with the remaining four being overseas. Each académie corresponds to a region, with the exceptions of Ile-de-France, Rhône-Alpes and Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur. Within each académie, it is the recteur who is responsible for implementing national educational policies. Appointed by the President of the Republic, the recteur is the representative of the Minister for Education within each académie and is responsible for all levels of education from preschool to university. They are tasked with the application of all educational legislation and regulations, defining the academic strategy of national educational policy application, management of personnel and establishments, relations with other state services, intervention in regional training programmes of the Regional Council and reporting to the Minister for Education (http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid3/les-rectorats-les-inspections-academiques.html accessed 01/08/2013).

Education also comes under the remit of the three tiers of regional and local government in France, as shown above in Figure 6. Communes are responsible for preschool and primary education, with responsibilities ranging from building construction and maintenance to school transport for students. At departmental level, responsibilities are the same as for the communes except for the collèges. The regional authorities have responsibility for the lycées and vocational education and for university financing (ibid).

France also has private and associative schools. Using a loophole in the 1901 Law on Associations (Judge, 2007: 129), regional language communities have set up bilingual immersion schools to educate their children in their language. The first of these were the Basque Iskatola, created in 1969. These were followed by the Catalan La Bressola schools in 1976, the Breton Diwan in 1977, the Occitan Calandreta in 1979 and the Alsatian ABCM-Zweisprachigkeit in 1991. These schools are non-profit organisations run by parents’
associations. The syllabi of these schools follow that of the national curriculum as set out by the Department of Education. The système paritaire that came into force under the Savary circular in 1983 allows for the bilingual education of students in areas where RLs are found. In the case of the associative schools, children are initially taught in the RL, with a number of hours of teaching in French being introduced year on year (http://www.calandreta.org/Charte-des-Calandretas.html). Associative immersion schools do receive some state funding, though law limits the amount.

Devolved responsibilities in France overlap in a number of areas, for example the environment, while others, such as education, are divided between the three tiers of local government. The highest level of local government, that of Conseil régional, is very much dependent on the other two tiers for implementation of its policies and initiatives, meaning it lacks the ability to enforce its own policies directly. Subsequently, many responsibilities are further delegated to the Conseil généraux and municipaux of the départements and communes. Regional involvement in many issues also differs from region to region with Smith & Heywood (2000: 18) noting that regional disparities remain prominent in France with the overall impact of regional government in the country being weak. Despite this, Backhaus (2012) and Sallabank (2011, 2012) maintain that it is at the level of regional and municipal government that endangered language revitalization efforts should first be instigated. This thesis will now examine this assertion in light of the revitalization policies of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon with a view to addressing the first research question of this thesis – to what extent are regional and municipal-level linguistic policies effective in the revitalization of Occitan.

3.3 Regional and Municipal-Level Linguistic Policy in Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon

The cases of Occitan language policy in the French regions of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon have been taken as the case studies as both regions are currently, though to varying extents, pursuing policies in favour of the protection and promotion of Occitan. In recent years, the Midi-Pyrénées Conseil régional has designed and implemented a structured policy for the development of the Occitan language within the region, focusing on several domains such as status and acquisition planning and taking into account the importance of prestige planning, as well as intergenerational transmission. Conversely, the Languedoc-Roussillon region pursued Occitan language policy from the 1960s to the 1990s but this has since declined due to changes in regional government and
other political considerations. As a result, the current linguistic policies being pursued by the region focus on acquisition planning and language spread through the education system, rather than in the home, and on cultural support for the language. It does not take into account the need for status or prestige planning to the extent that the language policy of Midi-Pyrénées does. Finally, as it can be argued that it is in urban environments that language policy can most easily be implemented as well as observed, this thesis focuses on the capital cities of the two regions, namely Toulouse in Midi-Pyrénées and Montpellier in Languedoc-Roussillon.

The linguistic policies of each region studied will now be presented and analysed through the use of the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 1 (Cooper, 1989; Ager, 2001; Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006).

3.3.1 Schéma régional de développement de l’Occitan 2008-2013 (Midi-Pyrénées)

The Schéma régional de développement de l’Occitan is a five-year plan developed by the Conseil régional of Midi-Pyrénées and implemented in consultation and cooperation with other administrative bodies within the region, such as the Conseil généraux and municipal city councils. Divided into five sections, the plan aims to engage in prestige, status and acquisition planning in order to revitalize and promote the use of Occitan within the region. Taking into account the areas of enseignement et formation, politique médiatique, socialisation de la langue, renforcement de la culture and recherche linguistique et culturelle, this plan seeks to increase the number of Occitan speakers and encourages the re-establishment of intergenerational transmission, while at the same time raising levels of awareness of Occitan and promoting a positive image of the language through increased visibility.

The Schéma came about as a result of a report commissioned by the Conseil régional in 2005 concerning “les enjeux de la culture et la langue occitanes dans les relations interrégionales et eurorégionales” (Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 2). It was following on from this report, which placed emphasis on the importance of inter-regional and euro-regional relations and the need to promote the various RLs and cultures of their regions, that the Conseil régional began work on the Schéma, which was published in 2007. The inter-regional aspect of the report focused on the need for the regions where Occitan is spoken in France to work together more closely for the protection and promotion of Occitan. It advocated collaboration between regions in terms of dedication of human and
financial resources. The development of the Euroregions, transnational cooperation structures set up for the development of the regions involved, has allowed for further inter-regional and transnational cooperation. Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon are both part of the Pyrenees-Mediterranean Euroregion, which also takes in Catalonia and the Balearic Islands. The Euroregion aims to create sustainable development within the member regions and promote cultural cooperation. The report commissioned by the Conseil régional emphasised the important role the Euroregion can play in terms of cultural profitability and social mobilisation.

Stating that the Midi-Pyrénées Region has long supported the associations and structures in place for the promotion of the Occitan language and culture, the Schéma is based on the principles of

- La politique de promotion de la langue occitane a pour objectif de développer un réel bilinguisme français-occitan ouvrant sur le plurilinguisme;

- La politique linguistique en faveur de la langue occitane repose sur l'encouragement et l'incitation et non sur l'obligation;

- La langue occitane appartient à l'ensemble de la population française et donc à l'ensemble des Midi-Pyrénéens. Langue naturelle de la région Midi-Pyrénées, elle a été un facteur dynamique d'intégration et de cohésion sociale et peut continuer de l'être avec l'appui des collectivités, de l'État et de l'Union européenne. (Midi-Pyrénéés, 2007: 3)

Thus, the Conseil régional emphasises the role which Occitan plays in social cohesion and cultural heritage, as well as the importance of multilingualism. In order to achieve these goals, the Conseil states that they need to recruit a second "chargé de mission" to coordinate all the organizations and Regional bodies taking part in the schema, as well as the setting up of a committee, under the responsibility of Councillor Rémy Pech, to oversee the project. In stating the objectives of the scheme, the council highlights its awareness of the precarious situation of Occitan and its desire to remedy the situation,

Ils visent à accroître le nombre de locuteurs, la qualité de l'expression écrite et orale et renforcer les pratiques culturelles d'expression occitane pour permettre, à terme, le renouvellement naturel de la langue (30% de locuteurs d'une classe d'âge sur un territoire donnée d'après l'UNESCO) et la transmission du patrimoine immatériel occitan en Midi-Pyrénéées. [...] Ils visent à renforcer la cohésion sociale et la personnalité régionale autour des
The regional authorities are well intentioned and have not embarked upon language revitalization without careful consideration and the prerequisite sociolinguistic research. However, as will be discussed below, many of the proposed initiatives are ill suited to initial revitalization policies and efforts, and, as with other endangered languages, too much emphasis and importance is placed on the teaching of the language in the education system. The fact that the Conseil wishes to raise the level of intergenerational transmission to 30% is ambitious, though feasible, but lacks the relevant appreciation of the need for this transmission to take place in the home rather than in the classroom. It is vital that the Conseil recognise and understand the need for familial transmission, in addition to prestige and status planning.

Actors, Aims and Motivations in the Revitalization of Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées

This scheme advocates a cooperative approach to Occitan revitalization, operating on several levels of local and regional government and involving several actors. The actors (Cooper, 1989) involved who are to work with the Conseil régional to implement the measures outlined in the policy document are: the Éducation nationale, DRAC (Direction régionale des affaires culturelles), the eight Conseils généraux of the region, the Préfectures of the départements and the various communes. As a result, the Schéma, while drawn up by the Conseil régional, is not confined to the authorities at regional level, but requires input and resources from multiple levels of local government if it is to be implemented. Though the Schéma does indicate that it will work in cooperation with the above actors in the initial section of the document, it fails to identify who will be responsible for the establishment and implementation of each of the various initiatives in the subsequent sections. As a result, it is difficult to assess the efficacy and success of any given measure as it is unclear to which authority responsibility has been delegated.

The behaviours that the policy aims to influence are the use and acquisition of Occitan, as well as the proficiency of current speakers, levels of awareness pertaining to the language and usage through domain expansion. It targets both members of the Occitan community and of the dominant French-speaking community in attempting to influence these behaviours. Both covert and latent (Cooper, 1989) ends are considered – the authorities wish to revitalize the language as it is a part of the region’s heritage, while also aiming to benefit from the subsequent secondary benefits of such a revitalization (i.e.
increased tourism, economic prosperity etc.). The conditions under which the Schéma will be put in place are found to be both political, in terms of educational policies, as well as cultural, with the latter being the primary basis for the implementation of revitalization initiatives. The means by which the Schéma will be implemented rely on promotion and encouragement, with the document expressly stating that it will engage in revitalization efforts based on "l'encouragement et l'incitation et non sur l'obligation" (Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 3). The intended effect is that of the revitalization of Occitan through a number of measures, the most important being the stabilisation of the speaker base via a 30% increase in speaker numbers.

It is envisaged that in 2013, the end date for the scheme, that a Contrat Territorial de développement de l’Occitan en Midi-Pyrénées be put in place over a period of five years in order to cement the achievements made by the scheme. The goals of the language policy, therefore, are not only short-term but also look ahead to Occitan’s future, seeing a long-term solution to the language’s endangerment. In terms of Ager’s model, their motivations are based on identity and image. The Conseil equates Occitan language and culture with the heritage and identity of the Midi-Pyrénées Region, one that is to be promoted in order to highlight the region’s unique character and set it apart from the rest of the country. They also wish to present a positive image of the language through its identity role. The Region will be seen as supporting an endangered language community and taking action for Occitan where the state has been reluctant to do so. They also touch on motivations such as integration of minority groups and ideologies as motivations. The former, namely the recognition of the Occitan community and its existence as a separate entity from the rest of the French population aims to create social cohesion. Though some may equate this with cultural assimilation, this is not the case. The Conseil régional expresses the desire to promote the different cultures found within its regional borders in terms of their own, individual identities and to display the multilingual facets of the region. They also seek to influence ideologies (Shohamy, 2006) as they utilise the mechanisms at their disposal to influence the way in which people perceive Occitan and therefore increase its use among speakers and its support among non-speakers. Countering negative attitudes and marginalization are principal components of the Midi-Pyrénées Schéma and underpin the long-term plans for Occitan development within the region.

In addition to the creation of a Conseil de Développement de la langue et de la culture occitane in the Midi-Pyrénées, the Schéma advocates engaging in dialogue and policy development with the seven other Regional councils of Occitanie, namely those of
Aquitaine, Auvergne, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Poitou-Charentes, Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur, and Rhône-Alpes, as well as the Conseil Général d’Aran and the Generalitat de Catalogne and the Piedmont Region. Thus, the Regional council of Midi-Pyrénées sees this scheme as being extendable to other areas of Occitanie and recognizes the importance of shared linguistic policy among the various regions where the language is spoken. This would allow for one Region to adapt a measure taken for the promotion of the language in another Region, as the theoretical structures would already be in place. As stated above, the Schéma aims to act in five principal areas, each with a number of revitalization and development goals and measures set out.

**Enseignement et formation**

It is significant that the Schéma lists education and training as the first of the five areas in which it aims to revitalize Occitan. As has been outlined in Chapter 2, many endangered language communities look to language-in-education policies as the saviour of their language and as the instigator of transmission to young and future generations. However, this is, as has been noted by Romaine (2007), often ineffective. They are not to be seen as a substitute for intergenerational transmission in the home, though they can support such transmission in an extra-domestic capacity by reinforcing usage outside the home.

Section 1.1 of the Schéma deals with the proposed measures for the development of Occitan-language teaching and training, namely the language education policy (LEP) of the region. The section states that the Midi-Pyrénées region aims, by 2010, 1) to have raised the number of new bilingual schools opening each year; 2) to have raised the number of associative bilingual schools opening each year; 3) to organize initial teaching of the language in a number of new schools each year with a view to extending this to all the schools of the region; and 4) to expand the teaching of the language offered to new collèges and lycées every year. Implementation of these measures has begun through the signing of a Convention with the state (Education nationale) for the development and promotion of the teaching of Occitan in both the public and private school systems. In addition, there are currently eighteen Calandreta schools operating in the Midi-Pyrénées region, with plans to increase this number year on year. As the Federation for Calandretas frequently notes, the demand for Occitan-language schooling far outweighs the number of Calandreta schools available and so any increase in the number of these schools would make an important contribution to the teaching of the language to newer generations.

With two other administrative authorities holding responsibility for education (Conseil
general and the communes), implementing these goals will not be a straightforward process and will require much collaboration between the relevant departments. The Schéma itself does not outline how the issue of inter-agency cooperation will be addressed or who will be responsible for coordinating the LEP. According to an action summary published by the Conseil académique pour l'enseignement de l'Occitan in 2012 it is the Recteur who has assumed responsibility for putting in place initiatives to increase Occitan-language teaching in the region’s schools. This stems from the Convention signed between the Midi-Pyrénées region and the Education nationale, though it is the latter which, through its process of delegation, remains responsible for the teaching of Occitan. As such, though it is the regional authorities that have set out the policy of Occitan in education, they are not involved in its implementation to any great extent, with other actors such as the Académie and Recteur being held accountable for putting them in place and building upon them. While delegation of responsibilities is necessary in such cases, the regional authorities’ lack of involvement in implementing LEP distances them from the needs and goals of the Occitan community.

There is, however, no evidence to illustrate that such LEPs are benefitting Occitan. An argument can be made for an increase in speaker numbers due to the increase in the number of schoolchildren studying the language, though there is no evidence that these children are carrying the language use on to their post-education lives. As Fishman (1997: 194) notes, languages become endangered through cessation of intergenerational transmission and not because they are absent from the school system. Introduction or development of the teaching of an endangered language in the school curricula can be beneficial as part of language policies in that it counters ideologies of deficit. Their inclusion forms part of image and prestige planning, demonstrating a level of value attachment to the language on the part of authorities. However, schools are only substitutes for familial transmission and, without external reinforcement and support can only go so far in increasing speaker numbers and revitalizing the language. This is supported by Edwards and Newcombe (2005: 137) who found that while the introduction of bilingual education in Wales did lead to an increase in the number of young Welsh speakers, it did not continue once they had left school as they had not transferred the language from the school to other social environments and therefore ceased to speak it. This is also the case with Occitan.

Without the necessary external support structures in place for continued use of the language, increasing their teaching hours and resources will only result in limited
success, with many abandoning the language once they have left school. Furthermore, it will likely negatively impact upon the current low level of intergenerational transmission, owing to the over-reliance of speakers on the education system to pass on the language. Dorian (1989: 121) states that "the introduction of a heritage language into the school curriculum has been known to seduce communities whose language is at risk into believing that interrupted family transmission is no longer a problem since the schools are dealing with transmission". Sallabank (2012: 115) further comments on this, stating that "in places where endangered languages are promoted through education, traditional domains may be reversed: as official endorsement increases, use in informal contexts decreases". It must be stressed, therefore, that speakers should not, as Fishman (1991) and others (Romaine, 2007; Dorian, 1989; Sallabank, 2012) recommend, pin their hopes for transmission of the language on the education system.

While the Schéma of Midi-Pyrénées has successfully implemented many elements in relation to the teaching of Occitan, it has failed to recognise the importance of re-introducing and stabilising intergenerational transmission as the primary means of transmitting the language to the next generation. In fact, this measure has been relegated to Section 3 of the plan, in terms of socialisation de la langue. Though the Conseil régional, supported by several studies on the subject, recognises the need for increased Occitan speaker numbers, its approach to addressing this issue is flawed. The Conseil is seen to make the same mistakes as many endangered language communities in relying too heavily on the education system to revitalize Occitan.

In terms of adult education, the Schéma aims to increase the number of Occitan-language courses being offered for adults, increase the pedagogical practices of those offering the courses and to develop professional courses run by the region. In addition to this it is envisaged that the region will create a certification scheme for competence in the Occitan language, both for those learning it and for those teaching it. This has been achieved in association with the Université de Toulouse - Le Mirail and their Occitan department. In 2011, Occitan was added to the list of languages for the Diplôme de compétence en langue (DCL), a state-issued certification in language competence. While this was not implemented by the region but rather by the French State, it was due to years of lobbying by a number of Occitan-speaking regions.

Adult language courses in Occitan will aid in increasing speaker numbers, with education once again replacing familial transmission. In the case of adult learners this is necessary as their parents may have failed to pass on the language or may be deceased,
thus affording them no opportunity to learn the language in the home. Once again, it must be noted that the Schéma, in Section 1.1, makes no mention of external support structures for the continued use of the language once the learners have completed the adult education courses. This mirrors the issue found with school leavers in that once they have completed their education they are unlikely to continue speaking the language as, due to domain restriction, they are afforded little opportunity to do so. The region needs to address this issue in their linguistic policy and focus on supporting use of the language in a post-education environment, rather than aiming primarily at course creation.

Certification in Occitan, though not the primary goal of its introduction, adds a level of legitimation to the language, as these diplomas are also offered in languages such as English, Spanish, Russian and Portuguese. Placing Occitan alongside international languages demonstrates to speakers that it is a language which is valued and worth speaking. However, given the lack of employment directly related to the Occitan language such certification is to be seen more in terms of prestige planning than as part of LEP. It appears that this initiative is linked to that of job creation where Occitan-language competency is a required skill. On its own, the initiative, while well intentioned, has no tangible benefit to job seekers at the present time.

Furthermore, the Schéma states that the region wishes to increase the number of teachers certified in the language. In order to achieve this goal, they have introduced a grant system for those wishing to pursue the CAPES in Occitan in the region’s universities. The Enseñhar grant also falls under the Convention signed between the Conseil régional and the Éducation nationale in September 2009 and aims to increase the number of students taking the Occitan CAPES and therefore increasing the number of teachers of Occitan. An increase in teacher numbers would allow the region to fulfil its commitment to increasing the number of Calandretas and Occitan classes in public schools. The region awarded 17 grants of between €500 and €4000 in 2011. Of the Occitan regions of France only Aquitaine and Midi-Pyrénées currently offer this type of grant for Occitan CAPES studies. This initiative has proven successful, though with the number of CAPES places being reduced in the neighbouring regions of Languedoc-Roussillon and Aquitaine, the effectiveness of this initiative is in danger of being reduced due to a reduction in CAPES posts.

For those who wish to teach Occitan but either already have the CAPES or do not wish to teach in the public school system, another form of certification in Occitan is also available as a result of the Schéma. As is also the case in Languedoc-Roussillon, the CFPO
Centre de Formacion Professionala Occitan) offers the PARLESC certification for Occitan-language teaching and courses. This certification attests to the quality of Occitan teaching and allows learners to choose from courses that have attained the qualification, thus ensuring a high standard of Occitan education.

Furthermore, the Conseil régional wishes to develop or aid in the development of adequate pedagogical materials for the teaching of Occitan to adult learners, an area which is currently lacking. In order to achieve this, the Schéma promotes the development of an online learning method for the language, lessons which may be downloaded by the learner and forums for discussion (Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 18). In addition to this, the Schéma (1.3) advocates the development and introduction of an intensive Occitan-language training course which would take place full time over a six-month period. This course is aimed at job seekers, students and employees with training leave. Such a training course is currently offered by the CFPO and consists of 540 hours of centre-based learning and a further 294 hours of work placement. This allows participants to learn the language in an educational environment and then transfer their language skills to a work environment, thus creating a further domain of use for their language skills, while at the same time increasing the number of people able to use the language in the workplace. Such a scheme is beneficial to both participants and employers as it increases the number of businesses using the language and affords speakers the opportunity to find employment where their language is valued.

It is also envisaged that a professional Occitan degree be created, aimed at future cultural specialists who would then work for the region. The regional authorities would offer internships in its various departments to students following such a degree. To date, this latter aim has not been implemented and there is no information available as to when such an initiative is to be put in place. As with many other proposed actions outlined in the Schéma, there is little detail given as to who would be responsible for the creation of such a degree or how it would be established. It is illustrative of the fact that the Schéma, in certain areas, is a statement of intention rather than a detailed plan for the establishment and introduction of revitalization efforts. This reduces the impact and potential success of the region's revitalization policies as it gives the impression that, though they are based on sociolinguistic research, little thought has been given to how they are to be enforced or the motivations behind their establishment. This can be clearly seen in the case of the following two measures outlined in Section 1 of the Schéma, namely Occitan-language training for both journalists and employees of the region.
Section 1.3 of the \textit{Schéma} outlines the region's aim to commence training journalists in the Occitan language in order to promote more Occitan-language journalism, both written and audio-visual. The policy document does not, however, set out how this is to be achieved or what measurable changes will come about as a result. As was discussed in Chapter 2, media resources in the endangered language are important to its revitalization and survival, but the policy of Midi-Pyrénées is lacking in its assumption that teaching journalists to speak Occitan will automatically result in an increased presence of the language within the media. No steps have been outlined for transferring the journalists' language skills to their work and no incentives are offered for them to use Occitan rather than French. It is unlikely, therefore, that this initiative will bear fruit in terms of increased presence of Occitan in the media and this thesis would argue that, while it is a measure that is potentially useful in the future, it is misplaced in terms of initial Occitan revitalization policy. Only once intergenerational transmission has been established and existing and new domains have been opened up in which speakers can use the language should the authorities turn to increasing media presence.

The \textit{Schéma} also advocates the training of regional and departmental employees in Occitan. The aim of such training is to facilitate communication between agents of authoritative bodies and members of the Occitan-speaking community. Once again, this thesis would argue that this measure is ill advised and ill considered. As with other measures, the policy document lacks detail on how this training is to be carried out and, to date, there is no data available to suggest that any personnel have taken part in such training. The regional authorities, in proposing this measure, mirror the Occitan community in that they are seen to be too ambitious in their revitalization efforts. Use of an endangered language by authorities to communicate with the language community fall under stage 2 of Fishman's GIDS and is to argued against insofar as the speaker base and transmission of the language must be stabilised before promoting use of the language in lower, local government. While use of Occitan by regional and departmental staff serves to facilitate domain expansion and influences positive beliefs in relation to the language, at present it is argued that this measure would have little impact upon Occitan revitalization owing to low speaker numbers. It is argued here that this initiative would better serve Occitan revitalization were it to be included in later policies once transmission of the language has been stabilised and speaker numbers have been increased.

The final part of Section 1 highlights the need for the teaching of Occitan culture in addition to the language itself, and thus proposes the establishment and expansion of
Occitan music, dance, drama and art classes. The policy document identifies these aspects of Occitan teaching as being underdeveloped in the region and seeks to increase the number of classes in the Occitan arts. In order to achieve this, it is stated that the regional authorities will enter into talks with teachers of such classes and will study the possibility of introducing a teacher qualification. It further states that the region will work with Occitan artists, musicians and dancers in order to promote their culture in the region’s schools and in doing so will work towards increasing visibility and awareness of the language among the population of Midi-Pyrénées. This measure is flawed as, while promotion of Occitan culture and arts is part of prestige and status planning, the proposed measures are lacking in substance and detail. There is no evidence that increased teaching of Occitan arts would result in increased speaker numbers or stabilisation of the language. This, like the two preceding measures, is best left for future linguistic policies once Occitan is no longer classed as severely endangered.

The first section of the Schéma focuses solely on revitalization of Occitan through education in its various forms. Increasing speaker numbers through education is feasible but, as Fishman (1991) and Romaine (2007) repeatedly stress, the school is no substitute for passing on the language in the home. The education system better serves revitalization if it is seen as an extra-domestic support structure and a further domain of use for the language rather than the primary source of transmission to the younger generation. Several aspects of this section of the Schéma are hampered by their lack of planning and lack of detail given as to how these measures are to be put in place and who is to be responsible for them. To date, the Schéma has seen improvements made in relation to the teaching of Occitan in the region’s schools in terms of increasing CAPES placements and grants, increasing the number of Calandreta schools and the number of schools offering Occitan as an optional subject. Other efforts, such as Occitan culture classes and journalism and staff training, are unlikely to prove effective in the five-year period for which this policy was conceived. To date, no evidence is available that they have produced tangible results, or that some have even been implemented at all. The Conseil régional has been too ambitious in its education policy for Occitan, including too many factors and trying to revitalize the language in too many areas of education at once. As a result, few of the goals have come to fruition. Those that seek to bolster Occitan culture and target specific groups for language teaching are better kept in reserve, to be implemented as part of later policies when the language has been brought back from severe endangerment. The most seriously flawed aspect of this section of the Schéma is its ignorance of the need to use the
home as a base for the (re) introduction of linguistic transmission, instead preferring to
focus on the school system. This negatively impacts upon any effort to revitalize the
language and, as has been seen in the case of Welsh, can only have limited success, as
speakers are unlikely to continue using the language once they have left school. The
regional authorities, therefore, must re-evaluate and refocus their efforts towards the
home, with education as a support mechanism, as the main transmitter of Occitan. Once
stability of the language in the domestic domain has been achieved, linguistic policy should
be introduced to ensure the language is strengthened and supported in the school system.

Politique médiatique
As has been outlined in Chapter 2, the media resources in Occitan, while available, are
generally viewed as lacking in output and availability, with only one weekly Occitan-
language newspaper available (and then only via subscription) and television broadcasts in
the language being limited, in most cases, to no more than fifteen minutes per week. There
are a number of radio stations broadcasting in Occitan, such as Radio Occitânia, Radio
Albigès and Radio Pais, and it is in radio that Occitan has the strongest presence within the
media. The proposals made in Section Two of the Schéma seek to remedy the low level of
Occitan-language media. The policy document states that it aims to increase media
organisations’ capacity to produce and broadcast Occitan-language media and to develop
current events programmes in the language. However, there are no concrete details given
relating to how these goals are to be achieved. Unlike the preceding section on education,
where it was stated that the regional authorities would enter into agreements and
cooperation with the Académie for the promotion and development of Occitan in the
school system, this section does not indicate which relevant authorities will be consulted in
order to increase the level of Occitan-language media. It states that these measures will be
implemented as a result of inter-regional cooperation and with the support of institutions,
though these are not named.

Increasing endangered language media is an important step in revitalization
policies as a means of domain expansion. Use of endangered languages in this domain
does not simply increase the areas in which they are used but is also a factor in influencing
language beliefs, thus contributing to prestige/status planning. As Sallabank (2012: 117-8)
states, “Mass media have considerable influence on language prestige and choice, often
bringing the dominant language into the home for the first time. [...] Language in the media
is almost always seen in terms of domain expansion and prestige, while the value of
providing a service for what is often a dwindling, ageing base of native speakers can be overlooked”. At the same time as expansion into this domain increases the prestige of a language, it can also provide exposure to the language for both speakers and non-speakers alike. Radio can be particularly effective, due to its lower operating costs in comparison to television, and its wider reach among the community. It can provide services run by members of the speech community for that same community, in areas such as politics, culture and education, thus contributing to domain expansion.

The proposals outlined in the Schéma consist of more supportive measures rather than actual involvement in the development of new and existing radio stations. It is stated that this will be done through the provision of financial resources, thus indicating that much of the work will need to be carried out by existing enterprises and the Occitan community themselves. It is argued that, in terms of media, radio is the most appropriate medium for initial revitalization efforts, owing to its widespread accessibility and lower operating costs than television. However, as is the case with the Schéma in general, the regional authorities fail to provide sufficient detail regarding the process of implementing such initiatives, nor have they given specifics in relation to the financial resources which would be allocated for their establishment.

The Schéma also aims to utilize modern technology, such as the internet, to increase linguistic and cultural awareness of Occitan. It is with this in mind that the policy document advocates the creation of an inter-regional, institutional website for Occitan language and culture. It aims to increase the language’s visibility online. The Conseil has committed to doing this by way of the creation of an online portal, which would have links to various tools such as translations, dictionaries, research, podcasts, atlases and photo libraries in Occitan. This is a similar initiative to that of Languedoc-Roussillon’s Porta d’Oc. The proposed website, which compiles the learning resources listed above, has not yet been put in place. This is most likely due to the creation of Porta d’Oc by Languedoc-Roussillon, which fulfils the need for such a site.

In addition to this, the creation of a web-based Occitan-language television channel is envisaged. While Oc-TV was created in Toulouse in 1999, this channel does not broadcast exclusively in Occitan and it is this gap in the media market that the Conseil régional aims to fill. A web-based Occitan television channel would contribute to both the audio and visual presence of the language in the media. Being web-based, it would be easily accessible to anyone with access to a computer and the internet. It would also allow for increased production of Occitan-language programmes. A Web-TV channel would be
made available inter-regionally, facilitating access to speakers in other regions. Once again, the Schéma is seen to aim too high on Fishman's GIDS in its approach to media. While it is necessary to engage in domain expansion for endangered languages, it must once again be noted that the lack of focus on stabilising speaker numbers and transmission of the language will only serve to hamper other initiatives, as the latter will meet with less success if speaker numbers remain low. Conversely, visual media is an area which can have significant impact upon language practices and beliefs.

Such influences can be seen in the case of the spread of English globally. While most countries would either dub or subtitle English language films and television programmes, consumers are still being exposed to and influenced by English-language culture. For instance, as English-language programmes are not dubbed in Iceland, this has facilitated the learning of English there and led to an increase in the number of people who become fluent in English. Between 2008 and 2009, the Icelandic statistics office, Statice, reported that "almost 78% of pupils in compulsory schools learn English" compared with Danish being the second most popular foreign language, with 37.5% of students in the upper secondary level learning it. The influence of English language media has had an impact on the number of students learning that language.

A similar argument can be made for endangered languages. Increased presence on television can contribute not only to prestige planning but also to domain expansion, exposing new and existing speakers to the language. However, Fishman (2001: 14) points out that home-neighborhood-community functions in endangered languages are not necessarily aided by mass-media programmes in the endangered language. The issue is that even when the endangered language is present within the media, such media is rarely linked to reinforcing home or school language functions (ibid). Therefore, any increase in, or development of, Occitan-language media must be considered in relation to the overall aim of revitalization, with Occitan-language programmes focusing on reinforcing language use in the home, while at the same time contributing to domain expansion.

In terms of the written media, the Schéma states that the training of journalists in the language will lead to increased levels of Occitan in newspapers and the written media. As was stated above, this goal is linked to the training of journalists in Occitan, a measure which has so far not been implemented to any great extent, with no evidence of an increase in Occitan-language media output. The Schéma does not identify specific publications in which it wishes to increase the level of Occitan and is once again relying on
external agents to achieve its revitalization goal. These agents are not identified and little detail is given in relation to how this goal will be achieved.

Finally, the Conseil régional intends to increase the use of Occitan on its own website. It will offer bilingual pages as well as links to pedagogical and cultural material. The Conseil Régional currently provides its own web page in Occitan and there are several links to other sites which provide information and resources in and about Occitan.

The Schéma, as with the educational measures outlined in Section 1, is relying on the actions of external agents to implement and develop Occitan in the media. While the media has been identified as an area in which Occitan is severely endangered owing to its low presence, the Schéma attempts to fight the battle of revitalization on too many fronts. It wishes to develop Occitan not only in the written media but also on radio and television. Fishman (2001: 473) notes that increased output in the endangered language is more likely to harm revitalization efforts than to support them because of the greater volume of dominant language media with which they must compete. He even goes so far as note that some minority language activists have a ‘fetish’ for mass-media (Fishman, 2001: 482), with unrealistic expectations of how the media can aid the language. Cormack (2004: 2), however, argues that the media can play a role in revitalization, outlining four areas in which it can do so. He notes that (1) electronic media plays a symbolic role for endangered languages in communicating the language’s ability to ‘cope’ with the contemporary world; (2) it can provide an economic boost in the form of employment for those wishing to work with the endangered language; (3) it allows the endangered language community to develop its own news agenda and political community; and finally (4) endangered language media is important in terms of how the community is represented both within itself and to the outside world. He goes on to state that media has become a conveyor of culture and is an important producer of cultural products in its own right. This counter-argument to that of Fishman is that while endangered language media cannot replace intergenerational transmission, it cannot be dispensed with either. The latter is supported by Grenoble & Whaley (1998: 53) who also note that media can be used to create access for endangered language communities and facilitate communication in the language. Therefore, the Conseil régional’s inclusion of Occitan media in its revitalization policy is warranted. The issue is not that they wish to expand Occitan in the media but how they wish to go about it. No process is outlined for the development of Occitan radio, other than the statement that financial backing will be provided. The same is true of the written media, where the only indication as to how this will be achieved is the issue of language training for
journalists. The *Schéma* fails to set out the organisations with which it will cooperate in order to achieve the goals of this section. As a result, it is unclear if any increase in Occitan-language media, or presence of Occitan within French mass media, can be attributed to the *Schéma* or to private individuals or organisations, as it is difficult to assess the extent to which these measures have been implemented.

**Socialisation de la langue**

The third section of the *Schéma* deals with what it terms the *socialisation* of the language – increasing awareness of Occitan among the French-speaking community. The Midi-Pyrénées Region states that it considers Occitan to be part of its character and history and therefore wishes to promote it. By engaging in prestige and image planning, it intends to promote use of the language and culture among all employees and elected officials of the Region and to make information available to members of the public, both via publicity campaigns and via its website. The *Conseil régional* currently provides its own web page in Occitan and a number of billboard campaigns have been used to promote the language, most notably using signs in Occitan created by the renowned artist Ben Vautier. These electronic billboards, in place at the time of the research, consisted of phrases in Occitan and were also used to advertise an Occitan-language exhibition by the artist in the city of Toulouse. Awareness campaigns and use of the language in the public space are both important elements for prestige and status planning. As will be seen with the use of Occitan in the LL as discussed in Chapter 4, a visible presence of the language within the community contributes to its revitalization and its perception among the wider community, while at the same time re-legitimizing the language for its current speakers.

