Lenga nòstra?: Local Discourses on Occitan Revitalization in Southwestern France

By

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Abstract

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Use of the Occitan language in southern France has steadily declined over the past eight centuries, as part of a societal shift toward French. This shift has culminated in the current endangerment of Occitan (UNESCO, Ethnologue). Native speakers are aging rapidly, and according to some estimates, the language will disappear by the end of the 21st century (Bernissan 2012, Kranzer 2015). Contemporary efforts to revitalize Occitan have been well received. Whereas the language was once an obstacle to the acquisition of French and denigrated as a *patois*, it now carries widely recognized cultural cachet (Martel 2013). Previous studies on Occitan have centered on language attitudes (Paulston 1994, Priest 2008, Joubert 2010), on ideological clashes between groups of different speakers (Blanchet 1992, Sumien 2006, Costa 2016, Escudé 2009), and on the presence of Occitan within particular spheres like education (Boyer 2009, Costa 2015) and the media (Alén-Garabato 2011, Hagège 2015). At present, there is a lack of research into the social, historical, and political factors that affect Occitan revitalization efforts on the local level. This study aims to address these factors by analyzing public discourses on Occitan circulating in two small communities in southwestern France, Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. These towns are both located in rural areas, where contemporary society is troubled by economic transformation, an aging population, and the pressures of globalization.

The study is an in-depth analysis of contemporary texts drawn from three sources of public discourse: the press, government documents, and documents circulated by associations promoting the Occitan language. Such public discourses both reflect and shape social attitudes and practices. Thus, the representations of Occitan that appear in the corpus allow me to analyze the role that it plays in each community.

The three research questions that guide the study are as follows:

1. How is Occitan portrayed in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

2. What is Occitan's role in local society, as evidenced in in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

3. In what domains of language use is Occitan portrayed as being present, according to public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

In order to address the questions, I use a purpose-built corpus of public discourses, gathered during a fieldwork period at the two research sites. In order to analyze these texts, I employ a methodology adapted from Reisigl and Wodak's Discourse-historical approach (2009).

Analysis related to the first research question indicates that explicit portrayals of Occitan are largely positive. I find that three Discourses predominate such depictions. The first insists on the aesthetic, emotional, and social value of Occitan. The second casts Occitan as a valuable part of the community. The third insists on Occitan's role as a link with history, culture, and tradition. All three of them combine to create the impression that Occitan is vital to the community. This finding contrasts interestingly with analysis related to the second question, which finds that Occitan is highly restricted to a set of creative cultural practices that serve to reinforce a larger Occitan regional identity, not necessarily the local character of the town. Therefore, it appears that the limited presence of Occitan in the community is at odds with assertions of its vitality and relevance that appear in the corpus. Finally, analysis of the third research question shows that Occitan is represented as being marginally present or completely absent from all major domains of language use, save that of secular society. Most manifestations of Occitan are facilitated by language promotion and other civil society associations, and are related to cultural events. Thus, I conclude that the function of Occitan in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux, as represented in the study corpus, is to facilitate community engagement and local identity, with emphasis on expansion of language use as a lower priority.

This study suggests that Occitan is undergoing a process of language revalorization and being refashioned as a marker of community belonging in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux (Beier and Michael 2018, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998). Previous studies have also remarked on the lack of dynamism and language acquisition in Occitan as a consequence of a lack of nationalism (Paulston 1994), being limited to ideology (Costa 2016), and failing to break free of state language ideology (Escude 2009). However, I propose that Occitan revitalization is best viewed as a community revitalization project that privileges traditional cultural and linguistic practices that emphasize conviviality and creativity as a response to modern social pressures.

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Acknowledgments

Sitting in a park in Paris, France
Reading the news and it sure looks bad
They won't give peace a chance
That was just a dream some of us had
Still a lot of lands to see
But I wouldn't stay here
It's too old and cold and settled in its ways here
Oh, but California
California, I'm coming home
I'm going to see the folks I dig
I'll even kiss a Sunset pig
California, I'm coming home

I met a redneck on a Grecian isle
Who did the goat dance very well
He gave me back my smile
But he kept my camera to sell
Oh the rogue, the red, red rogue
He cooked good omelets and stews
And I might have stayed on with him there
But my heart cried out for you, California
Oh California, I'm coming home
Oh make me feel good rock 'n' roll band
I'm your biggest fan
California, I'm coming home

Joni Mitchell, "California"

I don't think that it's possible to feel that one has finished a large project on such a vibrant object of study. Rather, I present this dissertation as a snapshot of the work at this moment in time and put it forward now in the hopes that its growth will continue. I, and this dissertation, would never have reached this point without the presence and support of a number of people.

First, I would like to thank the members of my dissertation committee. Mairi McLaughlin believed in me and this project through all manner of changes; her intellectual clarity and sympathetic guidance saved me from running aground a number of times and will inspire me always. Rick Kern lent his keen ability to see through a problem and ask all the right questions. Leanne Hinton showed me what language revitalization really means to people; without her this dissertation would lack a heart.

Introduction

La nuèch e la pluèja e lo gèl
Pas una estèla dins lo cèl…
Quora tornarà l'alba?
Encara canta pas l'aucèl…
Quora tornarà l'alba?

Una nuèch longa sens amor
Lo rosal plora sus la flor…
Quora tornarà l'alba?
S'entrevisiam una lusor…
Quora tornarà l'alba?

Aquela nuèch s'acaba pas,
De cada part i a lo bartàs…
Quora tornarà l'alba?
La gòira demòra sul pas…
Quora tornarà l'alba?

Nuèch de cadenas e d'estòc
Per ne riblar la lenga d'Òc
Quora tornarà l'alba?
Mas cada mot geta son fuòc:
Las belugas de l'alba!

Joan Bodon, "Alba d'Occitània"[1]

Prologue: Winter

  In midwinter, the towns of Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux are governed by their own unhurried rhythms. Tucked among jagged *causses*, the limestone plateaus of southwestern France, each is little more than an hour's train ride from Toulouse, the thriving red-brick regional capital. But in some ways the journeys feel much longer.

  The no. 871208 TER train from Toulouse approaches Villefranche from the south. It winds its way through a steep gorge, following the course of the Aveyron river, which in the winter leaps from rock to rock in a cold rush through narrow channels. Before reaching its destination, the train passes beneath the steep cliffs upon which sits the village of Najac, its ruined tower looming through February fog and the gray and tangled branches rushing past the windows.

---

[1] Bodon, Joan. 2011. *Poèmas*. Puylaurens: Institut d'estudis occitans. 35.

After leaving the station, you must cross the Aveyron to reach the city center. Walk past the offices of the local newspaper and the *tabac-presse* opposite. Cars on the departmental highway D911 cross the river here, but it is more picturesque to walk across the pedestrian Pont des consuls a few meters east. A plaque informs you that it dates from 1321. Straight ahead lies the bastide, the medieval town. Walk through its narrow lanes. The window and door frames of houses here are painted in various shades of *bleu pastel*. Turn and turn as you like, the ways lead you inexorably to the center, to the Collégiale Notre-Dame. On this February day, the streets are quiet; few visitors stop to admire the massive cathedral that makes the rest of the town look like a child's playset. Browse the *librairie* opposite as the clerk helps a regular track down a book she's been looking for.

If you're going to Carmaux, take the no. 870010 TER. The Carmaux train station is large, befitting a town built on mining and industry. On a February day, only a couple of the platforms are in use. A small knot of people wait for a train heading back to Toulouse. Their departure will mark a return to a stillness that almost conjures a time before the long, low brick station and the tracks that feed it existed.

In Carmaux, too, you must cross a bridge to travel from the station to the town. This one, spanning the narrow and sedate Ruisseau du Candou, is unremarkable. Today is market day on Place Gambetta; colorful awnings shelter buyers and sellers from a persistent drizzle. The cold air dulls the aromas of fish, bread, and cheese. Shoppers weave among their favorite stalls. On the corner of the *place*, the bustling Café Gambetta offers a warm respite. The older crowd foregathers here, imbibing glasses of wine, espressos, and cigarettes alternately. Stay for long enough, and when you leave you will find the market dismantling itself. Vans have pulled up with all their doors open, hungry for folding tables, tents, and crates of unsold produce. On the paving stones, sprigs of lettuce and fragments of pastry still look vibrant, unaware that they soon will be ground underneath sturdy boots and washed away in the rain.

In each town, you can find something else, if you are looking for it. Over the market in Carmaux float four flags: one with the city's insignia, a French *tricolore*, the yellow stars on blue of the European Union, and a red flag with a 12-pointed yellow cross in its center: the Occitan flag. A sticker in the window of the *tabac-presse* across the place repeats the same motif. In Villefranche, the historically-minded visitor might pause to read an informational marker on the Collégiale Notre-Dame, whose name is also given as "La Grand-Glèisa." On a quiet February day, when the clouds hug the ground and the train has carried you away from the giant pinball machine of the Toulouse station into a quieter world, the presence of a language from another time seems part and parcel of these places.

This language, Occitan, was spoken widely in southern France until only about 75 years ago. As is typically the case for endangered languages, rural areas like those surrounding Carmaux and Villefranche are its last strongholds (Martel 2013: 528). A brochure from Villefranche's Office de tourisme encourages visitors to its weekly market to "[v]enez les rencontrer, ceux qui font vivre cette ville, venez écouter la rondeur de leur accent quand ils s'interpellent en Occitan…" Stand back, listen to the wind snapping that red-and yellow flag, and it's very easy to see a link between language and practices that have been maintained in the same place for centuries: the market, the church, even the sense that one has made a great journey in moving from village to city and back again.

Occitan and the community

      As I began this study, I asked what remained of Occitan in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux. Over the course of my research and analysis, this question evolved. By the end, I no longer asked what remains, but what is to be perpetuated. This seemingly subtle contrast highlights the goals and aspirations of language activists, not the consequences of the long shift toward the French language in the south. In each town, language activists, often supported by community funds, invest in cultural and linguistic offerings aimed at the public. The Occitan revitalization movement has long sought to validate the language and to encourage people to use it again, in various domains of life. The reason for this activity seems self-evident: without speakers, there can be no language.

      Over time, I came to question this hypothesis as well. What if the goal of revitalization is not to produce discrete speakers, but to foster ways of knowing, interacting, and expressing: in short, to build a community? For better or worse, because the decline of Occitan over the last century was concurrent with other social changes that chipped away at rural communities, its revitalization is envisaged as a remedy for more than one societal ill. Without a community, there can be no language, only a linguistic relic.

      To a greater or lesser extent, every language revitalization movement functions as a social movement. That is why they are worthy of attention, even from those who are not interested in language per se. In the case of Occitan, revitalization is not restricted to the preservation of the language as a curio, or even as a touristic asset (although such considerations are certainly present). Occitan demands to be saved, revived, revitalized for the same reasons that any endangered language does: through language, people perceive the embodiment of cultural and social systems. This emblematic function of language allows it to attract considerable resources and energy in the service of revitalizing language and, implicitly, the systems associated with it. It also allows for the construction of a discursive object— in this case, Occitan— to which is assigned an array of (typically aspirational) qualities in the hopes of convincing a critical mass of people that they too should devote time and energy to this endeavor. In every language revitalization project, the discursive processes by which the desirability of revitalization is communicated are more or less the same (Lo Bianco 2018). In this study, my main focus is on specific issues around the representations and the role of Occitan in society. However, in so doing I aim also to advance some ideas about the shape of that which is to be recovered and perpetuated in Occitan, and the attributes of the putative Occitan community.

Rural France today

      It is worth circling back to the scene in which this study of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue is set: rural France in the early 21st century. The long, steady decline of population and economic activity in France's provinces and countrysides is amply documented (Mendras 1967, Weber 1976, Forster and Ranum 1977, Bourdieu 2002). The late 19th and early 20th centuries bore witness to "l'exode rural vers les cités industrielles, le recul de la religion, le déclin des particularismes régionaux, dialectes, traditions" (Defrasne 1995: 33-34).
These events would irrevocably change ways of life in rural France. Jean Defrasne describes the structures of sociability previously in place thus:

> Au milieu du siècle dernier, alors que les campagnes groupent les trois quarts de la population du pays, le village conserve ses groupes de sociabilité traditionnels, la famille et la paroisse.
>
> Celle-ci joue un rôle important avec la fabrique, qui entretient l'église, la confrérie qui donne de l'éclat aux offices, aux processions, au culte des morts, les associations chrétiennes consacrées aux écoles, aux œuvres, aux missions.
>
> L'exploitation est familiale et les coopératives sont rares. Les notables, grands propriétaires, animent les sociétés d'agriculture et les premiers syndicats agricoles groupés dans l'Union centrale dite de la rue d'Athènes.
>
> Les jeunes gens, qui sont nombreux et qui travaillent dur, s'associent pour des fêtes, des jeux, des bals. (1995: 33)

The somewhat idyllic description of a preindustrial countryside is reinforced by the negative coverage of today's rural France. Recent headlines include an epidemic of suicides among farmers, the *gilets jaunes* protests, and continually aging and shrinking populations.

Initiatives to combat the difficulties of rural communities have proliferated as well. For instance, in October 2019, as part of President Macron's "Agenda rural," subsidies were proposed to ensure the operation of 1000 small-town cafés: "l'initiative nécessite un investissement de 150 à 200 millions d'euros, pour faire revivre les communes rurales où ces commerces représentaient un rare espace de convivialité."[2] An initiative offered by La Poste, "Veiller sur mes parents," promises a weekly check-in on elderly locals by mail carriers.[3] Adult children who live too far away to pay regular visits may enroll their parents; some seniors have chosen to enroll themselves. The primary objective of the program is to insure the basic welfare of the elderly, especially as the proportion of the population 65 years and over rises at a higher rate than the general population.[4]

A 2017 report from the center-left thinktank Terra Nova seeks to offer another perspective on demographic and economic issues in rural France. The report argues that these territories are not in a state of decline, but in the midst of a transition. No longer able to sustain a large population on the basis of agriculture, they are instead negotiating a new stance vis-à-vis the urban centers. The latter now provide employment opportunities to rural residents: as of 2012, 82% of them lived in communities in which 30% of the employed traveled to cities for their work. The report concludes on an optimistic note, estimating that "si cette crise structurelle du monde rural est réelle, elle est aujourd'hui largement amortie par les fortes solidarités

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[2] "Mille cafés pour la France rurale." *Le Courrier international*. Published 10 October 2019. https://www.courrierinternational.com/article/vu-de-letranger-mille-cafes-pour-la-france-rurale. Consulted 19 October 2019.

[3] "In France, Elder Care Comes with the Mail." *The New Yorker*. Published 9 October 2019. https://www.newyorker.com/culture/annals-of-inquiry/in-france-elder-care-comes-with-the-mail. Consulted 18 October 2019.

[4] "Population par groupe d'âges." *INED*. https://www.ined.fr/fr/tout-savoir-population/chiffres/france/structure-population/population-ages/#r153. Consulted 19 December 2019.

fonctionnelles et redistributives mises en œuvre par le monde urbain."[5] The positive economic relationship between city and country is also credited with slowing the decline in depopulation: from 2006 to 2012, the rural population actually clocked a higher growth rate, at 4.3%, than that of the country at large, 3.2%.

It would be as foolish to wave away promising data regarding the circumstances of rural France today as it would to over-romanticize the agrarian social structures that thrived there until the late 19th century. However, the Terra Nova study suggests troubling implications with regard to the social life of the rural communities under discussion. In many areas, over 50% of working residents commute to work in a city, indicating that to earn a living in one's own town or village is often impossible. Meanwhile, the lack of participation in the local work sphere translates to fewer chances to socialize and forge meaningful bonds in the community.

Many measures addressing the rural regions of France, such as the café initiative or "Veiller sur mes parents," recognize and target a larger issue: residents of rural areas are experiencing solitude and loneliness. It is reasonable to trace this phenomenon back to changes in local structures of sociability. Eugen Weber affirms folklorist André Varagnac's (1948) estimation that the late 19th century marked a "veritable *crise de civilisation*," stating that during this period

> Traditional attitudes and traditional practices crumbled, but they had done so before. What mattered after 1880 was that they were not replaced by new ones spun out of the experience of local community. The decay and abandonment of words, ceremonies, and patterns of behavior were scarcely new. What was new and startling, said Varagnac, was the absence of homemade replacements: the death of tradition itself. (1976: 471)

One of the notable the repercussions of this death of tradition is the emergence of efforts to resurrect it. Weber posits that "[i]t is no coincidence, surely, that this period saw a great spurt of interest in folklore studies" (ibid.). Similarly, language revival movements, such as the Félibrige in Provence, tend to arise in tandem with perceptions that language and its associated way of life are in danger from outside forces (Martel 2013: 526).

Consequences of language shift in rural France

Weber writes of the close relationship between the material reality of French peasants and their languages during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He evokes a sense of displacement resulting from the substitution of French for regional varieties.

> Language is one technique for mastering reality. Local dialects had mastered the everyday world of the peasants' experience, personified it in its details, coped with it. As urban speech edged those dialects out, the familiar became alien. New speech, new

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[5] "Le monde rural : situation et mutations." *Terra Nova*. Published 7 July 2017. http://tnova.fr/system/contents/files/000/001/435/original/0707201-Monde-rural-en-mutation.pdf?1499416464. Consulted 18 October 2019.

words, new forms did not permit the same easy, immediate participation in situations that time and habit had made familiar and that words had, so to speak, domesticated too. (1976: 94).

Weber describes language shift as a generational trauma, one that put at a disadvantage the "patois" speaker. Such a speaker would have been heir to a centuries-long trove of knowledge accompanying a particular way of life. The negation of that repertoire within a generation put entire language communities in a precarious position. As ever, they adapted, adopting the new language and using it to their own communicative ends. However, a haunting sense of deprivation, of enforced inferiority, and of the loss of a precious heritage accompanies many accounts of language shift, Weber's included.

A sense of a shared fate is also present in Weber's work. He emphasizes that, for the 19th century peasant, language provided a certain intimacy and familiarity with the surrounding world, and enabled participation in the community. Interestingly, similar concepts are replicated in the rhetoric around the French language and participation in the national project. In 1794, Abbé Henri Grégoire lamented the seeming impossibility of bringing "les peuples [d'Europe] à une langue commune. However, he held out hope for such a project in France:

> Mais on peut uniformer le langage d'une grande nation. de manière que tous les citoyens qui la composent, puissent sans obstacle se communiquer leurs pensées. Cette entreprise qui ne fut pleinement exécutée chez aucun peuple, est digne du peuple français, qui centralise toutes les branches de l'organisation sociale et qui doit être jaloux de consacrer au plus tôt, dans une République une et indivisible, l'usage unique et invariable de la langue de la liberté. (1794: 4)

It is important to note the intertwining of social and linguistic objectives in Grégoire's words. He writes favorably of centralizing "toutes les branches de l'organisation sociale," arguing that linguistic uniformity is essential to achieving such a state. Although the realization of the Jacobin ideal of French as the sole language of the republic would be deferred, the Revolution nonetheless laid the ideological groundwork for its incremental realization.

Weber characterizes the displacement of regional languages in rural communities as a triumph of national interests over local ones:

> The social function of language is to permit members of a society to understand each other. When the national society became more significant than the various local societies, national language was able at last to override its local rivals, and other particularisms as well. (Weber 1976: 89).

However, these "local rivals" did not disappear completely. Weber muses that "[p]erhaps the myth and the striving for linguistic unity stood as a consolation for a persistent diversity" (1976: 73). That diversity would be reframed as a strength over the second half of the 20th century, which witnessed the rise of civil rights movements worldwide, including those defending indigenous languages. Dominant narratives questioned while those of marginalized peoples

gained credence. Today, regional languages lack the strength in numbers that they held two centuries ago, but they have gained a new social value through the efforts of language activists. This value, closely aligned with the reclamation of regional identities, is very different from the everyday value that regional languages once held as vehicular languages. In this environment, the Occitan movement developed.

Regional languages and the French state

Einar Haugen posits that nations are built on two principles: internal cohesion and external distinction (1966). The French nation has exerted considerable energy toward building the former through a shared language. The antagonism of the national government toward regional and sectarian identities perceived to threaten cohesion in the republic dates from the Revolutionary period, when religious, political and social associations were outlawed (Belorgey 2000: 17). This hostility toward non-governmental organizations ostensibly lies in the belief that intermediaries between the citizen and the nation-state dilute the civic energy of the individual (ibid.). Over the course of the 19th century, the restrictions were relaxed for certain commercial associations, yet remained tight for others. Finally, in 1901, a law allowing for free engagement among citizens in non-profit groups was passed; many language organizations are of this type.

Language organizations promoting languages other than French challenge, explicitly or implicitly, the idea that France is a linguistically unified territory. After many years of conflict and suppression, the government's policy has evolved, at least on paper. Article 75-1 of the Constitution states that "[l]es langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France."[6] The article certainly acknowledges the existence of regional languages in a sanctioned space: the heritage of France. Others have read it as no more than a reiteration of traditional policy approaches that effectively attenuate speakers' claim to their own languages (Woehrling 2013: 84).

Although rooted in an antagonistic posture toward French language hegemony, the Occitan movement in general had largely given up any overt demands for political autonomy by the end of the 1970s. Groups promoting regional languages are no longer explicitly marginalized by the national government; in many cases, they are materially supported by regional governments. Nevertheless, language activism continues to fill a perceived need for alternate forms of community engagement.

Language revitalization movements

In order to understand the attraction that the Occitan revitalization movement exerts on people living in southern France and beyond, it should be situated within a larger typology. Fishman states that language revitalization movements are "characteristically patterned and organized activities of the type that sociologists refer to as 'social movements'" (1991: 382). Language movements may this be classified as a type of social movement, as they display the same basic characteristics:

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6 "Article 75-1." *Constitution de la République française*. http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/ connaissance/constitution.asp#titre_12. Consulted 20 October 2019.

> RLS [Reversing language shift] efforts have definite goals, they are enduring and organized, […] they are commonly enacted outside of 'normal' institutional channels (e.g. outside of mainstream political parties, voluntary organizations, schools, media, etc.) and, indeed, are often oppositional to such institutions and tend to set up alternative social institutions, organizations, and structures of their own. (1991: 383)

Further consideration of these characteristics leads Fishman to conclude that language movements "vary interestingly from the types of bona fide social movements that have elicited more recent sociological attention" (1991: 383). He locates the principal difference as being the affective stance that persons involved in RLS efforts take toward their languages.

Anthony F. C. Wallace proposes the designation "revitalization movements" to describe a set of social movements that he defines as "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture" (1956: 279). Drawing on a biological metaphor, he argues that such movements come about as a result of "high stress on individual members of a society, and disillusionment with a disordered cultural *Gestalt*" (ibid). The social organism may either tolerate the stress or attempt to modify the *Gestalt*. Revitalization movements aim to do the latter, and, if successful, result in rapid sociocultural change, short-circuiting the typical pace of evolutionary change over time.

Although Wallace's framework is primarily concerned with revitalization movements promising transcendental change, like religious movements, James Costa has found it applicable to language revitalization movements as well. If language revitalization movements are one type of social movement, or even one type of revitalization movement, Costa argues that "this calls for the question: why language? – and not, say, religion, political institutions, or other cultural practices? What makes language particularly attractive, and under what conditions?" (2016: 48).

Fishman maintains that affective, not structural, motivations govern language revitalization movements:

> there is often about RLS-efforts a very palpable degree of affect, a sentimental (rather than merely an instrumental) bonding, a stress on real or putative ethno-kinship, and aspiration toward consciousness and identity (re)formation, a heightened degree of altruistic self-sacrifice and a disregard for 'least effort' advantages, to the degree that RLS behavior often impresses outsiders as bordering on the 'irrational' and the 'mystic'. (1991: 383)

Fishman's depiction of the psychology of language revitalization is effective; it accesses a dimension of the phenomenon that is only reluctantly discussed in the general accounts of revitalization, yet is omnipresent in activist research.[7] However, it is not entirely successful at explaining why language is different from Costa's "religion, political institutions, or other cultural practices," as all of these may inspire deep feeling as well. Thus, two broad questions appear relevant to this study: why language? why Occitan?

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[7] See for example the recent *Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization* (Hinton, Huss, and Roche 2018), which contains case studies primarily produced by language activists.

In order to address the first question, it is useful to consider the three hypotheses that are generated from Costa's approach, which focuses on "the conditions of possibility of language revitalisation movements: what makes them possible, where, for whom, and under what ideological conditions?" (2016: 49).

1. Language revitalisation, as a social movement, is about groupness.
2. Language revitalisation [is] the consequence of social contact.
3. Language revitalisation is fundamentally a struggle over classifications.
(2016: 49-51)

These three propositions support Costa's larger claim that "[l]anguage revitalisation is ultimately not about language or even about past linguistic hierarchies," rather, "language is used as a proxy to articulate a wealth of possible other types of claims about the world" (2016: 53). Proceeding from this assertion, one may decouple the question of language use from the discourses around language. In this study, then, my approach is informed by such a stance, which in turn allows me to examine more closely the discursive construction of Occitan as a social project, not as a particular set of linguistic practices.

Responding to the second question is more complicated, because it involves identifying of the "claims about the world" implicit in Occitan revitalization. For the movement to be successful, at least in the arena of public opinion, it must convince community members that an "Occitan" society is preferable to the current one, and to convince them that language is essential to such a sociocultural objective. The challenges of these tasks is compounded by French hegemony. Fishman cautions that activists must "realize that RLS is, essentially, a social reform-effort that involves both the *abandonment* of widely accepted (but ideologically contra-indicated) cultural patterns and the attainment of their stipulated replacements" (1991: 19). A scenario in which Occitan truly replaces French in all contexts, a stable situation of diglossia is so unlikely that the idea of "abandonment" is complicated even further. Language activists must make a case for where, when, and why Occitan should be present.

For activists, it would seem a bitter irony that the valorization of language and culture cannot occur before its loss. However, loss seems to be a necessary condition of reparation: a noticeable decline in cultural practices is linked to structural social change, especially (and, perhaps, only) when that change brings other undesirable effects. Wallace describes revitalization movements as

a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits. (1956: 265)

In this study, I analyze the discursive construction of the linguistic and cultural alternatives that are presented as a part of Occitan revitalization.

Making the case: Language revitalization discourses

      In a 1977 sociolinguistic study of the villages of Ambialet and Courris in the Tarn department, Georges Maurand identified a new function for the Occitan language. Although it was still largely viewed as the language "des vieux, des non-instruits et des hommes" while French was the language "des jeunes, des personnes instruites et des femmes," he also found that "l'occitan tend à devenir la langue de la culture occitane" (1981: 114). French, for its part, was viewed as "la langue de la culture française," making explicit the fact that two cultural systems were perceived as available (1981: 115). Occitan culture possessed what Maurand named a "fonction de gloire"; he found that "[l]es jeunes se font une gloire de parler patois à leur tour" (ibid.). Thus, the use of Occitan offered a clear sort of covert prestige.

      The evolving perceptions of Occitan in Ambialet and Courris are certainly owed to the work of language activists over the preceding decade, who argued effectively for the legitimacy of the language. In the four decades since, Occitan promotion associations have continued this work, leading to largely positive impressions of Occitan and the attribution of overt prestige to its use and evocations, if not to massive numbers of new speakers. Before individuals choose to participate in an Occitan linguistic or cultural event, before they take a language class, before they embrace the language once again after a long break, they must be convinced that it is a worthwhile investment of their time and energy. In turn, communicating the very idea that the cause is worthy to the wider community has typically been the responsibility of language promotion associations.

      In towns and villages, Occitan associations tend to be perpetuated by a small group of committed activists. Interviews that I conducted with members of Occitan associations in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue suggest that outreach and attracting new members and participants into Occitan circles are major preoccupations. How can they convince others what they believe so deeply, that Occitan has something to offer? Studies on the methods that are used to promote Occitan to the general public have addressed the Occitan-medium press (Alén-Garabato 2008), cultural events (Verny 2007), and the appearance of Occitan in the linguistic landscape (Amos 2017). However, no study to date has addressed the circulation of a variety of Occitan promotion discourses on a local level. The present study does just that.

      Joseph Lo Bianco holds that the production and diffusion of language ideologies, which he refers to as "discourse planning," is an understudied element of language revitalization (2018: 38). He states that

> Discourse planning refers to how language ideologies, values, and attitudes are constructed, negotiated, and circulated in the rhetorical space of a particular polity and among RLS activists. A polity can be seen as a container of discourse, shaping how languages, social multilingualism, and the role of minorities in social arrangements are debated. How ideologies are attached to languages is a neglected part of LPP [language planning and policy] theorizations and clearly influential for any comprehensive understanding of the total "ecology" in which RLS must operate. (ibid.)

The worth of a language undergoing revitalization is not self-evident: its partisans must thus convince others to engage in its perpetuation. This study is designed to explore and explicate

both the case that is made for Occitan revitalization through public discourses and the ambient social and cultural conditions in which these discourses circulate.

Structure and aims of the study

The first chapter of the study is a literature review, which presents the theoretical framework in which this study is situated. In it, I describe the processes of language shift that typically lead to the phenomenon of language endangerment. Special attention is paid to domains in which language used in society, which are used at once as an indicator of vitality and a target for revitalization. A range of topics relating to language revitalization, including language planning in revitalization movements, language attitudes, and language prestige, are addressed in the second half of the chapter.

The second chapter lays out the methodology that was used to gather and analyze the study data. The present corpus is composed of written texts of three types: from the press, the municipal government, and language promotion associations. They were collected during a period of fieldwork from January to May 2016 at the two research sites, Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. There are two main prongs to the analysis: one is quantitative in nature and the other is qualitative in nature.

For the quantitative analysis, I draw on Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2009), which itself has been elaborated within the framework of critical discourse analysis. This approach consists, in part, of identifying particular linguistic devices that are pertinent to the portrayal of a social entity (in the case of this study, Occitan). Thus, the methodology chapter also presents a categorization schema of all of the target linguistic devices under analysis. I also discuss some of the corpus linguistic tools that were helpful in the quantitative analysis. The quantitative approach permits me to analyze a large corpus in a targeted manner.The qualitative analysis methodology focuses on semantic fields and indicators of domain of language use. I have adopted this particular qualitative approach in order to better understand the nature of the portrayals and presence of Occitan in the community.

In the third chapter, I explore the research sites in depth. The histories of France and the Languedoc region (the location of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue) are treated in two manners. A linguistic history of each territory frames the background of language change and language contact in each. Then, histories of language policy in each territory put the stakes of language revitalization in perspective. Finally, I present a portrait of each town, taking into consideration historical and contemporary social, economic, and cultural trends.

The fourth chapter is composed of two analyses. The first is a quantitative analysis of the entire corpus, organized according to Reisigl and Wodak's theory of discursive strategies in the discourse-historical approach (2009). The second is a qualitative analysis of all tokens that attribute particular qualities to Occitan itself, and in so doing demonstrate the ways in which Occitan is explicitly portrayed in public discourse.

In the fifth chapter, I examine all tokens that display the discursive strategy of nomination. In these texts, the quality of being "Occitan" is attributed to various social entities in the corpus, such as persons, objects, and events. My first aim in the chapter is to present a quantitative analysis that accounts for those entities that are most frequently described as being "Occitan." The second aim in the chapter is to present a qualitative analysis of these data. I

contend that they shed light on Occitan's perceived place in society, especially with regard to current cultural and linguistic practices.

In the sixth chapter, I focus on the extent of Occitan's presence in local society, as portrayed in the corpus. I discuss domains of language use as they are reflected in the corpus texts. I then compare these findings to official assessments according to two major metrics of language endangerment and vitality. My examination of domains of language use makes it possible to understand the ways in which Occitan is currently thought to be used or not used, thus offering a different perspective on the state of language vitality in the two towns.

As a conclusion, I offer an assessment of the study's findings in light of the current social circumstances in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. I also explore some possibilities for further research into Occitan revitalization. The conclusion also emphasizes Occitan's similarities to, and differences from, other cases of language endangerment and revitalization.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Originally culture referred to gardening, involving selecting the right seed, employing the right techniques, and rooting out the weeds in order to reap a rich annual harvest. The analogy with civilising is obvious, culture becomes a tool in the state's objective of achieving social order and harmony through education in creating cultivated men (*sic*) [author's notation]. The language of reason and the associated capacity for clear thought was essential for education. The triumph of progress, opposing traditional and modern cultures, involves removing the weeds that conform to what previously was regarded as culture, in the sense of a natural order of things that had to be eliminated by a higher order of culture whose aim was to civilise.

Glyn Williams[8]

1.1 Language shift

In order to understand language shift, it is useful to picture an individual living in a diglossic situation. Their native language, L1, is non-dominant. However, interaction with administrative bodies, commerce, and education takes place in L2, the dominant language. Driven by social, cultural, and economic factors, this speaker is faced with a choice. In order to function effectively in society, they must acquire some level of competency in L2. Over time, the choice becomes more of an imperative. It is necessary to use L2 in more and more situations. The diglossic situation has given way to an effectively monolingual society.

Now, picture not just one speaker, but entire communities full of speakers who progressively adopt L2 in more situations. Most notably, their children grow up using L2 outside the home and being educated in L2. In turn, their grandchildren may be monolingual L2 speakers from birth, unfamiliar with L1. Thus, language shift has been effected. This outcome, along with the processes that led up to it, are illustrative of language shift (Pauwels 2016: 19). Anne Pauwels further explains the duality of language shift, as both a process and an outcome:

It is a process because the move away from one language to another occurs gradually: this implies that it may take one or more generations of speakers before the language is

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8 Williams, Glyn. 2005. *Sustaining Language Diversity in Europe: Evidence from the Euromosaic Project.* Houndmills: Palgrave MacMillan. 8-9.

entirely abandoned. It also implies that the shifting away from the L1 does not occur simultaneously across all its uses or functions; rather, it gradually recedes across an increasing number of uses, functions and settings. language shift is also an outcome when the language in question is no longer used by members of the community in any sphere of usage. (ibid.)

Thus, it is the aggregation of individual choices on language use over time that leads to language shift across entire communities.

In the case of Occitan, shift progressed in a gradual manner. The first widespread use of the French language in southern France occurred in the domain of government, as clerks had largely stopped writing administrative texts in Occitan by the 16th century (Courouau 2012). Language shift also moved progressively across class and space. The wealthy and aristocratic classes used French systematically before the middle classes did; urbanites picked it up before those living in the countryside. Finally, the mid-20th century saw the widespread disappearance of Occitan from the family home (Martel 2013).

LS is also a phenomenon that can have many motivations. At its heart is always an imperative to use the dominant language: in the case of Occitan, this language was French. However, the historical contexts of language shift vary greatly. In the European context, the rise of nation states led to increasing pressure on speakers to adopt the dominant, national language. In cases of immigration where newcomers do not speak the dominant language, language shift can begin relatively quickly. However, the end stage, in which L1 is definitively abandoned in favor of L2, may not happen for several generations. Nevertheless, once the process of shift is complete, multilingual communities become monolingual, and the non-dominant languages, if still spoken anywhere, are marginalized.

Fishman considers there to be "at least five major instances of language shift" in modern history:

> (a) the vernacularization of European governmental, technical, educational, cultural activity,
> (b) the Anglification / Hispanization of the populations of North and South America respectively,
> (c) the adoption of English and French as languages of elitist wider communication throughout much of the world, but particularly in Africa and Asia,
> (d) the Russification of Soviet-controlled populations, and most recently,
> (e) the growing displacement of imported languages of wider communication and the parallel vernacularization of governmental, technical, educational, and cultural efforts in many parts of Africa and Asia. (1972: 107)

These instances, which Fishman lists in chronological order, affect speakers on every continent. However, even before the modern period, "[h]istorical accounts make it clear that language shift has occurred repeatedly in all parts of the world and language censuses show that it continues to happen" (Gal 1979: 1). Given the ubiquity of language shift, and its uptick in the modern era, many scholars have advanced theories concerning its origin.

Susan Gal states that "although it is possible to list the broad social circumstances in which various cases of language shift have occurred, it has proved considerably harder to isolate a specific set of factors whose presence allows one to predict a language shift" (1979: 3). Writing 37 years after Gal, Pauwels makes it clear that this problem has not been resolved: "[a]lthough there seems to be a consensus among scholars that working towards a predictive model is not futile, many are doubtful of a successful attainment. This is not surprising given the very dynamic nature of most factors and forces involved in the process" (2016: 113). These factors and forces include a number of complex phenomena.

Pauwels presents an exhaustive history of research on language shift, noting that "[t]he existence of intergroup or interethnic differences in maintenance or shift rates is probably the most consistent finding emanating from a multitude of studies" (2016: 100). These conflicts may play out on a large scale, such as "military conquest, changes of national boundaries, formation of nation-states and nationalist ideologies" (Gal 1979: 3). They are also related to a variety of micro-level factors, such as the relative social isolation of a language group or its size relative to the dominant language-speaking population (Pauwels 2016: 101-02) Gal also notes that "[t]he migration of formerly isolated groups to cities or countries where a different language is spoken, and the emergence of a new standard language in former colonies have also been occasions for shift toward the majority, or national, language" (Gal 1979: 3). Nevertheless, Gal is careful to note that not all of these events definitively lead to LS, thus highlighting the challenges of elaborating a robust and predictive model.

The most extreme consequence of language shift is language death. In such cases, a non-dominant language is completely abandoned in favor of the dominant language. In her work on Welsh language obsolescence and death, Mari C. Jones defines language death as "the end-point of language obsolescence: a process whereby a language is ousted from its territory by another variety" (1998: 4-5). Each situation of language death originates in a particular combination of factors. As is the case with language shift, there is no definitive model or theory of language death. However, there are many commonalities among the factors leading to language death. In his contribution to the building of a theory of language death, Hans-Jürgen Sasse argues that "a combined historical, sociolinguistic and structural-linguistic approach" is necessary to describing and understanding, in a holistic manner, the "phenomena relevant to language death" (2012: 10). The tripartite approach that Sasse proposes consists of analysis of "the entire range of extralinguistic factors," which he terms "External Setting," followed by "Speech Behavior," which is "the regular use of variables, which, in a given speech community, are bound with social parameters," and finally "Structural Consequences," or "purely structural, substantial-linguistic set of phenomena" (2012: 9-10). A handful of studies encompass all three phenomena, including Nancy C. Dorian's work on East Sutherland Gaelic (1981) and Sasse's own work on Arvanitika (1991). However, most work on language shift and language death tends to focus either on structural concerns or on social consequences. The present study focuses on the latter.

1.2 Language maintenance

If language death is the extreme endpoint of language shift, language maintenance is the alternative outcome. Hinton, Huss, and Roche state simply that "[t]he term language maintenance is an antonym for language shift " (2018a: xxvi). Pauwels defines it as "the

continued use or retention of an L1, a minority or heritage language in one or more spheres of language use" (2016: 20). Thus, it is reasonable to say that language maintenance is an outcome that defies conditions that typically lead to language shift. Crucially, there are no objective criteria for identifying a situation of language maintenance, and it is not easy to predict when the same conditions will yield a case of maintenance, not shift (ibid.).

The difficulty of predicting when a confluence of factors will lead to language shift is a major challenge in the field (see Section 1.1). Thus, it is imperative to continue studying cases of shift and maintenance from a comparative perspective. Patrick McConvell, writing from a language revitalizationist standpoint, argues that:

> If we have wrong ideas about why people change from one language to another, we are not likely to find the right ways of stopping or reversing the process. Also, whether they say so or not, people who advocate a particular way of maintaining a language are usually guided by assumptions about language shift. (1991: 144)

Although the consequences of language shift in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue are the central focus of this study, I also address its causes in a broad sense. Considering both causes and consequences is necessary to better understanding the current approaches to maintaining and revitalizing Occitan, as recommended by McConvell.

One argument accounting for the different outcomes for non-dominant languages is advanced by David Bradley (2002). He asks, "[w]hy is it that one minority group assimilates and its language dies, while another maintains its linguistic and cultural identity?" and posits that "[p]erhaps the crucial factor in language maintenance is the attitudes of the speech community concerning their language" (2002: 1). Bradley identifies four clusters of language attitudes that affect language maintenance. First, there are attitudes related to ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles 1977) and language as a core cultural value (Smolicz 1981). These include attitudes toward bilingualism, the in-group's perception of the language's "difficulty" and the challenge of maintaining it, and both in- and out-group appraisals of the language's "relative utility, importance and beauty" (Bradley 2002: 2). Second, attitudes about the language itself include approaches to "linguistic boundary maintenance," on a spectrum between purism and acceptance of borrowed elements (ibid.). Third comes a set of sociolinguistic and linguistic factors, including the "degree of internal difference within the minority language," the existence of a traditional standard dialect, the language's use as a local lingua franca, and established traditions of bilingualism (Bradley 2002: 3). Fourth are speakers' perceptions of which domains and social networks are appropriate for the use of the language, and the appropriate "degree of accommodation towards the speech of one's interlocutors" (Bradley 2002: 4).

Bradley does not offer a methodology for analyzing the factors described above. However, he does explore the implications of attempts to increase the likelihood of language maintenance by targeting language attitudes. The ultimate decision on whether to direct resources toward language maintenance is, of course, in the hands of community members who may find that the endeavor is not worthwhile. Bradley acknowledges that "Even if [language maintenance] attempts may ultimately not succeed in recreating a speech community, they still

contribute to a group's positive feelings and self-knowledge" (2002: 8). This foundation of positive attitudes could then act as the groundwork for future attempts at language revitalization.

In the same volume, Peter Mühlhäusler proposes a more expansive, and more challenging, perspective on language maintenance. His argument is based on

> a mismatch between what conventional linguistics suggests is happening - one language after another is disappearing and what may actually be happening - traditional ways of communication in a complex cultural and natural ecology disappear because of habitat impoverishment and destruction. (2002: 37-38)

By insisting on the links between people, place, and language, Mühlhäusler rejects the view that languages can be thought of as "separate and distinct from culture, land and nonlinguistic forms of communication" (2002: 35). His conclusion that it is possible to preserve language ecologies, not languages, articulates the idea that language is indissociable from not only its social context, but its physical environment.

Habitat change and destruction have indeed accompanied the major instances of language shift as described by Fishman (see Section 1.1). In Mühlhäusler's view, "linguistic ecologies" are "dynamically changing and adaptive ecologies whose inhabitants are linked to one another and their sustaining environment by numerous functional links" (2002: 38). Attempts to maintain a language by rendering it more "competitive" are thus ill-founded, as a healthy linguistic ecology thrives on "mutually beneficial" links (ibid.). Mühlhäusler's work makes explicit the fact that language shift is always accompanied by a range of other losses. Therefore, the mandate of those who seek to maintain and revitalize languages is greatly expanded by taking into account the fact that language cannot be treated in isolation: "language maintenance should ask: How can we preserve or recreate the ecological conditions for linguistics [sic] diversity[?]" instead of asking how an individual language might be maintained (ibid.). In this study, I analyze public discourse in light of the idea that language is indeed embedded in larger sociocultural systems, and that the whole system must be taken into account in order to understand Occitan revitalization efforts.

1.3 Language endangerment

Speakers' acknowledgement that their language faces pressures from another language or other languages is not a novelty in human history. Changes in patterns of language use and structure, as well as the advent of new languages and the disappearance of old ones, are unavoidable. They are a side effect of populations that migrate and conquer; they occur as generations innovate and pass away. In fact, the current decline in the total number of languages on Earth may have began with the dawn of agriculture (Tsunoda 2006: 3). What is particular about the modern recognition that a language is "threatened" or "endangered" is that this precipitous drop in language diversity coincides with unprecedented changes in human geography.

Tasaku Tsunoda divides the history of language loss into two periods: before and after the European colonial period. He writes: "…there have been innumerable cases of language loss in human history. However, colonization by European nations has exerted perhaps the most devastating damage in the way of language loss" (2006: 4). The areas with the most documented

languages are Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, which account for around 4,900 of the world's estimated 6000 languages. The Americas have another 900. Meanwhile, Europe and the Middle East can claim only 275 languages, or 4% of the global total (Tsunoda 2006: 16). The most linguistically-diverse areas are those that came under the domination of European colonial powers. Today, use of the majority of the world's languages is decreasing (Krauss 1992: 104, cited in Tsunoda 2006: 16).

Peter Austin and Julia Sallabank offer a synthesis of the four major causes of language endangerment: natural catastrophes, famine, [and] disease; war and genocide; overt repression, often in the name of 'national unity'; cultural/political/economic dominance" (2011: 5). Although the latter three have played roles, present and past, in the endangerment of Occitan, it is the dominance of French language hegemony that is most pertinent in the present study. Lenore Grenoble describes the effects of cultural dominance leading to shift and, eventually, endangerment thus:

> Socioeconomic improvement […] comes to be perceived as tied to knowledge of the language of wider communication, coupled with renunciation of the local language and culture; for this reason, the situation has been called SOCIAL DISLOCATION. Social dislocation stemming from lack of prestige and power is one of the most powerful motivating factors in language shift. (2011: 34)

Questions of prestige and power will recur in this study as well, as they figure into larger trends of language use.

Language endangerment as a field of scientific inquiry is a relatively recent phenomenon. Tsunoda dates linguists' interest in endangered languages as a source of interestingly divergent data to Bloomfield's observations on Menomini in the 1920s (2006: 31). Swadesh and his followers elaborated a social context for the description of language endangerment in the mid-20th century. Various works on internal and external factors in the endangerment of various languages followed throughout the 1970s, but it was Dorian's work on East Sutherland Gaelic (1981) that first offered a "holistic" view of language endangerment as a phenomenon (ibid.). The last quarter of the 20th century also saw a shift in the ethical orientation of the field:

> The traditional method of fieldwork ON the language had evolved by the 1970s to a more activist stand on fieldwork FOR the speakers and their communities, then developed into a collaborative framework of fieldwork WITH speakers…a final step in the empowerment process was added, at the request of interested parties, with the notion of work BY the speakers themselves. (emphasis authors') (Grinevald and Bert 2011: 62)

The shift in focus from the language itself as an object of scientific curiosity to the model of the speaker-researcher reflects the increasing ownership of endangered languages by speech communities.

1.3.1 Language and culture in language endangerment

Sue Wright cites four arguments advanced by those seeking to preserve endangered languages. The first of these, based on the premises of linguistic relativity, is that "language diversity is good per se" (2016: 274). The second focuses on the continuity of a group and its culture: preserving a language would "ensure that the past remains contactable" (2016: 278). The third argument concerns the maintenance of a strong identity: "a language is a component of identity and that the disappearance of the language of a group has immense repercussions for healthy self-regard" (2016: 280). The fourth argument emanates mainly from a cognitive perspective informed by linguistic relativity. If languages encode diverse cognitive processes, then "they are an irreplaceable source of information on the way that the human brain processes thought" (2016: 283).

In this study, the second argument is of particular interest, as the Occitan movement often portrays cultural continuity as a benefit of language revitalization. Wright posits that, even in cases of language shift, the associated culture need not disappear: "the core of ideas and values can survive a change in the language that carries them as they can survive a change in the speaker that expresses them" (2016: 279). However, the decoupling of language and culture is very concerning to other researchers.

Fishman grants that "ethnocultural label-maintenance and self-concept-maintenance may long outlast language-maintenance" (1991: 17). However, he rejects the proposition that language and culture are truly separable: "[t]hat language which has traditionally been linked with a given ethnoculture is, at any time during which that linkage is still intact, best able to name the artifacts and to formulate or express the interests, values and world-views of that culture" (1991: 20). Fishman characterizes this linkage as a "partial identity between the two" (1991: 24). Under such terms, the preservation of traditional culture in a new language will be inherently incomplete; the vital link would be broken. While I accept the substance of Fishman's argument here, I think it likely that reestablishment of language use will always be "partial" in some respects, as complete isolation of a culture undergoing revitalization from the larger nation in which it is situated is implausible and likely undesirable.

The scenario envisioned by Fishman necessitates a complete investment in language use, by all members of the community. For language communities whose goals are in line with this scenario, uncompromising insistence on preserving language as a means of preserving culture could conceivably spur speakers to change their behavior. However, many communities undertaking language revitalization projects have less broad goals. Saul Schwartz voices the concern that stringent scholarly and activist discourses on language revitalization lead to a second marginalization of language communities whose language programs do not conform to an imagined ideal. He states that

> [d]iscourses like 'language is the core of culture' and 'when a language dies, a culture dies' are widespread in language activism even though they undermine communities' efforts to maintain distinctive cultural identities in the wake of language shift and put dormant language communities in a double bind. (2018: 332).

The discursively constructed relationship between language and culture is mutable; it varies according to the interests of the individuals or groups portraying it. In order to better understand prevailing language ideologies in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, I consider the characteristics of the groups and individuals that produce public discourses under examination in the present study.

1.3.2 Domains of language use and the evaluation of language endangerment

In Section 1.1, I advanced the idea that certain situations condition certain linguistic choices, and eventual language shift. For example, the child of a recently arrived immigrant might use L2 at school and with new friends on the playground, and L1 in the home and with extended family. This situational differentiation of language behavior was described by Joshua Fishman, in his landmark paper on language maintenance and language shift (Fishman 1964). In it, he problematizes the fact that "languages (or language variants) *sometimes* replace each other, among *some* speakers, particularly in *certain* types or domains of language behavior, under *some* conditions of intergroup contact" [emphasis author's] (1964: 35). For the purposes of this study, the "types or domains of language behavior" are of greatest interest, as they can shed light on the extent of Occitan's actual presence in society.

Nine domains of language use were described by Schmidt-Rohr: "the family, the playground and the street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental bureaucracy" (quoted in Fishman 1968: 80). Fishman himself is not concerned with establishing a master set of domains of language use, stating that "some subsequent scholars of language maintenance and language shift have required a more differentiated set of domains. Others have been satisfied with a much more abbreviated set. Still others have required greater differentiation *within* particular domains" [emphasis author's] (1968: 80). According to Fishman, the identification of domains of language use is contingent upon societal context. In his view, domains should "attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings" and be conducive to "analyses of individual language behavior at the level of face-to-face encounters" as well as be "related to widespread socio-cultural regularities" (ibid.). Thus, understanding the domains relevant to a given community is the basis for describing both differential language use and trends toward shift or maintenance.

According to Pauwels, "a domain is seen as a construct built around three key elements: interlocutors, topics and locales, with the latter comprising both time and place" (2016: 90). These three elements are often referenced in language vitality surveys. For instance, Gal's questionnaire for minority Hungarian speakers in Austria covers categories based on locale (church, official business-doctor, work, shopping, school) and on interlocutors, (kin, neighbors, and pals) (1979: 177-81). Topic is addressed throughout. Gal poses the following question with regard to "Neighbors": "Which of your neighbors help if you need someone for a favor? What way do you talk to them?" (1979: 180). As a sense of solidarity is typically evoked when asking for a favor, the response to this question has implications regarding the fabric of the community. Moreover, this example echoes Fishman's concern with "clusters of interaction situations" in that it involves a recurrent set of interlocutors (neighbors), topic (favor), and locale (neighborhood).

It must be noted that Fishman's domain concept, while influential, is not the basis of a systematic theory. Although domains are commonly described in studies of the social dynamics of languages in contact, the term is often used loosely. On one hand, this reflects Fishman's contention that domains should be identified and studied as appropriate to varying linguistic situations. On the other hand, critiques of the domain concept have been leveled on the grounds of its vagueness. McConvell contends that several studies (Denison 1971; Gal 1979; McConvell 1986) show that "place or setting has very little or no role in choosing which language to use" (McConvell 1991: 145). Rather, he argues that "what appears to be an effect of setting may result from a combination of the other two factors," i.e. interlocutors and topics (ibid.).

Although McConvell's contention that locale is less of a factor than interlocutors and topic is a valid one, in this study I consider all three factors. In language revitalization situations, creating spaces in which language use is overtly encouraged is a major goal. To that end, using the language in such a space is a choice that carries a different value than the decision to speak to one's neighbor in a minority language. In a situation like that of Occitan, these tend to be novel spaces and occasions, created with the express purpose of encouraging use of the target language. In turn, this phenomenon reflects the fact that such spaces have largely disappeared from the rest of society.

Finally, the domain concept is relevant in the current study because it provides a metric for tracking language shift and maintenance, as portrayed in public discourse. The topic, interlocutors, and locales invoked in conjunction with Occitan provide valuable data on the nature of revitalization efforts as they are represented in public discourse. Moreover, domains of language use are pertinent in a diachronic sense as well. As McConvell points out, understanding the historical trajectory of language shift is important to studying "the practice of language maintenance" (1991: 144). In the case of Occitan, there is an abundant historical record tracking language shift in southwestern France that illustrates the language's disappearance from subsequent domains of language use (see Chapter 3). The historical and contemporary portrait of language shift and language maintenance thus combine to shed light on the motivations and strategies that shape Occitan revitalization efforts.

1.4 Language revitalization

Communities respond to language endangerment in various ways. In their study of language attitudes toward the "patois" of Évolène, a small community in the Swiss Alps, Marinette Matthey and Raphaël Maitre find that local residents do not "feel dispossessed of their language, because they are the ones abandoning it" (2008: 94). In other cases, however, community members feel an acute sense that measures must be taken to rescue their language from the forces that have led to endangerment. Such cases, argues Fishman, must be understood as "indicative not only of social organization but of social injustice as well" (1991: 3). The present study thus privileges language endangerment not as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of a larger set of social, cultural, and economic challenges that are faced by language communities. In order to address this core linguistic issue in its broader context of social unease, many communities have taken up language revitalization practices.

Leanne Hinton endorses an expansive understanding of the term "language revitalization." She observes that "[a]t its most extreme, 'language revitalization' refers to the

development of programs that result in re-establishing a language which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech community and bringing with back into full use in all walks of life", as was the case with the Hebrew language (2001a: 5). However, she argues that less advanced cases of language loss, such as Irish or Navajo, can also be addressed by the processes of language revitalization, which would entail "turning this decline around" (ibid.).

Contrary to Hinton, Robert Blackwood argues for a narrower definition of language revitalization. For him, it

> includ[es] but [is] not limited to the reconstruction of a minorised language (often understood as corpus planning), its acquisition as a second language by adults in the relevant community, cultural interaction - often led by older generations - in the minorised language and the use of this language in the homes of its speech community. (2008: 4).

Other activities that aim to extend the "language into as many domains as possible" and "changing language practices so that a particular variety is used for the majority of speech acts as well as for writing" are understood to be related to normalization, according to Blackwood (ibid.).

The discrepancies between the two points of view are informed by the different paradigms within which Hinton and Blackwood work. Blackwood is concerned with minority language issues in Europe; he notes that the term "normalization" itself is "often identified with language policy in Catalonia" (ibid.). Costa explains that, during the 1960s and 70s, Catalan and Occitan sociolinguistics took a "conflictive" view of language endangerment, in contrast with Fishman's "consensual" one (2016: 20). While Fishman encouraged stable diglossia as an outcome of revitalization efforts, sociolinguists including Lluís Aracil (1965) and Robert Lafont (1971) "point[ed] out that the only two possible outcomes of such processes where one of the languages is minorised are substitution on the one hand and normalisation on the other" (ibid.). The aim of normalization is not diglossia, but the use of the minority language in all domains (ibid.).

Blackwood's and Costa's analyses of the differences between normalization and revitalization are informed by the historically heightened importance of literacy and corpus planning in the European context. On the other hand, Hinton works in New World contexts, where a premium tends to be placed on reestablishing language use on a micro-level. Costa maintains that the Occitanist project, as articulated by Lafont (1971), was focused "not so much on the language itself as on the necessity to give its speakers a voice in a public sphere (a space which is often left undefined)" (2016: 21). He goes on to characterize contemporary discourses on language endangerment and revitalization as "more centred on language and on politics of identity" than were the Catalan and Occitan sociolinguists of five decades ago (ibid.).

Despite the similarities of Blackwood's and Costa's research contexts to the present study, I understand revitalization in the broader sense, as advanced by Hinton, for two main reasons. First, the concept of normalization itself is quite narrowly bounded in time and place, and thus does not map well onto more recent research and cases of endangerment and revitalization elsewhere. Second, I disagree with Costa's proposition describing Occitan

revitalization as focused on "voice" and other projects as focused on "language and on politics of identity" (ibid.). The reclamation of language and identity and the reclamation of a voice in society are not usefully opposed, as revitalization movements often use language as a means to legitimate their political identity and thus communicate their concerns to the larger society. Nevertheless, Costa's central point, that the Occitan movement has always been concerned as much with social and political leverage as it has been with language, is extremely pertinent to this study.

1.4.1 Metrics of language endangerment and revitalization

The phenomenon that I refer to in this study as language revitalization has been described in various terms. Hinton cites several: "language revitalization, language revival, and language reclamation, among others, are all applied to the phenomenon of attempting to bring endangered languages back to some level of use within their communities (and elsewhere) after a period of reduction in usage" (2011: 291). Fishman prefers the term "reversing language shift" (RLS) (1991). Regardless of the term being used, efforts aimed at increasing language vitality have been described and measured using various metrics

The description of situations of language endangerment is subject to variability between researchers. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) propose a six-way system (*safe, at risk, disappearing, moribund, nearly extinct,* and *extinct*). Michael Krauss's (1997) scale, which concentrates on the prevalence of language use across generations, has ten levels of vitality, denoted by letter grades (Grenoble 2011: 40-1). The "most widely used" scale is Stephen A. Wurm's (1996) (Bradley 2011: 67). It describes "five degrees of endangerment: potentially endangered, endangered, severely endangered, moribund and extinct" (ibid.). UNESCO's *Atlas of languages in danger*[9] uses the *Language Vitality Assessment* (2003), a five-point scale based on Wurm's. It identifies nine criteria affecting language vitality:

> (1) intergenerational transmission; (2) absolute number of speakers; (3) proportion of speakers within the total population; (4) trends in existing language domains; (5)response to new domains and media; (6) materials for language education and literacy; (7) governmental and institutional attitudes and policies, including official status and use; (8) community members' attitudes toward their own language; and (9) amount and quality of documentation (Grenoble 2011: 38).

Importantly, these factors must be viewed holistically: a high rating in one does not imply vitality across the rest.

Fishman holds that RLS must be done in "a sociolinguistically informed way, i.e. in a way that combines more narrowly ethnolinguistic with more broadly sociocultural and econotechnical considerations" (1991: 1). Fishman's best-known contribution to the study of language endangerment and revitalization is the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), seen in Table 1.1.

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[9] "Interactive Atlas." *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*. http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/. Consulted 12 March 2017.

Table 1.1. Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (adapted from Fishman 1991: 87)

Level	Description
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

The GIDS consists of eight levels. In the scale, "the higher the GIDS rating the lower the intergenerational continuity and maintenance prospects of a language network or community" (Fishman 1991: 87). The goal of any RLS project would thus be to reach a lower level on the scale. Fishman insists that "RLS-efforts must initially be primarily based on the self-reliance of pro-RLSers" and begin with steps that pro-RLSers "can reasonably support and attempt by dint of their own time, funds, and devotion" (1991: 111). He also counsels "the proper sequencing of efforts" (ibid.). In Fishman's view, reestablishing intergenerational transmission in the home is a necessary condition for successful RLS. For languages suffering from "advanced stages of sociocultural dislocation," he argues, it would be counterproductive to concentrate efforts on the upper stages (i.e. 4-1) (1991: 112).

Fishman's insistence on observing the recommended sequence the stages of RLS is a major prescriptive gesture. In order to persuade language promoters of the value in the sequence, he enumerates the problems that may arise from disregarding it:

> It is much easier, of course, to concentrate on the upper stages (4 or 3-1) immediately and rather exclusively. However, these stages are characterized by two overriding minuses insofar as RLS-efforts on behalf of seriously dislocated language-in-culture constellations are concerned: (a) they do not lead directly to intergenerational mother tongue transmission, being removed, as they are, from the actual nexus of such transmission, and (b) they do lead directly to increased dependence upon, confrontation with or rivalry with the dominant language-in-culture. (1991: 112)

Grassroots RLS projects emphasize autonomy, in part because many of the communities involved have undergone language shift and other negative sociocultural changes as a result of top-down language policies. However, other scholars have made a case that support from the authorities is indeed necessary for language promotion projects, even in their nascent stages.

Melvyn Lewis and Gary Simons (2010: 11) have proposed an Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS), which has 13 categories. The EGIDS is meant to remedy what the authors describe as four shortcomings of the original GIDS: it "describe[d] the levels of disruption in fairly static terms" without accounting for the directionality of change, it did "not provide an adequate description of all of the possible statuses of a language," it did not account for the "increasingly important role of institutions outside of the home," and it is "least elaborated at the lowest end of the scale, where the levels of disruption are greatest" (Lewis and Simons 2010: 7-8). The language database *Ethnologue*[10] uses the EGIDS to evaluate language vitality. It classifies Occitan as "threatened," while UNESCO classifies the majority of Occitan dialects as "severely endangered." Using these evaluations permits me to compare the portrait of language use as conveyed by the corpus texts with ostensibly objective metrics.

1.5 Language revitalization in practice: The role of language planning and policy

Any discussion of practices around language revitalization would be incomplete if it did not consider the field of language planning and language policy. Referring to Fishman (1974), James Tollefson notes that "[a]lthough the uses of the terms *language planning* and *language policy* [LPLP] vary widely, in general *language planning* refers to efforts to deliberately affect the status, structure, or acquisition of languages" (emphasis author's) (2011: 357). Language policy is differentiated from language planning by its locus: "[l]*anguage policy* refers to explicit or implicit language planning by official bodies, such as ministries of education, workplace managers, or school administrators" (emphasis author's) (Tollefson 2011: 357). Revitalization programs necessarily come into contact with language planning as activists seek to modify the linguistic behavior of speakers in such a way as to incorporate use of a minority language. Bernard Spolsky prefers the term "language management"[11] to "language planning." He describes management as a "political act, arising out of a belief that the present practices or beliefs are inadequate or undesirable and need modification" (2009: 181). While early research on LPLP focused on "nation-state formation following the end of colonialism," the scope of the field has since expanded and efforts at the local, or micro-level are currently of interest (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008: 3).

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[10] *Ethnologue*. https://www.ethnologue.com. Consulted 8 November 2019.

[11] Spolsky defines "language management" as a component of language policy. It is:
> the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs. I use the term "management" rather than "planning" because I think it more precisely captures the nature of the phenomenon. Planning was the term used in the 1950s and 1960s in the post-war enthusiasm for correcting social problems; the subsequent failures of social and economic planning have discouraged its continued use. (2009: 4-5)

Work in the LPLP context relating to language endangerment and revitalization covers a wide area of inquiry, including the activities of linguistic authorities to promote the language on the regional level (Williams and Morris 2000), the establishment of intergenerational transmission of the language in the home, (Merenea O'Regan 2018, Bommelyn and Tuttle 2018), and the role of language activists (Blackwood 2008). Wright places language revitalization in the context of LPLP thus:

> Revitalisation of a minority language is language policymaking and language planning at a local level and the activities encompassed by it are the status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning usually undertaken by the state: that is designating the language as a medium in certain institutions (status planning); making the language fit for that purpose, by codifying and standardising it (corpus planning); educating speakers to use it in both written and spoken forms (acquisition planning). (2016: 287-288).

Exceptions to the typical scenario offered by Wright do exist. National-scale efforts to revitalize a language for wide use have been enacted in the cases of Ireland and Israel. However, Wright further argues that, even on the local level, the support of relevant authorities is necessary to LR projects: "[l]ittle can happen here if the governing elite or the dominant group is opposed to extended use of the minority language or subscribes to the ideology of the 'neutral' state" (2016: 288). A key debate in the field opposes scholars who argue that "official support for a language should be a key component of language maintenance" and those who, like Fishman, take the stance that revitalization must begin in the home (ibid.).

The gap between LR programs that emphasize action on the macro-level and those that put emphasis on the micro-level can be bridged by nuanced treatments of the role of LPLP in language revitalization. Gabrielle Hogan-Brun argues for a distinction between the functions of each level with regard to affecting change in language behavior: "[w]e can either manage or facilitate change. The former requires skills of control at the macro-level, which has often formed part of national projects. The latter by contrast relies on a self-organising process" (Hogan-Brun 2010: 91). With many nations adopting more robust protections for language rights, LPLP is more and more frequently undertaken on the meso- and micro-levels. Hogan-Brun contends that this devolution of LPLP activities represents "a shift from trying to control change to facilitating it" and that it "can be appropriate and effective at times, allowing for a natural progression of empowerment" (2010: 91). This focus on the meso- and micro-levels is particularly appropriate in this study, as national French language policy tends toward the 'neutral' state ideology mentioned by Wright.

In the present study, I will consider LPLP in the context of language revitalization as it emanates from both the micro and macro levels. I differentiate between them by following Baldauf (2008), who states that the point of origin of LPLP initiatives is the determining factor. While many initiatives and programs may have legal and/or material support from governments, only those in which "agency is basically retained at the macro level, i.e. the fundamental planning is conceptualised and carried out at the macro level with the local taking an implementation role" should truly be considered as macro-level LPLP (Baldauf 2008: 25). In such circumstances, even if the work of implementation is largely carried out on the micro-level,

the impetus and obligation to do the work comes from the macro-level. True micro-level planning, according to Baldauf, involves

> cases where businesses, institutions, groups or individuals hold agency and create what can be recognized as a language policy and plan to utilise and develop their language resources; one that is not directly the result of some larger macro policy, but is a response to their own needs, their own 'language problems', their own requirement for language management. (2008: 26)

In such cases, the impetus for language planning comes from the bottom up, not from top-down mandates.

1.6 Language activism and language activists

According to Spolsky, "many scholars in the field of language policy tend to stress what they call the 'top-down' nature of the process, seeing national language policy as an effort to maintain the power of the central government and the elite which supports it" (2009: 198). In order to counter this perception, he analyzes a number of "voluntary associations formed in order to influence national language policies" (2009: 184). Unlike government language planning efforts, which tend to remain opaque in terms of motivation and goal-setting, the study of language activist groups can shed light on language ideology. Furthermore, Spolsky declares that the ideology of language activists "is clearest in support of the maintenance or revival or spread of a threatened target language" (2009: 204). Happily, as the present study includes analysis of the work of language activists, the ideology as well as the work of such individuals and groups will be explored.

In a brief survey of groups formed to support Indigenous language revitalization, Suzanne Gessner et al. describe a range of typical characteristics: activist organizations are "both small and large […] Some are grass-roots native-run non-profits, some are partnerships between linguistic and tribal organizations […] and some are founded by governments" (2018: 51). Worldwide, formal language organizations that work toward language revitalization goals share certain attributes. The language activists who have founded and work within these organizational frameworks are, according to Blackwood, "members of […] a 'powerless community'" (2008: 5). In this assessment, Blackwood follows Dennis Ager, who describes such communities as lacking "control of their own political destinies" (2001: 158). Ager also argues that certain communities, such as "the French regions, linguistic groups in Algeria, Catalan speakers in Spain, the many Indian language groups and Welsh speakers in the UK" are not "really politically powerless: the very fact that their situations form the bulk of the research literature on community languages indicates the degree of political consciousness they have aroused" (2001: 158-159). Spolsky further nuances the nature of the power of language activists who defend threatened languages:

> Lacking authority, they depend on acceptance of their ideology by those they try to influence, though […] they are now commonly encouraged by supranational organizations and by the growing acceptance of views associated with language rights.

> They attempt to influence two groups – speakers of a language (or ethnic groups associated with the language), and governments who might undertake management favoring the language. (2009: 204)

Such an understanding of language revitalization activists, as pressure groups who use their voices to modify language behavior, is useful in this study.

The objectives of language activists vary. Blackwood observes that "[l]anguage activists can focus their efforts upon the language itself, its scope, and production in the language […] activists can also become involved in the politics of minorities" (2008: 4). These efforts include a wide variety of activities. Language groups may perform their own research and provide policy recommendations to governments. Many groups are active in language acquisition efforts, from classroom instruction to facilitating methods requiring close personal contact like Master-Apprentice or Language Nest programs (Hinton 2001b, King 2001). Language documentation efforts may also be undertaken by groups; in some cases they may even provide training for those who wish to contribute to LR through archival research, teaching, or other initiatives. Groups may also spearhead corpus planning initiatives, from creating glossaries to innovating new contexts for the language, such as a web presence. In addition to putting on cultural and linguistic events in their own communities, these groups also liaise with other communities involved in revitalization to share best practices and pool resources. Support for the myriad activities that language revitalization organizations undertake ranges from purely volunteer efforts to robust funding from national government or non-governmental organizations (Gessner et al. 2018).

Formal organizations are not the only agents that promote language revitalization goals. Anthony Liddicoat and Richard B. Baldauf give a useful schema for understanding the primary types of agents involved in language planning, including revitalization (see Table 1.2, adapted from Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008: 5-9).

Table 1.2. Agents of language planning at the local level

Agent	Examples	Description
Individuals	Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (Hebrew), Sabino Arana (Basque), Frank Le Maistre (Jersey French)	Work likely initiated through personal interest, but became important in shaping later planning efforts
Language organizations	Society for Frisian Language and Literature, IEO	Focus exclusively on language, or on language and culture. Variety of functions, including publishing, education, research, events
Non language-oriented organizations	Religious groups, missionaries, education advocacy groups	Development of literate forms of vernacular languages, inclusion of language in instruction

This tripartite distinction is quite useful, as it accounts for work being done outside of language organizations by individuals and by those who have goals that are not explicitly language-oriented. However, none of these agents operates in complete isolation: to varying extents, there is a flow of ideas, practices, and even individuals between all three levels. All three types of agent are involved in Occitan revitalization in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

1.7 Language attitudes and language ideology

From the outset, it is useful to differentiate between language attitudes and language ideology, and to clarify their applicability to the present study. Language attitudes are, simply put, "the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others" (Crystal 2008: 266). Ager posits that attitudes "depend on identity" and that, because they lie "near the 'socio-psychological surface' of individuals, are generally easier to discover than the sets of beliefs, in their turn supported by a scale of values, which underlie them" (2001: 125). These beliefs and values that influence language attitudes, as manifested by individuals directly (e.g. in the case of surveys) or indirectly (e.g. through linguistic behavior), can also be understood as an ideology, which itself is "socially conditioned, subjective and in essence emotive" (ibid.).

Tollefson follows Kathryn Woolard (1992) in describing language ideology as "a shared body of commonsense notions about the nature of language, the nature and purpose of communication, and appropriate communicative behavior; these commonsense notions and assumptions are seen as expressions of a collective order" (2007: 26). This definition highlights the social dimension of language ideology as a socially constructed set of beliefs. Woolard herself, in an in-depth examination of "recurrent themes" in the literature on language ideology,

identifies "the most widely agreed-upon […] strand" as "a conceptualization of ideology as derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position, even though ideology so often (in some views, always) represents itself as universally true" (1998: 24). The emphasis on the role of ideology in reflecting the experiences of and in furthering the interests of "particular social positions" is relevant to the present study, as it shows that ideologies are "in some way dependent on the material and practical aspects of human life" and, in turn, influence linguistic and social behavior (ibid.).

In her comparative study of language attitudes toward Catalan and Occitan, Aurélie Joubert finds a correlation between individual language attitudes and broader beliefs about language. Two subjects interviewed on the question of whether Occitan was a language that allowed for greater connection with the world had very different responses based on their underlying attitudes. For one speaker, using Occitan connotes restriction to "the regional domain" and "is considered as a personal limitation or imprisonment" (2010: 164). However, another stated that Occitan "is a language open to the world" (ibid.). Joubert asserts that the first speaker "establishes a dichotomy between culturally-related and almost trivial Occitan matters, situated on the regional level, and a more important 'international social development' which are connected to French and English," while the second includes Occitan "within an encompassing view of the world's languages" (ibid.). This comparison illustrates the ways in which individual language attitudes not only inform personal language choices, but how they inform and are informed by broader ideologies on the legitimate roles and functions of Occitan.

1.7.1 Language ideology and discourse

In order to relate theory on language ideology more closely to the present study, which is based on discourse analysis, it is useful to further explore the link between ideology and discourse. In his work on the construction of linguistic minorities at the United Nations, Duchêne considers two manifestations of language ideologies. First, he explores "discursive ideologies that demonstrate beliefs about the nature, impact, structuring and importance of discourses within the institution," a phenomenon that is relevant to the internal production of discourses within groups (2008: 28). Second, Duchêne investigates "the ideologies of language and languages in the sense of how these form the object of a group of ideas about what language is and what it is not" (ibid.). These ideologies are relevant to language activists as well, as they are obligated to put forward arguments in favor of language revitalization for consumption by their own communities and by dominant language communities.

Duchêne's first proposition relies on the idea that ideology is discursively constructed, reproduced, and disseminated. While Duchêne studies the UN in particular, I maintain that these discursive processes are also present within groups involved in language activism. Costa describes revitalization movements as being "organised around a number of types of social actors who are all connected by relations of dependence, alliances or conflict" (2016: 61). Language revitalization organizations must coordinate these actors in a formalized way. Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer allow that "[o]rganizations can provide focus and umbrellas of various kinds, but they still require the efforts and cooperation of many individuals" (1998: 69).

Organizers of language revitalization efforts manage both practical and ideological concerns. Fishman recommends that those wishing to implement RLS programs first establish "prior ideological clarification" within the group (2001). Such clarification ideally involves "an open, honest assessment of the state of the language and how people really feel about using and preserving it, replacing wishful thinking and denial of reality with an honest evaluation leading to realistic recommendations" (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1998: 63). The authors speculate that the absence of such clarification is a factor in "popularly perceived cases of failure" in revitalization (ibid.). In this manner, lack of a clearly defined ideology can lead to internal conflict, which saps time, energy, and resources from efforts that typically operate on shoestring budgets and by the grace of volunteer work.

Costa takes issue with the supposed primacy of prior ideological clarification. He cites Kroskrity's work on Western Mono and Tewa communities in California and Arizona, in which Kroskrity argues in favor of "the necessity of recognizing and resolving ideological conflict that would impede local efforts at linguistic revitalization" (Kroskrity 2009: 71, cited in Costa 2016: 99). He opposes Kroskrity's view with his own observations, based on the case of Occitan in Southern France. Costa contends that "debates are in fact constitutive of the movement, and no entity - language or group - can be said to be more important than the ideas expressed through these debates" (2016: 99). This contention is in line with his general thesis that language revitalization is "one type of cultural revitalisation among others" that happens to take language as an organizing principle. In this light, revitalization "can only aim at providing social actors with situated interpretations of revitalisation as a form of struggle in a way so as to make salient the issues they are grappling with" (ibid.).

Duchêne's second proposition addresses language ideologies insofar as they govern the recognition of languages in society. In a state such as France, where purported linguistic unity is a major part of national identity, language activists face barriers related to national language ideology. Giordano explains that "[t]he nearly generalized presence of linguistic plurality in a state entity that views itself as homogeneous generates embarrassment and frustration" (2019: 145). A certain progression toward acceptance of linguistic diversity over recent decades is evidenced by milestones like the European Union's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Nevertheless, Giordano observes that, in the case of Europe, "recognition of linguistic diversity is no longer unthinkable, though in France and Germany, that is, the two Nation-States par excellence, linguistic plurality remains questionable or at the least hardly fashionable" (2019: 146). Thus, language revitalization activists may address reluctance to recognize language on the grounds that linguistic plurality could pose a threat to national identity or societal harmony.

Activists must not only valorize their language in the eyes of the authorities, but also to the society at large. In order to do this, they advance discourses aiming to convince the public of a need to recognize and save a particular variety or varieties. However, some scholars take issue with the framing of "expert rhetorics" (Hill 2002) that may undermine revitalization efforts rather than promote them. Jane Hill notes three such themes that appear as "'scene-setting' elements in the literature of endangered-language advocacy" (2002: 120):

> The first is the theme of universal ownership, the assertion that endangered languages in some sense "belong" to everyone in the world. The second is the theme of hyperbolic valorization, expressed through locutions like "Endangered languages are priceless treasures." The third is the theme of enumeration, which attempts to create a sense of crisis by the compilation and recitation of alarming statistics, such as those that show that over half of the world's languages are endangered, or that some language has only three remaining speakers. (ibid.)

Perley argues that "metaphoric frames such as death, endangerment and extinction" compounds a public perception that endangered languages are "neither dead nor alive" (2012: 133). Such a perception can be actively harmful to revitalization efforts and to the status of speakers, as their linguistic concerns are seen as academic rather than as active concerns. Perley further states that "[m]etaphors not only frame discourses of language endangerment, but they also frame and influence actions and interventions" (ibid.). He prefers to use the term "emergent vitality", emphasizing that, in Indigenous societies, many "endangered communities are breathing life back into their heritage languages and that the metaphors of dying, death and extinction are giving way to revitalisation, awakening and other emergent vitalities" (2012: 147). Similarly, Piatote proposes countering "discourses of scarcity" with "discourses of abundance" in Indigenous language revitalization (2019). Thus, over the past couple of decades, a trend toward portrayal of language revitalization as an active and rich social endeavor has risen to challenge conceptions of endangered language work as salvage linguistics (Leonard 2017).

1.7.2 Language and the imagined community

Duchêne argues that language ideologies serve to disseminate a "group of ideas about what language is and what it is not" (2008: 28). The question of language here is not one of linguistic structure, "descriptive of the language itself" (Haugen 1966: 926). Rather, it is a question of function, and "descriptive of its social uses in communication" (ibid.). National languages are widely disseminated as part of nation-building processes; they serve both as means of communication and as symbols of group identity. By the same token, when the focus is moved beyond the nation-state, language still plays a crucial role in group identity.

Benedict Anderson defines the nation as "an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (2006: 6). He argues that "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (ibid.). This essential requirement, then, of a nation, is for an individual to feel a "deep, horizontal comradeship" with people whom they will never meet or even hear of (Anderson 2006: 7). In Anderson's conception, language is a major means by which the nation, as an imagined community, is established. The rise of nationalisms coincides, he argues, with the spread of print-languages, through which people could, at a distance, "visualize in a general way the existence of thousands and thousands like themselves" (2006: 77).

If imagining a common identity based on a shared language is an integral part of people's self-concept as members of a nation, it is worth examining the process by which particular languages come to serve in this role. Nation-states themselves are not linguistically homogenous, even when concerted efforts are made to encourage and enforce the use of the national language.

Anderson interprets this phenomenon as "discontinuity-in-connectedness between print-languages, national consciousness, and nation-states," observing that

> while today almost all modern self-conceived nations - and also nation-states - have 'national print-languages', many of them have these languages in common, and in others only a tiny fraction of the population 'uses' the national language in conversation or on paper. (Anderson 2006: 46)

In this way, the process of linguistic assimilation in imagined communities is often incomplete. Nevertheless, ideologies of language as a bond between groups are persistent, and feed into language ideologies affecting both dominant and minority language communities.

Writing a decade and a half before Anderson, Haugen defined a nation as "the effective unit of international political action" (1966: 927). This definition, while it relates more closely to a nation-state than to Anderson's "imagined communities," is nevertheless key to my understanding of language communities in the present study. The foundational principles of the nation-state, as outlined by Anderson and Haugen, apply broadly, not least because they are the dominant political paradigms in today's world and thus serve as models to less formal imagined communities. Haugen describes the architecture of a nation thus:

> Like any unit, it [the nation] minimizes internal differences and maximizes external ones. On the individual's personal and local identity it superimposes a national one by identifying his ego with that of all others within the nation and separating it from that of all others outside the nation. In a society that is essentially familial or tribal or regional it stimulates a loyalty beyond the primary groups, but discourages any conflicting loyalty to other nations. The ideal is: internal cohesion—external distinction. (1966: 927-928)

Ideologies of "internal cohesion—external distinction" have thus contributed mightily to the construction of national identity within nation-states. The discouragement of personal, local, familial, tribal, and regional loyalties in the service of a unified national identity consists, in part, in encouraging or enforcing the use of "a single linguistic code" that will foster the "free and rather intense communication" needed to build loyalty to the nation (Haugen 1966: 928).

1.7.3 Boundary maintenance

According to Haugen (see Section 1.7.2), nation-states demand that their citizens reject, or at least subsume, loyalties to groups other than the nation-state itself. However, reclaiming these loyalties is often exactly what is at stake in language revitalization. On a political level, reestablishing loyalty to a marginalized language entails a critical reexamination of national loyalty, and of the historical relationship between the language community and the nation-state. This process leads to the apparent dismantling of national loyalties and the resurgence of personal, local, familial, tribal, and regional loyalties. Thus, the distinctions between the language community and other groups within society may be highlighted while the shared linguistic and cultural heritage within the group becomes a source of cohesion. These processes

require a discursive redrawing of boundaries between the language community and the rest of society.

Fishman casts boundary maintenance as an imperative for successful RLS efforts. In his view,

> The basic desiderata of language-in-culture maintenance are cultural boundaries within which Xish is consensually accepted and relatively protected for certain pursuits. These boundaries need not be, should not be, and in modern life they really cannot be fully isolating. Cultural boundaries need not co-occur with simultaneous geographic, political, economic, or social boundaries. They *do* involve a concentrated demographic base, however, the exact size and concentration of which may be modified downward in light of modern communication capabilities. (emphasis author's) (1991: 66)

In acknowledging the impossibility and the undesirability of a community completely isolating itself, Fishman lays out a scheme in which "self-regulated fusion" between the community implementing RLS and the larger society. Although Fishman seems almost to lament the fact that, in today's world, no culture can be "entirely independent from its surroundings or from influences coming from afar", his conception of boundary maintenance offers a positive space that is insulated from undesirable outside influences (1991: 85). He advocates "as much cross-cultural understanding as possible, as accurate cross-cultural communication as possible, and […] an individuality which consists of each culture's own, maximally self-regulating fusion of influences from a variety of sources" (ibid.).

The issue of best practices in boundary maintenance is also subject to debate. Fishman insists that initiatives seeking to carve out space for the language in new domains such as education and mass media "operate at too great a distance from the nexus of intergenerational mother tongue transmission [i.e. "home, family, neighborhood"]" (1991: 67). Preserving this nexus entails what Fishman refers to as "initial conflict avoidance" in order to minimize "premature and risky functional confrontations with the powers that be" that could threaten RLS efforts (1991: 5). However, Montgomery-Anderson contends that focusing on the creation of new domains for the language is not antithetical to boundary maintenance.

Montgomery-Anderson characterizes Fishman's outlook on domains as "emphasiz[ing] domains mainly as a predictor of success; i.e. as a sort of outward expansion of the language revitalization taking place in the home" (2013: 45). In this framework, the presence of the language in new domains is a marker of vitality. However, Montgomery-Anderson's work on the Hilo model of Hawaiian language education leads him to argue in favor of "aggressively pursu[ing] the creation of domains as a means of revitalization and not just the end result" (2013: 45). In an ideal situation, the school domain would benefit from "structural support for the language [that] also fosters boundary creation for domains; i.e. the ability to clearly set apart areas or activities where the dominant language is excluded" (Montgomery-Anderson 2013: 46).

Excluding the dominant language from a physical space is a major element of many language revitalization efforts. In the case of the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht in Belfast, Northern Ireland, a busy road separates the Irish-speaking neighbors of the neo-Gaeltacht from the English-speaking residents of a facing housing estate. Thus, it was possible to raise young

children in an Irish immersion atmosphere, at least until they grew old enough to cross the street. A more systemic isolation, imposed by the political conditions in Belfast, also affected the community. Mac Póilin argues that

> the unusual if unappetising social structure of Belfast actually worked to the advantage of the language movement […] a small organic Irish-speaking community within an urban network of language learners within a large disaffected Catholic/nationalist minority with a high birth rate in a Protestant/unionist city in an unstable Protestant/unionist state within a Catholic/nationalist island. (2003: 128-129)

In establishing the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht, language activists showed themselves desirous of affirming Irish linguistic and cultural identity. Multiple layers of conflicting religious and political loyalties imbued the language with a high level of what Mac Póilin refers to as "emblematic cultural capital" in the surrounding community (2013: 150). The support of the outside community was not negligible, as the Gaeltacht "relied to a very large extent on the goodwill of the broader community" (ibid.).

Such a combination of productive isolation and outside goodwill is not always available. Physical isolation, a legacy of forced education and resettlement, is a reality in many Indigenous communities, such as Native American reservations in the United States. Harnessing isolation as a productive constraint is also possible. In the Navajo community of Rough Rock, Arizona, a model of schooling in which the indigenous community may sign a "contract with the federal government to run their own schools" (McCarty and Watahomigie 1998: 313). The Rough Rock model, widely emulated in other Indigenous communities, allows for control over education to be put in the hands of formerly disenfranchised community members (McCarty and Wathomigie 1998). Other micro-level models that privilege the exclusion of the dominant language from a particular space or sphere are the Master-Apprentice language learning program, which "teaches native speakers and young adults to work together intensively so that the younger members may develop conversational proficiency in the language", and the Te Kōhanga Reo (Māori) language nests, which "aim to provide an environment where children will hear only the Māori language and will therefore grow up speaking Māori" (Hinton 2001b: 217; King 2001: 119)

Although physical isolation is often an important variable in language revitalization projects, it may be more useful to see programs like those discussed above as creating an intentional sense of *insulation* in the nascent stages of revitalization. This deliberate separation of the language in physical and cultural space is highly relevant to the present study, as there is no real territorial separation between the imagined Occitània and the rest of France. Moreover, the movement has typically avoided rhetoric or initiatives that could attract charges of insularity or rejection of the modern world.

1.8 Language prestige and language revitalization

The concept of prestige is widely used in sociolinguistics, although operational definitions of it are in short supply. However, individuals' perceptions of prestige have a major impact on linguistic behavior. It is generally held that certain language varieties and certain linguistic variants are more prestigious or valuable than others. Speakers desirous of performing

linguistic prestige thus tend to use prestige variants or to shift languages altogether. Of course, prestige is a social phenomenon. Speakers who adopt prestigious forms of speech are not primarily concerned with structural attributes, but with social advancement. Darren Paffey notes a general human tendency to evaluate the "'other' in opposition to 'self'" as he summarizes the process by which language becomes imbued with social value (2014: 50).

> Constructing evaluations of language varieties will not only draw on features of the language variety itself, but also the characteristics of typical speakers of that variety. If such speakers are popularly considered to be educated, upstanding citizens with professional careers, for example, then the prestige of those social factors becomes associated with the linguistic variety and is thus 'transferred' to those speakers. (ibid.)

As noted in Section 1.7.3, one of the strengths of the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht was the "emblematic cultural capital" that the Irish language held in the surrounding community. This capital was rooted in historical and political circumstances and desire for Irish identity. At the same time, in the Republic of Ireland, where the language was officially recognized and promoted, the same cultural capital did not obtain. In this case, as in certain others, a language was granted an official status that was not reflective of robust language practices:

> Conferring status on the language of a group relatively lacking in power doesn't necessarily ensure the reproduction of a language, unless other measures are in place to ensure intergenerational transmission at home […] conferring power on the people would be much more likely to do the trick. (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 79)

A language's power thus resides in its social capital, which is reflected by a high status among speakers, not necessarily by the legal status that comes with official recognition.

James Hawkey draws a direct line between the two dimensions of language attitudes, status and solidarity, and the concepts of overt and covert prestige (Trudgill 1972). He associates status with overt prestige, and solidarity with covert prestige. According to Woolard's formulation, adopting high status language variants reflects "the desire to get ahead in some way" and use of low status variants reflects "the desire to be accepted by another group" (1989: 90, quoted in Hawkey 2018: 50). Speakers' appraisal of a language variety showing high levels of status and overt prestige or solidarity and covert prestige suggests that the language is high in social capital.

Linguistic capital is imparted by the social prestige of a variety's speakers. Pierre Bourdieu articulates the relationship of this capital and the societal marketplace in which it is valued thus

> on ne peut sauver la valeur de la compétence qu'à condition de sauver le marché, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des conditions politiques et sociales de production des producteurs-consommateurs. […] La place que le système d'enseignement accorde aux différentes langues (ou aux différents contenus culturels) n'est un enjeu si important que parce que

cette institution a le monopole de la production massive des producteurs-consommateurs, donc de la reproduction du marché dont dépend la valeur sociale de la compétence linguistique, sa capacité de fonctionner comme capital linguistique. (1982: 45-46)

By taking into account the conditions of the linguistic marketplace, and the vested interests that work to maintain the dominant language, Bourdieu illustrates the role of language transmission in reinforcing social hierarchies. His contention echoes, in economic terms, what Mühlhäusler argues in ecological terms: the inextricable link between language use and society. In situations of language endangerment, the lack of capital attributed to an endangered language is an extra challenge. Lo Bianco observes that "[i]n RLS contexts, speakers often discount the worth of their own languages, naturalizing a rank order of utility established in the labor market, media, and higher education sectors" (2018: 44). Efforts to reverse such naturalization of the dominant language ideology by current and prospective speakers of the minority language are a major element in Occitan language revitalization, and are further explored below.

 Language activists must work within a social context that disfavors their language in order to effect revitalization. Lo Bianco describes the aim of RLS as "transgressive" and seeking to "break the hold of dominant languages in particular sociopolitical containers" (ibid.). Multiple approaches have been conceived to address this challenge. Fishman's school of thought counsels the cultivation of solidarity and covert prestige, arguing that precarious communities cannot afford the danger of a (likely futile) frontal assault on the institutions of the dominant language. Such efforts privilege intergenerational transmission as the foundation of language revitalization. While such transmission is undoubtedly crucial to language maintenance, others argue that the conditions of the linguistic marketplace should be addressed earlier in the process. Lo Bianco argues that language planning aimed at attributing status and overt prestige to the endangered language "is critical because low prestige disables other RLS efforts" (ibid.).

1.8.1 Language prestige and cultural revitalization
 In a chapter on language planning and language endangerment, Wright advances a framework for conceptualizing the ideal conditions for language maintenance. Drawing from Edwards (1992), she describes the "best case scenarios" favoring language maintenance in a social system in which the language to be maintained or revitalized carries prestige.

1. The group is demographically secure, concentrated in an area, with a tradition of endogamy and little in or out migration;
2. The geographical situation protects the integrity of the group and inhibits contact;
3. The socio-economic status of speakers is high and a range of employment opportunities is available within the group, in the group language;
4. The group has achieved political recognition, rights and a degree of autonomy;
5. Some political life takes place in the language. Dominant and other groups have a positive attitude towards the minority group;
6. The group is cohesive, practising a single religion and maintaining cultural practices in the group language;

7. All generations of the group have high levels of competence in the group language, which is the habitual language of the home and transmitted intergenerationally;
8. The language has a standard written form and speakers are literate in it. It is used in literary production, education and the media. (Wright 2016: 289)

Wright acknowledges the difficulty of establishing ideal scenarios, saying that "there are a number of variables in this list that no amount of state support or group effort could affect," such as geographical isolation (ibid.). Given this limitation, I will take up only one aspect of the list: the maintenance of cultural practices in the group language, as the question of cultural practices is highly relevant to Occitan revitalization in general and to this study in particular.

Lo Bianco enumerates six types of planning goal for language revitalization: status, corpus, acquisition, domains, prestige, and discourse (2018: 41). Lo Bianco describes the mechanics of prestige planning thus: "[a]ttributing prestige to language forms is a mostly non-legal mechanism generated through various kinds of influence, modeling, and economic status" (ibid.). Generally speaking, a language's value and prestige in the marketplace is most often connected to the "economic returns and tangible material advantages for speakers" that it can provide (Lo Bianco 2018: 44). The absence of such benefits is a major driver of language shift .

Nevertheless, the economic sphere is not the only source of prestige. A close relationship obtains between prestige and cultural practices:

> Historically, creative and national literatures, individual cultural agents, and intellectuals with social prestige have raised the reputations of languages, differentiating break-away dialects from their source, or cultivating social esteem for a given variety on the basis of literary and scientific capital. This kind of prestige is often most powerful for languages of national states, offering prestige in proportion to the quality and extent of cultural capital. However, these cultural cultivation processes are slow acting, operating over centuries, and they are often most successful when linked to material benefits for new speakers. (Lo Bianco 2018: 44)

The ties between language and culture are complex (see Section 1.3.1). For instance, Shea et al. find a positive correlation between exposure to cultural practices and material advancement, as evidenced by an "increase in graduation rates among the college sample who took [Myaamia] culture courses" (2019: 1). They also found an uptick in social engagement, including "a stronger sense of belonging, an increase in language use and tribal event attendance among tribal members, and increases in scores on Snowshoe's (2015) Cultural Connectedness Scale" (ibid.). Such demonstrable positive effects suggest that to link cultural and linguistic practices may also bridge the gap between prestige derived from demonstrable social benefits and the seemingly abstract benefits of culture.

However, efforts to increase a language's cultural prestige, and thus motivation for acquisition via prestige and image planning, face a difficult path. Sallabank's study of language planning in Guernsey, for instance, leads her to conclude that "prestige planning is not enough on its own to revive ethnolinguistic vitality, including intergenerational transmission […] [f]or

ethnolinguistic vitality to be revived, prestige and image planning would have to reach a critical mass whereby the climate was ready for more substantive measures," namely those targeting language acquisition by all age groups (2008: 135-136).

Christine Beier and Lev Michael offer an alternative paradigm for addressing negative language attitudes through cultural practices and prestige planning. Instead of insisting on language *revitalization*, they evoke the possibilities of language *revalorization*, which "foreground[s] local participants' desire to reclaim their heritage languages not for purposes of speaking but rather for purposes of carving out new, potentially beneficial social and political positions for themselves in what is largely still a hostile matrix society" (Beier and Michael 2018: 412). Prestige planning, which targets language attitudes explicitly, is several steps removed from the language practices that are its implicit target. Thus, it can be challenging to trace the effects of such efforts, but it is vitally important for language revitalization activists and researchers alike to be aware of these understudied processes, whether the goal is language revitalization or the less linguistically-focused revalorization.

The inventive approaches that language activists have adopted to promote acquisition, from formal schooling to transmission inside the family home, show amply that there is no single prescription for success in LR. Indeed, there is no single definition of success. Hinton, Huss, and Roche state that

> Assessment of whether an LR program is a success or a failure is something that communities often want to know, as well as their funders. But as soon as the matter of assessment comes up, though, there are many questions to ask: What are the criteria for assessing success or failure, and who decides? What are the goals of the program, and were they reasonable? Are they even the same goals that a program started off with? Is the time right for assessment? (2018b: 499)

The questions that the authors pose are essential not only to assessing language revitalization programs, but also to understanding them as ongoing, dynamic undertakings. The authors continue, arguing that "[s]uccess is not an endpoint but a process. It's more truthful to think of a program as 'being successful' rather than 'to have succeeded'" (ibid.). From such a perspective, language revitalization appears not only as a project that requires community support, but also as one that can sustain a community.

1.10 Previous research on Occitan

Over the course of this chapter, I have highlighted the theoretical background that is essential to the present study, most notably language shift's causes and consequences, the mechanisms of language revitalization, and the effects of language attitudes, language ideologies, and representations of endangered languages on revitalization efforts and public perceptions. In this section, I briefly review some of the key currents in research on Occitan, and how my work will enter into dialogue with these and add much-needed new perspective.

Much literature has been devoted to ideological differences in regional language activism in Occitan-speaking regions. In fact, the name of the language, and the extent to which a unified language can be said to exist in southern France, Spain's Val d'Aran, and Italy's Piedmont

valleys, has been put in question from at least the mid 20th-century. At this time, scholars associated with the Institut d'estudis occitans (IEO) argued in favor of a unitary vision: the related dialects of the region were, in fact, constitutive of one language, Occitan. Linguistic cohesiveness was linked to a political program in which an indigenous, regional Occitan identity was contrasted with an imposed, national French one. Early proponents of this vision include Robert Lafont (1967, 1974), Léon Cordes (1973), and Henri Mouly (1973). Pierre Bec's authoritative *La langue occitane*, first published in 1963, contributed to the establishment of the Occitan language as a linguistic reality.

Certain activists and scholars from outside of the Occitan heartland, the region of Languedoc and its cities of Toulouse and Montpellier, took issue with what they saw as the erasure of regional identities and the relegation of what they held to be separate languages to the status of dialect. Among these voices were Louis Bayle (1975) Philippe Blanchet (1992), who held that Provençal should be considered as its own language, and not subsumed in the Occitan project. One manifestation of these debates was the struggle over orthography (Sumien 2006), Ideological differences still mark regional language activism in southern France today, although they have become attenuated. Several contemporary authors have written about the history of the Occitan movement and its ideological struggles (Courouau 2001, Martel 2012). Debates over the direction of revitalization are lively as well (Fraj 2014, Eygun 2015).

Another major strand in scholarly research on Occitan addresses language acquisition, by children in both public and private schools. As is the case with many languages undergoing revitalization, differences between the language taught in schools and that of native speakers is a source of tension (Escudé 2009, Boyer 2009, Costa 2015).

There are relatively few scholarly works on attitudes toward Occitan. Christina Bratt Paulston (1994) and Kathryn Priest (2008) take a wide perspective that compares the relative success of Catalan revitalization as compared to Occitan revitalization as, in part, a product of differing attitudes toward language on the part of potential speakers. Brigitte Schlieben-Lange's (1971) study on "La conscience linguistique des occitans" tracks attitudes toward Occitan as well. More recently, Aurélie Joubert's study comparing attitudes toward Occitan and Catalan shed light on the ways in which attitudes and ideology influence language behavior (2010).

The ways in which Occitan is represented in public life have been the topic of a number of recent studies. Laura Carmel Diver (2015) and H. William Amos (2017) have worked on the presence of Occitan in the linguistic landscape. Marie-Jeanne Verny's work on publicity around Occitan cultural offering helped inspire the present study, as it considered public documents to be worthwhile data sources (2007). Aldric Hagège's study of how current events related to Occitan are portrayed in the press is also instructive (2013). Finally, certain authors have explored Occitan revitalization on the micro level, privileging the community or a particular social network as a unit of analysis. Georges Maurand (1981) and Wüest (1993) explored language practices in rural communities, while Christophe Rulhes examined attitudes and practices among urban Occitan activists in Toulouse.

The Occitan revitalization movement has long aimed to revalorize regional language and culture in southern France. As an example, the mission statement of the IEO reveals its ambition

to expand awareness of and use of Occitan in "public life, the media, and education."[12] The present study focuses on two communities that are well within the Occitan heartland, where issues around language, dialect, and orthography are not as relevant as those of attitudes and representation. The central issues that I aim to address here is that of representation and discourse planning (Lo Bianco 2018). The current study is the first in-depth analysis of representations of Occitan on the local level.

1.11 Research aims

In this literature review, I have demonstrated that both researchers and language activists have treated language endangerment and revitalization as phenomena with consequences reaching far beyond the linguistic. While language revitalization consists of concrete activities and initiatives, is also a discursive space for the expression of marginalized cultural identities and the articulation of alternate social paradigms. In this study, I aim to describe the current state of Occitan revitalization in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, as reflected through public discourse, in order to understand why Occitan has particular resonance there. In addition, I aim to situate Occitan revitalization in the broader context of contemporary language revitalization.

In order to respond to the desiderata outlined above, I collected and analyzed a corpus of public discourses on Occitan circulating in the two towns. I contend that these data can help shed light on both portrayals and practices associated with the language. In turn, this information is illustrative of the ways in which Occitan is perceived as a language, as a culture, and as a symbolic identity. The study is based on three research questions:

1. How is Occitan portrayed in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?
2. What is Occitan's role in local society, as evidenced in in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?
3. In what domains of language use is Occitan portrayed as being present, according to public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

Each of the questions allows me to consider discourses on Occitan revitalization from a different angle. Together, they offer a multidimensional perspective on contemporary Occitan in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

Given that certain texts display evidence of collaboration between multiple entities, it is important to describe the relationships between the producers of varying text types. The two variables of greater interest in the study are, one, differences between Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue and two, differences between text types. While the specification of a particular source for a given text matters in the quantitative analysis, the flow of ideas and voices between the domains means that it would be specious to declare that they are somehow closed off from one another. By the same token, the two sites are not isolated from one another. The geographic,

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[12] "Presentation et fonctionnement." *Institut d'estudis occitans*. http://www.ieo-oc.org/Presentation-et-fonctionnement. Consulted 2 March 2017.

political, historical, and economic variables that make for a compelling contrast are accompanied by similarities in these same domains (see Chapter 3 for more context on the research sites).

Chapter Two: Methodology

> There are men charged with the duty of examining the construction of the plants, animals, and soils which are the instruments of the great orchestra. These men are called professors. Each selects one instrument and spends his life taking it apart and describing its strings and sounding boards. This process of dismemberment is called research. The place for dismemberment is called a university.
>
> Aldo Leopold, "Song of the Gavilan"[13]

2.1 Methodological approach

My fieldwork on public discourses about Occitan was conducted over four months (February-May 2016) at two research sites, the towns of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. The texts collected during this period emanate from the press, government, or language promotion associations. They serve as the foundation of my analysis of the public discourses circulating on Occitan within each community. My research questions address the conceptions of Occitan, broadly construed, in these two sites. In order to analyze the texts effectively and to treat each research question, both quantitative and qualitative methods are necessary. To that end, I adopt both corpus linguistic and discourse analytic approaches. The former permits the management of a large quantity of texts in a coherent way, while the latter privileges the qualitative analysis of texts in their sociocultural contexts.

In Section 2.1, I introduce the qualitative and quantitative methodological frameworks that contribute to my approach to the corpora. Respectively, these approaches draw from the fields of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. In Section 2.2, I present the primary methodological foundation of this study, the discourse-historical approach. In Section 2.3, I discuss the approaches to semantic analysis that contribute to the qualitative analysis of the corpus. Section 2.4 is devoted to corpus design; in it I present the three text types under analysis (the press, government documents, and language promotion association documents). In Section 2.5, I describe the construction of the corpus. In Section 2.6, I explain how discourse-historical methodology guided my selection of target tokens; I also summarize the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these tokens. I discuss my approach to treating reflected domains of language use in Section 2.7 In Section 2.8, I present the quantitative and qualitative approaches that I will take to address my research questions. Finally, in Section 2.9, I acknowledge some limitations of the present study.

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[13] Leopold, Aldo. 1966. *A Sand County Almanac*. New York: Ballantine Books. 162.

2.1.1 Quantitative approach: Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistic tools and techniques are used by researchers hoping to analyze language use in context. Such aims are not novel, but technological advances in the analysis of large amounts of data have made corpus linguistic tools more accessible and attractive to linguists over recent years. Large corpora are often studied as part of investigations of particular lexical, syntactic, morphological, and semantic features, both synchronic and diachronic. Michael Stubbs explains that:

> [c]orpus data and methods provide new ways of studying the relations between language system and language use. If a pattern becomes very frequent in use across very large quantities of text, then it becomes 'entrenched' as part of the system. Frequency in text becomes probability in the system. It is this connection between text and system for which corpus studies can provide detailed empirical evidence. (2007: 127)

The makeup of the corpus itself informs the results of the analysis. Since I aim to explore how Occitan is conceptualized in public discourse, my first objective was the collection of a large set of texts on the topic of Occitan that are available to the general public. Such a purpose-built corpus is of the "small, carefully targeted" variety that "have proved to be a powerful tool for the investigation of special uses of language, where the linguist can 'drill down' into the data in immense detail" (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2010: 6). McCarthy and O'Keeffe also discuss the utility of corpus linguistic methods in "looking at language patterns" (2010: 9). Quantitative methods also allow the researcher to assess how widespread these patterns are and where they circulate.

2.1.2 Qualitative approach: Discourse analysis

An operational definition of "discourse" is proposed by Deborah Schiffrin, who prefers to think of discourse as "units of language production (whether spoken or written) that are inherently contextualized" (1994: 41). Her definition leaves space for the operation of various "formalist and functionalist paradigms," which differ in their emphases on, respectively, "sequential structure" and "interpretations of meaning and use" (ibid). In this study, I emphasize the latter processes of interpretation, which Schiffrin holds to be capable of responding to the following questions:

> how does the organization of discourse, and the meaning and use of particular expressions, allow people to convey and interpret the communicative context of what is said? how does one utterance (and the sequential relationship between utterances) influence the communicative content of another?" (ibid.).

For Schiffrin, and many other discourse analysts, the embeddedness of discourse in its context is of paramount importance. In my corpus, the tokens of interest are relatively decontextualized. For this reason, the question of sequentiality is less vital. Nevertheless, my tokens are still embedded in a social and discursive context and contribute to processes of meaning-making and interpretation involving Occitan.

Discourse analysis is an umbrella term for a group of theoretical approaches and methodologies sharing certain foundational beliefs about human communication. The versatility of discourse analysis also permits its use by researchers in various fields, such as linguistics, cultural studies, and social psychology (Mills 2004). In the case of this study, which investigates the linguistic, social, historical, cultural, and political contexts of Occitan revitalization, discourse analysis offers a variety of methods that are firmly grounded in the social dimension of language. John J. Gumperz, one of the founders of the field, sees "linguistic behavior as a form of social behavior" (1995 [1964]: 299). With this proposition in mind, I treat discourses on Occitan revitalization not as mere rhetoric, but as a reflection of contemporary social dynamics.

Stephanie Taylor calls for "an approach to talk and text data which derives from certain premises: language is constitutive, meanings are socially derived and also situated, negotiated and co-constructed and language use is a functional social practice" (2013: 85). Public discourse is a particular type of practice. It has a wide reach and perceived authority. Such authority derives from "a chain of authentication – a historical sequence of reiterations" of "quotations, pieces of discourse, and narratives that enter into social circulation" (Hodges 2015: 55). Given their wide reach and perceived authoritativeness, certain types of public discourse have an outsize potential not only for reflecting beliefs and ideologies but for perpetuating particular ones. James Paul Gee designates as Discourses (with a capital D) this type of "socially accepted associations among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting, in the 'right' places and at the 'right' times with the 'right' objects (associations that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network')" (Gee 1999: 17). In this study, I adopt Gee's use of the capital D "Discourse" to designate broad, recurring themes that arise from the corpus; I assert that public conceptions of Occitan are largely built on the repetition and reinforcement of these themes, making them an important object of study in the field of revitalization.

2.1.3 A complementary approach: Corpus linguistics and discourse analysis
With large corpora and computerized analysis becoming increasingly available and sophisticated, researchers working in discourse analysis are faced with a dilemma. The wealth of texts and tools presents great opportunities, but also forces a rethinking of methodologies and approaches. How can one analyze a plethora of texts while retaining the careful focus and nuance that discourse analysis methods offer? Several discourse researchers have taken up the harmonization of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis in practice (Baker et al. 2008, Biber et al. 2007, Partington 2007, Stubbs 2001). Alan Partington cites three promising aspects of the marriage of the two techniques, contending that

> [c]omplementing the qualitative with a more quantitative approach, as embodied in Corpus Linguistics, not only allows a greater distance to be preserved between observer and data but also enables a far greater amount of data to be contemplated. In addition, it can identify promising areas for qualitative forms of analysis to investigate (2007: 268)

By first identifying interesting linguistic features, then interrogating their significance, both quantitative and quantitative processes are activated. A combination of the strengths of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis approaches offers the judicious researcher powerful tools:

> CL [corpus linguistics] can automate many (but certainly not all) of the processes of CA [conversational analysis], DA [discourse analysis], and CDA [critical discourse analysis], through the use of wordlists, concordances, and key word searches…CL on its own is not the basis for analysis of the discourse. It can provide the means for analysis but researchers invariably draw on theories and applications of either CA, DA, or CDA. (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2010: 9)

In this study, my methodology includes corpus linguistic tools, discourse analysis methodology, and the discourse-historical approach, which is derived from critical discourse analysis.

In their work on perceptions of refugees and asylum seekers in the British press, Paul Baker et al. note that "[t]wo theoretical notions, and their attendant analytical tools, were central in the analysis: keyness and collocation" (2008: 277). Keyness is "the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus" (Baker et al. 2008: 278). Bondi describes keywords as "words that play a role in identifying the important elements of the text" (2010: 1). These basic definitions indicate that identification and analysis of keywords in a text shed light on its meaning. Indeed, in Baker et al.'s project, the authors find that "[b]y grouping together key words relating to specific topics, metaphors or topoi (as ascertained through concordance analysis), it was possible to create a general impression of the presentation of RASIM [refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, and migrants] in the broadsheets and tabloids" (2008: 278). The capacity to create such a "general impression of the presentation" of a particular social entity makes a synthesis of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis the right approach for this project.

The second major notion that Baker et al. discuss is collocation, "the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span, usually five words on either side of the word under investigation (the *node*)" (2008: 278). Collocates of a particular word hold valuable information. Michael Hoey argues that readers are "primed by each encounter [with a word and a collocate] so that when we come to use the word (or syllable or combination of words) we characteristically replicate the contexts in which we had previously encountered it" (2007: 8). Hoey's observation evokes the power of discourse to propose and replicate lexical, syntactic, and semantic patterns. Thus, I argue that repeated associations among certain keywords within the corpus could have a priming effect, leading to the replication of such associations for readers.

The main corpus linguistic tool deployed in this study is concordance analysis. The concordance function of corpus linguistic software aligns a particular search term, or node, to the center of a column, flanked on either side by its cotext. I use the CasualConc program to obtain concordance data on the lemma occitan*, with a window of fifty characters to the left and right of the node (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Concordance table for the search term *occitan**
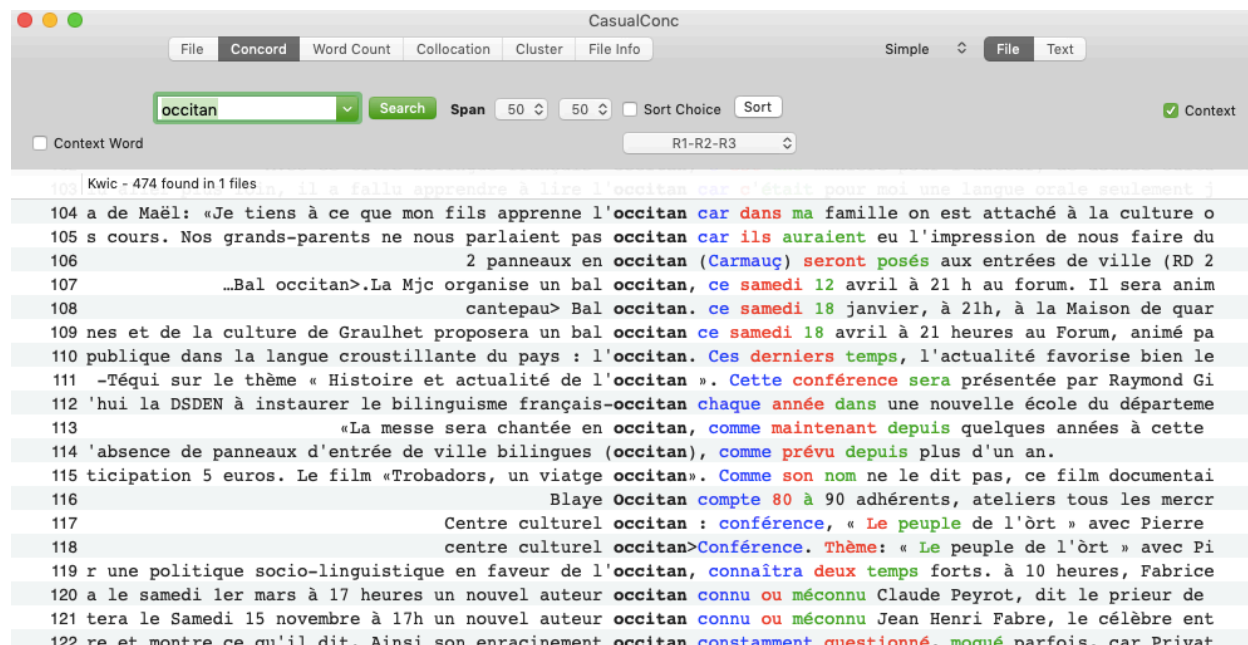
This window shows the lemma in a streamlined context. The visual efficiency of the concordance shows preliminary patterns of repetition; it also allows the researcher to quickly identify lexical items in the immediate context of the node. Baker et al. contend that concordance analysis:

> has proven to be the single CL tool that discourse analysts seem to feel comfortable using […] In turn, this indicates that CL is no stranger to 'qualitative' analysis […] Furthermore, as concordance analysis looks at a known number of concordance lines, the findings can be grouped (e.g., topoi related to a specific word or cluster) and quantified in absolute and relative terms for possible patterns to be identified. (2008: 279)

This study does not represent an exception to Baker et al.'s observation. Although CasualConc provides data on collocations, they are not utilized, since I am interested in a targeted set of lexical items appearing in the cotext of the lemma. These are indeed drawn from a manual examination of the concordance tables.