Another initiative suggested in this section relates to the labelling of products in Occitan. This measure would need to be bilingual French-Occitan due to the *loi Toubon*, but would be modelled on similar systems in use with Basque and Breton.

This section also deals with transmission of the language from one generation to the next. The fact that intergenerational transmission has been left until the third, and arguably the most symbolic, section of the *Schéma* is significant. With many scholars (Fishman, 1991; Giles et al, 1977; Coronel-Molina: 2011) arguing that intergenerational transmission must form the foundation of any language revitalization, the *Conseil régional* of Midi-Pyrénées have chosen to place more importance on education and media than on stabilisation of Occitan transmission in the home. In addition, Section 3 of the policy document states that the level of familial transmission has become so weak as to be
unable to sustain the number of speakers necessary to prevent extinction of the language and, therefore, states that other areas such as education and the arts are to be relied upon to fill the void left by familial transmission. The significance of this is not to be understated — the Conseil régional has failed to fully consider the issue of intergenerational transmission and, therefore, any revitalization efforts will ultimately only achieve limited success as the speaker base has not been maintained.

The measures outlined for increasing intergenerational transmission are also weak. It proposes that Occitan language workshops are established to educate parents on the benefits of passing the language on to their children and the methods in which they can do so. Such workshops would be aimed at parents, grandparents, and young, future parents. The Schéma also states that the regional authorities would finance further support mechanisms for such transmission such as early bilingualism intervention and sociolinguistic studies of Occitan use in the home. However, once again the policy document fails to identify the actors that will be involved in the process or how the measures will be implemented. No partner organisations are identified and it is not indicated to which local authorities the task of sociolinguistic studies or workshop establishment will be delegated. To date, the researcher has found no evidence that this revitalization measure has been put in place.

Some scholars (Strubell, 2001; Romaine, 2007) argue that it is not the place of those in authority to govern how parents raise their children, including whether or not they pass on their language to them. Rather, they argue, authorities and governments should encourage parents to continue transmission of the language to future generations through prestige and status planning, whereby the parents perceive the value attachment associated with the endangered language. Policies cannot be expected to intervene in people's domestic lives and decisions, but may exert subtle influence in language ideologies and beliefs. Strubell (2001: 268-9) cites the example of Catalan during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39 where the State repressed the RLs, though they could not force people to speak Spanish at home. The same can be said of Occitan. The language policies of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon do not have a direct impact upon language use in the home. The only way such policies can hope to affect language practices is by influencing ideologies and beliefs (Spolsky, 2004).

Other measures, such as those outlined by Lee and McLaughlin (2001: 37-39) for Navajo, can also aid the re-establishment of intergenerational transmission which take into account family-based language immersion activities, language exchanges with other
families within the community and develop programmes for parents to learn the language alongside their children where they are relying on language in education. The Schéma only outlines one method of re-establishing transmission of Occitan in the home. While it does deal with the issue of socialisation of the language, it fails to link lack of awareness and the sense of vergonha (Joubert, 2010) to the cessation of intergenerational transmission and therefore the need to combat these issues in tandem with implementation of efforts aimed at encouraging parents to pass Occitan on to their children. The very fact that the issue of stabilising speaker numbers through use of Occitan in the home has been assigned to the third section of the Schéma and not the first is illustrative of the regional authority’s lack of understanding of endangered language revitalization issues and this will no doubt impact upon the success of the overall policy.

The Schéma also does not take account of initiatives put in place by other countries which could be implemented in Midi-Pyrénées to stabilize domestic Occitan use. Following on from the examples of Hawaii and New Zealand, the possible use of language nests could be investigated to assess their viability for the Occitan situation. Language nests have been successful in aiding revitalization of Maori in New Zealand and of the Hawaiian languages. The initiative links community transmission of the endangered language with the education system whereby older members of the speech community contribute to the teaching of the language, while at the same time providing community support for its use outside of the education system. Such an initiative is feasible for Occitan, though further sociolinguistic research is necessary before it could be put in place.

This section of the Schéma also states the authorities’ intention to contribute to the production of Occitan-language materials. Children’s books, cartoons, DVDs and games in Occitan are to be developed in order to facilitate this transmission of the language. This is to be done in conjunction with CROM who currently provide pedagogical materials to schools and organisations that teach Occitan. These aims are fully achievable and are more precise than others outlined in the policy document. Other agents, such as CROM, are identified and it is recognized that the development of pedagogical materials is to aid transmission of Occitan to children in the home rather than as a measure independent of the family unit. UNESCO (2007) identifies the production of endangered language reading materials, CDs and DVDs as necessary for reinforcing language learning in the home. Therefore, this aim is warranted given the need to increase Occitan speaker numbers and owing to the fact that the partner organisation, CROM, is already active in producing such materials. However, the authorities must clearly communicate the provision and
availability of such materials to members of the Occitan community, and to Occitan parents in particular, if they are to be successful.

Fishman's (1991) emphasis on the importance of intergenerational transmission of endangered languages has been widely accepted as the foundation for any revitalization efforts. While the regional and municipal authorities in Midi-Pyrénées can make every provision for parents to have access to language learning resources and pedagogical material, there is no way for them to ensure intergenerational transmission will be re-established. Familial transmission of the language will only occur if there is a desire on the part of the parents to pass the language on to the children. In order for this to happen they must feel that the language is valued within the community, that it is of use and that it is no longer marginalized in society. The latter can only be achieved through continuous and consistent status and prestige planning on the part of the regional authorities and their partners, as well as the putting in place of extra-domestic support structures for the use of the language.

This section of the policy also details proposals for increasing employment where Occitan-language skills are a necessary requirement. This measure was to be the subject of a separate action plan. A service has since been introduced in collaboration with the IEO known as Servici Emplec which runs a website aimed specifically at advertising employment opportunities where Occitan is either desired or required and where jobseekers can upload their C.V.s. An initiative such as this is important as it legitimizes Occitan as a language that can be used in the workplace and contributes to speakers re-valuing Occitan as a language which can compete with French in the jobs market. Once again, this part of the Schéma seeks not only to provide new domains in which the language can be used but also to influence the language ideologies, beliefs and practices of the Occitan speaking community in encouraging them to use their language skills, in this case for the benefit of employment. However, as was discussed above, if speaker numbers are not stabilized, any other measures, including those aimed at Occitan job creation, will only achieve limited success.

Finally, the last measure outlined in Section 3 of the policy document is that of visual representation of Occitan in the public sphere. As this measure constitutes use of Occitan in the LL, it will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. It should be noted, however, that responsibility for public signage is delegated to the relevant authorities at general council and municipal council level.
This section, therefore, aims to bring the use of Occitan into new domains and to increase its presence in existing ones. These measures also serve to increase the prestige of the language, something which Crystal (2000) states as being necessary for the revitalization of any endangered language. The Midi-Pyrénées Conseil régional hopes, by engaging in prestige planning, that there will be increased acquisition of Occitan by new speakers and the re-establishment of intergenerational transmission, though this remains the choice of the parents and the student themselves, though increased prestige may go some way to encouraging them to use the language.

Renforcement de la culture occitane, de la création et la diffusion artistiques

Once again, this section aims to engage in domain expansion initiatives for the increased use of Occitan. By organizing public lectures on various topics to do with Occitan as well as cultural festivals, the prestige and visibility of the language will be increased. The Conseil régional regularly supports, through both financial contributions and advertising Occitan cultural events. This support is provided in cooperation with the relevant general and municipal councils. These initiatives range from cultural evenings of dance and music at the Ostal d’Occitânia in Toulouse to being one of the major partners in a number of Occitan festivals held within the region. The cultural obligations set out in the Schéma have, to a large extent, been achieved by the region and the relevant authorities since the implementation of the revitalization policy.

Midi-Pyrénées supports a number of Occitan festivals. The first of the main festivals supported and promoted by the regional council is the Festival Déodat de Séverac à Saint-Félix Lauragais. Split into two, this festival takes place in the form of the Estivales from May to July and Automnales from October to December. It consists of concerts and displays of traditional forms of culture. The second and arguably largest Occitan festival in France is that of the Festival Occitânia held in Toulouse and throughout the region. Taking place annually in September, the Festival Occitânia is a display of a large variety of Occitan cultural events ranging from poetry recitals, storytelling, dance performances, and musical performances to debates, conferences and Occitan film screenings. Every year it attracts thousands of Occitan speakers from all over France and not only serves as an opportunity to showcase the language and culture but also to highlight the issue of the language and promote the historical links between the region and Occitan.

Another equally famous and successful festival supported by the Midi-Pyrénées region is that of the Estivada in Rodez. Focusing mainly on music, theatre and dance,
Estivada provides a platform for many Occitan organisations to meet and discuss current issues relating to the language. It is considered by speakers as being one of the most important Occitan events of the year.

The final festival supported by the Region is that of Trad'envie in Pavie. The main purpose of this festival, like the others, is the sharing and promotion of the rich cultural heritage of Occitan, allowing those not familiar with Occitan to experience some of the many cultural features for which it is famous.

Section 4.2 of the Schéma proposes the creation of an inter-regional platform for Occitan dramatic and musical performances. This would serve to develop the diffusion of the language in "classical" domains such as the arts. The policy document proposes to support structurally and financially dramatic and musical groups promoting and performing in Occitan.

While the regional authorities understand the importance and value of promoting and supporting Occitan culture and contribute to such events in a substantial way, they do so within the context of prestige planning and influencing ideologies. Like the linguistic policy of Languedoc-Roussillon, Midi-Pyrénées aims to increase the use of cultural events and measures for the revitalization of Occitan, though it does so in conjunction with other measures and does not over emphasize its importance, unlike Languedoc-Roussillon.

Recherche linguistique et culturelle
The final section of the Schéma advocates the creation of an institute for the "normalisation de la langue occitane" (Schéma, 2007: 54). The objectives of such an institute would be

Définir et assurer une qualité linguistique aux grandes variantes de la langue occitane (particulièrement gasconnes et languedociennes) à l'oral et à l'écrit; établir des standards de qualité, notamment pour l'enseignement de la langue; inscrire la langue dans la modernité (travaux sur les néologismes); promouvoir les pratiques graphiques cohérentes; contribuer à élever l'image de l'occitan dans la société.

(Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 54)

Such an institute would comprise a technical commission, a scientific commission and a permanent secretariat. This would ensure that for those learning the language, they are educated to the same level consistently throughout the region and would allow for a certain level of codification and standardization of the language without losing the richness of its various dialects.
Finally, the scheme proposes the development of automatic translation technology for Internet sites, the media etc. such as those already in existence in the Val d’Aran where two automatic translators (Catalan-Occitan and Castilian-Occitan) have been developed.

The Midi-Pyrénées Schéma is a promising policy for the revitalization of Occitan within the region. However, it does have a number of flaws and issues which may impede its success. Fishman (1991) states that prior ideological clarification is necessary before embarking upon any language revitalization strategy. The Conseil régional has pursued such clarification, basing their linguistic policy on the data and information provided by a large-scale sociolinguistic survey in the region. Despite this preliminary research and a structured approach to Occitan revitalization which covers many domains, the Schéma is seen as constituting what Fishman (1991) calls aiming too high too soon on the GIDS.

While the Schéma does take into account the need to re-establish intergenerational transmission, it claims that the level of familial transmission is now so low as to be unable to maintain the number of speakers necessary for the language to survive (Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 38). Though the Schéma does set out a number of ways in which it aims to increase intergenerational transmission, its primary focus for stabilising and increasing speaker numbers is through education. The Schéma fails to take into account other measures for re-establishing community-based transmission of Occitan, such as the Master-Apprentice programmes and language nests which have been successfully established for Native American languages in California and Hawaii and for Maori in New Zealand. There is much discussion in the literature regarding the place of endangered languages in education, with some arguing that it is necessary for their survival (UNESCO, 2003; Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) and others stating that, though it may be advantageous to teach the language, schools should not be seen as a replacement for intergenerational transmission (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2007; Edwards & Newcombe, 2005). Littlebear (1996) has described how Native American peoples have put in place many measures for their languages' revitalization, such as dictionaries, bilingual education funding, and creation of cultural and pedagogical material, but still the languages continue to die out. This, he argues, is because revitalization efforts tend to focus on language in education policies which divert attention away from unstable intergenerational transmission. If the latter is ignored or not dealt with appropriately then, as Fishman (1991: 399) points out, all else "can amount to little more than biding time, at best generation by generation".
As many scholars (Dorian, 1989; Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2007; Sallabank, 2011, 2012) have pointed out, language in education policies can function as a support structure for the transmission and use of the language outside the home, though it should not be relied upon nor seen as a replacement for learning the language in the home and community environments. Indeed, language acquisition research has found that an hour or two’s teaching per week in the endangered language is not sufficient to activate children’s natural learning abilities (Singleton, 2001; Blondin et al, 1998). For a language to grow outside of the school domain, members of the community must recognize the importance of speaking it in their everyday lives (Hornberger, 2008; Cantoni, 1997; Sallbank, 2012). In order for LEPs to be successful, they must be accompanied by community involvement and expansion of domain use. The Schéma attempts to bring in supportive measures in the form of adult education classes in Occitan, workshops to address intergenerational transmission and the development of pedagogical materials.

Assessment of the efficacy and implementation of these aspects of the Schéma is hampered by the policy document’s failure to identify partner organisations and agencies with which the relevant authorities will cooperate in order to implement the measures. In many cases, particularly in that of education, responsibility for the various elements of the Schéma is delegated to other authorities, such as the Académie and recteur under the auspices of the Education nationale, as well as the Conseils généraux of the region. This is necessary owing to the structure of local government in France and the areas for which each authority is responsible. In this sense, the region’s approach to Occitan in education is a collaborative one, utilising the necessary resources of the relevant authorities in order to put the LEPs in place. Many aspects of the Schéma in terms of education have been implemented, with the number of Calandretas in the region increasing year on year, the provision of Occitan classes for adults on the rise and the language being taught in schools region-wide under the Convention between the region and the Education nationale. Many of the aims of the Schéma’s education section have, therefore, been achieved. What the Midi-Pyrénées policy for Occitan fails to take into account is how to ensure students continue to use Occitan once they have left school. The Schéma does outline a number of areas into which it aims to expand the use of Occitan but there is no link between these initiatives and continuing post-educational use of the language.

Were the Schéma to approach the issue of transmission of the language from a community-based angle, with programs such as language nests and Master-Apprentice programmes being the primary focus of establishing intergenerational transmission, with
schools being seen as building upon this transmission rather than substituting it, Occitan transmission would be strengthened and, coupled with domain expansion and increased community usage, there would not only be an increase in speaker numbers but a fortification of Occitan usage after education in the language has ceased.

Other areas in which the Schéma seeks to affect change for Occitan are those of media and culture. Increased usage of Occitan in the media falls under the heading of domain expansion, allowing speakers to access the language in the various forms of written and audio-visual media. However, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998) caution against promoting such domains over simply speaking the language more. Domain expansion is a key criterion for language revitalization and providing resources in Occitan media constitutes domain growth and, as such, is an area in which the Schéma can affect positive change for the language. Financial support for existing Occitan-language media has allowed a number of radio stations to continue broadcasting in the language, in addition to expanding their programming in the language. It has not, however, resulted in increased presence of Occitan on television or in the written media. The proposed training of journalists in the Occitan language does not equate to an increase in its use in the written media. There are no incentives for journalists to write in Occitan and the number of publications for which they could write, should they choose to do so, is severely limited. This proposal, therefore, is flawed and has no real impact upon the revitalization of the language. Before training of media professionals in Occitan is implemented, the number and scope of regular publications and broadcasts in the language must be increased. To date, the Schéma has not brought about changes in the time allocated to Occitan-language programming nor increased its presence in the written media. As the policy document once again fails to identify how it intends to achieve its media goals in terms of inter-agency cooperation, its efficacy in this area is difficult to ascertain. What is clear, however, is that while some of the measures outlined in Section 2 of the Schéma have been put in place and been successful to a certain degree (financial support of radio stations), the majority of the media measures aim too high on Fishman’s GIDS and would achieve greater success were they included in a later policy document once speaker numbers have been stabilized and the language is being regularly within the community.

The Schéma can be seen as being most successful in the areas of culture and socialisation de la langue. It has been shown in the above section that authorities at all levels of local government within Midi-Pyrénées have contributed to the promotion of the language within the region. Events such as Occitan-language and cultural festivals are not
only financially supported but organized by the regional and departmental authorities and are growing in size and scope year on year. Policy makers can consciously promote symbolic ethnicity and 'localness' as a means of encouraging language revitalization (Sallabank, 2012: 110). Such promotion of regional identity is strong within Midi-Pyrénées and it serves to counter ideologies of deficit among the community. Sallabank (2012: 117) points out that "positive attitudes seem to be a necessary if not sufficient pre-requisite for language maintenance/revitalization" and therefore, engaging in prestige and status planning is vital if Occitan is to be revitalized. The Conseil régional and the Conseils généraux clearly recognize the importance of promoting Occitan within the region, not only for the sake of the language but also for tourism and economic benefit. This thesis argues that it is in the area of status and prestige planning that the Schéma is most successful. The Conseil régional has taken into account the need for positive attitudes towards Occitan and has engaged in activities which foster such attitudes amongst both the Occitan and French-speaking communities alike. As May (2004) and Sallabank (2012) note, distinguishing oneself from the dominant community is important in identity construction among endangered language speakers. Furthermore, Dorian (1987) and Bourdieu (1991) suggest that support for an endangered language on the part of authorities can result in a revaluation of that language by speakers, as is borne out by an empirical study in Ireland (Ó'Riagáin, 2004). Official recognition, even albeit at regional and local level, can counter passivity on the part of speakers, both in daily life and in the political domain, and thus counter language shift (Sallabank, 2011: 280) and this official recognition of Occitan is most clearly demonstrated through regional support for cultural events and festivals. With several Occitan festivals and events held throughout the region year-round, it can clearly be seen that the local government authorities are supportive of the language, thus countering ideologies of deficit and negative attitudes towards Occitan, issues which are vital for its survival.

The Midi-Pyrénées Schéma, therefore, has a number of promising and successful initiatives, such as those in the areas of promotion and visibility of the language and cultural support. The main area in which it is lacking is its approach to intergenerational transmission and its over-reliance on the education system to save the language. These areas of the region's linguistic policy need to be reformulated, placing the home as the focus of increasing speaker numbers with Occitan in the curricula as a support structure and not vice versa. If these changes are implemented in subsequent policies, the region’s
approach to the language will be more likely to affect revitalization and language maintenance.

3.3.2 Consulta Regionala and the Stratégie régionale pour la Culture et le Patrimoine (Languedoc-Roussillon)

In 2005 the Languedoc-Roussillon Region undertook a consultative process, known as the Consulta Regionala whereby the Conseil régional held discussions with more than 500 organisations and individuals who were either members of the Occitan community in the region or associated with the language (Raimondi, 2005: 3). The aim of this process was to assess the needs of the Occitan language and community within the region in order to develop a policy for their promotion and development. The region's then president, Georges Frêche, a strong supporter of the Occitan and Catalan languages and their place within Languedoc-Roussillon up until his death in 2010, initiated the Consulta. As a result of the Consulta, a report was compiled for the Conseil régional by Jo Raimondi, Director of FIDèS Conseil, a private consultancy firm hired to carry out the study and compile a policy document for the regional authorities. The recommendations of the report were voted upon and accepted by the Conseil régional on the 3rd February 2006 (Rapport no. 01.20).

Actors, Aims and Motivations in the Revitalization of Occitan in Languedoc-Roussillon

The motivation for this consultation and the resulting language policy was the recognition on the part of the Conseil régional that the Occitan language and culture were in serious decline within Languedoc-Roussillon and that there was a desire among the community to reverse this trend. Using Ager's (2001) model of motivation to analyse the region's language policy, it can be seen that the Conseil régional's plans for Occitan are principally motivated by identity and its three aspects of culture, politics and economics. The regional government wishes to promote the cultural links with Occitan for both political and economic purposes, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The aim of this promotion and development is not only to revitalize an endangered language but also to promote the cultural links which the region shares with Occitan, with a view to contributing to the region's economy, and also to distinguish itself from other regions in France. This latter aim falls within the image motivation outlined by Ager. Languedoc-Roussillon wishes to create and promote a favourable image amongst the Occitan and French-speaking communities.

Effet retour de la mondialisation ineluctable des produits économiques, le besoin de raciness est plus que jamais d'actualité et
ne demande qu'à être mis en synergie et décliné en actions, pour que chacun de reconnaisse dans cette langue et cette culture, riches de leur héritage et ouvertes vers l'avenir et le monde.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 1)

The *Conseil régional* wishes to be seen to act in favour of the language, especially given the renewed interest in Occitan which has been found in the region. As the president Georges Frêche wrote 'la langue et la culture occitanes sont le patrimoine régional'. "The moment has come to give a strong political sign towards Occitanité to cooperate for a real visibility and a marked clarity of actions" (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2005: 3). The language policy developed here has not come about as the result of feelings of inequality or insecurity, though these motivations can be found within the Occitan community, but instead as a result of the region’s desire to assert its cultural heritage in order to differentiate itself from the rest of the country, so that it may gain the economic benefits associated with a unique identity (tourism, regional products etc.) while at the same time appealing to an endangered community within its borders. The motive of integration is also alluded to in the documents produced by the *Conseil régional* insofar as they have identified the need to integrate the Occitan language and culture into mainstream life within the region, though this is only as a subsequent motivation to those of identity and image.

Unlike the Midi-Pyrénées *Schéma*, Languedoc-Roussillon’s policy documents, at least in reference to cultural activities, set out the authorities, organisations and agencies (Cooper, 1989) with whom they will cooperate regarding implementation of the proposed revitalization measures. In relation to promotion and development of Occitan in the theatre, in music and dance and in the development of a Troubadour hub, the agents identified as being partners in the policy with the *Conseil régional* are the other Occitan-speaking regions (Midi-Pyrénées, Limousin, Auvergne, Aquitaine, PACA, Rhône-Alpes, Poitou-Charentes), the Minister for Culture, the *Education nationale*, the *Académie* and *recteur*, DRAC-Languedoc-Roussillon⁴, the *Conseils généraux* of the region, professional organisations (SACD⁵, ADAMI⁶, SPEDIDAM⁷, DGLFLF) and the employees of various cultural organisations (e.g. actors, playwrights etc.). Other agencies involved in implementing the policy are the region’s tourist offices and the *Comité des fêtes, CIRDOC⁸*, *l’Association*
Musique et Danse en Languedoc-Roussillon, the CNRS and Lahic-Redoc research teams at the University of Montpellier Paul Valéry and the AIEO. Finally, in relation to Occitan-language archives and libraries, the regional authorities will work with the AIEO, CIRDOC, the BNF, Minister for Culture, Centre national du livre, DRAC, the Centre national des lettres, various libraries, booksellers, publishers, editors and printers. In identifying the agents of inter-agency cooperation, the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon is more transparent than that of Midi-Pyrénées, and facilitates assessment of its efficacy in the revitalization of Occitan.

With these motivations in mind, the Stratégie régionale pour la culture et le patrimoine was developed and accepted by the regional authorities. In its adoption of the propositions put forth by the report, the Conseil régional states its intention to recognize contractually and support Occitan in the domains of language, culture and society. In order to do this, the Stratégie states that it will put in place the structural tools needed for the achievement of their goals and will work in collaboration with the other Occitan regions. From the policy documents, it is clear that it is the Conseil régional and the named partner organisations and agencies that are the actors in terms of Cooper’s (1989) framework. Their aims and goals are outlined within the two documents related to their policy – the Consulta report and the adoption of the scheme for regional cultures and heritage. The Stratégie is divided into five sections – la langue, la culture, la société, les outils structurants, and les collaborations avec les regions occitanes.

La Langue

Speaker Numbers

The first area with which the Languedoc-Roussillon policy deals is that of speaker numbers and the use of the language itself. Like the Schéma of Midi-Pyrénées, that of Languedoc-Roussillon recognizes the current decline in speaker numbers and attributes it to the devaluing of the language on the part of its speakers, the cessation of intergenerational transmission and the lack of provisions for the teaching of the language, both for school children and adult learners,

L’avenir d’une langue est assuré quand 30% au moins de la population est en capacité de la parler. Les enquêtes menées montrent que 8% des habitants du Languedoc Roussillon peuvent la parler et que seulement 0,56% la parlent régulièrement. Ainsi, chaque année, l’Occitan perd des locuteurs, parce que son image est

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dévalorisée, parce qu'il n'est plus transmis dans les familles, parce qu'il n'est pas suffisamment enseigné à l'école, parce que les adultes souhaitent l'apprendre ne trouvent pas assez de cours.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 2).

The Stratégie goes on to state that it wishes to reverse this trend and to see an increase in speaker numbers by 2015. In order to achieve this, the Stratégie relies heavily on the use of Occitan in schools and the provision of courses for adult learners, and in doing so, mirrors the policy of Midi-Pyrénées and many other language revitalization policies that have been put in place the world over. Despite acknowledging the role of familial transmission of the language, the scheme makes no indication of any measures which will be put in place to encourage parents to pass the language on to their children, or of resources which will be put in place to help them do so. The main focus of the policy in respect to increasing speaker numbers is that of education. As is the case with the Midi-Pyrénées Schéma, the policy of Languedoc-Roussillon is, from the beginning, restricted owing to its lack of consideration of familial and community transmission of Occitan.

In this respect, the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon is weaker than that of Midi-Pyrénées, as the latter outlined a number of measures, regardless of their efficacy, to address intergenerational transmission. Languedoc-Roussillon has failed to address the issue of transmitting Occitan in the home and, as such, according to Fishman (1991), can only hope to stem the decline of Occitan through other measures rather than fully revitalize it. The Stratégie, like many other revitalization initiatives, looks to the education system as the main transmitter of Occitan. As has already been discussed in the previous section, over-reliance on schools to maintain an endangered language is a flawed approach as students are unlikely to maintain use of the language once they leave school and will not pass it on to their children (Edwards and Newcombe, 2005).

Unlike the MIDI-PYRÉNÉES Schéma, which states that it aims to attain a 30% speaker level, the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon does not set a goal for speaker numbers stating, rather, that it wishes to invert the trend of speaker decline and "retrouver un nombre de locuteurs en progression" by 2015. To date, there have been no sociolinguistic studies carried out in Languedoc-Roussillon to establish whether or not speaker numbers are on the increase in the region or whether they continue to decline. What is certain is that without stabilising intergenerational transmission and community use of Occitan, any increase in speaker numbers (owing to the use of Occitan in the school system) will only be in the short term and the language will return to endangered status once students cease to use the language and fail to pass it on to their children.
Education

The Stratégie specifically states that "several concurrent actions must combine to bring about the increase in speaker numbers: increase the provision of education favouring bilingualism, improved facilities for students, creation of pedagogical tools" (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 2). As has been noted already, Fishman (1991: 369) cautions that this reliance on the education system to save languages is widespread among endangered language communities and territories and often is not successful as the extra-educational support structures are not put in place to facilitate continued language use.

Without considerable and repeated societal reinforcement schools cannot successfully teach either first or second languages [...] The foregoing, while it strongly implies that the school cannot stand alone on the language front, does not mean that the school is totally unimportant in connection with the attainment of many instructional language goal; however, the importance of the school is best designated as 'initiatory' and 'contributory' rather than as substantially 'unique' or 'independent. (Fishman, 1991: 371-2)

The Languedoc-Roussillon Stratégie not only overly relies on the educational system to revitalize speaker numbers but it also fails to take account of the issues associated with such overreliance. This can be attributed to a lack of sociolinguistic enquiry before implementation of the policy, as well as a lack of appropriate prior ideological clarification. While the consultancy process carried out prior to the drawing up of the Stratégie engaged members of the Occitan community and discussed their goals for the language, it was not a scientific survey and, therefore, failed to identity many of the areas which the authorities need to target for successful revitalization. The overall aims of the policy are also overly general in their presentation, as can be seen in the case of speaker numbers.

The first educational goal for Occitan revitalization concerns the promotion of teaching through bilingualism. This, the Stratégie states, will be achieved by inciting the State to contribute to the development of Occitan-language teaching in the public school system through:

- Définir en commun un plan régional de l'enseignement de et en Occitan pour 10 ans, s'appuyant sur une convention entre la Région Languedoc Roussillon et le Rectorat;
- Augmenter le nombre de postes d'Occitan ouverts au CAPES de manière significative;
- Augmenter le nombre d'établissements bilingues de façon conséquente;
- Augmenter le nombre d'enseignants en Occitan en soutenant l'enseignement supérieur public qui forme les futurs enseignants, en particulier: le département occitan de l'Université Paul Valéry de Montpellier; le département occitan de l'IUFM. (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 2)

These measures aim to increase the number of students studying the language and are supported by an increase in the number of positions available for Occitan in the CAPES, allowing more people to teach the language in schools. However, to date, the increase in CAPES posts has not been achieved, with the number of places for Occitan actually being reduced from twenty in 2000 to only four in 2011 (Mesquida, 2011), an issue which has been raised with the Minister for Education by several elected officials within the region (ibid). Implementation of these measures requires collaboration with a number of authorities, including the Académie and the rectorat. While the regional authorities may wish to increase the teaching of Occitan in the education system, this is ultimately the responsibility of the Education nationale and their representatives. Though the region can lobby for an increase in CAPES places, such a measure is a case for the Education nationale.

Teacher training facilitates the aim of increasing the number of Occitan classes in the education system, though it does not equate to such an increase. There must be a demand on the part of the students and parents for Occitan-language classes and this can only be achieved through prestige and status planning.

Despite the reduction in CAPES places, a number of the other aims stated above have been attained. In 2009 the Region signed the Convention de partenariat pour le développement et la structuration de l'enseignement de l'Occitan et en Occitan et de l'enseignement du Catalan et en Catalan – enseignement public et enseignement privé with the Minister for National Education and the Minister for Higher Education and Research. This agreement aims to

- Définir les modalités de l'offre d'enseignement de l'Occitan et du Catalan à tous les niveaux de la scolarité pour créer les conditions d'un développement significatif et coherent de l'offre d'enseignement des langues régionales catalane et occitane et en langues régionales occitane et catalane;
- Coordonner les actions d'information aux familles, d'édition et d'animation pédagogiques dans l'Académie afin d'augmenter de manière significative le nombre de locuteurs et garantir ainsi la sauvegarde de ces langues grâce 'leur emploi et leur transmission.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2009: 4)
These aims do not constitute tangible steps towards the development of an Occitan LEP for Languedoc-Roussillon. It is unclear as to what “meaningful” development is, or how providing families with information regarding the teaching of Occitan will increase speaker numbers or incite them to transmit the language. The provision of consistent education in Occitan will be necessary if the education system is to be the main transmitter of the language, however, the agreement does not address the issue of how to facilitate continued post-education use of the language.

The agreement aims to achieve its goals in both public and private education. In the public education system, students will be able to take introductory classes to Occitan language and culture, as a modern language option (langue 2 or 3) in the collèges and lycées and in bilingual education with parity between French and the regional language (Occitan or Catalan) in the primary schools, collèges and lycées. In private education students can attend bilingual immersion schools in Occitan. There are now 94 schools in Languedoc-Roussillon where Occitan is taught (either in bilingual schools and as an optional subject – modern language). To a large extent, the goals of the policy regarding the teaching of Occitan in schools have been achieved with the number of students sitting the bacca laureat in the language rising year on year. However, this increase in students taking Occitan as an optional subject does not equate to a general increase in speaker numbers. As has already been noted, there are few, if any, extra-educational structures in place to incite students to continue speaking Occitan. Instead, as Fishman (1991: 399) points out, they are doing little more than biding time for the language.

The Convention also outlines aims to enter into an agreement with the Fédération of Calandretas to increase the teaching of Occitan in these private schools over ten years; to increase the number of Calandretas in the region and to increase the number of teachers of Occitan through support for the training centre, APRENE. There are currently 21 Calandreto schools in the Languedoc-Roussillon Region, though there are no statistics available as to the number by which these have increased since the adoption of the policy. As the Calandretas are associative language schools, they are privately run and the regional authorities cannot affect changes to their numbers or government directly. Rather, they must enter into agreements in which the regional and local authorities aid the Calandretas to develop and expand, but how the latter do so is a matter entirely outside of the scope of regional authority control.

The Stratégie states that it also aims to increase speaker numbers through education using a number of other methods. The policy states that the region will support
classes in the public education system through the provision of equipment for students. It does not state what this equipment and is, therefore, seen to be a general statement rather than a commitment to the provision of educational materials. It is also stated that the region will contribute to the construction and renovation of Calandreta schools. However, building maintenance and construction is not a matter for the Conseil régional but falls to the Conseil généraux of the départements concerned and to the communes. There is no indication given as to whether the authorities in question have agreed to provide this support or how many schools will be built or renovated. As has been noted, the Caladretas fall outside of the responsibility of the regional and local authorities and negotiations must be entered into with the Calandreta federation and the parents' associations themselves before any such initiative can be put in place. In addition, the region will create grants for the training of non-teaching personnel in Occitan in schools in the form of continuing education in order to promote the immersion of students in the language (Région Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 3). There is no evidence of this grant having been offered to date. It is also unclear as to what schools this will apply (private or public) or at what levels of education it will be available (preschool, primary, secondary etc.). The Stratégie does not explain why a measure such as this would be useful for the teaching of Occitan, and it can only be assumed that if members of staff other than teachers were to speak Occitan it would prevent code-switching and thus facilitate Occitan immersion, though there is no evidence in the literature to suggest this would be successful.