2.2 The discourse-historical approach

To **c**ombine corpus linguistic and discourse analytic approaches is to harmonize quantitative and qualitative approaches. The discourse-historical approach does so by offering a framework for analysis of both micro-level linguistic features and macro-level discursive patterns (Wodak 2001, Reisigl and Wodak 2009). The approach draws on fundamental principles of critical discourse analysis, "an academic school or an approach" that "postulates that discourse is not only a carrier and container of ideologies- whereby ideology is *represented* in discourse-

but also an action in itself, which contributes to or constitutes ideologies" (KhosraviNik 2015: 47). Since critical discourse analysis is concerned with the ways in which discourse perpetuates unequal power relations in society, it is particularly applicable to discourses on minority and endangered languages. In this corpus, it is likely to shed light on the ways in which prestige and power are (not) attributed to Occitan in society.

A major asset of the discourse-historical approach is the fact that the context of discourse production is well accounted for. While Reisigl and Wodak propose an eight-step program (see Table 2.1) to guide discourse-historical inquiries, they acknowledge that not all studies are of sufficient scope and resources to allow each step to be fully realized (2009: 96).

Table 2.1. The eight-step discourse-historical approach program (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 96)

Step
1. Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge (i.e. recollection, reading and discussion of previous research)
2. Systematic collection of data and context information (depending on the research question, various discourses and discursive events, social fields as well as actors, semiotic media, genres and texts are focused on)
3. Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses (selection and downsizing of data according to relevant criteria, transcription of tape recordings, etc.)
4. Specification of the research question and formulation of assumptions (on the basis of a literature review and a first skimming of the data)
5. Qualitative pilot analysis (allows testing categories and first assumptions as well as the further specification of assumptions)
6. Detailed case studies (of a whole range of data, primarily qualitative, but in part also quantitative)
7. Formulation of critique (interpretation of results, taking into account the relevant context knowledge and referring to the three dimensions of critique)
8. Application of the detailed analytical results (if possible, the results might be applied or proposed for application)

In this study, the tasks specified in steps 1 and 2 correspond to Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. Plans for work based on steps 3, 4, 5, and 6 appear in the current chapter on Methodology, and the related analyses in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The conclusions to these chapters, as well as the study's Conclusion, address steps 7 and 8.

Steps 7 and 8 illustrate the social activist dimension of critical discourse analysis as a field. Reisigl and Wodak maintain that, for researchers, critique should be "based on ethical principles such as democratic norms, human rights and criteria of rational argumentation" (2009: 119). Their objective in formulating critiques is to "[offer] analytical parameters that evaluate the

'quality' of public political discourses in which 'collective' learning and decision-making are at stake." In turn, such "insights should also be made accessible to the 'general public'" (ibid.). Although my primary objectives in this study are descriptive, not persuasive, it is important to situate the work in as contributing to critical discourse analysis and to language revitalization studies. In both cases, social critique plays an integral role. With that in mind, I will not shy away from analyzing the ways in which discourses on Occitan both reject and reinforce dominant language hegemony.

2.2.3 Structure of the discourse-historical approach

In the discourse-historical approach, the description and analysis of certain lexical items and phrases serve as an important bridge to interpretation. Several critical discourse analysis-based approaches, including the discourse-historical approach, "try to provide an account for the links between the language (discourse) and its higher up social macro structure, which in turn try to explain the processes of production and interpretation of discourse in a society" (KhosraviNik 2010: 56). The capacity to analyze macro-level discourse topics and ideologies based on micro-level linguistic features is a particularly attractive feature of the discourse-historical approach. Within the framework, the repeated deployment of certain linguistic features indicates that particular discursive strategies are at work. Using discourse-historical methods also allows the researcher to account for "historical, organizational, and political topics and texts" since the approach permits the integration of "a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded" (Wodak 2001: 65).

The methodology for the detailed case studies referenced in Step 6 derives from a five-question heuristic; each question corresponds to one of what Reisigl and Wodak refer to as discursive strategies. A strategy is described as "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Wodak 2001: 74). The five questions are listed below; the five discursive strategies implicated appear in brackets.

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically? [*Nomination*]
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to them? [*Predication*]
3. By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression, and exploitation of others? [*Argumentation*]
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions, and arguments expressed? [*Perspectivization*]
5. Are the respective utterances uttered overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated? [*Intensification or mitigation]* (Wodak 2001)

In turn, each discursive strategy tends to be associated with particular linguistic devices. Reisigl and Wodak indicate that researchers may target these devices in order to better describe and understand how discursive strategies are deployed. In Table 2.2, each strategy is noted in the

lefthand column, the general objectives that users of each strategy aim to fulfill are in the center, and the linguistic devices commonly associated with the strategy appear in the righthand column.

Table 2.2. Discursive strategies in the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 95)

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
Nomination	discursive construction of social actors, objects / phenomena / events and processes / actions	• membership categorization devices, deictics, anthroponyms, etc. • tropes, such as metaphors, metonymies, and synechdoches (*pars pro totum, totum pro partie*) • verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions, etc.
Predication	discursive qualification of social actors, objects, phenomena, events / processes and actions (more or less positively or negatively)	• stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits (e.g. in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups) • explicit predicates or predicative nouns / adjectives / pronouns • collocations • explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms) • allusions, evocations, and presuppositions / implicatures, etc.
Argumentation	justification and questioning of claims of truth and normative rightness	• topoi (formal or more content-related) • fallacies
Perspectivization, framing, or discourse representation	positioning speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance	• deictics • direct, indirect, or free indirect speech • quotation marks, discourse markers / particles • metaphors • animating prosody, etc.

Intensification, mitigation	Modifying (intensifying or mitigating) the illocutionary force and thus the epistemic or deontic status of utterances	• diminutives or augmentatives (modal) particles, tag questions, subjunctive, hesitations, vague expressions, etc. • hyperboles, litotes, etc. • indirect speech acts (e.g. question instead of assertion) • verbs of saying, feeling, thinking, etc.

The challenge of balancing a large corpus with a complete treatment of each of the five strategies makes it less than feasible to apply the entire discourse-historical paradigm to the present study. Majid KhosraviNik notes that "[t]he DHA's [discourse-historical approach] proposed discursive strategies…have been applied to various contexts and, depending on the context of the research and the quality of the data, some strategies may become more salient tha[n] others" (2015: 108). A reduction to the study of two discursive strategies, nomination and predication, best suits the research questions.

2.3 Semantic preference, semantic prosody, and semantic fields

The assumption guiding the construction and analysis of the corpus in this study is that the producers of the corpus texts employ discursive strategies that will resonate with their audience. I will show that a work of re-presentation and re-introduction of Occitan to the reading audience is in progress in the corpus. In this study, I primarily use discourse-historical methodology to access this quantitative data on this work. However, the qualitative analysis relies heavily on patterns of semantic preferences semantic prosody, and the emergence of semantic fields in the corpus.

In their presentation of the utility of collocational analysis in DA, Baker et al. claim that "the meaning attributes of a node's collocates can provide a helpful sketch of the meaning/ function of the node within the particular discourse" (2008: 278). In the corpus, the lemma *occitan** appears in a variety of linguistic environments. Patterns in the cotext, such as repeated associations of particular words and phrases with the node *occitan**, are of central importance in the study. Researchers working in corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) have found that the concepts of semantic preference and semantic prosody can provide valuable insights on such patterns (Partington et al. 2013, Bondi and Scott 2010). In this study, these concepts, along with that of semantic field theory, are used to bring to the fore perceptions of Occitan as well as its association with particular social entities.

Baker et al. state that semantic preference and semantic prosody "can be seen as the semantic extension of collocation" (2008: 278). The former is defined as a strong association and between word and context. As an example, Baker et al. note that "the two-word cluster *glass of* shows a semantic preference for the set of words to do with cold drinks (water, milk, lemonade, etc.)" (ibid.). In this study, I am interested in the phrases in which *occitan** appears. The concept of semantic preference is especially useful in analyzing the nomination strategies in the text: for example, with what entities does *occitan** tend to co-occur when it is used as an adjective? I

contend that patterns among these entities, as collocates, imply associations between Occitan and certain domains of language use.

Semantic prosody is distinguished from semantic preference by its evaluative quality. Partington et al. refer to it as "evaluative prosody" and describe it as "[o]ne particular type of interplay of item with discourse environment" that functions to achieve "evaluative meaning […] by the cumulative interplay of texts" (2013: 58). In their illustrations, the authors note that such meaning is built into a text at various levels. For example, semantic prosody can occur in collocational relations:

> A writer who wishes to describe a situation as dangerous may well describe it as *fraught with* danger (rather than say *brimming with* which normally co-occurs with positive items), since *fraught with* is normally found in the company of negative items and displays a semantic preference for items from the field of "danger" (and also from three other fields: 'difficulty-problems', 'complications' and 'anxiety'). (Partington et al. 2013: 58)

Semantic prosody can also occur on a less immediate context: "the item *par for the course* tends to link with negative elements […] sometimes entire stretches of text, in its wider cotext, even across clause or sentence boundaries" (ibid.). In the context of this study, it is semantic prosody of immediate collocates that are under analysis. Nevertheless, on the corpus-wide scale, the force of repeated semantic associations is meaningful. Partington et al. describe four levels on which the concept of evaluative prosody (i.e. semantic prosody) may be applied to describe phenomena in corpus linguistic research: lexical, textual, psychological, and statistical. In this study, the textual description is the most useful:

> [semantic prosody] is used to describe the interaction of the item with others of particular polarity as witnessed within a certain text, thus [it] is sometimes said to describe the spreading of a particular evaluation over a stretch of text in order to maintain evaluative harmony. (2013: 58)

The description of patterns of semantic preference and semantic prosody necessitates the grouping of lexical items according to semantic commonalities. The concept of semantic fields enables such representations. A semantic field is defined as "[a] distinct part of the lexicon defined by some general term or concept" (Matthews 2014). In this study, grouping tokens by semantic field ensures cohesion in the treatment of the collocates of the lemma *occitan**. Another advantage of an approach in which semantic fields are taken into account is the inherent synthesis of qualitative and quantitative data (Baker et al. 2008: 296).

2.4 Corpus design

Teun A. van Dijk states that public discourse "has the function of recalling or emphasizing what is already generally known" (2012: 601). Thus, public discourse is of great value to the present study, since its representations of Occitan can be viewed both as reflecting generally held truths, and as contributing to shaping and perpetuating these same ideas. In order

to build a corpus that captures a large set of public discourses on Occitan, I chose texts emanating from three sources: the press, the government, and language promotion associations (LPAs). Press and government discourses are widely disseminated. Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue are typical of French municipalities in that a variety of print media are predictably available in particular locations. Dissemination of information from the government is also standardized. Much is communicated via the internet, but local institutions like the town hall and the public library still play an important role in relaying information to citizens, with the imprimatur of the elected government.

LPAs, on the other hand, are not present in every town. In fact, I narrowed down my choice of sites by stipulating that at least one such association be present. This ensures that there is some level of engagement with Occitan in the towns under study. Moreover, the efforts of these groups to attract fellow citizens to participate in manifestations of language and culture are a valuable source of local discourses on Occitan. Finally, civil society associations play a major role in French public life, as they formalize the interactions of citizens in groups based on common interests aside from the bonds of citizenship in the Republic. The study corpus was collected from February to May 2016. It is composed exclusively of written texts from the three types of public discourse involved (press, government, and LPAs). They were gathered from both print and online archives.

2.4.1 Press

In France, newspapers, television, internet and radio reach a broad swath of the population. Of the four, the most practical in terms of research is the newspaper, in its print or online form. Print news sources cover a wide range of topics, are widely available, and are the second most-trusted news source, just behind radio, according to a 2016 survey by TNS Sofres and *La Croix*.[14] Despite the relatively high level of trust in print media, its consumption is a distant fourth behind the other three media sources, with a mere 7% of respondents listing it as their first choice for keeping up with the news.[15] Despite the relative unpopularity of print media, the poll numbers show a slight improvement over 2015's results, with 3% more respondents using print as their first news source. Moreover, for those who first consult the internet for news, sites for print media outlets are the most popular (38% versus 19% for social networking sites).

In *The media in France,* Raymond Kuhn notes the "dominance of provincial newspapers over those produced in Paris" (1995: 28). This trend continues to the present day, with L'Alliance pour les chiffres de la presse et des médias figures indicating that, in 2016, the daily paper with the highest circulation was the regional *Ouest France,* with a circulation of 696,098. That figure

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[14] According to the survey "La confiance des Français dans les média,*"* 51% of respondents agreed that print media represented events as they happened. Confidence in radio was higher, with 56% agreeing with the same proposition, compared with 50% for television news sources and just 31% for the Internet.

"Baromètre 2016 de confiance des Français dans les media." *Kantar*. http://www.tns-sofres.com/ publications/barometre-2016-de-confiance-des-francais-dans-les-media. Consulted 2 February 2017.

[15] In the same survey, respondents first looked to television (50%), then the Internet (20%), and the radio (18%) for news.

is over twice that of the most popular national daily, *Le Figaro* (311,326). In fact, the Midi-Pyrénées regional paper, *La Dépêche du Midi*, has a higher circulation than all but three of the national dailies.[16] In order to investigate this predominance of regional papers on the ground, I visited all the sites where newspapers are sold in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

By consulting fr.kompass.com and Google Maps, I obtained a list of locations where newspapers are sold in Carmaux and in Villefranche-de-Rouergue. I visited each vendor in order to survey of the offering of newspapers in each town. I focused on French-language newspapers containing general and timely coverage of news events. Magazines were excluded, as were newspapers that cover a restricted domain, such as sports, finance, or humor. During my survey, I also looked for any Occitan language publications, but did not find any available at the vendors that I visited.

Two factors, relative ubiquity and prominence of display at newsstands, informed the choice of publications for each town. Ultimately, I settled on three papers: *La Dépêche du Midi, Le Villefranchois (*owned by *La Dépêche),* and *Le Tarn libre*. *La Dépêche* is a daily paper, while the latter two are weeklies. These publications were found at every point of sale (five in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and four in Carmaux). By contrast, the presence of the top three best-selling national general-interest newspapers was spotty. *Le Figaro* was sold at three of four sites in Carmaux and four of five in Villefranche-de-Rouergue. *Le Monde* was available at all of the Villefranche sites but only half of the Carmaux sites. The third best-selling national daily, *Aujourd'hui en France*, appeared at all of the Villefranche vendors and three of four of the Carmaux vendors, making it the most popular national daily according to my survey.

La Dépêche du Midi is sold as one paper in two sections. The outer section is the same in all regions, aside from the headlines on the front page. This section contains national and international news, as well as items of note from the Midi-Pyrénées region. Items meant for general consumption include pieces on regional and national sports, crosswords, television schedules, horoscopes, and so on. The inner section of the paper is local: it contains news items from the area in question, be it an entire department or a part thereof. Tarn and Aveyron each have two specific editions: (Tarn Albi and Tarn Castres; Aveyron Decazeville and Aveyron Rodez). Each larger town or city receives special coverage; items related to smaller communities appear as well.

2.4.1.1 Collection of press data

The press corpus consists of articles dating from between December 1, 2013 and November 30, 2015. This period was chosen because it corresponds roughly to the latest round of discussions regarding the possibility of ratifying the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. The Assembly passed a measure endorsing the ratification in January 2014, but the Senate voted the question down in October 2015. In order to record any local reactions to the legislative process, I chose beginning and end dates that would cover the period, with a one-

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For national dailies: *L'Alliance pour les chiffres de la presse et des médias.* http://www.acpm.fr/Chiffres/ Diffusion/La-Presse-Payante/Presse-Quotidienne-Nationale. Consulted 13 February 2017.
For regional dailies: *L'Alliance pour les chiffres de la presse et des médias.* http://www.acpm.fr/Chiffres/ Diffusion/La-Presse-Payante/Presse-Quotidienne-Regionale. Consulted 13 February 2017.

month cushion on either side. Along with the progress of the Charter, the period includes the renaming of the newly fused Languedoc-Roussillon-Midi-Pyrénées region as well as several other events concerning Occitan. It also portrays two turns of the calendar of seasonal happenings in the region, many of which are related to Occitan culture.

A pilot study of *La Dépêche*'s archive on the database Europresse indicated that the archive hewed more closely to what appears in the print edition than did the newspaper's own online archives, which contain many supplementary online articles from wire outlets that did not satisfactorily reflect local perspectives and events. Additionally, Europresse offered a more exacting search engine. The pilot study, which consisted of a month's worth of mentions of key terms, suggested that I could expect from 60 to 80 hits for my search terms per month. In order to maintain the focus on news and information that would be highly relevant to Carmaux and Villefranche and their environs, I limited the selection of *La Dépêche* to two editions: Tarn Albi and Aveyron Decazeville. Additionally, I included tokens from *La Dépêche* that appeared under the more general headings "Tarn" and "Aveyron" in the Europresse results.

Since the other two newspapers, *Le Tarn libre* and *Le Villefranchois,* are both weeklies, I needed to devise a different scheme for collecting articles. The major stumbling block was archival availability. The papers are not searchable via Europresse nor any other online database. *Le Tarn libre* has an online edition, but its searchability is quite limited; *Le Villefranchois* has no online edition. Fortunately, the print archives of both papers are available at the Bibliothèque d'étude et du patrimoine in Toulouse, and *Le Villefranchois* is also available at the municipal library in Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Unfortunately, performing a manual search of the archives was more too time-consuming, so I ultimately settled on using a constructed month. This strategy is related to the common practice of using a constructed week to build a streamlined yet comprehensive sample of journalistic texts over time. In their meta-study of sampling strategies, Stephen Lacy et al. state that, for weekly publications, "randomly selecting one issue stratified by month, or twelve issues per year…takes advantage of systematic variations by season and month" (2001: 838). However, I diverged from this recommendation in that I did not randomly select the issue. For example, since *Le Tarn libre* is published every Thursday, I chose the first Thursday of December 2013, the second Thursday of January 2014, the third Thursday of February 2014, and so on, thus yielding 24 issues of each weekly (*Le Villefranchois* is published each Friday).

A valid criticism of this method could certainly be made: the chances of human error in a manual search are non-negligible. Despite the risk of oversights in the search, the large amount of data collected using the manual method suggests that my corpus indeed accounts for many diverse discourses on the topic. *Le Villefranchois* and *Le Tarn libre* provided stable data that can stand alongside the electronically-collected data from *La Dépêche*. Ultimately, all editions of *La Dépêche* yielded 166,426 words, while the smaller *Villefranchois* yielded 18,342 words and *Le Tarn libre* 28103.

2.4.2 Government

     All documents were collected while both Tarn and Aveyron belonged to the Midi-Pyrénées region.[17] The region's engagement with Occitan is well-established; the city of Toulouse, the location of the seat of the region, is considered one of the two most active centers of Occitan activism and research (the other is Montpellier). Midi-Pyrénées sponsors the production of sociolinguistic studies on usage of and attitudes toward Occitan. It also periodically develops a five-year *Schéma régional de développement de l'occitan,* which guides policy and initiatives concerning the language.[18]

     Since both towns are governed by the same region, the Occitan policies of the Midi-Pyrénées can be treated as a constant. Conversely, the departmental government is a variable in the study. Tarn and Aveyron have both displayed engagement with revitalization, but to different degrees. In Tarn, Occitan promotion efforts on the part of the government have been more formal and centralized, while Aveyron depends on a variety of grassroots initiatives to honor its commitment to Occitan.

     Since 1962, Tarn's departmental government has been active in contributing to citizen efforts on behalf of Occitan, through grants to entities in various sectors (Sour 2016). In a pioneering move, the Mission "Langue et culture occitanes" was created in 2008. This agency's task is to

> […] mettre en œuvre une politique cohérente en matière de promotion de l'occitan sur le territoire tarnais. L'objectif est d'assurer une intégration pertinente de la culture occitane dans les différents secteurs de la vie publique: enseignement, économie, tourisme, arts, culture, social, médias.[19]

With a wide-ranging mandate, the Mission also undertakes sociolinguistic surveys and proposes schemas for the development of Occitan, in a similar manner to the Midi-Pyrénées region. In his discussion of the concrete measures being worked on by the Mission, *chargé de mission* Philippe Sour shared three objectives:

1. Structurer une politique culturelle occitane à l'échelle du département.
2. Valoriser le patrimoine immatériel local pour renforcer l'attractivité touristique et territoriale.
3. Aider les service départementaux à s'appuyer sur la ressource occitane pour renforcer l'offre des services publics (Sour 2016).

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[17] The departments of Tarn and Aveyron are now part of the expanded region Occitanie-Pyrénées-Méditerranée, composed of the former Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon regions.

[18] "Langue et culture occitanes." *Région Midi-Pyrénées*. http://www.midipyrenees.fr/Langue-et-culture-occitanes-8021. Consulted 30 October 2016.

[19] "Mission 'Langue et culture occitanes.'" *Conseil général du Tarn*. http://www.tarn.fr/Fr/Documents/Occitan/8-Mission-langue-culture-occitanes-CG81.pdf. Consulted 17 November 2016.

In Aveyron, the development of Occitan falls under the aegis of the Mission départementale "Aveyron culture" instead of having its own dedicated Mission, as does Tarn. The Mission's website lists the objectives of the Délégation "Culture occitane et Langues régionales" as follows:

1. Promouvoir le patrimoine de la culture occitane.
2. Accompagnement des partenaires culturels.
3. Accompagnement des pratiques amateurs et professionnelles.
4. Développement de l'éducation artistique.[20]

Particular concentrations include theater, storytelling, music, song, and folklore. The Institut Occitan de l'Aveyron (IOA), an agency supported by the department, has accomplished a major work in collecting data on Occitan traditions and practices for the series *Al Canton*, but is not currently engaged in much activity.[21]

Accounting for the supportive role that departmental governments play is essential. Through grants, the *Conseils généraux* of Tarn and of Aveyron enable groups and individuals to undertake concrete measures like putting on events or publishing books. However, initiatives emanating directly from the departments are rare. In fact, Tarn is spearheading such activity: the creation of the label *Tarn cœur de l'Occitanie* and the subsidization of bilingual signage are two examples. Although the present study does not treat texts emanating from the Midi-Pyrénées region nor the departments of Tarn and Aveyron, it is important to consider local discourses from the two towns in light of the departmental and regional attitudes and practices with regard to Occitan, some of which have prevailed for decades.

On the local level, government is generally active in Occitan promotion according to the extent to which it is pressured by activist groups or individuals, or by the presence of elected officials who are interested in the language and culture. Grants may be awarded to Occitan promotion activities, and occasionally municipal governments work closely with Occitan associations or other activists in order to accomplish certain goals. For example, bilingual signage at heritage sites in Villefranche-de-Rouergue was first conceptualized by activists, proposed successfully to the municipal government, and put in place thanks to city funding. For Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, none of the type of dedicated Occitan revitalization bodies that are found in larger cities like Toulouse exist in city government.

2.4.2.1 Collection of government data

I consider the category of government documents to include public announcements, minutes of city council meetings, and materials promoting local events and attractions. Such documents are available online and in print. The websites of the Tarn and Aveyron departments

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[20] "Culture occitane et langues régionales." *Aveyron culture: Mission départementale.* http://www.aveyron-culture.com/nos-actions/disciplines-artistiques. Consulted 27 August 2016.

[21] "Missions." Institut Occitan d'Aveyron. http://www.aveyron-environnement.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=255&Itemid=50. Consulted 25 Augsut 2016.

and the towns of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue serve as sources for texts on current initiatives and events concerning Occitan. The print sources come from government-associated loci of cultural information: municipal libraries, *offices de tourisme,* and cultural centers. For the most part, print material available at those sites was not produced by the government, but by associations. The events that they publicize are often co-sponsored by government funds. This close public-associative relationship underlies the promotion of Occitan by governmental authorities. Online resources are more straightforward, as they are clearly marked as emanating from the government itself. All resources, both online and print, were collected during the research period of January-May 2016. The majority are pertinent to that time period. However, some texts are not dated (e.g. most postings on municipal and departmental websites) and some were out of date (e.g. a flyer in the *office de tourisme* advertising an event that happened in December 2015). The government subcorpus is significantly smaller than the press subcorpud: documents from Villefranche-de-Rouergue's government account for 24,032 words, while Carmaux's comprise only 9,333 words.

2.4.3 Language associations (LPAs)

During the Revolutionary period, religious, political and social associations were outlawed. This hostility toward non-governmental groups lay in the belief that intermediaries between the citizen and the nation-state diluted the civic energy of the individual (Belorgey 2000: 17). Over the course of the 19th century, the restrictions were relaxed for certain commercial associations, yet remained tight for others. Finally, in 1901, a law allowing for free engagement among citizens in non-profit groups was passed. The law included several compromises that would retain restrictions for religious groups, as relations between church and state remained fraught. However, Jean-Michel Belorgey sees the 1901 law on associations as an essential turning point in the conception of citizenship in France: no longer would the individual be the only entity that had rights under the law; with the loi 1901 came "la légitimation de formes de solidarité élective" (2000: 21).

Language groups in France and the francophone world tend to be one of two types: those advocating for French, and those advocating for other languages with which French is in contact. According to the dated but comprehensive *Sociolinguistic and language planning organizations* (1995), the split among France's organizations is about even. This is a problematic tally, as it does not account for most of the vast array of loi 1901 associations, but emphasizes larger, especially institutional organizations. Many of the groups defending French are on the level of the national government, which mainly aim to reinforce the status of French as a world language, and to defend it against influences from other languages, largely English (Judge 2007: 22).

Alongside the governmental and non-governmental organizations that promote the French language, both within France and in Francophone nations exist groups advocating for minority languages, be they regional, non-territorial or immigrant. One such group is the Institut d'estudis catalans (IEC), which was founded in 1907. Extremely active in Spanish Catalonia, the IEC coordinates research in language, humanities, and sciences. It holds cultural and scholarly events and is very active in corpus planning. There is also a chapter of the IEC in Perpignan (Northern Catalonia). This chapter is significantly less active, reflecting the decreased vitality of Catalan across the border.

Founded in 1945 and modeled on the Institut d'estudis catalans, the Institute for Occitan Studies (IEO; *Institut d'estudis occitans / Institut d'études occitanes)* is the most vocal of Occitan promotion groups, and a main force in the development and promotion of the concept of "Occitan" itself. Liddicoat and Baldauf describe it thus:

> The IEO is an essentially militant *occitaniste* organisation expressing a conviction in the unity of Occitan language, culture, and territory and this set of beliefs has had a powerful role in shaping ways in which the revitalisation of Occitan (as opposed to that of local varieties such as *languedocien, auvergnat, limousin*, etc.) has been conducted. (2008: 7)

The IEO is a major proponent of the unity of *Occitània* itself—that is, that speakers on the dialect continuum that ranges from the Atlantic to Italy's alpine valleys and from the Massif central to the Pyrenees should make common cause for their common language. The IEO's platform is the predominant language revitalization paradigm existing in the Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon regions, despite being controversial in other regions of the Midi.

In this study, I focus on the expressed goals and strategies of the IEO for two reasons. First, it is by far the most well-known and effective force in Occitan language and culture in the region. Second, the LPAs that are present in the two research sites are affiliated with the IEO. Carmaux hosts a local chapter, the Cercle occitan de Carmaux (COC). Its members are active in planning classes, events, and agitating for recognition of Occitan locally. Villefranche-de-Rouergue is home to an IEO chapter as well, the Cercle occitan du Villefranchois (COV). Like the COC, the COV drives much of the ongoing local language promotion work.

2.4.3.1 Collection of language promotion association data

Neither the COC nor the COV maintain an archive of documents such as brochures, posters, and didactic materials. In order to acquire materials dating from prior to my fieldwork period, I inquired with each group to see whether individual members who had retained them would be willing to share them with me. At both the COC and the COV, I was greeted with an abundance of goodwill, but the fruits of my request for information varied. Thus, Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus is larger than that of Carmaux (3278 words versus 409 words, respectively). Moreover, I was able to obtain texts from the COV's blog, whereas the COC does not have an online presence also contributes to the asymmetrical figures for each town. Since I relied mainly upon individuals to collect texts, I did not wish to establish a time depth beforehand. However, all of the documents that I did receive date from between 2011 and early 2016.

2.4.4 Connections between text types

Even a cursory examination of the corpus data reveals that the text types are not separated from each other in a discrete manner. For instance, many events are sponsored by multiple entities, both governmental and associative. Furthermore, many of the items found in the press, such as newspaper announcements or recaps of events held by LPAs, reinforce the fact that these associations are at the forefront of Occitan activities in the two towns. The appearance

of Occitan in the newspaper may also be due to internal influence, as an interview that I conducted with a journalist writing for one of the newspapers that appears in the corpus demonstrates. The journalist, who has a long personal history of language activism, endeavors to produce articles on Occitan or include texts in Occitan when possible, stating that the reception of such pieces is generally positive.

2.5 Corpus building: Language naming in southern France
Both Tarn and Aveyron are located in what most linguists refer to as the Languedocien dialect zone of Occitan (Bec 1973). These appellations for dialect and language are largely accepted in the area. The 2010 *Étude sociolinguistique* undertaken by the Midi-Pyrénées region states:

> Le terme « occitan » est une dénomination très ancrée pour nommer la langue régionale de Midi-Pyrénées. Il est suivi du terme « patois », terme plus employé généralement par les personnes les plus âgées.
> […] sur l'ensemble des sondés, 92 % acceptent finalement le terme « occitan » comme dénomination de la langue régionale en Midi-Pyrénées. C'est le terme qui rassemble et est très largement accepté, bien plus qu'en Aquitaine.
> (2010: 5).[22]

The debate over the dénomination de la langue present in Aquitaine (or, for that matter, in Provence), is less controversial in the Midi-Pyrénées. This region, along with Languedoc-Roussillon, is the heartland of the Occitan movement; the two now comprise the region dubbed "Occitanie." Thus, popular acceptance and widespread use of the term would not be surprising. Unfortunately, aside from the second most-commonly used name, *patois*, the study does not note the other names proposed by survey takers.
Outside of the Midi-Pyrénées region, the main term offered as an alternative to *occitan* is *langue d'oc*. A sociolinguistic study, undertaken for the Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France (DGLFLF) in the Hautes-Pyrénées department (Aquitaine) reinforces the commentary found in the Midi-Pyrénées study regarding the name of the language:

> Voici l'un des (faux) problèmes de l'occitan. Nous sommes en présence d'une langue sans nom revendiqué, ou plutôt d'une langue aux multiples noms.
> Il apparaît clairement que la nomination de la langue constitue à elle seule un vaste questionnement que nous ne pourrons pas développer ici (Bernissan, in press: 87).

Fabrice Bernissan observes that among his interview subjects "les locuteurs disent connaître cette appellation ["occitan"] mais la rejettent massivement" (Bernissan, in press: 87). He concludes that, as fifty years' worth of attempts to impose the name *occitan* have not been

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[22] "Résultats synthétiques de l'étude sociolinguistique: Présences, pratiques, et perceptions de la langue occitane en Midi-Pyrénées." *Région Midi-Pyrénées*. http://www.midipyrenees.fr/IMG/pdf/ EnqueteOccitan.pdf. Consulted 13 February 2016.

effective, "[l]'appellation 'langue d'oc' semble davantage consensuelle" (Bernissan, in press: 87).

2.5.1 Selection of texts through search terms

This inquiry into representations of Occitan demands a purpose-built corpus incorporating as many texts on the topic as possible. To that end, the principal lemma that I used to search for relevant documents was *occitan**. Other search terms were chosen with the intent of identifying texts concerning the language referred to by another name. Finally, I broadened the scope to see how Occitan might be discussed as one of the regional languages of France.

Despite the fact that the name "occitan" is largely accepted in the Midi-Pyrénées region, inclusion of tokens of "langue d'oc" ensures that the corpora do not neglect any possible names. Finally, the search term "langues d'oc" in the plural is a referent employed by certain language activists in both Provence and Béarn (Conservatoire du patrimoine de Gascogne 2016).

Finally, in order to reveal whether other languages of France are being discussed in the sources that I am investigating, I added "langue(s) régionale(s)" to the list. Searching for this umbrella term was meant to capture generic mentions of France's languages as a group. Such texts may shed light on positioning of Occitan among other other regional languages.

The search terms chosen definitively shape the corpus and provide the basis for investigations of linguistic and ideological features. Identifying all of the possible signifiers of Occitan is essential. Thus, I sought out terms that refer to the language(s) proper to the Midi-Pyrénées region, to speakers and partisans, and to associated cultural phenomena. This search yielded the terms shown in Table 2.3. There are four search terms in total. Each is listed along with potential derivations in the lefthand column; their corresponding lemmata utilized in digital searches are in the righthand column.

Table 2.3. Search terms

Search term and derivations	Lemma
occitan/e/s/es; Occitanie, occitaniste, occitano-	occitan*
patois, patoisant/e/s	patois*
langue/s d'oc	langue d'oc, langues d'oc
langue/s régionale/s	langue régionale, langues régionales

2.5.2 Sample construction

The corpus as a whole yielded 249,923 words (see Table 2.4 for a summary). Use of target lemmata other than *occitan** was minimal. Some texts used *occitan** and another term concurrently. While fascinating, the questions raised around alternation in language naming are too complex to do justice to within the scope of this study. Accordingly, I reduced the size of the corpus to include only those texts containing a token of the lemma *occitan**. The linguistic

devices of interest are restricted to those which are syntactically adjacent to its forms (e.g. *occitan/e/s, Occitanie/a, occitano-*). The size of the corpus remains much the same, but the ability to focus exclusively on the question of conceptualization of Occitan is enhanced. Statistics on the number of words in target texts retained from each of the ten sources in the corpus are displayed in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Summary of corpus sources

Sources	# words
Press	
La Dépêche du Midi Tarn (DMTR)	29548
La Dépêche du Midi Tarn Albi (DMTA)	89405
La Dépêche du Midi Aveyron (DMAV)	27116
La Dépêche du Midi Aveyron Decazeville (DMAD)	20357
Tarn libre	28103
Le Villefranchois	18342
Government	
Municipal: Carmaux (GOVCR)	9333
Municipal: Villefranche-de-Rouergue (GOVVF)	24032
Language promotion association	
Cercle occitan de Carmaux (COC)	409
Cercle occitan du Villefranchois (COV)	3278
Total	249923

2.5.3 Pilot study

Before beginning the analysis of the corpus as a whole, I used discourse historical methods to complete a pilot study on 113 texts, drawn from each of the three types. This study showed that Occitan is often portrayed as though it were in motion: exchanged between individuals and groups, enacted in physical spaces, and manifested through actions. It is also part of a constellation of other social objects, whether constitutive of them (e.g. a novel written in the Occitan language) or one element thereof (e.g. a tourism initiative promoting Occitan culture in winemaking). Through the pilot study, I found that Occitan resists straightforward definition. Its referent is often language, occasionally culture or some hybrid of these two. Adam le Nevez contends that Breton is best treated "not as a language but a range of situated social

practices" (2013: 98). This definition is useful in that it resolves ambiguity of the referent to some extent, while acknowledging the polysemous nature of the term.

In the course of the pilot study, I found that the analysis of nomination strategies allowed me to catalog the various social entities that are linguistically qualified as Occitan. Meanwhile, analysis of nominal tokens modified by linguistic devices associated with predication strategies illustrates the qualities that are attributed to Occitan. This bipartite analysis showed potential to be scaled up in the full study.

An issue that surfaced in the course of the pilot study was the presence of numerous tokens of the lemma *occitan** in proper names. For example, in (1), which is drawn from the DMTA corpus, the *Banque populaire occitane* triggered a match.

(1)[23]   En présence de Mme Josiane Chevalier, préfète du Tarn, Michel Bossi, président de la chambre de commerce et d'industrie du Tarn, Martine Culier-Bertossi, vice-présidente commerce, et Alice Alvarez, directrice Tarn-Sud de la Banque populaire **occitane**, ont honoré les lauréats du commerce. DMTA041614OCC

After careful consideration, I ultimately included tokens like (1) in the final study. Although repeated use of the lemma in a name has the potential to produce misleading quantitative figures, the fact that Occitan is associated with particular spheres of activity such as sport, finance, or even place names, does shed light on the ways that local residents might perceive it.

2.6 Discourse-historical analysis

This section will expand on the ways in which the quantitative and qualitative methods discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 are applied to the corpus, which is constructed following Reisigl and Wodak's principle:

The DHA [discourse-historical approach] is three-dimensional: after (1) having identified the specific *contents* or *topics* of a specific discourse, (2) *discursive strategies* are investigated.Then (3), *linguistic means* (as types) and the specific, context-dependent *linguistic realizations* (as tokens) are examined. (2009: 93)

The contents of the corpus are pre-determined by the research question: these are exclusively discourses concerning Occitan. The two discursive strategies of interest, nomination and predication, are in turn investigated by means of the analysis of tokens. Each token consists of

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[23] All corpus texts have been reproduced with original punctuation, capitalization, and spelling preserved. Each token is coded by source, date, and search term. For instance, (1)'s code is DMTA041614OCC, which indicates that it is taken from La Dépêche: Tarn Albi, with a date of publication April 16, 2014, and the target term is *occitan**. A lower-case letter may appear at the end to distinguish multiple texts that come from the same source and were published on the same date. A number may appear at the end as well, which distinguishes multiple tokens of *occitan** in the same text.
The code OCC is only used in the press subcorpus, and as discussed in Section 2.5.2, *occitan** is the only lemma analyzed in the corpus. The government and association subcorpora are coded by text type (GOV or ASSO), then a unique three-digit number beginning with 0 for online texts and 9 for print texts. No date of publication was available for government and LPA texts and thus does not appear in the code.

one linguistic realization of the lemma *occitan**. It may be realized as a noun, an adjective, or an adverbial phrase. Derived nouns and adjectives appear as well.

      In Section 2.6, I propose a classificatory schema for the linguistic realizations of interest that may be coordinated with each token of *occitan** (see Table 2.5 for a summary). The analysis of these linguistic features is chiastic in structure: nominal tokens of *occitan** are subjected to predication analysis, while those tokens of *occitan** that function to modify other lexical items (whether adjectivally or adverbially) are subjected to nomination analysis. Since the investigation takes the lemma *occitan** as a starting point, this structure allows me to examine both those qualities attributed to Occitan, and links between Occitan and other social entities.

Table 2.5. Target discursive strategies and linguistic features

Discursive strategy under analysis	Lexical realization	Linguistic realizations of interest
predication	*(l')occitan* **Example**: *l'occitan écrit*	attributive adjectives; predicative adjectives; predicative nouns; appositions
predication	*occitan…* (derived noun) **Example**: *l'occitanisme contemporain*	attributive adjectives; predicative adjectives; predicative nouns; appositions
nomination	*occitan/e/s* **Example**: *la musique occitane*	identification of modified nouns
nomination	*occitan…* (derived adjective) **Example**: *l'écriture occitaniste*	identification of modified nouns
nomination	*en occitan* (adjectival function) **Example**: *la littérature en occitan*	identification of modified noun
nomination	*en occitan* (adverbial function) **Example**: *elle écrit en occitan*	identification of modified verb, adjective, adverb, or phrase

Section 2.6.1 is devoted to syntactic and semantic characteristics of the tokens of *occitan**
appearing in nominal forms.

2.6.1 Analysis of predication strategies: Nominal forms of *occitan*
  The first discourse-historical strategy that I will investigate is predication. In their
heuristic, Reisigl and Wodak state that predication strategies do the work of attributing traits,
characteristics, qualities, and features to social entities in discourse (see Section 2.2) (2009: 93).
In order to understand the predication strategies at work in the corpus, I focus on nominal forms
of *occitan** (appearing as *(l')occitan* or in derived forms)*,* as associated with four modifiers:
attributive adjectives; predicative adjectives; predicative nouns; appositions. The analysis of
predication strategies appears in Chapter 4.

2.6.1.1 Syntax of *(l')occitan*
  The earliest attestations of the lemma *occitan** date from the 14th century. These texts,
written in Latin by the French royal administration, indicate awareness of linguistic difference in
the southern holdings: "[o]n parla donc de *lingua occitana,* de *patria*, de *respublica occitana,* de
patria linguae occitanae, comme on parlait d'*Occitania*, opposant ainsi la *lingua occitana* à la
lingua gallica qui désignait le français" (Bec 1973). In all of these examples, aside from
Occitania, occitan* is an adjective modifying a noun, most notably *lingua*. Based on this
evidence, I contend that *(l')occitan* should be considered a nominalized adjective (*adjectif
substantivé*).
  According to Riegel et al., nominalized adjectives function as nouns in part due to a
semantic shift of the quality described by the adjective onto nouns that it frequently modifies:

> [l' adjectif substantivé] ne renvoie plus à la seule propriété qu'il dénote, mais à une classe
> d'entités définie par l'ensemble de traits comprenant cette propriété: *un jeune, un rapide,
> une blonde* ne désignent pas tout ce qui est *jeune, rapide, blond*, mais des catégories de
> personnes et d'objets dont le sens originel de ces adjectifs est loin d'épuiser la définition.
> (1994: 356)

The case of *(l')occitan,* shows the elision of a noun and nominalization of the adjective. In the
historical examples mentioned above, the noun is most often the language. The pilot study
suggested that this elided referent is more variable and ambiguous in the present corpus, as it
may refer to language or culture (see Section 2.5.3).
  I have included the phrases *langue occitane* and *culture occitane* as key nominal
realizations of the lemma, along with *(l')occitan* because they evoke the same referent. The latter
is typically understood as a reference to the language, with the implied elision of *langue* (see
Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1 on *(l')occitan* as a nominalized adjective). However, the very usage of
the term "langue" reveals that there is not an exact correspondence between *langue occitane* and
(l')occitan. Rather, I argue that *(l')occitan* may refer to language or to what Fishman refers to as
"language-in-culture" (1991: 36). He claims that

there must be yet another link between an ethnoculture and its traditionally associated language: the link is due to the fact that there is a partial identity between the two, i.e. that parts of every culture are expressed, implemented, and realized via the language with which that culture has been most intimately associated. (1991: 24)

Given this ambiguity around the potential referent(s) of *(l')occitan,* it seems an efficient yet comprehensive solution to classify *langue* and *culture* as carrying at least some of the same connotations as *(l')occitan* itself. Thus, in the present study they are grouped together for the purpose of analyzing predication strategies.

Having described the syntactic category and denotation of the noun or NP *(l')occitan,* I turn to its syntax in the phrase. Riegel et al. describe five "positions syntaxiques" in which a noun phrase (*groupe nominal*) may appear: as subject; as adverbial phrase without a preposition; as constituent of a verb phrase (direct object or predicative noun);[24] as constituent of a prepositional phrase that is itself the complement of a verb, adverb, noun, or adjective; or as an appositive (1994: 147).

2.6.1.2 Syntactic category: Subject

As subject of a phrase, *(l')occitan* governs the form of the verb and is the first essential component of the sentence (the second being a verb). It may immediately precede the verb or be distanced from it by pronouns and adverbials. In (2), *L'occitan* is part of a compound subject, with *la couture, danse et conscience et danses anciennes*. The verb *fermaient* displays agreement with its plural, third-person subject.

> (2)   **L'occitan** (6), la couture, danse et conscience et danses anciennes (8) fermaient la marche. DMTA041614OCC

2.6.1.3 Syntactic category: Adverbial phrase without preposition

The second category, an adverbial phrase not introduced by a preposition, is "facultatif et mobile" (Riegel et al. 1994: 147). The authors give the following example: "*Cet été, tous les soirs, place Gutenberg, les touristes pourront assister à un spectacle de musique et de danses folkloriques*" (ibid.). In this single sentence, three adverbial phrases are in use: two qualifying time (*Cet été* and *tous les soirs*) and one qualifying place (*place Gutenberg*).

The adverbial phrase constructed without a preposition is a syntactic category not available to *(l')occitan*. Without a preposition, *(l')occitan* does not fit into any of the semantic categories commonly associated with AdvPs (*de temps, de lieu, de manière, de quantité, d'affirmation, de négation, d'interrogation, etc.*) (Riegel 1994: 375). Riegel et al. do not find this categorization useful, instead arguing for a functional definition of the adverb, one that includes the syntactic construction in which it appears and the semantic interpretation thereof (1994: 376). *(l')occitan* cannot be construed as an adverb without a preposition in the latter scheme either.

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[24] Riegel et al. describe two classes of predicative nominals: "attribut du sujet (*Pierre était mon voisin*) ou attribut de l'objet (*On l'appelait l' 'idole des jeunes'*)" (1994: 147). In the present study, as the categories of subject and object roles of *(l')occitan* are not analyzed, I do not find this distinction to be useful and thus categorize all predicative nominals in one group.

Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a grammatical sentence that would yield an adverbial phrase in the absence of a preposition: *Ils se sont réunis pour causer, occitan.* The adverbial expression indicating that an action is effected "in the Occitan language" is *en occitan*, which is treated in Section 2.6.4.4. The lemma can thus be used in an adverbial function, but not without a preposition.

2.6.1.4 Syntactic category: Constituent of a verb phrase

Next, *(l')occitan* may appear as a constituent of a verb phrase, whether a direct object or a predicative nominal. A direct object follows a transitive verb, as illustrated in (3):

(3)   C'était un plaisir même de trouver la personne et de se mettre tout à coup à parler **occitan**. DMGE102515OCCa

The predicative nominal construction (*attribut du sujet* or *attribut de l'objet;* see footnote 1) is distinguished from the direct object by the appearance of a copular verb, usually *être*. In (4), the subject NP *L'occitan* is linked to *porteur d'identité* by the copula *être in* an interrogative structure.

(4)   L'occitan est-il porteur d'une identité ? DMGE102515OCCa

2.6.1.5 Syntactic category: Constituent of a prepositional phrase

The next syntactic category described by Riegel et al. is the constituent of a prepositional phrase that is itself the complement of a VP, NP, AdvP, or AdjP. For example, in (5) *l'occitan* is a constituent and functions as the complement of the VP *rendre à*:

(5)   La démarche de Jean-Marie Petit, originaire du Sidobre, consiste à rendre à **l'occitan** les poèmes en français, de les réensemencer de leur terreau original. DMTR120814OCC

2.6.1.6 Syntactic category: Appositive

Finally, a noun phrase in apposition is "détaché derrière un autre groupe nominal" (Riegel et al. 1994: 147). The NP in apposition is linked to the rest of the sentence through proximity, not the use of a verb.

(6)   Au Sud, trois montagnes et quelques plaines entre; deux mers qui ouvrent le territoire sur l'ouest, l'Afrique, le continent américain; trois cités, Toulouse, Bordeaux et Marseille qui auraient pu s'imposer comme capitale d'un même territoire et tout un réseau de villes moyennes; une langue en péril, **l'occitan**, encore présente de l'Atlantique aux Alpes mais bien distincte du basque et du catalan qui gardent leurs locuteurs et leurs espaces des deux côtés de la frontière. DMGE121814OCC

In (6), *l'occitan* is in apposition to *une langue en péril.*

2.6.2 Analysis of predication strategies: Linguistic devices modifying *(l')occitan*

The pilot study suggests that there are a number of interesting constructions in which the *(l')occitan* appears. Nonetheless, in order to keep the scope of the study manageable, I choose to focus on overt modification of the noun or noun phrase through three linguistic devices: attributive adjectives, predicative adjectives and nominals, and appositions.[25] Thus, the other linguistic devices that are associated with predication strategies (see Table 2.5) have been excluded.

2.6.2.1 Attributive adjective

The attributive adjective (*épithète*) modifies a noun or NP. According to Riegel et al., "c'est l'adjectif en position d'épithète qui apparaît le plus étroitement uni au nom" (1994: 180). In this section, I examine the syntactic structure of tokens in which the lemma *occitan** takes the form of an attributive adjective linked to a noun or NP. Attributive adjectives are recursive and their placement in the NP is governed by a set of tendencies. For example, most adjectives in French are postposed, although the proportion varies depending on the genre, with more preposed adjectives in literary texts (as many as half) than in scientific texts (with a rate of just one in ten preposed adjectives) (Riegel et al 1994: 181). One crucial factor affecting the placement of the attributive adjective is its type. The *adjectif qualificatif* is more variable and often appears preposed. The *adjectif relationnel* is always postposed in relation to the noun it modifies.

An attributive adjective used to modify *l'occitan* appears in (7):

(7)   La préparation bat son plein, une chorale d'amis de la langue et de **l'occitan** local se resserrent autour des répétitions accompagnement à l'harmonium et voix ténors comprises. DMTA110715OCCb

In (f), the NP *l'occitan* is modified by the postposed verb *local*.

2.6.2.2 Predicative adjective

Another token type of interest in the predication analysis is predicative adjectives that modify the noun / NP *(l')occitan*. The example (8) below coordinates the NP *l'occitan* with its adjective, *omniprésent*, by means of the copula *être:*

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[25] Reisigl and Wodak list predicative pronouns as linguistic devices of interest in analyzing predication strategies. Given the size of my corpus and the nature of the concordance lists, it is not possible to make a comprehensive inventory of predicative pronouns. For example, one could imagine a sentence like *M. Morel étudie l'occitan depuis vingt ans. Pour lui, c'est un plaisir: 'J'adore! C'est ma langue préférée.'* In this example, *ce* appears more than 25 characters from its antecedent, *l'occitan;* such a distance precludes its appearance in Wordlist's concordance tables, which include 25 characters to the left and right of the search term. Likewise, any pronoun denoting *(l')occitan* would necessarily be somewhat distant from its antecedent and liable to be excluded from the concordance analysis. More in-depth analysis of individual texts would likely yield tokens of predicative pronouns; in the present study I neither seek out nor investigate such a constructions.

(8)   Elément de notre quotidien, **l'occitan** est omniprésent dans les noms des lieux, des personnes, dans les expressions, le langage, dans les habitudes. GOVVF090

However, in (9), two different copular verbs appear. The first is *être,* which links the predicative adjective *vivant* the the NP *l'occitan*. After the conjunction *et,* the adjective *vivant* is replaced by the invariable pronoun *le*.[26] This pronominalized adjective is then linked to *l'occitan* not with *être*, but with *rester,* another stative verb that may serve as a copula.

(9)   **L'occitan** est bien vivant et compte bien le rester, longtemps. DMTR101815OCCa

2.6.2.3 Predicative noun

Modification of *l'occitan* with a predicative noun is shown in (10). The copula is again *être*, but the complement is nominal, identifying the NP *l'occitan* with *le roi:*

(10)   En premier, une après-midi ou **l'occitan** sera roi le jeudi 16 octobre avec une pièce de théâtre à 14 h 30. DMTA101114OCC

The predicative nominal (*attribut du sujet ou de l'objet*) is a complement of the NP.

2.6.2.4 Apposition

The last class of overt modification of the noun / NP *(l')occitan* is that of apposition. As discussed in Section 2.6.1.6, appositions link two phrases with parallel syntactic function (NP) in the same sentence. Riegel et al. explain that the term *apposition* is not limited to its Latin sense of "un nom accolé à un autre nom de même cas et désignant le même référent" (1994: 191). Rather, as it is understood in spatial terms ("position à côté de"), a number of different syntactic structures may function as appositives: "[groupes nominaux] apposés, traditionnellement appelés appositions; groupes adjectivaux; groupes prépositionnels qualifiants; relatives détachées, dites explicatives; complétives" (Riegel et al. 1994: 190-91). Whereas predicative constructions rely on copula to coordinate noun and complement, appositions rely on proximity. Example (6), also seen in Section 2.6.1.6, shows an apposition in which *l'occitan* is apposed to another NP, *une langue en péril*:

(6)   Au Sud, trois montagnes et quelques plaines entre; deux mers qui ouvrent le territoire sur l'ouest, l'Afrique, le continent américain; trois cités, Toulouse, Bordeaux et Marseille qui auraient pu s'imposer comme capitale d'un même territoire et tout un réseau de villes moyennes; une langue en péril, **l'occitan**, encore présente de l'Atlantique aux Alpes mais bien distincte du basque et du catalan qui gardent leurs locuteurs et leurs espaces des deux côtés de la frontière. DMGE121814OCC

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26 According to Riegel et al., one may verify whether or not a word is a predicative adjective (*adjectif qualificatif*) through a substitution test: if it can be replaced by the pronoun *le*, it is a predicative adjective (1994: 356).

Such a construction, according to Riegel et al., is "explicatif (ou descriptif)" (1994: 179). Its exclusion does not change the meaning of the noun being modified; its inclusion adds "d'informations accessoires," recalling the function of the attributive adjective.

2.6.3 Derived noun / NP

The group of derived nouns / NPs is composed of lexical items in which the lemma *occitan* appears with a suffix, e.g. *Occitanie* and *occitanisme*. The words in this group are among the derived nouns that do not change syntactic category. The stability in syntactic category does run counter to the category change observed in most derived nouns, but Riegel et al. note that "[i]l n'est pas exclu pour autant que le mot dérivé puisse appartenir à la même classe grammaticale que le mot simple correspondant" (1994: 542).

Sentence (11) illustrates the transformation of the root *occitan,* from nominalized adjective to adjective to derived noun.

(11)   Encore plus étonnant ce recueil de mots croisés **en occitan**, qui feront un excellent support de cours ou d'enseignement pour les occitanistes.
DMTR110914OCCa5

The referent of *occitanistes* is a group of individuals who are interested in perpetuating linguistic practices of Occitan. According to the *Trésor de la langue* française, the suffix *-iste* is used to form both adjectives and nouns. It may be appended to verbal, nominal, or adjectival roots. In the case of (11), the process of suffixation results in a noun. Here, the description of *occitanistes* conforms to the *Trésor*'s specification that "le mot désigne celui qui adhère à une doctrine, une croyance, un système, un mode de vie, de pensée ou d'action, ou exprime l'appartenance à ceux-ci" (1983: 603).

The set of derived nouns has a wider field of possible referents than the noun *occitan*. The latter may designate language, culture, or people. The former may also refer to human actors (e.g. *un(e) occitanophone*), abstract social objects (e.g. *l'occitanisme*), or to place (e.g. *l'Occitanie*). The predication analysis of derived nouns follows the same format as that of the noun / NP *(l')occitan* by focusing on attributive adjectives, predicative expressions, and appositions.

2.6.4 Analysis of nomination strategies: *occitan** as modifier

The second discursive strategy that I investigate is that of nomination. In the discourse-historical heuristic, analysis of nomination strategies begins with question: "How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?" (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 93). In this study, I ask what social entities are designated as Occitan, and by what linguistic means. The analysis of nomination strategies appears in Chapter 5.

2.6.4.1 Syntax of *occitan/e/s*

While all adjectives share the same syntactic category, in terms of their semantic content they are described as being one of two types: *qualificatif* or *relationnel*. The chief distinction

between these two groups is that the *adjectif qualificatif* describes a property of the object, or "des concepts exclusivement descriptifs dépourvus d'autonomie référentielle" (Riegel et al. 1994: 356). These concepts include shape, size, color, and concrete or abstract qualities: Riegel et al. offer the example of *un homme furieux,* in which the adjective *furieux* is *qualificatif.*

The *adjectif relationnel* contrasts with the *adjectif qualificatif* in that it does indeed refer to real referents (concrete or abstract): "ils indiquent une relation […] avec le référent du nom dont ils sont dérivés" (Riegel et al. 1994: 357). An example of such an adjective is *un discours présidentiel*, wherein the adjective *présidentiel* refers to its pertaining to the person or the office of president, not a quality of the speech such as *court* or *ennuyeux* (ibid.)*.* One test to identify the variety of an adjective in question is a possessive paraphrase with *de*: *un discours présidentiel* is also *un discours du président*, but *un discours ennuyeux* is not **un discours d'ennuyeux.* Thus, if such a paraphrase is possible, the adjectif is *relationnel.* One may also test for the gradability of the adjective: the *adjectif qualificatif* is gradable (modifiable in terms of degree) while the *adjectif relationnel* is not.[27]

The *de* paraphrase test yields conflicting results as applied to the adjective *occitan/e/s*: *le professeur occitan* (a teacher whose identity is Occitan) does not have the same meaning as *le professeur d'occitan* (a teacher of Occitan).[28] The latter is not ungrammatical, but the fact that the paraphrase changes the nature of the referent indicates that the adjective may not be *relationnel.*

The test of gradability suggests that *occitan/e/s* is indeed gradable, as in sentence (12), taken from the corpus:

> (12)　　Deux gîtes au nom très **occitan**, *Lo Ségal* et *Lo Blat*, prennent place dans les dépendances. VF050814OCCg

In (12), the adjective *occitan* is intensified by the adverb *très*. This fact also appears to disqualify it from the *adjectif relationnel* category. Thus, *occitan* appears to be an *adjectif qualificatif,* ascribing the quality of Occitan-ness to the noun or NP it modifies. However, this description is an uneasy one. The semantic content of *occitan/e/s* lends itself much more easily to the definition of *adjectif relationnel,* as it has a real referent. The lack of clarity may be related to the mutability of the lexical item *occitan* itself: it may be an adjective or a noun.

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[27] However, the gradable / non-gradable distinction appears more fluid in practice. For example, Riegel et al. cite as ungrammatical **un parc très municipal*, but, according to a search on google.fr, the phrase *très municipal* is indeed in use (~11,000 hits).

[28] Instances of the preposition *de* + *occitan* are excluded from the analyzed corpus. According to Trudie Maria Booth (2003), de may serve to combine "two *nouns* which have become a unit" [author's emphasis] (68). She extensively illustrates this concept, including the example *professeur du français,* which is almost identical to *professeur d'occitan.* Since the latter is itself distinct from *professeur occitan*, with its adjectival use of *occitan*, I consider the PP *d'occitan* to be a nominal token. In the corpus, no token of this type is further modified. Thus, they are not designated as cases of nomination, and are analyzed no further in the study.

2.6.4.2 Syntactic category: Attributive adjective

The adjective *occitan/e/s,* serves to designate the noun or NP that it modifies as being associated with Occitan. This association is unspecific; it depends on the noun or NP modified. An explicitly verbal entity such as *la lecture* in (13) is linked to the Occitan language:

(13)   Beaucoup plus prosaïque la lecture **occitane** de Gabriel Boyer, avec ses veillées au coin du feu racontées par Christian Laux. DMTR122814OCC

In (14), the *Rescontres* are a cultural event, and language is not explicitly evoked by the presence of the adjective *Occitans*:

(14)   Les Rescontres **Occitans** en Provenca se dérouleront du jeudi 29 juillet au mercredi 4 août, au Centre de Vacances 'le Rocher'. VF072414OCCc

There are cases in which the referent of the adjective is ambiguous. In (15), the author Yves Rouquette is described as *l'auteur occitan*:

(15)   Yves Rouquette ! Qu'il nous parle de son père pendant la guerre, de Kennedy, de la neige qu'il n'aime qu'en poésie, d'une femme dompteuse, des grandes surfaces et des avions, des musées ou de la télévision absente de leur maison, l'auteur **occitan** nous redonne en quarante textes le goût des jours. DMGE100415OCC

Rouquette wrote most of his works in Occitan, but his life's work also involved activism promoting Occitan culture and political autonomy. Therefore, the adjective *occitan* refers to his identity as well as to the language in which he wrote.

2.6.4.3 Syntactic category: Predicative adjective

Although it appears in a different syntactic environment from its attributive equivalent, the predicative adjective *occitan/e/s* has the same semantic content. Unlike the attributive adjective, the predicative adjective must be linked to the noun or NP with a copula. Without an adjective, the sentence would be ungrammatical: *l'occitan est vivant*, but **l'occitan est.* In French descriptive syntax, predicative expressions are referred to as either *attribut du sujet* or *attribut de l'objet* (Riegel et al. 1994: 355). In this study, I am not concerned about the syntactic role of the modified noun or NP, but with its referent. Thus, I do not differentiate between subject and object roles.

Riegel et al. describe the function of a predicative expression (*constructions attributives*) thus: "[i]l s'interprète comme un prédicat qui exprime une caractéristique (propriété, état ou catégorisation) du sujet" (1994: 233). Sentence (16) associates *notre future région* with the predicative adjective *occitane* by means of the copula *être*:

(16)   Notre future région est **occitane**. DMGE040415OCC

2.6.4.4 Syntactic category: Prepositional phrase *en occitan*

The prepositional phrase *en occitan* serves to attribute the quality of Occitan-ness. Jones notes that *en* is used with an unmodified language name: "[w]ith names of languages, *en* is normally used without a determiner unless the noun is modified, in which case dans is used with the definite article [cf. examples *en français* but *dans le français d'aujourd'hui*]" (1996: 403). In a basic sense, *en* [*langue*] is the manifestation of that language, be it spoken or written. This follows on the observation that the construction *Il est en N, N* represents the "actualisation" of the subject in a particular manner (Franckel and Lebaud 1991: 65). The effect of *en* on its complement is illustrated by the authors' discussion of the phrases *un manteau en rouge* and *un manteau en laine.* In these NPs, the preposition *en* "dissoud les propriétés des catégories morphologiques entre *rouge* et *laine,* qui n'ont ni véritablement le statut d'un adjectif, ni celui d'un nom" (ibid.). In the cases of the PP *en occitan,* I argue that, despite this loss of syntactic identity, the word *occitan* maintains a particular, though elided, referent in all tokens: the Occitan language, not Occitan culture.

Adverbials take a wide variety of lexical forms, from prepositional phrase to adverb. However, their syntactic properties are constant: they are not obligatory (i.e. the sentence would be grammatical without it), they are recursive, and their positions are not fixed (Reigel et al. 1994: 140). In their description of adverbials*,* Riegel et al. note that they most often take the form of *"*un groupe prépositionnel dont la préposition spécifie le type de rapport qui l'unit au reste de la phrase" (1994: 141). The three most common prepositions in French, *à*, *de*, and *en,* are sometimes referred to as "vides" or "incolores" due to the fact that they index no single semantic relationship. Rather, they may appear in a number of constructions with various meanings. For example, the preposition *à* appears in the phrases *il pleut à Londres / une tarte aux pommes*: in the former phrase it has a locative function; in the latter it refers to the material composition of the *tarte*. The preposition *en* followed by the name of a language indicates that the entity modified is actualized in that language.

In the present corpus, the only adverbial under study is *en occitan*, given its consistent usage throughout the corpus; it always indicates that a constituent is actualized in the Occitan language. There are indeed prepositional phrases in the corpus such as à *l'occitan* and *d'occitan*, but they display too much semantic and syntactic variation to permit a meaningful analysis. Riegel et al. note that "la fonction du groupe prépositionnel proprement dit varie selon le type de relation syntaxique qu'il entretient avec un ou plusieurs autres constituants dans la construction où il figure" (ibid.). The prepositional phrase *en occitan* has three syntactic functions in the corpus: modifying a non-nominal constituent (adverbial function), modifying a noun or NP

(adjectival function), or glossing a translation. Sections 2.6.4.4.1 and 2.6.4.4.2 are devoted to the function of *en occitan* in the first two constructions.[29]

2.6.4.4.1 Adverbial function of *en occitan*

Among other functions, *en* introduces "un grand nombre de compléments de manière (*en grande pompe, en silence,* etc." (Riegel et al. 1994: 372). It is thus reasonable to describe *en occitan* as an adverbial modifying manner. It is useful to revisit the traditional distinction between adverb and adjective to analyze the syntactic constructions in which *en occitan* does appear as complement. According to the TLFi, an adverb can modify "un verbe, un adjectif, une préposition ou un autre adverbe."[30] The TLFi also notes that a PP headed by *en* with an adjectival complement serves an adverbial function.[31] An example of what I describe as adverbial usage of *en occitan* appears in (17):

> (17)   Elles ont choisi de chanter en **occitan** et en français, a cappella des chants
>   collectés en Albigeois, bas Quercy et Rouergue. DMAD080414OCC

en occitan modifies the verb *chanter,* denoting the linguistic manner in which that action is done. Example (17) also exhibits the recursive nature of the adverbial, as two PPs of the same type modify the same verb: *en occitan* and *en français*.

_____

[29] *En occitan* serves a third function, appearing in glosses that present the Occitan equivalent to a French word or phrase, or vice versa. There is no particular syntactic structure required to impart this information. The *complément circonstanciel en occitan*, when used to introduce glosses, has the same lexical form and range of functions as described in Sections 2.6.4.4.1 and 2.6.4.4.2. However, unlike the use of the simple adjective *occitan*, the gloss insists that a word or phrase belongs to the Occitan language. A strong, yet reasonable interpretation of this association is that the word being translated is more *inherently* Occitan than it is French, thus necessitating a translation. The group of lexical items being translated is more diverse than the nouns, NPs, and occasional verbs in question thus far in the analysis of nomination strategies. For example, in (18) a set of adjectives is used to translate the nickname / pen name *Aluserpit*:

> (18)   Maurice Fonvieille est un jeune homme de 82 ans, qui, de son nom
>   « Aluserpit » (en occitan : malin, dégourdi, extraverti), signe chaque jour une
>   caricature. DMTA011014OCC

The gloss poses a problem of classification. That which is Occitan in this phrase is the word *Aluserpit*; its referent is both the qualities *malin, dégourdi, extraverti* and Maurice Fonvieille himself. However, *occitan* is not a quality attributed explicitly to Fonvieille, but of his nickname. Both the ambiguity and the wide variety of possible referents render the analysis of these tokens unfeasible. Therefore, I will not include these tokens in the nomination analysis.

[30] "adverbe." *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*. http://stella.atilf.fr/Dendien/scripts/tlfiv5/ advanced.exe?8;s=584926140;. Consulted 14 April 2017.

[31] "en." *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*. http://stella.atilf.fr/Dendien/scripts/tlfiv5/visusel.exe? 20;s=1905153705;r=1;nat=;sol=9;. Consulted 14 April 2017.

2.6.4.4.2 Adjectival function of *en occitan*

The adjectival function of *en occitan* is illustrated in (19), where it modifies the NP *ce recueil de mots croisés:*

(19)   Encore plus étonnant ce recueil de mots croisés en **occitan**, qui feront un
         excellent support de cours ou d'enseignement pour les occitanistes.
         DMTR110914OCC

This usage of *en occitan* indicates that the modified NP is actualized in the Occitan language. Occitan is depicted as an intrinsic quality of *ce recueil de mots croisés; en occitan* functions as an adjective that predicates the NP. In (19), due to the fact that an NP is modified, it is not possible to construe *en occitan* as having an adverbial function. An adverb may modify a verb, an adjective, or another adverb, but not a noun: "l'adverbe serait au verbe ce que l'adjectif épithète est au nom" (Riegel et al. 1994: 375).

There is some difficulty in attributing an adjectival role to the PP *en occitan*. In traditional grammars, the focus is on the links between adverbial and verb. However, in their critique of this traditional description, Riegel et al. suggest that "en bonne logique les grammaires traditionnelles devraient également analyser comme circonstanciels…les compléments de nom exprimant une valeur circonstancielle: *un voyage de deux jours* (temps), *le déjeuner sur l'herbe* (lieu), *les victimes de l'accident* (cause), etc." (1994: 145). In fact, *en occitan* is just such a complement. Moreover, the modified noun does suggest an action. For example, in (20), *la lecture en occitan* implies the act of reading; the agents of this action, *le lecteur ou la lectrice* are even present, yet the verb *lire* is absent.

(20)   Cette émission propose la lecture en **occitan** de textes d'auteurs choisis par le
         lecteur ou la lectrice. DMTA091314OCC

By evoking *la lecture* and *le lecteur ou la lectrice*, the author of this article focuses on nouns that evoke reading, but not the action itself.

2.6.5 Adjectives derived from *occitan*

In the process of derivation, suffixes or prefixes are added to an adjectival base to create a new adjective whose meaning is related to that of the base. "Les adjectifs à forme complexe […] sont des formes construites par dérivation […] par suffixation d'un radical adjectival (long / longuet) [ou] par préfixation (impur)" (Riegel et al. 1994: 357). In this corpus, I am interested in those adjectives derived from the adjective *occitan*. These adjectives take a variety of forms, such as *proto-occitan* and *occitanophone*.[32]

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[32] Certain derived adjectives may share the same form as derived nouns (e.g. *occitaniste, occitanophone*). It is possible to distinguish between them based on syntax: *l'occitaniste nous dit* exhibits a derived noun (observe definite article and subject position); *l'auteur occitaniste nous dit* exhibits a derived adjective (observe the coordination with NP *l'auteur).*

As I mentioned in Section 2.5.3, the referent of the adjective *occitan/e/s* can be ambiguous. In the case of the derived adjectives, which have already undergone a process of specification through suffixation, ambiguity is less often present. *Occitaniste*, as an adjective, implies a high level or engagement or activism; the adjective *occitanophone* implies active use of the language. In (21), *Gabriel Boyer, l'ange lecteur occitaniste*, can be understood as someone who has a significant engagement with Occitan, aside from his ability to read it aloud:

> (21)   La volonté d'Hélène Joly mêlée à sa force convaincante auprès de Gabriel Boyer, l'ange lecteur **occitaniste**, ont abouti à une lecture de Noël. DMTR122814OCC

The nomination analysis of derived nouns follows the same format as that of *occitan/e/s* used adjectivally.

2.7 Domains of language use

The domains in which a language is used, or in the case of this study, portrayed as being used, are an important indicator of its vitality (Section 1.3.2). In order to put the case of Occitan in dialogue with other cases of language shift, I will investigate the five basic domains that Fishman et al. (1971) used in their landmark study of New York City: education, family, friendship, religion, and work (Pauwels 2016: 55). Due to its pertinence to Occitan, I also consider the secular social settings (SSS) domain described by Pauwels, which concerns the activities of clubs and associations. For the purposes of this study, SSS represents forms of social engagement not structured by the other five domains. All six domains of interest are listed in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Domains of language use

Domain of language use
Education (public)
Family / Home
Friendship
Religion
Secular social settings
Work

The investigation of Occitan's presence in the six target domains, as portrayed by the corpus texts, appears in Chapter 6. It is based on a selection of full texts from the corpus. This approach represents a departure from Chapters 4 and 5, which are based on analyses of individual tokens. The texts discussed in Chapter 6 must fulfill two criteria:

1. Some form of language use is implied in the text.
2. Occitan is implicated in the text.

Example (22) satisfies both criteria:

(22)   Nages
        Occitan
        Samedi 21 juin, dans une salle du musée de la Vie paysanne de Rieumontagné
        (près de la plage du Laouzas), la langue du pays sera à l'honneur: Pèire Thouy
        propose une animation **en occitan** entre 9h30 et 12h. L'entrée est libre, et tous les
        amateurs sont les bienvenus. TL062014OCCa

Pèire Thouy is putting on "une animation en occitan," a spoken performance that is actualized in
Occitan. Example (23) is an excerpt from the magazine *Regards sur Carmaux*, which is
published by the municipal government.

(23)   Outre son menu bistrot à 12,5 et 14,5 euros les midis du lundi au vendredi Eric
        Tubeuf propose des formules gastronomiques toute la semaine dont un menu
        occitan imaginé avec des produits locaux. GOVCR041

In (23), the adjective *occitan* qualifies a *menu*. Although a restaurant is a social space, there is no
indication that the use of Occitan is being fostered there. Moreover, the use of *occitan* is related
to a culinary product, not a social practice. Thus, neither of the two criteria are fulfilled. Overall,
there are 846 eligible texts in the corpus.

A domain is defined by the consistent co-occurrence of three elements: topic,
interlocutors, and locale (Pauwels 2016: 55). Each text is tagged for each of the three elements in
order to facilitate its assignment to the correct category. The following explication of the short
text (24) demonstrates the interplay of topic, interlocutors, and locale and illustrates the
classification process. Its source is a poster publicizing an event held as a part of the annual
Setmanas occitanas festivities.

(24)   Exposition
        IEO del Vilafrancat

        [sponsor logos]
        IEO del Vilafrancat
        Mairie de Villefranche-de-Rouergue

        3 au 7 février 2015

        De la natura de quaquas bestias
        Pichot bestiari fantasierós

> Présentation de l'exposition par Yvon Puech, Président de l'IEO 12 :
> Mardi 3 février, à 181h lors de l'inauguration des setmanas **occitanas**
>
> Bibliothèque municipale
> Villefranche-de-Rouergue
> ASSOVF912

In (24), the topic is visual arts, as the focus is the illustrated bestiary of fantastical animals. This *bestiari* will be exhibited for one week at a particular locale, the Villefranche-de-Rouergue public library. An associated event, the "présentation de l'exposition," also to be held at the library. The interlocutors involved are Yvon Puech, president of Aveyron's departmental IEO chapter, the attendees, the IEO del Vilafrancat, and the Mairie de Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Given its nonreligious topic, its situation in a public space, and its public-facing nature, I assign text (24) to the SSS domain. It reflects the fact that there are spaces being created in the community for engagement with Occitan language, even if the question of actual use must remain in the realm of the potential in the present study.

2.8 Research questions

Once the tokens of interest have been collected, I turn to the research questions themselves. Quantitative and qualitative analyses shed light on the dynamics at stake for each question. In this section, I describe these analyses.

2.8.1 Research question 1

Research question 1 is formulated as follows:

1. How is Occitan portrayed in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

Thus, research question 1 focuses on Occitan as an entity. In order to address the first research question, I analyze tokens in which nominal forms of the lemma *occitan** are coordinated with a target modifier (see Section 2.6.1). These tokens demonstrate the predication strategies used in the corpus. Both the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the modifiers with which it appears are of interest. The quantitative analysis focuses on the former, while the qualitative analysis focuses on the latter. Both analyses appear in Chapter 4.

2.8.1.1 Research question 1: Quantitative analysis

The first stage in the quantitative analysis of the tokens of predication strategies is to categorize them. Lexical items that modify *(l')occitan* are collected and categorized according to type: attributive adjective, predicative adjective, predicative noun, or apposition. The same four types of modifier may also be coordinated with derived nominal forms of *occitan**, such as *occitanophone* or *occitanisme*. Also included in this analysis are tokens of the NPs *langue occitane* and *culture occitane* that are associated with one of the target modifiers. I contend that

these phrases are so similar to the basic referent of *(l')occitan* that they may be treated in the same manner. The quantitative analysis of these tokens sheds light on trends relating to the relative frequencies of different modifier types and varying nominal forms. It appears in Section 4.2.1.2; comparative analyses by research site and text type appear in Sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, respectively.

2.8.1.2 Research question 1: Qualitative analysis

In the qualitative analysis, I am concerned with the ways in which Occitan itself is explicitly qualified. Whereas the quantitative analysis was primarily concerned with the syntactic qualities of the modifier, the qualitative analysis stresses its semantic content. This analysis appears in Section 4.3. The first step is to classify each token displaying predication strategies according to its semantic content. Concepts of semantic preference, semantic prosody, and semantic fields (see Section 2.3) are instrumental to the qualitative analysis.

Semantic preference, or repeated associations between lexical items, imply that the entities thus linked are also presented as linked in people's perceptions. Thus, I hypothesize that the portrait of Occitan that is displayed by the corpus is reliant on the same frequently made associations. The concept of semantic prosody differs from semantic preference in its evaluative capability. Thus, I ask whether the modifiers associated with Occitan tend to have negative, neutral, or positive values. Finally, by considering the semantic content of the lexical items that modify *(l')occitan* en masse, it is possible to identify the semantic fields with which they are associated. These semantic fields are "non-theory-specific," and based on the particular context of this study (Baker 2008: 296).

Analyses of the semantic content of the tokens displaying predication strategies allows me to propose the existence of a set of Discourses in the corpus. These Discourses are based upon repeated semantic associations among modifiers. The advantage of deriving Discourses from the data is that it recognizes the tendency for related semantic fields to occur together, thus suggesting that particular perceptions and beliefs underlie the presentation of Occitan as an independent entity in the corpus. Both the concept and the terminology of Discourses in the corpus are drawn from Gee (1999) (see Section 1.2).

2.8.2 Research question 2

Research question 2 is as follows:

2. What is Occitan's role in local society, as evidenced in in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

In order to understand Occitan's role in local society, I analyze the entities that are described as being "Occitan" in the corpus. Frequent associations between particular entities and the quality of Occitan-ness suggest that they are linked in terms of the corpus's representations of both practice and perception.I thus understand entities- persons, objects, phenomena, events, processes, actions, and places to be constitutive of social life in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. In order to address the second research question, I analyze tokens in which the lemma

*occitan** appears as a modifier, taking an adjectival or adverbial form. These tokens demonstrate the nomination strategies used in the corpus.

2.8.2.1 Research question 2: Quantitative analysis

The categorization of the tokens displaying nomination strategies is essential to further analysis. Tokens of *occitan** as a modifier are categorized according to the form of the lemma, which may be an attributive adjective, a predicative adjective, or appear in the prepositional phrase en occitan. The latter can have an adjectival or an adverbial function. Finally, the lemma may take the form of a derived adjective, such as *occitaniste.*

Example (l5), first presented in Section 2.6.4.2, displays a token of *occitan** as a masculine singular attributive adjective:

> (l5)   Yves Rouquette ! Qu'il nous parle de son père pendant la guerre, de Kennedy, de la neige qu'il n'aime qu'en poésie, d'une femme dompteuse, des grandes surfaces et des avions, des musées ou de la télévision absente de leur maison, l'auteur **occitan** nous redonne en quarante textes le goût des jours. DMGE100415OCC

The NP modified by *occitan* is *l'auteur*. Once identified, it is this noun or NP that becomes the focus of analysis, not the modifier itself. The quantitative analysis of these nominal entities sheds light on trends relating to *occitan**'s use as a modifier; it appears in Section 5.2.1; comparative analyses by text type and research site appear in Sections 5.2.2 and, respectively.

2.8.2.2 Research question 2: Qualitative analysis

In the qualitative analysis addressing research question 2, I focus on the ways in which *occitan** is used to modify other entities. More specifically, I am interested in patterns with regard to the frequencies with which particular entities appear. Attribution of the quality of Occitan-ness is thus at stake in the qualitative analysis. I contend that classifying the entities thus described can shed light on current practices of Occitan and on perceptions of Occitan's proper role in society.

I treat research question 2 in Chapter 5. The analysis opens with a summary of the five entities most commonly found in the nomination data set. These five entities are also categorized by type, according to Reisigl and Wodak's conception of social entity (2009: 93). In turn, these data are analyzed qualitatively, from a comparative viewpoint. Qualitative analyses according to research site appear in Section 5.2.2; according to type of text in Section 5.2.3. The comparative treatment allows me to point out different perceptions of Occitan's role in society that circulate in different media and in different places.

The qualitative analysis also provides space to explore three special cases in which the lemma appears as a modifier. The first is the use of the modifier *occitan/e/s* coordinated with another modifier. I am interested in the semantic content of these modifiers, as they shed light on other qualities that are associated with the quality of Occitan-ness (Section 5.3.1). The second special case consists of those entities that are most frequently modified with the lemma and another modifier. Here, I categorize and analyze the entities in question. In doing so, I aim to find loci of hybridity between Occitan-ness and other qualities, such as adjectives referring to

other cultural traditions (Section 5.3.2). The third special case is that of the prepositional phrase *en occitan*, which can modify a noun or NP in its adjectival function, or modify a verb, adjective, or adverb in its adverbial function (see Sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4). These tokens are especially interesting because they denote entities that are actualized in the Occitan, thus permitting me to analyze representations of language use in the corpus.

2.8.3 Research question 3

In order to address the third research question, I take the texts themselves as the basic units of analysis. This text-based approach diverges from my approaches to research questions 1 and 2, which focused on individual tokens. Considering integral texts provides fuller context for Occitan's purported presence in the two towns. This context is crucial to the third research question:

> 3. In what domains of language use is Occitan portrayed as being present, according to public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

My approach to this question includes the analysis of texts according to the domains of language use that are reflected in them (see Section 1.3.2). Thus, I analyze the individual texts in the corpus according to three characteristics that constitute domains of use: the topic, interlocutors, and locale referenced in each text.

2.8.3.1 Research question 3: Quantitative analysis

There are two main aims of the quantitative analysis. The first is to identify eligible texts; the second is to classify them according to the domain of language use that to which they refer. In order to be included in the analysis, a text must mention both language use and Occitan (Section 2.7). It is important to keep in mind that this classification is based on reflected domains of language use. In other words, since it is not possible to make inferences about actual language use based on this corpus, the analysis of domains is restricted to references to potential language use. The quantitative analysis of these reflected domains of language use appears in Section 6.2.

2.8.3.2 Research question 3: Qualitative analysis

In the qualitative analysis, each of the six reflected domains of language use is treated separately. Each domain is explored in detail, along with background information on the stakes of language use in each domain, as proposed by previous researchers; relevant texts from the corpus then illustrate each domain. The qualitative analysis of the reflected domains of language use are complemented by an examination of Occitan's status according to two widely-used metrics of language vitality and endangerment, Fishman's GIDS (1991) and UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework (2003) (see also Section 1.4.1). The qualitative analysis of domains appears in Sections 6.3 and 6.4; the comparison with official metrics in Section 6.5.

2.9 Limitations

A caveat that bears repeating is that this study is based on public discourses. While they

both reflect and contribute to the creation of perceptions of and beliefs around Occitan, public discourse are removed from local residents' actual beliefs and practices with regard to language and culture. Thus, the corpus should be seen as one representation of Occitan in the community, not as an accounting of practices and attitudes. Although I conducted interviews with language activists and other community members, I did not systematically include them in the present analysis, whose scope is limited to public discourse.

Another limitation of this study is its lack of predictive ability. Based on the data collected, it is not possible to comment on trends with regard to matters like language acquisition, or the future prospects of Occitan in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue or beyond. The study is devoted to analyzing contemporary portrayals of Occitan, not the reception of such representations or the action that they may or may not inspire.

Finally, the study is focused on two towns, and most of the data was collected at the local level. However, certain imbalances in the corpus lead to limitations. First, there is no truly local newspaper in Carmaux, as there is in Villefranche-de-Rouergue. This leads to a possible over-representation of the latter in the press corpus. My reliance on regional press sources (i.e. those covering an entire department) also means that the number of texts explicitly related to the two towns make up a smaller proportion of the corpus. Nevertheless, the regional press sources are available to residents of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, so discourses on Occitan related to neighboring areas should be considered as equally relevant data. The other two text types, government and LPAs, are not entirely comparable either, due to differences in the availability of data.

Chapter Three: Research sites and historical context

Hier, les gens se faisaient rire d'eux à cause de leur patois. Ils ne savaient même pas que l'occitan avait été la langue de culture de toute l'Europe. L'Europe fleurit avec la langue d'Oc. On a enfin une poésie qui ne parle pas que de batailles et de Sarrasins coupés en deux, on a enfin une littérature de l'amour et de la beauté avec une esthétique et un érotisme tout à fait remarquables, même s'il est inutilisable de nos jours. Aujourd'hui, on veut retrouver une dignité d'individu devenu français par le jeu historique des conquêtes.

Marie Rouanet[33]

3.1 Introduction

In order to better understand the linguistic practices and language attitudes of the inhabitants of Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, this chapter offers an examination of their geographic and historical settings. In this chapter, I address the national context of the two towns in Section 3.2. In Section 3.2.1, I give an overview of the linguistic history of France and how French came to be its national language. In Section 3.2.2, I focus on language ideology as a force affecting language practices and perceptions in France over time, with special reference to the other languages of France. I revisit the topics of linguistic history and language ideology in Section 3.3, this time in the context of the historical province of Languedoc. In Section 3.3.1, I discuss the linguistic history of Languedoc and the shift from Occitan to French over the past eight centuries. I take up the ideological questions around this shift in Section 3.3.2. In Section 3.4, I present the historical, cultural, and political contexts of Carmaux and Villefranche-de Rouergue. Section 3.5 provides a brief conclusion comparing the two research sites.

3.2 Language in France

3.2.1 Linguistic history of France

Before the Romans began to colonize Gaul in 121 B.C., the linguistic makeup of the territory was relatively homogenous. The majority of its peoples were Celtic-speaking, and contemporary commentators observed a high level of uniformity in their language and their ethnicity. Alain Rey et al. argue that this "unité du gaulois explique d'ailleurs, pourquoi sa disparition ne fut ni brutale ni facile" (2007: 18). Aside from some rural areas, the populations

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[33] "Je défends toutes les langues de la terre." *La Dépêche du Midi*. 25 October 2015.

present in Gaul under the Roman conquest were regularly exposed to Latin. The exact processes by which speakers of Celtic languages and the Ligurian, Aquitanian, and Celto-Germanic languages shifted to Latin vernacular speech are unclear. However, certain conclusions can be drawn based on existing evidence and knowledge of the dynamics of language shift. Like Rey et al., R. Anthony Lodge posits that "the latinisation of Gaul was very *gradual*, as the indigenous populations passed through various stages of bilingualism; it is also likely to have been very *patchy*" as it was eventually adopted in various domains of language use and across social groups and physical space. A crucial element in the differential shift toward Latin was the degree and length of contact with Rome: "[c]ertain areas, notably those easily accessible from the Mediterranean seaboards, maintained traditional Latin norms more firmly than elsewhere," owing to their closer economic and cultural ties with Rome (Lodge 1993: 53). Conversely, areas removed from the Mediterranean did not maintain such ties to Rome. The dialectalization of the Latin in Gaul, that "langue orale des soldats, des marchands, des fonctionnaires…pas lui-même homogène," was intensified by contact with speakers of superstrate and substrate languages and by geographic isolation (Rey et al. 2007: 25). Several factors were crucial in the development of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum:

> l'absence d'uniformité du latin parlé en Gaule […] la différence des rythmes de changement et de leur diffusion […] [c]ertains facteurs géographiques créant l'isolement ou certains facteurs sociaux (comme les structures sociales stables à forte cohésion) ralentissent le rythme du changement linguistique et sa diffusion et entraînent la fragmentation dialectale. (Huchon 2002: 48)

These factors represent ongoing conditions that were relatively unaffected by the upheavals of the fifth century, including the fall of Rome and of the Germanic invasions of Gaul.

Although a Gallo-Romance dialect continuum was present across Gaul during the centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire, a major linguistic boundary was beginning to take shape between north and south. Jacqueline Picoche and Christiane Marchello-Nizia explain that "du Ve au VIIIe s., la langue parlée dans le Nord (siège de transformations galopantes) et, celle, beaucoup plus stable, parlée dans le Midi protégé par sa situation géographique et où l'influence franque n'eut qu'un caractère politique, subissent des évolutions phonétiques presque systématiquement divergentes" (1998: 13). The influence of the Franks' language on the Gallo-Romance of the north was much stronger than that of the Burgundians on the east or the Visigoths in the south. In fact, the presence of the Romanized Visigoths in southern Gaul and the Germanic-speaking Franks in the north perpetuated the differential maintenance of Roman social and legal norms even after Rome was gone. The Gallo-Romance dialect groups of north and south would be named by Dante in the early 14th century as the languages of 'oc' and 'oïl.' Oc and Oïl, linguistically speaking, are two dialect groups considered to be two languages owing to the large bundle of isoglosses that separate them. The divergences are not only phonetic, but also morphological, lexical, and syntactic (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1998: 15-17). For example, *Les serments de Strasbourg,* widely considered to the first extant document in French, shows the effects of the Frankish stress accent on Gallo-Romance (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 24). There is much

evidence of interdialectal variation in written langue d'oïl literary texts until at least the 13th century (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1998: 17).

To describe the importance of the Île-de-France region in the medieval period, Lodge explains: "As political and economic power came to be concentrated in Paris in the twelfth century, making Paris the crossroads of France with its markets, law courts and schools, the the language of the rich and powerful in Paris came to be accorded greater status and respect" (1993: 104). While the political and economic clout of Paris certainly contributed to the social prestige accorded its speech, today's standard French owes more to the supra-regional scripta of the medieval period than to the spoken dialect of the Île-de-France. Mireille Huchon argues that "cette scripta, commune aux dialectes d'oïl, qui serait à l'origine du français actuel. Elle correspond aux formes dialectales, formes majoritaires des dialectes parlés en langue d'oïl, plutôt qu'à un dialecte de l'Île-de France" (2002: 61). Huchon emphasizes that, while the standard language was derived from the scripta, the "langue commune" was indeed that of Paris, adopted for "raisons politiques" from the 12th century on (2002: 62). In texts from the 12th and 13th centuries, this written code was increasingly favored over Latin in the crucial domains of religion and law. The spoken language became a marker of social sophistication, as contemporary commentators tell us. The 12th-century author of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meung, apologizes for his "langage / Rude, malostru et sauvage Car / nés ne sui pas de Paris" (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1998: 25).

Of course, the France of the medieval era was much smaller in scale than it is today. The growth of the Hexagon was effected through conquest and treaty over the centuries. Languedoc was annexed following the Albigensian Crusade in the 13th century, but "kept its customs and privileges" (Judge 2007: 16). The assimilation of new territories into the kingdom of France was gradual. Typically, "the region or province ceas[ed] first to be independent before finally becoming part of the realm, through war, marriage, or inheritance" (Judge 2007: 16). Many territories such as Normandy, Anjou, and Brittany came under French control in the 13th century, like Languedoc, but did not officially become part of France until the 15th century. Later, Corsica (1768), Nice (1860) and the valley of Tende (1947) became part of France. Alsace and Lorraine changed hands between France and Germany but have been French since the end of World War II. Due to the growth of royal power and administrative centralization, the expansion of French[34] into the provinces, was inexorable from the 13th century on (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1998: 25). While the linguistic assimilation of the new territories would lag behind their administrative assimilation, the strong social motivation among the upper classes to acquire French was a constant. Picoche and Marchello-Nizia describe 16th century French as "une grande mosaïque d'usages sociaux et régionaux très variés, mais déjà la cour et le parlement font figure de modèles. Au XVIIe s., leur usage sera tenu pour seul 'bon'" (1998: 26). For Huchon, moreover, "il faut souligner, pour le développement ultérieur de la norme française, l'importane de l'alliance d'une couche sociale dominante et de l'écrit" (2002: 176).

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34 Although the first documentation of the French language dates from 842 (*Les serments de Strasbourg*), I have preferred to refer to written and spoken language of the Île-de-France up to this point. This circumspection is meant to emphasize the rise of the region in terms of political and social clout as a watershed era in the diffusion of French throughout France as a proto-national language, not as a purely linguistic phenomenon identifiable in a particular text.

Laws enforcing the primacy of French in administration and public life began to be promulgated during the early modern era. Early edicts, the Ordonnance de Moulins (1490) and the Ordonnance d'Is-sur-Tille (1535), were designed to encourage the use of vernacular Romance in place of Latin in courts of law (Judge 2007: 16-7). However, the Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts of 1539 introduced a new requirement: "all administrative and legal matters were to be in French and *non autrement*" (Judge 2007: 17). By the mid-16th century, since much of the territory that now comprises France was under control of the crown, it was subject to its requirements for language use in official functions. This decree created more demand for literacy in French among those whose work involved contact with official texts such as lawyers and clerks. Although French appears in religious and legal texts dating from the medieval period, in other domains Latin held sway until much later. For example, in medical texts aimed at "barbiers, chirurgiens et apothicaires," Picoche and Marchello-Nizia note some use of French during the 16th century. However, it would not be until the end of the 18th century that "la masse de la production scientifique est écrit en français," not Latin (1998: 26-27).

Despite the prestige of French as the code of the upper classes, government, and high culture, it was still unfamiliar to most of France's population. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ancien Régime did not promote a "politique de francisation généralisée et systématique" (Picoche and Marchello-Nizia 1998: 30). In the main, use of French was limited mostly to the legal, administrative, and literary domains. The great majority of peasants continued to learn a regional language or oïl dialect as their first language, which was used at home, work, and church. However, in this diglossic situation, the value of competence in French pushed many to adopt it. Picoche and Marcello-Nizia cite the story of Clément Marot, whose father left Cahors for Paris, explaining that he found it necessary to "abandonner une langue que ne soutiennent plus ni prestige littéraire ni structures politiques" (1998: 30). Indeed, the literary sphere in which the younger Marot (1496-1544) made his reputation was dependent on an increasingly standardized French. Whereas texts dating from the 13th century and earlier show orthographic and lexical forms from the oïl dialects, as of the 16th century, "dans les textes littéraires, les graphies dialectales se raréfient au cours du 'moyen français' et disparaissent pratiquement vers le milieu du XVIe siècle" (Picoche and Marcello-Nizia 1998: 25).

The *rapport Grégoire* of 1794, the first linguistic survey of France, shines a light on the geographical and social limits of the knowledge of French. In a country of 25 million inhabitants "French was the exclusive language of only 15 départements out of a total of 83 […] more than 6 million mainly rural citizens did not understand French, […] another 6 million could speak some French but insufficiently to carry on a conversation, […] only 3 million could speak the language properly, and still fewer actually wrote it" (Woehrling 2013: 74, Judge 2007: 20). The ambitious Jacobinist language policy proposed following the Revolution outlined an educational system in which teachers would be chosen from each commune, education would be secular and public for boys and girls, and the subjects presented would include "la langue française et la Déclaration des droits de l'Homme" (Picoche and Marcello-Nizia 1998: 32). The plan was not put into action due to the upheavals of the nineteenth century; regional languages remained dominant in daily life in many regions. However, revolutionary educational principles would later inform the Ferry laws that established free, secular, and mandatory public education in French in the late 19th century.

Referring to data from the Ministry of Public Instruction, Weber summarizes the linguistic character of France in 1863: "in 24 of the country's 89 departments, more than half the communes did not speak French, and in six others a significant proportion of the communes were in the same position" (Weber 1976: 67). Weber criticizes the findings as being far too optimistic in their estimations of how many communes were actually French-speaking. Meanwhile, economic opportunity in urban areas drew those living in the countryside, often from departments where French was not widely spoken. This attraction was multifarious, as Weber explains:

> Where once migration had been undertaken to perpetuate the peasant community, it was now becoming an end in itself: an opportunity to break with the community, its ways, its heavy pressures, to free oneself from the charges and restrictions of the family, and also from the restrictions of agricultural labor. (Weber 1976: 285)

Rural migrants in the city often acquired proficiency and literacy in French. The effects of their changing linguistic identity were felt in the country as well. Many were eager to become literate in order to correspond with family members who had moved to the city. Given the lack of orthographic standardization of regional languages and dialects and the clear prestige of the national language, they became literate in French. By the end of the 19th century, the Ferry laws (1881-82), which instituted free, secular, and compulsory public education, brought the children of France into classrooms where they would study French and be forbidden from using their 'patois.'

From the end of the 19th century onward, social and economic trends, new technologies of communication, and explicit policies contributed to the further diffusion of French and the concomitant decline in the use of regional languages and dialects. Picoche and Marchello-Nizia give a summary of the many phenomena that favored the use of French:

> Outre 'l'instruction publique', le déracinement des populations ouvrières, le service militaire, les guerres, le développement des transports ferroviaires, de la presse, l'arrivée des automobiles, de la radio (1920) et enfin la télévision (1950), tout se conjugue, à partir de la fin du XIXe s., pour conner le coup de grâce aux patois qui régressent et se délabrent. (1998: 32)

Pauwels point out that language shift derives from mobility of people, which is "at the source of most language contact" (2016: 17). Twentieth-century France saw top-down pressure in favor of French from the government combine powerfully with the increased mobility of its population (derived from the social, economic, and technological factors outlined above). This dynamic led to an increase in the rate of shift to French, a process that had already been ongoing over the centuries of France's history.

3.2.2 Language ideology in France

Despite the absence of a unified policy promoting use of French under the Ancien Régime, the success of the expansion of French can be traced to certain legislative actions, most

notably the 1539 Edict of Villers-Cotterêts, which decreed that all administrative documents must be written in French "et non autrement." The groundwork for widespread adoption of the language was also laid by means of arguments by proponents of the language. The social prestige encoded by the use of French in the medieval period spread outside the court. The fame of French as a literary language grew due to the convenience of its orthographic standardization and to its perceived superior linguistic qualities. Perceptions of French itself changed over time as well. In 1549, Joachim du Bellay argued for the use of French in domains where only Latin and Greek had been considered acceptable, challenging a deterministic view of languages by claiming that "les langues ne sont nées d'elles-mêmes en façon d'herbes, racines et arbres, les unes infirmes et débiles en leurs espèces, les autres saines et robustes, et plus aptes à porter le faix des conceptions humaines : mais toute leur vertu est née au monde du vouloir et arbitre des mortels" (1901: 5). By the end of the 18th century, the project of *illustration* that du Bellay had proposed was so successful that French had been adopted as the primary language of literature and learned writing not only in France but also in royal courts and centers of learning across Europe (Huchon 2002: 137). Du Bellay's emphasis on expanding the expressive capabilities of French contrasts with Antoine Rivarol, whose austere vision of the language led him to write, over two hundred years later in 1784, that "ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français" (1919: 44). Rivarol also praised what he saw as its ability to express ideas more clearly and logically than other languages: "[l]e Français, par un privilége unique, est seul resté fidele à l'ordre direct" (1919: 44). The arguments that du Bellay and Rivarol advanced both contributed to and were influenced by contemporary perceptions of the superiority and usefulness of French. As the vehicular language of Enlightenment thought, French would have a major part to play in the ideology of the Revolution, which broke out just a few years after Rivarol's famous pronouncement.

Abbé Grégoire's 1794 *rapport* provides valuable statistics on language use in France during the era of the Revolution. Its full title, "Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'aneeantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue français," is reflective of Jacobinist language ideology present in the government. Grégoire's point of view is similar to that of Barère, who famously railed against "foreign" languages spoken in France, claiming that Breton, Basque, the 'German' of Alsace and the 'Italian' of Corsica had "perpetué le règne du fanatisme et de la superstition… empêché la révolution de pénétrer dans neuf départements importants et peuvent favoriser les ennemis de la France" (Picoche and Marcello-Nizia 1998: 31). Barère also spoke against the 'patois,' arguing that the diglossic situation in France amounted to an "aristocratie de langage qui semble établir une nation polie au milieu d'une nation barbare" (Picoche and Marcello-Nizia 1998: 32). Thus, widespread acquisition of French would promote equality and should be a crucial goal of the nation. Barère claimed that to "[l]aisser les citoyens dans l'ignorance de la langue nationale, c'est trahir la patrie….la langue d'un peuple libre doit être une et la même pour tous" (ibid.). Nevertheless, the monolingual policy eventually pursued by the Jacobinist leaders of the Revolutionary government was not the only proposed course. On January 14, 1790, it was decided that official decrees should be translated into the languages of France (Rey et al. 2007: 127). However, the process was unwieldy and eventually abandoned as the Girondists who favored it were driven out. On July 20, 1794 (2 Thermidor an II) the "'Villers-Cotterêts de la Révolution" was adopted, which stated that "nul acte ne pourra, dans

quelque partie que ce soit du territoire de la République, être écrite qu'en langue française" (Rey et al. 2007: 134). Although this particular decree would not endure after the end of the revolutionary government, its existence sheds light both on the extent of that government's linguistic ambitions and on the fact that regional languages were still being used in official documents even at this late date.

The 19th and 20th centuries in France would see the rise and fall of two empires and four republics. After the upheaval of the Revolutionary period, which had seen proposals for the renewal of the French language itself in a more enlightened form as well as the eradication of all 'patois' from the Hexagon, debate around language calmed. Rey et al. reason that the supposed innovations of the Revolution in terms of the national language were fairly conservative after all: "[c]ette idéologie jacobine du français victorieux au nom des valeurs nouvelles portait en elle ses pouvoirs contraires et continuait en profondeur l'action monarchique" (2007: 140). Moreover, they propose that Grégoire's *rapport* had the unintended effect of contributing to interest in and study of regional languages and dialects (Rey et al. 2007: 140). Gilléron's *Atlas linguistique de la France* stands as a major monument among such works. Picoche and Marchello-Nizia contend that scholarly work on these varieties "n'aurait été que muséographique sans cette passion de ne pas laisser mourir les parlers régionaux qui, dans bien de provinces, subsistaient comme langage de la gaieté et de facétie" (2007: 33). Thus, alongside the strides that French was making toward becoming the *de facto* as well as the *de jure* language of France, there was a parallel consciousness of the decline of France's other languages.

Concern over the fate of these languages led to the formation of groups dedicated to preserving them. In the 19th century, such groups had a largely literary mission, but in the 20th century they became more politically oriented. Activism in favor of regional languages led to legislative action with the 1951 loi Deixonne. It allowed for other languages of France to be taught in public schools (Basque, Breton, Catalan, and Occitan; Corsican, Tahitian, and three Melanesian languages would be added later). Limited though it is, the loi Deixonne "represents a stage in the history of the dominant ideology and its educational policy" (Laroussi and Marcellesi 1993: 97). In this stage, the state codifies internal linguistic diversity on its own terms. Between 1975 and 1992, questions about the rights of the languages of France were taken up by the legislature and the courts. Although there were some positive outcomes, "[c]es mesures restent partielles et pragmatiques" (Woehrling 2013: 79). In 1992, France became a signatory of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML); it also added Article 2 to the French Constitution, stating that "la langue de la République est le français." Granting special rights to a group of speakers would run counter to the principles of unity and equality, so those national measures that do aim to protect regional languages cut both ways. For example, Article 75-1 of the Constitution ("les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France") seems to call for positive action toward regional languages. However, instead of recognizing the right of groups of speakers to practice them, this article paints regional languages as "un bien commun pour l'ensemble des citoyens et qu'il convient de sauvegarder dans l'intérêt général" (Woehrling 2013: 84). According to Jean-Marie Woehrling, this arrangement removes the possession of the language and the privileges pertaining to it from groups of speakers and assigns it to the state, which has its own linguistic priorities. Miguel Siguan states that France is

un État solide, unitaire et centralisé […] Dans un État ainsi conçu, l'unité de la langue est le symbole de l'unité de la monarchie, et la pureté et la correction de la langue sont symptomatiques de bon fonctionnement des institutions: il n'est pas étonnant, dans ces conditions, que l'État s'en sente responsable" (1996: 34).

Debate over the place of regional languages continues, with the concept that the French language is essential to the French character still widely accepted and propagated through policy (Judge 2007).

3.3 Language in Languedoc

3.3.1 Linguistic history of Languedoc

Stating that Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux are located in the Midi or the Sud seems uncomplicated. It is more challenging to define either of these entities geographically. The northern border of the Midi is commonly held to be the Loire, although Pierre Lavelle contends that the river is too northerly (2004: 6). Moreover, "le degré de 'miditude' varie selon le climat. De façon générale on distingue, de part et d'autre du Lauragais, le Midi atlantique, océanique, et le Midi méditerranéen. Dans la conscience commune, celui-ci est plus 'Midi' que le précédent" (Lavelle 2004: 6). The latter Midi features in the contemporary popular imagination as a vacation or retirement spot, whereas before the 1970s its image had been deeply provincial, with the *Méridionals* appearing as an exaggerated type, "expansifs, bavards, bons vivants, sympathiques mais vantards et légers" (Lavelle 2004: 7). Southern France is also referred to as the Sud by those eager to cast off stereotypes associated with the Midi. The popularity of this designation is contemporaneous with the rise in the south's economic fortunes in the 1970s. By and large, the terms Midi and Sud evoke the imagined qualities of an imprecise set of people and landscapes, often through a Parisian lens. These names are less useful when used to delineate a territory. Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux, which fit into neither the Midi atlantique nor the Midi méditerranéen, need a more precise historical, linguistic, and geographical context. The most relevant one is the historical province of Languedoc (see Figure 1).[35]

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[35] The site of Carmaux is just within the borders of the Roman province of Narbonensis. It was part of the County of Toulouse, then Languedoc (more precisely, part of the Albigeois province) before being included in part of the Tarn department. Tarn was located in the Midi-Pyrénées region and is now part of the region of Occitanie. The site of Villefranche-de-Rouergue is just over the northern boundary of the Narbonensis, in Aquitania. The counts of Toulouse hailed from the province of Rouergue, which was also part of the County of Toulouse. Despite its being attached by the French crown to the provinces of Guyenne and later Haute-Guyenne (thus minimizing the regional ambitions of Languedoc's provincial government), Villefranche itself and its historical province, Rouergue (which became the department of Aveyron in 1789), have deep ties to Languedoc. The inclusion of Aveyron in the regions of Midi-Pyrénées and later Occitanie, both of which incorporate large parts of historical Languedoc, better reflect its position in Languedoc's sphere of influence.

Figure 1. Maps of historical Languedoc and Guyenne, with present-day departments and *communes* overlaid[36]
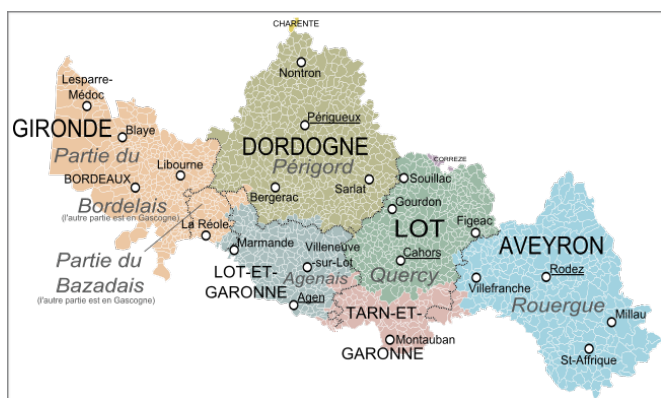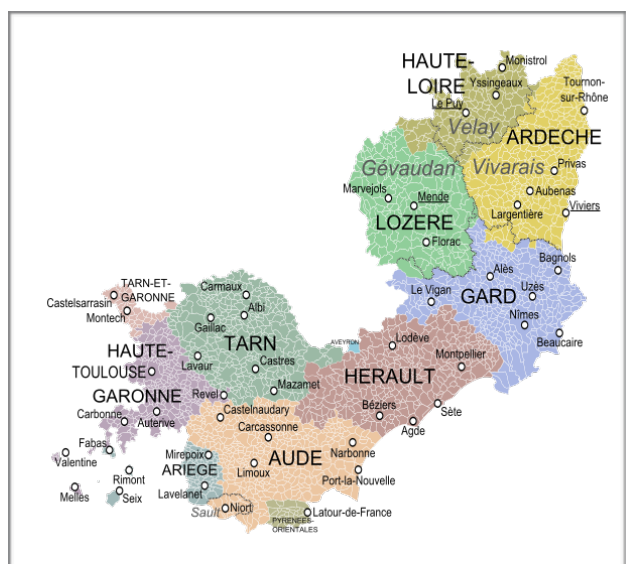
Historical Languedoc lies between the Rhône and Garonne rivers, west of Provence and east of Aquitaine. The province of Languedoc originated with the annexation of the County of Toulouse, whose lands are roughly coterminous with those of Languedoc. Languedoc itself, always a loose confederation of regional powers, was broken up into departments after the Revolution and into two regions by the territorial reforms of the early 1980s. These regions, Languedoc-Roussillon and Midi-Pyrénées, were merged in 2016 as Occitanie / Pyrénées-Méditerranée. However, this new region corresponds neither to the expansive imagined Occitània nor to the historical Languedoc (see Figure 2). Despite the evolving map, Languedoc is

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[36] "Carte du Languedoc." *Wikimedia Commons*. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Carte_du_Languedoc.svg. Consulted 28 October 2019.

easily traced through post-Roman history by its relative cohesiveness. It is not only historically and politically, distinct from its neighbors, Aquitaine (*le Midi atlantique*) and Provence (*le Midi méditerranéen*), but linguistically distinct as well, corresponding to the Occitan dialect zone of Languedocien.

Figure 2. The imagined linguistic territory of Occitanie (in yellow) and the new Occitanie / Pyrénées-Méditerranée administrative region (outlined in red)
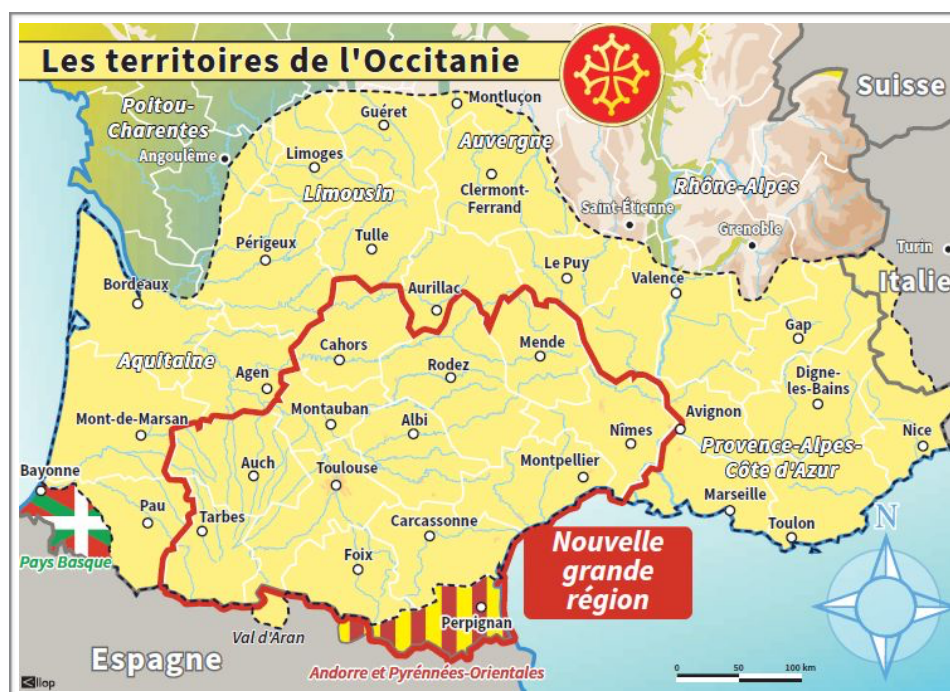
The borders of Languedoc correspond to a great extent to those of the Latin *Provincia Narbonensis*. The Narbonensis was latinized earlier than the other three provinces of Roman Gaul, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and Belgica. This precocious and enduring Roman foundation remained in place even after the fall of Rome, as "the Mediterranean area and much of Aquitaine suffered relatively little social disruption during the Merovingian period [i.e. 457-752 A.D.]: Roman patterns of life were able to survive for several centuries longer than in northern Gaul" (Lodge 1993: 83). The old Roman order was replaced in the second half of the first millenium by "small autarkic communities" with "strong local ties […] giving rise to local cohesion, but paradoxically also to the overall fragmentation. This was to characterise rural speech in France until the nineteenth century" (Lodge 1993: 83-4). Along with social and political fragmentation, internally-fragmented Romance dialect continua formed in northern and southern Gaul; the oc dialects of the south would be more conservative, hewing closer to Latin while the oïl dialects of the north would be more heavily influenced by Germanic contact (Bec 1973: 18).