A third area in which the Stratégie aims to utilize education to reverse the decline in speaker numbers is in the creation and promotion of pedagogical materials. The policy document sets out the aims of creating and distributing Occitan learning materials to both public and private schools where the language is taught; the distribution of free manuals in schools via an agreement with the CRDP (Centre Régional de Documentation Pédagogique); to improve the documents provided at interregional level as a result of the aforementioned agreement; and finally to support the structures which contribute to the promotion of Occitan in education. To date, several of these measures have been acted upon, with the creation of pedagogical materials such as the OC Ben! course book for Occitan, as well as a number of other textbooks for the language, both for students and teachers. This course book is only for secondary level education and there is the need for the creation of pedagogical materials at every level of education in order for Occitan LEPs to achieve their goals. There is no shortage of texts available in Occitan, given the language's rich literary history, and any policy of revitalization must utilize the resources
available for the education of speakers. There is little evidence in the *Stratégie* that this should be the case. CIRDOC is largely ignored in relation to the development of pedagogical materials despite being the largest Occitan archive in France. The linguistic policies of Languedoc-Roussillon are not specific enough in relation to their goals of the provision of educational materials and, as with many of the other measures outlined in the document, give the impression of being general commitments rather than tangible measures which will be implemented.

The final area within education in which the *Stratégie* seeks to act for the revitalization of Occitan is that of adult language education. The policy document notes that the *Conseil régional* wishes to ensure the quality of adult education in Occitan and will achieve this through encouraging the professionalization of teaching (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 4). This will be achieved through the implementation, by the CFPO (*Centre de Formacion Professionala Occitan*), of PARLESC (PARlar, LEgis, ESCuire – speak, read, write), a certification programme for Occitan-language training. This certification system will ensure that the language is taught in a structured manner and any organisation or course can apply for this certification and the CFPO provides training courses for teachers, allowing them to earn the certification. PARLESC has been implemented in both Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées. Ensuring quality of teaching in Occitan is important for transmission of the language, but once again the *Stratégie* does not state what it hopes to achieve through the provision of such training. It does not state that this will form part of its approach to increasing speaker numbers or if it will impact upon intergenerational transmission. Its aim to encourage adults to learn the language does not ensure that they will pass the language on to future generations. This is a shortcoming in the policy as the two goals (increasing speaker numbers and intergenerational transmission) should be addressed simultaneously as they are inherently linked.

In utilising LEPs (Shohamy, 2006) Languedoc-Roussillon’s *Conseil régional* is attempting to influence the linguistic behaviour (Cooper, 1989) of students by encouraging them to learn Occitan as an optional subject and to influence the behaviour of parents in choosing to send their child to either a public school where the language is taught or to a *Calandreta*. The education measures outlined in the region’s policy can be classed as overt under Shohamy’s (2006) language policy framework, in that they clearly identify the principal agents of the policy as being the region itself, along with the *Académie* and *recteur*. Shohamy (2006: 78) views these agents as often implementing LEP without questioning its quality, appropriateness of the relevance to language learning, though in
the case of the LEP of Languedoc-Roussillon the addition of the PARLESC certification and the proposed agreement with the Federacion de Calandretas should serve to assure a high standard of Occitan education.

These goals can be placed at Stage 4 of the GIDS (Fishman, 1991), though in this case it is not the Occitan community that is aiming to achieve this stage but the regional authorities. However, the policies are being put in place without first attempting to re-establish intergenerational transmission. The regional and local authorities are failing to educate members of the Occitan community in relation to the importance of continued transmission of the language within the home and the consequences of not doing so for the survival of Occitan. Instead, the linguistic policies of the region prefer to focus on language in education. The latter is also shortsighted, as the authorities are not providing the necessary extra-curricular structures to support use of the language outside of the school. Fishman argues that, while the teaching of an endangered language in the education system will always be of benefit to that language, the school is unsuitable for the role of sole transmitter of the language as it is unable to deal with the societal problems affecting decline in use,

The unsuitability and the inefficiency of tackling societal problems via reliance on the school becomes even clearer when one realizes that the power and role of the school to influence the home-neighbourhood-community complex, the complex that is at the very core of RLS as a whole and, in particular, at the heart of the nativization effort (the effort to increasingly reinstate Xish as the characteristic mother tongue or co-mother tongue of Xmen), has itself become weaker and more peripheral in the life of its own proper primary clienteles: pupils and their parents. (Fishman, 1991: 370).

The policy put forward by the Languedoc-Roussillon region relies heavily on the teaching of Occitan as a means of increasing speaker numbers and reversing the language's current decline but the agent it is using to achieve this – the school – has little influence over the ideologies and language practices of the community. Unless the region acts to bring about a revaluation of Occitan amongst its current speakers, there will be little motivation for them to encourage their children to learn it at school, thus contributing to the ideology of deficit which is currently prevalent within the community. Therefore, an overreliance on LEP to bring about the revitalization of Occitan should be cautioned against unless the necessary support structures and language ideologies and practices are put in place to aid the learning and retaining of the language by students.
Culture

The second area in which the Conseil régional’s policy seeks to act in favour of Occitan is that of culture. The Stratégie states that it aims to promote Occitan’s rich cultural history and make it accessible to all of the region’s inhabitants regardless of whether or not they speak Occitan. The main agent of these measures is CIRDOC (Centre interregional de desenvolopament de l’Occitan), a multimedia library and documentation resource centre for Occitan language and culture. Based in Béziers, CIRDOC opened in 1999 replacing the CIDO (Centre international de documentation occitane). Utilising the resources found in CIRDOC, along with a number of other efforts, the Stratégie outlines its intentions to:

- Soutenir les professionels de la culture occitane pour la création et la diffusion de leurs œuvres dans les domaines de la musique, de la danse, du théâtre, de l’édition et de la littérature orale;
- Soutenir les structures qui intégreront la diffusion et la création de spectacles occitans dans leur programmation;
- Soutenir certains hauts lieux de la culture populaire qui témoignent encore aujourd’hui de la vivacité des traditions occitans et constituent un élément fort du lien social tels que Carnaval de Limoux, les Fêtes de la Saint-Blaise, les Trad’Hivernales, le Festival Convivencia.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 4)

As they stand, these revitalization goals, much like the educational goals outlined in Section A of the policy document, do not amount to tangible measures for Occitan. The motivations behind this section of the policy document are not explained, nor is it stated what the Conseil régional hopes to achieve by supporting such initiatives. While promotion of Occitan culture is a necessary part of status and prestige planning, it appears from the document that, although prepared to engage in it, the regional authorities do not fully understand why it is they are promoting the language in terms of revitalization. Promotion of Occitan culture is seen as fulfilling image planning (Ager, 2005) insofar as it increases goodwill towards the language in question. Much like Midi-Pyrénées’ engagement in Occitan cultural support, Languedoc-Roussillon can generate positive attitudes towards Occitan in the form of financial support for festivals and the development of Occitan cultural events and performances. What is lacking in the Stratégie, however, is a firm understanding of why such an approach is necessary. It is indicative of the overall lack of understanding of why the region is engaging in revitalization efforts in the first place and illustrates the authority’s issues with prior ideological clarification.
The *Stratégie* divides the measures that will be taken in this Section into two sections: the arts and publishing. In the area of the arts, the policy sets out plans for agreements relating to the training and promotion of Occitan artists (working with theatre, music, dance, storytelling etc.) within existing organisations with the aim of increasing the perceived value of Occitan culture and its image. It also intends to help create new cultural organisations, particularly for young people, to ensure a renewed interest in Occitan culture. As with many of the other goals outlined in the document, there is no detail given as to how these measures will help revitalize Occitan nor what other actors will engage in their establishment.

One measure outlined in this section of the *Stratégie* that has been put in place is the creation of an interregional Occitan theatre group. *La Rampe Tio*, based in Montpellier, puts on more than forty shows a year throughout Occitan France, consisting of a mixture of new and more traditional plays. Each play is performed in Occitan while a screen with French subtitles makes them accessible to non-Occitan speakers as well. Performances are also arranged specifically for school and university students, affording them the opportunity to see a play in the language as well as experience part of the rich culture of Occitan. This is a tangible approach to the dissemination of Occitan culture as it allows access to the language for both speakers and non-speakers, and also demonstrates not only the language's rich literary history in the form of historical plays but also its ability to adapt to modern times in the form of newly written pieces of drama.

Apart from the establishment of *La Rampe Tio*, there is little evidence that the region has been involved in the development of Occitan dramatic arts. This is not surprising given the superficial detail in the *Stratégie* regarding how the regional and local authorities are to engage in revitalization in this area. There is evidence that the *Conseils régionaux* and *généraux* of Languedoc-Roussillon have supported a number of Occitan festivals such as the *Carnaval de Limoux* and the *Trad'Hivernales*, among others, though this comes in the form of financial support and, as will be shown in Chapter 5, many inhabitants of the region are unsure of which authority is responsible for the funding of such events. The *Stratégie* simply states that it will support these events and does not indicate how it will be done or the financial contribution which will be made.

The final measure outlined in this section of the *Stratégie* is that of the role of the Troubadours. A major element in Occitan history, the promotion of the works of the Troubadours forms another important basis for promoting a positive image of the language. The policy states that the region wishes to create a centre for Troubadour
studies in CIRDOC and to support events and festivals associated with the Troubadours and their work, such as the creation of the festival *Les Troubadours chantent l'art roman en Languedoc-Roussillon* to which the region contributes €150,000 – more than half of the total cost of hosting the festival. What effect the creation of such a centre will have upon the revitalization of the language is unclear and what the authorities hope to achieve by its establishment is also omitted from the *Stratégie*. Though it is important to promote the history of Occitan and its literary achievements, it does little for the revitalization of the language on the whole. Despite its possible contribution to positive perceptions of Occitan, this thesis would argue that the Occitan community would be better served were initiatives such as these left until later linguistic policies after the language has been reintroduced in the home and modern domains of use have been expanded.

The second area of culture that the *Stratégie* takes into account is that of written works in Occitan. This section outlines the region’s intention to support and promote publishing in the language, as well as the allocation of grants and prizes for such works. While three Occitan literary prizes currently exist (*Prix Jaufre Rudel*, *Prix Joan Bodon* and *Prix Paul Froment*), it is unclear whether it is the Languedoc-Roussillon region which is responsible for them. It is also unclear as to how these prizes relate to Occitan revitalization. Though increased literary production is necessary, according to UNESCO (2003) for domain expansion and is an indication of language vitality, as an initial revitalization method the awarding of prizes for literature can only serve to contribute to prestige planning and has no effect upon increasing speaker numbers, which should be the main focus of any revitalization effort.

A further measure outlined in this section involves increasing the availability of Occitan publications in the region’s libraries, allowing people access to literary, audiovisual and musical resources in Occitan. This is, again, a measure which as been implemented, with the establishment of an Occitan-language section in the main library of Montpellier (*Médiathèque Emile Zola*) and the continuous development of CIRDOC in Béziers. UNESCO lists the accessibility of written materials as one of the factors for assessing language vitality and Languedoc-Roussillon aim to reach level 4 of 5 on this factor’s scale, by ensuring widespread access to Occitan written materials through the region’s library system, as well as the creation and distribution of pedagogical materials, as discussed in the education section above. The provision of Occitan-language resources is an important step for the revitalization of the language as it allows speakers and learners
of the language access to materials with which they can improve or maintain their level of proficiency.

The approach of Languedoc-Roussillon's Conseil régional to Occitan culture is not as structured as that of their Midi-Pyrénées counterparts. Many of the measures outlined in the document are superficial at best with little indication given as to what organisations or agencies the tasks and responsibilities will be delegated. The area of culture is significant in revitalization policies as it comes under status and prestige planning, affording the actors the opportunity to influence language ideologies and beliefs and thus having a potential effect on language behaviours. In not designing a comprehensive approach to the support and promotion of Occitan culture, Languedoc-Roussillon is missing out on a viable opportunity to foster positive perceptions of Occitan within the region. While some of the measures put forth in the policy have been implemented, such as support for festivals and the creation of La Rampe Tio, many are left unimplemented. If the regional authorities wish to engage in status and prestige planning for Occitan, it will be necessary to formulate a comprehensive and structured approach to the community’s culture based on a clear understanding of the role it plays in revitalization and stated, attainable goals.

**Society**

The third area in which the Conseil régional of Languedoc-Roussillon intends to act for the revitalization of Occitan is in “la société”. This section consists of a mix of prestige planning within the region and Occitan media development. The aims of this section of the Stratégie are outlined as being to:

- Soutenir les professionnels de la communication en Occitan (radio, presse, TV, multimédia);
- Soutenir les professionnels de la communication qui intégreront la diffusion d'émissions et d’articles en Occitan dans leur programmation;
- Promouvoir l'Occitan dans le quotidien des habitants de la région.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 5)

Once again, each of these goals is subdivided into a number of measures. The first two take account of Occitan within the media. Noting that there are already a number of Occitan-language media organisations working within the region, this section states that the Conseil régional intends to support existing Occitan media through its development both at regional and interregional level. It sets out the intention to sign agreements with the
relevant authorities allowing for a development of the Occitan radio network, thus identifying other actors who will be involved in the implementation of these measures. As previously noted, expansion of Occitan-language media is a form of domain expansion and, therefore, is of importance for the future of the language. From the policy document, it can be seen that the Conseil régional aims to cooperate with the relevant radio stations and authorities to bring about an expansion of Occitan radio. Unlike the Midi-Pyrénées Schéma, where the support for Occitan radio was more symbolic than tangible, the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon states the intention for the regional authorities to approach this issue in a practical way through the signing of an agreement between the region and la FRANCE LR (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 5) to affect change in this domain.

The issue of Occitan media was also an important element in the Consulta report, which listed four stations broadcasting in Occitan on traditional radio and a further three available on web radio. The Consulta also proposed the development and expansion of Radio Lenga d'Oc, based in Montpellier, which currently broadcasts in Occitan twenty-four hours a day. The development of web-based Occitan-language radio is to be explored and supported under the Stratégie, as this allows for the broadcasts to reach a much wider audience. Galla (2009) cites web-radio as being a useful tool for language revitalization in that it utilizes new technologies for the benefit of the endangered language, allowing access to the newer generations of speakers.

Languedoc-Roussillon had already begun the implementation of these measures in 2005 with the signing of an agreement between the regional council’s president, Georges Frêche and the Federation of associative radios (FRAC) (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2005: 25) for the development of regional language radio and broadcasts. This agreement was a first in France (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2005: 25) and allowed the region to increase the financial support allocated to Occitan radio stations.

The use of the internet for a web-based Occitan television station is also given as one of the goals of the policy. Cunliffe (2007: 136) notes that internet-based television provides a cheap alternative to traditional media and one which demonstrates that a demand for minority language media may exist. He cites the case of euskaraz.tv for Basque as an example. Furthermore, the internet allows for collaborative community actions in the endangered language, not only allowing people the opportunity to produce material in their endangered language but to encourage the community to engage with one another online.
OC-TV.net, a French-Occitan Internet television channel set up in Toulouse in 1999 to show documentaries and interviews as well as to promote cultural events, is cited as an example of how the Internet could be used to promote Occitan in a television format. The use of an endangered language in the media is another factor cited by UNESCO in their language vitality framework (2003) as a measure of the level of endangerment. According to this framework, Occitan can be placed somewhere between levels 1 and 3 (minimal to receptive), given the low frequency of the language in mainstream French-language media. Occitan is used in some new domains, such as the internet, but its use is not widespread, and thus makes it difficult to categorize. No further detail is given in the Stratégie as to how the use of Occitan on the radio and the Internet will be developed. It is unclear from this section if the policy is referring to the creation of new programmes and broadcasts or the expansion of existing ones. To date, apart from OC.TV.net, there is no Occitan-language Internet television channel available, demonstrating that this goal of the Stratégie has not been achieved.

Languedoc-Roussillon's policy also looks at the use of Occitan in print media. Recognising the need to reach a wider audience, of all age ranges, the Stratégie states that the region wishes to see a diversification in the written press that is provided in Occitan. The Consulta report outlined the written media resources which are currently available in Occitan, listing 6 periodicals and one weekly newspaper, with the French-language newspapers L'Indépendent and La Marseillaise devoting one page per week to the language. In addition, there are the information pamphlets produced by the IEO\(^\text{10}\) and a page in the regional council's newsletter devoted to Occitan. From this, it can be seen that Occitan-language print media is severely lacking, not only in Languedoc-Roussillon but also in Occitan-speaking France as a whole. The Stratégie does little to address this issue. Stating only that it will diversify the written press in order to reach more readers, no tangible measures are indicated as to how this will be achieved, or with whom the regional authorities will engage in order to increase publication in Occitan. While the suggested journalist training in Midi-Pyrénées' Schéma will not necessarily result in increased Occitan-language media output, it is, however, a step further than Languedoc-Roussillon has taken. Given this lack of clarity, it is unlikely that the Conseil régional will successfully implement this section of policy. Were their approach to Occitan-language media better considered and constructive it would result in domain expansion for the language and increased resources for speakers. The production of Occitan media is important to the

\(^{10}\) Institut d'Estudis occitans
language's revitalization as it allows speakers to read the language and is an important tool for the teaching and transmission of the language. Their failure to outline concrete measures for Occitan in this area is a missed opportunity on the part of the Conseil régional.

The region also wants to see Occitan integrated into French-language media in a more coherent manner. Although no specific measures are set out in the Stratégie to achieve this goal, the policy states that it will support the use of Occitan in existing French-language media as well as those who wish to write in the language, with a view to making the general public more aware of the language (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 6). Once again, this is a vague commitment with no indication as to whom the authorities will support or how. As was noted with the Midi-Pyrénées Schéma, support and training of media professionals in Occitan does not necessarily result in an increased output of Occitan-language media. Neither region's policy identifies incentives which would incite journalists to write in Occitan. Without these it is unlikely that many journalists would start writing in Occitan simply because the authorities wish them to.

The final area in society in which the Stratégie aims to revitalize Occitan is in its promotion i.e. it will engage in prestige and status planning on behalf of the language. The Stratégie states its intention

Pour en finir avec l'image du patois et du folklore et ouvrir l'Occitan vers un avenir fondé sur une langue vivante et une culture contemporaine, la Région Languedoc Roussillon accompagnera son action en faveur de l'Occitan d'une campagne de promotion/communication destinée à transmettre au grand public une image associée à l'art de vivre.

(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2006: 6)

No specific details regarding this awareness campaign are given in the policy documents and to date there has been little evidence of such a campaign being carried out. Given that combatting negative attitudes and the image of Occitan as a patois are vital in its revitalization, the implementation of such a public awareness campaign would contribute to revitalization efforts as it combat ideologies of deficit and contribute to fostering positive ideologies and beliefs relating to Occitan. The fact that no such campaign has been carried out highlights the superficial and symbolic nature of this section of the Stratégie.

Given the extreme importance of prestige and status planning in language revitalization, Languedoc-Roussillon's lack of commitment to the promotion of Occitan is significant. It underlines an overall unwillingness to engage in concrete revitalization efforts in many domains and is symptomatic of the decline of Occitan within the region.
Sallabank (2011: 286) points out that for revitalization measures to gain support of gatekeeping and funding authorities, they need to be accepted by the majority of the community. The opposite can also hold true, with the community needing to see the authorities actively demonstrating their support for the language in order for them to accept any revitalization measures which may be introduced. This is not the case in Languedoc-Roussillon with no evidence found that the *Conseil régional* nor the *Conseils généraux* have engaged in significant status and prestige planning on behalf of Occitan, nor has the *Stratégie* itself been publicized, resulting in a lack of awareness of any of the efforts being made by the authorities for the revitalization of the language.

Furthermore, the proposed promotion of Occitan in the *Stratégie* does not take into account the need to educate the region’s inhabitants, and the Occitan community in particular, in relation to the effects of cessation of intergenerational transmission of Occitan. Sallabank (2012: 104) highlights the fact that many speakers do not realize the repercussions of failing to pass their language on to their children and that it will result in the language becoming endangered or extinct. This underlines the importance of communicating with members of the endangered language community and of raising Occitan’s perceived value through prestige and status planning. The *Conseil régional*’s lack of commitment to promoting and valuing Occitan will hinder any attempts to increase speaker numbers through education and will not impact upon intergenerational transmission which is necessary to save the language.

*Support mechanisms*

The final two sections of the *Stratégie* set out the tools that will be used to achieve the aims set out in the rest of the document. The main agent for the implementation of these measures is CIRDOC. It will be responsible for the creation and organisation of cultural events and demonstrations, the development of resources for professionals such as those in the media, the collection of Occitan language and cultural documents and ensuring their availability for speakers and non-speakers thus creating an Occitan archive of knowledge and finally for the creation and maintenance of an Occitan internet portal. The latter initiative has been developed and launched, meeting with much success. *La Pòrta d’Òc* allows users to access, from one address, over 1,200 sites in Occitan related to culture and language, and includes links to podcasts, videos, blogs, articles, and commentaries among others. It also provides links to Occitan-language media, in particular those which are web-based. This initiative is encouraging in terms of the development of internet-based
resources for the language as it allows speakers and learners of the language to access multiple resources and can reach a far larger audience than other measures. However, it is only aimed at younger and new speakers and neglects older speakers who may not have access to the internet. There is no indication that authorities have evaluated the sites to which the portal provides links.

The second agent for the promotion and development of Occitan in Languedoc-Roussillon is the Centre for Troubadour Studies. This is mainly based at CIRDOC with support from the Université de Montpellier III. A number of Troubadour-related festivals and conferences have taken place within the region and with regional authority support since the development of this Stratégie. However, the success of this initiative is difficult to assess as it is mainly aimed at those studying the Troubadours (academics and students) and is not widely advertised among the Occitan community in Languedoc-Roussillon. Though it does go some way to promoting the history and culture of Occitan and thus constitutes status planning which is necessary for revitalization.

The Conseil Régional in 2011 stated that a number of these goals had been achieved, namely the substantial increase in aid to the associations, the relaunch of CIRDOC, the financing of Ostal d'Occitania; the creation of Total Festum, the development of actions for Occitan culture in schools, reinforcement of support for the Calandretas, the creation of an Occitan centre at the CRDP (Centre de recherche et de développement pédagogiques) and the support for the creation of an Occitan lycée (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2011: 1). Once again, many of the measures implemented are in the field of education with nothing being done to address intergenerational transmission or prestige planning for Occitan. As Fishman (1991) emphasizes at length, failure to address the former will significantly hinder any other revitalization measures which are instigated by authorities. While an increase in support for the Calandretas and the development of the provision of Occitan classes in public schools has resulted in an increased number of students studying the language (Académie de Montpellier, 2012; Calandreta, 2011), there is no evidence to suggest that it has resulted in an overall increase in speaker numbers. The reason for this is that there are very few extra-curricular supports in place for use of the language in the community and, as has been seen in Wales (Edwards & Newcombe, 2005) many speakers of an endangered language cease to speak it once they have left school.

The Stratégie for Occitan cultural development and promotion also outlines projects whereby the regional authorities will enter into agreements and cooperate with other Occitan-speaking regions in order to develop and promote the language. Though,
again, no details of how this will be done are given thus weakening the commitment and indicating its superficiality. Finally, the policy deals with budget allocations for Occitan. Stating its intention to increase the budget for Occitan year on year, this goal has been achieved by Languedoc-Roussillon, with the budget increasing from €1.19m in 2005 (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2005: 11) to €2.6M in 2012 (Languedoc-Roussillon, 2012: 1). However, it should be noted that this budget is allocated to both RLs of Languedoc-Roussillon - Occitan and Catalan - and the financial allocations are not divided up on a per language basis. In addition to substantially increasing the budget allocations for Occitan, Languedoc-Roussillon has committed itself to interregional cooperation for the development of the language and culture. This commitment comes in the form of the creation of the Amassada and the support for the Charte de Coopération Interrégionale et Transfrontalière de Développment de la Langue Occitane ou Langue d'Oc (Charte of Interregional and Cross-border Cooperation for the Development of the Occitan language or Langue d'Oc). The first of these, the Amassada, is an extra-regional commission, established in 2011 and designed to consult on and develop actions for the revitalization and promotion of the Occitan language. Such actions are derived from the linguistic policies currently being followed by the various Occitan-speaking regions, as well as independent initiatives conceived by the Amassada itself. The commission consists of the President of the Conseil régional, the conseiller régional charged with Occitan and Catalan affairs, the three other councillors mandated by the region as representatives to CIRDOC and the Director of Culture. The mission of the Amassada is given as:

Le Président du Conseil régional Languedoc-Roussillon assigne à l’Amassada la mission de lui communiquer des analyses, des rapports et des propositions d’actions en matière de développement de la langue et de la culture occitanes sur le territoire régional

Il souhaite que s’associent des opérateurs publics et privés dans le but de co-élaborer afin de produire des données, des propositions et exprimer les attentes du mouvement social sur ce domaine spécifique de la langue occitane.

La Région Languedoc-Roussillon souhaite développer dès que possible une véritable dimension participative et consultative de niveau interrégional et européen avec les Régions administratives françaises Aquitaine, Auvergne, Limousin, Midi-Pyrénées, Poitou-Charente, Provence-Alpes-Côte-d’Azur. Il étendra cette ambition si cela se peut avec le Val d’Aran (Généralité de Catalogne) et les vallées occitanes de la Région Piémont en Italie.
(Languedoc-Roussillon, 2011: 2)

The *Amassada*, reporting directly to the President of the region, meets once a year to discuss and review measures taken for the development of Occitan in the region. A similar *Amassada* also exists in Midi-Pyrénées though it is more inclusive as Occitan organisations and individuals are also members of the commission. The creation of the *Amassada* in Languedoc-Roussillon provides a permanent commission for Occitan affairs and will be instrumental in the development of revitalization efforts in the future.

The second interregional commitment made by the *Conseil régional* was also realized in 2011 when the region lent its support to an interregional and cross-border charter formalising cooperation for the development of Occitan between the Occitan Regions of France, the Val d’Aran of Spain and the Occitan valleys of Italy. Arising out of this charter is the creation of the *Congrès permanent de la langue occitane*, a transnational commission with the same goals as the *Amassada*. Given the varying degrees of protection and endangerment of Occitan over the three countries in which it is spoken, the need for transnational cooperation is essential to the future of the language. Revitalization of Occitan has been to a large extent successful in the Val d’Aran where it has official language status, while at the same time a number of educational and cultural developments are taking place in France. Each region and country can take inspiration and guidance from the others in developing their strategies for Occitan, learning from past mistakes and implementing measures which have proven to be successful.

The strategy for the promotion of Occitan culture in Languedoc-Roussillon, if its measures are implemented and supported by the Occitan community, will aid in the revitalization of the language, though not to the extent that the regional authorities hope. As has been discussed, relying on schools to re-establish intergenerational transmission is not in the best interests of the language, according to Fishman (1991) and other scholars (Romaine, 2007; Dorian, 1989; Sallabank, 2011), and will only be a short-term solution unless parents can be encouraged to pass the language on to their children. Increasing the number of adult Occitan courses will be useful in allowing parents to learn the language which they can then speak with their children. It may take several generations before familial transmission is fully restored, if at all, and there is much to be done by way of prestige and status planning on the part of authorities to communicate the benefits of transmitting Occitan to the next generation, as well as the consequences for the language of not doing so. By focusing on the promotion of culture, the *Conseil régional* is attempting to combat the stigmatization and resulting devaluation of Occitan among both
speakers and non-speakers alike. It aims to raise the prestige of the language in order to encourage people to learn and speak it, again contributing to its revitalization. These aims, however, have not been achieved as little has been done in terms of status and prestige planning within the region. With the exception of financially supporting a number of festivals and engaging in discussions with relevant authorities for the expansion of Occitan radio, the regional authorities have failed to implement many of the proposals in the *Stratégie* for the promotion and support of the language within the region. As a result, the *Stratégie* is seen as having misplaced goals in their reliance on the education system to reverse the current decline in speaker numbers. This is further compounded by a number of superficial commitments with no tangible measures to attain their revitalization goals or concrete details as to how these measures will aid the revitalization of Occitan.

3.4 Conclusions

What can be seen from this analysis is that there are strengths and weaknesses to be found in the Occitan linguistic policies of both Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées. Both regions' policies are driven by the motivations of identity and image, with both Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées wishing to promote them as being different from the rest of France in terms of their heritage and also to present a positive image of how they are working to revitalize Occitan. However, the aims outlined in each policy document require the cooperation of a number of other authoritative and administrative bodies in order for successful implementation. It is not always clear from the documents who these actors are, nor if they have agreed to participate in the respective Conseil régional’s plans for the language. For many of the aims in each policy, the goals of the respective regions remain vague. This is very much the case with the Languedoc-Roussillon *Stratégie*, where it states that the region wishes to promote Occitan but does not give a concrete reason as to why it wishes to do so or how doing so will benefit the region or the Occitan community.

In order for revitalization policies to be successfully implemented, those in charge of their design and implementation must have prior ideological clarification and specific goals which they wish to achieve (Fishman, 1991; Spolsky, 2004; Sallabank, 2011, 2012), and what behaviours and actions they wish to influence and for what ends (Cooper, 1989). While Midi-Pyrénées has more specific goals (raise speaker numbers to 30%) than Languedoc-Roussillon, both regions require further clarification of their goals for Occitan.

Both policies engage in acquisition planning but demonstrate an over-reliance on the education system to increase speaker numbers and to replace the home as the primary
facilitator of transmission. While this may work in the short-term, it is recommended in the literature (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2007; Dorian, 1989) that the focus be placed on re-establishing intergenerational transmission in the home, utilising the school as a support mechanism for domain expansion and increased use. Hornberger (2008) argues that if LEPs are to be successful in revitalizing an endangered language, the key lies in community control of the curriculum and inclusion of cultural heritage. Owing to the structure of the French education system, the former cannot be implemented, though the Education nationale, in cooperation with the two regions, has put in place Occitan culture classes as an element of the optional Occitan language classes available at secondary level education. Many in the literature (Benton & Benton, 2001; May & Hill, 2008) advocate the use of school-based learning in conjunction with community-based learning, either in the form of domestic use or through language nests and Master-Apprentice programs which have proved successful in Hawaii and New Zealand.

Only the Schéma of Midi-Pyrénées acknowledges the need to re-establish domestic intergenerational transmission, though its measures to bring this about are rather symbolic with few of them having been implemented. According to Fishman (1991), Romaine (2007) and Dorian (1989), this needs to be their primary focus and should, therefore, form the basis of any future linguistic policies. While it is acknowledged that the authorities in question cannot interfere with domestic language use, they can bring about positive language ideologies and beliefs which in turn lead to changes in language behaviours in favour of Occitan. This can be brought about through vigorous and sustained prestige and status planning. Despite the need for such planning, both policies place education and use of the language in the media above promotion of Occitan amongst the general public. This will hamper revitalization efforts, as media expansion will be futile if there are not enough speakers to benefit from it. Midi-Pyrénées has outlined more tangible measures for engaging in the necessary prestige planning, while Languedoc-Roussillon's commitments are rather symbolic and superficial and will require much reworking and structuration if they are to influence language practices.

Both regions demonstrate an awareness of the need to monitor the decline and/or revitalization of Occitan, though only Midi-Pyrénées proposes further sociolinguistic and scientific enquiry. It is also the only one of the two policies to be based on sociolinguistic data, with Languedoc-Roussillon favouring a consultative approach rather than a scientific one, which can account for some of the shortcomings in its approach to Occitan. Languedoc-Roussillon will need to take into account the need for regular studies relating to
speaker numbers and assessment of the efficacy of its policies in order to design future policy mechanisms.

However, it should be noted, that little research has been carried out on the part of the Conseils to ascertain the demand on the part of the Occitan community for the implementation of these policies. While the research carried out for this thesis will demonstrate that issues such as education and legal recognition are important to Occitan speakers, the preliminary studies carried out in both regions were not wide enough in scope to establish a base line for the level of demand of such revitalisation policies. This is a necessary prerequisite for the creation of linguistic policies. As the policy of each Region will be reviewed and possibly reworked in light of their successes and failures, it is also important that each Conseil conduct regular linguistic surveys amongst their respective Occitan communities in order to remain informed of any shift in what speakers want for the language and what they deem to be important elements of a revitalization strategy. Such surveys must also take into account the number of Occitan speakers in both regions and adjust their policies accordingly. To put hefty resources into the teaching of Occitan where there are a minimal number of students, for example, would be a misplaced strategy. As has been demonstrated in this chapter, each Region must tailor their policies to the existing Occitan community, while at the same time seeking to increase speaker numbers.

The policies of both regions take into account the need for domain expansion, which Dorian (1992) among others (UNESCO, 2003; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Bentahila & Davies, 1993) stress is essential for the continued survival of endangered languages. Both Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées seek to engage in domain expansion primarily in terms of the various forms of media and the development of pedagogical tools to facilitate language learning. However, other areas must be considered such as community use, as well as use in the public sphere (LL and LS – see Chapter 4).

Neither policy document takes into account a number of initiatives that have proved useful in revitalizing other languages (Maori, Native American languages, etc.) such as Master-Apprentice programmes and language nests. This thesis recommends that when designing subsequent policies that each region conduct investigative and scientific analysis of the literature in order to ascertain how they may learn from the success and failures of other revitalization programmes.

There remains the argument that any revitalization initiatives need to come from the community themselves (Maori in NZ) but this is countered by Backhaus (2012: 242) who
argues that local and regional level governments are best placed to engage in revitalization efforts. This thesis, therefore, advocates a cooperative approach where the Occitan community are consulted with on a regular basis as to their goals for revitalization, with the relevant authorities using the power at their disposal to bring about these goals where possible.

What is clear is that both regional policies are over-ambitious in relation to the GIIDS too soon and are trying to act in all domains simultaneously without achieving great success in any of them. Each region needs to reformulate their subsequent policies in order to take into account the research which has been done by linguists and adapt their policies in an effort to re-establish intergenerational transmission with a focus on the home with educational support and not vice versa.
4. Linguistic Landscape, Language Policy and Revitalization

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the second research question with which this thesis is concerned, namely the role of the Linguistic Landscape (LL) and Linguistic Soundscape (LS) in the reflection of language policy and as an instrument for language revitalization. The growing field of LL studies is particularly relevant to the study of both language policy and the revitalization of endangered languages as it affords an insight into the interplay of public space and language. Inclusion or exclusion from this domain serves as a reflection of current linguistic policies being pursued by the authorities in question. At the same time such inclusion or exclusion can influence both the ideologies of endangered language speakers and the general public alike. In the latter role, the LL can act as a revitalization measure through domain expansion and increased visibility.