If the *Serments de Strasbourg* are cited as the first attestation of the nascent French language, there are also early written attestations of what would come to be referred to as

Occitan.[37] The textual record dates back to the late ninth century, with a Romance verse in a Latin *alba.* Most sources name the eleventh century *Poème sur Boèce* as the first literary Occitan text (Sibille 2003). The first nonliterary text written entirely in Occitan is a will from 1102. Written works in Occitan from the Middle Ages come from a range of genres; there are religious texts, grammars, literary treatises and scientific texts. However, the best-known Occitan texts from this period are those of the troubadours, itinerant poets who were supported by aristocratic patrons. The literary written record in Occitan does not show evidence of great dialectal variation and such variation "appear[s] to have played little or no role within troubadour culture, the poets establishing from the outset a literary language or *koine*" (Paterson 1993: 4). The koiné, which was also used by poets from Spain to Sicily, was used to record the oral œuvre of the troubadours, who composed in many genres, from *cansos* (lyric song) to *tensos* (debates) (ibid.). The society in which the troubadours flourished was irrevocably changed in the 13th century. The crusade against the Albigensian heresy targeted not only practitioners who were sheltered by powerful nobles in Languedoc, but often the nobles themselves. Despite the inventiveness of these poets and the monumental lyric works of their predecessors, the golden age of the troubadours was over with the French annexation of the County of Toulouse. Deprived of aristocratic patronage, the social and economic support for their work disappeared.

During the centuries following the Albigensian Crusade, production of romances, theatre, and religious works in Occitan continued, even as lyric poetry continued its decline (Courouau 2001: 7). By the beginning of the 16th century, the famed *Acadèmia dels jòcs florals* of Toulouse was awarding prizes only to entries written in French. Occitan literature did experience its own renaissance during the early modern period, at its height from 1550 to the end of the 17th century. Use of the supra-regional *scripta* declined during this period; dialectal variation and French orthographic influence are common in works written in Occitan (Sibille 2003: 181; Martel 2013: 517). Furthermore, these works were increasingly relegated to the so-called minor genres such as "[f]ables, contes, épîtres familières, épopées travesties, voire poésie licencieuse" (Martel 2013: 517). The demand was for works that would, above all, be pleasurable to read.

Over the course of the 14th century, knowledge of French in Languedoc expanded slowly. Those involved in regional governance acquired it due to the necessity of communicating with the royal authorities, although the documents they produced were often "[truffés] de traits occitans" (Rey et al. 2007: 275). The noble classes also took an interest in the French language and French cultural products. These groups represented a small minority of the population of Languedoc; the rest used Occitan in all domains: "[a]près deux siècles d'administration royale, l'occitan n'est destitué d'aucun de ses emplois" (Rey et al. 2007: 275). Rey et al. mark the mid-15th century as a turning point, as the use of French grew in texts composed by southern authors, be they poetry, administrative documents, or translations of classical works from Latin. Nonetheless, they caution that

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37 Despite the anachronism, I will use the (largely) 20th century term *Occitan* throughout to refer to the ensemble of Romance dialects spoken in Southern France, Spain's Val d'Aran, and the Piedmont valleys of Italy. There is also an ideological component to the use of the term, which is more fully addressed in Section 3.2. However, the term is largely unproblematic from a technical point of view, as there is a broad consensus among linguists that the dialects in question can be attributed to a single language.

les progrès du français dans le Midi comme langue écrite ne doivent pas faire illusion sur son extension comme langue parlée […] [i]l est probable que vers 1530 encore, exception faite de quelques gens de droit, d'Eglise ou de lettres, de quleques marchands et d'une partie de la noblesse, l'occitan était bien souvent la seule langue parlée.
(Rey et al. 2007: 283).

As was the case with other provinces, Languedoc retained a significant measure of control over its own affairs, since the King needed its support, stability, and resources to stay in power. As late the early 16th century, the south in general retained a measure of autonomy within the kingdom, including the ability to use Occitan in its official functions. However, much of that autonomy was lost due to the Wars of Religion during the latter half of the 16th century.

The 17th and 18th centuries were marked by uneven development and unequal distribution of wealth in Languedoc and across the Midi. Populations grew in cities, while development in the countryside stagnated. Urban centers also had higher concentrations of French speakers. As the monarchy consolidated and centralized its power, regional institutions, many of whom held liberal attitudes toward matters like religious difference, were still thriving. This tension between the monarchy and regional powers had a cultural dimension as well. Louis XIV dreamed of making Versailles into a European center of learning and artistic creation. As the vessel of this culture, the French language's prestige grew. At the same time, perceptions of the provinces and their languages, referred to as *patois*, became more negative.[38] Although Occitan was still widely spoken, by the end of the 18th century both the number of speakers and its range of uses in society had contracted. Concurrently, the use of French spread geographically outward from Languedoc's prosperous cities, Toulouse and Montpellier.

The effects of and support for the Revolution were unevenly distributed across southern France. Revolts against the aristocracy in Languedoc took place only after those in other parts of France, showing that the region was "plus 'agi' qu'acteur, influencé par des exemples venus du Nord, ou du proche Nord-Est" (Le Roy Ladurie 2005: 333). Once begun, there was an enduring intensity to the revolts on the part of the Languedoc's *peuple*. For their part, the ruling elites of the south were dismayed to lose their own governing bodies. By erasing the historical provinces from the map in favor of departments, which held little power, the Revolutionary government hoped to discourage the people from clinging to old territorial identities. Although the concentration of political power on the national level and the establishment of the new administrative divisions were enduring, the effects of the Revolution on language usage were not. As noted in Section 2.2, the ambitious projects put forth to eradicate the patois of France were never implemented. It would be social and economic factors, not governmental decrees, that would lead to major changes to the linguistic situation in Languedoc.

As of 1863, most of the departments comprising the historical Languedoc could be described as majority "non-French-speaking" (Weber 1976: 68). The trends that favored the spread of French in France operated in Languedoc during the 19th century as well, but they did not lead to immediate linguistic change within the territory. The Industrial Revolution prompted

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38 In 1765, the *Encyclopédie* defined *patois* as "langage corrompu tel qu'il se parle presque dans toutes les provinces" (Diderot and d'Alembert 1765: 12:174).

the rise of coal and metal mining and the modernization of heretofore artisanal industries like textiles, glass, and agriculture. During this period, Christian-Pierre Bedel et al. note that, in the department of Aveyron, "l'occitan reste la langue du quotidien des mineurs, des ouvriers, des discours ou de l'écrit politiques, ainsi que de l'œuvre d'écrivains préfélibréens" (2010: 211). He attributes this maintenance of the language in part to the fact that industrial workers often maintained ties to the land, working small farms to supplement their income. On the other hand, the seasonal migration of many rural laborers became permanent as they were drawn to opportunities in the cities. Again, the example of Aveyron is illuminating. From the Second Empire to World War I, the department lost "une bonne partie de sa population malgré un taux de natalité élévé" (Bedel et al. 2010: 245). The situation was such that "[b]y the turn of the century half the married couples in the godforsaken northeastern of Aveyron were leaving for Paris" (Weber 1976: 285). These emigrants tended to become French speakers; the family and friends they left behind often learned the language to communicate with them by letter.

The shift from Occitan to French in Languedoc was uneven. Even within a fairly uniform group, differential economic pressures were at play. Rey et al. cite the example of the artisan class:

> Une partie notable de la classe populaire vit d'un artisanat. Cette activité, dans certaines domaines qui dépassent la vie locale, demande la maîtrise du français, y compris en terre occitane. Mais l'artisan du village, sabotier, forgeron, maréchal-ferrant, est dans la même situation linguistique que le paysan. (2007b: 164)

Thus, economic advancement beyond the confines of the village demanded the use of French. School authorities were concerned about the use of 'patois' well before public education in French became mandatory under the 1882 Ferry laws. An 1835 decree in Aveyron stated that "l'usage du dialecte patois est interdit dans toutes les écoles primaires de l'arrondissement; la langue française seule sera employée" (Bedel 2013: 108). Both students and teachers could be punished for the use of Occitan at school; this prohibition proves that the language was still widely spoken by children during this period. Nevertheless, linguistic differences between generations were already starting to appear in Languedoc, "lié de toute évidence aux progrès de l'école" (Martel 2013: 524). For example, in Aveyron 90% of adults questioned in the 1863 survey claimed no knowledge of French, where only 30% of children replied in the same manner.

From the 1880s on, the educational system ensured that children from all over France would be exposed to the language; continuing social and economic changes were increasing the demand for a workforce that could communicate in French. The expansion of rail transportation and continuing emigration brought people from linguistically diverse regions together; French served as their common language. The mixing of soldiers during the two World Wars had a decisive impact as well; requiring men from all corners of France to mix in the military: "[l]'armée, qui est aussi une école du patriotisme et de l'acceptation des hiérarchies, joue à son niveau en faveur de l'acquistion du français" (Martel 2013: 523). The young soldiers continued to use French after the war ended. Moreover, the loss of a large proportion of young men from the rural regions of Languedoc further precipitated Occitan's decline. Philippe Martel cites the

informal observations of Félibre Pierre Pansier, who described the linguistic practices of three families in Avignon (Provence) during the early 1920s (2013: 525). The account shows an acceleration in language shift across classes, for although the upper-class city family Pansier observed was more fluent in French than both the lower-class city family and the country family overall, in each family there was a generation gap. Although the youngest members of each family could communicate with the oldest in Occitan, they preferred to use French amongst themselves. The transition from Occitan to French that was happening within families like the ones that Pansier observed was widespread and inexorable. The increasingly rapid language shift of the 20th century progressed at different rates according to class, age, and rural or urban situation. Even topography played a role: "les plaines et les villes sont touchées les premières dès le début du siècle, les basculement touche les montagnes du Massif central au cours des années 1950 et 1960, de même pour les Pyrénées centrales" (Martel 2013: 528).

Today, "l'occitan est en forte régression" (Martel 2013: 529). Martel describes three groups of contemporary Occitan speakers. The first group is the native speakers, who are "vieux, ruraux, de sexe masculin, partagé entre l'attachement à un langage qui est celui de leur cercle de relations immédiat- ceux qui leur ressemblent- et l'absence de fierté d'un langage que la société ambiante, ailleurs, ne reconnaît pas" (ibid.). The second group, the passive speakers, are a generation younger than the native speakers. They are characterized by their engagement: "ces cercles de 'patois' qui fleurissent un peu partout, et se réunissent pour établir le lexique du langage du lieu ou préparer un spectacle 'patois' auquel tout le pays viendra assister, parce que c'est de l'identité du pays qu'il est question" (ibid.). Finally, there are the new speakers:

> urbains, plus jeunes que les deux catégories précédentes, bardés d'un savoir sur la langue et la culture souvent supérieur à leur maîtrise effective de l'idiome, un idiome qui n'est d'ailleurs pas nécessairement celui de l'endroit où ils vivent, ni celui de leurs propres ancêtres- certains n'ont d'ailleurs pas d'ancêtres occitans. (ibid.)

Martel contends that the three groups "ne parlent pas vraiment la même langue," as there is a lack of social connections between them and they have divergent perspectives on Occitan language and culture (ibid.).

It is difficult to obtain exact statistics on the practice of the language today; most measures are based on relatively unreliable self-reporting. Bernissan estimates that there are 88,500 native speakers, 20,000 new speakers, and 1.2 million non-speakers[39] of Occitan in all of southern France (Bernissan 2012: 510). He has been criticized for this pessimistic estimate, which implies that just 0.73% of the inhabitants of southern France are native or new speakers of the language. In a telephone survey commissioned by the Midi-Pyrénées region, 4% of respondents were classified as having a "bon niveau-bilingue" competence in Occitan.[40] These

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[39] The category of new speakers partially overlaps with Martel's passive speakers, i.e. those who have some level of familiarity and engagement with Occitan but do not speak it.

[40] "Résultats synthétiques de l'étude sociolinguistique: Présence, pratiques et perceptions de la langue occitane en région Midi-Pyrénées." *Région Midi-Pyrénées*. https://www.laregion.fr/IMG/pdf/ EnqueteOccitan.pdf. Consulted 1 November 2016.

more optimistic results[41] inform the Midi-Pyrénées's five-year "Schema Régional de Développement de l'Occitan," which presents comprehensive plans for promoting the language through initiatives primarily involving education and cultural events. The influence of methodological differences and ideological aims thus exacerbate variation among surveys of language use.

3.3.2 Language ideology in Languedoc

I begin this section by discussing some of the different names attributed to the language varieties proper to Languedoc and / or southern France in general. According to Pierre Bec, the oc varieties were referred to as the *lenga romana* during the medieval period. Bec maintains that this name "n'a d'autre sens que de désigner la langue vulgaire par opposition au latin" and that it was not until the 13th and 14th centuries that "*roman* s'oppose […] au français ou *langue de roi*" in both literary and administrative texts (1973: 64). Thirteenth-century Catalan troubadour Raimon Vidal de Besalú, who wrote the grammar *Razos de trobar*, referred to the troubadours' language as *lemosi*, likely in reference to the celebrated early poets who came from the Limousin region. During the same period, Italian writers often referred to the language as *proensal(es)*, or Provençal. Bec speculates that the term arose the continuing perception of from southern Gaul as the *Provincia romana*. Dante's 14th century contribution of 'langue d'oc,' along with the name Provençal, are both still in use today.

It is important to note that all of the language names mentioned above refer to the written koiné of the troubadours. The spoken language existed on a dialect continuum encompassing a high level of geographic variation. In fact, the uniformity of the supra-regional *scripta* is debated as well. Whereas Linda M. Paterson (see Section 3.1) claims that is was quite regular, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie describes it as "[i]ncomplètement unifiée" (1962: 31). Nevertheless, he claims that it enabled:

> la formation d'une vaste communauté de culture, qui, bien au-delà du Languedoc, s'étend jusqu'à la Catalogne, la Provence et la Gascogne, et vers le nord, jusqu'en Limousin, Auvergne, et Dauphiné. Et c'est dans cette langue que nous est parvenue l'œuvre lyrique et satirique des troubadours. (ibid.)

Early consciousness of linguistic differentiation, from Latin and French, as well as the presence of a relatively unified written language across a large territory, lend support to the idea that, despite great diversity in the spoken language, standardization of written Occitan was occurring during the medieval period in Languedoc. Almost a millennium later, the terms *Occitan* and *Occitanie* entered the French lexicon at the insistence of activists working for increased regional autonomy. These terms were not made from whole cloth; they are based on the Latin designations *lingua occitana* and *Occitania* that appeared (albeit rarely) in administrative documents from the French crown in the 14th century. At the time, they likely referred to

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[41] This difference could indicate a higher-than-average number of speakers in the Midi-Pyrénées region. On the other hand, it could also be due to methodological variations that allow for more respondents to be identified as speakers in the Midi-Pyrénées survey.

Languedoc in particular: "'Occitania' semble avoir été calqué sur 'Aquitania', l'Aquitaine alors sous domination anglaise. À partir de la fin du XVIe siècle 'Occitania' est traduit par 'Languedoc' pour désigner la province du même nom" (Lavelle 2004: 14). Occitanists have insisted that Occitanie, in a broad sense, includes all of the territory in which Occitan is or has been spoken. This assertion is objectionable to many language activists in southern France who reject what they see as an erasure of local and regional linguistic identities (see Costa 2016, Lafitte 2006). Nevertheless, it has the advantage of simplifying linguistic and historical hesitations over naming the language varieties in question by subsuming them under one name, past and present.

Le Roy Ladurie describes the annexation of the County of Toulouse by the Kingdom of France as a nuanced "mariage" (2005: 297-98). He explains "[i]l n'est pas question, bien sûr, de peindre en rose une union où ne manquèrent justement ni les conflits ni les scènes de ménage, parfois violentes. Mais jamais on n'est allé, en bloc, jusqu'aux menaces officielles de divorce" (ibid.). From a linguistic point of view, the harmony of this union, if it was to be achieved, rested on compromises made by the elite Occitan speakers of Languedoc. Joan-Francés Courouau observes that the resulting shift to French was the result of "un choix pragmatique, réaliste, fondé sur une analyse des rapports très concrets qui existent entre une langue dominante, le français, et une langue totalement dominée, l'occitan" (2001: 8). The dearth of contemporary commentaries on the decline of Occitan poses a challenge for understanding contemporary language attitudes. However, its very absence suggests that the gradual and pragmatically motivated language shift that occurred during the early centuries of Languedoc's union with France did not necessarily provoke major social upheaval.

The annexation of the County of Toulouse initially affected the linguistic behavior of very few inhabitants of Languedoc, mostly those in close contact with the new royal administration. Evidence of political discord is found in troubadour *sirventès*, which chronicled anger over the Albigensian Crusade and satirized Rome, the French, and the clergy. Occitan remained a literary language after the decline of the troubadours, but the growing use of French meant that the domains in which it was seen were contracting. A literary *renaissance baroque* in Occitan letters took place in the 17th century. Its authors sought to do for Occitan what du Bellay and the Pléiade had done for French in the 16th century. They defended Occitan against Latin and especially against French, arguing that Occitan predated French and that Occitan was natural where French was artful (Bec 1973: 85). In order to investigate Occitan linguistic consciousness during the 16th through 18th centuries, Courouau collected a corpus of texts by authors (mostly from Toulouse or Gascony) defending their Occitan as a legitimate literary language (2001). In his analysis, he finds the relative scarcity of such commentaries to be remarkable. The fact that most authors did not feel the need to justify their linguistic choice suggests that there was still a *normalité* to Occitan literature, despite the fact that its audience and ambitions were contracting over the same period. By the end of the *renaissance baroque*, the most popular works relied on the appeal of "ultralocalisme" and religious themes (Courouau 2001: 23).

Dialectal fragmentation, the presence of French as a prestigious alternative, and the absence of unifying cultural touchstones also contributed to the end of Occitan as a lingua franca in Languedoc. Martel argues that any pan-Occitan consciousness was lost after the breakdown of the troubadour tradition. By the 16th century, the language "a[vait] déjà perdu son nom" along

with the *scripta* that had allowed it to be an effective means of communication across distance and time (2013: 511). The designations *lingua occitana* and *langue d'oc* were receding in favor of dialectal distinctions: "[o]n parlera désormais de gascon, ou de provençal, ou on utilisera des dénominations plus réduites encore, quand on ne parlera plus simplement, sans autre précision, de langue vulgaire, voire de 'patois'" (ibid.). The adoption of French, the language of the King, law, and administration, was "une garantie de puissance et de survie" for the elites of Languedoc and the rest of southern France.

Despite its retreat from written contexts, Occitan was still by far the majority spoken language in Languedoc during 17th and 18th centuries. Moreover, its practice was not greatly affected by the Revolution. Bec states that "[l]es parlers occitans, en particulier, n'ont guère souffert de la tourmente révolutionnaire: bien plus, ils serviront même d'instrument de propagande politique auprès du peuple [i.e. Girondin initiatives to translate Revolutionary documents into the regional languages]" (1973: 84). All in all, Bec claims that "[i]ncurie des pouvoirs révolutionnaires, indifférence des populations, mais surtout vitalité d'une langue solidement incarnée" resulted in a lack of linguistic upheaval in Occitan-speaking regions (ibid.).

A contrary effect of the Revolutionary government's invectives against regional languages and the Oïl dialects was increased interest in them as objects of philological study (see Section 3.1). Scholars had already taken up troubadour works again during the second half of the 18th century, this time viewing them through an Enlightenment lens.[42] Rochegude produced his *Parnasse occitanien* and a collection of troubadour poetry in the early 19th century, around the same time that Raynouard collected six volumes of poetry, supplemented with a grammar and (posthumously) a lexicon (Bec 1973: 93-4). Bec argues that this work, along with the Romantic interest in folklore, the Middle Ages, and the history of the Albigensian Crusade, laid the groundwork for another renaissance, that of the 19th century.

East of the Rhône, the mid-19th century saw the founding of a new literary society in Provence, the Félibrige. It was the first successful movement aiming at reestablishing the prestige of a regional language in France. Two of its seven founders, Joseph Roumanille and Frédéric Mistral, developed an orthographic system based on the Rhodanien variety spoken in their native region around the cities of Avignon and Arles. The Félibrige is still in existence today; its aims include "la sauvegarde, l'illustration et la promotion de la langue et de la culture spécifiques des pays d'oc."[43] It is important to note the plurality of linguistic and cultural practices implied by the phrase 'des pays d'oc.'[44] The insistence on the plurality of the regions of southern France is at the heart of the Félibrige's divergence from the association that has largely supplanted it, the Institut d'estudis occitans (IEO). In the following passage, I will focus on the development of the IEO. As the largest language promotion association in southern France, it has

[42] Jean de Nostredame had already rediscovered the "Provençal" troubadours in 1575. This designation, which was preceded by that of medieval Italian commentators, has persisted, much to the chagrin of modern Occitanists (Courouau 2001: 16, Bec 1973: 93).

[43] "La fondation." *Félibrige*. http://www.felibrige.org/le-felibrige/. Consulted 29 April 2017.

[44] "Le Félibrige en quelques mots." *Félibrige*. http://felibrige.org/spip.php?article3. Consulted 29 April 2017.

exerted a major influence on revitalization, both through acceptance and through rejection of its worldview and objectives.

The IEO was founded in Languedoc in 1945 by several young authors concerned with the normalization and modernization of expression in Occitan (Bec 1973: 112). From the beginning, it has insisted on the unity of Occitan. Today, it proposes a polycentric model of standardization that nonetheless takes Languedocien as the reference variety (Sumien 2006). The IEO espouses the system of orthographic notation developed by Louis Alibert, "inspirée des textes médiévaux," certain of its partisans having criticized the Mistralian system as too heavily influenced by French (Rey et al. 2007: 282). In addition to disagreements over corpus planning, sectarian differences between the Félibrige and the IEO have been difficult to surmount. Le Roy Ladurie gives a concise summary of the two groups' conflicts:

> […] depuis près d'un siècle déjà, sur des territoires divers et délimités, un choix 'provençal', puis 'occitan' s'était fait connaître, à la fois modeste et vivace, groupusculaire et persistant. Le félibrige mistralien autour de la Trinité Mistral-Aubanel-Roumanille fut monarchiste et de droite, en rive orientale du Rhône, depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle jusqu'à la Seconde Guerre mondiale. L'occitanisme, par contre, en rive occidentale du fleuve, se veut de gauche, en liaison, entre autres, avec les voisins Catalans, depuis 1945-1950. (2005: 340)

Nevertheless, in 1992 the two groups "se sont accordés sur l'existence d'une 'langue d'oc', mais [le Félibrige] garde ses réserves sur 'occitan' et 'Occitanie'" (Lavelle 2004: 546). The influence of the Félibrige on the Occitan movement is not to be understated. According to Alain Touraine and François Dubet, "l'histoire de l'occitanisme moderne [est] d'abord celle d'un long dégagement de la tradition du Félibrige puis d'un effort pour lier, contre un mouvement trop purement 'littéraire', action culturelle et action sociale" (1981: 42). The IEO's social and cultural action has evolved over the decades since it was founded; most notably, it has moved from a foundation of political activism to a linguistic and cultural revitalization organization.

One of the more noteworthy voices of the IEO during its first fifteen years was that of Robert Lafont. His numerous writings propose an Occitanism seeking to counteract the deleterious social, economic, and cultural effects of the concentration of power in Paris. At the beginning of the 1960s, Lafont left the IEO to focus on taking part in populist actions like supporting the striking miners at Decazeville (Aveyron). For Lafont and his followers, the history of French colonization in Algeria resonated in its familiarity: Occitània had suffered from "colonialisme intérieur" inflicted by France. He argued stridently against colonialism "en parlant souvent un langage tiers-mondialiste" (Touraine and Dubet 1981: 46). Occitanism, as represented by the IEO and Lafont's Comité occitan d'études et d'action (COEA), numbered among the movements agitating for social change in the 1960s and 70s. In 1974, the party Volem viure al païs linked "l'occitanisme au programme commun de la gauche" in the midst of an economic crisis (Touraine and Dubet 1981: 48). Occitanism as a political force declined during the 1980s, but it is worth noting that the Occitan movement in Languedoc is still associated with the left-wing political philosophy of many of its key figures.

In part due to the activist demands for decentralization, regional governments were granted the "compétence pour promouvoir l'aménagement de son territoire" in 1982 (de Bujadoux 2016: 88). Regions were thereafter able to take part in the promotion of their own cultures, including regional languages. The Midi-Pyrénées region (which was composed of the western swath of historical Languedoc) has consistently supported initiatives that legitimize and raise the profile of Occitan. Regional reforms and limited legislative action on language rights coincided with other important actions relating to regional language promotion in the Midi, this time emanating from civil society: "[e]n 1979 las escòlas militantas *Calandretas* fougèron creadas. En 1989, las classas bilinguas dins l'Ensenhament Public tanplan, e mai en 1992 un concors pel certificat d'aptitud a l'ensenhament de l'occitan dins lo second gra" (Lafont 2004: 224). Associations focused on promoting language and culture multiplied during last quarter of the 20th century as well (Verny 2007).

During this period, the IEO's mission became decidedly more focused on cultural and linguistic revitalization than on political activism. Certain groups remain committed to a more radical, autonomist vision of Occitània (e.g. the Partit occitan). The IEO remains committed to "the unity of Occitan language, culture, and territory" but appears content to promote its goals within the framework of the current political system. However, its main priority is to creating space for Occitan in "public life, the media, and education"[45] (Liddicoat and Baldauf 2008: 7). Despite the amicable relations between the IEO and the Félibrige, there are still ideological tensions among associations advocating for language revitalization in southern France. Some actors (Collectif provençal, Institut béarnais et gascon, Cercle terre d'Auvergne) believe that the IEO seeks to artificially impose a uniform culture and language on a large and diverse region (Lafitte 2006).

The Midi-Pyrénées's own presentation of its engagement with Occitan evokes the geographic and cultural mythos of Occitània while placing the itself at its center: "[l]a région Midi-Pyrénées est le berceau de l'Occitanie même si son rayonnement va bien au-delà. La langue d'oc se fait entendre de la Loire jusqu'aux Alpes et même au-delà des Pyrénées."[46] In laying claim to the title of *le berceau de l'Occitanie,* the Midi-Pyrénées region reminds the public that the foundation of the nascent Occitan movement occurred in Toulouse. Moreover, the historical claim to being the cradle of Occitània reposes on the central role that Toulouse and its dependent territories have played in the history of the Midi. This Occitània represents that territory which is imbued by what Le Roy Ladurie named "la personnalité des provinces d'oc." The Midi-Pyrénées region would thus be a center of gravity for the entire south of France, a microcosm of the imagined Occitània. Martel summarizes the status of Occitan in contemporary Languedoc thus:

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[45] "Présentation et fonctionnement." *Institut d'estudis occitans*. http://www.ieo-oc.org/Presentation-et-fonctionnement. Consulted 3 June 2017.

[46] "Langue et culture occitanes." *Région Midi-Pyrénées*. http://www.midipyrenees.fr/Langue-et-culture-occitanes-8021. Consulted 10 June 2017.

elle n'est plus l'obstacle qui empêchera de parler français, elle est le 'plus' culturel qui permettra de retrouver une langue dont on a été privé, ou un contact plus intime avec le pays, ou de mieux s'intégrer dans une région que l'on découvre, ou enfin qui donnera accès à une culture — littéraire, musicale — qui séduit. (2013: 530)

Given the recent union of the Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon regions, christened "Occitanie," by popular acclaim, the investment on the part of the government into the Occitan imaginary seems stronger than ever, even as the future of the language itself remains uncertain.

3.4 Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue

3.4.1 Carmaux

Carmaux is located in the north of the department of Tarn. The department takes its name from the Tarn river, in keeping with the Revolutionary aim of eliminating Ancien Régime allegiances by assigning neutral names associated with geological features. Mining, an industry that has been of great importance to Carmaux, was well-established by the Celtic Ruteni tribe, who extracted iron, copper, and possibly gold. The area was pacified by the Romans around 51 B.C. as part of the Narbonensis. It would become a part of the County of Toulouse during the medieval period. After the Albigensian Crusade, many new towns were founded in the Albigeois (the lands of the Viscount of Albi) and the area thrived on income from the blue dye *pastel*.[47] In the late 15th century, as the market for pastel declined, the area turned to wheat production in the Lauragais, textiles in the south, and coal mining around Carmaux (located about 15 kilometers north of Albi. The Albigeois was also the site of religious conflict as Protestantism proved popular in the south, around the city of Castres. The department of Tarn was created in 1790, with minimal controversy over its borders, which roughly echo those of the Albigeois. Although Tarn was neither reactionary nor particularly revolutionary, it has seen internal tension in the rivalry between Albi in the north and Castres in the south over the title of *chef-lieu.* North and south have distinct characteristics: "Le nord évoluera vers les idées libérales, républicaines et socialistes. Le sud demeurera longtemps un bastion conservateur."[48] The progressive north was also the home of the famed socialist politician and labor activist, Jean Jaurès. The department suffered heavy loss of life in World War I; its resistance fighters liberated it themselves in World War II. With its strong industrial base, Tarn attracted immigrants from abroad during the 20th century, most notably from Spain, Poland, and Italy. As of 2016, its population was 386,448; demographic diversity is now perpetuated by the presence of non-European immigrants, Anglophone retirees, and part-time residents from other parts of France.

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[47] Despite the implication of the name "Albigensian Crusade," there were relatively few Cathars in Albi during the early 13th century. Cathars came to be known as "Albigeois" after the last mission of St. Dominic to convert them failed at Albi. It would also be at Albi that the Church would build the Cathédrale de Sainte-Cécile, an overwhelming monument to its victory over the heretics.

[48] "L'histoire du Tarn." *Département du Tarn*. http://www.tarn.fr/fr/conseil-general/territoire-patrimoine/Pages/histoire-tarn.aspx. Consulted 18 April 2017.

The banks of the Cérou, a tributary of the Aveyron River, were likely the site of an early Roman settlement whose residents were attracted by the area's copper deposits. The roots of modern Carmaux can be traced back to the same site in the 10th century.[49] For much of its history, Carmaux was a modestly sized village dependent on hemp farming and weaving. After the disruption of regional power related to the annexation of the County of Toulouse, of which Carmaux was a part, the town would be controlled by several families of landed nobles over the centuries (Poitte 2015: 14). During the mid-13th century, property owners began to mine and export the region's coal resources, but the activity was peripheral to the region's economy. Notable transformations in Carmaux date from the 17th century, when "Jean-Baptiste de Ciron, conseiller puis président au parlement de Toulouse achète la seigneurie de Carmaux" (Poitte 2015: 140). Thanks to the advantageous marriage of his daughter to François Paul de Solages, de Ciron would establish a powerful family dynasty. His descendant Gabriel de Solages received from King Louis XV the exclusive rights to mine the coal deposits of Carmaux. Gabriel de Solages established a glassworks in the town of Carmaux, which consumed coal and contributed to the decline of small wood-fired establishments in the surrounding area. The Solages family exerted its power to raise the status of Carmaux; they argued successfully to modify the route of the royal road in 1788 so that it would run through the town. They also employed many of the its inhabitants; there were over 800 workers at the glassworks alone in 1882.

Conflicts between Carmaux's industrial magnates and those who worked in their factories and mines came to a head in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Jean-Baptiste Calvignac, who had been one of the founders of the first miners' labor union in Carmaux, was elected mayor in 1892. Shortly thereafter, he was fired from the job that he had held at the mine on the pretext that his mayoral duties were interfering with his work. This led to "un vaste mouvement de soutien de près de 2000 mineurs, verriers, artisans et commerçants qui marchent ensemble vers la maison de direction des mines" (Poitte 2015: 27). After three months of strikes, Calvignac was reinstated as an employee of the mine. Thereafter, "[d]es années 1890 à 1940, les bourgeois (partisans du marquis) s'opposèrent aux ouvriers (partisans du maire)" (Souyri 2001: 7). Left-wing thinker and politician Jean Jaurès supported the miners in their strike and would be elected député from Carmaux in 1906, 1910, and 1914 before being assassinated for his pacifist beliefs in Paris in 1914. Calvignac and Jaurès loom large in the history of Carmaux. The conflicts in which they were implicated are portrayed as "un microcosme, où le capitalisme et le prolétariat ont combattu […] [d'un côté] un capitalisme riche disposant en un mot des moyens de production, de circulation et d'échange; de l'autre côté, un prolétariat d'ouvriers mineurs, n'ayant pour toute richesse que leurs bras" (Bousquet 1932, cited in Souyri 2001: 6). The identity of Carmaux as a working-class mining town would be tested over the 20th century.

Carmaux enjoyed rapid economic development during the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, even public resources like schools were subject to the conflict between mayor and marquis; the former was a champion of the new secular public schools while the latter

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[49] It would be designated as *Caramans*, *Caramansio*, and *Cramaux* before 1807, when the spelling *Carmaux* was definitively adopted. There is some debate over its etymology; it may have been named after a inhabitant of the Roman mining settlement, Caramantius. Another possible origin is that of the Occitan verb cramer, "signifiant terre à feu qui en soit la racine" (Poitte 2015: 11). The importance of mining is emphasized in both narratives.

encouraged parents to send their children to private schools that he had created. The growth of the population over a short period is striking: there were 5,012 residents in 1872 and 10,948 in 1901; another 50% increased had occurred by 1968, when the census counted 14,955 residents (Souyri 2001: 7). Many of the new residents had immigrated from southern and eastern Europe. The 20th century brought new labor turmoil, with a strike in 1948 marked by police violence and harsh punishments for striking miners.

The coal mines of Carmaux, the source of both prosperity and discord, closed definitively in 1997. Since then, the population has continued to decline from its historic high in 1968. As of 2014, Carmaux's population was 9,818.[50] In order to revive a flagging economy, Carmaux and its region, the Carmausin, has turned to its industrial past to attract tourism. One notable (and controversial) initiative is the amusement park Cap'Découverte, opened in 2003 in a massive decommissioned open-pit mine. The former Solages estate is now the Musée/Centre d'art du verre. Occitan too is implicated in the town's industrial heritage; it was the language of the miners and even adopted by immigrants as a lingua franca during the 19th century. An Occitan performing arts group, Lo Calelh, was active in Carmaux from 1949-1966. Today, Carmaux is home to the Cercle occitan de Carmaux (COC), under the aegis of the IEO. In nearby Cagnac-les-Mines, the Foyer / Fogal rural also puts on Occitan-related activities.

3.4.2 Villefranche-de-Rouergue

Villefranche-de-Rouergue is located near the western border of the department of Aveyron, whose boundaries follow those of the historic province of the Rouergue. Dominated by its eponymous river, Aveyron is geologically diverse. At the time of Roman arrival, the region was controlled by the local Celtic tribe, the Ruteni. After the Roman period, Rouergue was briefly ruled by the Visigoths, before becoming part of the County of Toulouse. It became the site of several important religious establishments, including the celebrated medieval Abbey-Church of Sainte-Foy in Conques and the Cistercian abbey at Loc-Dieu. Aristocrats of Rouergue would ally themselves with Raimond VI of Toulouse during the Albigensian Crusades. Nominally part of the larger province of Aquitaine, Rouergue was touched by conflicts between Protestants and Catholics during the 16th century, notably in the environs of Millau and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. In 1790, Rouergue, would become the department of Aveyron. During the Revolutionary period, Aveyron was dominated by loyalty to the clergy and "une certaine résistance à la conscription qui se poursuivra sous le Premier Empire" (Bedel et al. 2010: 185). Notably, Aveyron was also dominated by anti-centralist Girondins. The department also experienced major waves of emigration during the 19th and 20th centuries, as many peasants left the difficult soil to seek employment in mining, agriculture, and even overseas missionary work. Those remaining continued to work the land or to participate in some of the new industries, such as large-scale mining. Traditionally, Aveyron is part of the left-leaning "Midi rouge," due in part to labor struggles like the Decazeville miners' strike of 1961. As of 2013, Aveyron's population

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[50] "Populations légales 2014, Commune de Carmaux." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2534314?geo=COM-81060. Consulted 21 April 2017.

was 277,740, over 100,000 smaller than that of Tarn despite having 1.5 times more territory.[51] While the agricultural and artisanal sectors are still important to its economy, the department has launched initiatives to attract more high-tech industries.

No traces of Celtic or Gallo-Roman settlement have been found at the site of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, on the Plaine de la Madeleine along the Aveyron River. Although discoveries of funerary urns and tombs during the 19th century sparked theories that the town was built on the site of Roman Carantomagus, that town was the eventually discovered 15 kilometers to the east, thus disappointing those who treasured the town's supposed Roman heritage. No record of Villefranche exists from the Carolingian period, although several villages that are today part of the Villefranchois are mentioned, such as Martiel, Savignac, and Toulonjac. However, the remnants of a bridge and a burial site dating from around the year 1000 imply that "le site de Villefranche est traversé par un courant de circulation qui, déjà, lie étroitement le Ségala et le Causse. L'habitat est encore modeste, vraisemblablement reparti en plusieurs hameaux" (Bernard and Cavagnac 1991: 26). While local lore for a time held that Villefranche was founded by Raymond IV, count of Toulouse, after declaring the site perfect for a town in 1099, it was not founded until the 13th century.

Official records of the early centuries of the town are scarce, owing to a fire that destroyed Villefranche's archives in 1497. It was definitively established as a bastide by Alphonse de Poitiers, the brother of King Louis IX (Saint Louis) in 1252. Bastides were fortified settlements built by a single founder, enjoying privileges (*libertés, franchises et coutumes*) enshrined in charters. These charters also set forth practices regarding taxation, law, governance, commerce, the rights of inhabitants, and requirements for construction. Such towns became loci for trade and contributed to the decline of feudalism, as their inhabitants were considered free men. A bridge was built over the Aveyron and the construction of the central church, the Collégiale de Notre-Dame, was begun the same year as Villefranche's foundation. In 1311, the king moved his administrative outpost to Villefranche-de-Rouergue. The bastide's population grew rapidly and its trading and commercial exchanges with the surrounding countryside were lively. From these auspicious beginnings, however, difficulties arose during the mid-14th century.

Given its location near the frontier of Languedoc and Aquitaine, Villefranche-de-Rouergue became a pawn in the Hundred Years' War, with the English crown acquiring it briefly during the 1360s. The town was also affected by the Wars of Religion. The 1550s saw a simmering conflict between Catholics and a growing community of Protestants. In 1562, the Catholic faction reclaimed the town and massacred a group of almost a hundred Protestants in the Château de Graves. The religious conflict served as a proxy for "de vieilles querelles entre réseaux de clientèle ou de fidelité qui unissent et divisent des familles" and for "l'hostilité des petits seigneurs ruraux à l'encontre de la bastide de Villefranche" (1991: 34). All factions, however, were struck by the periodic plagues that threatened Villefranche over the centuries. During such crises, the balance of power between the local consuls, the King's agents, and the *peuple* was tested, with the latter showing their influence through public agitation. The economy

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[51] "Aveyron. Populations légales 2013: Recensement de la population, Population des départements et collectivités d'outre-mer." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2119468?sommaire=2119504#titre-bloc-3. Consulted 21 April 2017.

of Villefranche relied on agriculture and the town itself was the center of gravity for the surrounding countryside, having "presque toutes les activités économiques qui peuvent assurer son autonomie, mais aussi lui permettre de rayonner sur quelques dizaines de kilomètres à la ronde" (Bernard and Cavagnac 1991: 44). Tensions between the ruling classes and the *peuple* were particularly inflamed during the 1643 peasant uprisings, which were the climax of the Révolte des Croquants. Led by Jean Petit and Guillaume Bras, the protesters demanded that lowering of onerous taxes (Bedel et al. 2010: 171).

In the early 18th century, with confidence in the support that Villefranche enjoyed from the French crown, the city fathers ordered the removal of the ramparts surrounding the town in order to facilitate its growth. This optimism was not borne out, however, as "la ville a manqué les trois révolutions qui font basculer la France du XVIIIe au XIXe siècle: politique, industrielle et ferroviaire" (Bernard and Cavagnac 1991: 55). Loyalist Villefranche saw its royal privileges disappear after the Revolution as its rival Rodez became the chef-lieu of the new Aveyron department.[52] Schemes to attract new industries such as coal mining, faïence, or silk came to naught as well. Villefranche also failed in its bid to become a hub of either of the major new railway lines passing through the region. It would not be until the turn of the 20th century that Villefranche would resume dynamic development. Interestingly, its prosperity did not emanate from the town, but was a result of modernization in the hitherto impoverished countryside. Agricultural yields were up, the town's population grew after a long decline, and demand for "des notaires, des médecins, des commerçants, des établissements scolaires, bref tous les services qui peuvent restaurer l'aire d'influence ancienne" contributed to a thriving local economy (Bernard and Cavagnac 1999: 59). The progress of the early 20th century would be interrupted by the World Wars. Villefranche endured Nazi occupation during the WWII; this time was also marked by the failed 1943 revolt of Croat soldiers who had been drafted into the German army, aided by some local inhabitants.

Municipal policy during the postwar *trente glorieuses* in Villefranche-de-Rouergue was aimed at improving its quality of life and attractiveness with reliable running water, lighted streets, and employment opportunities. The authorities, under the direction of successive mayors Louis Fontanges and Robert Fabre, hoped to thus counter the trend of depopulation. Villefranche grew, but in a manner that had negative effects on the historic center of town, the bastide. With the advent of the automobile came "le divorce entre le lieu d'habitation et le lieu de travail" (Bernard and Cavagnac 1999: 61). Increased mobility, paired with the removal of the vineyards that had surrounded the town, drew people out of the bastide to the surrounding villages, forming a small suburban network. As in the rest of France, postwar urban planning left its mark in the form of large housing developments in the Tricot neighborhood. Today, the bulk of the economic activity of Villefranche happens outside the bastide, which is now just the center of the town, no longer the town itself. This circumstance has prompted concerns over the residential and commercial depopulation of the center.

Today, Villefranche has invested greatly in its built patrimony, which includes several major religious edifices, including the Chapelle des pénitents bleus, the Chapelle des pénitents noirs, and the Collégiale de Notre-Dame. Local history is commemorated with monuments to

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[52] In 1793, the population of Villefranche-de-Rouergue was 8,497, while that of Carmaux was just 849.

two revolts: that of the Croquants, whose leaders are honored as folk heroes by some, and that of the Croats, who are honored as heroes of the resistance. Villefranche-de-Rouergue and neighboring Najac are major tourist destinations promoted through the "Grands sites Midi-Pyrénées" scheme managed by the Occitanie region. Two Occitan promotion organizations are located in Villefranche. There is a local chapter of the IEO, the Cercle occitan del Vilafrancat (COV). The Institut occitan d'Aveyron (IOA) is also located there; it is part of the department's Mission culturelle. Both are active in promoting Occitan linguistic and cultural events. The municipality itself provides financial support to the COV; many Occitan events are also held in public spaces like the public library. Although its role as an indispensable center of commerce and culture for the surrounding countryside has been attenuated, Villefranche is still a major town. On 1 January 2017, it became the largest commune in the communauté des communes du grand Villefranchois. Its population is 12,592 as of the 2014 census.[53] This total is nearly identical to its high point of 12,683 in 1982.[54]

3.4.3 Research sites in context

Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, which resemble each other closely in terms of location and population, are nonetheless divergent in many ways. Villefranche-de-Rouergue's economy historically based on its longstanding role as a market center, as opposed to Carmaux's relatively recent rise as an industrial center. These differences are manifested in the contrasting self-presentations of each town. Carmaux emphasizes its hardscrabble mining past and fierce labor movements. Villefranche-de-Rouergue, on the other hand, emphasizes its connections with the surrounding agricultural communities, its deep architectural heritage, and the arts.

Both Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue are facing pressures similar to other towns in rural France. The emptying out of each city center is a reflection of the disappearance of traditional structures of sociability and economic exchange. In the present study, I consider the differing ways in which public discourses in each town portray Occitan, depict Occitan linguistic and cultural practices, and reflect its presence in local society. In so doing, I also aim to shed light on the role that Occitan revitalization plays in each town.

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[53] "Populations légales 2014, Commune de Villefranche-de-Rouergue." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/2534314?geo=COM-12300. Consulted 22 April 2017.

[54] "Notice communale, Villefranche-de-Rouergue." *Ldh / EHESS / Cassini*. http://cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=40203. Consulted 26 April 2017.

Chapter Four: Overview of the corpus and qualitative analysis of predication strategies

> L'occitan parallèlement s'est développé aux mouvements sociaux : défense du Larzac, viticulture... Ce n'est plus le cas. On sent malgré tout une lame de fond, calme. Les gens ont changé. Il y a un retour au terroir.
>
> Jean-Louis Blénet[55]

4.1 Introduction

To name one's own language, as Occitanists have done, can amount to an act of defiance. In their case, the name "Occitan" and its attendant revalorization of language and culture in southern France challenges the stigmatization of the language. Bourdieu describes "explicit and public" naming as an "imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world" (2011: 239). The symbolic power of naming implies power "over the instituted taxonomies, those inscribed in people's minds or in the objective world" (ibid.). Typically, such power is wielded by the state and its agents; in the case of France it has been used to qualify regional languages and dialects as "patois" undeserving of the prerogatives of a language (Courouau 2005). Henri Boyer claims that the term evokes "l'idéologie diglossique," consisting of a dominating and dominated language, in an antagonistic relationship. He explains that "[l]a fonction de l'idéologie diglossique est d'orienter cet antagonisme au profit de la langue dominante, car l'issue ne peut qu'être une substitution en faveur de celle-ci" (Boyer 2009: 33) In this context, for language activists, the naming of their own languages "impose[s] their vision of the divisions of the social world and of their position in that world" (Bourdieu 2011: 239). Over the last century, many regional language movements in France have insisted on the right to name their own language as a central pillar of their own ideologies (Kremnitz 2013: 23).

The national government has responded to regional language movements by offering another designation. Adopted in 2011, Article 75-1 of the Constitution de la Cinquième République française declares that "[l]es langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France."[56] By flattening language diversity under the heading of "le patrimoine," it elides speakers first by not mentioning them, then by asserting state ownership of *les langues régionales*. Nonetheless, the Constitution does not identify and describe the languages of France, and efforts to do so, such as Bernard Cerquiglini's 2003 report, have not met with widespread acceptance. That means that the vital work of definition is still the province of language activists. The texts in this corpus contribute to our understanding of the ways in which Occitan is

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[55] "Le Grand Sud marche pour l'occitan." *La Dépêche du Midi*. 25 October 2015.

[56] "Article 75-1." *Texte intégral de la Constitution du 4 octobre 1958 en vigueur*. www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/le-bloc-de-constitutionnalite/texte-integral-de-la-constitution-du-4-octobre-1958-en-vigueur. Consulted 4 April 2019.

portrayed, both by its promoters and by others in the community, in public discourse of three different types.

This chapter has two main aims. First, it offers a quantitative analysis of the entire research corpus, which will serve as a point of reference throughout the three data analysis chapters (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). The second aim of this chapter is to offer a qualitative analysis of tokens demonstrating the discursive strategy of predication, or the assignment of particular qualities to Occitan itself.[57] The analyses in the current chapter respond to the first research question:

1. How is Occitan portrayed in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

According to Reisigl and Wodak's heuristic, predication data helps the researcher to respond to the question "What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?" (2009: 93). The relevant data set consists of nominal tokens of *occitan** to which characteristics, qualities and features are attributed. It will be seen that trends in the qualification of Occitan as an independent entity illuminate the discursive construction of the language and culture not only as part of the Occitanist project, but also as part of regional public discourse.

The chapter opens with the quantitative analysis of the corpus data in Section 2. First, I summarize these data. Next, I offer an analysis that considers the variables of discursive strategy, research site, and text type. Section 3 is a qualitative analysis of the predication tokens in the corpus, in general and then according to research site and text type. Finally, Section 4 offers a conclusion.

4.2 Quantitative analysis: Nomination and predication

In this section, I analyze the tokens of the lemma *occitan** that display target linguistic realizations of the discursive strategies of nomination and predication (see Table 2.5). The analysis relies on the identification of the syntactic structures in which the tokens appear. First I will address the corpus as a whole, then discuss the results according to site (Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue) and by text type (press, government, and LPA).

The corpus is composed of 249,923 words. Table 4.1 displays a summary of all target tokens of the lemma drawn from the ten sources in the corpus.

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[57] The quantitative analysis is also necessary for the eventual qualitative analysis of tokens demonstrating the discursive strategy of nomination, or the description of social entities as Occitan (see Chapter 5).

Table 4.1. Tokens of *occitan** by text type

Source	Text type	Total words	Frequency of target tokens	Relative frequency (per 1000 words)
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	press	29548	218	7.3
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	press	89405	667	7.5
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	press	27116	156	5.8
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	press	20357	148	7.3
TL (Tarn libre)	press	28103	332	11.8
VF (Le Villefranchois)	press	18342	221	12.1
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	government	9333	74	8.0
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	government	24032	267	11.1
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	association	409	11	27.5
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	association	3278	63	19.1
Total	**all**	**249,923**	**2,157**	**8.6**

The data indicate that, of the three text types, the press accounts for the majority of the target tokens, with government in a distant second place and associations coming in third. This discrepancy in frequency is due to the much larger size of the press subcorpus, as compared to the government and LPA subcorpora. The relative frequencies of target tokens in the press and government subcorpora are 8.6 and 9.6 tokens per 1000 words, respectively. However, this figure is much higher in the LPA subcorpus, where it rises to 23.3. Such a discrepancy may appear due to the fact that these associations exists explicitly to promote Occitan. Thus, the documents that they produce are *about* Occitan, while the other subcorpora contain more documents in which Occitan is not the primary subject.

4.2.1 Overview of tokens by discursive strategy

In this section, I present a general quantitative analysis of the nomination and the predication data, with commentary on major trends. These data suggest a distinct asymmetry between the nomination and predication token sets. Predication tokens, in which Occitan is represented as an entity having particular attributes, are few. Nomination tokens represent the lion's share of the corpus. They portray Occitan as a quality attributed to various entities, as is clear from the abundant use of *occitan** as an attributive adjective in tokens of nomination strategies (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3 for statistical summaries). All of the examples in section 2.1 are taken from *La Dépêche*'s Tarn-Albi edition (DMTA), as it contains at least one token of every linguistic realization.

4.2.1.1 Quantitative analysis: Nomination

The tokens exemplifying the discursive strategy of nomination are those nouns or NPs modified by an adjectival form of *occitan**. Target nomination tokens also include adverbial uses of the phrase *en occitan*. They are classified according to the form of the lemma *occitan**, which may be an attributive or predicative adjective, a predicative noun, an apposition, the prepositional phrase *en occitan* (which has adjectival or adverbial functions), or a derived adjective. Table 4.2 shows the frequency and distribution of target tokens (n = 2058).

Table 4.2. Nomination analysis: Tokens of *occitan** by linguistic realization

Linguistic realization	Frequency of target tokens	Relative frequency (per 1000 words)
Attributive adjective	1715	6.86
Predicative adjective	2	0.01
Predicative noun	0	0
Apposition	8	0.03
en occitan (Adjectival use)	232	0.92
en occitan (Adverbial use)	91	0.36
Derived adjective	14	0.06
Total	**2058**	**8.23**

The data in Table 4.2 make it clear that attributive adjective is by far the most common linguistic realization of *occitan**. Example (1) illustrates the function of the attributive adjective: the attribution of the quality of Occitan to an entity or entities.

(1)   On retrouve Gaston Puel dans la rubrique **occitane** et dans sa géographie tarnaise en cartes postales. DMTA102015OCC

In (1), *la rubrique occitane* refers to the Occitan section of the *Revue du Tarn*. A detailed qualitative analysis of this frequently-occurring token type appears in Section 5.2.

The second most common token type, *en occitan* used as an adjective, has a similar function. However, it is more explicitly linguistic in nature, since it is used to designate a noun or NP that is *in* the Occitan language, as in (2).

(2)   Chaque année, une pièce **en occitan** apporte sa couleur régionale. DMTA050215OCCb

The adverbial use of *en occitan* is of interest as well, as it denotes actions that occur in the language. It is the third most common linguistic realization of the lemma. Example (3) refers to a play as well, but *en occitan* modifies the verb of performance rather than the play itself.

(3)   Elle mêle une satire de l'information et de la presse, toujours actuelle, au thème de l'amour et du conflit des générations, et à la peinture de la saveur du monde paysan: heurts avec la maréchaussée, querelles de voisinage, le tout joué avec vigueur **en occitan**, dans une joyeuse ambiance et un décor ingénieux, qui font jaillir le rire. DMTA052915OCCd2

The remaining 24 tokens are classified as predicative adjective, predicative noun (not found in the corpus), apposition, or derived adjective. The predicative adjective, separated from the noun or NP by a copula, has the same function as an attributive adjective: it assigns the quality of the adjective to the noun.

(4)   Ce projet a reçu l'agrément du conseil municipal car le nom de notre village est à l'origine **occitan** et que le financement est assuré à 80 % par le conseil général. DMTA011314OCCb2

In (4), the village's name is identified as originating from Occitan.

Appositions feature a nominal form of the lemma that modifies a preceding noun or NP. This is unusual since the rest of the target linguistic realizations in the nomination analysis are adjectival or adverbial in nature. In nomination tokens, *(l')occitan* is the appositive.

(5)   Sur les planches, ils sont parfois nombreux et d'autres fois tous seuls comme « Ricou lou Japaïre » apôtre, dans une improvisation seyante, du commentaire personnalisé de la vie publique dans la langue croustillante du pays : **l'occitan**. DMTA092314OCCb

In (5), *l'occitan* is in apposition to *la langue croustillante du pays*.

Finally, the category of derived adjective encompasses multiple linguistic realizations and multiple lexical forms.

(6)   Le conseil général avec sa marque a eu le nez creux, comme le relève non sans humour Jean-Marie Fabre: «Avec la fusion de Midi- Pyrénées et du Languedoc-Roussillon, le Tarn se retrouve aussi géographiquement au centre de la nouvelle région **occitanienne**!» DMTA112714OCC4

The modifier in (6) is a derived adjective, *occitanienne,* that is found only once in the corpus. Other such adjectives in the corpus are *occitaniste(s)*, found ten times, and *occitanophone(s)*, found three times.[58]

4.2.1.2 Quantitative analysis: Predication
Whereas analysis of nomination strategies focuses on nouns or NPs modified by the lemma *occitan**, analysis of predication strategies focuses on those tokens where the lemma appears in a nominal form and is itself modified.[59] Quantitative analysis of predication strategies in the corpus indicates that target nominal realizations of the lemma (i.e. those coordinated with one of the modifiers listed in Table 4.2) are far less frequent tokens in which *occitan** is itself a modifier (see Table 4.2). This result suggests that Occitan is more often perceived as a quality than it is as an independent entity. This section treats the tokens of the latter type.

In this section, tokens displaying the discursive strategy of predication are classified according to the linguistic realization of modifiers of the noun or NP *occitan**. The possible modifiers are attributive or predicative adjective, predicative noun, apposition, or derived noun.[60] In Table 4.3, the frequency and distribution of linguistic realizations of nominal forms of *occitan** and the NPs *langue occitane* and *culture occitane* are displayed (n = 63).

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[58] Derived adjectival forms of *occitan** appear in more specific instances than the simple adjective *occitan(e)(s)*. The single token of *occitanienne* refers to a place, while all three tokens of *occitanophone(s)* refer to speakers of the language. The ten tokens of *occitaniste(s)* show more variation: six refer to abstract entities: *énergies*, *action*, *mouvements*, *production*, and *milieu*. The other four modify the human referents *abbé et poète*, *lecteur*, *militant*, and *parents*. The adjective occitaniste(s) evokes an explicit connection to Occitan ideology and activism that is not present in the simple occitan(e)(s). These trends suggest that there are possibilities to further specify the stance taken toward Occitan through derivation. These derived adjectives, although few in number, also suggest that the lexical field of Occitan is capable of expanding.

[59] For the purposes of this study, I only retained nominal tokens of *occitan** that had been modified. In the corpus, there are 300 tokens of *(l')occitan* and 173 tokens of derived nominal forms that are not modified by one of the target linguistic realizations.

[60] I have included derived nouns (e.g. Occitanie, occitanisme) in the predication analysis, as they are nominal forms of the lemma. The "derived noun" row includes all tokens of a modified derived nominal form of *occitan**, regardless of modifier type.

Table 4.3. Predication analysis: Tokens by modifier type

Modifier type	Frequency of target tokens	Relative frequency (per 1000 words)
Attributive adjective	17	0.02
Predicative adjective	5	0.02
Predicative noun	16	0.06
Apposition	10	0.04
Derived noun	15	0.06
Total	**63**	**0.2**

A variety of attributive and predicative adjectives attribute qualities to *(l')occitan*.

(7)   La préparation bat son plein, une chorale d'amis de la langue et de **l'occitan** local se resserrent autour des répétitions accompagnement à l'harmonium et voix ténors comprises. DMTA110715OCCb2

In (7), *l'occitan* is qualified by the attributive adjective *local*.

Predicative nouns and appositions are also represented in the predication subcorpus. They both associate nominal forms of *occitan** with other nouns or NPs. In the case of a predicative noun, this association is made using a copula, as in (8):

(8)   Quand j'ai voulu aller plus loin, il a fallu apprendre à lire **l'occitan** car c'était pour moi une langue orale seulement jusque-là. DMTA021714OCCa7

The copular verb in this example is *être* (*c'était*), linking *l'occitan* with the NP *une langue orale.* The nominal *(l')occitan* may also be modified by an appositive. The apposition, of course, lacks a copula, as is apparent in (9):

(9)   En français et en **occitan**, la langue des vignerons, sont présentés les phases successives de la culture et de l'élaboration du vin et les outillages jusqu'à la mécanisation des matériels au XX° siècle. DMTA011315OCC

The NP *la langue des vignerons* is apposed to *occitan* in (9).[61]

The most common is the modification of a derived noun; most of these involve the term *Occitanie*, which is modified by the adjective *chérie* in (10).

(10)   Il faut espérer que ces jeunes gens porteront encore haut et fort les couleurs
          « jaune et rouge » de notre **Occitanie** chérie. DMTA050314OCCb1

The other two attributive adjectives that qualify *Occitanie* refer to geography: *centrale* and *Grande*. In the DMTA corpus, there are six appositions, all associated with the living history festival "Occitanie Terre d'histoire." The other derived nouns retained are *occitanisme*, *occitaniste(s)*, and *non-occitanophones* (see Section 3.4 for more analysis of derived nouns and their modifiers). This data set shows that the modifiers used to qualify nominal forms of *occitan** are more varied than the forms that the lemma itself takes when used as a modifier.

4.2.2 Comparative summary of tokens by discursive strategy: Sites

This section offers an analysis of the data on nomination and predication strategies according to site. I aim to identify, discuss, and hopefully explain variation between Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue, in order to address the first research question on the respective portrayals of Occitan in the two towns.

4.2.2.1 Carmaux

Table 4.4 shows the five sources of data in the Carmaux corpus as well as the relative frequency of nomination and predication tokens in each source.

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[61] Interestingly, since part of the appositive structure *occitan* is nominal, but it is also part of the prepositional phrase *en occitan*, which is used adverbially with the VP *sont présentés*. It is thus possible for a token to be implicated in more than one target structure in the corpus. In these cases, I have counted them multiple times (e.g. (9) would be counted twice, once as a predication token (apposition) and once as a nomination token (adverbial use "sont présentés […] en occitan").

Table 4.4. Carmaux: Nomination and predication token data

Source	Total # of tokens	Frequency of Nomination tokens	Relative frequency of Nomination tokens (per 1000 words)	Frequency of Predication tokens	Relative frequency of Predication tokens (per 1000 words)
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	218	216	0.86	2	0.01
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	667	648	2.67	19	0.08
TL (Tarn libre)	332	326	1.3	6	0.02
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	74	73	0.3	1	0.004
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	11	11	0.04	0	0
Total	**1302**	**1273**	**5.1**	**29**	**0.1**

In the Carmaux subcorpus, the press is very well-represented. Government and LPA sources together account for less than 100 of the 1302 target tokens. In the *Dépêche*, news from Carmaux is covered in the Tarn-Albi section. This serves to strengthen the presence of Albi, seat of the Tarn department and locus of governmental and associative language activism, in the corpus. Carmaux's geographical proximity to Albi is a likely cause of the paucity of data available from government and LPA sources. I contend that, if Occitan resources are available in a nearby center of culture, interested local residents are likely to draw on them, rather than create a potentially duplicative Occitan texts and initiatives in Carmaux. By the same token, the discourses on Occitan that emanate from Albi circulate in Carmaux, and influence perceptions there. The obscuring of truly local discourses on Occitan in Carmaux is compounded by the aforementioned paucity of data from government and LPA sources.

4.2.2.2 Villefranche-de-Rouergue
  Table 4.5 displays the five sources of data in the Villefranche-de-Rouergue corpus and the relative frequency of nomination and predication tokens in each source.

Table 4.5. Villefranche-de-Rouergue: Nomination and Predication token data

Source	Total # of tokens	Frequency of Nomination tokens	Relative frequency of Nomination tokens (per 1000 words)	Frequency of Predication tokens	Relative frequency of Predication tokens (per 1000 words)
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	156	156	0.62	0	0
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	148	145	0.58	3	0.01
VF (Le Villefranchois)	221	214	0.86	7	0.03
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	267	252	1.01	15	0.06
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	63	61	0.24	2	0.01
Total	**855**	**827**	**3.3**	**28**	**0.1**

  The Villefranche corpus offers a contrast with that of Carmaux. The tokens are more evenly distributed among the sources, with the amount of government documents outnumbering each of the three press sources, if taken individually. The coverage of matters related to Villefranche appears in the Aveyron-Decazeville edition of *La Dépêche*. Decazeville is not the seat of Aveyron, and its profile in western Aveyron does not rival that of Villefranche. Moreover, unlike Carmaux, Villefranche has a newspaper dedicated to the town and its environs, *Le Villefranchois*. Thus, the press coverage on Villefranche is not shadowed by that of a larger city, as it is in Carmaux (see Section 4.2.2.1).
  As was the case for Carmaux, departmental geography plays a role in explaining the distribution of tokens among the sources. While Carmaux neighbors the departmental seat, Albi, Villefranche-de-Rouergue lies about 60 kilometers from its historical rival and the seat of Aveyron, Rodez. Moreover, Villefranche has maintained a high profile in the region since the medieval period, when it was a major market town (see Section 2.4.2). Its influence on the

surrounding area is still important. Conversely, growth in Carmaux's size and importance dates only from the 19th century, and never rivaled that of Albi. Therefore, the fact that Villefranche has a more substantive engagement with Occitan likely reflects certain local trends in activism, notably the presence of individuals who worked to make it the headquarters of the IOA and who maintain a high level of activity at the COV.

The governmental subcorpus is also notable for its relatively high number of predication tokens. At 0.6 tokens per 1000 words, it is double the average frequency for both of the town subcorpora (each of which totals 0.1 tokens per 1000 words). Aside from this figure, a comparison between towns adds little insight into the major discrepancy between nomination and predication tokens that is present across the corpus, suggesting that the trend is not affected by the variable of location.

4.2.3 Comparative summary of tokens by discursive strategy: Text types

In Section 2.3, I consider the other major variable, namely, text type. All data is presented in the same manner as the data for the sites: the tokens are classified by source and the tables indicate the relative frequency of nomination and predication tokens in each source. Although my main aim is to examine variation in text types, this analysis necessarily considers some of the effects that the two research sites exert on the availability and nature of the documentation. For example, Villefranche-de-Rouergue has far more government and LPA tokens than Carmaux, which in turn influences the results analyzed here.

4.2.3.1 Press

The first and largest source is the press. The data from the six newspapers analyzed appears in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6. Press: Nomination and Predication token data

Source	Total # of tokens	Nomination tokens	Frequency: Nomination	Predication tokens	Frequency: Predication
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	218	216	0.86	2	0.01
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	667	649	2.6	18	0.07
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	156	156	0.62	0	0
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	148	145	0.58	3	0.01
TL (Tarn libre)	332	326	1.3	6	0.02
VF (Le Villefranchois)	221	214	0.86	7	0.03
Total	**1742**	**1703**	**6.8**	**39**	**0.16**

The press subcorpus shows the same high frequency of nomination tokens as the larger corpus. The *Dépêche* editions available in Carmaux (DMTR and DMTA) contain almost three times as many target tokens as those available in Villefranche (DMAV and DMAD). The presence of several major LPAs in Tarn (Centre occitan Rochegude, Centre culturel occitan de l'Albigeois, Blaye occitan, and more) and a serious commitment to Occitan by its departmental government are likely responsible for the greater number of tokens available in the Tarn editions. Meanwhile, in the Aveyron subcorpus, mentions of LPAs are comparatively infrequent; the commitment of Aveyron's departmental government to Occitan is frequently desultory. These circumstances explain, at least in part, why there are fewer overall tokens in the Aveyron editions of the Dépêche.

The numbers for the *Tarn libre* and the *Villefranchois*, on the other hand, do not show such major contrast; the former has about only about 1.5 times more tokens than the latter. Like the Tarn-Albi edition of the *Dépêche,* the *Tarn libre* covers the city of Albi and its Occitan events. The coverage of the *Villefranchois* is largely restricted to the town of Villefranche-de-Rouergue and its environs. Despite this major difference, the high level of Occitan-related activities in Villefranche itself likely contributes to bringing the totals for the *Villefranchois* more in line with those of the *Tarn libre*.

4.2.3.2 Government

      The second type analyzed is that of texts produced by municipal governments in the two towns, shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7. Government: Nomination and Predication token data

Source	Total # of tokens	Frequency of Nomination tokens	Relative frequency of Nomination tokens (per 1000 words)	Frequency of Predication tokens	Relative frequency of Predication tokens (per 1000 words)
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	74	73	0.29	1	0.004
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	267	252	1.01	15	0.06
Total	**341**	**325**	**1.3**	**16**	**0.06**

      The data in Table 4.7 show that more target tokens are found in documents circulated by the municipal government of Villefranche-de-Rouergue than that of Carmaux. During my fieldwork, I was able to speak to an official at the municipal archives. According to this official, the level of government activity on these matters is directly correlated to requests and pressure from local language activists and/or groups. Unfortunately, I did not have the chance to make a similar inquiry in Carmaux. There are also far fewer documents from the Carmaux LPA corpus, so evidence about joint sponsorship of events and activities is not available either. In the Villefranche subcorpus, such documentation is frequently found.

      Figure 4.1 is an image of a publicity poster for the series of Occitan-related events in Villefranche known as 'Setmanas occitanas.'

Figure 4.1. Poster for 'Setmanas occitanas'

Event sponsors are listed across the bottom of the poster. The associative sponsors are listed first: the Cercle occitan del Vilafrancat (affiliated with the IEO) and the Association des musiques et traditions du Rouergue. Next, there are three governmental sponsors: the Région Midi-Pyrénées, the Conseil général d'Aveyron, and the Mairie de Villefranche-de-Rouergue. At the far right is a commercial sponsor, radio station CFM. Thus, the municipal government takes an active role in promoting an event that is primarily the initiative of local associations. This situation is a reminder of the porosity between the sources that appear in the corpus. Especially notable is the clear influence exerted by LPAs on government and press discourses, demonstrating their leading role in Occitan revitalization on the local level.

4.2.3.3 Language promotion associations (LPAs)
The third and final text type is those produced by LPAs; the relevant data appear in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. LPAs: Nomination and Predication token data

Source	Total # of tokens	Frequency of Nomination tokens	Relative frequency of Nomination tokens (per 1000 words)	Frequency of Predication tokens	Relative frequency of Predication tokens (per 1000 words)
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	11	11	0.04	0	0
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	63	61	0.24	2	0.01
Total	**74**	**72**	**0.29**	**2**	**0.01**

Table 4.8 indicates that there were many fewer documents circulating in Carmaux than in Villefranche-de-Rouergue during the target period. One factor contributing to this imbalance is the lack of online presence for the Cercle occitan de Carmaux (COC). The Cercle occitan del Vilafrancat (COV) maintains a blog from which I was able to acquire texts. The primary source of documents for each town is the local Cercle occitan, but documents produced by associative co-sponsors do figure in the corpus as well.

Given the major discrepancy between the number of tokens, it is difficult to draw substantive conclusions about the differences between the associative sectors in the two towns. It is necessary to take this numerical gap between the two into account in comparative analyses, and avoid drawing overly strong conclusions about the whole of Occitan revitalization in Carmaux. However, the gap itself is indeed suggestive of a higher level of activity in Villefranche than in Carmaux.

4.2.4 Discussion: Major quantitative trends

In this section, I will present a few of the tendencies that stand out after the quantitative analysis. The distribution of target linguistic features is highly asymmetrical: *occitan** is used as a modifier almost 40 times more often than as a noun. This distribution is repeated across all sources and across both communities, making the relatively high number of predication tokens in the Villefranche government subcorpus an outlier. A qualitative analysis of those entities which are qualified as Occitan appears in Chapter 5.

The final numbers show a major asymmetry within the corpus itself. Initially, I set out to collect texts from within a two-year time period. The yield from this period was very large for the press texts and much smaller for the government and LPA texts. Finally, I waived the time depth limit for the latter two in hopes of retrieving more texts; the study corpus contains government and LPA texts dating as far back as 2011. Nevertheless, the press texts still comprise the great majority of the corpus, with government documents second and LPA documents third.

One explanation for the outsize representation of journalistic texts in the corpus is that the press covers Occitan throughout the departments of Tarn and Aveyron and, in some cases, across the Midi-Pyrénées region or even across Occitània. Meanwhile, the government and LPA texts are based only on what is available is each town. The existence of more dedicated local media, or a different methodological framework that would have taken into account governmental and LPA sources on the departmental and regional levels, would likely have led to a more balanced corpus. However, given the wide coverage of the regional press and its traditional importance in France, it seems reasonable to assert that it would make up a larger proportion of most residents' exposure to Occitan, likely more than those texts produced by governments or LPAs.

4.3 Qualitative analysis: Predication strategies

In this section I propose a qualitative analysis of the 63 tokens of predication of the lemma *occitan**. The very small amount of predication data allows for more thorough analysis of a higher proportion of individual tokens than is possible for the nomination data. The aim of this analysis is to show how Occitan is discursively portrayed through explicit qualification.

4.3.1 Predication analysis: The discursive construction of Occitan

The data in Table 4.3 show the distribution of linguistic realizations of the structures modifying *(l')occitan*.[62] Table 4.9 displays a breakdown of the data according to text type and site. It also contains data on eight tokens of *langue occitane* or *culture occitane* that have been modified by one of the four target linguistic realizations specified (see Section 2.6.1.1).

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[62] The 63 predication tokens are not all analyzed in the same section. Sections 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 treat the 48 tokens of *(l')occitan*, *langue occitane*, and *culture occitane*. See Section 3.4 for analysis of the 15 tokens of modified derived nouns.

Table 4.9. Predication: Linguistic realizations

Source	Attributive adjective	Predicative adjective	Predicative noun	Apposition	Relative frequency of Predication tokens (per 1000 words)
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	3	1	0	1	**0.02**
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	5	1	2	1	**0.02**
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	0	0	0	0	**0**
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	2	0	0	0	**0.01**
TL (Tarn libre)	1	0	3	2	**0.02**
VF (Le Villefranchois)	4	0	2	1	**0.03**
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	0	0	1	0	**0.004**
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	2	2	7	5	**0.06**
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	0	0	0	0	**0**
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	0	1	1	0	**0.01**
Total (n = 48)	**17**	**5**	**16**	**10**	**0.14**

Semantic analysis of the tokens suggests that modifiers of *(l')occitan, langue occitane* and *culture occitane* evoke several themes related to value, community, and tradition. I argue that these themes may be viewed as participating in three Discourses on Occitan. By classifying the tokens thus, I am able to propose a broad characterization of the corpus's portrayal of Occitan

instead of relying on fragmentary evidence from individual tokens. The three Discourses are defined and illustrated in Sections 3.1.1, 3.1.2, and 3.1.3.

4.**3.1.1 Discourse on the value of Occitan**

Seventeen tokens are associated with the first Discourse, which evokes the value of Occitan.[63] These texts may touch on one or more kinds of value. The first is value derived from utility. In (11), Occitan is portrayed as a useful asset for residents of retirement homes.

(11)   A la clé, une étude prouvant que **l'Occitan** est une aide indispensable à la qualité de la vie des pensionnaires de maisons de retraite. TL0221140CCi6

Example (11) comes from an article that describes a program sponsored by the department of Tarn to teach elements of the Occitan language to staff at retirement homes. In this case, Occitan carries social value as well as utility, as it improves quality of life in a particular community. From the same article, example (12) attributes aesthetic value to the language through the use of musical vocabulary.

(12)   Celle-ci considère **l'occitan** comme une langue chantante, imprégnée d'une forte musicalité. TL0221140CCj7

Value is also attributed to Occitan through reference to its social capital. Example (13) asserts that Occitan is the second most-spoken language in France:

(13)   Parlée par deux millions et demi de personnes environ, **l'occitan** est la deuxième langue de France après le français. GOVVF004h

In (14), there is an implicit indictment of the circumstances that have harmed Occitan's status, paired with an argument that echoes that found in (13); namely, that Occitan is widely used and fit to be compared with the national language.

(14)   **L'occitan** est sa familiale, langue de notre culture souvent dévalorisée mais toujours vivante. VF010914OCCc1

The adjective *dévalorisée* is the only negative adjective associated with Occitan in terms of its value; it is used to counter the assumption that this *dévalorisation* would have led to the death of the language. The double implication that Occitan is a resilient language, and is still vital, coutners the adjective, leading the reader to the conclusion that the language does, in fact, have value.

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[63] A single token may be associated with more than one Discourse. Additionally, a few tokens were not associated with any of the three Discourses. Thus, the number of tokens referenced in the three sections is not equal to the total found in Table 4.9 (48).

4.3.1.2 Discourse on Occitan as part of the community

The second Discourse portrays Occitan as a relevant part of the contemporary community. There are 13 tokens associated with this Discourse. One of the main themes contributing to this characterization is the assertion of modernity, as example (15) shows.

(15)   **L'occitan** est une langue vivante et moderne, enseignée dans les écoles comme aux adultes, portée par les institutions et les associations dans le domaine culturel. GOVVF090h

The text of (15) explicitly states that the Occitan language is *moderne*, pointing to its place in schools and in the cultural sphere as evidence for that assertion. In example (16), the presence of Occitan is emphasized with the phrase *dans notre ville*.

(16)   **L'occitan** reste une langue bien vivante dans notre ville. DMTA012215OCC2

Through the use of the verb *rester*, which implies a continuity to the presence of Occitan, (16) states that the language is relevant in the town. Example (16) evokes neither the academic nor the cultural spheres; it is the first sentence in an article promoting an annual, bilingual, bingo night. Despite the presence of French, and the infrequency of the event itself, the author was still moved to place this blanket statement about Occitan at the beginning of the article, possibly revealing a personal interest in the language's fate.

The adjective *vivante* appears in examples (14), (15), and (16). Example (17) contains text referring to Occitan's vitality as well.

(17)   Avec "Diga m'en diga" ce groupe polyphonique provençal composé de six femmes enchante, avec une verve toute féminine, l'ici et maintenant des **cultures** populaires **occitanes**. VF110515OCCc

The association of the adjective *populaires* with *cultures occitanes* implies that the group has a broad appeal. Furthermore, although (17) does not include the adjective *vivante,* the phrase *l'ici et maintenant* insists on the current relevance and vitality of Occitan *cultures*.

4.3.1.3 Discourse on Occitan as a link to history, culture, and place

Sixteen tokens show links between Occitan and history, culture, and place. They comprise the third Discourse on Occitan. They are linked by references to rurality, family, culture, and history. In example (18), an interviewee refers to his childhood surrounded by culture that was both *occitane* and *paysanne*.

(18)   Durant toute ma jeunesse, j'ai baigné dans cette **culture, occitane** et paysanne. DMTR122514OCCa

The adjective *paysanne* carries positive connotations of rural life. In (18), a reference to youth and upbringing also relates to family. Likewise, in example (19), the phrase *langue maternelle*

refs to the acquisition of Occitan in childhood, in a family setting as opposed to a scholastic one.

(19)   Pour les membres du COC, quel bonheur: dialoguer avec des locuteurs qui ont eu **l'occitan** pour langue maternelle, qui ont vécu les situations décrites dans les textes. GOVCR018c

In the text, it is clear that having Occitan as a *langue maternelle* is a desirable circumstance; those who do are sought after by the members of the LPA Cercle occitan de Carmaux. In (20), *(l')occitan* is linked to the predicative noun *culture.*

(20)   **L'occitan** est une langue mais c'est aussi une culture présente depuis un millénaire sur notre territoire. GOVVF090g

Example (20) explicitly asserts that Occitan is both a language and a culture.[64] Moreover, that culture is further qualified in terms of its venerability and its continuing presence in the area.
        Example (21) takes the form of an inquiry about the links between Occitan of today and the Occitan of the past.

(21)   On vous parle d'un temps... Aujourd'hui, qu'en est-il de **l'Occitan**, de cette langue anoblie par les troubadours ? DMTR101815OCCa3

The questioner evokes the high status enjoyed by the Occitan language in the age of the troubadours. There is also an oblique reference to the intervening decline, marked by the contrastive use of *aujourd'hui.*
        The capacity of a token to evoke more than one Discourse, and the coherence of Discourses across the two research sites and three text types demonstrate that there is indeed a consistency in the portrayal of Occitan in the corpus. Moreover, it suggests that a particular set of accepted characteristics and values associated with Occitan are reinforced and renewed through public discourse.

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[64] The corpus turns up many ambiguous references to Occitan, both in and outside target structures. Although this study does not undertake to resolve the ambiguity of the referent of *(l')occitan*, (22) illustrates the interest of such a question. The following sentence provides an example:

(22)   La préparation bat son plein, une chorale d'amis de la langue et de **l'occitan local** se resserrent autour des répétitions accompagnement à l'harmonium et voix ténors comprises. DMTA110715OCCb2

I consider the phrase *l'occitan local* to be an ambiguous reference to Occitan, as an entity that is neither purely linguistic nor purely cultural. This combination, of course, is not atypical. Hence, it is useful to view both language and culture as social practices: "[l]inguists' disciplinary focus thus highlights those aspects of social practice located close to the pole of formal organization identified by Saussure and Bloomfield", i.e., linguistic practices (Michael 2011: 125).

4.3.2 Predication analysis: Discourses by site

In this section, I propose a comparative analysis of tokens displaying predication strategies according to research site. My main aim is to shed light on any contrasting

4.3.2.1 Carmaux

The predication tokens from Carmaux, categorized by discursive theme, appear in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10. Carmaux: Predication tokens by Discourse

Source	Discourse 1: Value	Discourse 2: Part of the community	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place	Total: Target tokens
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	0	2	2	4
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	1	4	2	7
TL (Tarn libre)	5	1	0	6
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	0	0	1	1
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	0	0	0	0
Total	**6**	**7**	**5**	**18**

In Carmaux, the three Discourses are represented fairly equally; with the value of Occitan a common topic. In fact, all of the tokens referring to the language's utility come from Carmaux, as shown in (23).

(23) **L'occitan**, secret de vie. Pour vivre mieux en maison de retraite, il faut parler occitan! TL0221140CCh

I posit that the departmental government's policies shape this trend, most notably its, as four of the tokens associated with Discourse 1 come from one article in the *Tarn libre* on Occitan use in retirement homes, an initiative spearheaded by the department. The fields of language presence and language status are also well-represented in the Carmaux subcorpus. This can be seen as a reflection of Tarn's approach to language revitalization, because the department, which has pioneered the promotion of Occitan with the creation of the Mission culture occitane, takes a

forward-looking approach characterized by the expansion of Occitan into the domains of economic activity.

4.3.2.2 Villefranche-de-Rouergue

The predication tokens from Villefranche-de-Rouergue, categorized by discursive theme, appear in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11. Villefranche-de-Rouergue: Predication tokens by Discourse

Source	Discourse 1: Value	Discourse 2: Part of the community	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place	Total: Target tokens
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	0	0	0	0
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	0	1	0	1
VF (Le Villefranchois)	1	2	3	6
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	3	8	6	17
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	0	0	1	1
Total	**4**	**11**	**10**	**25**

The Villefranche-de-Rouergue data are not as evenly distributed among the three Discourses as the Carmaux data. Compared to Carmaux, discourses on the value of Occitan are much less prevalent (see Section 4.2.1.1). No tokens referring to the language's utility are present; concern with its status is minor. However there are references to the aesthetic value of the language, as in (24)'s praise of the *très belle* Occitan, showing the prestige traditionally accorded to the literary language.

(24)   Un roman magnifique d'André Brink, un des plus grands auteurs sud-africains, rendu dans une très belle **langue occitane** par Serge Carles. GOVVF027d

As is the case in Carmaux, public discourses and initiatives at the department level likely have an influence on the local level. Villefranche is the seat of the Institut Occitan d'Aveyron, a

department-funded initiative whose primary activity is the production of *Al Canton*, an exhaustive documentation of heritage and traditional practices in Aveyron, with an emphasis on the role of Occitan. Such an orientation is reflected in the prevalence of the third Discourse, on links to history, culture, and place.

4.3.3 Predication analysis: Discourses by text type

In this section, data from the three text types (press, government, and LPA subcorpora) are analyzed and compared. My main aims are to describe and analyze any variation in the portrayal of Occitan across these text types.

4.3.3.1 Press

The predication tokens from press sources, categorized by Discourse, appear in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. Press: Predication tokens by Discourse

Source	Discourse 1: Value	Discourse 2: Part of the community	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place	Total: Target tokens
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	0	2	2	**4**
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	1	4	2	**7**
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	0	0	0	**0**
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	0	1	0	**1**
TL (Tarn libre)	5	1	0	**6**
VF (Le Villefranchois)	1	2	3	**6**
Total	**7**	**10**	**7**	**24**

The *Tarn libre*, with a large article on the use of Occitan in retirement homes, contains the most tokens evoking the value of Occitan. This Discourse, along with the theme linking Occitan to history, culture, and place, are each referred to in seven tokens. The most common

Discourse in the press subcorpus is that of Occitan as part of the community, most notably in the Tarn and Tarn-Albi editions of the *Dépêche*. In the Tarn libre, this theme appears in the presentation of the tourism initiative "Tarn, cœur d'Occitanie" (TCO) in (25).

> (25) TCO: derrière ces trois lettres se cache donc un trésor touristique visant à fournir des prestations, produits, informations ou de la documentation liés à la culture **occitane** tarnaise. TL1128140CCe

This initiative aims to promote Occitan to a new audience of tourists, and to convince locals that it carries economic value. Thus, Occitan is portrayed as an economic asset in the department, not just a cultural one.

Another notable trend in the press subcorpus is the presence of texts depicting negative aspects of Occitan. Although these tokens are few, they counter the general trend of positive portrayals. For example, (26) highlights a case where the presence of the language in the educational sphere is threatened.

> (26) **L'occitan** n'est plus enseigné en petite section mais seulement à partir du CP pour 2015 - 2016 (on passe de 25 à 13 élèves). DMTA091215OCCa

Due to falling enrollment at school, Occitan will no longer be taught to the youngest pupils. This situation runs counter to the assertion that Occitan is vital and widely present.

Example (27) replicates elements of French language hegemony by apposing the phrase *"patois" essentiellement parlé* to *langue occitane*.

> (27) L'EHPAD de la résidence Christian Bressolle à Castres s'est lancé depuis septembre 2012 dans le dispositif de la langue **occitane**, "patois" essentiellement parlé. TL0221140CCj6

Patois is set off by quotation marks, creating some distance between the article's author and the term, which is considered pejorative by many language activists. Moreover, the phrase *essentiellement parlé* implies that its use is limited.[65]

4.3.3.2 Government

The predication tokens from government sources, categorized by Discourse, appear in Table 4.13.

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[65] (27) is also interesting because it comes from the article on the use of Occitan in retirement homes, whose Occitanophone residents likely do view it as primarily a spoken language, given its status at the time of their acquisition.

Table 4.13. Government: Predication tokens by Discourse

Source	Discourse 1: Value	Discourse 2: Part of the community	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place	Total: Target tokens
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	0	0	1	**1**
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	3	8	6	**17**
Total	**3**	**8**	**7**	**18**

The imbalance in data between the two sites is again apparent in the government documents. Such documents originating from Villefranche-de-Rouergue outnumber those from Carmaux seventeen to one. The single token from Carmaux refers to an individual for whom Occitan is a *langue maternelle.*

The corpus shows that texts from Villefranche tend to focus on Discourses 2 and 3, not 1. The majority of the Villefranche government documents refer to the role of local culture in the community, as illustrated in (28).

(28) Langue et culture, **l'occitan** est l'héritage et le patrimoine de tous les habitants de notre territoire : la commune de Villefranche-de-Rouergue est un soutien et un acteur volontariste dans ce domaine. GOVVF090e

This text defines the space and the actors implicated. In *notre territoire*, the *commune* and *tous les habitants* are portrayed as having a stake in Occitan's survival. The vitality of Occitan is also highlighted, with four uses of the adjective *vivant*. Its presence is also emphasized by the adjective *omniprésent* and multiple references to the entities influenced by Occitan in (29).

(29) Elément de notre quotidien, **l'occitan** est omniprésent dans les noms des lieux, des personnes, dans les expressions, le langage, dans les habitudes. GOVVF090f

As examples (27) and (28) demonstrate, a single bilingual text from the Villefranche government coprus, exclusively designed to promote Occitan, evokes multiple Discourses.

4.3.3.3 Language Promotion Associations
The predication tokens from LPA sources, categorized by Discourse, appear in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14. LPAs: Predication tokens by Discourse

Source	Discourse 1: Value	Discourse 2: Part of the community	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place	Total: Target tokens
ASSOCR (Carmaux LPA)	0	0	0	**0**
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue LPA)	0	0	1	**1**
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**

There is little to say about the tokens from LPAs. LPA sources in Carmaux did not yield any tokens, which is unsurprising given the paucity of the data. There is one token for Villefranche, related to *langue maternelle* and thus classed under the third discursive theme.

4.3.4 Derived nouns

There are fifteen tokens of derived nouns in the corpus as a whole; each one is displayed in Tables 4.15-4.18. Each table corresponds to one form of the derived noun. The small number of tokens permits in-depth analysis. Each table is devoted to one derived noun. The tables contain syntactic and semantic information about each token; each table is followed by a discussion.

Table 4.15. *Occitanie*

Source	Modifier	Modifer type	Discourse
DMTA	terre de grande et petite histoire	apposition	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place
DMTA	Terre d'Histoire (5)	apposition	Discourse 3: Link to history, culture, and place
DMTA	Grande	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community
DMTA	chérie	attributive Adj	Discourse 1: Value
VF	centrale	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community

In Table 4.15, five of nine tokens of *Occitanie* are associated with the living-history festival "Occitanie Terre d'Histoire," which suggests public interest in Occitanie as a historical entity.

(30) Sur un espace scénique de plus de 3 ha, **Occitanie** Terre d'histoires fait revivre avec ses 150 acteurs et figurants les riches heures, les joies, les peines et les tourments de la terre **occitane**. DMTA071814OCCd

The complex history of Occitanie evoked in (30) was much-discussed in the press during the research period, as the Dépêche carried out a survey of its readers on their preference for the new name of the fused Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon regions. The readers chose "Occitanie;" in spring 2016 voters in the region chose it as well. The name was then approved by the regional government, with the addition of the suffix "Pyrénées-Méditerranée."[66] Debates on the legitimacy of "Occitanie" often center on the fact that it was never a historical entity. The existence of the event "Occitanie Terre d'histoire," as well as its legitimization through press coverage, suggests some acceptance of the proposition of a historical Occitanie.

In the other three tokens, *Occitanie* is modified by an attributive adjective. Two of these, *Grande* and *centrale*, refer to the geographic extent of Occitanie. In (31), *la Grande Occitanie* is one of the musical heartlands represented in a concert.

(31) 2014 est de nouveau marquée par la diversité des ensembles programmés, de 3 à 12 chanteurs, sur des répertoires allant de la Renaissance à la période baroque, en passant par la chanson française ou la musique vocale traditionnelle des Pays de l'Est, de Méditerranée et la Grande **Occitanie**, enfin, croisant le répertoire du XX ème et XXI ème siècles. DMTA073014OCC

In (32), the topic is the name of the new region.

(32) L'ancien président Marc Censi n'avait-il pas proposé en son temps de l'appeler: "**Occitanie** centrale"? VF042315OCCb

The name "Occitanie centrale" refers to the Occitanist position: the map of Occitània extends from the Atlantic coast all the way past the Italian border. In this light, to designate only the new region as "Occitanie" entails an unacceptable compromise by which the rightful size of Occitanie would shrink. However, if it were named "Occitanie centrale," the hope of one day seeing Western and Eastern Occitanie on the map would persist.

Finally, the presence of the adjective *chérie* conveys affection toward the language. I have classified it as an example of the first Discourse, as it signifies that the entity *Occitanie* carries emotional value.

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[66] "#leNomdeMaRegion." *Région Occitanie Pyrénées-Méditerranée*. https://www.laregion.fr/le-nom-de-ma-region. Accessed 12 September 2018.

Table 4.16. *occitaniste(s)*

Source	Modifier	Modifer type	Discourse
DMTA	grand	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community
DMTA	distingué	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community
DMAD	petits	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community

The adjective *occitaniste* denotes a particular connection to Occitan ideology. The nominal form shows a similar pattern, as (33) shows.

(33)   Raymond Ginoulhac professeur et grand **occitaniste**, présentera avec Bernard Lescalier, **occitaniste** distingué lui aussi, « Mémoire occitane » ?
DMTA090614OCC2; DMTA090614OCC3

The two men are described as *occitanistes;* the topic of their presentation suggests a scholarly engagement with Occitan. The other example is shown in (34).

(34)   Des classes fréquentées actuellement par 67 petits « **occitanistes** », de la grande section au CE 2, et dont le fonctionnement donne entière satisfaction.
DMAD040714OCCa3

The use of quotation marks around *occitanistes* suggests that the reader is not meant to take the proposition literally. The pupils are perhaps too young to be full-fledged *occitanistes,* or the author is making a gentle joke by ascribing activist motivations to their occasional study of the language.

Table 4.17. *occitanisme*

Source	Modifier	Modifer type	Discourse
VF	global	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community
GOVVF	contemporain	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community

Like *occitaniste,* the term *occitanisme* denotes a connection to Occitan ideology and activism. Example (35) refers to the activist Yves Rouquette.

(35)   Son projet "d'occitanisme global" a ouvert le chemin aux générations nouvelles. VF011515OCCa4

Here, *global* refers to Rouquette's comprehensive vision for Occitan in society.

(36)   Peintre et compagnon de route de **l'occitanisme** contemporain, Pierre François est un artiste sétois s'illustrant par la diversité des supports sur lesquels il peint, sculpte et grave.

In (36), the artist Pierre François is not described as an *occitaniste* himself, but as a contributor to the movement. This link suggests a more expansive view of Occitanism, in that it can encompass art forms that are based on belonging to a culture or region, not necessarily linguistic practice.

Table 4.18. *non-occitanophones*

Source	Modifier	Modifer type	Discourse
TL	rares, présents	attributive Adj	Discourse 2: Part of the community

The derived noun *non-occitanophones* denotes a lack of capacity to speak the language. However, as modified in (37) it depicts a scene where speakers of Occitan are numerous.

(37)   Pour les rares **non-occitanophones** présents, André s'obligea à traduire ses paraboles. TL082815OCCb

The article refers to a festive meal, during which André accommodated the non-Occitan-speaking guests by translating his words into French. The account of an occasion in which the majority language is Occitan is an uncommon one in the corpus.

4.3.5 Discussion: Major qualitative trends
        Taken together, the data examined in Section 4.3 imply that Occitan is an important element of the contemporary community. This impression is conveyed in several ways, which I have described primarily by identifying the three dominant Discourses in the corpus. In this section, I will examine the three Discourses further. My aim is to shed light on their content and implications by putting them in dialogue with other, related research.
        The first Discourse emphasizes the value of Occitan. Since this study does not have a deep longitudinal component, it is not possible to draw conclusions about how perceptions of Occitan's value have evolved over time. However, the discursive construction of Occitan's value is likely linked to a theme that Hill describes as of "hyperbolic valorization" (2002: 127). Discourses on an endangered language that make use of the theme insist on the language's

cultural and social significance in order to counter other, denigrating, discourses. Hyperbolic valorization often appears in scholarly discourses on endangered languages: "[i]n attempting to raise public consciousness about language endangerment, linguists have argued that even small local languages with little or no written tradition are an important 'resource'; they have 'value'" (2002: 123). The idea that Occitan is valuable appears to be widely accepted in the corpus.

Hyperbolic valorization appears to be mostly limited to scholarly voices. Hill writes that, in the course of her fieldwork, she rarely encounters hyperbolic variation in community members' talk about their language. However, she also notes an interesting exception to this trend:

> [T]he few anecdotes where I have found [instances of hyperbolic valorization] attested suggest that they are likely to appear in late stages of language shift, in contexts in which the relationship of speakers to a language is no longer a matter of quotidian practice. In this distance from the practical use of language, members of such communities may be rather like endangered-language "experts," who seldom have an opportunity to use the language, or use it only on special occasions where the use of the language is highly marked. (2002: 127)

Hyperbolic valorization in community language promotion efforts is widespread in the corpus. Moreover, use of the language is indeed marked: there is a celebration of linguistic exchanges in Occitan (see examples (19) and (37)). In these texts, the presence of native speakers and the presence of a critical mass of Occitan speakers are noteworthy, implying that its use is restricted to, or is constitutive of, "special occasions."

The exceptional nature of language use enters into tension with assertions that the language is an integral part of the community. Defining what it means to be part of the community necessarily touches on the question of vitality. Several scales exist to describe language vitality (see Chapter 2, Section 1). Crucial metrics that they employ include the number of speakers, the domains of use in which the language appears, and the transmission of the language (in or outside the home). The assertions of Occitan's importance to the community in the corpus are not necessarily tied to such metrics. Rather, they tend to be impressionistic. For example, when the adjectives *vivant* and *moderne* are used to describe Occitan, the context in which they appear is often vague, e.g. *dans notre ville* (Example (16)).

Two examples illustrating language use in the community shed light on its relative vitality with a bit more precision. The *Tarn libre*'s article on the use of Occitan in retirement homes stands out among the other discourses on the value of Occitan. It clearly portrays the ways in which the language is used and the individuals who are doing so (see Section 3.1.1). However, it could be argued that it does not constitute a discourse on language vitality in the same way that, for example, referring to the *67 petits « occitanistes »* who are studying the language at school does. From a language revitalization standpoint, the likelihood of language survival is not markedly improved by its use among the elderly (Tsunoda 2005: 36).

The idea that Occitan is a link to history, culture, and place depends mainly on the implied continuity of Occitan across time, generations, and space. However, explicit references

to the past are fairly rare. Rather, predication tokens that highlight Occitan's value and its presence in the community outnumber those referring to regional history; the three examples of the latter refer to the troubadours. The past is referred to obliquely, as a period of devalorization that Occitan survived. No adversaries are named, which marks this corpus of public discourses as very different from activist and scholarly discourses that attribute the decline of Occitan to the political powers of northern France (Courouau 2012, Martel 2004). This portrait, which avoids lamentations and blame, has likely developed as an anticipation of the reception of the corpus texts. The audience, members of the general public, are unlikely to be Occitanists themselves, and may prefer reconciling French and Occitan identities over placing them at odds.

The qualitative analysis of predication tokens suggests a conflicted portrayal of language vitality in the community. The explicit descriptions of Occitan as a linguistic entity emphasize its value and relevance. Likewise, phenomena associated with Occitan (e.g. *occitan* as the name of a regional culture or derived nouns referring to the geographical imaginary *Occitanie* or the ideology *occitanisme*) are portrayed in a positive light. However, accounts of language use and the use of hyperbolic valorization suggest that the language itself is far from being practiced on a regular basis.

Is the vitality implied in the corpus an illusion? In order to respond to this question, it is useful to distinguish more than one possible dimension of vitality. From a linguistic point of view that privileges regular use and robust transmission, Occitan does not appear vital. However, in terms of the cultural life of the community, Occitan does appear to play a role in encouraging civic engagement and in perpetuating cultural practices traditionally associated with the language. In this way, it is possible to say that Occitan is a vital part of the community, even if it is not a vital component of everyday linguistic exchange. Whether the cultural attachment to Occitan fostered in Carmaux and Villefranche will pay linguistic dividends in the future is as yet unclear.

4.4 Conclusion

The quantitative analysis (Section 2) shows that the lemma *occitan** is used in an adjectival or adverbial form 40 times more often than it is used in a modified nominal form. This discrepancy between nomination and predication tokens means that, in the corpus, Occitan is more often represented as a quality attributed to other entities than it is as an autonomous entity (see Chapter 5 for a qualitative analysis of the nomination tokens). The quantitative analysis also reveals that the corpus is heavily weighted toward journalistic sources, which are less local in focus than the smaller government and LPA subcorpora. Despite the limitations of the corpus and the relative paucity of the predication subcorpus, the analysis revealed some important trends in the discursive construction of Occitan in the three types of public discourse under analysis.

The lack of discourses on Occitan's endangerment in both communities, and the presence of discourses on its vitality, suggests an aversion to the language of crisis that is often associated with languages undergoing shift. It also suggests that language transmission is not regarded as the foremost metric of language vitality. Rather, Occitan's continuing relevance in the cultural sphere seems to be of utmost concern. This corpus shows that discursive spaces are available to people in the region who hope to promote and revitalize Occitan. The power of public discourse to both reflect and shape perceptions is at work throughout the texts analyzed in this chapter. The

discursive portrait of Occitan in the corpus is complex; I contend that the most striking phenomenon described in this chapter is the presentation of a set of themes that are associated with Occitan (Section 4.3.1). These themes, which I articulate here as Discourses, represent perceived community needs in the midst of rocky social changes in both towns: a sense of worth in language and culture, shared community goals, and a sense of continuity with the past.

Chapter Five: Quantitative and qualitative analyses of nomination strategies

> In the academic space, the language survives.
> In the cultural space, the language lives.
>
> Andrew Okpeaha MacLean[67]

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, the qualitative analysis focused on the ways in which Occitan is qualified as an entity in its own right. In this chapter, I will concentrate on those entities that are qualified as "Occitan." The analysis of these Occitan entities sheds light on the nature of Occitan's place in the community, as represented in public discourse. Lev Michael contends that "for language revitalization or maintenance to be successful, it must engage with the factors leading to the erosion of whole cultural spheres" (2011: 139). By viewing the decline in use of Occitan as part of a larger sociocultural system, it is possible to better understand both the perceived role of the language and to articulate the ways that Occitan is proposed as a remedy for perceived "erosion" in the cultural sphere.

The analyses in this chapter treat the nomination data. These data show links between social entities and the quality of being Occitan. By "social entities," I refer to actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions that may be the topics of discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 95). The analysis of these entities is useful in two main ways. First, the trends among these data bring out a constellation of social practices, spaces, and actors involved with Occitan; in short, they suggest the ways in which Occitan is present in the community. Second, explicit associations between particular entities and Occitan in public discourse suggest patterns of portrayal and representation; in short, they suggest the ways in which Occitan is perceived in the community. The frequency and strength of both types of link contribute to the construction of beliefs about where Occitan belongs.

The quantitative and qualitative analyses offered in the current chapter respond to the second research question:

> 2. With what social entities is Occitan associated in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue ?

Section 2 of the chapter treats the largest token set, entities modified by *occitan**. These data are addressed both quantitatively and qualitatively, with the latter analysis taking into account comparison between the two research sites and among the three text types. In Section 3, I analyze three less common linguistic features that appear in the Nomination data: other modifiers used in conjunction with *occitan**, and the adjectival and adverbial uses of the prepositional phrase *en occitan*. Section 4 contains discussion of the data's implications, and Section 5 offers a

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[67] "Can Film Save Indigenous Languages?" *The New Yorker.* 14 November 2019.

5.2 Modification by *occitan**: Social entities

In this section, I explore those entities that are modified by attributive and predicative adjectival forms of *occitan**. First, I give a quantitative overview of the entities most commonly designated as Occitan in each of the ten sources used in the corpus. I next offer a qualitative analysis of these entities, which compares the most common entities by research site and by text type.

5.2.1 Quantitative analysis of social entities

The nomination data permit me to address the heuristic "How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?" (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 93). The relevant data are tokens in which social entities are designated as "Occitan" by means of association with adjectival constructions containing the lemma *occitan**.

As the quantitative analysis demonstrated, the lemma appears most often in the form of an attributive adjective (see Table 4.2). The righthand column of Table 5.1 gives an overview of the five most common entities modified by attributive and predicative adjectival forms of *occitan** in each of the ten sources. I have chosen to include both common and proper nouns.Thus, actors in the Occitan domain figure heavily among the entities. The data in the table underlie the following analyses of general trends as well as comparative analyses according to the two sites and the three text types. The number of target tokens of *occitan** in each source also appear in the lefthand column of Table 5.1 (n=1720).[68]

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[68] This number reflects only the tokens in which *occitan** appears as an adjective.

Table 5.1. Five most common entities qualified as Occitan according to source

Source	Entities (five most common): Relative frequency (per 1000 words)
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition) n=189	culture(s): 0.37 Centre occitan Rochegude: 0.30 CAR occitan; Centre; Centre occitan du pays castrais; langue; fête: 0.27 each Atelier occitan du bois; danse(s): 0.24 each Rando occitane: 0.20
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition) n=524	Centre occitan Rochegude: 1.86 bal: 1.42 langue: 0.88 danse(s): 0.71 Centre culturel occitan de l'Albigeois: 0.61
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition) n=115	langue: 0.34 culture(s): 0.27 chanson(s) / chant(s): 0.24 Cercle occitan: 0.20 Centre culturel occitan du Rouergue; Rando occitane; Cercle occitan du Haut-Rouergue: 0.17 each
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition) n=101	chanson(s) / chant(s): 0.34 dictée / dictada; Semaines occitanes / Setmanas occitanas: 0.24 each Institut occitan d'Aveyron; Prima occitana; langue; culture(s): 0.20 each chorale: 0.17 expression(s): 0.14
TL (Tarn libre) n=270	bal: 1.02 Réveil occitan: 0.81 Centre occitan du pays castrais; chanson(s) / chant(s): 0.47 each langue: 0.37 Centre occitan Rochegude; culture: 0.30
VF (Le Villefranchois) n=170	langue: 0.47 culture(s): 0.37 chanson(s) / chant(s): 0.34 Setmanas occitanas: 0.27 Passejadas occitanas: 0.24

GOVCR (Carmaux government) n=63	Cercle occitan de Carmaux: 0.64 danse(s): 0.61 culture(s): 0.14 langue: 0.10 écrivain: 0.07
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government) n=222	Semaines occitanes / Setmanas occitanas: 1.36 langue / lenga: 0.75 Cercle occitan du villefranchois: 0.71 conte(s): 0.58 culture / cultura: 0.34
ASSOCR (Carmaux language promotion association) n=12	Cercle occitan de Carmaux: 0.10 * each of the other nine tokens appears once
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue language promotion association) n=54	Semaines occitanes / Setmanas occitanas: 0.37 dictada; Cercle occitan du villefranchois: 0.17 bal: 0.14 contes:0.10 chant; autors: 0.07 each

The first major trend apparent in Table 5.1 is the consistent representation of the entities *langue / lenga* and *culture(s) / cultura* in the corpus.[69] *Langue / lenga* figures in the top five entities modified by *occitan** in eight of the ten sources, *culture(s) / cultura* in six of ten. While *culture(s) / cultura* appears in both plural and singular forms, *langue / lenga* is only singular. The singular form conveys the acceptance of the Occitanist proposition of a unitary language. As the adjective *occitan* is associated with Occitanism, it is unlikely to be used by anyone who rejects that language ideology outright.[70]

For the purposes of this study, I categorize the 64 entities[71] that appear in Table 5.1, following the social entity types identified by Reisigl and Wodak (2009: 95). Such an analysis permits me to discern the most common type of entity mentioned, in order to better understand the ways in which Occitan is represented in the corpus. An overview of these data is presented in

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[69] Modified tokens of the phrases *langue occitane* and *culture occitane* are analyzed in more depth in Chapter 4, Section 3.

[70] The terms *langue d'oc* or *langues d'oc* are commonly used among those who do not accept the Occitanist position. Of the two, the plural form is more likely to appear in the context of an explicit rejection of Occitanism (Sagnes 2012). In the *Dépêche* subcorpus, there are 73 tokens of *langue d'oc* and zero tokens of *langues d'oc.* This figure reflects the editorial stance of the paper, which is generally favorable to the Occitan movement.

[71] Several entities are mentioned multiple times. On the other hand, the source ASSOCR only contributes one entity to the inventory in Table 4.9. Therefore, there are 64 entities instead of the expected 50.

Table 5.2. Their frequency is relative to the top five entities, not to the entire set of Nomination tokens.

Table 5.2. Top five social entities for all sources

Social entity type	Number	Frequency	Entities
Object	24	37%	langue chanson(s) / chant(s) expression(s) Passejadas occitanas conte(s) culture / cultura
Actor	21	32.5%	Centre occitan Rochegude CAR occitan Centre occitan Centre occitan du pays castrais Atelier occitan du bois Centre culturel occitan de l'Albigeois Cercle occitan Centre culturel occitan du Rouergue Cercle occitan du Haut-Rouergue chorale occitane Réveil occitan Centre occitan du pays castrais Cercle occitan de Carmaux Cercle occitan du villefranchois Institut occitan d'Aveyron écrivain autors
Event	16	24%	fête Rando occitane bal dictée / dictada Semaines occitanes / Setmanas occitanas Prima occitana
Activity	3	5%	danse(s)
Total	64	100%	

Table 5.2 indicates that objects are the most common type of social entity, at 37% of the total. This category includes explicitly linguistic objects, the foremost being the *langue* itself, which figures in the top five for eight of the ten sources. Other linguistic objects are sung forms like *chanson(s) / chant(s)*, *conte(s)*, which refers to oral storytelling in these cases, and *expression(s)* in Occitan. *Passejadas occitanas* refers to a radio program in Occitan. The abstract object, *culture / cultura* appears in seven of the ten sources.

The second most common type of social entity, at 32.5% of the total, is that of actors. The majority are group actors: fourteen separate associations are mentioned. With the exception of *Atelier occitan du bois* and *CAR occitan*, each of these associations is devoted to Occitan language promotion. As a governmental agency, the *Institut occitan d'Aveyron* is the only non-associative group actor. Two individual literary actors figure in the top five as well: *écrivain* and *autors*.

Specific events include the *Semaines occitanes*, *Prima occitana* and *dictée occitane*. These are annual events devoted to promotion of Occitan language and culture. The *Rando occitane,* a group hike taking place six times per year, is also a programmed event; it is not devoted to Occitan language and culture. More general, recurring events like *fêtes* and *bals* also figure among the most common objects qualified as Occitan. As a category, events are the third most common entity, at 24%. The sole entity in the fourth category, activity, is *danse(s)*.

The result of the analysis of entities by type tends to emphasize the language promotion actors themselves. Objects like *langue* and *culture*, whose referent is fluid, are also mentioned often. Concrete, punctual events are mentioned less frequently, although they still make up 24% of the target references. Another, broader, finding that emerges from the quantitative analysis is that a primary function of the corpus texts is to diffuse information on events and activities that are sponsored by various groups and associations.

5.2.2 Qualitative analysis of Occitan social entities: Sites

Three trends that differentiate the top entities mentioned in the Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpora emerge from a qualitative analysis. First, several objects are referred to in both sites: *chant(s) / chanson(s), Passejadas occitanas,* and the literary actors *écrivain* and *autors.* The Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus further privileges *conte(s)* and *expression(s)*, which do not appear in the top five most-mentioned entities in Carmaux. As mentioned in Section 2, the terms *langue* and *culture* are frequently found in both subcorpora. The objects *chant(s) / chanson(s)* appear more frequently in the Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus than they do in the Carmaux subcorpus: while in the former, they appear in three of five sources, they only appear in one of five sources in the latter. This contrast suggests that, in Villefranche, performances in the Occitan language (songs, storytelling) are more common. This trend is roughly in line with the ways in which the two towns present themselves in touristic

documents. In Villefranche, creative figures, such as the author Joan Bodon, appear at the fore. In Carmaux, the politician and defender of workers' rights Jean Jaurès is the signal figure.[72]

Second, the group actors in the Carmaux subcorpus are both more numerous and more diverse: seven associations figure in the top five entities mentioned, five of which are LPAs. Conversely, in the Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus only five associations are mentioned. All of the associations in the Villefranche-de-Rouergue texts are LPAs, due to the absence of other interest groups that take *occitan** as part of their names (i.e. *Atelier occitan du bois* and *CAR occitan*, which appear in the Carmaux subcorpus). This distinction may be attributed to the large number of texts mentioning groups based outside Carmaux; the only associations concerned with language activities there are the local Foyer rural and the COC itself. The department of Tarn has typically been very supportive of Occitan revitalization both on the governmental level and in its sponsorship of LPAs, while Aveyron has not.

Another contrast between the sites relates to events. In the Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus, there are more specific, large-scale events: the annual *dictée occitane*, which takes place simultaneously across southern France, the monthlong *Semaines occitanes* in Villefranche-de-Rouergue itself, and *Prima occitana,* a monthlong festival held in a different community in Aveyron each year. Both communities' sources mention the *Rando occitane.* In the Carmaux subcorpus, the only events mentioned aside from the *Rando* are the generic *bal* and *fête*. Carmaux itself lacks major, large scale Occitan events. Moreover, despite the fact that major LPAs in Albi are represented in the Carmaux subcorpus, there is a lack of information about marquee events circulating in the town. The Villefranche-de-Rouergue subcorpus is richer in information about the town's major event, the *Semaines occitanes*, and others that are happening in the department. All three of the trends discussed above suggest that each town occupies a particular place in its department. Carmaux is not especially active in terms of Occitan activities, yet it is situated in a very active department. In Villefranche, the opposite situation prevails. The local calendar is full of Occitan activities, but initiatives at department are largely absent.

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[72] An example of Occitan heritage being directly tied to a touchstone of Carmaux's history is Jean Jaurès's advocacy for the language. The only reference to Jaurès's engagement with Occitan in the Carmaux government and LPA subcorpora appears in (47):

(47)   Dernière halte au pied de la statue érigée à sa mémoire : elle évoque son engagement aux côtés des mineurs, des verriers et des paysans de cette terre **occitane** qu'il affectionnait tant, mais aussi son remarquable talent oratoire au service d'une pensée dont la portée est devenue universelle. GOVCR040

In (ab), a direct line is drawn between Jaurès and the *mineurs*, *verriers* and *paysans* of his beloved *terre occitane;* the question of language is not addressed. However, in the press corpus, his engagement with the language is evoked, as in (48):

(48)   Lou nostre Jeannot, appellation lancée par les Carmausins rappellent son bilinguisme et la ferveur qu'il a montré à la défense des langues régionales, dont bien sûr **l'occitan**. DMTA042514OCCb

Here, the Carmausins themselves use a nickname (affectionate in its use of *nostre* and the diminutive suffix *-òt*) to connect Jaurès with the Occitan language.

5.2.3 Qualitative analysis of Occitan social entities: Sources

Many entities recur across the top five for all source types, such as named LPAs (e.g. COC, COV, Centre occitan Rochegude) and the promotion of events (e.g. *bal*, *dictée*, *Prima occitana*). However, certain trends emerge that differentiate press, government, and LPA sources.

The first notable contrast is the absence of the objects *langue* and *culture* from the association subcorpus; they do not figure among the top ten entities mentioned by the LPAs in either town. In Villefranche-de-Rouergue, there is one token of *langue*; in Carmaux there is one token of *langue et culture* together. This phenomenon may be due to the fact that the underlying subject of all texts emanating from Occitan LPAs is already Occitan language and culture, which means that rendering this explicit may be unnecessary. For example, (1), taken from the *Dépêche*, describes a daylong festival sponsored by the *calandreta* in Pratgraussals.