This chapter will present a discussion of the LL and the LS and their functions in these various roles. It will examine the use of the LL in light of the language policies of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon which are investigated in this thesis and the data from the LL surveys conducted in both cities will be presented and discussed. It should be noted from the outset, however, that the regional authorities do not have responsibility for the street signs studied in this thesis, as this falls to the municipal councils of the respective cities. This thesis argues that the choice of LL and LS study is warranted as the research seeks to evaluate the role of local government policies in the revitalization of Occitan, under which the municipal councils and their responsibilities fall. Finally, two case studies will be presented: the first discusses the interaction and reciprocal influence of language policy at local and national level through the example of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone; while the second examines the use of an endangered language in the LS through a discussion of the use of bilingual announcements on the Toulouse metro system, with a view to analysing its role in the revitalization of Occitan.

4.2 Linguistic Landscape

The LL refers to the use of written language within the public sphere. The definition of the LL given by Landry and Bourhis in 1997 is the most widely accepted. They see the LL as referring to the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 23). They go on to state that "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 and Bourhis, 1997: 25). While it is this definition which has become the standard within the field of LL studies, others have since built upon and added to it, with Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni (2010: xiv) classifying the LL as referring to any linguistic objects marking the public space, and defining the latter as being anywhere “outside private homes”.

While LL study was a relatively new field, there was an accepted division in the type of signs found in the LL. Signs were termed to as being either ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’, the former referring to any signs put in place by authorities, while the latter consisted of signs put in place by private agents and individuals. Gorter (2006a: 3) refers to this distinction, terming ‘top-down’ signs as being “official signs placed by the government or related institution” and bottom-up signs being those which are “nonofficial signs put there by commercial enterprises or by private organisations or individuals”. However, Kallen (2009, 2010) has called for this dichotomy to be reconceptualized. He argues that this spatial metaphor is too simple and only applicable if one considers the power dimension of the government as having complete power over the citizens. Equally, signs in the windows of shops cannot be considered as being symmetrically ‘bottom-up’ as there is no intention on the part of the shopkeeper to communicate upwards to any authority. It can also be said that when communicating with customers, the ‘bottom-up’ signs are equally ‘top-down’ as it is the shopkeeper who is exercising control by putting the sign in place. As such, any given sign can be considered as being both top-down and bottom-up, depending on the intentions of those who have put the sign in place, the reader’s interpretation of the sign, and the place and function of the sign itself (Kallen, 2009: 273). He goes on to argue that terms such as ‘public’ and ‘private’ are also problematic insofar as while state political agencies (i.e. local governments, state agencies etc.) are clearly seen as ‘public’, other organisations and institutions that may be in receipt of government funding (e.g. utility companies, airports, etc.) are not public in the same sense (Kallen, 2009: 274).

Kallen (2010: 42-43), therefore, advocates viewing the LL not as a single system, but as a confluence of systems, “observable within a single visual field but operating with a certain degree of independence between elements” (ibid.). Though not an exhaustive list, he proposes five spatial frameworks within the LL. These consist of: (1) the civic frame, in which the agents of the state typically have primacy in regulating behaviour and delimiting territory; (2) the marketplace, where the commercial world, businesses and public and private services provide opportunity for competition within the LL; (3) portals including physical (airports, train stations), capital (banks) and electronic (internet cafés) provide
entrance to and exit from the LL; (4) the wall which is made up of graffiti and temporary posters and stickers; and (5) the detritus zone where discarded goods and rubbish make up the LL. As this thesis is concerned with the use of the LL and LS as mechanisms for revitalization and reflections of linguistic policy, it will only examine the civic frame. The latter is based on recognition of both functional and formal similarities that ‘define a discourse frame devoted to the activities of the state’ (Kallen, 2010: 46). The state has an almost complete monopoly in the use of signage to label public streets, encourage or discourage certain behaviours, regulate traffic, make jurisdictional boundaries and control litter, amongst other functions. Kallen (2010: 46-47) states that in order for sign usage by the state to be valid, it must conform to certain formal characteristics: it is usually of a prescribed type (e.g. shape and colour) and often bears the state insignia or other identifying mark. Viewed in semiotic terms, these signs not only fulfil a communicative function but also are also indexical of state authority in itself. For this reason, the civic frame provides an opportunity to study the use of signs as mechanisms put in place by the authorities in terms of language policy and revitalization.

4.3 Functions of the Linguistic Landscape

The Informational Function

In addition to defining the LL, Landry and Bourhis (1997) also identify its two primary functions: the informational and the symbolic. The former is the basic function of the sign - it provides information to the person viewing it. This information can be a place-name or an instruction, such as “No Parking”. However, signs may also function informatively insofar as they serve as a marker of a geographical territory in which certain languages are spoken. “The informative function indicates the borders of the territory of a linguistic group. The signs of the territory show that a specific language or languages are available for communication” (Cenoz and Gorter, 2009: 56). In this way, the LL is seen as indexing the geopolitical world in which we live (Torkington, 2008: 124). However, Scollon and Scollon (2003: 118) caution that assumptions made on this basis may be deceiving. Using ‘foreign’ languages on signs can be seen as having a symbolic rather than an indexical function. Torkington (2008: 124) gives the example of using English shop names in a Chinese community. The use of English on these signs is not used as a form of indexical communication but is, rather, linked to the symbolic function with English serving to indicate foreign tastes, fashions or associations between particular products or types of business and English-speaking culture.
Kallen (2009: 272-3) sees the LL as a localized act of communication, with a speech act taking place where the sign takes place. He considers the sign as an ‘event’ where the motivating factors and communicative intents of both the sign instigator and the recipient come together. He states that “the message form is shaped not only by the desire to perform some specific speech act at a given time and place, but also by the instigator’s anticipation of the receptive framework of any hypothesized sign recipient” (Kallen, 2009: 272). Scollon and Scollon also make a similar point in terms of signs’ indexicality, the semiotic property of pointing to other things,

The meaning of a sign is anchored in the material world whether the linguistic utterance is spoken by one person to another or posted as a stop sign on a street corner. We need to ask of the stop sign the same four questions we would ask of a person: who has ‘uttered’ this (that is, is it a legitimate stop sign of the municipal authority)? Who is the viewer (it means one thing for a pedestrian and another for the driver of a car)? What is the social situation (is the sign ‘in place’ or being installed or worked on)? Is that part of the material world relevant to such a sign (for example, is it a corner of the intersection of roads)?

(Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 3)

These questions form the basis for Kallen’s (2010) framework categories and will therefore be used in relation to the data analysis of the LL surveys carried out for this thesis.

Furthermore, while such signs may indicate that a link between a language shown in the LL and the region itself exists, such as a historical one, it does not necessarily follow that the language in question is in everyday use within that region. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 26) argue that the LL can also provide information about the sociolinguistic composition of the language groups inhabiting the territory in question. Public signs can be unilingual, bilingual or multilingual, thus reflecting the diversity of the language groups present in the given territory. The predominance of one language on signs relative to other languages can reflect the relative power status of competing language groups.

However, this is not always the case. As Barni and Bagna (2010: 8) found from their study of Chinese in Rome and Prato and of Romanian in Rome and Florence, “there is no firm link between the linguistic visibility of a language and the numeric consistency of the ethnic group speaking it”, just because a language is present on a sign does not necessarily mean that it is available for use within a given area. The representation of linguistic diversity on public signage may form part of the informational function but, given “the fact that the
'official' linguistic landscape is rarely an accurate reflection of the truly diverse linguistic composition of society means that this aspect is more closely connected to the second function of the linguistic landscape: the symbolic function” (Puzey, 2007: 11).

**The Symbolic Function and its Role in Revitalization**

It is arguably this second, symbolic function which plays the more important role in terms of the use of different languages in the LL and how they are perceived. Presence of a language on public signage may indicate its importance within a region, whether its current sociolinguistic importance, its historical links to the area, or simply its use for tourism purposes. Its use, or lack of use, is an indication of the value and status placed upon that language within a given area, “The symbolic function refers to the value and status of the languages, as perceived by the members of a language group in comparison to other languages” (Cenoz and Gorter, 2009: 56). This assertion is supported by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 28) who state that

The presence or absence of rival languages in specific domains of the linguistic landscape can come to symbolize the strength or weakness of competing ethnolinguistic groups in the intergroup setting. Exclusion of the in-group language from public signs can convey a message to the effect that one's own language is not valued and has little status within society [...] absence of the in-group language from the linguistic landscape can lead group members to devalue the strength of their own language community, weaken their resolve to transmit the in-group language to the next generations, and sap their collective will to survive as a positively distinct ethnolinguistic group.

The omission of a language from the LL can lead speakers of that language to feel that it is not valued by authorities or by the dominant language group. This decreases the likelihood of intergenerational transmission of the language, owing to speakers feeling that their language is of little value and of little use when conducting public affairs. This may lead to the diglossic situation in favour of the dominant language being reinforced (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 28). This sentiment of low value, combined with the domain restriction brought about by the exclusion of the minority language in the LL can contribute to the decline and endangerment of a minority language. Giving the example of Arabic in Israel Shohamy (2006) states that where there is no Arabic present on signs, even in Arab areas, this is sending a direct message to Arabic speakers that their language is being overlooked and ignored.
Conversely, the display of an endangered language on public signs can contribute to its vitality, creating another domain in which the language is used, while at the same time influencing language ideologies and combatting stigmatization of the language and its speech community. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 68) “the language in which signs are written can certainly influence their perception of the status of the different languages and even affect their own linguistic behaviour. The linguistic landscape or parts of the linguistic landscape can have an influence on language use”. The presence of an endangered language on public signs indicates a level of support for that language on the part of local authorities, even if this support is only symbolic. As Puzey (2007: 119) points out “The importance of language visibility for the relegitimation of minority languages should not be underestimated. As well as reflecting linguistic attitudes, language visibility can also influence the development of these attitudes and increase linguistic awareness [...]”. Therefore, including an endangered language in the LL can positively influence perceptions of the speech community in question, while at the same time demonstrating that the endangered language being displayed has a value within the wider community. This is evidenced by the findings of Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in the Basque city of Donostia where they found that a proactive language policy, taking into account the LL, resulted in a positive effect on both ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ signage (authors’ terms) with Basque found to be the second most prominent language after Castilian.

Several instances of utilizing the LL in an attempt to influence language beliefs and ideologies can be found. The government of Quebec in Canada has legislated that all public signs must be written in French and that where English is displayed, the size of the accompanying French font must be larger (La Charte de la langue française, 1977). This was a deliberate attempt at reversing the language shift from French to English. A similar measure was taken in Israel where Hebrew is consistently placed first on public signs, in order to expand the domains in which the language was used both during and after its revitalization. The language order on public signs is once again linked to influencing language ideologies and practices. Use of an endangered language on official signs as an institutional support factor (Bourhis, 2001: 103) demonstrates value attachment for the language on the part of the authorities and illustrates worthiness of use of the language in question. In this way, the use of minority and endangered languages in the LL is seen as an attempt to influence language ideologies and beliefs, with possible resultant changes in language behaviours. As Leeman and Modan (2010: 171) point out, words have indexical connections to social information and phenomena and as linguistic features can become
ideologically associated with a particular stance, social group, attitude, set of assumptions, etc. When these structures are used they implicitly invoke direct indexicality. In turn, chains of indexical processes directly signal a group of people via use of a linguistic feature and that group are thus associated with a particular characteristic, which in turn indexes a second characteristic, or indirect indexicality. In this way, the use of an endangered language in the LL is seen as an indexical process, whether it is direct or indirect. There is also the possibility that such use plays a role in influencing intergenerational transmission, a point which has been raised by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 29) “the prevalence of one’s own language on public signs can fulfil an informational and symbolic function that can encourage group members to value and use their own language in a broad range of interpersonal and institutional settings”. Thus, the presence of an endangered language in the LL can contribute to domain expansion, increased use and an increase in the prestige of that language.

Given the bidirectional relationship between the presence of an endangered language in the LL and its revitalization, the study of LL is invaluable. Torkington (2008: 125) states that the LL is a worthy field of investigation owing to the fact that linguistic choices (including code choice) in the LL index broader social attitudes; linguistic tokens in the public sphere may be symbolic markers of status and power; and the study of the LL provides insight into the social identities and ideological orientations of a community. Studying the LL can, furthermore, provide insight into language policies as the LL acts as both a reflection and instrument of language policy, which itself has an impact upon language decline and revitalization. It is for this reason that this thesis examines the use of Occitan in the LL, both in terms of policy and revitalization.

4.4 Language Policy and the Linguistic Landscape

The LL can be used as a domain in which to implement language policy and an area in which such policy is reflected. Shohamy (2006: 110) states that

It is argued here that the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice. Thus, the presence (or absence) of specific language items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent. The public space is therefore a most relevant
arena to serve as a mechanism for creating de facto language policy

[...
She goes on to argue that the appearance of certain languages in the public space is an important mechanism through which various linguistic groups can "do battle" (Shohamy, 2006: 110). Furthermore, she states that the public visual domain serves as a tool "in the hands of the different groups for the transmission of messages as to the place of different languages in the geographical and political entities and for influencing and creating de facto language realities" (Shohamy, 2006: 111). The use of language in the LL, therefore, as Cenoz and Gorter (2006) also point out, is bidirectional. The LL can be used to both implement and reflect linguistic policy.

Though Shohamy sees the battle between different languages in the LL as being between institutional and private signs, i.e. where there are two or more languages on the same sign, the same message is transmitted via the order in which the languages appear on the sign. The language order, to some extent, can be seen as a manipulation of language ideologies (Shohamy, 2006). If one language consistently appears first on signs, this gives the impression that it is this language which is dominant and/or official. Most often this reflects the reality of the linguistic situation. At the same time, it also indicates the order of prestige and status of the languages in question. The order of languages on a sign demonstrates a visual representation of linguistic dominance by one language over another, as too can the size, font and colour of the signs in question. Font and colour influence perceptions, with different fonts and colours being used for reasons of language differentiation. Puzey (2007: 60) notes that language differentiation is a central issue in bilingual sign design. Where two languages use different scripts, such differentiation is explicit, as the case with the bilingual signs in Arabic and Latin scripts in Saudi Arabia (Puzey, 2007: 60). However, when the same script is used for both languages, other factors must be used to establish differentiation. The principal 'mechanism of differentiation' (Baines and Dixon, 2003: 34) is colour. However, as Puzey (2007: 60) further states, differentiation often leads to preference of one language over another, a fact which is also noted by Scollon and Scollon (2003: 120),

When a text in multiple codes (two or three or more languages such as English and Chinese) or multiple orthographies there is a system of preference. The mere fact that these items cannot be located simultaneously in the same place produces a choice system [...] The preferred code is on the top, on the left, or in the centre and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or in the margins.
As stated above, this can lead to negative perceptions and stigmatization of the language that comes second or third - in most cases the endangered language. However, the presence of endangered languages on official, institutional signs, even where they take second or even third place to the dominant language, is still important in terms of influencing language ideologies and leading to positive perceptions of the language and speech community. Were the endangered language to be excluded from the LL, such exclusion would convey a message to the endangered language community that it is not valued and has little status within society (Landry and Bourhis (1997: 28). The fact that an endangered language is included in the LL indicates a level of legitimization and value on the part of the authorities. In some cases, these authorities deliberately utilize the LL in order to implement linguistic policy, be it exclusion of all languages apart from the official one, or as a means of revitalization for minority and endangered languages.

In displaying endangered languages in the public space, authorities are using covert policies (Shohamy, 2006) to influence the language beliefs, practices and ideologies of their community. The effects of such use are not always immediately recognisable, "rather, the effects appear to be indirect, for instance through its influence on the self-esteem of minority language speakers" (Van Mensel et al. 2012: 321).

It is in these ways that the LL acts as an arena for linguistic policy (Shohamy, 2006: 124)

By using the powerful languages, those of high status, LL has the potential to reaffirm the languages and groups in power while marginalizing the groups that are not. But at the same time, the use of the LL is instrumental in upgrading the status of certain language groups, such as in the case of French in Quebec or in the case of the Supreme Court decision in Israel for the use of Arabic [...].

The outcome of the use of language in the LL appears, therefore, to be dependent on the existing linguistic policy that is in place. If that policy supports and encourages the use of endangered languages and they are displayed in the LL, then such use will contribute, if only in part, to revitalization. However, if the linguistic policy in place is one of exclusion of all languages other than the official, then it will contribute to the further decline of endangered languages.

Whether an endangered language is present in or excluded from the LL can, therefore, have a substantial impact on the perceived legitimacy of that language, which, in turn, can be a factor in the survival of that language. In this sense, the relationship between the LL and sociolinguistic context is seen as being "bidirectional" (Cenoz and
Gorter, 2006: 67), with the LL being both an agent and a reflection of the language policy being pursued in a given region or country.

4.5 Linguistic Soundscape

The word *soundscape*, first introduced by Schafer (1969), is used to “denote an auditory equivalent to (visual) landscape, defined as an environment created by sound” (Dubois et al. 2006: 865). De Houwer (2009: 77) more specifically defines the *linguistic soundscape* as “the totality of the various uses of spoken language that individuals encounter. This includes language use by people in one’s social network, the media and overheard speech by people who are not part of one’s social network”. This thesis would go further in defining the LS as any linguistic sounds heard in the public sphere. Indeed, Itagi and Singh (2002) argue that the LL itself “need not and should not be construed as having a bias towards written language”. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 14) also state that the LL consists of “any sign or announcement located outside or inside a public institution or a private business in a given geographical location”. While they are clearly referring to written language, it can be argued that the LL consists of all language found in the public sphere, be it written or spoken. However, for reasons of clarity this thesis will distinguish between the LL and the LS, defining the latter as the multitude of linguistic interactions and announcements overheard in everyday life. While the LS would benefit from greater research, in particular in terms of the use of endangered and minority languages, this thesis is concerned with the use of language in auditory announcements such as those on public transport. Such announcements, like public signs, can be a reflection of linguistic policy as well as tool for language revitalization.

Like the LL, the LS can be viewed in terms of both an informational and symbolic function. Announcements made on public transport systems serve to impart information to the traveller, be it about the transport itself (i.e. next train/bus travelling to), an upcoming stop, and a problem with the service or a warning. The language in which this information is given is important in terms of its comprehensibility for those listening. It is logical to assume that most announcements would be made in the official language(s) of a given country. However, with increasing globalization and freedom of movement, other languages are increasingly being incorporated into the LS, the most notable being English. As such, agents of the LS wish their information to reach as wide an audience as possible and using two or more languages ensures a greater rate of comprehensibility. Given that those in authority make most announcements, i.e. station or transport management, the
LS can be seen mainly in terms of institutional use. Those in authority communicate the information which they deem relevant to the target audience or to the general public (Mooney, 2012). Private businesses can also utilize the LS through announcements in their shops or companies and it can be argued that this is an example of private usage despite the announcements being made by those in authority, i.e. management.

Although the informational function of the LS can be considered its principal function, it also serves a symbolic one, just as the LL does. The language used in the LS by those in authority can have symbolic meaning for the audience. If announcements are made only in the official language of the State then speakers of other languages, in particular speakers of endangered languages found within the state, can derive feelings of exclusion. Feeling that their language is unvalued by authorities and excluded from the LS can lead to further stigmatization of the language and its speakers. Furthermore, it can contribute to domain loss for the endangered language leading it to decline at a more rapid rate.

Conversely, use of an endangered language in the LS can go a long way in influencing language ideologies, beliefs and practices in a positive way. In the same way as the LL can legitimize an endangered language, so too can the LS. In fact, the LS could be considered of even greater importance for endangered languages, as it allows people to hear the language being spoken and to hear how a native speaker’s pronunciation. This will aid both current speakers and new speakers or students. The latter, in particular, benefit from hearing the language in the LS as it exposes them to its use outside of the classroom, in the real world, increasing their comprehension and level of vocabulary. It also aids in their speaking the language as they become more familiar with its pronunciation and intonation.

Domain expansion and legitimation of an endangered language, in addition to simply having the opportunity of hearing it spoken can contribute to its revitalization, both through influencing ideologies of speakers and raising awareness of its existence and use within the larger community.

Finally, the LS may be considered an instrument of language policy, though less bidirectional than the LL. It is in the LS that institutional agents have more control than private agents and so the LS is a more accurate reflection of language policy, with only the languages that those in authority want heard being broadcast. Conversely, the LS can also be used in support of endangered languages, for example where shop owners may play music in an endangered language, with this being seen as a more private initiative. It is for
these reasons that the study of the LS is valuable to the fields of language policy, language revitalization and LL, even more so given the fact that Toulouse is one of the first cities in the world to advocate the use of an endangered language on the public transport system. The case of Occitan in the Toulouse metro will be presented and discussed in Section 3.8 of this chapter and in the data presented in Chapter 5.

4.6 The Linguistic Landscapes of Toulouse and Montpellier

The Linguistic Cityscape

The choice of these two cities and regions for study in this thesis has already been outlined in previous chapters. However, examining the cities of Toulouse and Montpellier in terms of the LL provides another dimension to the study of the language policies and linguistic revitalization of Occitan within these neighbouring regions. First, the choice of city as the locus of the study is important. While previous studies of language revitalization have focused on the revitalization of endangered languages in rural towns, where speaker numbers are more concentrated (Tsunoda, 2006), this thesis seeks to examine the revitalization of such languages within the urban context. Backhaus (2007: 1) points out that the city is a place of language contact and that “city walls throughout history have attracted people of various origins with differing linguistic backgrounds”. Therefore, it is argued that the city is a favoured environment for variationist studies owing to the coexistence of different languages and linguistic variables and the fact that the urban environment is a “myriad of written messages on public display” (ibid). Focusing on the city as a location of LL studies is further supported by the number of studies which have been carried out in urban environments to date and the information that they have provided in relation to the function and use of the LL (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Backhaus, 2006). Furthermore, it is in urban environments that large amounts of data are provided for the study of languages in the LL, “the most recent research shows that urban contexts provide more interesting and significant sources for the reading and interpretation of linguistic dynamics” (Barni and Bagna, 2010: 4). It is in cities that linguistic policies and linguistic situations are most evident. It is here that languages are ‘showcased’ and where “languages weave together and linguistic destinies and expectations are ‘played out’. Within the city [...] languages can find or carve out sufficient space to manifest their vitality as well as their visibility” (Barni and Bagna, 2010: 5).

Furthermore, many cities are now using their linguistic identities as a marketing tool to increase levels of tourism. The cities and the languages found in them are
“marketed” along with their identities and this in itself provides for an interesting study of the LL. Increased visibility of a minority language within the official LL may be seen as an effort on the part of local authorities to showcase the historical and linguistic heritage of the city to visitors. In this way “minority languages are used as strategic tools in contemporary urban redevelopment initiatives and the construction of ‘destination locations’ for tourists and residents alike” (Leeman and Modan, 2010: 183).

Finally, it is in cities that many local and national authorities implement the first stages of linguistic policy. For example, the Schéma of the Midi-Pyrénées, which has been discussed in previous chapters, concentrates on the revitalization of Occitan within the cities of the region before expanding it to the rural villages and towns. It is, therefore, in the city, where language policy can be seen as reflected in the LL and where the LL can give an indication of how such policy is perceived.

Choice of Unit of Analysis
The unit of analysis chosen for study in the LL surveys of Montpellier and Toulouse was the street-name sign. This unit of analysis was chosen for several reasons. Firstly, they are instruments of the city authorities and therefore serve as a reflection of the linguistic policies which were put in place either in the past or today. Backhaus (2007), in addressing the temporally based variation which arises in LL studies, develops a historical linguistics analogy and suggesting that the LL reflects ‘layering’. He defines this layering as “the coexistence of older and newer versions of the same sign” (Backhaus, 2007: 130). The LL therefore contains elements of the various stages of its development and is particularly prevalent in the presence of old and new street-name signs.

Puzey (2007) also advocates the study of street-name signs as they are often utilized symbolically to represent the entire concept of plurilingual societies. In semiotic terms, they are understood as intending to indicate or refer to another object or concept (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 3), with their symbolic use for purposes other than travel indicating their effectiveness (Puzey, 2007: 8). Linguists have only recently begun to appreciate the political nature of street-name signs, with Andersen (2004: 123) stating that they “can be seen as kinds of markers in what can be conceptualized as political landscapes”. This assertion is echoed by Cohen & Kliot (1992: 653) who see them as expressions of ideological values and symbolic elements of the landscape that reflect national and local sentiments and goals. Furthermore, street-name signs are media through which authorities can commemorate the past and introduce it to the public sphere.
Considered from a semiotic perspective, street-name signs are spatial texts produced over time, capturing the political, social and cultural environments in which they are found (ibid).

Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 68) advocate the study of what they term ‘official’ signs as “the use of different languages in [...] signs can be compared to the official policy of the region [...]” and “it can provide information on the differences between the official language policy that can be reflected in institutional signs such as street names or names of official buildings and the impact of that policy on individuals [...]”. Furthermore, Shohamy (2006: 123) finds that studying street-name signs in order to examine language policy and the influencing of language ideologies provides valuable insight into language policy given that “the language of street name signs can be considered as a language policy mechanism that is used by those in authority [...]”. In addition, the LL items found in the public sphere serve to perpetuate certain language ideologies and also the status of the languages involved (Shohamy, 2006: 123.)

Baines & Dixon (2003: 12) identify two main categories of sign: informatory and regulatory. The latter consist of warning, prohibition and mandatory signs such as stop signs. Given the nature of these types of sign, they are less relevant to language policy and so were not considered as a unit of analysis for this study. Informatory signs, however, consist of directional and location signs and are inherently text-based, thus providing data pertaining to linguistic policies and language revitalization.

Street-names also reflect the history of the city in which they are found, with certain streets being named after local historical figures, thus highlighting the cultural diversity and heritage of a given city. Names can also differ depending on the language displayed, with some being direct translations or adaptations. An example of this can be seen in the case of Edinburgh which has been translated as Edimbourg in French and Edimburgo in Italian. Here the classifying element burgh has been translated into the French and Italian equivalents respectively (Edim appearing to have come from a proper name cf. Puzey, 2007: 17). Direct translation or adaptation of the street-name from the dominant language to the endangered or minority language can reveal much about the linguistic policies at work within the city. If a direct translation or adaptation is used, even where there is a pre-existing name in the endangered language, it demonstrates a superficial, symbolic commitment to representing the endangered language on signs on the part of the municipal authorities. If, however, the endonym in the endangered
language is used, it further reinforces the authorities’ support for the language in how it differs from the majority language.

Finally, street-name signs can be used by municipal authorities to distinguish themselves from other cities within the country by highlighting their cultural distinctiveness. This can be used utilized for economic benefit in areas such as tourism, where the city seeks to present itself as unique.

However, it must be noted that limiting the survey to street-name signs does not allow for an analysis of the use of Occitan in the wider LL of each city. Though the language is rarely present in the commercial LL, a wider survey of the Occitan use in the public space provides scope for future study. In particular, in order to establish the extent to which political and private policies have been implemented in relation to increasing the use of Occitan in commercial and business sectors. With Occitan now being used on the Toulouse metro, increased use in other areas of the LL is possible. Therefore, while not part of the present study, this thesis would advocate future study of the general LL in both Montpellier and Toulouse in order to evaluate the efficacy of the current policies in relation to expanding the use of Occitan in both the LL and LS, where these fields are not limited to those signs which are established by an administrative body.

It is owing to the role of street-name signs as media of political, social and cultural identity markers and the data which they can provide in relation to past and current language policy (cf. Backhaus, 2007) that they were chosen as the unit of analysis for the study of the LL in this thesis.

4.6.1 Toulouse (Midi-Pyrénées)

The use of Occitan in the LL is an important element in the Midi-Pyrénées language policy for Occitan. Included in the section of the socialisation de la langue, the region sets out the reasons why it wishes to implement a bilingual policy on public signs, the aims it hopes to achieve, as well as the areas in which the policy will be implemented.

Firstly, the Schéma (Midi-Pyrénées, 2007: 45) states that

Une signalétique bilingue est un marqueur extrêmement important de la personnalité d’une région. Les expériences menées notamment en Pays basque et en Bretagne montrent des résultats très positifs pour la sensibilisation des habitants et des personnes de passage (dont touristes).
As previously discussed, the use of an endangered language such as Occitan in the LL can result in greater exposure to the language on a daily basis for both speakers and non-speakers and can, therefore, influence language ideologies and beliefs in a positive manner. The aims of the Midi-Pyrénées policy in this area are to increase the visibility of Occitan within the region, create an interest in the language on the part of inhabitants and people passing through such as tourists, as well as an interest in multilingualism in general. The use of the LL is a logical choice for the implementation of such aims as it serves both the informational and symbolic functions outlined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) above, raising the visibility of Occitan and encouraging those who are not members of the Occitan community to become familiar with the language.

The Conseil régional (2007: 45) intends to achieve these aims through a number of measures, namely the progressive implementation of a bilingual French-Occitan environment, both visual and auditory, in public buildings such as:

- The Hôtel de Région as well as the seats of the Regional Office for Tourism, Centre régional des Lettres, etc. (priority given to the ZAC des Mensuisiers, then to every new building belonging to the region and progressively to all older buildings)
- Schools (under the agreement for education)
- Train stations
- Express regional trains (TER)
- Motorways (entry signs to the region), etc.

The policy also states that the same measures will be applied to those structures under agreement with the region with respect to Occitan language and culture which will also favour the written and auditory presence of Occitan. It further states that as part of the public policy partnership for the promotion of Occitan, the region invites other professional bodies of the State to implement these Occitan promotion measures. As with the other measures outlined in the Schéma, the aim is that these initiatives will be implemented by 2013. As will be shown through the LL survey presented in Chapter 5, the installation of bilingual signs within the city of Toulouse is almost complete and the aims of this section of the Schéma are well on the way to being achieved. The case study presented in Section 3.8 below discusses the introduction of Occitan into the LS of Toulouse in the form of bilingual announcement on the city’s metro system.

However, the installation of Occitan street-name signs in Toulouse did not come about as a result of this policy. Rather, they formed part of the electoral program of Philippe Douste-Blazy when he ran for mayor of Toulouse in 2000. As part of his campaign,
Douste-Blazy promised to showcase Toulouse's historical monuments, provide financial support for Occitan on the part of the city and put in place Occitan street-name signs (La Dépêche, 2001). Upon his election, he fulfilled his aim of installing Occitan street-name signs, beginning in 2001. By 2002, there were fifty Occitan signs in place in the city, with the number set to rise to 300 by the following year (S.G. La Dépêche, 2002). The first of these signs was put in place in Place Dupuy at the foot of the fountain (La Dépêche, 2002). The aim of installing these signs, according to Douste-Blazy (quoted in La Dépêche, 2001) was so that Toulouse could “confirmer son rôle de capitale de l'Occitanie”. The impetus for the use of Occitan in the civic frame of Toulouse clearly comes, therefore, from the municipal authorities and not from those at regional level. Though the primary focus of this thesis is the linguistic policies of the regional authorities of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon, it is equally argued that municipal-level authorities are well placed to engage in language revitalization efforts on an official level, given their closer interaction with members of the public and the nature of their accessibility. Therefore, it is argued that the policies of the municipal authorities in both Toulouse and Montpellier should be taken into consideration in evaluating the efficacy of regional and local government revitalization policies. Furthermore, revitalization measures undertaken at municipal level can serve to influence linguistic policy at higher levels, as will be demonstrated in the case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone in Section 4.7. Coupled with the opportunity which the LL presents as both a mechanism for and reflection of such revitalization policies, the street-name signs of Toulouse and Montpellier provide a basis for the evaluation of policies at local and regional government level in relation to revitalization.

Toulouse Linguistic Landscape Survey

The LL survey of the city of Toulouse was carried out primarily in June 2010 and supplemented with smaller surveys in October 2010 and March 2012. The survey was conducted along three of the main shopping streets in the city centre and incorporated streets leading off from them.

A total of 92 street name signs were surveyed in Toulouse. A number of different types of sign were found and these were categorized according to the languages present, as well as their size and design.
<table>
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<th>Category</th>
<th>Languages</th>
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<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>French-language sign</td>
<td>Rectangular; white background; black border; black script; Toulouse emblem</td>
<td>48 (n = 44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>French-language sign</td>
<td>Elongated rectangle; blue background; white border; white script</td>
<td>4 (n = 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Occitan-language sign</td>
<td>Rectangular; white background; black border; black script</td>
<td>48 (n = 44)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Categorisation of Street name signs found in LL survey of Toulouse

Figure 7 shows an example of the type of signs in category 1

![Example of Category 1 sign in Toulouse](image1)

Figure 7 Example of Category 1 sign in Toulouse

Figure 8 gives an example of a category 2 sign with the French-language sign being the one on top.

![Example of Category 2 sign in Toulouse](image2)

Figure 8 Example of Category 2 sign in Toulouse

Figure 9 shows an example of a category 3 sign found in the LL survey of Toulouse.

![Example of Category 3 sign in Toulouse](image3)
Figure 9 Example of Category 3 sign in Toulouse

![Image of a sign in Occitan and French]

Figure 10 Occurrences of signs according to language

Figure 10 shows the distribution of signs according to the languages present. In the majority of cases (n = 82), French-language and Occitan-language signs were found side by side. A small number of Occitan signs (n = 3) were found without an accompanying French sign, while a slightly higher number of French-language signs stood alone (n = 7). There are several reasons which account for the occurrence of standalone signs. For example, signs in the other language may have been removed due to vandalism or as part of city maintenance and were not replaced for one reason or another. It is also possible that was a conscious decision on the part of the municipal authorities to leave certain, smaller side streets without Occitan signs due to the cost involved.
Where Occitan and French-language signs occurred together, in 93% of the cases the French-language sign was positioned above the accompanying Occitan sign. In only 7% of cases did the two signs occur side by side with the French sign on the left and the Occitan sign on the right. The use of Occitan on the street-name signs of Toulouse is both indexical and symbolic. The use of the Occitan code indexes the point in the world where it is placed (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 119) in that it is found in a city where Occitan is spoken. It is also symbolic in that it represents the city's links with the Occitan language and people. The main semiotic resource by which code preference is produced when more than one code is used is placement within the physical space (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 119-120). Where the two codes are vertically aligned, the preferred code is located above the secondary code, and where they are horizontally aligned, the preferred code is positioned on the left with the peripheral code on the right (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 120). Where there are multiple codes or orthographies used on signs, they cannot be located simultaneously in the same place, thus a choice system is produced. The producers of the sign must choose the order in which the codes are to appear (ibid). Scollon & Scollon (2003: 120) outline the positioning which indexes code preference as being the preferred code on top, on the left or in the centre, and the secondary or marginalized code being placed on the bottom, on the right or in the margins. Given the semiotics of the signs surveyed in Toulouse, French is the preferred code owing to its placement within the physical space, with Occitan being the secondary code.