(1)   La culture **occitane** sera bien sûr mise à l'honneur notamment dans le cadre du grand spectacle de 14 heures, «Cossisefa », qui mélangera théâtre et danse contemporaine ainsi que le français et l'occitan. DMTA092714OCCb3

The festival is depicted as an opportunity for the broader public to come into contact with Occitan culture, here represented through a theatrical and musical performance. The culture itself is not specifically defined, but is presented as accessible through certain practices. Example (2) is a presentation of the Institut d'Études Occitanes del Vilafrancat (or COV), printed on a brochure publicizing the annual *dictée occitane*, a metalinguistic competition.

(2)   L'Institut d'Études **Occitanes** del Vilafrancat, créé en 1975 par Serge Carles, intervient sur le Villefranchois par l'organisation des cours de langue pour adultes, de conférences, rencontres, expositions, spectacles et animations diverses. Depuis plus de 25 ans, le dynamisme de l'IEO a permis la mise en place des Setmanas **Occitanas** et de son Festival des Musiques traditionnelles au mois de février. GOVVF908

In (2), unlike in (1), there is a lack of references to concepts like *langue* or *culture*. Rather, there is a focus on specific practices and activities aimed at ensuring that Occitan continues to be represented in the community. The insider, activist perspective adopted by the LPAs seems to produce a preoccupation with actions and to assume a baseline level of interest in and knowledge of Occitan.

In the press subcorpus, the top LPAs mentioned tend to be the department-wide ones, such as the *Centre occitan Rochegude* and the *Cercle occitan de Haut-Rouergue*. There are no tokens naming the two local LPAs, the COC and COV. This is largely unsurprising, given the department-wide focus of the editions of *La Dépêche* and *Le Tarn libre* under study. Although the COV itself is not frequently mentioned in the locally-focused *Le Villefranchois*, as is its major initiative, *Setmanas occitanas*.

Respectively, the Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue government corpora refer to the COC and the COV often. In fact, in the Carmaux government subcorpus, the COC is the

most-commonly mentioned entity, appearing in 30% of all tokens. In both towns, the government subcorpus functions primarily to publicize Occitan events. In Carmaux, the COC is the primary sponsor and organizer of such events. In Villefranche, the COV also takes a primary role. It organizes the iconic annual events, *Semaines occitanes* and the *dictée occitane,* a fact often left unsaid in the corpus. Villefranche-de-Rouergue is also the home of the governmental Institut occitan d'Aveyron (IOA), which plays a local role as well. Thus, despite the importance of the COV, it is not mentioned nearly as often in the Villefranche-de-Rouergue government subcorpus (9.5% of entities) as the COC is in Carmaux. In the association subcorpus, tokens mentioning the name of the local LPA are common in each site.

Although it does not figure among the target objects of linguistic analysis in the corpus, codeswitching is an interesting phenomenon whose frequency is variable across source types. Thus, I dedicate a brief discussion to some tendencies related to it here. In the majority of cases where an Occitan term appears among the top five tokens, a French term appears as well. As an example, the Villefranche-de-Rouergue government corpus contains *Semaines occitanes* and *setmanas occitanas*, *langue* and *lenga*, and *culture* and *cultura*. Many of these tokens are drawn from the *Bilhet occitan*, a bilingual dispatch on Occitan issues, published biannually in Villefranche-de-Rouergue's *Bulletin municipal*. Each instance of an Occitan term has its French equivalent, as illustrated in examples (3) and (4).

> (3) La preséncia de la lenga **occitana** dins lo bulletin municipal ne serà una pròva de mai. GOVVF100e

> (4) La présence de la langue **occitane** dans le bulletin municipal en sera une preuve de plus. GOVVF100d

Bilingual texts permit the non-Occitanophone public to access Occitan texts through French. Such texts may function didactically if the reader chooses use them practice their reading skills with a helpful gloss. They also have a symbolic function; as they ensure the presence of Occitan in written forms sanctioned by the press, the government, or the associative sector.

In other cases, isolated terms or phrases are employed without being translated. For instance, in one article, the term *dictada* (*occitana*) appears five times, while the French equivalent *dictée* does not appear (see (5)).

> (5) La dictada **occitana** est un jeu-concours ouvert à tous et gratuit. GOVVF908h

The fact that *dictada* is rarely translated may be due to the relative similarity to *dictée*, although one could say the same for a number of Occitan words. The length of time for which an entity has been established in the community may also play a role in fostering public knowledge of the unglossed Occitan term; perhaps *dictada* went through a period of being glossed more frequently before readers were able to recognize it on its own. Finally, there may be an author effect in the texts that leads to strategic choices about translation based on the audience or on the author's own beliefs about Occitan. A more in-depth inquiry into each of these factors would be necessary to truly shed light on the disparity.

Variation in the use of codeswitching among the three source types is notable. *Le Villefranchois* and the Aveyron-Decazeville edition of *La Dépêche,* are the only press sources featuring unglossed Occitan terms in the top five. These terms refer to specific entities, as exemplified in (6).

(6)   L'Institut d'études de l'Aveyron, en collaboration avec la mission départementale de la Culture de l'Aveyron, a le plaisir de vous convier à une belle soirée de musique et danses traditionnelles avec Sem de Caors, vendredi 20 mars, à 20 h 30, à la salle des fêtes de Saint-Cyprien-sur-Dourdou, dans le cadre de la «Prima **occitana**». DMAD031715OCC

The *Prima occitana* is an annual festival whose equivalent in French (*Printemps occitan*) is not mentioned. Furthermore, the metalinguistic quotation markers around the name reinforce the exceptionality of Occitan's appearance in the text.

As previously stated, in no Carmaux source do codeswitched tokens figure in the top five entities. The Villefranche-de-Rouergue government and association subcorpora follow the same trend as the press sources: all codeswitched tokens refer to proper names of events. The event *Setmanas occitanas* figures in both sources. In the Villefranche-de-Rouergue association subcorpus, it appears without a French gloss seven times; the sole token of *Semaines occitanes* appears without an Occitan equivalent. It is clear that the use of proper terms without French glosses is prevalent, while common nouns like *lenga* and *cultura* appear in the context of bilingual texts. In sum, codeswitching is mainly limited to proper nouns, which do not have French equivalents. Nonetheless, the use of Occitan for common nouns that could also be denoted by a French equivalent suggests that the style set by publications and/or the choices of individual authors do exert an influence on the presence of the Occitan language in French public discourse.

5.3 Other linguistic features in the nomination data

The aim of this section is to analyze the data offered by three less common linguistic structures found in the nomination data. The first is tokens of *occitan** that are coordinated with other modifiers. The other two are the prepositional phrase *en occitan,* used either adjectivally or adverbially. In response to the relatively small number of tokens and to the lack of distinct trends differentiating site and source type, the following analyses address the corpus as a whole, rather than including discussions of the tokens according to site and source type.

5.3.1. Adjectives of place and cultural tradition as modifiers

In some nomination tokens, other modifiers appear alongside *occitan** in one of its target forms as an attributive or predicative adjective. For example, in (7), the attributive adjective *traditionnelles* appears between the noun *danses* and the attributive adjective *occitanes*.

(7)   L'association Lo Reviscòl de Saint Nauphary organise, tous les jeudis de 20h à 22h, à la salle des fêtes, un atelier de danses traditionnelles **occitanes** animé par Christian Papaïx. TL011014OCCh2

For the purposes of this study, I highlight only those tokens that involve a modifier displaying a target linguistic realization: attributive and predicative adjectives, predicative nouns, and appositions, as these can be coordinated with occitan* in the same forms. These tokens, examined more closely, shed light on other qualities frequently associated with entities that have been qualified as Occitan. The total number of such tokens is 253. A summary of these tokens by source appears in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Nomination tokens appearing with another target modifier[73]

Source	Nomination tokens	Number of Nomination tokens + other target modifier	Relative frequency (per 1000 words)
DMTR (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn-Albi edition)	216	34	1.15
DMTA (La Dépêche du Midi, Tarn edition)	649	73	2.47
DMAV (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron edition)	156	22	0.75
DMAD (La Dépêche du Midi, Aveyron-Decazeville edition)	145	15	0.51
TL (Tarn libre)	326	36	1.22
VF (Le Villefranchois)	214	26	0.88
GOVCR (Carmaux government)	73	5	0.17
GOVVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue government)	252	36	1.22
ASSOCR (Carmaux language promotion association)	11	2	0.07
ASSOVF (Villefranche-de-Rouergue language promotion association)	61	4	0.14
Total	2058	**253**	

A broad analysis of frequently-occurring target modifiers coordinated with *occitan** demonstrated that a strong tendency toward terms referring to place and tradition. Hence, I chose to make these modifiers the focus of the quantitative analysis in this section.

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[73] The table excludes tokens relating to the entities *langue* and *culture*, which are treated in Chapter 4, Section 3. It also excludes coordination with the prepositional phrase *en occitan*, which is treated in the current chapter, Sections 3.3 and 3.4.

Adjectives of place frequently appear in coordination with *occitan** in nomination tokens. Such adjectives evoke a language, culture, and / or people associated with a particular location. There are three main groups of these adjectives: those that refer to places outside of Occitània, those that refer to the relationship between the French and Occitan languages, and those that refer to locations within Occitània.

5.3.1.1 Coordination with places and cultural traditions outside Occitània

First, I will address those tokens that refer to places and / or cultural traditions found outside of Occitània, which may be located within or outside of metropolitan France. Table 5.4 displays the frequency of such adjectives appearing in these tokens.

Table 5.4. Adjectives of place outside Occitània[74]

Adjective	Number of tokens
occitano-breton	6
africain, basque, breton	4
celte / celtique, corse	3
catalan	2
alsacien, australo-occitan, berbère, brésilien, calabrais-occitan, canaque, espagnol, européen, italo-occitan, manouche, martiniquais, méditerranéen, norvégien, occitano-irlandais, portugais, savoisien	1
Total	**44**

There are three main processes by which adjectives are associated with *occitan**. The first is through co-appearance in a sequence (as in (8)). The second is through the use of a conjunction, such as in (9).

(8)   Des choeurs éphémères qui ont virevolté entre chants traditionnels basques, norvégiens, **occitans** et noëls provençaux. DMAD081314OCC

(9)   De 21h30 à 22h30, chorale LKP, chants **occitans** et corses avec les amis de Morlhon, suivis de quelques vieux succès pour faire danser pour 5 euros de participation. DMAD112715OCC

Compounding is the third process by which adjectives referring to place and culture are linked with *occitan*,* as in (10).

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[74] Adjectives are listed by their masculine singular form, regardless of the form they take in the corpus.

(10)   Ensuite, pour terminer la soirée dans la même ambiance, l'orchestre **occitano-irlandais** StocFish proposera une soirée dansante à la salle des fêtes de Lapanouse-de-Sévérac, à 21 heures. DMAV120714OCCa

The creation of these compound adjectives implies a closer relationship than do the first two manners in which *occitan** is associated with an adjective of place. Such compounds establish a hybridity between cultures. In some cases, such as *calabrais-occitan*, the ties are already well-established.[75] In other cases, the compound reflects ties of solidarity with other regional linguistic communities, such as *occitano-breton* and *occitano-irlandais*. Still others are ad hoc: *australo-occitan* refers to the accent of the Australian coach of an Albi soccer club. Regardless of the grammatical means of association, all of these tokens show the flexibility of Occitan and its cultural products in combining with other cultural traditions, particularly Western European ones.

5.3.1.2 Coordination with French

The next set of tokens refers to entities that are marked as bilingual, with French and Occitan as the languages in use. Table 5.5 displays the various adjectives used to portray this relationship in the corpus.

Table 5.5. Adjectives referring to French-Occitan bilingualism

Adjective	Number of tokens
bilingue (s)	3
bilingue(s) français-occitan	25
bilingue(s) franco-occitan	1
bilingue(s) occitan-français	6
français	11
français-occitan	21
franco-occitan	6
occitan-français	7
Total	**80**

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[75] The community of Guardia Piemontese, in Calabria, was founded by Piedmontese Occitan speakers fleeing persecution for their Waldensian religious beliefs.

"Le origini." *Comune di Guardia Piemontese*. https://www.comune.guardiapiemontese.cs.it/?page_id=157&lang=en. Consulted 3 November 2019.

With 80 occurrences, bilingualism is the most common attribute that appears in addition to *occitan**. The emphasis on bilingualism suggests that the text producers share a preoccupation with accessibility of Occitan events; they are perhaps concerned that audiences might be intimidated by monolingual offerings. The tokens in this set can be roughly divided by the use or non-use of the attributive adjective *bilingue(s)*. The first four adjectives listed in Table 5.5 do include *bilingue(s)*, typically followed by a designation of the languages involved, as in (11).

(11)   André Coste l'auteur du livre bilingue **francais/occitan** "Sous le soleil du midi" sera le 24 avril à 20h30 à la salle de la mairie pour une conférence. TL042415OCCf

The remaining four adjectives do not use *bilingue(s)*. Rather, they coordinate Occitan and French through *et*, as in (12), or by the use of a compound adjective, as in (13).

(12)   Un livre en 2 versions **français et occitan** + 1 cd en occitan. VF082715OCCd1

(13)   Ce lexique **occitan-français** et **français-occitan** en variante languedocienne contient 70 000 entrées. VF080714OCCd

Example (13) represents a less-common usage in the corpus, which is nevertheless worth noting. *Français* is placed first in 47 tokens of compound adjectives, while *occitan* appears first in only 13. A closer analysis reveals that the latter ordering is not intended to subvert a received hierarchy, in which French is dominant. Rather, *occitan* precedes *français* in cases where it is technically important to designate an alternate hierarchy for practical reasons, not ideological ones. Thus, in (13), a bilingual *lexique* is divided into two sections to facilitate use. The relative ordering of the two languages reflects the actual organization of the volume, not a preference for Occitan in its first section.

The exceptional nature of the usage of *occitan* at the head of the compound "bilingual" adjective makes *français-occitan* the default order. Since it is weighted toward French as the primary language, this default order can mask the actual balance between languages. In example (14), a bilingual performance is advertised.

(14)   La Maison départementale de la culture de l'Aveyron et « L'Institut d'études **occitanes** del Vilafrancat » présentent Musique-chant **français-occitan** Saique benlèu Arnaud Cance. ASSOVF011b

Without further information it is not clear what the dominant language in the performance will be. By the same token, since the text is aimed at a general audience, it is likely that its authors prefer not to intimidate readers who fear not understanding or enjoying a performance that is mainly in Occitan. Thus, linguistic accessibility for French-dominant speakers is the predominant message associated with bilingual events, objects, and activities.

5.3.1.3 Coordination with places and traditions in Occitània
        The final set of adjectival tokens evoke other places in Occitània; these data are summarized in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6. Adjectives of places and traditions in Occitània appearing in nomination tokens

Adjective	Number of tokens
albiegeois	1
auvergnat	2
béarnais	1
carmausin	1
gascon	1
languedocien	1
local	2
pyrénéen	3
rouergat	1
tarnais	6
Total	**19**

Geographically, the tokens in Table 5.6 reveal a clear orientation toward southwest France, which is unsurprising given the location of the two research sites. The adjectives *albigeois*, *carmausin*, *local*, *rouergat*, and *tarnais* relate directly to places within the Tarn and Aveyron departments. Carmaux's surrounding area, the Carmausin, is evoked in (15).

>   (15)   Cette exposition a été montée à l'occasion du cinquantenaire de la fondation du Calelh, elle retrace vingt ans de vie culturelle **occitane et carmausine** de 1948 à 1968. GOVCR004

In (15), *la vie culturelle* is modified by *occitane* et *carmausine. Et* separates the two; the exhibition thus implies that cultural life in the area was not inextricably linked to Occitan, but that Occitan played an important role.
        The adjectives *Auvergnat*, *languedocien*, *gascon*, and *béarnais* commonly refer to dialects of Occitan as well as to places. When this happens, the designations serve to highlight

variation in both language and culture. For example, in (16), the group Lumbrets specializes in Gascon music.

> (16) Ils se sont associés en 2003 pour créer ce groupe, qui se fait une spécialité du riche répertoire à danser des terres **occitanes** du Sud-Ouest, surtout gasconnes, mais aime aussi se promener du côté du Pays Basque, de la Catalogne, du Berry... DMTA100914OCC3

Modification of *occitan** with one of the abovementioned adjectives adds precision not otherwise available. The small number of tokens that involve such specification (five out of a total of 2058) suggests that making distinctions between different dialects of Occitan is not a major preoccupation of the texts' authors. Example (17) is an exception that proves this rule.

> (17) Les éditions de l'Institut d'Études Occitanes du Tarn présentent "Nòu contes de Nadal d'endacòm mai", d'auteurs présitgieux: dans leur langue d'origine: allemand, anglais, danois, etc.- suivie de leur traduction **occitane (languedocienne)**. VF122514OCCg2

Of the nine nomination tokens where the modified entity is *traduction*, (17) is the only one that specifies the dialectal variety used in the translation. Since Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue are located in the heartland of the Occitan movement, it is unlikely that such precisions would appear on a regular basis. However, the underdetermination of regional varieties in the corpus would be a useful phenomenon to contrast with discourses drawn from other areas of southern France. In regions like Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur and Aquitaine, the proposition of a unitary Occitan language has historically found less favor than it has in the Occitanie region. A future study of the frequency of use of the term *occitan* in those regions, and into how frequently *occitan* is qualified by the name of a dialect, could provide valuable data on attitudes toward regional language revitalization in southern France.

5.3.2 Common nouns and NPs modified by *occitan** + target modifier

In Section 2, I analyzed a list of the five most common entities that appear in the Nomination data. In this section, I will discuss the five most common entities that appear in the present token set, which focuses on entities that are associated both with *occitan** and another target modifier. In this manner, I am able to analyze both frequently modified entities and those qualities that tend to be coordinated with Occitan-ness in one set of data. These data appear in Table 5.7. They are not arranged by source, as the small size of this data set renders such a division unnecessary and overly complicated.

Table 5.7. Five most commonly-modified nouns modified by *occitan** + target modifier

Noun / NP	Number of tokens	Adjectives
bal	19	breton calabrais-occitan grand (3) gratuit(s) (6) solidaire teinté par le son africain des années 70 trad traditionnel (6)
chant(s), chanson(s), cançon(s)	22	auvergnates basques (2) béarnais bretons classiques contemporains corses français-occitan gospel norvégiens novèla plusieurs polyphoniques populaires pyrénéens (3) sacrés traditionnels (9)
danse(s)	19	africaines (3) auvergnate bien connue chez nous célèbre flamenco nouvelle portugaises souvent différentes d'un village à l'autre toujours bien vivantes traditionnelles (12)
(heure du) conte(s)	17	bilingue français-occitan (2) français-occitan (8) franco-occitan (4) musical français-occitan (2) traditionnel

musique	17	celtiques (2) français-occitan modernes nouvelle(s) (2) Occitano-bouléguante profondément […] et méditerranéenne revisitées rouergate traditionnelle(s) (7)

The five entities in Table 5.7 refer exclusively to creative cultural practices. Interestingly, *bal* evokes several of the other practices mentioned: *chant*, *danse*, and *musique*. The most common modifiers associated with *bal occitan* are *grand* and *gratuit*, conveying a sense of inclusiveness around the event. Seven of the tokens are modified by the adjective *traditionnel*, as in (18).

(18)   Le dimanche 2 février 2014 à 15h00, Grange de Mondelle, l'association «Le Pin des Arts» vous convient à un bal traditionnel **occitan** à forte consonance tarbaise. En première partie, le bal sera animé par le duo Sarrat/De la Torre, Gwenaëlle Sarrat, accordéon diatonique et Xavier de la Torre, graile (hautbois des Monts de Lacaune). La seconde partie sera animée par plusieurs autres duos, composés d'élèves et d'anciens élèves du Conservatoire de Musique et de Danse du Tarn, qui apporteront d'autres répertoires et couleurs musicales au son de la boha (cornemuse gasconne), du violon ou de la bodega (cornemuse du Sidobre et de la Montagne Noire). Les musiciens feront danser sur polkas, mazurkas, rondeaux, bourrées, valses et bien d'autres danses du Sud-Ouest. Si vous aimez la danse, c'est une soirée à ne pas manquer !

The lengthy example (18) sheds light on the characteristics of the *bal traditionnel occitan*. This particular event is *à forte consonance tarbaise*, connected with the city of Tarbes in Gascony. This text also has a didactic function, describing for the reader the instruments *graile*, *boha*, and *bodega*. Emphasis is also placed on variety: several musicians and groups will be playing, and there will also be opportunities to dance in several styles. Nonetheless, the regional character of the event is clear; the dances, as will as the musicians and instruments, hail from the *Sud-Ouest*.

The *bal* is also a site of cultural exchange, as the adjectives *breton*, *calabrais*, and *africain* attest. The entities *chant*, *chanson*, *cançon* and *danse* are also associated with cultures outside of Occitània, such as *breton*, *norvégien*, *africain*, and *portugais*. However, these references are outnumbered by references to other regions of Occitània. As an example, the region of Auvergne appears in (19) and (20), referring to *chansons* and *danse* respectively.

(19)   Il y a une dizaine il décide de réhabiliter le gîte appartenant à la famille de son épouse et construit à 50 mètres un bâtiment dédié à la musique où lui et son

groupe "Los Collegas" (chansons traditionelles auvergnates et **occitanes**) répètent et enregistrent quelques maquettes. VF010914OCCb

(20)   Pour cette composition originale autour de la célèbre danse traditionnelle auvergnate et **occitane** bien connue chez nous, le brise- pied, il était accompagné à l'accordéon par la « belle d'Auvergne »: l'accordéoniste pierrefichoise Nathalie Bernat, référence du folklore auvergnat que l'on ne présente plus. DMAV062614OCCb1

In each of the above examples the adjective *auvergnat* is coordinated with *occitan* by the conjunction *et*. This usage suggests that *auvergnat* is not considered as constitutive of *occitan*. This hesitation may reflect a rejection of the label *occitan* on the part of some in Auvergne.[76]

In (20), the trio of adjectives *auvergnate*, *occitane*, and *traditionnelle* is further expanded by the attributive adjective *célèbre* and the adjective phrase *bien connue chez nous*. This sort of hyperlocal emphasis is common in the case of *danse,* which is also more likely to be referred to as *traditionnel* than any other entity in Table 5.7. In (21), characteristics of Occitan dance are brought out in greater detail.

(21)   Après avoir rappelé la complexité du monde des danses **occitanes**, souvent différentes d'un village à l'autre, le conférencier a évoqué les occasions qui étaient jadis propices à l'exercice de l'art de la danse (carnaval, feu de la Saint-Jean, veillées, bals et noces) ainsi que les endroits où il se pratiquait (chez les notables, sur la place du village ou dans des lieux plus populaires).

This portrait of the origins of local dances contrasts with their current extension. In the past, dances occurred for a great variety of occasions and in a variety of places. In the corpus, their occurrence is most often associated with language revitalization activities. Although the *bal* may be held in conjunction with another event, events incorporating music, dance, and song are primarily promoted as occasions to connect with local and regional heritage.

5.3.2.1 Adjectives of tradition and modernity

Adjectives referring to tradition and modernity are well represented in coordination with Occitan, so it is worth looking at them more closely in this section. Table 5.8 displays the frequency of selected adjectives evoking what I contend is a binary concept in the corpus: the opposition between tradition and modernity.

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[76] See for example: "occitan / occitane." *Lexique identitaire*. http://cercleterredauvergne.fr/lexique-identitaire/?l_letter=O&l_word=325. Consulted 3 November 2019.

Table 5.8. Adjectives of tradition and modernity

Adjective	Number of tokens
traditionnel	39
moderne	1
contemporain	4
nouveau / novèl	6
Total	**50**

Table 5.8 indicates that the adjective *traditionnel* appears four times more frequently than three adjectives referring to modernity: *moderne*, *contemporain*, and *nouveau / novèl*. The adjective *traditionnel* is often used to refer to creative cultural practices, but only three tokens contain use of the "modern" adjectives. These adjectives refer to other cultural practices as well, such as literature, as in (22).

(22)   Le centre culturel **occitan** de l'Albigeois vous présentera le samedi 1er mars à 17 heures un nouvel auteur **occitan** connu ou méconnu Claude Peyrot, dit le prieur de Pradinas. DMTA022514OCCa3

Since the author Claude Peyrot died in 1705, the designation *nouveau* appears relative[77]. The *Trésor de la langue française informatisé* defines "nouveau" as "qui vient d'apparaître," so it is possible to construe the presentation on Peyrot as "nouveau" to those who had not yet heard of him.

Adjectives referring to tradition are preponderant in the data from Table 5.8. However, the viewpoint of author and activist Yves Rouquette, expressed in (23), demonstrates a more radical point of view on the "peuple occitan contemporain."

(23)   Auteur d'une œuvre prolifique- poésie, roman, nouvelle, essai, théâtre, traductions- il est un poète de la parole. Il donne voix aux mythologies populaires immémoriales autant qu'aux aspirations du "peuple **occitan**" contemporain: "du poète [la jeunesse] exige qu'il fasse flamber son désir, qu'il dénonce, qu'il accuse, qu'il annonce un pays habitable." GOVVF017b

Example (23) provides a meaningful contrast with the other texts in the group: rather than striving for harmony with French, it evokes what the text's author calls "un projet militant de libération par la parole occitane." Rouquette was a major figure in the political Occitan

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[77] See for example: "nouveau, nouvel, -elle." *Trésor de la langue française informatisé*. http://stella.atilf.fr/Dendien/scripts/tlfiv5/visusel.exe?11;s=267415185;r=1;nat=;sol=0;. Consulted 3 November 2019.

movement that flowered from the 1960s to the 1980s. He called for the development of Occitanie as a *nation ouverte*, not an *état*; in his view this nation would also resist "les divisions qui engendrent localisme, repli dialectal, corporatisme" (Roqueta 1997: 193). Ultimately, territorial reforms and other concessions contributed to the tempering of the Occitan movement (see Chapter 2); today's mainstream activists advocate principally for the valorization of the language and culture. As a result, Occitanism no longer represents a radical new social paradigm in the popular imagination.

The evidence in this corpus, which indicates that Occitan is viewed as more traditional than revolutionary, points to the fact that, despite Rouquette's great impact on the movement, it has been depoliticized since the period of activism in which he was a leader. Costa (2013) chronicles the adaptation of the indigenous language revitalization paradigm in the Occitan context in the twentieth century. His reading of the work of activists like Lafont and Philippe Martel (who were Rouquette's contemporaries) emphasizes what he considers their core proposition: "Occitan is not the preserve of a unique people with a distinctive identity; instead it is a way of expressing sets of (currently) marginalised voices" (326). Costa also contends that:

> [W]hile this type of discourse elaborated in the 1970s and 1980s has not totally disappeared from the French academic sociolinguistic scene, it is now far less audible either in the media or among language activists, partly because it lacks a central feature of the endangerment/revitalisation discourse, namely the sense of urgency and possible moral panic that the latter provides. (ibid.)

As the findings from Chapter 4 make clear, this corpus does not put in evidence the "sense of urgency and moral panic" described by Costa. Moreover, it presents a less ambitious and universalizing vision of Occitan than did the Occitanists of Rouquette's generation. The putative identity function of the language within an ideology that holds Occitan identity to be essentially incompatible with French identity is stronger than one that holds Occitan identity to be a complement to French identity on a local scale. The latter ideology appears predominant in the present corpus. In all of the token sets analyzed in Sections 5.2 and 5.3, the variety of Occitan cultural practices is asserted, both on the regional level and in terms of their capacity to relate to other traditions. The texts in the corpus also suggest that these practices are vital, have been maintained over time in their traditional forms, and are prized by the local population.

5.3.3 Adjectival uses of *en occitan*

In Chapter 3, I asserted that the the prepositional phrase *en occitan* modifies linguistic entities that are actualized in the Occitan language. A few exceptional tokens, which refer to nonverbal entities, appeared in the original data and have been excluded from the analysis in this section. Ten tokens of this type appear in the corpus. For example, (24) describes a *dimanche tout en occitan*.

    (24)   La Vie d'avant propose un dimanche tout en **occitan**.

Although it is implied that the activities taking place on the *dimanche* in question will be held in Occitan, it is nonetheless difficult to argue that a *dimanche* can be actualized in a particular language. Thus, I excluded this example and the nine others of a similar nature.

The remaining 230 nouns or NPs modified by *en occitan* in the corpus refer to linguistic entities of some kind, as in (25).

(25)   Joëlle Ginestet professeur à l'Université de Toulouse, nous conduira dans l'oeuvre de Mistral par des lectures **en occitan** avec leur traduction. VF101614OCCa

I classified all adjectival tokens of *en occitan* in the corpus according to the type of linguistic entity that they represent. The classification is an ad hoc one, which I elaborated by considering the type of practice or object that each token referred. The categories are based on these types. For example, in (25), the noun modified by *en occitan* is *lectures*. These *lectures* are drawn from the work of Provençal poet Frédéric Mistral. Thus, I classify them as a work of literature. As they are being read aloud, they may also be classified as "oral." Table 5.9 summarizes the linguistic entities that appear in the token set. These tokens give a clear account of those entities actualized in the Occitan language.

Table 5.9. Linguistic entities referenced in adjectival tokens of *en occitan*

Linguistic entity	Total tokens
music	52
literature	37
theatre	34
oral story	23
religious practice	17
guided visit	15
toponym	13
radio	9
game / hobby	8
language instruction	4
scholarly product	4
talk	4
festival	2
television	2
film	2
calendar	1
internet	1
legal document	1
newspaper	1
touristic document	1
Total	**230**

The four most commonly mentioned entities in Table 5.9 pertain to the fine arts. Of these, music is by far the most common (52 tokens), perhaps because enjoyment of a musical performance does not strictly require competence in the language. On the other hand, engaging with literature would seem to require a deeper knowledge of Occitan. 54% of the 37 literature

tokens are written; 46% are oral (e.g. readings), encompassing both classic and new works.[78] This suggests that Occitan, like many marginalized languages, may be primarily viewed as an spoken language by members of the public, thus leading to a preference for oral literature. Theatre in Occitan is represented by 34 tokens. The multimodal experiences offered by plays can facilitate comprehension, even for spectators unfamiliar with Occitan. Similarly, performance is a major aspect of oral storytelling.[79] Oral stories are presented as being *en occitan* in 23 tokens.[80]

In this token set, the presence of the Occitan language is heavily weighted toward the arts. Although the IEO is a frequent sponsor of cultural activities, it does not specifically promote the arts as a central tenet of language revitalization. Rather, it privileges linguistic initiatives like language acquisition and intergenerational transmission. The preponderance of arts and cultural activities exemplifies what Tsunoda refers to as the

> pitfall in the incorporation of cultural aspects into language revitalization activities. The crucial fact is that learning to speak a language is a far more time-consuming and demanding task than learning to dance, to sing, and so on […] this may make people turn away from learning the language and be attracted to learning the culture. This will in turn create a situation in which cultural activities are flourishing but in which the language itself is not revitalized. (2005: 174)

The incongruities between the goals of the region's major LPA and the Occitan-related activities, at least as they are presented as happening on the ground, illustrate the difficulties of pivoting away from prestige planning and corpus planning and toward acquisition and status planning.

In the token set, manifestation of the Occitan language in the media is muted. Again, it must be noted that the print media is the source of much of the corpus in general. However, none of the newspapers analyzed are published in Occitan. There is one mention of an Occitan-medium newspaper, in (26).

> (26) Pour son numéro 1000 l'hebdomadaire **en occitan** [*La setmana*] a choisi de modifier sa maquette tout en proposant de nouveaux contenus. VF030515OCCg

Although the expansion of *La setmana* is referred to in a positive way, it is the only reference to a newspaper *en occitan*. Occitan-medium television, film, and internet also appear rarely. Radio is mentioned nine times. In (27), the news broadcast is given in Occitan.

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[78] "Readings" refers to those tokens in which an author is described as reading original works aloud.

[79] "Oral storytelling" refers to those tokens related to "conte" or "heure du conte," which involve the telling of traditional stories from memory, and typically include a performance aspect.

[80] The question of reception and audience in the case of Occitan cultural events is beyond the scope of this study. However, a study of the language competence of attendees would shed light on the broadness of their appeal and on perceived barriers to engagement with their cultural and linguistic content.

(27)   Bernard s'est beaucoup impliqué à Radio Albigès et il donne régulièrement des infos **en occitan**. DMTA042515OCC

A news broadcast in Occitan is markedly different from most of the linguistic entities references in the corpus. While most of the other common entities reproduce traditional forms of language use, such as storytelling and music, the diffusion of contemporary news implies the incorporation of information unrelated to traditional regional culture.[81]

Religious practices are the fifth most mentioned medium in the token set. Example (28) is representative of the 17 tokens referring to such practices.

(28)   Après la messe **en occitan**, le vin d'honneur fut servi autour d'une belle gerbe posée sur un lin blanc et d'un magnifique duo de boeufs de salers attelés pour l'occasion, bien calmes et vivants que de nombreuses adultes et enfants prirent plaisir à caresser. DMAD072215OCC

The mass given in Occitan is part of a larger celebration, in this case the *fête* in La Bastide-L'Évêque, a village near Villefranche. Every one of the tokens features *messe* or *messa* as an entity; they are typically publicized in the context of a special event.

The sixth most mentioned medium is the guided visit. Example (29) illustrates this type of token.

(29)   L'après- midi sera consacrée à la visite du village de Castelnau de Pegayrols, proposée par l'association « La Terrasse des Grands Causses » **en occitan**, (le château, les deux églises romanes, le prieuré, le système d'irrigation datant du Moyen Age). DMTA041114OCCc3

In (29), a tour of the Lévesou plateau is offered by the Centre Occitan Rochegude. By framing the architectural, artistic, and historical sites of the area in Occitan, the association consecrates them as belonging to Occitan heritage. Another guided visit is described in (30).

(30)   Ce dimanche, visite du musée Jean-Jaurès à 10 h 30 **en occitan** avec Bernard Vernières et à 16 h 30 de manière bilingue (**occitan** et français). DMTR092114OCC2

Famed politician Jean Jaurès is often mentioned in light of his defense of Occitan in other texts of the corpus, especially those drawn from Carmaux, where Jaurès spent his early career. The guided visit of the musée Jean-Jaurès reinforces this association by translating Jaurès's biography into Occitan.

Perhaps the most literal manner of inscribing Occitan in public life is through toponymy. The IEO, along with other associations and some government agencies, sees the representation of place names in Occitan as instrumental to raising consciousness and goodwill toward the

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[81] A weekly commentary on the news of the day in the *Tarn libre* entitled "Aicì sem!" is written in Occitan as well.

language. The Institut occitan d'Aveyron takes an interest in toponymy as well, and produced a DVD on the topic, as in (31).

> (31)   Pour la peine, les soixante participants à cette dictée se sont vu décerner un DVD **en occitan** (sous-titré en français) : « Les Noms des paysages », qui présente récits et légendes du paysage rouergat. DMAD012914OCCa

This production complements an inventory of place names with *récits* et *légendes* relating to their origins. Another project mentioned in the token set is the posting of bilingual street and highway signage, as described in (32).

> (32)   La Députée Valérie Rabault apprécie, lors de nos rencontre [sic] de parler avec nous et d'évoquer certains sujets, comme la visibilité de la langue: les noms de rues **en occitan**, les panneaux d'entrée de ville… Montrer que nous sommes fiers de notre identité. TL011014OCCc3

In (32), *la visibilité de la langue* is explicitly evoked as a desired goal. This visibility is portrayed as achievable through street name signs and bilingual signage at the town limits. However, the text goes further by expressing a further ideological goal for such initiatives: to show pride in Occitan identity.

The tokens displaying adjectival use of *en occitan* offer a clear portrait of those linguistic entities that are actualized in Occitan in the corpus. They overwhelmingly appear in forms such as literature, music, and theatre. New media such as the internet are not well represented, nor are even older forms of non-print media, such as television and radio. Occitan is consistently portrayed as a language of traditional cultural practice, suggesting that expansion into new types of linguistic practices is not held to be a high priority in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux.

5.3.4 Adverbial uses of *en occitan*

In Section 3.3, I outlined the ways in which adjectival tokens of the prepositional phrase *en occitan* shed light on the media in which Occitan is spoken and/or written. Similarly, adverbial tokens of *en occitan* demonstrate both the types of communicative acts in which the language is implicated and the ways in which these acts are portrayed in discourse. Table 5.10 displays the frequency of the linguistic entities in this data set. There are only 91 tokens of adverbial *en occitan,* compared with 230 tokens of adjectival *en occitan*.

Table 5.10. Linguistic entities referenced in adverbial tokens of *en occitan*

Linguistic entity	Frequency
literature	19
music	15
scholarly product	10
gloss	6
religious practice	6
utterance	9
theatre	5
metalinguistic comment	4
oral story	4
language instruction	3
radio	3
guided visit	2
talk	2
game / hobby	1
television	1
toponymy	1
Total	**91**

Many of the same media appear in both adverbial and adjectival token sets. Perhaps unsurprisingly, several of the less common media, such as newspaper, internet, film, legal document, and festival are absent. There are also new additions, such as utterance, metalinguistic comment, gloss, conversation, and visual arts. These entities are often metalinguistic in nature; they may refer to the act of communication itself, as in (33), or to features of the language, as in (34).

(33)   Venez les rencontrer, ceux qui font vivre cette ville, venez écouter la rondeur de leur accent quand ils s'interpellent **en Occitan**… GOVVF079

(34)   Il vaut mieux dire le Vieil Albi, parce que le y n'existe pas **en occitan**, même s'il
         donne un caractère ancien recherché. DMTA120514OCCb

In (33), the verb *s'interpellent* evokes the linguistic exchange among vendors at the Villefranche-de-Rouergue market. It was categorized as a token of "talk," as it is not described as belonging to a particular genre. Example (34) is categorized as a metalinguistic comment. It refers to the alphabetic resources of the written Occitan language, in which the letter "y" *n'existe pas*. The verb *exister* is an exception to the prevailing character of this token set, in which the majority of verbs modified by *en occitan* are verbs of communication.

According to Table 5.10, adverbial tokens of *en occitan* appear most in reference to literature. Music and scholarly products are the second and third most common. Literature and music are also common sources of adjectival tokens (see Table 5.9), but the other creative cultural practices common in the token set are less well represented here. In the present adverbial token set, scholarly products such as histories figure prominently. I posit that these frequencies are primarily due to the ways in which the entities are perceived. In the corpus, written forms such as literature are often portrayed as processes, resulting in an emphasis on composition and associated verbs like *écrire*. However, music is more often described as a finished product, qualified as Occitan by means of an adjective.

Some of the new designations that appear in Table 5.10 are directly related to language use. For instance, six glosses appear, as in (35).

(35)   Quelques spécimens se trouvent dans notre région, les anciens les appellent **en
         occitan** « baduel ». DMTA091114OCCa

Example (35) refers to a non-native caterpillar by its Occitan name, *baduel*. The verb of communication *appeler* appears in the phrase; the subject *les anciens* is also expressed, informing the reader that the word's usage is restricted to older generations. This phrase has the paradoxical effect of diffusing Occitan vocabulary to the paper's readership while indicating that its use is confined to the elder generations.

Another entity unique to the adverbial token set is the utterance made in Occitan, as in (36).

(36)   L'heureuse « menina » a partagé sur le champ avec ses trois petits-fils qui l'ont
         joliment remercié **en occitan** d'un propos espiègle préparé avec elle.
         DMTA110414OCCa3

In example (36), the grandchildren of the winner of a humorous storytelling competition in Occitan pay tribute to her on stage (*remercier*) by giving *un propos espiègle* that she helped them prepare.

The majority of the verbs modified by adverbial tokens of *en occitan* are used in creative contexts. For example, in the case of musical entities, the most common verb used is *chanter* (appearing in eight of 15 tokens). Other verbs relating to physical production and reception of music include *entonner*, *interpréter*, and *entendre*.

The oral story is also associated with a particular set of verbs in the corpus. The verbs *conter* and *raconter* figure in three of the four tokens referring to oral stories. The fourth verb is *respirer*, as shown in (37).[82]

(37)   Ernest Molinier (poème) et Pèire Thouy (conte de Noël) respirent **en occitan**.
        DMTR050414OCC

Although *respirer* is not typically a verb of communication, it is modified with *en occitan* in the context of oral performances (poetry reading and Christmas storytelling). The verb phrase *respirer en occitan* portrays Occitan as an energy or force. It suggests that, for the two men, composing and speaking in Occitan are activities upon which their lives depend.

Verbs of communication in the token set may also shed light on exchanges between Occitan and other languages. Example (38) refers to the composition of music in a multicultural framework.

(38)   Pour cette soirée Cauhapé exceptionnelle, Bernard interprétera avec le Savignoni Trio trois tubes de jazz manouche, adaptés **en occitan** par l'écrivain Robert Marty, de Saint-Just sur Viaur. DMAD072114OCC

The *jazz manouche* songs in question have been translated into Occitan (their original language is not specified). In the texts relating to literature, issues of translation and adaptation- both into and from Occitan- are present. In (39), the subject is a new bilingual novel titled *Sous le soleil du Midi*.

(39)   Si le premier tome porte sur La Belle Époque, dépeinte en six tableaux où les dialogues sont écrits **en occitan** (heureusement traduits), le second tome (pas encore sorti) sera dans la même veine et parlera des décennies suivantes.
        DMTA121314OCCb

In (39), the text's author seems pleased that the Occitan dialogues in the book are *heureusement traduits*. Thus, a premium is placed on the accessibility of the Occitan text to a francophone readership. On the other hand, rendering texts written in French into Occitan is a preoccupation, as evidenced in (40).

(40)   Citons « L'humanité de Jean Jaurès » (1978), « Une histoire des mines du Carmausin » (1992), réédité en 2005, une double trilogie sous forme de romans historiques « La maison du paysan-mineur » avec comme premier ouvrage « De la mine aux labours », également traduit **en occitan** en 2014 et qui concerne la période 1900-1914, suivi de « Dans le secret des vignes : 1918 1939 » […]
        DMTA110414OCCb

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82 Due to its references to *poème* and *conte de Noël*, Example (37) is assigned to two categories, literature and oral story.

An inventory of the works of historian and storyteller Olivier de Robert appears in (40). His novel, *De la mine aux labours*, was translated into Occitan in 2014. Among the references to literature, there are five tokens of the verb *traduire*, three of the verb *adapter*, and five of the verb *écrire*. There is a slight predominance of verbs of translation and adaptation over ones of creation. This may take the form of translations from another language, as in (41), or the form of adaptations from Old Occitan, as in (42).

(41)   Traduire Cervantès **en occitan**, il en rêvait l'ancien prof de Castillan, qui avoue au passage n'avoir jamais lu entier « Don Quichotte » dans sa totalité jusque-là. DMAV111614OCCb3

(42)   Il s'agit de panneaux représentant un bestiaire fantastique du XIIe siècle écrit en langue d'Oc, adapté **en occitan** moderne et traduit en français par Yves Rouquette, illustré par des oeuvres contemporaines originales et très personnelles du peintre sétois Pierre François. DMAD040114OCC

Translations that span languages and time periods, as well as accounts of contemporary literary production (see (39) and (40)), combine to suggest that Occitan possesses a certain level of both vitality and flexibility.

Analysis also reveals larger trends affecting the publication of Occitan literature. The founder of the publishing house Letras d'òc, Joan Eygun, observes that there are:

[…] nettement moins de lecteurs en ce début de siècle que dans les années 1970 […] cette situation est la conséquence directe de la baisse importante du nombre de locuteurs en capacité de comprendre un livre écrit entièrement en occitan, sans version française associée. (2015: 80)

The declining consumption of Occitan literature and reading competence in Occitan noted by Eygun may be a contributing factor to the popularity of translated works. Since readers may already be familiar with such works in another language, the barrier of entry to understanding a work in Occitan is thus reduced.

5.4 Discussion

Villefranche-de-Rouergue was founded during the medieval period. As a bastide town, it enjoyed some measure of autonomy. Its built patrimony and eventful history demonstrates its role as a regional locus of power and a market town. On the other hand, Carmaux's history as a town is much shorter, driven by propulsive growth in industry during the 19th century; it is marked by labor struggles and the figure of Jean Jaurès. Each town's self-presentation is reflective of its historical and cultural identity, with Villefranche-de-Rouergue privileging its agricultural and artistic heritage, and Carmaux its industrial and political history.

Given that each town enjoys a unique cultural heritage and a long history of speaking Occitan, it seems probable that they would also enjoy unique slates of Occitan revitalization

offerings. However, analysis reveals that this is not the case. Villefranche-de-Rouergue, which prides itself on a long history of artistic and literary production, responds readily to the demand for a robust Occitan cultural offering. In addition, the IOA's work on Occitan heritage and historical practices complements the contemporary cultural initiatives undertaken by the COV. In contrast, the defining cultural and historical features of Carmaux- its mining and working class heritage- are not well represented in local Occitan initiatives. This absence suggests that the association of Occitan with a more conventional set of cultural offerings is dominant, to the detriment of other narratives about speakers and uses of the language.

The current analysis indicates that cultural entities are dominant among those which are qualified as Occitan in the corpus. Thus, Occitan appears well-represented in the cultural life of the two towns.[83] Local residents may choose to avail themselves of a relatively large variety of Occitan cultural events, artwork, songs, and literature. Conversely Occitan is largely absent from other, non culture-related spheres of activity. In this section, I will probe this asymmetry.

The composition of literature, song, and stories in Occitan across southern France persisted throughout the period of shift toward French (Bec 1973). These practices and the works associated with them are easily accessible. Small but productive publishers and recording companies provide new works for the public. Thus, it is perhaps the case that activists are simply encouraging the public to meet Occitan where it is: in the cultural sphere. It is also instructive to consider the effect of French's cultural dominance in the endangerment of Occitan (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 6). With French depicted as the ultimate instrument of verbal expression, cultural production in France's regional languages was marginalized. The resurgence of this production is a major success for the Occitan movement.

Occitan is no longer considered "l'obstacle qui empêchera de parler français" (Martel 2013: 530). Despite the current stance of benign neglect that the French government has adopted toward regional languages, the effects of linguistic repression have made their mark on Occitan cultural production. Giovanni Agresti characterizes the situation thus: "[l]a création occitane contemporaine se fonde sur le signe de l'exiguité ainsi que sur celui de la résistance, engendré par la survivance à des siècles d'imposition, dans l'Hexagone, de la langue française" (2006: 35). According to this assessment, Occitan is continually negotiating for space in the cultural sphere.

The prevalence of traditional cultural practices in the corpus also brings to light to a potential challenge to revitalization. My interviews with LPA members in both Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue indicated that the groups struggle to bring in younger members. Therefore, despite the lack of demographic information on the participants in Occitan events and initiatives, it is not unreasonable to posit that they skew toward an older audience. Fishman cautions that:

> [t]he fact that there is a large, still active, elderly population ('elderly' being defined as 'past child-bearing age') that organizes and partakes of endless Xish public events, rituals, ceremonies, concerts, lectures, courses, contests, readings, songfests, theatrical presentations, radio and television programs and publications is, of course, a tremendous

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[83] It is not possible to state how well-represented the Occitan cultural offerings are in the two towns in terms of proportion, as I did not collect data on the non-Occitan cultural life of the community.

societal achievement and a great joy to those individuals who are personally involved in and enriched by these activities. However, from the point of view of RLS [reversing language shift], all of these activities are merely rallies of the 'last Mohicans'. They serve to enthuse the already enthusiastic, to convince the already convinced. (1991: 397)

Fishman also allows that these activities may "keep open the possibility" that younger generations may participate in revitalization down the line. Fishman's critique complements Tsunoda's critique of cultural activities at the expense of linguistic ones (see Section). Whereas Tsunoda's main concern is the lack of language acquisition activities involved in certain revitalization projects, Fishman points out that, even if the language is being uses, limited demographics among audiences may lead to obsolescence.

       Language and culture are inextricably linked. This analysis suggests that engagement in cultural practice is presented as an authentic and desirable way of approaching the Occitan language. The reverse also holds true: linguistic practices are presented as embedded in cultural ones. The downside is that Occitan tends to be limited to traditional cultural practices that have been maintained over time. It is rare that Occitan is linked to innovative, contemporary topics (e.g. the day's news) or media (e.g. the internet). This finding is in line with Matthey and Maitre:

> Even if the local vernacular benefits from an identity and emotional attachment, this does not guarantee it much weight in real practice, faced with the reality of the francophone linguistic market: as soon as French is recognized as the language of social mobility, it tends to be preferred in practice and to progress in its functions (in press).

Shift toward French has already progressed to the point where Occitan is critically endangered The corpus does not show evidence that Occitan is a rival to French in terms of "social mobility," understood in terms of economic advancement. However, because the cultural sphere is available, and because Occitan has a long-established presence there, French does not appear as a rival in this respect; the directionality of expansion is in Occitan's favor. Likewise, the role of French as the language of social and economic advancement remains nearly unquestioned.

       The foundational work of LPAs, especially the IEO, have accrued social capital on Occitan's behalf. The analysis reflects this in the generally positive portrayals of language and culture. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to question whether the work being done in this corpus is aimed at revitalization, which, as defined by Blackwood, focuses primarily on language use and less on the language's public image (2008: 4). The portrayal of Occitan in public discourse best fits Beier and Michael's concept of "language revalorization" (see Section 1.9). This revalorization of the language through cultural practices may be viewed as part of a larger reclamation of difference in the face of homogenization due both to French cultural hegemony and globalization.

5.5 Conclusion

       In this chapter, a wealth of data sheds light on the nature of connections between the entities mentioned in the corpus and Occitan. These connections reflect the place of Occitan in the communities under study, as represented through public discourse. In turn, these depictions

influence popular perceptions about the nature of the language and culture's presence in the community.

In the nomination data, tokens that refer to creative cultural practices predominate; the top five most-mentioned entities from each of the ten sources all come from the cultural sphere. There is a low frequency of connections between Occitan and newer forms of media, such as television or the internet. This trend may be accounted for in part by noting the bias toward print media in the corpus. However, it also suggests that Occitan is largely viewed as a vehicle for traditional culture, such as music or literature. These forms, especially when performed aloud, are also particularly accessible for non-speakers of Occitan.

The preponderance of traditional culture in the corpus can be attributed, in large part, to the entrenched presence of Occitan in this sphere. Production of Occitan music, literature, and theatre has been continuous over the centuries, in spite of its low status. As the language and culture benefit from efforts to increase their cultural capital, these products gain new audiences and legitimacy. Thus, the popularity of Occitan cultural products is largely a successful example of language revalorization, not necessarily language revitalization.

Chapter Six: Occitan and reflected domains of language use

> Nos parents ne nous apprenaient pas cette langue. Par amour. Mais quand on voit qu'une langue peut s'éteindre, comme le dit l'Unesco, on a envie de la sauver.
>
> Marie-Jeanne Verny[84]

6.1 Introduction

In a pivotal 1965 article, Joshua Fishman elaborates on the titular question: "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" His chief interest is to better describe and analyze the individual and societal variables that govern language choice in multilingual subjects. In this work, he argues that the analysis of domains of language use in society can shed light on a variety of dynamics existing in multilingual societies, including bilingualism, language dominance configurations, language maintenance, and language shift. The concept of domains, articulated by Georg Schmidt-Rohr (1932), was used by "students of language maintenance and language shift among Auslandsdeutsche in pre-World War II multilingual settings" (Fishman 1965: 72). Although the analysis of domains never became a differentiated field of inquiry, the concept may be found in a variety of works on language maintenance and shift (Gal 1979, Rottet 2001). Moreover, inquiries into domains of language undergird the major instruments used to evaluate language vitality and endangerment, including UNESCO's *Language Vitality Assessment* (2003) and Fishman's (1991) own GIDS scale, a version of which is used by the language database *Ethnologue*. Approaches to domains of language use vary among researchers and among linguistic situations. Fishman defines domains in the following terms:

> Broadly speaking, they are conceptualized as all of the interactions that are rather unambiguously related (topically and situationally) to one or another of the major institutions of society: e.g. the family, the work sphere, education, religion, entertainment and the mass media, the political party, the government, etc. (1991: 44)

Pauwels states that flexibility is a principal characteristic of the domains approach: "[o]f course, depending on the specific context in which issues of language maintenance and language shift are studied, additional domains may feature in the questionnaire [on language use]" (2016: 56).

In this chapter, I will examine Occitan revitalization efforts described in the corpus through the lens of domains of language use. The quantitative and qualitative analyses that appear in this chapter aim to respond to the third research question:

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[84] "Le Grand Sud marche pour l'occitan." *La Dépêche du Midi*. 25 October 2015.

Before beginning the analysis, it is important to note that the representations of Occitan in the corpus are limited in two ways. First, public discourse does not reflect private practices. For example, the corpus cannot reliably describe the nature and extent of Occitan as used in the home. The second limitation is complementary to the first: because of the nature of the corpus, there may be an effect of over-representation in certain domains, especially public-facing ones. Thus, assigning a particular text to a particular domain is not meant to assert that Occitan is definitely present. Rather, such classification evokes the possibility of Occitan's presence. Thus, it is more precise to refer to reflected domains of language use, not definitive domains of language use. In this chapter, I propose quantitative and qualitative analyses of the reflected domains of language use in the corpus in Sections 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4. Then, in Section 6.5 I briefly compare these domains to assessments of Occitan's vitality by UNESCO and *Ethnologue*.

6.2 Domains linked to *occitan**: Quantitative analysis

Table 6.1 summarizes the domains reflected in the corpus, across all sources. Where applicable, domain names are followed by the identification of the type of institutional actor referenced in the text.

Table 6.1. Reflected domains of language use in the corpus

Domain	DM TR	DM TA	DM AV	DM AD	TL	VF	GOV CR	GOV VF	ASSO CR	ASSO VF	Total	Frequency (%)
Education (associative)	1	11	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	21	2%
Education (public)	4	9	1	2	3	2	4	0	0	0	25	3%
Family / Home	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.5%
Friendship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Religion	2	5	4	8	8	4	0	0	0	0	31	4%
Secular social settings	58	226	70	62	115	101	20	85	3	22	762	90%
Work	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3	0.5%
Total	**65**	**253**	**78**	**72**	**131**	**112**	**24**	**86**	**3**	**22**	**846**	**100%**

Table 6.1 shows 762 designations of the Secular social settings (SSS) domain among the 846 target texts; this is far and away the most frequent domain; 90% of the texts are assigned to it. The second most common domain is education, with 46 texts, at 5% of the total. The domain of

religion is the third most common, represented in 4% of the texts. The family / home and work domains are negligible: each comprise 0.5% of the total, with 3 texts each. Finally, the friendship domain is not represented in the corpus. In Sections 6.2, I propose a quantitative analysis all of the domains. In Section 6.3, I analyze the reflected domains of education, family / home, friendship, religion, and work in a qualitative manner. Given the preponderance of data in the SSS domain, and the importance of language promotion groups in revitalization efforts, I devote Section 6.4 to further analysis of the main institutional interlocutors within the SSS domain: LPAs, other associations, and government entities.

6.3 Domains linked to *occitan**: Qualitative analysis

The 1994 Loi Toubon declares that French is "la langue de l'enseignement, du travail, des échanges, et des services publics" (Lespoux 2013: 376). Since such a clear assignment of language to social domain is legally codified in France, revitalization efforts must contend with legal as well as practical challenges. The extent of Occitan's presence in each is seen as a valuable indicator of the ways in which language and culture are manifested, or seen to be manifested, in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

6.3.1 Education

Pauwels (2016) states that "[t]he use and presence of the heritage language in the educational domain is […] characterised by enormous diversity" (95). This diversity arises from the variety of institutional and individual actors involved, from students and parents to schools to ministries of education. While research on the potential for formal instruction to lead to language maintenance is ongoing, the evidence from community based language programs is encouraging (Pauwels 2016: 96). In the case of Occitan, certain mainstream public schools offer language instruction; community based associative schools (the bilingual *calandretas*) also offer Occitan-medium instruction in other subjects. A 2010 survey indicated that 36% of Occitanophones between the ages of 18 and 29 acquired their knowledge in an academic setting, not at home (Région Midi-Pyrénées: 7).