Code order in the civic frame is often governed by legislation, as is the case in Quebec where French must be presented as more salient than the accompanying codes, with the legislation stating that “L'affichage public et la publicité commercial doivent se faire en français. Ils peuvent également être faits à la fois en français et dans une autre langue pourvu que le français y figure de façon nettement prédominante” (Charte de la langue française, (Québec, 1977). In cases such as these, the law regarding the code placement binds the producers of the signs. A methodological issue arises where there are no regulations governing the order of codes for such signs, as is the case in France. In this case the sign producers, namely the municipal council of Toulouse, have authority in deciding the placement of codes on the street-name signs in the city. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 121) posit the question if language X is on top and Y below it, how do we know if 1) X is preferred, so we know the top is the preferred position; or 2) the top is preferred, so we know that X is the preferred code? It is likely that the municipal authorities have utilized this choice system as a reflection of the current sociolinguistic situation present
within the city where French is the dominant language and is thus the code being indexed by the predominant users of the city. In this sense, the positioning of the French-language signs in preferred position is due to the current geopolitical ideology present in Toulouse, where the authorities recognize the importance and value of Occitan but also understand that French speakers dominate the city, with Occitan speakers being in the minority.

However, the installation of Occitan-language signs indicates a shift in the socio-political processes within the city, with their use indicating a change in society. Occitan is an accepted part of the city’s everyday life and is linked to its heritage and culture and is therefore displayed, alongside French, in the street-name signs. As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, the very inclusion of Occitan on street-name signs indicates an ideology of support on the part of the municipal authorities and conveys this support to not only Occitan but also to members of the dominant French-speaking community. The code order used here is seen as being an accurate representation of the sociolinguistic use of the two languages within the city, rather than an attempt to subordinate Occitan.

Size and Form
As shown in Table 2, signs were categorized in relation to the variables of size, colour, and font. All the Occitan signs (48% of the total signs surveyed) consisted of the same coloured background, i.e. white, with a black lined border and black script. Latin script was used on all signs and in no cases were italics used. The latter are often used to accentuate the difference between two languages present on the same sign in order to make them more legible. However, as French and Occitan were placed on different, individual signs, this rendered the use of italics unnecessary. These were category 3 signs. Scollon & Scollon (2003: 130) note how the use of different fonts produces a range of different meanings within the ‘same’ linguistic message. In the case of the Occitan-language signs the different meanings are conveyed through the size of lettering used for the different linguistic components of the information given on the sign. The geographical marker (i.e. street, place etc.) was of similar, but not identical size to the street’s name. For example, Figure 11 illustrates the different font sizes used for the various information given on an Occitan-language sign (on the bottom). The word carrièra, or street, is smaller in size to Rivals, the surname of the people after whom the street was named. Two other font sizes are found in the first names of the Rivals, Joan Pèire and Antòni, and in the historical information given on the last two lines, pintors tolosencs dels segles XVII e XVIII (Toulousain painters from the 17th and 18th centuries). The lack of uniformity in font size functions to
differentiate the importance placed on the various pieces of information given. The most important information for the sign reader is that the street is named *Rivals*, after which they note that it is a street and not a place or alleyway; the sign producer then gives the first names of the people after whom the street is named as being next in terms of importance, followed by the additional information regarding their occupation and when they lived.

![Image of a sign in Occitan language](image)

**Figure 11 Example of different font sizes used on an Occitan-language sign**

In using different font sizes, the sign producers, i.e. the municipal authorities, are indexing the sign in terms of geopolitics (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 130) in that they are giving the full information regarding after whom the street was named. This information also functions symbolically, serving to link the street with the city’s history.

None of the Occitan-language signs found contained the Toulouse emblem (yellow Occitan cross on a red background) that was found on 90% of the French-language signs. No information is available as to why this is the case. Lack of the Toulouse emblem is significant for several reasons. Firstly, as the emblem of Toulouse and of the Midi-Pyrénées region is the Occitan cross, one would expect to find it on the Occitan-language signs, especially due to its placement on the majority of the French-language signs in the city. Given the commitments on the parts of the municipal and regional authorities to support and promote Occitan through its use in the LL, exclusion of the city and regional emblem from the Occitan-language signs obscures the links between the city/region and their Occitan heritage. A reader of the signs could interpret the lack of city emblem as less than full support for Occitan culture on the part of the authorities. However, further research is needed to investigate the effects of such exclusion.
The colours used on the Occitan signs are contrastive, with the white background making the black script stand out. The choice of colours facilitates reading of the sign, with little to suggest that they were chosen for reasons other than this.

The signs consist of metal plaques, permanently fixed to the buildings on which they are found. They are permanent and not transient signs. Texts that are inscribed in fixed and invariable ways signal greater authority than temporal signs such as graffiti and stickers (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 135). The permanent nature of these signs indexes meaning of durability and permanence - they are intended to last as long as the building does. The material and permanence of these signs conveys symbolic meaning to the sign reader in that the use of Occitan-language signs is not temporary but rather a permanent feature of the city of Toulouse. This communicates the municipal authorities' support for the language and indicates that this support will continue.

Two categories of French-language sign were found. The first, Category 1, consists of signs similar in design to the Occitan-language signs found in the survey. They are rectangular with a white background, black border and black script. They also feature the emblem of Toulouse and Midi-Pyrénées: a yellow Occitan cross on a red background. As with the Occitan signs, differing font sizes are found on the category 1 French signs. The purpose of the different sizes appears to be the same as for the Occitan signs in that they focus the attention of the sign reader on the most pertinent information first and suggest a hierarchy of information. Figure 12 shows how, once again, the linguistic elements referring to the name of the street are emphasized through the use of a larger font, while the geographical indicator, rue, is of secondary importance.

Figure 12 Example of Category 1 French sign

The colours used also appear to have been chosen to facilitate reading of the sign and clear presentation of the information to be conveyed. The inclusion of the Toulouse/Midi-Pyrénées emblem sets the French-language signs apart from their Occitan
counterparts in that they deviate from the colour scheme of the sign, using red and yellow. Baines & Dixon (2003: 24) state that colour is often used as a means of differentiation when there are multiple codes used in signage. However, this is not the case in Toulouse, as the placement of Occitan signs is a case of ‘layering’ and it is therefore the Occitan signs which do not conform to modality, not the French signs.

The French signs are also made of metal and fixed to the buildings on which they are found. Once again this is symbolic of the permanent nature of both the signs themselves and the French language within the city of Toulouse.

The second category of French signs consisted of signs with a blue background, white border and white script. Due to the fact that they are few in number, their general condition and the fact that they differ substantially from the other street-name signs found in the city, it is likely that they predate the Category 1 signs. The differing colours serve the same purpose as in Categories 1 and 3, with the text in white standing out against the blue background. As with the more modern Category 1 signs, difference in font sizes on these older signs draws the sign readers’ attention to the name of the street before the geographical marker.

Unlike the French signs in Category 1, those in Category 3 do not feature the Toulouse/Midi-Pyrénées emblem, suggesting that this was a more recent feature of sign design on the part of the municipal authorities in an effort to link the sign with the city in which it is placed. Figure 13 gives an example of this type of French sign.

![Figure 13 Example of where French sign was larger than the accompanying Occitan sign](image)

**Information Provided on the Signs**

Regarding the communicative or informational function which these signs play, there is sometimes a discrepancy between the information provided by the two languages. Reh (2004) proposes a system of analysis for such signs, with four main types of multilingualism according to the combinations of language and information given: *duplicating multilingual*
writing, fragmentary multilingualism, overlapping multilingual writing and complementary multilingual writing. Evidence of the first two types (duplicating and fragmentary) can be found in the street-name signs of Toulouse. Figure 14 gives an example of signs with duplicating multilingual writing.

Figure 14 Example of French and Occitan-language signs demonstrating duplicating multilingual writing

As shown in the above photograph, duplicating multilingual writing refers to practices in which the same text is presented in more than one language. The two signs are identical in terms of the information given. Reh (2004: 8) states that these types of sign acknowledge societal multilingualism and use of more than one language serves the identity purpose. Given the dominance of French, it is likely that most inhabitants of Toulouse would be able to understand the sign in French and therefore there is no need in terms of informational functions to provide a sign in Occitan. The use of Occitan signs, therefore, serves a symbolic purpose as outlined by Landry and Bourhis (1997).

The second type of sign found in Toulouse falls under Reh’s fragmentary multilingualism category. This category consists of signs with multilingual texts in which the full information is given only in one language and selected elements have been translated into an additional language (Reh, 2004: 10). An example of this can be seen in Figure 15 below.
Figure 15 Example of discrepancy in information given on the signs

Here, the French sign on top gives only the name of the street, Rue Bellegarde. The Occitan sign below, however, gives much more information. It states that the street is named after Baron Guilhèm de Bèlegarda. Here, the first name and title of the person after whom the street is named are given. This information was not given on the French sign. It also states that he was capitol màger de Tolosa, the mayor of Toulouse. This was also omitted from the French sign. The reverse also occurs, such as in Figure 16 where the French sign gives more information than its Occitan counterpart.

Figure 16 Example of discrepancy in information given on the signs

In this case, the French-language sign tells the reader that (Pierre) Baour Lormian, after whom the street is named, was a Toulousain poet who lived between 1770 and 1854. The Occitan-language sign beneath only states that he was a poet and not that he was from Toulouse, nor the years during which he lived.

Where the French and Occitan-language occurred together, 17% were instances of fragmentary multilingual writing. Of these, 10% of the cases consisted of signs where more information was given on the French sign than on the Occitan sign and 7% consisted of instances where the Occitan-language sign contained more information than the French. In all other instances of French and Occitan signs occurring together, it was a case of duplicating multilingual writing where the signs in both languages contained the same information. There is no reason given in the literature or by the municipal authorities for the discrepancies in information given on the various signs. Given the layering of indexicality found with the Occitan signs, which were all put in place after the French-language signs had been installed, the use of fragmentary multilingualism can be seen as an effort on the part of the municipal authorities to convey more information to the sign readers regarding the people after whom the streets were named, as well as symbolically
promoting the history and cultural diversity of Toulouse. It is difficult to understand, however, why information given on the earlier French signs was not duplicated on the Occitan signs. This lack of uniformity suggests incomplete prior preparation and consideration on the part of the city authorities. Irrespective of the reason, discrepancies in the information given to sign readers can result in confusion, though given that most, if not all, Occitan speakers in Toulouse are functionally bilingual this is unlikely to be the case here. However, lack of uniformity between the signs in terms of the multilingual writing and the inclusion or exclusion of the city’s emblem convey messages to the sign readers’ regarding the differences of the two languages and the extent to which they have been incorporated into the Toulouse LL.

The survey of street-name signs in Toulouse has demonstrated the municipal authorities’ commitment to the promotion and use of Occitan within the public sphere. While not every street has an Occitan-language sign in place, over the past twelve years the use of the language in the LL has been significantly increased, as before 2001 no street-names were given in Occitan. The signs are not only indexical of the city of Toulouse, providing multilingual geographic markers for its inhabitants, but also symbolic of the recognition and value given to Occitan by the city council. Given that the Occitan signs were put in place by the municipal authorities as early as 2001, their use represents a case of local-level linguistic planning affecting that of higher-level government. The Midi-Pyrénées Schéma seeks to reinforce and build upon the revitalization work already carried out by the Toulouse city council in the LL, with it forming part of its core linguistic policy. The perceptions and attitudes of the Occitan community towards the use of the language in the LL and LS will be examined in Chapter 5.

4.6.2 Montpellier (Languedoc-Roussillon)
Despite acknowledging the importance of raising the public’s awareness of Occitan, the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon makes no provision for the use of Occitan in the region’s LL. As a result, the Conseil régional is missing a valuable opportunity to capitalize on a simple yet effective measure for bringing Occitan into the public domain. As with Toulouse, the responsibility for street-name signage in Montpellier falls to the city council. Though there are a number of bilingual signs found in Montpellier, which were put in place during the 1980s, there are few examples of more modern bilingual French-Occitan signs found in the city. This reflects the city council’s approach to the use of the LL as a revitalization tool, an approach which is mirrored in the linguistic policies of the regional government. Despite
the lack of appreciation of the LL as a mechanism for the promotion and support of Occitan on the part of Montpellier municipal council, this is not true of the rest of the region. For example, the town of Béziers has a high percentage of both bilingual (of 70 signs surveyed 67% were bilingual; n=47) and monolingual Occitan-language signs (27%, n=19), suggesting that the various municipal councils of the region can utilise the LL as they see fit in relation to the visibility of Occitan. However, as this thesis focuses on the capital cities of the two regions in question the LL of Béziers does not form part of the research carried out for this thesis. A survey of the LL of Montpellier was carried out and participants in the questionnaire and focus group stages were asked about their perceptions of Occitan in the LL of Montpellier. The data from the questionnaires and focus groups relating to the LL and LS will be presented and discussed in Chapter 5.

Montpellier Linguistic Landscape Survey

The LL survey of Montpellier was, as in Toulouse, carried out in the main shopping district in the city centre. Once again, only street name signs were surveyed. A total of 46 signs were surveyed and categorized according to language(s) found and their composition and design. Unlike Toulouse, where Occitan and French occurred together on street-name signs they were found on the same sign and not separate signs, thus Montpellier was the only one of the two cities to have what can be termed bilingual French-Occitan signs. Table 3 shows the distribution of languages found on the signs in Montpellier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Design</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bilingual</td>
<td>Same sign; brown background with gold lettering; Plexiglas cover</td>
<td>8.7 (n = 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Monolingual French</td>
<td>Brown background with gold lettering; Plexiglas cover</td>
<td>39.1 (n = 18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Monolingual French</td>
<td>Blue background with white lettering; white line border; “M” in upper left hand corner</td>
<td>28.3 (n = 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2c</td>
<td>Monolingual French</td>
<td>Inscription (plaster)</td>
<td>2.2 (n = 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>Monolingual Occitan</td>
<td>White background with red lettering; “M” in upper left hand corner</td>
<td>15.2 (n = 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Monolingual Occitan</td>
<td>Inscription (plaster/marble)</td>
<td>4.3 (n = 2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of signs in Montpellier were monolingual French, with no accompanying Occitan-language sign, in contrast to Toulouse where the majority, 89%, of French and Occitan-language signs occurred together. This reflects the lack of inclusion of the LL as an area in which Occitan can be promoted in the city's approach to the Occitan language and its revitalization, with 40% of the signs surveyed being monolingual French of the type shown in Figure 17.

As with Toulouse, there is no indication in literature or from the municipal council as to why some signs of these types were monolingual French, while others of the same design (Category 1) were bilingual. If considered in terms of semiotic layering, this discrepancy can be accounted for if Category 2a signs are older than those in Category 1. While it is likely that this is the case, owing to the fact that older French signs (Category 2c) were also monolingual French, there is no concrete data to confirm this.

The second type of monolingual French sign found in Montpellier can be seen below in Figure 18.
Figure 18 Example of Category 2b sign found in Montpellier

It is similar in style to the monolingual French signs of Category 3 found in Toulouse in terms of colours used. This will be discussed below in the section on size and form. This form of sign is relatively new and is to be found in the newly constructed areas of the city, indicating that it is the format which is to be used for all new sign installation in the city.

It should be noted that while Montpellier had the highest frequency of monolingual French signs, it was also the city with the largest occurrence of monolingual Occitan signs at 21.7%. These monolingual Occitan signs were a mixture of old and new signs and their design and format will be discussed below. In some cases there were found to be monolingual French signs in the vicinity, such as is the case with Figure 19 which was a monolingual Occitan sign found on its own but where Figure 20 was found directly across the square from it.

Figure 19 Example of a (Category 3a) monolingual Occitan sign found with no corresponding French sign near it
Figure 20 Example of a (Category 2a) monolingual French sign found across the square from Figure

However, monolingual Occitan signs were also installed on their own, as is the case with Figure 21.

Figure 21 Example of a (Category 3a) sign occurring without an accompanying French-language sign

There is no indication as to when this sign was put in place or why there was no accompanying French-language sign found in the vicinity. In the case of the sign on Carrièra Daurada (Rue de la Loge), shown in Figure 22, the wear and tear on the sign seems to indicate that it has been there for some time. However, as will be discussed in relation to size and form, the sign in Figure 22 is of the newer type of monolingual Occitan sign put in place in Montpellier, thus indicating that it is not as old as the other monolingual Occitan and bilingual French-Occitan signs found during the survey.
However, the monolingual Occitan sign in Plan Edouard Adam Figure 23 was installed during the LL survey between 2010 and 2011.

Despite contacting the municipal council repeatedly, the researcher was unable to ascertain if the city authorities had renewed their installation of Occitan-language signs, but the placing of the one at Plan Edouard Adam seems to suggest that this may be the case. However, as the municipal authorities of Montpellier currently have no formal linguistic policy towards Occitan, the installation of newer Occitan-language signs suggests that they were put in place at the instigation of the department responsible for signage and not as part of a planned strategy.

A third type of monolingual Occitan sign (Category 3c) was also found in Montpellier, though there was only one instance of such a sign. It was found alongside a more modern French-language sign, across from the city’s main train station and can be seen in Figure 24.
Figure 24 Example of Category 3c monolingual Occitan sign

Its form and size will be discussed below, though it should be noted that given its condition, it appears to be the oldest of the monolingual Occitan signs found in the city, thus indexing the sociohistorical nature of such signs and the city’s links to the language. It appears to predate the other two categories of monolingual Occitan signs which were installed pre-1980s (Category 3a) and the bilingual French-Occitan signs which were put in place in the 1980s (Hammel, personal communication).

Montpellier was unique in that it was the only city of the two surveyed where Occitan and French appeared on the same sign, an example of which can be seen in Figure 25.

Figure 25 Example of a bilingual French-Occitan sign of Type 1

This type of sign is the same in terms of material and colours used as those monolingual French signs in type 2a. This indicates that they were put in place in or around the same time as the monolingual French signs of similar design. The emplacement of such signs indicates a lack of uniformity on the part of the municipal council’s plans at the time of installation, as not all signs of this type were bilingual, indicating differing indexes of emplacement within the city.
In relation to code preference, in the case of the bilingual signs found in Montpellier, as with the signs in Toulouse, a system of choice was utilized. Where two languages were present on the same sign, French occupied the top space of the sign in all cases, with Occitan below it. As noted in relation to the LL of Toulouse, this positioning conveys the message that French is the preferred code with Occitan being the secondary or marginalized code (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 121-122). Italics are also used in the cases of the bilingual signs to differentiate between the two languages, further reinforcing the differences between the two languages and communicating their uniqueness to the sign reader.

Size and Form
As can be seen from the photographs above, there is substantial variation between the different categories of sign, even within each category, in terms of size, font, colour, and information given. Turning first to the monolingual French signs, these demonstrate indexical layering, displaying the different stages of street-name sign usage during the city's history. The oldest monolingual French sign is that displayed in Figure 26.

Figure 26 Monolingual French sign
In terms of indexicality of emplacement, the sign is permanently fixed to the building and, as can be seen from its age, was intended to be a permanent feature of the city. The font size is indicative of the variation found in the street-name signs in Montpellier, in that it consists of three different lettering sizes. *Grand Rue* has been deemed as the most important information to be conveyed to the sign viewer by the sign producer as it is in the largest font. The actual street name, *Jean Moulin*, is in a slightly smaller font, indicating that it is of secondary importance in relation to the information being communicated to the viewer. Finally, the information regarding where the sign is physically located, *1er
canton, is given at the top of the sign, though in the smallest print. According to Scollon & Scollon (2003) the information carrying the most importance is put at the top of the sign, however, this appears to be contradicted in this case owing to the differing sizes in font used.

The second of the monolingual French signs, as shown in Figures 17 and 20, is similar in design to the bilingual French-Occitan signs. It consists of a brown background, with gold lettering, covered with a Plexiglas screen. Of these signs, 99% consisted of the geographical marker, i.e. rue, in a smaller font to the name of the street. In one case, as shown in Figure 27, all words given on the sign were in the same font size. Despite only one sign displaying this difference, it indicates a lack of uniformity in the design of the signs placed throughout the city. This can also be seen in relation to the bilingual French-Occitan signs and the monolingual Occitan signs.

![Figure 27 Monolingual French sign with uniformity of font size](image)

The third type of monolingual French street-name sign found was of the more modern type, which has been used in newly constructed areas of the city from the late 1990s-2000s onwards. It is a blue sign with a white border and white writing. These are the colours of the city of Montpellier, and their use in the signs sets the latter out as being distinctly linked with the city. The white script against a blue background serves to facilitate reading of the information given. Thus the signs are not only indexical but also symbolic of their association with the city. In addition to the colours used, an “M” is placed in the upper, left-hand corner to represent the city. The inclusion of this symbol further serves to index the sign as being from the city. The information given on this sign demonstrates indexicality of preference in the size of the fonts used. As with other monolingual French and Occitan signs, the geographical marker is of secondary importance, with the street name taking precedence. This can be accounted for if one considers the geographical marker as a secondary designator. The terms street and square are generic, whereas the name given to the street or square sets it apart from other areas
in the city. Therefore, the sign producer wishes to emphasize the name of the area rather than what type of area it is.

The next types of signs were the monolingual Occitan signs. The most common form of these signs was a white background with a red border and red script, as can be seen in Figures 19, 21, 22, and 23. In all instances of these signs, the name of the street was in a larger font, again indicating the importance placed on the name rather than the type of area in which it was found. The colours provide an interesting contrast to their French-language counterparts. Red is not a colour associated with the city of Montpellier, but rather with the region of Languedoc-Roussillon and with the Occitan language (the Occitan cross, the symbol of the language, is almost always set against a red background). The colouring used is significant, as it demonstrates no direct link with the city of Montpellier. The latter is done through use of the “M” in the upper left hand corner, as is the case with the newer, monolingual French signs. This is the only indicator that symbolizes that the city is connected to the Occitan language. While the signs in the two languages in Toulouse were of almost identical colour (with the exception of the inclusion of the city’s emblem on the French-language signs), the city of Montpellier has chosen to use contrasting colours to differentiate between signs in the two languages. There are no plaques to explain the use of Occitan street-name signs in the city to sign readers, and so the colours used are the only indicators of two languages being present in the LL.

Another type of monolingual Occitan sign comes in the form of a much older sign, predating both the brown and gold signs and the newer red and white ones. Only one instance of this type of sign was found in the LL survey and was located across from the city’s main train station (Figure 24). As with the plaster monolingual French sign, this sign demonstrates indexical layering of the city, showing how signage has changed over time. It is made of metal and has been securely fixed to the wall, illustrating its permanent emplacement within the LL. The colours used, white and red, mirror those used in the new form of monolingual signs, suggesting that the latter are following the same design pattern as in an earlier period. This would suggest that the sign producers are attempting to res-establish links with the city’s past in their representation of the Occitan language. The sign also includes the crest of Montpellier in the upper left hand corner, indexing its connection to the city. The letter “M” in the newer signs has replaced this symbolic feature, though it was not used on any of the brown and gold signs. Its omission from the latter conveys a shift away from highlighting the link between the signs and the city during the 1970s and 1980s when the brown signs were installed. Its inclusion on modern signage demonstrates
a desire to once again index the city on the sign itself. It is interesting to note that it was
during the 1980s when the city and region were most engaged with the protection and
promotion of Occitan and so to not represent the city on the signage of the time is a
missed opportunity to convey the symbolic nature of using Occitan on public street
signage.

The bilingual French-Occitan signs found in the LL survey were all of the same
design – brown background with gold lettering and covered with a Plexiglas screen. In all
cases, French is seen as being the preferred code owing to its placement at the top of the
sign. Occitan, placed below it, is the secondary code. The marginalisation of Occitan on the
signage is further reinforced by its font size, which is always smaller than its accompanying
French script. The Occitan street name is also always displayed in italics. As previously
noted, where colour is not used as a differentiating factor, italics serve to mark the
difference in language being displayed. The clear distinction between languages, coupled
with the use of smaller text for the Occitan name conveys an ideology of deficit, indexing
Occitan as a marginalized code within the city. Despite this, as has been argued previously
in this thesis, the representation of an endangered language in the LL serves, in some ways,
to combat negative perceptions of the language as the value attached to the language by
authorities is demonstrated by its very use.

*Information Provided on the Signs*
In the case of the bilingual signs found in the LL survey, a mix of duplicated and
fragmentary multilingual writing (Reh, 2004). Of the four bilingual signs, 50% displayed
duplicating multilingualism, with the other half showing fragmentary multilingualism.
Figure 28 shows the two cases of duplicated writing.

![Figure 28 Signs with duplicating multilingualism](image)
In these cases, the information given in French was translated directly into Occitan (Baloard for Boulevard and the Occitan equivalent of the person’s name). Therefore, the use of Occitan in these signs is seen as being more symbolic than informative, with the only differences in the languages being the word regarding what type of area (i.e. street, square etc.) the reader is in and the Occitan equivalent of the name Louis. Figure 29 shows the examples of fragmentary multilingualism found in Montpellier.

Figure 29 Signs with fragmentary multilingualism

Here, more information is given in Occitan than in French. In the sign for Place Edouard Adam/Plan Edouard Adam, the information that this is also the “portal de la saunarià” is given in Occitan, the accent over the final “a” and the italic script indicating the difference in language. It states that in addition to being the Edouard Adam Square, it is also the doorway to the Saunarià. In the photograph to the left, the sign reader is told in Occitan that not only is this Albert 1st Square, it is also the General Hospital Square. As there is no hospital currently located in this square, though it is next to the city’s medical school, this information is in reference to a historical feature of the city. These historical links are the best explanation as to why this information is given in Occitan and not in French. Conveying additional information in Occitan, as well as use of the language itself, symbolize the history of the city. There is no explanation as to why this information was not included in the French part of the sign, and so cultural symbolism is the likely reason for its use in the lower part of the signs.

The LL survey of the street-name signs of Montpellier shows that there has been inconsistent support for the language’s display in the public sphere in recent decades. While the city and region’s policy towards the language was most coherent during the 1980s (Hammel, personal communication), and this is evidenced by the use of bilingual signs, their use was, at best, inconsistent. The installation of new, monolingual Occitan signs in areas of the city centre suggest that the municipal council is once again attempting
to demonstrate support for Occitan, though the city currently does not have a specific strategy in place to do so. This is a missed opportunity as, were the city to install Occitan street-name signs on a comprehensive basis, it would allow it to display the symbolic links which Montpellier has to its history in a much more visible manner, while at the same time engaging in effective language revitalization through visible support and promotion of Occitan and influence which it has on language beliefs and ideologies.

Even though the LL does not form part of Languedoc-Roussillon's strategy for Occitan development, the Region has played an important role in the use of bilingual signs, both in Occitanie and France as a whole. The case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, which is presented as a case study in Section 4.7 below, brought national and international attention to the use of endangered languages in the LL and its importance as a tool for revitalization. This case was also an example of the interaction of language policy at national and local level, and how one can influence the other.

4.7 Case study: French-Occitan Signage in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone

The region of Languedoc-Roussillon has played an important role in the future of the use of RLs on public signage in France. It was owing to a situation which arose in the region that such use of bilingual signs came to the fore in France, leading to local level policies having an impact on those at national level.

In October 2010, the seaside town of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone in the Montpellier Agglomeration of the Hérault département (Languedoc-Roussillon) was the focus of media and national attention due to its use of bilingual French-Occitan signage and a ruling handed down by the Montpellier administrative tribunal concerning their use. The signs in question were installed in August 2010 at the entrances to and exits from the town, following an initiative by Mayor Noël Ségura and the communal council and in consultation with the IEO\textsuperscript{11}. Figure 30 shows one of the signs in question.

\textsuperscript{11} Institut d’Estudis occitans
On 5th August 2009 the Mouvement républicain de Salut Public (from hereon the MRSP) lodged an official complaint with the Administrative Tribunal, after first having written to the mayor and received an unfavourable response, regarding the use of an Occitan-language sign beneath the French-language counterpart. The grounds of the objection were twofold: firstly, it was argued that the sign in question did not conform to “des règles de sécurité routière” and that secondly, there was an absence “de fondement historique” translation of the name of the commune into Occitan (Mouvement républicain de salut public vs. Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone: 2010).

With regards to the basis for the first objection - non-conformity with road safety laws - the MRSP complaint maintained that the Occitan language sign would prove confusing for motorists and thus pose a danger to road safety. They supported this with reference to article R.411-25 of the code de la route, as well as subsequent articles. The MRSP were careful to state that they were not objecting to the use of an Occitan-language sign but to its placement directly below the French-language sign. They suggested that the former be moved and repositioned behind the existing French sign. In their ruling, the Tribunal upheld the complaint on these grounds stating that

Les panneaux litigieux peuvent être confondus avec les panneaux d'entrée d'agglomération de Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone portant le nom de la commune en français dont les dimensions sont égales ou même inférieures [...] les panneaux en cause remplissent une fonction ambiguë nuisant à la clarté nécessaire de l'information que requiert l'obligation de prudence et de sécurité

(Tribunal Administratif de Montpellier, 2010)

In giving this ruling, the Tribunal agreed with the MRSP that the signs in question were so potentially confusing to motorists that they posed a threat to road safety. This was
due in large part, it was argued by the MRSP, to the orthography used by the Occitanlanguage sign. The French name, Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, was given as Vilanòva-de-Magalonà in Occitan. In his decision, the tribunal judge made reference to the fact that the “o” with accent grave does not feature as being acceptable orthography in any of the annexes of the Arrêté of 7th June 1977 governing road traffic signs. It is this “ò” which the MRSP argued was so confusing to motorists that it posed a danger as it is does not exist in the French language.

It is interesting that the Tribunal ruled in favour of the complainant in relation to the potential dangers of using these signs. There is no evidence that the use of bilingual or multilingual road signs poses a threat to road safety and indeed they are present in many countries such as Canada, Ireland, Wales, Switzerland, Finland, and Belgium to name but a few. Countries using bi/multilingual signage employ several methods to achieve demarcation of the languages used. Jamson (2004) outlines four categories of such measures:

1. Colour. Different colours are used to distinguish between languages.
2. Font type. Demarcation of languages is achieved through changes to the ‘stroke’ width used to form characters.
3. Case. Differences between lower and upper cases illustrate the use of different languages.
4. Separation. Clear separation between the languages used, i.e. on separate signs.

The use of different cases is advocated against by the study, as it is a disadvantage in terms of cultural value in suggesting that one language is dominant over another (Kinnear et al, 2012: 14). Lesage (1981) argues that separation of languages can improve glance visibility, particularly in the case of longer messages. It has also been shown that monolingual drivers benefitted most from the clear separation between languages as demonstrated by reduced reading times. The fact that in the case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, the two languages were indeed placed on different signs can, therefore, be seen to reduce the impact of the use of Occitan. Kinnear et al’s (2012: 62) study concluded that

On roads where bilingual signs have been installed, while there is evidence that bilingual signs may have increased demand of the driving task that this increase does not result in a significant increase in crash risk and involvement.

They further stated that they found “no evidence that, overall, accidents increased or decreased as a result of bilingual sign installation” (Kinnear et al, 2012: 62-63). The
argument of the MRSP, therefore, is unfounded in this respect. While road safety was not the sole reason for the tribunal’s decision, it was an important factor as it linked in with the MRSP’s second basis for complaint – that of the name Vilanòva-de-Magalona.

In the second part of their complaint, the MRSP argued that the name Vilanòva-de-Magalona was a direct translation of the French name into Occitan and that there was no historical basis for the use of this name. They argued that the town had never been known by an Occitan name and, as such, was a translation and not the resurrection of a pre-existing Occitan name. While the tribunal did not uphold the complaint on these grounds, it raised an important issue as regards the use of Occitan language signs in areas where there is not a traditional, historical Occitan toponym.

The Administrative Tribunal thus ordered that the Occitan language signs be removed by the 14\textsuperscript{th} December 2010. The mayor, Noël Ségura, lodged an appeal on behalf of the commune against this ruling. The decision caused outrage on the part of Occitan speakers and members of other regional language communities throughout France. If this decision were allowed to stand, it would create a case of jurisprudence which could have negative consequences for all other towns throughout France which have established bilingual signage in French and their regional language. Any complaint made against the use of such signs in other communes would potentially be upheld based on the decision given in Montpellier and may result in legal orders to remove those signs as well. As the LL is an important domain in which an endangered regional language may seek to establish itself. In order to give it a visible presence within the community and also to aid in its revitalization by establishing it in a domain where it was previously restricted or non-existent, this ruling, were it upheld, would have significant consequences for not only the use of French RLs within the LL but for their revitalization overall.

A march was organized in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone for the 12\textsuperscript{th} December 2010 to protest against the decision and was attended by an estimated 400 people, representing not only the Occitan community but also other regional language communities such as those in Brittany, Alsace and Catalonia. Coupled with two MEPs (Catherine Glèze and François Alfonsi), who raised the issue at the European Parliament, several members of the Montpellier and regional authorities and several French Senators, the march drew local, national and international media attention to the usually quiet seaside town of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone.

It was as a result of the ruling by the Montpellier Administrative Tribunal that the issue of the position of the RLs and their place within France was once again raised at
governmental level. On the 16th February 2011, the French Senate voted on a proposition by Senator Roland Courteau to amend the 1994 loi Toubon in order to allow for the use of bilingual French-Regional language signage at the entrance and exits of towns throughout France. The result was unanimous in favour of the adoption of such an amendment. The bill has now been submitted to the parliament for further discussion. The aim of this amendment is to "[...] transcrire dans la loi ce qui n’est pas interdit, et qui est d’ailleurs pratiqué dans de nombreux endroits en France" (Sénat, 2011), thus recognising that the establishment of such signage is commonplace in areas where RLs are spoken. There is currently no legislation in France prohibiting the use of bilingual signage. The Loi Toubon only states that all public signs must be in French and, if another language is used alongside, then the French must be given priority positioning.

Senators, in Report N°293 given on the 9th February 2011, stated the importance of the need for specific legislation governing the use of bilingual signs. Without it, a situation could occur where there was a proliferation of signs containing the name of an agglomeration along with other inscriptions which were not appropriate or not informative. Furthermore, legislation on this matter is necessary, they argued, in order to ensure that bilingual signage is implemented in such a way as to ensure road safety, "en limitant la disposition au seul cas des panneaux réglementaires d’entrée ou de sortie d’agglomération, conformément au titre de la proposition de loi, les impératifs de sécurité routière seraient alors respectés" (Sénat, N° 293, 2011).

The senators further go on to stress the importance of the use of appropriate toponymy. This is in reference to the objection made by the MRSP to the orthography and translation used on the sign in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone. The report notes that in the majority of cases it is the French names which are the translations, coming from the traditional toponymy in the RLs. Examples such as Castel Nòu d’Ari for Castelnaudary, Brageriac for Bergerac and Bordéu for Bordeaux are cited. It is therefore advised in the report that, where they exist and are attested to by speakers of the language, traditional toponymic names should be used on the bilingual signage. In cases where the traditional toponymy is unknown, resources such as maps, charters and literature should be used in order to establish what, if any, regional language toponyms existed in the past. It is further advised that direct translation of the current French term be avoided where there is no evidence of a traditional name in the regional language. As one senator pointed out "Dans le Bas-Rhin, il existe un village du nom Krautergersheim. Faudra-t-il l’appeler "Chouville"?

(Jean-François Humbert, Sénat N°293, 2011). This example shows how, in some cases,
The direct translation of the current toponymy, either to French or from French, would be inappropriate and would need to be examined on a case-by-case basis.

As regards the situation in Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, the translation of the French-language toponymy is appropriate as it uses Occitan orthography and tonic accentuation to adapt the current French name and the two are not so different as to render the Occitan sign incomprehensible to speakers of French. Kinnear et al's (2012) study concluded that the use of different orthographies had no impact upon road safety and thus any argument in this respect constitutes one of cultural difference and intolerance. As the IEO has been carrying out toponymic surveys and advising local authorities on the use of bilingual French-Occitan signage for many years, it is likely that the use of the name Vilanòva-de-Magalona was a carefully considered choice.

In addition to the amendments to the Loi Toubon put forth, a number of Senators also proposed a law for the development of the RLs and cultures on the 25th January 2011. The Commission of Culture, Education and Communication later rejected it, on the grounds that such a law was unnecessary as the RLs are recognized in Art. 75-1 of the Constitution. However, in May 2011, the Constitutional Council ruled that this article afforded no rights to the RLs and had no legal weight.

Despite this rejection, the case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone demonstrates the effect which local level linguistic policies can have upon those of national level authorities. While propositions for laws relating to the RLs are put forth periodically in France, this situation received so much national and international that it resulted in the unanimous adoption of an amendment to a piece of legislation which is key to the national government’s LPP. This case furthermore resulted in the proposal of a law for the RLs which, though it was rejected, raised the issue of their endangerment and their position within French society.

Participants in both the questionnaire and focus group phases of the research raised the case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone. Several participants in the questionnaire made reference to the situation there when stating that they would like to see Occitan in the LL. Several participants in the focus groups stated that the case raised awareness of Occitan and the situation faced by the RLs in France.

**AM4:** et il faudrait se demander pourquoi le maire de Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone se cramponnait à son panneau comme il a fait [...]

**HM1:** mais quand on voit – quand on voit qu’il y a des qui- qui ont [...] essayé de faire enlever les [...] panneaux de Villeneuve-lès-
Maguelone, je veux dire qu’un trib [...] les gens ne sont pas d’accord\textsuperscript{12}

Several people also objected to the Tribunal’s decision on the websites of news agencies and newspapers which carried the story. Examples can be found on the site of La Dépêche newspaper where one person, Pêir, stated on an article message board,

On ne le dira jamais assez: l’Occitan n’est pas un patois (autrement une sous-langue) mais bel et bien une langue à part entière qui s’écrit comme toutes les autres langues avec des règles grammaticales et graphiques. Vouloir empêcher sa présence dans l’espace public, c’est vouloir sa disparition, ce qui aurait pour conséquence inévitable l’effacement d’un pan entier du patrimoine culturel français, un peu comme si on dynamitait Notre Dame de Paris ou les arènes de Nîmes. Les occitanophones ne doivent plus avoir peur d’écrire et de parler leur langue en public, n’en déplaise aux partisans de la monoculture et de l’apauvrissement linguistique (Goutorbe, 24/10/2010)

and another, Lidvina-Tolosa, stated her support for the use of such signs, as well as pointing out that Mr Hadjadj, who lodged the complaint on behalf of the MRSP, had highlighted the presence of Occitan within the region,

Bravo Monsieur le maire, on est de tout cœur avec vous. Je ne comprends même pas qu’il puisse y avoir un procès pour avoir placé un panneau dans notre langue. En même temps, je tiens à remercier Monsieur Hadjadj qui a remarqué qu’une autre langue est parlée dans sa ville et qui par son action fait parler d’elle. Merci aux panneaux bilingues qui parlent les "langues de France" et déclinent leurs cultures.

(Goutorbe, 24/10/2010)

Another reader, Sheyenne, stated that it was shameful to suppress a regional language, “pourquoi supprimer une identité régionale, c’est honteux” (ibid). Only one comment on this article was in any way negative, as another reader, Un_Savoyard_pa, commented that

mais bon observant plus ou moins de près le mouvement occitaniste, je ne le trouve pas forcément si sympathique que cela, certains de leurs membres me paraissent à vrai dire un peu crypto-fasciste, et c’est toujours le sempiternelle "si tout va mal, c’est à cause de l’état français, le monstre étatique" (ibid).

The reader does, however, go on to say that they are for the support shown for Occitan culture so long as it does not result in regionalism. These comments illustrate the support

\textsuperscript{12} See Appendix for transcription notation system
which the use of the signs received from the general public, as well as the fact that the situation raised awareness of the language amongst the Languedoc-Roussillon community.

In June 2012, the Cour d'appel in Marseille overturned the ruling of the Montpellier Tribunal, stating that there was no law preventing the use of signs in the RLs of France, as long as a sign in French was present and was the more prominent sign. Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone is therefore permitted to keep its bilingual signs. In giving its ruling, the Cour d'appel, in reference to Art. 2 and Art. 75-1 of the Constitution, Art. 3 and Art. 21 of the Loi Toubon and to Décision no. 94-345 of the Conseil constitutionnelle, stated that “l'utilisation de traductions de la langue française dans les différentes langues régionales n'est pas interdite pour les inscriptions apposées sur la voie publique et destinées à l'information du public, lorsqu'en même temps l'utilisation du français est suffisamment et correctement assurée”. It also ruled that the decision given by the Montpellier Tribunal “aux cas où il est justifié de circonstances particulières ou de considérations d'intérêt général est dénuée de tout fondement constitutionnel ou légal)” (Brouillet, La Gazette, accessed 20th July 2012). For regional language communities in France, this decision is a positive step towards promoting and protecting the use of their languages in the LL.

The case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone is also important in terms of language policy, as it supports Shohamy’s (2006: 56) assertion that local government actors, in this case the commune in Hérault, can use the mechanisms put in place by institutional actors, such as rules and regulations, to affect changes in language policy at the highest level. Had this situation not arisen, the French Senate would not have put forth the amendment to the Loi Toubon allowing for the use of RLs in the LL. Nor would the proposed law of 2011 or that of January 2012 have been put forth for the protection and development of the RLs. This case has both affected national language policy and given national and international attention to the case of Occitan in France. Furthermore, it has illustrated the interaction between state and local LPP and how one can be used to affect the other. In this case, the local level actors have used the mechanisms, namely the judicial system, put in place by the national level authorities to affect changes in the rules and regulations of the latter. It also highlights the role that the LL can play in creating awareness for endangered languages. It was due to the use of Occitan in the LL of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone that the current LPP relating to RLs in France was highlighted, not only for Occitan speakers themselves but also for the country as a whole, as well as supranational organisations such as the European Commission. However, despite the hopes of many Occitan speakers, this raising of
awareness did not bring about a change in the overall national level linguistic policies of France towards the RLs. Regardless of any future amendments to the *Loi Toubon*, the use of such languages in the LL, the French State and national government continues to reject proposals for laws relating to the development and promotion of the RLs.

### 4.8 Case study: Occitan in the Toulouse Metro

One revitalization measure that has received widespread coverage in the news and created much discussion among Occitan speakers is the use of bilingual French-Occitan announcements in the Toulouse metro. The Midi-Pyrénées *Schéma* (2007: 45) states that the regional authorities intend to (re) introduce the use of Occitan in both the visual and auditory spheres. The introduction of Occitan into the auditory environment is somewhat difficult, as the *Conseil régional* is limited in the areas in which the language can be used. A solution to this was found in the form of announcements on the region’s public transport system, in particular on the metro in Toulouse. It should be noted that this use of Occitan in the LS came about as a result of consultations between the Occitan-speaking community and *Tisséo*, the organisation responsible for public transport in Toulouse. Nevertheless, it provides valuable insight into the use of an endangered language in the LS and is therefore included in this thesis as a case study.

**Background**

The *Convergencia Occitana* association wrote to Stéphane Coppey, the head of *Tisséo*¹³ on the 17 January 2009 (*TisseOc*, [http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article127](http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article127)) to discuss the implementation of bilingual French-Occitan announcements on the city’s metro. This letter followed on from a series of meetings between *Tisséo* and various Occitan-language organisations (Pic, personal communication) and expressed hope that the company would work with the *Convergencia* to develop the use of Occitan on the city’s public transport system, “Les transports en commun sont un lieu de vie sociale et des initiatives ont été réalisées par Tisséo pour prendre compte de la richesse de la langue et de la culture occitane (affiches en version occitane durant le mois de mai 2007)” (*TisseOc*, [http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article25](http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article25)). The company had already engaged with the Occitan community through the use of Occitan signs in May 2007. The letter further

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¹³ Note: Tisséo and TisseOc are two separate organisations. The former is responsible for the public transport system in Toulouse. The latter is a collective organization in favour of the use of Occitan on the city’s transport system.
outlined the various reasons why the use of the language on the metro would be beneficial to Toulouse,

Miser sur la langue occitane dans le métro, c’est à la fois un attrait touristique pour les nombreux visiteurs quotidiens, mais également une ouverture sur nos voisins du monde latin et plus globalement sur l'Europe. A la différence d’annonces en français/anglais qui équivaudrait à répéter deux fois le nom de la station, l’annonce en occitan permet de révéler les significations des noms de lieux qui sont souvent des toponymes d’origine occitane (TisseÔc, http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article25)

Tisséo agreed with the proposal and bilingual announcements on the metro began in September 2009 to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Festival Occitania, an annual event celebrating and showcasing Occitan language and culture held in Toulouse. The association TisseÔc, set up to call for and engage with the use of the language in the city’s public transport, set out the aims of using Occitan in this way

Au-delà d’un simple geste symbolique, l’introduction des annonces bilingues marquait, après des décennies de négation, d’abandon de l’identité occitane, un changement de cap et un début de politique linguistique à Toulouse. En effet, passé le stade de la bonne conscience obtenue grâce à quelques plaques de rue, l’occitan est employé systématiquement par un service public, une première dans tout l’hexagone. Toulouse rattrapait ainsi un retard considérable au regard de bien des métropole européennes. (http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article177 bold in the original)

Importantly, they note that the use of Occitan in this way is a first in France. Never before had a regional language been used for announcements on a public transport system. For the first time, Occitan had been brought into the LS. This was noted in several newspapers that followed the implementation of the announcements, “Ce bilinguisme vocal dans un lieu public est une première en France pour une langue régionale” (Ferré, La Dépêche, 8/10/2009).

Where the names of stations had roots in Occitan toponymy, the original versions were used, such as Bòrda roja for Borderouge or Capitòli for Capitole. Names which were of French origin were kept and simply pronounced with an Occitan accent, such as for the stations François Verdier and Marcel Langer. However, where Occitan versions of proper nouns existed they were used, such as in the case of Jeanne d’Arc which becomes Joana d’Arc in Occitan, or Jean Jaurès which becomes Joan Jaurès. When people raised the issue
of translation and Occitan toponymy, TisseÔc explained that for the majority of stations it was the French names which were derived from the original Occitan and not the other way around,


Reception

The bilingual announcements met with mixed reactions from the general public and from Occitan speakers alike (Clément, La Dépêche 22/02/10). The latter were critical of several mistakes which were made regarding both the names of certain stations and their pronunciation. For example, the station Patte d’Oie was initially mistranslated to Pé d’auca (pied d’oie) instead of Pata d’auca, which is the correct Occitan translation (Marti, La Dépêche, 4/6/2011). This has since been rectified. However, this poses a problem for the revitalization of the language insofar as existing and new speakers are being misinformed by the incorrect terminology. It also shows that not enough research and preparation went into this project. If revitalization efforts are to be successful, careful planning and implementation must take effect and new projects should not be rushed into. The second issue with which speakers were unhappy was the pronunciation of station names in Occitan, as well as the manner in which they were delivered. This was noted by the president of the Convergencia Occitania, Jean-François Laffont, “Le volume sonore est très agressif et la répétition de la station a le don d’exaspérer les voyageurs” (Marti, La Dépêche, 5/9/2010). One reader, Heidegger, summarized the issue on the website of La Dépêche newspaper, stating

Tous les usagers qui prennent le métro avec moi sont unanimes; ces annonces sont agaçantes, trop fortes, la voix est discordante et traduire des noms ne fait pas sens. Quand on prend une vingtaine de stations le matin, autant le retour, subir le doublon des annonces (français-occitan), dont celle en occitan extrêmement forte et d’une

14 All comments cited from the newspaper comment section were transcribed verbatim; the grammatical and orthographic errors are those of the readers
voix très agaçante, on est passablement énervé, il suffit de parler avec les passagers pour s’en apercevoir. Ils lèvent les yeux au ciel, soupirèrent, agacés, critiquent.

One reason that may account for this issue is that the speaker who recorded the announcements was in fact a Breton speaker who, while she spoke Occitan, was not a native speaker of the language. This caused much controversy in both the media and amongst the Occitan community (Emery, 2009b). The speaker was a “new speaker” (ibid) and not a native speaker of Occitan. According to Tisséo (ibid), the person in question had been recommended by the Centre régional d’Occitanie. Tisséo stated “Bretonne ou pas, on ne sait pas et puis peu importe, aucun spécialiste de l’Occitan n’a contesté son intonation et son accent” (ibid). The company received 175 letters of complaint relating to the use of a non-native speaker and the way in which the announcements were made (ibid).

A second factor was the time frame in which the recordings were made. TisseÔc states that when Tisséo asked the IEO to help with the announcement recordings, they only had one week to research the toponymy and record the announcements (http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article109). After these issues were raised with Tisséo, it was agreed that the announcements should be re-recorded, this time by a bilingual Occitan speaker and professor of Occitan. La Dépêche reported that

Lassée par les critiques et l’accent parfois grotesque utilisé pour certaines annonces - par exemple « Compans Caffarelli » prononcé à la Fernandel - le métro toulousain a décidé de « tout remettre à plat » et de préférer « la qualité à la quantité ». Tisséo a été poussé à la faire par une enquête d’opinion menée auprès des usagers, une majorité d’entre eux se disant défavorable aux annonces en occitan telles qu’elles sont diffusées actuellement (Marti, 5/9/10)

Muriel Batbie Castell, a soprano singer and teacher of Occitan, was hired to re-record the station names (Marti, 04/06/2011), with the addition of other phrases such as estacion venenta (next station) and estacion terminus, montèssetz pas dins acesta rama (terminus, do not enter this train). This further developed the use of Occitan in the metro as, up until this point, only the names of stations were given in Occitan with no other accompanying phrases. In addition, the station names and announcements in French were also recorded by Mlle Batbie Castell, thus giving them a certain level of uniformity. It also served to defuse other issues which speakers raised about the announcements, such as the volume and inconsistency of the voice (Emery, 17/11/2009).
On the 13th May 2010, *La Dépêche* reported that 60% of people questioned were not happy with the use of Occitan in the 37 stations of metro lines A and B. The article noted that not all of those questioned were against the use of Occitan *per se* but rather with the way in which the announcements were made. When the changes noted above were made, a survey on *La Dépêche* found that 67% of people were in favour of the use of Occitan in the metro (Roux, 13/5/2010). Despite this, the debate continued. One reader, Magixtheo, posted the following comment on the newspaper’s website (http://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2010/05/13/834592-occitan-dans-le-metro-les-usagers-disent-non.html 14/5/2010)

**Qui comprend l’occitan? une poignée de vieux ? SeuI un très petit nombre de personnes comprend l’occitan. Au lieu de perdre du temps et de l’argent à diffuser des messages en occitan, langue morte que personne ne comprend, nous devrions mieux diffuser les messages en Anglais et en Espagnole, ce qui serait beaucoup plus utile pour les nombreux touristes et les personnes en voyage d’affaire. L’anglais et l’Espagnole dans les transports en commun donneraient une dimension plus « internationale » à la ville de Toulouse. Je trouve complètement stupide les messages en occitan, et même très agaçant. Marre qu’une minorité casse les oreilles de tous les passagers du métro. J’espère au moins que ceux qui ont voulu les messages en occitan prennent le métro! (Grammatical errors in the original)**

This was the argument put forth by those against the use of Occitan in the metro. However, there were equally those who were in favour of the measure, as illustrated by the comment left by Cantaire34,

**Vive la diversité des langues, des lieux, des gens, des cultures, des idées, des opinions, des sexes... à l'heure de l'uniformisation mondiale qui voudrait nous faire marcher au pas (et Facebook fait partie de ça, désolé d’en choyer certains)... à l'heure ou tout le monde doit être conforme, normalisé, beau et jeune, mince, séduisant, anorexique... et j'en passe des meilleures! Vive l'occitan, même s'il a été rabougri par les cultures dominantes, même si a eu honte de l'être et de le parler, même si aujourd'hui on s'interdit de le parler à cause d'une bienpensance intérieure à nous-même... Même si nous ne savons plus le parler ni le vivre... APPRENONS-LE! Visca la lenga de l'imagination et de l'unicitat! (http://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2010/05/13/834592-occitan-dans-le-metro-les-usagers-disent-non.html 14/5/2010)**

From more recent comments left on the websites of regional newspapers, it would appear that, for the most part, people have responded positively to the re-recording of the
announcements and the inclusion of additional phrases, with the debate over the use of Occitan in the metro dying down since 2010.

As has been discussed in Section 4.5, the use of Occitan in the Toulouse metro fulfills both the informational and symbolic function. In the case of the former, speakers are able to hear information given in their language on a regular basis. The same information given to French speakers is given to Occitan speakers in their language. Furthermore, use of bilingual announcements allows new speakers to become accustomed to the pronunciation of the language. This is also true for members of the general public who may have never heard Occitan being spoken before. In this respect, the use of Occitan on the metro serves two informational purposes: firstly, it gives information pertinent to travelling on the metro system to speakers of Occitan in their own language and secondly, it serves an educational function in terms of pronunciation. In this respect, it serves to index the city as one in which the Occitan language is spoken. Symbolically, it links the language to the city's present day culture, as well as to its history. In the same way as there is a code preference system at work in the display of multiple languages in the LL, so too must a choice be made regarding the use of languages in the LS. The order of the languages used is important. This thesis argues that, like indexicality in the LL, the preferred code is used first in the LS, in this case French. Such use conveys the ideology of French linguistic dominance within the LS. Occitan, being spoken second, is the secondary or marginalized code. Though, as previously noted, its use alone serves to combat ideologies of deficit, its position of second code in the system also demonstrates that it is still a minority language within the city. The information given is also of interest. When the announcements began, there was fragmentary multilingualism, to borrow Reh's (2004) terminology. The phrase 'next station' was only given in French and not Occitan. Unlike the case of signs in the LL, the fragmentary multilingualism cannot be accounted for by historical layering. Rather, it is further evidence of the dominance of French, with the authorities appearing to consider the translation of such information into Occitan as unnecessary due to the fact that the majority of Occitan speakers in Toulouse are functioning bilinguals. This position was reversed once the announcements had been rerecorded, highlighting the authorities' adaptability and recognition of the concerns and issues raised by members of the Occitan community. The latter illustrates the need for cooperation and clear communication between the endangered language community and those putting revitalization measures in place.
The LS is a new field of study and can be developed either as a part of the existing LL field or as a field of study in its own right. It provides many opportunities to study the use of spoken language within the public space and how official actors use the language(s) at their disposal. The potential for using the LS as a revitalization tool is also understudied. There is significant potential for the use of spoken language in the public domain in helping to revitalize endangered languages. It has been noted above that such use is a form of domain expansion, as well as an educational tool. Further to this, authorities have the opportunity to influence language ideologies and beliefs in much the same way as they can in the LL. Promotion of Occitan in the Toulouse metro has led to the expansion of this initiative to the city’s tram and bus system, commencing in 2012 (Croquet, 23/12/2011). Tisséo’s recognition of the use of Occitan to showcase their links to Toulouse and its various cultures and the subsequent expansion of this initiative highlights the role which public and semi-public bodies can play in the development of the LS as a revitalization tool.

As with the LL, use of Occitan in the LS can play an important symbolic role. Bilingual metro announcements indicate that Tisséo and the related transport authorities in Toulouse and Midi-Pyrénées value the language. Their use of it demonstrates their view that it is worthy of use and, as Cenoz and Gorter (2006) note with the LL; such use can affect perceptions of status and prestige. Use of an endangered language in the LS may indicate to listeners that while it is perhaps not on a par with the dominant language legally speaking, it is still relevant in society and within the community. It contributes to the relegitimation of the language, influence attitudes towards the language, increase linguistic awareness and reflect the linguistic attitudes and ideologies of the transport authority, as well as of those at regional government level. Use of Occitan on the Toulouse metro also contributes to domain expansion, in this case bringing the language into an area where it was never previously used and into a domain where French is the dominant, if not the only, language used. This in itself is an important contribution to the revitalization of the language. Each of these elements is important in the revitalization of an endangered language. Data collected in relation to Occitan speakers’ opinions and perceptions of the bilingual announcements was collected during the fieldwork carried out for this thesis and is presented in Chapter 5.
5. Methodology and Research Results

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the research methodologies and the data results. A brief overview of the mixed method data collection and data analysis procedures will be given and this will be followed by the presentation of the data results. As the first research and second research questions – to what extent are regional and municipal-level language policies effective in the revitalization of Occitan, and to what extent can the LL and LS be used as an indicator of linguistic policy and as a revitalization mechanism – have been discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter will focus on the third and final research question. The latter examines how the Occitan communities in Montpellier and Toulouse understand and perceive their region’s respective linguistic policy towards Occitan. Furthermore, the revitalization of each Occitan community was examined in order to determine if, in resembling those of the respective regional councils, they are aiming too high on the GIDS and attempting to attain revitalization in multiple areas before stabilising intergenerational transmission.

5.2 Multi-Method Study

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out over a period of seven months from October 2010 to April 2011 during which time the researcher lived in Montpellier and made regular trips to Toulouse to conduct the research. Living in Montpellier for a prolonged period of time allowed the researcher to conduct both phases of the research over a longer period of time and to adapt the research as the need arose, for example the schedule for Phase One was altered due to strikes in the universities in both regions). The data collection for this study involved a mixed-method approach divided into two phases. Phase One consisted of the distribution of a qualitative-quantitative questionnaire (see Appendix A). A mixture of closed and open-ended questions were used in order to gain data on respondents’ personal views and encourage suggestions and insights in relation to the linguistic policies being pursued at regional and local government levels. Shohamy (2006) discusses overt and covert linguistic policies and this section of the questionnaire sought to determine to what extent respondents were aware of the overt policies of their regional councils towards Occitan. The questionnaire also aimed to establish the revitalization goals of the Occitan communities in both cities and to investigate the extent to which these goals mirrored those of the regional policies and if, as Fishman (1991, 2001) has cautioned
against, they are aiming to implement revitalization in too many areas simultaneously and, as a result, are impacting upon the success of any revitalization measures. Furthermore, it sought to establish if speakers understood the need for stable intergenerational transmission of Occitan before revitalization efforts were expanded into other areas. Questions pertaining to a number of revitalization measures present in both regional policies for the language were included in the questionnaire in order to investigate these issues. Speakers were also asked, via an open-ended question, what measures they wish to see taken for the protection and promotion of Occitan.

Convenience sampling was used instead of probability sampling as it was envisaged that, even within the bilingual French-Occitan population, speakers would be difficult to locate due to the fact that many are not actively involved in Occitan language and cultural organisations. As a result, speakers were more easily located through the latter organisations and, as not all organisations were willing to participate in the research, the researcher had to avail of any available and willing participants. This thesis does not seek to generate generalizable data, as the aim of the research is to examine the opinions of those involved with Occitan and not those of the general population, thus further accounting for the use of convenience sampling. In February 2010, the researcher contacted a number of Occitan institutions and organisations to request their participation in the research. A number of follow-up meetings were held with several of these organisations in June 2010. Those that took part in the research in Montpellier were the Cercle Occitan (a cultural organisation providing Occitan language and traditional dance classes), the Occitan department of the Université de Montpellier – Paul Valéry and Tio (an Occitan-language theatre group). In Toulouse the Occitan department of the Université de Toulouse – Le Mirail and the Institut d'Estudis Occitans (IEO) took part in the research.

A total of 123 questionnaires were distributed in Montpellier with a return rate of 29.3%. In Toulouse there was a response rate of 54.5% from a total of 120 questionnaires. Owing to the disparity in the number of questionnaires returned from each city, it was not possible to draw generalizable results from the socioeconomic data (age, gender, profession etc.). All questionnaires were anonymous. The responses for the closed questions were pre-coded and the data entered into SPSS for statistical analysis. The data from the open-ended questions was entered into SPSS Text Analytics where they were cross-referenced with the closed-question data. As participants were able to give multiple
responses to the open-ended questions, they could be counted in more than one response category, thus accounting for the varying percentages found in each category.

The second phase of the research involved focus group interviews with members of the Occitan communities of Montpellier and Toulouse. A total of four focus groups were held, two in each city. Participants from Phase One of the study were approached and invited to take part in the focus groups. In Montpellier, the participants were drawn from the students at the Cercle Occitan. Students at the Université de Montpellier – Paul Valéry were also invited to participate but they declined to do so owing to their heavy study and class timetables. The first of the focus groups in Montpellier was conducted on the 9th February 2011 with 8 participants, and the second on the 21st February 2011 with four participants. The Toulouse focus groups were carried out on the 22nd March 2011 with two participants and the 26th March 2011 with nine participants. Each of the focus groups was conducted in a semi-structured manner with the participants being asked about current and proposed regional linguistic policies, Occitan revitalization and the presence of Occitan in the LL and LS. These questions were drawn from Phase One of the research and elaborated upon to incite further discussion of the topics. Each focus group recording was transcribed verbatim (therefore the grammatical errors are the participants' own), with each participant being assigned a code to ensure anonymity. Only the researcher had access to this code list and it was destroyed once all transcription was completed. Participants were informed that they could view a copy of their transcript upon request and were free to further clarify their comments or ask that comments be withdrawn. No participant chose to view their transcript. The data was analysed using SPSS Text Analytics in order to identify thematic responses within each question and regarding each topic. The data was then analysed in relation to the phase one data in order to provide supporting evidence for the responses found or to add another dimension to the data when there was no correlation in responses.

5.3 Presentation of Research Results

5.3.1 Demographic Information of Questionnaire Participants

As stated in Section 1.2, the data collected during the research arose out of convenience sampling; no generalizable results could be drawn as there were an unequal number of respondents in each city – 36 in Montpellier and 78 in Toulouse. Nor could generalizable results be drawn in terms of demographic variables such as age, gender and socioeconomic
status. This was owing to the disparity in division of age and gender categories. Of the 36 respondents in Montpellier, 12 were male and 24 female; of the 78 respondents in Toulouse, 42 were male and 35 were female, with one participant failing to indicate their gender. Table 15 shows the number of questionnaire respondents in terms of age.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Category</th>
<th>Montpellier</th>
<th>Toulouse</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Number of respondents in each city according to age categories

As can be seen from the table, there was no equal division of participants according to age category and therefore no generalizable results can be drawn from the data in terms of respondents’ age. The same is true for respondents’ level of education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Montpellier</th>
<th>Toulouse</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brevet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bac</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licence</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorat</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Respondents’ Level of Education

The above table shows the unequal division of respondents in terms of their level of education. Once again the data collected in relation to these categories cannot be used to produce generalizable data for the Occitan population as a whole. Instead this thesis will focus on analysing themes which arise from the data collected in order to discuss the case of Occitan on a region-by-region basis.
5.3.2 Occitan Speakers’ Opinions of Regional Linguistic Policies

As this thesis argues that, in terms of language revitalization, the regional and local-level governments in France are best placed to engage in revitalization efforts for Occitan (Backhaus, 2012), questionnaire participants were asked about their knowledge of existing regional-level language policies. This allowed for an investigation as to the extent to which these policies are overt (Shohamy, 2006). Using a Likert scale, participants were asked to grade their knowledge of their region’s linguistic policy for Occitan from très bien informé to pas du tout informé.

![Figure 31 Level of knowledge of regional linguistic policies (Q.4)](image)

The data reveals that the majority of those surveyed had little knowledge of the linguistic policies being implemented by their respective Conseils régionaux. While many aspects of each policy are overt in nature, they are not publicized and this can account for the lack of awareness among the Occitan community in each city. Where the majority of an endangered language community are unaware of the revitalization efforts in place for their language, this will impact upon the success of linguistic policy. If Occitan speakers do not know what services are available to them, they cannot avail of them. It is, therefore, in the best interests of the Conseils régionaux to publicize their policies as much as possible to achieve the maximum impact for their measures. Greater awareness of local government support for Occitan also serves to influence positive ideologies regarding the language, as speakers perceive the authority’s support for the language and community (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006; Fishman 1991). Given that Occitan has a much higher profile in Toulouse
than in Montpellier, it is interesting to note that more respondents in Montpellier considered themselves to be well informed of Languedoc-Roussillon's policies than their Toulouse counterparts. This suggests that Occitan speakers in Montpellier are more concerned with their region's approach to the language as it is not a strong approach, nor one whose measures are readily visible within the city. Regardless of this, the fact remains that in both cities the majority of participants were poorly informed about their regional government's efforts in favour of Occitan. Though this can be attributed to apathy on the speakers' part, another explanation is the lack of communication between the authorities and the endangered language community. Clear and open communication between speakers and those attempting revitalization is vital if the correct measures are to be put in place and are to be successful (Fishman, 1991, 2001). Participants were then asked to what extent they agreed with these policies, again using a Likert scale.

![Bar chart](image)

**Figure 32 Agreement with regional linguistic policies (Q5)**

The majority of respondents in Montpellier were against the current linguistic policies of Languedoc-Roussillon. It must be cautioned, however, that the lack of agreement with these policies is overshadowed by participants' lack of knowledge of the same. The same can be said of Toulouse. The fact that over a quarter of participants did not respond to this question suggests that their lack of knowledge of these policies impacts upon their agreement or disagreement with them. Despite this, the majority of respondents in Toulouse were in favour of the current linguistic policies of the region, while the majority in Montpellier were against their region's policies. Following on from the analysis of each policy presented in Chapter 3, the policies of Midi-Pyrénées appear, at least on the surface, to be more comprehensive than those of Languedoc-Roussillon. The language has a high level of visibility and support in Toulouse. This serves to influence ideologies towards the
language in a more positive way than the lack of presence within Montpellier and the data suggests that this has influenced speakers in relation to their agreement and/or disagreement with these policies.

Participants were then asked if they wished to see changes made to their region’s Occitan policy. As can be seen from Figure 33, the majority in each region stated that they would.

![Figure 33 Respondents wishing to see changes to regional policy (Q6a)](image)

As could be expected, given the results from the previous question, nearly three-quarters of respondents in Montpellier would like to see improvements made to Languedoc-Roussillon’s policy for Occitan. In contrast, despite a higher level of support for the policies of Midi-Pyrénées, over 60% of Occitans in Toulouse felt that more could be done by the regional government to support and promote the language. Respondents were asked to specify why they felt changes should be made to regional policy. The data from this question is presented in Figure 34.
The changes sought by participants vary significantly from region to region. The priority for speakers in Languedoc-Roussillon is the promotion of Occitan and for the authorities to show respect for the language and culture. The lack of recognition of an endangered language on the part of local government results in negative attitudes towards that language and increases its decline (Crystal, 2000: 84), as can be seen in the case of Aboriginal languages in Australia (Crystal, 2000: 87). Occitan speakers in Languedoc-Roussillon feel that the regional authorities are not supportive enough of Occitan and this will impact negatively upon the language and beliefs concerning it. Speakers in Midi-Pyrenees also wished to see increased promotion and support of Occitan, though to a much lesser extent. This can be accounted for by the visibility of the language in Toulouse and the presence of Occitan announcements on the city's metro, both of which demonstrate support on the part of local-level authorities for the language. Perceptions of regional support for Occitan will be discussed in Section 5.3.3 below.

Midi-Pyrenees participants' priority in relation to regional policy was official recognition of Occitan alongside French and a comprehensive policy for the language's revitalization. First, as Sallabank (2011: 280) and Romaine (2007: 217-8) point out, calls for official recognition of an endangered language are commonplace among their speech communities, and this is borne out by the data presented here. While official status can result in a revaluation of an endangered language, it is not always successful in revitalizing it, as Ó'Riagáin (1997) found in the case of Irish in Ireland. Speakers in Midi-Pyrenees and Languedoc-Roussillon are misled in their belief that the local or regional governments can officially recognize Occitan, alongside French, as this is not within their power. Given the
repeated rejection of bills aimed at giving the Rls in France official recognition, coupled with Article 2 of the Constitution, their wishes are likely to fall on deaf ears at national government level. The fact that speakers in both regions called for a comprehensive policy for Occitan on the part of their regional government further highlights speakers' lack of awareness of the measures and policies already in place. This lack of awareness has resulted in speakers diverting their attention away from attainable and new revitalization goals, instead focusing on what is unattainable or already in place. In aiming for official status, Occitan speakers here are aiming too high on the GIDS according to Fishman (1991). Several authors (Fishman, 1991; McCarthy & Watahomigie, 1998; Nettle & Romaine, 2000) all warn that official status does not guarantee revitalization or protection, with Nettle & Romaine (2000: 39-40) explicitly stating that “conferring status on the language of a group relatively lacking in power doesn’t necessarily ensure the reproduction of a language”.

The same is to be said of looking to schools to revitalize language, as has been discussed at length in Chapter 3. However, the data in Figure 34 shows that Occitan speakers still look to the education system to save their language, and call on the regional authorities to increase the presence of Occitan in the school system. This once again demonstrates speakers' lack of understanding of the measures already in place for Occitan, with both regions having signed agreements with their respective Académies for the development of Occitan teaching.

Other areas, in which municipal authorities have already taken steps for the use of Occitan, albeit to varying degrees, are the LL and LS. As Chapter 4 evidenced the low visibility of Occitan in Montpellier street-name signs, it is not unreasonable that speakers should want to see the language expanded further into this domain. Over the past five years, the city has also added three new lines to its tram system, providing it with an opportunity to integrate Occitan-language announcements into the city's transport system, though it did not do so. What is interesting is that speakers in Toulouse also wanted greater visibility of the language within the region, despite it already having a strong presence on the street-name signs and on the city's transport system. Respondents did not state how they wished to see Occitan's presence in the LL and LS increased in Midi-Pyrénées, though the proposed extension of Occitan signs to the TER and signs in public buildings by the Schéma would constitute such an expansion. Much can be done in terms of increasing the presence of Occitan in the public sphere in Languedoc-Roussillon and this thesis argues that, given the potential for using the LL as a specific revitalization,
authorities in the region should take account of it and incorporate it into future Occitan policies.

5.3.3 Perceptions of Regional Support for Occitan

The data from Q6b (Figure 34) raised the issue of support for Occitan on the part of the regional and local authorities, with a higher percentage in Languedoc-Roussillon than in Midi-Pyrénées calling for greater promotion and support of the language on the part of those in power. Participants were asked about their perception of such support in order to investigate whether or not the ways in which they saw the regional and municipal authorities supporting Occitan correlated with the changes which they wanted to see made to Occitan policy.

Figure 35 Perception of support for Occitan on the part of Midi-Pyrénées (Q8a)

Figure 35 shows that the majority of respondents in both cities felt that the authorities in Midi-Pyrénées were supportive of Occitan. They were asked to provide reasons for their answer and this data is shown in Figure 36.
The data relating to why participants felt that there was support for Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées varied between the two regions. For respondents in Toulouse, the clearest evidence of support was found in the cultural activities funded and organized by authorities in the region. Festivals such as Festival Occitania are widely publicized throughout the region and the fact that it is partly funded by the Conseil régional and Conseil général for Haute-Garonne is clearly communicated through use of their logos on all promotional material.

The figures also show that a low number of respondents view support for Occitan in the form of education and linguistic policy. This data accounts for why speakers in the region are calling for increased Occitan education and comprehensive political policies for the language. They are either unaware that the regional council and relevant agencies are already working in this area or feel that what is being done is not sufficient to revitalize the language. It is interesting to note the low percentage of speakers in Toulouse who feel that support is shown by the various authorities in the form of the LL and LS. This is in contrast to respondents in Montpellier, the majority of whom cited the presence of Occitan within these two domains as the primary reason why they feel the Midi-Pyrénées regional and municipal authorities recognize the value of the language. Respondents in Languedoc-Roussillon also cited education and a political policy for Occitan as reasons for perceived support for the language on the part of Midi-Pyrénées, domains which were recognized to a much lesser extent in Midi-Pyrénées itself. From discussions with Occitan speakers in Montpellier, it appears that the reason for this discrepancy is that speakers in Languedoc-Roussillon look to Midi-Pyrénées as a model for Occitan revitalization in relation to the
support which the language receives there and are more acutely aware of what has been done for the language there in contrast to their own region. The post of regional councillor for Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées is also recognized by speakers as being a significant measure put in place for the language, with 7.9% of respondents overall citing it as evidence that the regional and municipal bodies are in favour of the language.

The focus group data supports the data shown in Figure 36, with one participant commenting that she was aware of the varied forms of support for the language found within the region,

GT1: Oui je pense que le conseil régional, euh, est vraiment sensibilisé de- de- depuis pas mal du temps et il y a, à mon avis ce qui est important, mais ce qui est pas mal du temps quelqu’un qui (est chargé) des affaires occitanes, euh, à la- au- à la région Midi-Pyrénées et, euh, et par ce fait-là ((coughs)) il y a vraiment des politiques qui sont menées, notamment sur le plan culturel. C’est un financement pour des projets culturels qui sont, euh, qui sont ( ) de la région et ce qui est important, parce qu’il y a beaucoup de- de création qui se font en langue occitane. Mais là, toujours, la même problématique, c’est comment on le finance et la région est très, très impliquée et je pense que, bon, elle pourrait être encore plus mais, euh, je pense que c’est un travail qui fait la vrai- vraiment (un) élément depuis, euh, depuis pas mal du temps, euh, le lieu (referring to the Maison d’Occitanie) on a ici [d’ailleurs] était financé en partie par le Conseil régional et par la Mairie aussi, la Mairie de Toulouse. Je pense que les acteurs, euh, locaux les régions sont beaucoup plus sensibilisés et comprennent l’avantage les enjeux pour l’état.

GT1 is aware of the financial, cultural and political support given by those in power within the region to the language. Another participant commented on the presence of a representative for the language,

ET4: Alors au Conseil général il y a un chargé pour l’Occitan et à la région un chargé de mission, c’est déjà un minimum mais ça peut être mieux.

These comments, and the data from the questionnaire indicate the importance of having a political representative for Occitan speakers. The creation of such a position communicates to speakers that the language is being taken seriously by those in power and that they are allocating resources for its protection and promotion.

Another issue raised in the questionnaire data was financial support. Respondents felt that, despite the region and city of Toulouse already dedicating significant financial resources to Occitan and having increased their budget for Occitan by more than 100% since 1998 to €1.35m in 2010 (Ostal d’Occitania,
http://www.ostaldoccitania.net/file/crida/Document Regionales_2010.pdf), more could still be done. Midi-Pyrénées currently falls behind Languedoc-Roussillon in terms of allocating financial support to Occitan, with the latter providing a budget of €2.8m in 2010 (ibid). The data suggests that the Occitan community would like Midi-Pyrénées to allocate a similar amount to that given by Languedoc-Roussillon to the language, indicating that, while speakers are receptive to linguistic policy and public support from the regional authorities, they feel that financial support is also a significant factor in the development and promotion of the language. Responses given in the questionnaire indicate that speakers would like to see further financial support given to Occitan education, festivals and cultural organisations, despite the fact that these resources are already in place.

The same question was asked in relation to the perceived support on the part of Languedoc-Roussillon and its authorities.

![Figure 37 Perception of support for Occitan on the part of Languedoc-Roussillon (Q9a)](image)

The majority of respondents in Montpellier were of the opinion that their language was supported by Languedoc-Roussillon. This is in contrast with the 72% who wanted to see changes made to their region's approach to Occitan, suggesting that speakers are happy with some aspects of the region's approach but do not know enough about the policies in place to make an informed decision about their effectiveness. The fact that the majority of speakers in Toulouse gave no response lends further credence to the lack of knowledge regarding Languedoc-Roussillon's Occitan policies in other Occitan-speaking regions. Languedoc-Roussillon's linguistic policy advocates inter-regional cooperation for the development of Occitan initiatives but the above data indicates that such cooperation, if it is in place, is not widely known in other regions. The data from Q9a contrasts with that
relating to Midi-Pyrénées, where the majority of participants recognized the support given to Occitan by the authorities there, showing that their initiatives are known elsewhere in the Occitan community, most likely as a result of the high visibility which Occitan has within the city of Toulouse.

Figure 38 shows the reasons why speakers felt that Languedoc-Roussillon supported or did not support Occitan. As can be seen from the data, the majority of respondents in Montpellier acknowledged that some efforts had been made on the part of the regional and municipal authorities but that these were insufficient. This finding correlates with the majority wanting to see changes made to the policies currently in place. Only 5% stated that the commitments made by the authoritative bodies within the region demonstrates support, further highlighting the low impact which these policies are perceived as having.

Figure 38 Reasons for perception of Languedoc-Roussillon support for Occitan (Q9b)

Speakers in Montpellier are also aware to a greater extent of the financial resources allocated to Occitan than speakers in Toulouse were in relation to their region's budget for Occitan. As Languedoc-Roussillon has the largest annual budget for the language of any of the Occitan regions in France, the recognition of this fact on the part of speakers is important. Though only a quarter of them cited finances as evidence of support, this knowledge can allow them to focus on areas other than calling for increased financial support for the revitalization of the language. However, as will be discussed below, there is some confusion as to which authorities (i.e. regional or departmental) provide financial support for things such as cultural events and festivals.
Only speakers in Montpellier stated that the development of Occitan within the schools in the region demonstrated support for the language. No speakers in Toulouse cited education in their responses. The low response level for this category amongst speakers in Montpellier indicates their lack of knowledge of the convention signed between the region and the *Education nationale* for the development of Occitan teaching in the region’s schools and universities. This partly explains why 15% of them specified education as an area in which they wanted the region’s approach to Occitan to change. It also highlights the fact that the regional and municipal authorities have not clearly communicated their policies for Occitan, and in particular for the teaching of the language, to members of the Occitan community, thus hindering the policies’ effectiveness.

Readers also cited cultural events as evidence of support, though not to a large extent. Given that this is an area in which both regional and departmental authorities have been heavily engaged (organising and providing financial resources for several Occitan festivals throughout the year), it is surprising that only 13% of Montpellier participants gave this as their reason. It was, however, raised in the focus groups, with participants stating that the festival *Total Festum* showed support for Occitan.

**SM3**: Il y a Total Festum. C’est eux qui paient non? Total Festum?

**PM1**: Oui, Total Festum mais je crois que c’est eux [qui donne de l’argent]

**BM2**: [Le Total Festum c’est] la région

**SM3**: C’est la région, [il me semblait]

**BM2**: Je crois que c’est la région, Total Festum

Another participant in Focus Group 2 commented that:

**HM1**: Bon il y a des manifestations de temps en temps comme, par exemple, ça fait quelques années qu’il y a une fête qui s’appelle Total Festum.

This festival, which began in October 2006, is organized and financed by the regional council and constitutes a high profile measure for Occitan promotion and revitalization. However, as previously stated, there was confusion as to who was responsible for this festival and its financing.

Another issue raised by one participant in the Montpellier focus groups was the feeling that public representatives in the department and the region only appeared to
engage with the Occitan community in the run up to elections, giving them the impression that they were only doing so in order to win votes.

**AM4:** Il y a des hommes politiques qui la soutiennent pour se faire des voix électorales.

Such sentiments contribute to the ideology of deficit amongst Occitan speakers, negatively influencing perceptions of the language and conveying the message that those in authority are only interested in Occitan when it is of benefit to them. AM4 goes on to comment on the case of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone and the demonstration that was held in the town in support of the use of the bilingual signs, mentioning that again elected officials from the Region only attended the demonstration in order to gain electoral support,

**AM4:** Voilà ils arrivent pour se faire aux voix au regard des élections

While any political support for Occitan is welcomed by speakers, the perception that this support is intermittent and aimed at garnering support for elections rather than supporting the language on a regular basis may account for the responses given to Q6b by participants in Montpellier. The feeling that the region places little value on Occitan contributes to speakers devaluing both the language and culture, thus leading to increased decline in speaker numbers.

When compared to data collected in relation to speakers' attitudes towards national language policy, however, regional-level policy is seen as being viewed much more positively than that of the national government.

![Figure 39 Agreement with national linguistic policy concerning RLS (Q2)](image-url)
When asked if they agreed with the policies of the national government concerning the RLs, the majority of respondents in both cities stated that they did not. Compared with the data in Figure 33, there is a substantial difference in how participants viewed linguistic policies at national and regional-level. Regarding regional policies, 37.7% of those surveyed agreed with the policies currently in place. In contrast, only 9.6% of all respondents agreed with the national government’s regional language policies. The difference in data supports the argument presented in this thesis that regional and municipal level governments are best placed to carry out revitalization through official means as they have a better understanding of the endangered language community’s revitalization goals. Those authorities at national-level are more removed from the communities which they represent. As has been discussed in Chapter 1, the linguistic policies of the French State are aimed at the protection and promotion of French, with only a handful of concessions made to the RLs in recent decades.

The data from these questions shows that, overall, respondents were not well informed about the linguistic policies in place for Occitan in their region and this has impacted upon their goals for revitalization and how they view their regional and local-level governments’ approach to Occitan. The impact of this will be discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3.4 Occitan in the Linguistic Landscape and Soundscape

This thesis argues that the LL and LS should be domains factored into revitalization policy, owing to the potential influence they can exert on language ideologies and beliefs through their symbolic representation of support for the endangered language (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Shohamy, 2006). Participants in the research were, therefore, questioned regarding their perception of the use, or lack thereof, of Occitan in these domains.

Perceptions of the Linguistic Landscape in Toulouse

Participants in both phases of the research were asked about the use of Occitan in the LL in order to establish how the Occitan-speaking community in Toulouse feels about the use of Occitan on the street-name signs which were surveyed as part of this research. The questionnaire consisted of an open-ended question that asked ‘Que pensez-vous de l’usage des panneaux bilingues (français-occitan) sur les routes ou dans les rues?’ Figure 40 presents the results of this question.
The majority of respondents gave favourable responses (très bien, bien, excellent, super, etc.) regarding the use of Occitan on these signs. This is in contrast with the findings shown in Figure 37, where only 11.5% of Toulouse participants cited Occitan in the LL/LS as a reason why they felt Midi-Pyrénées and local authorities support Occitan. When asked specifically about their opinion on the use of Occitan in the LL, over three-quarters were in favour of its use, with 17.9% also stating that it should be developed further and implemented in other areas of the LL. This provides support for the argument presented in this thesis that the LL should be considered as a specific domain in which to carry out revitalization. Occitan in this domain is well received by the Occitan community in Toulouse and this reception is important if the measure is to have continued success. This positive perception was also found in the focus group data, with several participants commenting that it showed the presence of the language within the city, a fact also noted by 11.5% of the questionnaire participants.

GT1: Ah je pense que c'est bon. On a commencé ici par le- par les plaques du rue, euh, bon c'était déjà bien parce que c'était important que la langue, euh, existe quelque part

DT9: C'est de la part de là aussi que les gens comprendraient que la richesse c'est le pouvoir dire autrement un mot, un endroit, plutôt que l'utiliser le mot en français

Less than 4% of those surveyed had negative opinions about the use of Occitan in the LL. No participants in Toulouse felt that Occitan on the street-name signs was of no use. 3.8%
of those surveyed stated that there is a need to explain the use of the language in the LL to members of the wider community as many mistake it for either Catalan or Spanish or do not recognize it at all. This is supported by data from the focus groups,

**ET4:** Il y a ceux qui pensent encore que c’est espagnol

**IT5:** Beaucoup sais que c’est Occitan mais [...] il y a strictement rien autour quoi [...] Pour les rues c’est une traduction sans explication. C’est un mot pour un mot mais sans rien autour et je trouve ça, ça ne donne pas une vie aux Toulousains. On peux savoir un peu plus.

Speakers also recognized that confusion arose in the use of bilingual announcements on the city’s metro, with no explanation given to non-Occitan speakers as to the use of the language. This will be discussed below.

Furthermore, 11.5% of those surveyed felt the use of Occitan in the Toulouse LL showed the historical links between the language and the city, while a further 19.2% felt its use in the LL promoted both the language and culture. Both are important factors in the revitalization of Occitan. They both contribute to general awareness of Occitan and to positive attitudes towards the language on the part of the general public, as well as within the Occitan community itself. Such positive perceptions of the use of Occitan in the Toulouse LL are encouraging as they indicate that the Occitan community recognizes the support which the language is receiving from municipal authorities. It also indicates that they feel the language to be valued by those authorities, thus serving to combat ideologies of deficit among the Occitan community in relation to their language.

The overall majority of participants viewed the incorporation of Occitan into the civic frame as a positive step for the language and as evidence of institutional support for the language, further supporting the value of the use of endangered languages in the civic frame as a revitalization measure in and of itself.

*Perceptions of the Linguistic Landscape in Montpellier*

The participants in Montpellier were also asked their opinions regarding Occitan in the LL. Figure 41 shows the results of this data.
The majority of respondents in Montpellier perceived the use of Occitan in the LL positively. However, it should be noted that these responses were in relation to the use of Occitan in the civic frame in general as the question was not city-specific. Therefore, the data cannot be interpreted as relating specifically to the use of Occitan on the street-name signs in Montpellier. In fact it was noted in the ‘other’ category by several participants that they were not even aware Occitan was used on these signs in the city. 58% of respondents felt that the use of Occitan on street-name signs was a positive initiative (stating it was très bien, bien, bonne usage, super, excellent, etc.). This was less than the 77% who stated the same in Toulouse, though this is attributable to the low presence of Occitan on these signs in Montpellier compared with Toulouse. Less than 9% viewed such use negatively, stating that it was anecdotal and had little impact, as well as noting that it was of no use due to the fact that most, if not all, speakers of Occitan understand French. This is indicative of the negative perception of the language brought about by a lack of visibility in the LL. These respondents felt that the use of Occitan in the LL had little impact and given the low frequency of use of the language found in Montpellier, this may be true. Although, one participant did point out that it was better to have a few signs in Occitan than none at all.

Over 8% of respondents in Montpellier felt that such use of Occitan helped to promote the language and its culture, with just over 16% feeling that it indicated a historical and cultural link between the region and the language. As was noted in Chapter 2 influencing perception is key in the revitalization of an endangered language and creating
awareness and promoting the language and its culture play an important role in the creation of positive attitudes towards the language and its speakers. A number of speakers in Montpellier, as in Toulouse, highlighted the importance of educating the wider public about the language and its use in the LL. As was found amongst speakers in Toulouse, those in Montpellier noted that many people either do not know what language is being used (they do not recognize it as being Occitan) or think it is either Catalan or Spanish. These respondents feel that there is a need to communicate the history and culture of the language to people in a more coherent and effective manner; that Montpellier is part of the Occitan-speaking region of France and why the language is being used in the LL. This links in with the need to create awareness of the language among the general public and in doing so influence how they perceive the language, namely as being the historical language of the region and city and part of their cultural and linguistic heritage.

Comparison of the LL of Toulouse and Montpellier

When the LLs of both Montpellier and Toulouse are compared, a number of differences can be observed. Firstly, there is a much higher degree of visibility of Occitan in Toulouse compared with Montpellier. This is as a result of the municipal authorities of Toulouse having engaged in utilising the LL for the development of Occitan for a number of years, as well as specifically factoring it into their language policies. Given that the use of Occitan in the LL of Montpellier is of low frequency and dates primarily from the 1970s and 1980s, the lack of awareness among Occitan speakers regarding its existence is not surprising. However, the presence of new signs, in particular those placed in recent times and in places where there was no accompanying French sign, is indicative of the LL once again being factoring into municipal policy for the language. However, the Conseil régional and the municipal authorities have failed to take account of the potential use of the LL for Occitan revitalization and have not included it in any linguistic policy.

In terms of revitalization, the fact that Montpellier had the highest occurrence of monolingual Occitan signs is also significant in that they are all new signs (from the last ten years) is important for the language. It demonstrates that the municipal authorities are installing new signs, rather than replacing existing ones. This appears to be done on an ad hoc basis, without any real planning and it must be argued that if the LL formed part of the municipal and regional authority approach to Occitan, sign installation would have been more systematic and thus have more impact. The use of Occitan in the LL also varies throughout the Languedoc-Roussillon Region, with 67% of signs surveyed in Béziers being
bilingual French, showing no uniformity in the municipal authorities' policies for the use of Occitan use in the LL. This disparate approach serves only to reduce the impact and potential success of any Occitan language signs found in the LL.

Overall, the positive perception of Occitan on street-name signs bodes well for their use in both cities. However, it is clear that there is much work still to be done on the part of the municipal authorities if this is to become an effective language revitalization tool. There must be clear communication of the motivations behind such use, as well as the provision of information pertaining to Occitan for those who are not familiar with the language. Furthermore, and particularly in the case of Montpellier, the use of Occitan in the civic frame must form part of a structured approach to language revitalization if it is to be implemented in a comprehensive manner and therefore achieve maximum impact. While Midi-Pyrénées has taken account of the need to expand Occitan into the public domain, it still has much work to do in achieving this. It must set clear goals for its implementation, in addition to engaging in dialogue with the respective municipal councils to ensure that all actors are working towards the same goal. Languedoc-Roussillon has failed to take account of the potential for the LL in Occitan revitalization and therefore must first investigate the possibilities for expanding the language into this domain and subsequently draw up a formal approach for this expansion. As with Midi-Pyrénées, this will require cooperation between regional and municipal authorities, with all actors committed to bringing Occitan into the civic frame for which they are responsible.

Occitan in the Linguistic Soundscape

Given the prominence of the bilingual announcements used on the Toulouse metro and the potential for its use as a revitalization measure, participants in both the questionnaire and focus group phases of the research were asked their opinion about the use of Occitan in the LS. They were conscious of the fact that use of Occitan on public transport raises awareness of the language and draws attention the attention of travellers who might otherwise be ignorant of its existence within the city. This is what speakers and language policy actors in the Regions referred to as "socialisation" of the language. The questionnaire data relating to the use of Occitan in the metro is shown in Figure 42.
As can be seen from the table above, the majority of respondents in both Toulouse and Montpellier were in favour of the use of Occitan in the LS of public transport. These results support the use of an endangered language in the LS and its potential as a revitalization method. In total, 77% of respondents gave favourable responses regarding the use of such announcements on public transport, with a further 14% stating that it should be encouraged and developed further. 24.6% of all respondents felt that it was a good form of promotion for Occitan and that it allowed Occitan speakers to reconnect with the language and non-speakers to discover it, possibly for the first time. Less than 10% of respondents in each city felt the use of Occitan in the LS of public transport to be a bad idea or as having little impact. 5.3% of all respondents stated that, though the measure was a positive one, it was not sufficient and required expansion and reworking. Those comments made in the data relating to the insufficiency of this measure came in the form of criticism of the initial recordings used and the inaccuracy of some of the station names. As these issues have now been rectified, the data collected here provides the basis for future investigation in order to ascertain if these changes have impacted upon speakers' perceptions. Respondents also stated that they wished to see the measure implemented on a large scale, taking in other forms of public transport and the transport hubs themselves, such as train and bus stations. This, too, provides scope for further study as the use of bilingual
announcements was extended to the city's bus and tram system in 2012 (after the data collection for this thesis).

Respondents in Montpellier also displayed a certain level of frustration that Occitan had not been incorporated into the LS of the city as it had been in Toulouse. With the creation of four tramlines in Montpellier since 2000, there was the potential for bilingual announcements to be put in place on the tram system. One focus group participant in Montpellier expressed this frustration in saying,

HM1: Mais c'est vrai que- que leur (drame) (dont je parlais) avec ( ) qui m'en parlait c'était qu'au moment, au moment où il y a eu le projet du tram même dans le milieu occitan, on sait vrai que, on sait pas qui- qui refuse en occuper dans le milieu occitan de demander comment ils l'ont fait à Toulouse qui- qui est de l'occitan dans le métro ( ) dans le tram parce que même maintenant que c'est fait c'est plus difficile.

Seeing measures such as Occitan in the LL and LS in Toulouse, speakers in Montpellier feel that authorities in Languedoc-Roussillon could carry out similar measures there but refuse to do so. This perceived lack of support contributes to self-stigmatization, the devaluing of Occitan and contributes to the decline which the language has seen in the region.

Focus group participants in Toulouse were, for the most part, in favour of the use of Occitan on the city's metro, with one speaker commenting,

GT1: je trouve ce qui est important dans l'idée de mettre la langue dans le métro, euh, c'est que cette langue on l'entend, parce que pour beaucoup de gens, euh, bon il y a, il y a quand même, enfin l'état français a passé tellement d'années à faire quoi au genre que, que ceux qui parlaient (enfin que) que les gens parlaient (depuis longue qu'elle) n'est pas une langue [...] euh, que c'était finalement euh, les gens qui parlaient l'occitan n'étaient pas cultivé. Ce donc était une très mauvaise image de marque, ah la plupart des gens par rapport à l'occitan même si depuis des années il y a des, il y a une évolution. Donc je pense que d'entendre la langue, euh, ça permet de faire comprendre aux gens que c'est une langue, justement que c'est pas uniquement quelque chose qu'un sousparler français, que c'est une langue qui est différente du français. Alors c'est vrai qu'à Toulouse, bon, il y a eu un point parce que là les annonces celles qu'elles ont faites ne sont pas très bien faits.

This speaker has highlighted the role which the use of Occitan in the LS can play in terms of raising awareness of the language and countering ideologies of deficit. It does, however, highlight an issue that was raised in both the questionnaire and focus group data, namely
that of the lack of explanation regarding the bilingual announcements and, indeed, the bilingual street-name signs. 17.9% of survey participants in Toulouse noted that there was no explanation given to travellers in relation to the language being used alongside French and this impacts upon its successful implementation. One focus group participant expanded upon this saying.

HT8: Mais surtout la- la politique qui peut ( ) qui manqué, c’est la­ ce que vous avez tous dit, la pédagogie quoi. La pédagogie est catastrophique parce que quand on met- on met un mot en occitan dans le métro [...] c’était comme il n’y avait pas de conscience de la problématique, justement et tout ça est bon, (jouer) faire ça, on peut mettre les noms de stations en occitan dans le métro et puis, bon, ça soulève le débat. Des gens pour, des gens contre. On n’a pas de tout fait de – de pédagogie. C’est la pédagogie, c’est pas l’association ( ). Les gens qui ont mené le travail, ce qui était fait pour le métro ( ) il y avait (ceux) des chargés, signés, fait réaliser, rédigé des travaux et après, effectivement, sur le terrain, bah, faire, euh, mettre tous les- toutes les communications nécessaires pour, euh, pour informer les gens pourquoi. Sinon, euh, voilà, c’est – c’est- c’est où on a l’échec.

Other participants commented that,

KT10: Et, euh, dans le métro il y a juste quelques noms de station et ce serait bien s’il y a aussi de la documentation aussi en Occitan et des explications aussi pourquoi est-ce que, euh, pourquoi Occitan. Des gens entendent l’Occitan et voient les plaques en Occitan mais c’est pas suffisant, en fait, il faudrait, euh, la pédagogie.

ET4: Il y a eux qui pensent encore que c’est espagnol

IT5: Moi, je trouve que c’est totalement déconnecté de la vie. C’est (plaquée) justement parce qu’il y a aucune explication. Tout le monde sait que c’est l’occitan

HT8: [ah non]

RT7: [non, non]

IT5: Beaucoup savent que c’est Occitan mais [...] Il y a strictement rien autour quoi [...] Pour les rues c’est une traduction sans explication. C’est un mot pour un mot mais sans rien autour et je trouve ça, ça ne donne pas une vie aux Toulousains. On peux savoir un peu plus.

The fact that speakers raised this issue is significant. While participants clarified that it is not members of the Occitan community who needed these explanations but, rather, those
who were not familiar with the language (i.e. non-Occitan speakers and tourists), it shows
that the level of awareness of Occitan within the city is not as high as would be suggested
by the prominence of the language on the city's street-name signs. The provision of
information regarding the use of Occitan in both the LL and LS would serve to increase
awareness among the non-Occitan community and thus contribute to raising the prestige
of the language. If confusion arises as to what language is being used, this will impact upon
revitalization efforts, as sign readers and listeners will not fully appreciate the measures
that have been put in place, thereby reducing their overall impact. Tisséo was to have
carried out an information campaign (TisseOc, http://tisseoc.free.fr/spip.php?article109),
though this was not done. This accounts for the confusion encountered by tourists and
non-Occitan speakers when hearing the language on the city's transport system. This issue
should be rectified if the use of Occitan in the Toulouse LS is to be successful and
contribute to revitalization via ideological influence. Equally, Occitan in Montpellier would
benefit from putting in place similar measures on the city's tram system. With the project
of Occitan on the metro being perceived positively by participants in both cities, it is likely
that these results would be replicated in Montpellier, though this would require further
sociolinguistic research.

5.3.5 Speakers' Goals for the Revitalization of Occitan
This section presents data pertaining to the revitalization goals of Occitan speakers in both
regions. The research aimed to establish if speakers are too ambitious in terms of their
goals for the language revitalization, a theme found in the literature as being characteristic
of revitalization movements (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2006, 2007; Grenoble & Whaley,
2006). It also sought to investigate whether or not they are aware of the need to stabilize
transmission and use of the language in the Occitan community before moving on to the
upper levels of the GIDSs. The second part of this section examines the awareness on the
part of speakers of revitalization measures that have been put in place as a result of
regional and municipal-level language policy. The aim of this was to establish if the
responses given by speakers corresponded to the revitalization measures outlined in each
those policies. A comparison of the data relating to this issue will also show that
participants are more aware of the revitalization efforts being made in Toulouse than they
are of those found in Montpellier, providing yet another contrast between the language
policies of the two regions and their authorities.
Speaker Goals for Occitan Revitalization

Participants in the questionnaire phase of the research were asked what measures, in their view, could be put in place for the protection and promotion of Occitan. This question was designed to investigate whether or not the goals which speakers have are achievable revitalization goals or if, as Fishman contends is the case with the majority of endangered language communities, they are too ambitious too early on in their revitalization goals. This section was also used to investigate whether or not speakers saw language policy as being a key factor necessary for the revitalization and maintenance of Occitan.

Respondents were asked, through the use of an open-ended question, what revitalization measures, in their opinion, could be put in place for Occitan. As can be seen from the data below, education emerges as the most prominent response. It should be noted that several examples of revitalization measures were given in the question, which may have influenced responses. However, given that there is much evidence in the literature (Fishman, 1991; Romaine, 2007, Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) that endangered language speakers often look to education to save their language. Given the data found in other questions, where increased Occitan education was cited by participants as a change they wished to see made to policy, it is argued here that education is the primary goal for respondents.

![Graph showing revitalization measures](image)

**Figure 43** Revitalization measures which respondents felt could be put in place (Q7)
Slightly less than 66% of respondents cited Occitan language education, both public and private, as the principal area in which they felt revitalization could take place. This is consistent with the literature, with the Occitan community following the trend found with other endangered language communities. No respondents stated intergenerational transmission as a revitalization measure, though 6% of those in the ‘other’ category did note that the language should be spoken more. However, they did not specify if this increase in usage should take place within the community or within the home. The data, therefore, clearly shows a lack of understanding of core revitalization steps which linguists advocate should be taken before moving up the various stages of Fishman’s GIDS.

The development and increased output of Occitan-language media was the second largest response category for this question. Considering the low level of Occitan-language media available in the two regions, it is not surprising that speakers see this as being an important revitalization domain. Given that both Conseils régionaux specifically take account of the need to increase Occitan media, participants’ goals and the aims of the regional linguistic policies are in sync in relation to media expansion. The data also highlighted the issue of separation of Occitan and French-language media. Respondents indicated a desire to see media developed specifically in and for the Occitan language, as distinct from mainstream French-language media. An increase in Occitan-language media is an achievable goal for those seeking to revitalize the language. However it is still at the higher end of the GIDS (Stage 2) and, as such, according to Fishman’s theory, demonstrates speakers being too ambitious in terms of revitalization aims before the establishment of stable and continued intergenerational transmission. Though this would provide speakers with an increase in literary and telecommunication resources which they could use for the learning and teaching of the language, as well as constituting an example of domain expansion.

The third largest response category was that of Occitan in the LL and LS. This has already been explored in the previous section and so will not be commented on further here.

Respondents again mention the need for the promotion and support of Occitan cultural events and organisations, seeing them as a way of increasing public awareness of the language, providing an opportunity for speakers to come together and engage in cultural activities. This measure is also linked to the language policies being pursued by both regions. However, respondents felt that current cultural initiatives put in place by the
regional and municipal authorities could be built upon and that further events could be staged, with growing support from local and regional government.

A category that proves difficult for the Occitan community is that of being able to use the language to communicate with local, regional and state authorities. 17.5% of respondents stated that they wished to be allowed to communicate with the respective authorities in the language of their choosing, i.e. Occitan. The *loi Toubon* (1994) stipulates that all communication with French authorities must be done through French, although translations may be provided in other languages. While communication is offered in Occitan by certain authorities (the *Conseils régionaux* of both Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées offer their websites in Occitan as well as in French), they are bound by legislative constraints to communicate only through French in official matters. The goal of using Occitan in official communications is placed at Stage 2 on Fishman's GIDS, thus making it a goal which may be considered too ambitious without the stability and maintenance offered by intergenerational transmission and the attainment of the lower levels on the scale.

The category with the lowest percentage of responses was that on the need for a concrete or defined political policy for the language. When asked about revitalization measures and not about political standpoints, speakers ranked political recognition as one of the least important measures which can be taken for the language. This contrasts with the data from Q6b, where 27% of respondents overall cited political recognition and definitive political policies for Occitan as a change they wanted to see made to regional policy. When asked specifically about policy, respondents feel that they are of high importance for the language. However, when speaking about revitalizing and maintaining Occitan, participants cited policy to a much lesser extent, focusing, rather, on education, media, and prestige planning. Therefore, when questioned about revitalization measures, participants demonstrated a level of awareness of the measures which are attainable and can bring about revitalization such as transmission of the language. However, they focus solely on achieving this through education and not in the home, and not those which are vital to endangered language survival such as prestige planning via cultural promotion.

*Speaker Perceptions of Existing Revitalization Efforts at Regional and Municipal Level*

Participants were asked if they were able to identify revitalization measures currently being undertaken by the regional and municipal authorities in order to gauge their
awareness of such measures, and also to assess whether or not, in light of the data from Q7 (Figure 43), they were seeking revitalization efforts where they were already in place.

Participants were first asked if they were aware of revitalization measures in place in Midi-Pyrénées.

![Figure 44 Knowledge of revitalization measures put in place in Midi-Pyrénées (Q10a)](image)

Respondents were almost evenly split as to whether they knew of revitalization measures currently in place for Occitan in Midi-Pyrénées. It is possible that they were aware of steps taken for the revitalization and maintenance of the language but did not recognize them as such. Therefore, they were asked to give examples of these measures in order to ascertain if they were measures currently outlined in the region's Schéma and if they corresponded to the participants' own goals for the language.
Figure 45 Examples of revitalization measures put in place in Midi-Pyrénées (Q10b)

The largest example category was the presence of Occitan in the LL and LS of Toulouse. As has already been discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 4, it is argued here that presence of an endangered language in the LL and LS is a readily identifiable revitalization measure owing to its high visibility in the public domain.

Cultural events and Occitan in education were also recognized as revitalization initiatives, though by low percentages of the respondents, accounting for the high number who wanted to see development of policies in these areas. Participants in Toulouse named the availability of Occitan resources in the form of documentation centres and archives as another support structure of which they were aware. They specifically referred to CROM (Centre de ressources occitanes et méridionales), a documentation and Occitan resource centre in Toulouse, and to the IEO, which provides information relating to Occitan classes, festivals and events.

Less than 1% of participants overall cited information campaigns in Midi-Pyrénées as a revitalization measure and, of these, none were from Toulouse. This indicates a distinct lack of communication between those implementing revitalization policies and the community at which they are aimed. Though such campaigns form part of the Schéma, they have not been implemented on a large scale and, consequently, participants are unaware of them.
Recognition of financial support was also low, despite the authorities at all levels within the region allocating resources to both Occitan organisations and festivals. This support is clearly indicated on all publicity. The data from this category accounts for participants' calling for greater financial support from the region, given their failure to cite it as a reason for regional authority support in Figure 36. However, respondents did not state what they wished to utilize increased financial resources for, and thus seem to feel that it will help revitalization without really knowing how or why. This indicates poor ideological clarification on the part of participants in relation to how they want Occitan to be revitalized.

Media and political representatives also ranked low as recognisable revitalization measures in Midi-Pyrénées. Given the fact that in their responses to Q8b, participants cited the creation of the post of chargé de mission in the regional council as evidence of support for the language, it is surprising that here they do not recognize it as an effort for revitalization. This would suggest that, in contrast to the data in Figure 35, political policies for Occitan are not as important for respondents as it would first appear. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, little has been done by means of increasing Occitan-language media in the region, and this accounts for participants' lack of recognition of revitalization in this area.

From this data, it can be seen that where regional and municipal policy initiatives have been put in place, as in the case of education and the LL/LS, these are the efforts most recognized by respondents. Areas in which little has been done or where the implementation of efforts has not been clearly communicated to the Occitan communities by the authorities, result in low or non-existent recognition on the part of speakers. This highlights the need for revitalization efforts to be carried out in a comprehensive manner and for the endangered language community to be made aware of them so that they may avail of them and for them to have the maximum impact.

Respondents were then asked the same questions in relation to revitalization efforts in Languedoc-Roussillon.
Figure 46 Knowledge of revitalization measures put in place in Languedoc-Roussillon (Q11a)

There is a large difference between the knowledge of participants relating to revitalization measures in place in Languedoc-Roussillon compared with Midi-Pyrénées. Few participants in Toulouse were aware of such efforts in the neighbouring region, whereas 44% of Montpellier respondents stated they knew of Midi-Pyrénées revitalization. The data indicates that, as has been previously discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 3, very little regarding the linguistic policies at work in Languedoc-Roussillon have been communicated to the larger Occitan community, despite the Stratégie advocating interregional cooperation.

There were also fewer categories of examples given by respondents in both cities regarding revitalization support structures in place in Languedoc-Roussillon, as illustrated in Figure 47.

The majority of respondents in Montpellier recognized cultural support, in the form of festivals, as the clearest example of revitalization efforts in the region. Chapter 3 discussed how this was the aspect of the Stratégie which had been implemented to the greatest extent. The data here demonstrates that Occitan speakers are aware of the prestige planning in which the regional and municipal authorities are engaged, indicating that these elements of linguistic policy have been clearly communicated to the Occitan community.

Education was the second largest category given by respondents. A further 13.6% specifically gave the example of the region’s Convention with the Education nationale for the development of Occitan teaching in all levels of education within the region. Again, this
shows that certain aspects of the region's policies are well known among the Occitan community, and that the latter recognize the support given to the language in these areas.

Financial support was the largest category cited by Toulouse respondents, clearly indicating that they are aware of the fact that Languedoc-Roussillon has the largest budget for the language of all the Occitan-speaking regions in France. This fact is less known among the Montpellier participants, who, like their counterparts in Toulouse, want to see an increase in financial resources allocated to the language. However, they too fail to state what this increased budget would be spent on.

Occitan in the LL and LS was cited by an extremely low number of participants in Montpellier and by none in Toulouse. Given the low presence of Occitan in the Montpellier LL, this data is not surprising.

The data presented here shows that revitalization efforts which are widely publicized, such as cultural events, are the best-known aspects of revitalization in Languedoc-Roussillon. Though respondents wish to see Occitan teaching increased, they

Figure 47 Examples of revitalization measures put in place in Languedoc-Roussillon (Q11b)

However, given that 15.3% of respondents in Figure 35 wanted to see changes made to regional policy in the area of education highlights a discrepancy between what measures the participants know to already be in place and what they want done for the language. This disparity is attributable to either a lack of understanding of the educational policies in place on the part of participants or to a lack of communication regarding these efforts between the regional and municipal authorities and the Occitan community within the region.
are aware, to a certain extent, of the efforts which have been made by the relevant authorities to achieve this goal. The failure by participants to identify Occitan in the Languedoc-Roussillon LL as a revitalization mechanism highlights the regional and municipal authorities' failure to take this domain into account in their approach to Occitan. This represents a missed opportunity on their part to engage in revitalization in a domain which is easily accessible for the wider population and, as this thesis argues, has the potential to influence ideologies and beliefs pertaining to Occitan.

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented the findings from both the questionnaire and focus group phases of the research. What has been borne out by this data is that participants view the linguistic policies of the regional councils in a much more positive light than those of the national government. However, the changes they wish to see made to the former demonstrate a lack of consideration for the long-term survival of the language, focusing on areas such as education, media and financial support instead of on stabilising transmission of the language and increasing its use within the community. The data has also shown that speakers' revitalization goals are mixed, and a failure to recognize measures which have already been implemented. When examined in relation to the GIDS, it is argued that they are being too ambitious in their goals for Occitan, with the call for official language status being a case in point.

Chapter 6 will present the overall conclusions which have been reached as a result of the analysis of regional-level policies in Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées, the potential for the use of the LL and LS as revitalization tools, and, finally, how the revitalization goals of Occitan speakers impacts its future revitalization.
6. General Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the general conclusions that can be reached from the research and data presented in this thesis. As has been stated in Chapter 5, given the disparity in response rate between Montpellier and Toulouse as regards the questionnaire phase of the research and the unequal distribution in gender and age group of the respondents, no generalizable conclusions can be drawn from the data. However, this thesis did not seek to produce generalizable data but, rather to examine the opinions of Occitan speakers in each city in a more qualitative and thematic manner. The general conclusions drawn from this research will be presented in light of the three research questions with which this thesis is concerned.

6.2 The Effectiveness of Regional and Municipal Level Language Policy in Occitan Revitalization

This thesis supports Backhaus' assertion (2012: 242) that local level government - regional or municipal - is ideally placed to engage in language revitalization. Spolsky (2009: 147) emphasizes that national governments tend to leave language alone, though this is only true of France in relation to the RLs. In the case of Occitan, it has fallen to the authorities at regional and municipal level to engage in language revitalization efforts on behalf of the language and its speech community. Though there are efforts on the part of the regional and municipal authorities to revitalize the language, they are often disparate and lacking cohesion, thus reducing their efficacy. Local government, conversely, has the authority (in some domains) to effect positive change for Occitan through the implementation of measures such as domain expansion (LL/LS, media, education). Government at this level is in a position to cooperate and coordinate such actions with the authorities in neighbouring regions, thus ensuring a comprehensive and cohesive approach. However, as the analysis of the linguistic policies of Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées in Chapter 3 has shown, the current approach to Occitan on the part of local government has many shortcomings.

In the case of Midi-Pyrénées, it is evident that the Conseil régional is positive in its policies for Occitan and is attempting to revitalize the language in several domains. This, however, hinders its success as they are trying to attain revitalization and language stability
in too many areas at the same time. Furthermore, their understanding of the importance of intergenerational transmission and its role in revitalization is poor. Though this is a domain in which regional and municipal governments can exert no direct influence, intergenerational transmission is key to the survival of an endangered language (Fishman, 1991, 2001). Without it, all other efforts will only serve to slow the decline of the language. The language policy of Midi-Pyrénées must take account of this and reconceptualize its policies accordingly. While the teaching of Occitan in the various levels of the education system will, most certainly, contribute to the survival of the language, it is not to be seen as its saviour. Any linguistic policy aiming to save Occitan must look to education as playing a supportive role, secondary to intergenerational transmission. The Midi-Pyrénées Schéma fails to do this.

In addition, a number of measures outlined in the policy document are questionable in terms of design and efficacy. Initiatives such as the training of journalists to speak Occitan will not necessarily result in an increased output of Occitan-language media, a fact of which the Conseil régional fails to take account. These projects need redrafting if they are to be effective. Other measures, such as teaching Occitan to regional authority staff and the creation of an Internet-based Occitan television channel, would be best left for later policies. It is only once language decline has been reversed and speaker numbers stabilized that measures such as the development of media, literature and workshops should begin. The reasoning for this is that, without speakers, none of these projects can be successful in saving Occitan. Therefore, while well intentioned, the Conseil régional of Midi-Pyrénées is misguided in its revitalization efforts and must reformulate their policies, basing them around language in the home and community, before moving on to efforts which are higher on the GIDS.

Turning to the Stratégie of Languedoc-Roussillon, similar issues can also be found in the region’s policy. It is argued that, in some respects, the Stratégie is much weaker than the Schéma. It is not as comprehensive a document and can be read more as a set of intentions rather than a linguistic policy. Only in some cases does the policy document identify the agencies with which it will cooperate to implement its goals, rendering it difficult to assess the effectiveness of such goals, or even to ascertain if they are aware that measures pertaining to them have been put in place. The same is true of the Midi-Pyrénées Schéma. It, too, fails to take account of the need to bring Occitan back into the home, once again seeing schools as the primary transmitters of the language, an approach that many in the literature see as flawed. Despite this, education is an area in which the
region's policies can be seen to have affected change, with the signing of the Convention with the Education nationale and the increase in the number of the region's Calandretas. They have also effectively engaged in the promotion of the language though the creation and financial support of a number of Occitan cultural festivals. While this goes some way to countering ideologies of deficit and raising Occitan prestige, it does not ensure consistent and sustained revitalization. Other efforts, such as the creation of a Troubadour Centre appear to have had no impact in terms of revitalization.

As with the Schéma, Languedoc-Roussillon's Stratégie for Occitan requires much reworking if the language is to be revitalized. Key areas such as using the LL to raise the profile of Occitan within the region, working in tandem with the relevant municipal authorities to implement such use, is largely ignored by the policy. The Conseil régional must also shift its focus from education to language use within the home and community, and to supporting such use rather than hoping that schools will reverse speaker number decline.

From the analysis carried out in Chapter 3, it is clear that the linguistic policies of both regions studied require reconceptualization and reformulation if they are to contribute to Occitan revitalization. As Backhaus (2012: 227) points out, "Language policies [...] tend to be chaotic, incongruent and extremely piecemeal". This is, in part, true of the policies studied in this thesis. It is recommended that the authorities in question carry out further sociolinguistic research and that they take into account the existing literature regarding language revitalization in general before any future policies are formulated. This will ensure that time, money and effort are not wasted in attempting to affect change where such change will have little impact on the survival of the language. Efforts are best concentrated on (re)-establishing the Occitan speaker base, before moving forward in areas such as media and culture.

6.3 The Linguistic Landscape and Linguistic Soundscape as Language Revitalization Tools

The second research question focused on the use of Occitan in the LL and LS as both reflections of policy and as language revitalization mechanisms in their own right. Regarding the LL and LS as indicators of current municipal linguistic policies, this thesis argues that, in the cases of Toulouse and Montpellier, these domains are accurately reflect current approaches to Occitan on the part of the authorities. The high level occurrence of Occitan on the street-name signs of Toulouse represents the policies of the city and region
in relation to the revitalization of the language. Conversely, the almost total exclusion from the street-name signs (being found on only 11 of the 46 signs surveyed) indicates not only the authorities’ weak approach to Occitan revitalization but also their failure to utilize the LL in prestige planning.

Furthermore, while Occitan is also being used in the LS in Toulouse, no such use is found in Montpellier. Once again, this is a missed opportunity for those seeking to revitalize Occitan within the region. There is no reason why the city’s tram system could not incorporate bilingual announcements, similar to the English-Irish announcements made on the Luas tram system in Dublin. Use of an endangered language in the LS of public transport is an effective way to raise awareness of the language, as well as influencing ideologies and affording people a chance to hear it spoken. This thesis cautions, however, that such announcements require extensive research relating to appropriate toponymy, pronunciation and the information which is to be conveyed prior to their implementation. As evidenced by the research, failure to put in place adequate planning in relation to the use of an endangered language in the LS will impact perception of it within the wider community.

Chapter 4 has presented the argument for using the LL and LS as language revitalization tools in their own right. Given the data collected for this thesis, the Occitan community perceives such use positively. There is significant scope for the development of the LL and LS as foundational components of endangered language policies and this is an area in which further research should be carried out.

In order for the LL to be maximally effective in their roles as revitalization mechanisms, the LL and the LS must be expanded and developed. Limiting them to the civic frame is not sufficient to bring about language revitalization. Those in authority must work closely with other actors, such as private enterprise and semi-state bodies, to ensure that the language in question is present in as many frames of the LL and LS as possible. One caveat is that those bringing the language into the public sphere should do so in tandem with an information campaign explaining its use and the motivations behind it. This will allow speakers and non-speakers alike to appreciate the support which the language is receiving from authorities, while at the same time learning about the language itself.

6.4 Speaker Goals for the Revitalization of Occitan

The third, and final, research question examined concerned the revitalization goals of Occitan speakers. It sought firstly to investigate if speakers were too ambitious in their
revitalization aims; and, secondly, to ascertain if speakers’ goals correlated with revitalization mechanisms put in place by regional and municipal authorities in both regions.

The data revealed that, when examined in relation to the literature and to Fishman’s GIDS (1991) in particular, participants were being too ambitious in their revitalization goals. While there is nothing wrong with aiming high, many of the goals outlined by respondents, such as official language status, are not feasible. Participants’ responses held true to the literature in that they, like the regional policies, sought out education to counteract Occitan’s decline and felt that official status and recognition would save the language. As has been evidenced the world over, this is not the case. Speakers mirror their respective region’s policies in ignoring the need for intergenerational transmission. It is unclear as to whether this is due to lack of impetus on the part of the community itself, or if they do not realize the importance of speaking the language in the home. Irrespective of the reason, the fact remains that unless intergenerational transmission is (re)-established, Occitan decline is likely to continue into the future. Speakers must be educated on the need to use the language themselves before looking to government to recognize its use. As Ó’Riagain (2004) found in the case of Irish in Ireland, bestowing official status on a language does not result in its use. The goals of speakers, like the language policies of their regions, must be reoriented towards use of Occitan within the community if the language is to survive.

The research also revealed that speakers looked for revitalization in areas where regional and municipal authorities were already working to save the language, particularly in the domains of education and culture. The results showed that where they recognized the revitalization efforts for what they were, speakers wished to see them developed further. Respondents called for initiatives, such as the creation of the position of chargé de mission for Occitan in the Conseil régional of Midi-Pyrénées, in domains where revitalization efforts were already being made. This highlights the lack of clear and consistent communication between authorities and speakers as to what is being done for the language. Such communication is vital if the Occitan community is to recognize revitalization measures for what they are and to support them. Only with the support of the endangered language community can linguistic policies hope to be effective in saving languages. The argument that the policies of the regional and municipal authorities and how they approach their relationship with the Occitan community needs to be reconceptualized is, therefore, strengthened by the data results.
6.5 Limitations of the Research

A number of issues were encountered during the course of the research. Firstly, and most importantly, the difference in response rate between the two cities for the questionnaire phase of the research hindered the researcher's ability to produce generalizable data from which to draw conclusions pertaining to the role and perception of language policy in the revitalization of Occitan. This was compounded by the fact that, due to convenience sampling, the researcher was unable to analyse the data in terms of age or gender. Despite this, the data revealed interesting themes and information regarding the role of language policy in the revitalization of Occitan and how speakers orient themselves in relation to these policies and their own revitalization goals.

6.6 Further Research

There are a number of areas arising from this thesis that would provide a platform for further research into the interaction of local level language policy and language revitalization. Firstly, this thesis has confined itself to the study of only two regions in Occitan France as, given Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon's somewhat different approaches to Occitan revitalization, they provided a basis for the comparison of differing linguistic policies and how they are perceived by speakers. As several other Conseils régionaux in Occitanie have also devised and implemented their own language policy, a study of other Occitan regions would provide further insight into which forms of policy and revitalization measures Occitan speakers respond to best and which are more effective in terms of revitalization. Also, as Occitan is a transnational language, being spoken in parts of Italy and Spain, a comparative study of the language policies of each of the three countries would allow researchers to further investigate the impact of language policy on revitalization. This research would be of particular value given the fact that Occitan is the official language of the Val d’Aran and has a certain amount of legal protection in Italy. A comparative analysis of the linguistic policy of each of these countries would contribute greatly to our knowledge of the role which such policy plays in relation to Occitan revitalization. It would also allow investigation of speakers’ views that official status equates with revitalization given the Occitan’s status in Val d’Aran and Catalonia.

Finally, the use of Occitan in the Toulouse metro opens up the field of LL to the possible inclusion and study of the use of languages in the LS. Such study would also
greatly benefit the field of revitalization studies, giving a deeper insight into the role which
the LS can play in promoting and saving endangered languages.
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Appendix
Transcription symbols

[ left closed bracket indicates the point at which overlapping speech begins

] right closed bracket indicates the point at which overlapping speech finishes

( ) empty parentheses indicate the transcriber’s inability to hear what is being said

(word) parenthesized words are possible hearings

((( ))) double parentheses are the transcriber’s own description i.e. explanation of a term or if a participant coughs, laughs etc

- hyphen/dash is used to indicate where a speaker has paused or stumbled over words
QUESTIONNAIRE

Rethinking language regenesis – the case of Occitan
Réexaminer le renouvellement des langues – le cas de l’occitan

Ce questionnaire prend entre 15-20 minutes à remplir. Veuillez essayer de répondre à chaque question. Si vous en avez besoin, vous pouvez écrire sur l’envers de la page – merci d’indiquer à quelle question vous répondez dans ce cas. Pour des questions à choix multiple, merci de mettre un X pour indiquer votre choix de réponse.

Partie 1
Date : ________________  Sexe : M/F
Âge : ____________  Nationalité :

Dans quel département habitez-vous ? ______________________________

Quel est votre niveau d’éducation : (Mettez un X)
- Brevet ( )
- Bac ( )
- Licence ( )
- Master ( )
- Doctorat ( )
- Autre (veuillez préciser) ________________

Indiquez votre situation principale (Mettez un X):
- Actif ( )
- Apprenti ( )
- étudiant ( )
- chômeur ( )
- retraité ou pré-retraité ( )
- femme ou homme au foyer ( )
- autre situation ( )
Partie 2

Q.1 En ce qui concerne les politiques du gouvernement national envers les langues régionales (ex. occitan), vous estimez être :
Très bien informé ( )
Bien informé ( )
Peu informé ( )
Pas du tout informé ( )

Q.2 Êtes-vous d'accord avec ces politiques ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )

Q.3 Voudriez-vous voir des changements dans ces politiques ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )

Veuillez expliquer votre réponse :

Q.4 En ce qui concerne les politiques du Conseil régional de votre région (Midi-Pyrénées/Languedoc-Roussillon) envers l'occitan, vous estimez être :
Très bien informé ( )
Bien informé ( )
Peu informé ( )
Pas du tout informé ( )

Q.5 Êtes-vous d'accord avec ces politiques ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )
Q.6 Voudriez-vous voir des changements dans ces politiques ?
Oui (  )
Non (  )
Expliquez votre réponse :

Partie 3
Q.7 À votre avis, quelles mesures pourraient être mises en place pour protéger ou promouvoir la langue occitane (par exemple : éducation, visibilité de la langue dans la ville, médias etc.) ? Veuillez donner des exemples et justifier votre réponse

Partie 4
Q.8 Pensez-vous que le Conseil régional de Midi-Pyrénées soutient la langue occitane ?
Oui (  )
Non (  )
Veuillez expliquer votre réponse
Q. 9 Pensez-vous que le Conseil régional de Languedoc-Roussillon soutient la langue occitane ?

Oui ( )
Non ( )

Veuillez expliquer votre réponse :

Q. 10 Connaissez-vous des mesures de protection ou de promotion de la langue occitane qui ont été mises en places en Midi-Pyrénées ?

Oui ( )
Non ( )

Si oui, indiquez lesquelles :

Q. 11 Connaissez-vous des mesures de protection ou de promotion de la langue occitane qui ont été mises en places en Languedoc-Roussillon ?

Oui ( )
Non ( )

Si oui, indiquez lesquelles :

Q. 12 Que pensez-vous de ces mesures ?

Q. 13 Pensez-vous que le gouvernement national soutient la langue occitane ?

Oui ( )
Non ( )

Veuillez expliquer votre réponse :
Partie 5

Q. 14 Que pensez-vous des annonces bilingues (français-occitan) dans les transports en commun (ex. métro, tramway, bus, train) ?

Q. 15 Que pensez-vous de l’usage des panneaux bilingues (français-occitan) sur les routes ou dans les rues?

Q. 16 Connaissez-vous des entreprises qui utilisent ou qui peuvent communiquer avec vous en occitan ?
   Oui ( )
   Non ( )
   Si oui, indiquez lesquelles et dans quelle région elles se trouvent :

Q. 17 Connaissez-vous des médias (radio/télévision) en occitan ?
   Oui ( )
   Non ( )
   Si oui, indiquez lesquels :

Q. 18 Connaissez-vous des ressources pour la langue occitane sur l'Internet ?
   Oui ( )
   Non ( )
   Si oui, indiquez lesquelles :
Q.19 Savez-vous quelles ressources sont à votre disposition vous aider dans la transmission naturelle de la langue occitane à vos enfants ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )
Si oui, donnez des exemples de ces ressources :

Q.20 Êtes-vous conscient(e)s des fêtes de la langue ou culture occitanes dans votre région pendant l'année ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )
Si oui, donnez des exemples :

Q. 21 Connaissez-vous des organisations culturelles, dramatiques ou musicales qui utilisent l'occitan dans votre ville?
Oui ( )
Non ( )
Si oui indiquez lesquelles et dans quelle région elles se trouvent :

Q.22 Pensez-vous que ce genre d'organisation facilite le renouvellement de la langue occitane ?
Oui ( )
Non ( )
Veuillez justifier votre réponse :
Q.23 Pensez-vous qu'une qualification officielle (ex. certificat, licence) dans la langue occitane est utile ?
Oui (  )
Non (  )
Veuillez expliquer votre réponse

Q.24 À votre avis, les écoles d'immersion en occitan, facilitent-elles le renouvellement de la langue occitane ?
Oui (  )
Non (  )
Veuillez justifier votre réponse :

Q.25 Pensez-vous que les nouvelles technologies (comme Skype, l'Internet, podcasts) pourraient faciliter le renouvellement de la langue occitane ?
Oui (  )
Non (  )
Veuillez justifier votre réponse :
Information aux participants

Première phase du projet

Titre du travail de recherche: Re-examining Language Regenesis – the case of Occitan
(Réexaminer le renouvellement des langues – le cas d’occitan)

Qui est la chercheuse?
Laura Diver :
- B.A. (Licence) (Hons) Français et civilisation classique. Trinity College Dublin
- M.A. (Master) Français et Linguistique. Queen’s University Belfast

Je suis doctorante en linguistique au Centre for Language and Communication Studies, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Science, à l’Université de Dublin – Trinity College Dublin. Je fais des recherches pour ma thèse sur le renouvellement des langues menacées. Mon directeur de thèse est Dr. Jeffrey Kallen, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin.

Quel est le projet?
- Évaluation des modèles de renouvellement concernant des langues menacées.
- Analyse des différences entre les politiques gouvernementales nationales et régionales (Languedoc-Roussillon et Midi-Pyrénées) en France concernant la langue occitane.
- Analyse des mesures qui ont été ou qui pourraient être mises en place par des autorités pour le développement de la langue occitane.

Les objectifs du projet
- Savoir si les politiques gouvernementales nationales et régionales concernant l’occitan sont connues
Mieux comprendre la perception, parmi des gens de Toulouse et de Montpellier, des mesures qui ont été ou qui pourraient être mises en place pour le développement de la langue occitane dans ces villes
- Savoir si ces mesures sont connues
- Savoir quel est l'impact de ces mesures
- Savoir si les personnes interrogées ont des suggestions pour de nouvelles mesures qu'il serait possible de mettre en place en faveur de l'Occitan

J'espère que ma recherche contribuera à une meilleure connaissance concernant les mesures de renaissance et de renouvellement des langues menacées.

**Votre participation, qu'est-ce que cela implique ?**

Vous êtes invité(e)s à participer à ces recherches menées par Laura Diver. Votre participation consisterait à répondre à un questionnaire anonyme. Si vous décidez de participer, un questionnaire vous sera remis. Vous pourrez le remplir en 15-20 minutes. Quelques mois plus tard, chaque organisation qui a été contactée pour la première phase de la recherche (le questionnaire) sera de nouveau contactée au sujet de la deuxième partie du projet. Tous les gens qui ont été invités à répondre au questionnaire seront invités à participer à un groupe de consultation pour discuter des thèmes de cette recherche. Étant donné que les questionnaires sont complètement anonymes, il est possible que vous soyez invité(e)s à participer à un groupe de consultation même si vous n'avez pas rempli de questionnaire.

**Mise en garde**

En participant à cette recherche :
- vous ne profiterez pas personnellement de votre participation mais vous pourrez contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur des mesures prises en faveur du développement des langues menacées ;
- il est possible que le fait de donner votre avis ou de raconter vos expériences suscite des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables qui pourraient susciter un sentiment d'inquiétude ou l'an pour vous ;
- Si vous avez des questions ou des inquiétudes à propos de la recherche ou de votre participation, n'hésitez pas à en parler avec la chercheuse qui pourra répondra à vos questions ;
votre participation vous prendra un peu de temps – le questionnaire prend environ 15-20 minutes à remplir

Confidentialité

- les questionnaires sont complètement anonymes. Vous ne pouvez pas être identifié(e) ;
- les renseignements seront conservés dans un fichier chiffré (sur l’ordinateur de la chercheuse) et dans un classeur sous clé dans un bureau fermé ;
- ces renseignements seront détruits 5 ans après la fin du projet ;
- des renseignements recueillis à partir des questionnaires pourront être publiés dans l’avenir ou présentés à des colloques ;
- Aucun renseignement vous concernant ne sera donné ni à votre employeur/organisation/université/école avec lesquels vous êtes associé(e)s ni aux personnels de ces organisations

Droit de retrait

- votre participation est entièrement volontaire ;
- vous êtes libre de vous retirer à tout moment sur demande orale ou écrite (email), sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision ;
- si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse en personne ou par téléphone, par email (voir coordonnées indiquées à la dernière page de ce document) ;
- si vous vous retirez de la recherche les renseignements qui auront été recueillis vous concernant seront détruits immédiatement

Coordonnées

Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche vous pouvez joindre :

- Laura Diver (chercheuse) aux numéros suivant :
  00 353 87 64 43 92 9
  04 99 06 20 36 / 06 29 34 04 92
ou à l’adresse de courriel suivante :
  diverl@tcd.ie

- Dr. Jeffrey Kallen (directeur de thèse) au
numéro suivant :
00 353 18 96 14 95
ou à l’adresse de courriel suivante :
jkallen@tcd.ie
Information aux participants

Deuxième phase du projet

Titre du travail de recherche: Re-examining Language Regenesis – the case of Occitan
(Réexaminer le renouvellement des langues – le cas de l'occitan)

Qui est la chercheuse?

Laura Diver :
- B.A. (Licence) (Hons) Français et civilisation classique. Trinity College Dublin
- M.A. (Master) Français et Linguistique. Queen's University Belfast

Je suis doctorante en linguistique au Centre for Language and Communication Studies, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Science, à l'Université de Dublin – Trinity College Dublin. Je fais des recherches pour ma thèse sur le renouvellement des langues régionales ou menacées. Mon directeur de thèse est Dr. Jeffrey Kallen, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin.

Quel est le projet?

- Évaluation des modèles de renouvellement concernant des langues régionales ou menacées.
- Analyse des différences entre les politiques gouvernementales nationales et régionales (Languedoc-Roussillon et Midi-Pyrénées) en France concernant la langue occitane.
- Analyse des mesures qui ont été ou qui pourraient être mises en place par des autorités pour le développement de la langue occitane.

Les objectifs du projet

- Savoir si les politiques gouvernementales nationales et régionales concernant l'occitan sont connues
- Mieux comprendre la perception, parmi des gens de Toulouse et de Montpellier, des mesures qui ont été ou qui pourraient être mises en place pour le développement de la langue occitane dans ces villes
- Savoir si ces mesures sont connues (de la population)
- Savoir quel est l'impact de ces mesures
- Savoir si les personnes interrogées ont des suggestions pour de nouvelles mesures qu'il serait possible de mettre en place en faveur de l'Occitan

J'espère que ma recherche contribuera à une meilleure connaissance concernant les mesures de renaissance et de renouvellement des langues menacées.

**Votre participation, qu'est-ce que cela implique ?**

Vous êtes invité(e)s à participer à ces recherches menées par Laura Diver. Votre participation consisterait à participer à un groupe de consultation discuter des thèmes de cette recherche. Si vous décidez de participer, vous serez invité(e)s assister à une seule séance soit à Montpellier (si vous habitez dans le Languedoc-Roussillon) soit à Toulouse (si vous habitez dans les Midi-Pyrénées). Les discussions en groupe dureront entre 30-60 minutes. Quand les discussions ont été transcrites, vous pouvez demander de consulter la transcription de votre séance en la présence de la chercheuse. En ce temps là, vous aurez l'occasion de clarifier ou modifier ce que vous voulez concernant ce que vous avez dit pendant la discussion. Vous ne serez pas donné(e)s une copie de la transcription à garder.

**Mise en garde**

En participant à cette recherche :

- vous ne profiterez pas personnellement de votre participation mais vous pourrez contribuer à l'avancement des connaissances sur des mesures prises en faveur du développement des langues menacées
- il est possible que le fait de donner votre avis ou de raconter vos expériences suscite des réflexions ou des souvenirs émouvants ou désagréables qui pourraient susciter un sentiment d'inquiétude pour vous.
- votre participation vous prendra un peu de temps - les groupes de consultation durent entre 30-60 minutes (vous participeriez à une seule séance)
- Si vous avez des questions ou des inquiétudes à propos de la recherche ou de votre participation, n'hésitez pas à en parler avec la chercheuse qui pourra répondre à vos questions

Confidentialité

- les discussions en groupe seront enregistrées ;
- Chaque participant se verra attribué un code (numéro/lettre) comme identification – votre nom ne sera pas utilisé ;
- seuls la chercheuse et/ou le directeur de thèse auront la liste des participants et des numéros/lettres qui leur auront été attribués ;
- les transcriptions ou des sections des transcriptions pourront être publiées ou présentées à des colloques dans l'avenir ;
- Dans les cas de présentation ou de publication des renseignements, seulement les codes (numéros/lettres) attribués aux participants seront utilisés ;
- les enregistrements et les listes de participants et des numéros/lettres qui leur auront été attribués seront conservés, chiffrés, sur l'ordinateur de la chercheuse et dans classeur sous clé dans un bureau fermé à l'université ;
- Aucun renseignement vous concernant ne sera donné ni à votre employeur/organisation/université/école avec lesquels vous êtes associés ni aux personnels de ces organisations.

Droit de retrait

- votre participation est entièrement volontaire
- vous êtes libre de vous retirer à tout moment sur demande orale ou écrite (email), sans préjudice et sans devoir justifier votre décision.
- si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, vous pouvez communiquer avec la chercheuse en personne ou par téléphone, par email (voir coordonnées indiquées à la dernière page de ce document)
- si vous vous retirez de la recherche les renseignements qui auront été recueillis vous concernant seront détruits immédiatement
Coordonnées

Pour toute question relative à la recherche, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche vous pouvez joindre :

- Laura Diver (chercheuse) aux numéros suivant :
  06 29 34 04 92
  04 99 06 20 36
  00 353 87 64 43 92 9

ou à l’adresse de courriel suivante : diverl@tcd.ie

- Dr. Jeffrey Kallen (directeur de thèse) au numéro suivant :
  00 353 18 96 14 95
ou à l’adresse de courriel suivante : jkallen@tcd.ie