Since the passage of the Loi Deixonne in 1951, public education in the regional languages of France has been permitted, but not promoted, by the national government. Yan Lespoux (2013) notes that in 2000, modifications to the Code de l'éducation reinforced the optional nature of such instruction, with the official text stating that "[u]n enseignement de langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité" (375). This laissez-faire approach has led to great disparities in the teaching of regional languages, with variation from district to district and even school to school (Lespoux 2013: 377).

As the teaching of regional languages depends on the mobilization of individuals who agree to offer language instruction in school, disagreements among the parties implicated can hinder its implementation. Lespoux (2013) gives the example of "un chef d'établissement refusant de mettre en place un cours de langue régionale malgré la demande des familles" (376). In rural contexts, depopulation and limited public resources often combine to force a perceived choice between Occitan and adequate staffing. One interesting debate over education covered by the present corpus is a controversy over Occitan instruction in the village of Monestiés, which neighbors Carmaux. In April 2015, following an announcement that one of the four teachers at

the local school would be laid off due to low enrollment, parents occupied the school building in protest. Given the school's limited resources, certain parents felt that the Occitan instruction was an unnecessary drain. However, others insisted that it be retained. In (4), the dilemma is articulated.

(4)   Pourtant l'équipe ne voit pas comment l'enseignement actuel de **l'occitan** pourrait être maintenu sans au moins l'attribution d'un demi-poste, à moins d'opter pour une simple initiation de cette langue. Quelle va être la position des parents **occitanistes**? « Nous craignons des départs d'élèves». DMTA052115OCC

In September 2015, a part-time instructor was appointed to replace the full-time teacher who had been let go. Occitan instruction was discontinued in the preschool classes (*école maternelle*) but retained at the elementary level (*école primaire*).

The Monestiés controversy illustrates the precariousness of regional language instruction in public schools. Occitan is mentioned in 46 texts referring to the domain of education. Of these, 25 refer to mainstream public education for children. The remaining 21 relate to the associative domain. Of these texts, 10 refer to *calandretas* and 11 to language acquisition opportunities for adults. This division suggests that language associations play a major role in language acquisition efforts, and that they aim to enroll both children and adults.

Across southern France, 3894 students were enrolled in the *calandreta* system in 2017; the majority of whom attended school in the Midi-Pyrénées or Languedoc *fédérations*.[85] Example (5) describes the efforts to open a *calandreta* in Carmaux.

(5)   Depuis plusieurs mois, l'association locale Belugeta oeuvre pour la création d'une école laïque d'immersion en langue **occitane** ou Calandreta à Carmaux. Le projet est bouclé, la Calandreta doit ouvrir en septembre avec un potentiel d'une dizaine d'élèves de maternelle. Chaque année, une classe de plus ouvrira à l'instar des Calandreta d'Albi qui compte 60 élèves et existe depuis 5 ans ou encore de Rodez ouverte depuis 15 ans.
Les établissements scolaires Calandreta (en **occitan**, petite alouette) sont des écoles et collèges bilingues franco-**occitanes**. La première Calandreta a vu le jour à Pau en 1979. DMTA062615OCC

In (5), the announcement of the imminent opening of the school in Carmaux is accompanied by a general description and introduction to *calandretas*.

The other major categories of associative education, ongoing language courses and punctual events, are aimed at adults. Hinton notes that "in most cases, adults who want to learn their heritage language have fewer venues available to the even than children" (2011: 303). In this corpus, the number of opportunities proposed by the associative sector for adults and

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[85] "Effectifs." *Calandreta*. http://calandreta.org/fr/effectifs/. Consulted 17 January 2019.

children is the same. However, while all of the acquisition activities mentioned for children refer to the calandretas, only four of the adult activities are recurring courses, as in (6).

> (6) En pratique Le centre **occitan** du pays castrais propose trois niveaux de cours **d'occitan**. Pour les débutants, ils ont lieu le mardi de 18h30 à 20h. Pour les niveaux intermédiaire, c'est le mercredi de 18h à 19h15. Et enfin pour les confirmés, c'est le vendredi de 18h30 à 20h. Les cours ont lieu au centre **occitan**, (05 63 72 40 61) au 6 rue du Consulat à Castres. DMTA021714OCCb

Example (6) promotes Occitan language courses offered by the Centre occitan du pays castrais; the city of Castres is located in southern Tarn. The offering is aimed at learners with various levels of competence; these evening classes are presumably scheduled to accommodate working adults.

The remaining seven acquisition activities aimed at adults referenced in the corpus are annual events combining language acquisition with festive gatherings and performances. Example (7) describes the summer Occitan school held in Villeneuve-sur-Lot; it offers classes for children as well.

> (7) Escòla occitana d'estiu
> La 40e Escòla **Occitana** d'Estiu se déroulera au Lycée Agricole (L'Ostal) de Villeneuve-sur-Lot du 17 au 23 août. Au programme: cours de langue (tous niveaux et tous dialectes); Ateliers de chants, danses, musiques, contes, informatique, onomastique, cuisine etc…. Un stage intensif d'occitan et une 'Escoleta d'Estiu' pour les enfants de 5 à 10 ans et une 'Escòl'Ados' pour les plus grands fonctionneront pendant l'école. La culture occitane ne sera pas oubliée avec des exposés et conférences débats sut la littérature, l'économie, arts, le rugby, l'enseignement… VF072414OCCf

During the Escòla occitana d'estiu, in addition to language classes, *ateliers*, *exposés*, and *conférences* on a humber of topics, from *informatique* to *rugby*, are on the agenda. This type of intensive experience attracts engaged individuals, offering the opportunity to "parler en liberté de d'échanger" (Eygun 2015: 78). According to an article in *Le Villefranchoi*s, the "Universitat occitana de Miègjorn-Pirinèus d'été de Laguépie" is "un lieu d'enseignement, d'étude et d'échanges" (VF070215OCCa). This corpus demonstrates that such gatherings also offer chances to build networks and solidarity among speakers and activists.

6.3.2 Family / home

While the efficacy of formal language instruction for language revitalization is debated, consistent use of a regional or minority language in the family / home domain is often described as essential for language revitalization (Fishman 1991). This domain is marked by a large potential set of interlocutors: "spouse/partner/wife/husband […], children, grandparents, grandchildren, siblings and members of the extended family, especially if they live in the same household or nearby" (Pauwels 2016: 56). The influential nature of childhood experiences with

language and the continuity of interactions with family members over one's lifetime combine to make family / home a very influential domain. In most cases of language shift, including that of Occitan, it is the last domain to maintain use of the non-dominant language (Martel 2013).

The family / home domain is not well represented in the corpus: there are only three examples. This result should be viewed in the context of the nature of the corpus: public discourse is unlikely to touch frequently on private language use. Nevertheless, the texts describing the family / home domain do shed some light on processes of language acquisition in contemporary Tarn and Aveyron, so it is worth examining them in more detail here.

Example (8) is drawn from a letter to the editor of *Le Tarn libre* comparing the right-wing politician Jean-Marie LePen to "les paysans occitans de jadis" in terms of his refusal to cede power to the next generation. The writer is likely an older man, as he speaks of his father having lived in "nos montagnes tarnaises au XXème siècle naissant."

(8)   Mon père disait qu'il y a un temps pour chaque chose et une chose pour chaque temps et ce en **occitan** qui donne encore plus de saveur. TL051515OCCi

It is unclear whether the father referred to in (8) spoke Occitan at all times, or only to relate proverbs. Given historical trends, it is likely that a rural resident of the area at the time would have had Occitan as a first language and a home language (Martel 2013). This text thus reinforces the idea that Occitan is a language spoken by one's forebears. The writer's praise of his father's common sense and peasant background is compounded by the role attributed to language: for him, his father's articulation of this proverb in Occitan added to its resonance.

The second example of Occitan in the in the home is not explicitly related to language. In (9), an interviewee speaks about his love for collecting items, including recipes, related to the history of the town of Lisle-sur-Tarn.

(9)   J'ai aussi un péché mignon, je collectionne toutes les recettes locales, tarnaises et **occitanes**. En effet je suis gourmet alors j'ai même rassemblé dans un recueil confidentiel « Saveurs Albigeoises », toutes les recettes locales au travers des cartes postales. Pour moi la cuisine locale fait partie de notre patrimoine que nous devons défendre et transmettre. Malheureusement certaines recettes de nos grands-mères disparaissent, alors mettons en avant le melsat, le mesturet, le poumpet ou encore le lièvre au flambadou. DMTA081614OCC

Although the recipes themselves are not described as being *en occitan*, the names of the dishes *melsat*, *mesturet*, *poumpet*, as well as *flambadou*, are. The language that the interviewee uses to speak of the situation of the *"recettes de nos grands-mères"* is strikingly similar to that used to speak about language endangerment. For him, local foodways are a part of "notre patrimoine que nous devons défendre et transmettre"; some recipes are even at risk of disappearing. Moreover, the use of the term *occitanes* in coordination with *tarnaises* suggests that the interviewee wishes to point out a connection between the decline of local traditions with the decline in regional culture more generally.

Language maintenance (LM) in the home environment depends in large measure on the richness of the linguistic environment to which children are exposed. According to Pauwels,

> Providing the child with direct verbal input continues to be most important; if this can be done by an array of family members and other speakers of the heritage or minority language, this not only expands the input but also diversifies it, leading to contact with more structures and ways of speaking. In this regard, so-called extended families are better placed than small nuclear families to deliver this. Particularly important is the presence of speakers who prefer, either by necessity or choice, to speak the heritage or minority language. […] Grandparents, in particular, have played and continue to play a major role in heritage or minority LM. (2016: 124)

Example (10) is drawn from an interview in *La Dépêche* with Gisèle Berlic, an Occitan instructor at the Centre occitan du pays castrais, in southern Tarn. In the text, she discusses conflicts around the perception of Occitan in various generations of her family.

(10)   La langue **occitane**, je la tiens de ma grand-mère. C'était vraiment un héritage pour moi. Mais c'est très tard que j'ai eu le besoin d'aller prendre des cours. Nos grands-parents ne nous parlaient pas **occitan** car ils auraient eu l'impression de nous faire du tort. C'était comme ça. Le patois, un mot péjoratif pour moi, ce n'était pas pour nous. Mais je me suis rendu compte de l'importance que cela avait pour moi le jour où finalement je ne l'ai plus entendu à la maison. Quand j'ai voulu aller plus loin, il a fallu apprendre à lire **l'occitan** car c'était pour moi une langue orale seulement jusque-là. DMTA021714OCCa

Berlic explains that she owes her ability to speak Occitan her grandparents. However, they also felt that teaching her the language was doing her a disservice. Although what precipitated the occasion is unclear, her evocation of *le jour où finalement je ne l'ai plus entendu à la maison*, conveys a definite sense of loss. Exposure to Occitan through family laid a linguistic foundation, however conflicted. Further study of the written language required the speaker to seek formal education.

Berlic's grandparents' hesitation to speak Occitan with her reflects the experiences of their generation, which grew up only a couple of decades after the passage of the *Lois Jules Ferry*.[86] In their youth, at the beginning of the 20th century, the linguistic situation in rural southern France was diglossic. Bedel quotes J. Andrieu, who wrote in the Journal du Millau, 14 April 1978, that:

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[86] The interviewee, Gisèle Berlic, was born in 1965 or 1966.

"Gisèle Berlic candidate du Parti occitan." *La Dépêche du Midi*. https://www.ladepeche.fr/article/2017/04/21/2560226-legislatives-gisele-berlic-candidate-du-parti-occitan.html. Conulted 20 January 2019.

> Au début du siècle, toutes les familles du village s'exprimaient encore dans notre vieille langue d'oc. Les enfants n'apprenaient le français qu'à l'école et n'avaient qu'une hâte, à la sortie: reprendre leur langue maternelle. Jusque là, par l'effort de la traduction, les deux langues restèrent bien tranchées, ce qui permet à chacune de conserver sa pureté. Il en fut autrement le jour où, sous la pression des maîtres de l'école, les parents obligèrent leurs enfants de parler français en toute circonstance. (Bedel 2013: 97)

In the context of Andrieu's portrait of the early 20th century, Berlic's personal account suggests that her grandparents were concerned about the stigma associated with the use of Occitan. It is likely that experiences at school contributed to this insecurity, although other social and economic factors also precipitated the definitive shift to French in the first half of the 20th century (Ager 1999: 30). The impact of the institutional demand to stop using regional languages was, according to Andrieu, quite acute. One day, parents ordered their children to speak French. Likewise, one day, Berlic no longer heard Occitan in her home. Given the force exerted by the linguistic demands of school on the home environment, the attribution of power over language to schools, criticized by Eygun (see Section 4.2) is unsurprising.

6.3.3 Friendship

There are no corpus texts depicting the presence of Occitan use in the domain of friendship. I held to three criteria for classifying a text as part of this domain. The topic should not be directly related to organized activities, the interlocutors must be engaged in a non-family personal relationships, and the locale should be non-institutional. Certain texts evoked the idea of friendship within the context of other domains, such as (11).

> (11)   Jornada d'amistat a l'entorn de Bodon
>   **Occitanie**. Un còp de mai, à l'initiative du Grelh Roergàs, le village de Crespinh a connu une grande journée d'amitié, de souvenirs et de partage autour de Joan Bodon. […] Mais las campanas sonnaient pour une messe concélébrée en **occitan**. L'église contenait à peine tout le monde, croyants ou pas. E quina messa!
>   VF082715OCCa

Although *amistat* is mentioned in (11), I did not include it as a token of the friendship domain, as it is in the context of an organized religious activity. Although many of the interlocutors interacting in any of the domains may have friendly relationships with each other, I considered the friendship domain to be a special case, in which mutual affinities bring people together in informal situations. Further investigations of social networks among Occitan activists could uncover such relationships. In any case, it is difficult to find direct evidence for the friendship domain in public discourse.

6.3.4 Religion

The domain of religion encompasses language use in the context of worship, prayer, and other religious practices. Typically, this domain is a site where language maintenance is possible, especially in cases where religious practices proper to a minority or immigrant population are

maintained. Even in cases where public religious ceremonies are performed in the dominant language, personal activities like prayer are often still practiced in the heritage language (Pauwels 2016: 95).

In the corpus, 31 texts are categorized as referencing the domain of religion When considering this domain as represented in the corpus, it is important to bear in mind both the historical role of Occitan in religious life and current trends in religious practice in France. One of the ways in which the Cathars ran afoul of Rome was by writing and preaching in Occitan, with the aim of making religious teaching more accessible to laypeople (Hartweg and Kremnitz 2013: 160-61). Protestants in southern France preferred French over Occitan, although Occitan remained the main language in most other domains; this situation persisted from the 16th through the early 20th century (Hartweg and Kremnitz 2013: 161-62).

During the second half of the 19th century, Catholicism played a role in language revival movements, most notably the Félibrige. Although the Church itself did not endorse language movements, certain language activists were quite devout, and their goals of the were often in line with those of the Church. Hartweg and Kremnitz characterize the relationship between the Church and early language activists in southern France thus:

> En même temps l'Église se reconnaît volontiers dans une partie des revendications de ces mouvements renaissantistes, car elle a beaucoup de difficulté à épouser le progrès, surtout au cours des deux derniers siècles. Le retour à un mode de vie agricole de langue provençale (c'est-à-dire occitane), tel que le premier Félibrige le prône, est très proche des aspirations de l'Église de cette époque. Mais en France les mouvements renaissantistes ne découvrent que très tardivement qu'il ne suffit pas de proposer le retour à une situation idyllique qui pour de nombreux fidèles n'en était pas une, mais qui leur aurait fallu s'intéresser en même temps au devenir social de ceux qui parlent la langue dominée et qui le plus souvent appartiennent aux couches peu favorisées de la société. (2013: 165)

In criticizing the utopian vision of the *renaissantistes*, the authors make an incisive point. Appeals to tradition and values were insufficient, in and of themselves, to reestablish the language practices of previous generations during the course of the 20th century. At the dawn of the 21st century, trends in France indicate that the religious sphere too is declining in influence. Although 64% of respondents in a recent poll identified themselves as Christian, only 18% attend church at least once a month.[87]

The Occitan movement is not strongly associated with Catholicism today. However, individuals who are engaged in religious life and Occitan may encourage the use of the language in religious practices. Conversely, religious practices may also figure into events focused on language and culture, as is the case in (11).

(11)   Jornada d'amistat a l'entorn de Bodon

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[87] "Being Christian in Western Europe." *Pew Research Center: Religion and Public Life.* http://www.pewforum.org/2018/05/29/being-christian-in-western-europe/. Consulted 13 February 2019.

> **Occitanie**. Un còp de mai, à l'initiative du Grelh Roergàs, le village de Crespinh a connu une grande journée d'amitié, de souvenirs et de partage autour de Joan Bodon. […] Mais las campanas sonnaient pour une messe concélébrée en **occitan**. L'église contenait à peine tout le monde, croyants ou pas. E quina messa!
> VF082715OCCa

Example (11) is taken from an article about an event celebrating the life and work of the Aveyronnais author Joan Bodon (1920-1975). The description of the Mass that was conducted in Occitan as part of the event is notable for its codeswitching (*las campanas, E quina messa!*) and for its characterization of the attendees. Readers are told that the church was filled to the brim, and that the attendees were both believers and nonbelievers. These details convey the openness of the event as well as its exceptional nature: it seems to occur outside the typical round of weekly services.

The mass *en occitan* is part of a larger celebration in (12) as well.

(12)   > ALMONT-LES-JUNIES
        La Vie d'avant propose un dimanche tout en occitan
        L'association La Vie d'avant vous invite à participer, à Almont, le dimanche 21 juin, à 10 h 30, à une messe en **occitan** célébrée par les prêtres Hubert Fau et Pierre Demierre, animée par les paroissiens et les Faisseliers. À l'issue de la cérémonie, à 11 h 30, vous partagerez le verre de l'amitié autour du père Hubert Fau qui dédicacera son livre «Souvenirs d'un prêtre aveyronnais».
        DMAD061315OCC

Example (12) suggests that several of the trends described by Hartweg and Kremnitz are ongoing. The association sponsoring the *dimanche tout en occitan* is La Vie d'avant, which is dedicated to "la préservation du patrimoine."[88] This union of an association that prizes the history of the region and the Church, which arguably "a beaucoup de difficulté à épouser le progrès" conforms to the authors' characterizations. The recent past is also evoked by the promotion of a memoir by Père Fau, *Souvenirs d'un prêtre aveyronnais*. Sunday's main event, the *messe en occitan*, has a complicated relationship with the past. In 1962, the Second Vatican Council decreed that vernacular languages could be used in the celebration of Mass, thus ending the monopoly of Latin in this part of the service. Use of Occitan was declining rapidly, even in rural areas, during the 1960s, so its widespread adoption as a vernacular language in Mass seems improbable. This chronology shows that Mass in Occitan is an anachronism. Its use in this practice is charged with symbolism, as it takes on the role of H religious language once held by Latin.

Mass in Occitan is a very occasional event, according to the corpus; there is no evidence of a weekly Occitan Mass in either town, although they may occur elsewhere.. Rather, it is typically celebrated in conjunction with another event dedicated to local language and culture.

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[88] "La vie d'avant." *Net1901*. https://www.net1901.org/association/LA-VIE-DAVANT,992000.html. Consulted 13 February 2019.

The other major type of event in the religious domain is the Christmas concert taking place in a church. The Occitan element is the singing of *nadalets*, or carols. In (13), a concert of *nadalets* is announced.

(13)   Les Nadalets racontent les doutes et la confiance, la crainte et l'espoir, la dignité des plus faibles, l'humilité des plus grands, et au milieu d'une nuit particulière, le miracle. Ces chansons viennent réveiller la faculté à s'émerveiller, celle qui nous relie à l'enfance. Ce samedi 21 décembre, à 16 heures, l'église de La Salvetat-des-Carts donnera à entendre des chants de Noël **en occitan** : los Nadalets interprétés par le trio Nòu Sòrres. Un vin chaud accompagné de pâtisseries clôturera le concert. à [sic] cette occasion, le CD, album souvenir du concert de Nadalets, sera en vente. DMAD122113OCCa

The text in (13) describes the functions of the *nadalets*, which include that of expressing a range of emotions and of evoking "le miracle" that occurred on "une nuit particulière." The appeal is broad: potential audience members who attend church only on major holidays, or lovers of music, or lovers of Occitan, are not likely to be deterred from attending by rigid religious dogma. This leaves Occitan in the position of a novelty, not truly incorporated into the domain.

6.3.5 Secular social settings (SSS)

Due to its large size, I devote an expanded analysis to the SSS domain in Section 6.4. In the analysis, I consider the various institutional interlocutors implicated in the texts.

6.3.6 Work

Over the course of history, shift toward French was largely driven by economic considerations (see Chapter 2). Pauwels argues that "the official rhetoric of many societies, including those supportive of linguistic diversity and multilingualism, is that minorities and immigrants need to learn the majority or dominant language in order to fully participate in society, especially in employment" (2016: 96). France is a particularly strong example of this rhetoric, given the *Loi Toubon*'s designation of French as the *langue du travail* of France (see Section 6.3).

It is important to note the methodological complications inherent in analyzing this domain. A singer conducting a workshop on *chant occitan*, an actor in a *pièce occitane*, or a teacher in a *calandreta* all use the language in the course of their employment. However, in this section, I exclude situations in which Occitan is a work language within revitalization efforts. It is methodologically difficult to ascertain whether interlocutors are acting as paid employees or as volunteers, a criterion that is essential to differentiating work from SSS contexts.

In the corpus, only three texts evoke the use of Occitan in work contexts. Two of these relate to an initiative piloted by the Établissements hospitaliers pour personnes âgées dépendantes (EHPAD) of the Midi-Pyrénées region and the Centre d'anthropologie sociale de l'université de Toulouse le Mirail. The hypothesis that the use of Occitan in EHPADs could be beneficial to residents was tested in institutions across the region. Positive results were presented in Le Tarn libre, as seen in (14).

(14)   Comment améliorer le bien-être des personnes âgées? C'est dans cette optique que différents conseils généraux de Midi-Pyrénées se sont investis pendant plusieurs années. A la clé, une étude prouvant que **l'Occitan** est une aide indispensable à la qualité de la vie des pensionnaires de maisons de retraite.
TL0221140CCi

EHPADs, both those involved in the study and those hoping to incorporate beneficial linguistic practices into their care, have taken several approaches to encourage the use of Occitan. Visits from schoolchildren studying Occitan and conversation circles led by local speakers are popular. Encouraging the use of Occitan by the EHPAD personnel is another approach, and one that brings the language into the work domain.

(15)   Le personnel soignant doit évidemment faire partie du processus d'amélioration du bien-être des personnes âgées. Parler aux pensionnaires dans leur langue maternelle améliore la relation de confiance soigné/soignant. Seul problème, celui-ci ne connaît pas forcément **l'occitan**. "Nous avons proposé des formations en linguistique, financées à moitié par la CODERPA et par les établissements. Nous allons également mettre en place un petit lexique des expressions utiles, facile à glisser dans la poche", indique Marie-Françoise Rivail, chargée de mission "Culture **occitane**" du Gers. TL0221140CCi

The lack of Occitanophone personnel noted in (15) is mitigated by the creation of a pocket guide to basic vocabulary. Employees are thus encouraged, if not directly mandated, to use and acquire a basic competence in Occitan in order to better carry out their duties.

The use of Occitan in the work domain also appears in (16), a text promoting the touristic appeal of a weekly market.

(16)   Dès l'aube, la ville s'éveille au bruit des allées et venues affairées et des gloussements de volailles...
Venez les rencontrer, ceux qui font vivre cette ville, venez écouter la rondeur de leur accent quand ils s'interpellent en **Occitan**...
Venez goûter la vérité d'un terroir au travers des produits qu'ils vous offrent.
GOVVF079

The sounds referenced in the text, the *bruit des allées et venues affairée*s, the *gloussements de volailles*, and the *rondeur de leur accent quand ils s'interpellent en Occitan,* are all meant to evoke the ambiance of the town on market day. The vendors who are speaking to each other here are in a very different context from that of the EHPAD personnel. Ostensibly, there is no mandate for them to use the language; the reader assumes that their speech is as authentic as the *terroir*

and natural as the *gloussements de volailles*.[89] The vendors' behavior is also potentially reflective of language use in the rural areas from which they typically hail.

The appearance of Occitan in the market is in line with Pauwels's assessment that "[a] work environment where the minority or heritage language may have a prominent place is that of small businesses, shops and certain trades […] other than this sector of employment, the work domain is not associated with LM" (2016: 97). The potential for LM in this domain is predicated on the involvement of younger generations in the business and their perpetuation of the linguistic practices. It is unclear whether that is occurring in the case of Occitan.

6.4 Secular social settings (SSS)

For the purpose of this study, understanding Occitan's presence in secular social settings (SSS) is indispensable. Unfortunately, it is not as well studied as some of the other domains under discussion. Pauwels defines it as including exchanges in the context of clubs and societies; the domain is relevant to studies of language maintenance and shift in migrant settings (2016: 56). Since SSS is by far the best-represented domain in the corpus, the high volume of texts demand further nuance. In order to better interpret this data, I classify the texts according to the characteristics of the primary institutional interlocutor.[90] I propose the term "institutional interlocutor" to denote an interlocutor that is not an individual person, such as an association or a governmental entity. This usage harmonizes with Fishman's broad characterization of an interlocutor as a "communicator" (1968: 81). It also has the advantage of being appropriate to the situation of contemporary Occitan revitalization, which is undertaken by individuals and a range of groups and institutions. A quantitative summary of classifications in the SSS domain appears in Table 6.2; a qualitative analysis appears in Sections 6.41 through 6.4.6.

Table 6.2. Secular social settings domain classifications

Domain	DM TR	D MT A	D MA V	DM AD	TL	VF	GO VCR	GOV VF	ASS OCR	ASS OVF	Total	Frequency (%)
(associative, LPA)	18	70	13	12	52	29	12	17	2	11	**236**	**28%**
(associative, LPA + other)	1	6	1	1	4	10	0	1	0	7	**31**	**4%**
(associative, LPA + governmental)	1	1	3	7	2	2	0	33	0	0	**49**	**6%**
(associative, other)	14	39	9	21	22	10	0	2	0	0	**117**	**14%**

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[89] The vendors potentially speak with their clients in Occitan as well, but this is not attested in the corpus.

[90] Topic and locale also play a secondary role in these classifications (e.g. an event sponsored by a local secular association may include a mass in Occitan, thus situating it in the religion domain).

(governmental)	3	20	12	6	8	7	4	17	0	1	**78**	**9%**
(other)	5	27	7	6	9	17	0	3	0	0	**74**	**8%**
(unspecified)	16	63	25	9	18	26	4	12	1	3	**177**	**21%**
Total	**58**	**226**	**70**	**62**	**115**	**101**	**20**	**85**	**3**	**22**	**762**	**100%**

I have classified the SSS domain texts into four broad categories. The first category denotes texts in which there is an associative institutional interlocutor. The LPA may be accompanied by other institutional interlocutors, so this category is further subdivided into four sub-groups. The first, SSS Associative (LPA) denotes texts in which an LPA appears as the sole institutional interlocutor. The second sub-group, SSS Associative (LPA + other)" denotes texts in which an LPA and another association are the institutional interlocutors. The third sub-group, SSS Associative (LPA + governmental) denotes texts in which an LPA and a governmental entity are the institutional interlocutors. The fourth sub-group contains texts in which the institutional interlocutor is from the associative sector, but is not an LPA.

The second category SSS (governmental)" includes texts in which the primary institutional interlocutor is a governmental entity (excluding public education, which appears in the education domain, in Section 6.3.1). The third category, SSS (other), is composed of texts referencing non-governmental, non-associative groups as primary institutional interlocutors. The fifth group, SSS (unspecified), contains texts whose topic and locale place them in the SSS domain, but whose institutional interlocutors are unspecified.

6.4.1 Secular social settings (SSS): Associative (LPA)

Loi 1901 associations play a pivotal role in French civic life (see Chapter 3, Section 2.3). The association is a major form of organization for grassroots language activism; the IEO, the largest LPA involved in Occitan revitalization, is itself an *association loi 1901*. LPAs are mentioned 316 times as primary institutional interlocutors in the corpus. In the corpus, 236 texts (28%) identify one or more LPAs as the sole institutional interlocutor(s). This figure suggests that, while multiple interlocutors are implicated in revitalization activities, LPAs often act independently to propose events, programs, and cultural activities.

In (17), the Centre culturel occitan du Rouergue (CCOR) organizes an annual workshop in traditional dance.

(17)   Du 16 au 19 août, le Centre culturel **occitan** du Rouergue organise un stage de danses et musiques traditionnelles au lycée Louis-Querbes, site CEDEC. Depuis plus de 20 ans, le centre culturel **occitan** du Rouergue organise tous les ans cet événement rassemblant une centaine de stagiaires de toute la France.
DMAV062914OCCb

The CCOR is listed as the sole institutional interlocutor; other non-institutional interlocutors include the *stagiaires*, who travel from all over France to participate, and the instructors. The longevity of the workshop is highlighted, along with its popularity. In addition to publicizing the event itself, the text also implies that the CCOR is a dependable and productive force in the community. The following description appears on its website:

> Il [le CCOR] participe avec l'ensemble des associations occitanes aux différentes manifestations de promotion de la langue et de la culture occitane, en Aveyron et ailleurs, notamment aux Assises de la Culture Occitane afin de définir un cadre règlementaire pour le développement de l'occitan dans l'enseignement, les médias, la vie publique…[91]

This statement makes it clear that the CCOR is part of an associative network. Due to the lack of top-down support on the national level, language revitalization in France often appears fragmentary. However, affiliations between the IEO and its partners, and among other LPAs like the CCOR show coordination on the meso level.

6.4.2 Secular social settings (SSS): Associative (LPA + other)

In Section 6.5.1, coordination between LPAs on Occitan initiatives was demonstrated. Such coordination exists not only among LPAs, but also between LPAs and other actors. There are 31 texts referring to events or other entities sponsored by LPAs and other associations in the corpus. For instance, (18) promotes a performing arts event sponsored by the Maison d'animation Lo Capial and the Centre occitan Rochegude.

> (18)   La maison d'animation Lo Capial en partenariat avec le centre **occitan** Rochegude accueille son atelier théâtre composé de 8 comédiens le samedi 10 octobre à partir de 20 h 30 au Cinélux. L'entrée sera de 5 euros pour les adultes et gratuit pour les moins de 12 ans. DMTA100915OCCc

The Centre occitan Rochegude is an LPA in Albi; Lo Capial is an association based in the small neighboring community of Saint-Juéry. The latter is composed of "23 sections différentes qui proposent des activités sportives, récréatives et culturelles qui regroupent près de 700 personnes."[92] In rural areas, affiliations between associations permit the pooling of resources and thus a richer cultural offering. Lo Capial, which offers a variety of sport, leisure, and arts activities, states that "[b]eaucoup de ces activités ne seraient pas proposées sur Saint-Juéry sans la mutualisation des moyens au sein d'une association comme le Capial."[93] Through coordination with other associations, LPAs can hope to attract a broader audience for their Occitan revitalization activities.

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[91] "CCOR." *Centre culturel occitan du Rouergue*. https://ccor.eu. Consulted 20 January 2019.

[92] "L'association." *Lo Capial*. http://www.locapial.org/lassociation/. Consulted 20 January 2019.

[93] ibid.

6.4.3 Secular social settings (SSS): Associative (LPA + governmental)

In 49 texts, LPAs are depicted as collaborating with governmental entities for Occitan language promotion. One such example appears in (19), which publicizes a scholarly presentation on the troubadours. I reproduce it here in its original form, a poster.

(19)

GOVVF025

In (19), the topic and speaker are placed at the top ("Conférence 'Troubadours'"); the time and date to the right of an illustration (Vendredi 8 février 2013 18h); and the location appears at the bottom (Bibliothèque municipale Villefranche-de-Rouergue). The small print on the bottom reads "Conférence proposée par l'IEO del Vilafrancat dans le cadre des semaines occitanes 2013." Two small icons appearing below the text "18h" give more information about the institutional interlocutors: the first is the logo of the IEO, the second the logo of the Mairie de Villefranche-de-Rouergue. The event was set to be held in a public space, the town library.

The links between LPAs and governmental entities are made explicit in many of the corpus's texts. This overlap between institutional interlocutors, as noted in Chapter 3, <u>Section</u>, implies a close working relationship. While (19) comes from the Villefranche-de-Rouergue government subcorpus, it clearly involves an LPA as well. During an interview with an

individual working in the town archives of Villefranche, I learned that the municipal government has not historically proposed initiatives related to Occitan language and culture. Rather, it relies on associative partners like the IEO to develop and organizes initiatives, which it, in turn, funds. The same arrangement exists in Carmaux as well, as seen in (20).

(20)　Compte-rendu conseil municipal 25 Jun 2009

Attributions de subvention :
Monsieur le Maire propose au conseil municipal l'attribution des subventions suivantes :
[…] Cercle occitan de Carmaux : 150 € pour l'organisation d'un concert […]
GOVCR035

The text of (17) indicates that the municipal government dispensed funds to the COC for a particular event, a concert. My analysis of the corpus suggests a strong reliance on governmental funds for the functioning of LPAs. The relationship between the associative sector and government, be it municipal, departmental, or regional, is worth examining in greater depth.

Due to the lack of intervention on the national level, language revitalization has necessarily been a grassroots project in France. Since World War II, LPAs have developed a set of practices inspired by other language movements and tailored to local needs. With the advent of regional governments in the 1980s, these state actors began to play an ever-larger role in supporting language promotion efforts. Over the past decade, the emergence of governmental agencies devoted to Occitan, like the Tarn's Mission langue et culture occitanes and the Office public de la langue occitane (OPLO) have shifted language revitalization efforts from the associative sector to the departmental and regional levels, respectively. The OPLO was created in September 2015 as a "groupement d'intérêt public," or partnership between two or more organisms in the public or public and private sectors. It is a collaboration between the regions of Occitanie and Nouvelle-Aquitaine.[94] The OPLO focuses on the use and transmission of the language itself, as is clear from its mission statement:

Développer l'usage et la transmission de l'occitan, la double mission de l'Office public de la langue occitane.
Cibler les jeunes pour augmenter le nombre de locuteurs actifs et favoriser la transmission de la langue occitane.[95]

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[94] The Occitanophone regions Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur are not involved in the OPLO.

[95] "Objectifs et missions." *Ofici public de la lenga occitana*. https://ofici-occitan.eu/fr/objectifs-et-missions/. Consulted 23 January 2019.

The establishment of the OPLO has not come without some controversy. In April 2018, the Assemblé générale of the IEO moved to declare that

> La mise en place de l'Office public pour la langue occitane (OPLO) réorganise profondément les relations entre les acteurs institutionnels, change les interlocuteurs institutionnels du secteur associatif, et bouleverse les modes d'attribution des aides à ce réseau.[96]

The scarcity of resources available for language revitalization figures into this tension between the IEO and the OPLO. The IEO has complained that the creation of the OPLO has changed the organization of the institutional actors, as well as the interaction between the IEO and other associative actors. In order to address these issues, the IEO demands

> une clarification de l'organisation de l'OPLO quant à :
> • ses objectifs et missions concrètes ;
> • ses perspectives d'élargissement à l'ensemble du territoire occitan ;
> • ses relations avec le réseau associatif et notamment l'IEO.[97]

The third complaint relates to changes in financial support for the IEO. Before the advent of the OPLO, the IEO had been the dominant force in Occitan revitalization in southwestern France; it set the agenda with regard to the development and implementation of language and culture initiatives. The IEO contends that the relatively reliable support it had received from regional governments in the southwest has been disrupted as more money has been allocated to the OPLO. They claim that reduced subsidies in 2017 led to "le licenciement de personnel salarié et l'arrêt d'activités," and that a lack of transparency on the OPLO's part prevents them from making reliable plans for the upcoming year.[98]

The controversy over OPLO demonstrates that associative stakeholders are accustomed to a certain level of self-determination and support from local and regional governments. It also suggests that the community level is being conflated with the state. In attempting to defend its position and ensure its continuing relevance, the IEO finds itself at odds with another entity that shares similar goals. Occitan revitalization appears to be in a period of transition, with various interests eager to implement their own vision of language revitalization on a large scale. Since the present corpus is not longitudinal, it is not possible to comment on whether the relative representation of government and LPA entities has changed in tandem with the increased role of government, most notably in Tarn.

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[96] "Mocion #1 AG 2018 relative à l'OPLO." *IEO*. http://www.ieo-oc.org/Mocion-1-AG-2018-relative-a-l-OPLO. Consulted 23 January 2019.

[97] ibid.

[98] ibid.

6.4.4 Secular social settings (SSS): Associative (other)

LPAs are not the only associative interlocutors involved in Occitan language and culture promotion.[99] There are 117 instances of non-LPA associations appearing as institutional interlocutors in the corpus. In (21), the Club de l'amitié in the village of La Fouillade organizes an event to mark its 15th anniversary.

(21)   > la FOUILLADE
Les 15 ans du Club de l'amitié
À l'occasion de cet anniversaire, le Club de l'amitié vous invite à participer au spectacle en français et en **occitan**, animé par la troupe de Compolibat Les Z'igues, ce dimanche 12 octobre, à 14 heures, à la salle d'Arcanhac. Entrée gratuite.
À l'issue du spectacle ouvert à tous, un goûter sera offert par l'association.
DMAD100914OCC

The festivities include a play in French and Occitan, followed by refreshments. The Club de l'amitié is not an LPA, so the inclusion of Occitan is not obligatory. Rather, the organizers seem to have determined that a play in Occitan would be both popular and appropriate for their group.

The Club professes an interest in "la rencontre entre les personnes de tout âge qui souhaitent partager un moment de détente et de solidarité inter-générations."[100] According to the interviews that I conducted with their members, LPAs in Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux are also interested in intergenerational contacts, as they struggle to attract younger members. The average age in rural departments is markedly higher than that of more urbanized ones. The share of residents over the age of 55 in Aveyron[101] is 40%; in Tarn[102] it is 37%. These numbers are striking when compared to the 27% share recorded in neighboring Haute-Garonne,[103] the department in which the city of Toulouse is located. The high proportion of older residents in

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[99] It must be noted that some of the associative interlocutors that fall into this category are not necessarily related to Occitan language and culture. For example, the association CAR Occitan (Club des amateurs d'anciennes Renault) accounts for five of the texts in this category. Its decision to use *occitan* in its name is likely indicative of the acceptance and popularity of the designation, but does not imply engagement with Occitan itself.

[100] "Club de l'amitié du pays des Serènes." *Lunac-Aveyron-Rouergue*. http://www.lunac-aveyron-rouergue.fr/associationsmani/index.html. Consulted 28 January 2019.

[101] "POP1A - Population par sexe et âge regroupé en 2015, Département de l'Aveyron (12)." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3569144?geo=DEP-12&sommaire=3569168. Consulted 28 January 2019.

[102] "POP1A - Population par sexe et âge regroupé en 2015, Département du Tarn (81)." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3569144?sommaire=3569168&geo=DEP-81. Consulted 28 January 2019.

[103] "POP1A - Population par sexe et âge regroupé en 2015, Département de la Haute-Garonne (31)." *INSEE*. https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3569144?geo=DEP-31&sommaire=3569168. Consulted 28 January 2019.

Aveyron and Tarn is thus a contributing factor to initiatives that seek to include younger people in civil society associations.

The corpus attests to interest in Occitan on the part of non-LPAs. Although each instance is the product of a complex interplay of factors, it seems reasonable to offer some tentative explanations for the inclusion of Occitan in the cultural offerings of the associative sector. First, individuals who are active in the Occitan movement are not necessarily restricted to LPAs. Since many are generally active in the community, they may also take part in other associations, where they promote the inclusion of Occitan. Second, the Occitan movement has undeniably succeeded in making the language visible in the public sphere and in attributing prestige to it.[104] Thus, incorporating Occitan cultural practices could be attractive to community members, who likely hold positive impressions of the language and culture.[105] Third, Occitan's inclusion could be a simple response to demand on the part of the community.

A growing interest in Occitan on the part of younger, urban residents is well documented (Rulhes 2000, Touraine and Dubet 1981). The possibility that Occitan could provide an intergenerational link might be at play here, as demonstrated in (21). Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the cultural offering of LPAs in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue has ned yet succeeded in fostering the desired level of participation by younger generations. Moreover, in-group phenomena may contribute to associations' engagement with Occitan. In his study of the contemporary Occitan movement, Christophe Rulhes claims that, for rural speakers, "[la langue occitane] n'est pas un marqueur identitaire sur le marché des échanges culturels, elle est signe de reconnaissance sur un espace d'intime proximité" (2000: 19-20). According to this proposition, the appearance of Occitan in the non-LPA associative sector would not be expected to attract external interest, but rather to signify to local residents an engagement with tradition. This, in turn, would create a space for reinforcement of community norms in concert with practice of Occitan. The present corpus suggests that revitalization practices are indeed tied to a sense of local identity through specific cultural practices. Moreover, community engagement is frequently portrayed as a welcome corollary of cultural activities, as is the case in (21).

6.4.5 Secular social settings (SSS): Governmental

In the corpus, there are 78 texts in which governmental entities are mentioned as the sole institutional interlocutor. The majority of these are local and departmental entities. The analysis in Section 6.5.3 showed that governmental entities are frequent partners for LPAs in developing and implementing Occitan initiatives. As the relationships between government entities and LPAs evolve (see Section 6.5.3), it is still useful to keep in mind the influence of LPAs and individual activists on governmental action, even where government is the sole interlocutor. The texts analyzed in this section illustrate these trends.

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[104] "Occitan." *Ethnologue.* https://www-ethnologue-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/language/oci. Consulted 9 December 2019.

[105] Without longitudinal data, it is difficult to say whether there has been an uptick in such activities, or whether the ways in which they are referred to have changed over time.

Example (22) describes the commitment to Occitan on the part of Villefranche-de-Rouergue's municipal government.

(22)   Langue et culture, **l'occitan** est l'héritage et le patrimoine de tous les habitants de notre territoire : la commune de Villefranche-de-Rouergue est un soutien et un acteur volontariste dans ce domaine. GOVVF090

Example (22) is part of a bilingual article devoted to cultivating appreciation for Occitan and to defining the town's engagement with it. The municipality of Villefranche-de-Rouergue is characterized as both *un soutien* and *un acteur volontariste* in Occitan revitalization. The former refers to its support for non-governmental linguistic and cultural activities of the type illustrated in Section 4.5.2. However, the latter implies an engagement that is, to some degree, independent of its partners in the associative sector. Neither Villefranche-de-Rouergue nor Carmaux have offices or personnel specifically dedicated to Occitan within local government.

The departmental governments of Aveyron and Tarn do have entities specifically dedicated to Occitan, although their scopes vary markedly (see also Chapter 3, Section 2.2). The department of Aveyron plays a role in language revitalization through the Institut occitan d'Aveyron (IOA). The text in (23) presents the major functions of the IOA.

(23)   Institut **Occitan** de l'Aveyron- Al Canton
Contact: Jean Gibergues
Promotion de la langue et la culture **occitane**, le patrimoine ethnologique
Réalisation de documents pédagogiques et audiovisuals sur la totalité du département de l'Aveyron
Lieu de pratique: 5 avenue V. Cibiel GOVVF902

The principal undertaking of the IOA is been the production of *Al Canton*. Materials like photographs, historical documents, descriptions of cultural practices obtained through interviews of elderly residents, are collected in its volumes. One volume is dedicated to each *canton* of Aveyron.[106] The introduction to the volume on Villefranche-de-Rouergue declares that "[l]'équipe Al Canton s'est efforcée d'élaborer un véritable outil culturel avec l'aide des partenaires associatifs et institutionnels locaux ou départementaux" (Bedel et al. 2010: 7).

During an interview, a language activist who helped found the *Al Canton* project told me that the original vision, which began to be implemented in the early 1990s, was to "faire passer toute initiative patrimoniale, traditionnelle, tourisme culturel, par une sensibilisation de la langue." However, the departmental government did not continue to support this project, and LPAs did not step in to perpetuate it. While *Al Canton* remains an impressive collection of Aveyron's patrimony and tradition, its scope was narrowed over time. The original plan, which called for at least 20 paid employees to carry out research and liaise with the public as

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[106] The *cantons* are divisions of territory whose principal function is electoral. Each *canton* is roughly equal in population, and elects two representatives to its department's *Conseil général*. However, before the 21st century they were centers of local administration (Claval 1993: 74-75).

animateurs du patrimoine rural, would have entailed more language instruction and perhaps led to other initiatives. In the case of *Al Canton*, what was a broad, explicitly language-focused project became a narrower project on cultural heritage.

Regardless of its ultimate scope, *Al Canton* can be viewed as a project whose major aims concern the preservation, not necessarily cultivation of new, modern language use in Aveyron. The case of Tarn differs in that several initiatives targeting new uses of Occitan have been proposed by that department's Mission langue et culture occitanes, established in 2008. The initiatives are driven by an outward-facing, modernizing approach. In (24), the new *marque territoriale* "Tarn, cœur d'Occitanie" (TCO) is mentioned in conjunction with an initiative to put signs bearing the name of the *commune* in Occitan throughout the department.

> (24)   Cette opération vient en soutien de la marque territoriale "Tarn, cœur **d'Occitanie**" qui compte plus de 148 adhérents deux mois après son lancement à l'Hôtel du Département. "Ces panneaux renforcent la cohérence, la pertinence et la légitimité des panneaux bilingues aux entrées des communes" complète Jean Gasc. Le département a notamment financé à 80% deux panneaux d'entrée d'agglomération en **occitan** de 126 communes tarnaises, dont ceux de Mirandol-Bourgnounac. TL030615OCCc

The *marque territoriale*, or place branding, is meant to allow a particular area to effectively manage its own public image (Vuignier 2017: 59). The city of Nîmes goes so far as to claim that a *marque territoriale* not only distinguishes the city within France and overseas, but also that "L'existence de cette marque est devenue essentielle pour permettre au territoire d'exister, tout simplement."[107] In developing its own *marque territoriale*, the department of Tarn has chosen to emphasize its Occitan identity.

> La marque « Tarn, cœur d'Occitanie » s'inscrit dans la démarche du « tourisme culturel occitan » qui vise à faire découvrir le Tarn à travers son riche patrimoine occitan que l'on peut contempler, savourer et ressentir au quotidien : architecture, gastronomie, histoire, légendes, métiers traditionnels, toponymie, langue, musique, chants et danses témoignent de cet héritage des troubadours transmis depuis des siècles par le cœur et la mémoire des Tarnais.[108]

The use of Occitan cultural patrimony to promote Tarn as a tourist destination is a decidedly outward-facing move (Diver 2015, Amos 2017). When viewed as a part of the department's broader project concerning Occitan, the signage project mentioned in (24) effectively serves as a branding measure. In its presentation of the *marque*, Tarn tourisme highlights a range of products

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[107] "Pourquoi une marque territoriale?" *Openîmes Metropole*. https://www.openimes.fr/pourquoi-une-marque-territoriale/. Consulted 1 February 2019.

[108] "La marque « Tarn, cœur d'Occitanie » : qu'es aquò ?" *Tarn tourisme*. https://www.tourisme-tarn.com/la-culture-occitane. Consulted 1 February 2019.

and practices that can be experienced in the present day, including the built environment (*architecture*), food (*gastronomie*), and cultural practices (*musique, chants et danses*).

The establishment of the *marque territoriale* TCO is based on the assumption that the association with Occitan will be viewed positively and lead to increased touristic interest in the department. The *marque*'s website lists a variety of partners, which include producers, businesses and services, accommodations, and restaurants.[109] However, the parameters that govern this membership are not clear. In his study of the role of multilingualism in the marque territoriale in Alsace, Dominique Huck (2009) states that

> La 'langue régionale' peut bien être présente chez des acteurs du monde économique, mais sans statut fonctionnel ou opératoire direct. Il s'agit d'une présence voilée, peu valorisée en soi dans la mesure où la conscience de son rôle est relativement faible. Dans ce sens, le dialecte et sa connaissance sont à la fois inutiles dans l'interaction économique en tant que telle, importantes comme élément implicite prérequis. (244)

A fundamental uncertainty about the role of the Occitan language in the TCO initiative prevails as well. The public face of TCO, primarily its website, does not give information on any linguistic criteria that govern membership or on the frequency of language use among its partners. The initiative, still in its early stages, is perhaps best viewed as an economic one. Its auxiliary effects could eventually include imparting value to Occitan. Since the main aim is to attract tourists who likely do not speak Occitan, a forceful declaration that each partner must use Occitan on their premises could be viewed as exclusionary.

A similar tension between economic and revitalization aims holds true for the internal dimension of TCO. A strict language requirement might discourage participation, which would be counterproductive to an initiative meant to spur economic and cultural development in the department. Examples (25-28) are taken from an article titled "Lancement de la marque «Cœur d'Occitanie» : le Tarn exploite sa «mine d'oc»" (DMTA112714OCC).[110]

(25) Provençal en train de rénover le moulin de Ferrières vieux de 600 ans, Jean-Pierre Mie est persuadé «du potentiel touristique de **l'occitan**, auprès de vacanciers qui viennent chercher l'authenticité».

(26) «C'était évident pour nous. Nous vendons des produits locaux et nous avons toujours baigné dans **l'occitan**», témoigne Viviane Lafon, de la charcuterie Lafon d'Albi.

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[109] "Venez rencontrer les acteurs qui font battre le cœur occitan du Tarn." *Tarn, cœur d'Occitanie.* http://tarncoeuroccitanie.com/rencontrer/adherents-a-la-marque/. Consulted 5 February 2019.

[110] With the exception of (32), none of these examples are target tokens. Rather, they present a set of discourses on Occitan within one of the target texts. Each of the examples (30-33) include direct quotes from TCO participants.

> (27)   «Pour tout ce qui donne de la visibilité à **l'occitan**, on est tout de suite oc!»,
> enchaîne Mathieu Fantin du groupe de musiques **occitanes** revisitées Brick a drac.
> DMTA112714OCC3

> (28)   Très divers, les premiers signataires sont «ravis», à l'instar d'Ysabel Diette du
> Jardin médiéval de Padiès, même si pour sa part elle «ne parle que la langue
> d'oïl».

The partners interviewed for the article are unanimously enthusiastic about taking part in TCO, but their quotes reinforce the initiative's nebulous relationship to language. In (25), Occitan is linked with *l'authenticité*; in (26), it is described as part of the atmosphere; in (27) it is in need of *de la visibilité*. The interviewee in (28) does not speak Occitan, but is thrilled to participate. In each statement, language is present, it is described as an atmospheric element, not as a practice.

Data from a 2010 sociolinguistic survey of Tarn indicate that 87% of respondents agreed that "l'histoire et la culture occitanes contribuent à valoriser les activités touristiques" (Rayssac and Sour 2013: 4). In 2016, the department and the Université de Toulouse Jean-Jaurès committed to a five-year collaborative framework of research and exchange supporting Occitan cultural tourism in Tarn. It focuses on outreach to institutional partners like the area's *Offices de tourisme*. Notably, language acquisition does not figure among the stated goals of Tarn's Occitan tourism efforts. According to Philippe Sour, the *chargé de Mission,* at the time of the establishment of the Mission langue et culture occitanes, "[l]'objectiu del Conselh General de Tarn éra de respondre a una demanda dels tarneses de desvolopar l'occitan, dins cada sector de la vida publica: l'ensenhament, la cultura (segur) mas tanben l'economia, lo torisme, la solidaritat e la formacion professionala."[111] With his use of *(segur) mas tanben*, Sour implies that the presence of Occitan in educational and cultural spheres is conventional, but that its presence in the economic sphere and the world of work is not. Thus, Tarn's cultural tourism project seeks to further establish Occitan in public life. Data on cultural and linguistic tourism from the study corpus indeed suggest that novel government initiatives to promote Occitan, like *Al Canton* and TCO, are indeed being publicized. However, at present more detailed studies on the effects of such initiatives have not been produced. Thus, the present study is licensed to comment on their representation, which tends to be optimistic in tone.

6.4.6 Secular social settings (SSS): Other and Unspecified

The category "Other" in the SSS domain encompasses 87 texts. The primary institutional interlocutors referenced in them belong to sectors other than associative or governmental. These cover a wide range, including charitable associations, performing arts troupes, political parties, athletic organizations, and other entities. There are also 177 texts in which no institutional interlocutor is specified; I have classified these as "Unspecified." I do not analyze them in the present study, as further categorization of interlocutors, topics, and locales mentioned in the texts is challenging and would necessarily be quite fragmentary. However, taken together, the Other

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[111] "Torisme: far d'ofèrtas vertadièras." *La Setmana* no. 958. https://en.calameo.com/read/ 000010977223b27c8cf11. Consulted 7 February 2019.

and Unspecified categories comprise 29% of eligible texts. This figure suggests that Occitan revitalization activities are decentralized and that a connection with Occitan is broadly perceived as an asset to groups seeking community engagement in the events and programs that they propose.

6.5 Measures of language vitality

Several scales allowing researchers to evaluate the level of language endangerment are in use today (Grenoble and Whaley 2006, Fishman 1991, UNESCO 2003, Krauss 1997, Nelde, Strubell, and Williams 1996). They all account, to a greater or lesser extent, for three main factors: "(1) the nature of the speaker base; (2) domains of use; (3) both internal and external support for or pressures against using the language" (Grenoble 2011: 38). This chapter does not aspire to evaluate Occitan's level of endangerment, nor examine in depth each of the three factors mentioned. However, it is useful to consider the ways in which the findings from the corpus analysis of domains of language use relate to the official evaluations offered by two scales: GIDS and the UNESCO Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework (2003).

Fishman's (1991) GIDS and Lewis and Simons's EGIDS (2010) are highly relevant to this study, since many of the debates over best practices in revitalization strategies still engage with Fishman's ideas. In particular, questions of public and private loci in language revitalization are particularly acute for Occitan (see Section 1.7); GIDS/EGIDS is capable of capturing these contrasts. The scale also offers a comprehensive description of domains of language use, which are of particular interest in this chapter. The UNESCO framework has been described as the "most comprehensive" of all language vitality metrics (see Section 1.4.1) (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 3); among the criteria taken into account in its assessments are domains of language use. Comparing the official assessments of Occitan by UNESCO and *Ethnologue* (EGIDS) with my findings on reflected domains of language use is fruitful in two ways. In the first place, the corpus analysis contributes another dimension to the official assessments. In turn, these official assessments provide needed context for my findings on Occitan's presence in various domains of language use, as they are reflected in the corpus texts.

6.5.1 UNESCO: Language Vitality and Endangerment Framework

The UNESCO survey treats Occitan as six different languages, corresponding to the six main dialects: "Languedocian, Gascon, Provençal,[112] Alpine Provençal, Limousin, Auvergnat".[113] According to the evaluation, Alpine Provençal and Gascon are "definitely endangered" and Limousin, Auvergnat, and Languedocian are "severely endangered."[114] These evaluations are holistic, taking into account all nine criteria. However, the focus of this chapter is on domains of

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[112] Data for Provençal was not retrievable from the online or the print versions of the atlas.

[113] *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*. http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas. Consulted 21 February 2019.

[114] These are six degrees of endangerment possible on the UNESCO framework. In descending order of vitality, they are: Safe, Vulnerable, Definitely endangered, Severely endangered, Critically endangered, and Extinct (Austin and Sallabank 2011: 3).

language use. Thus, I will limit my engagement with the framework to these domains. Moreover, owing to the fact the corpus data was collected in a Languedocian-speaking area, I will focus on the characteristics of domains in "severely endangered" languages.

The first criterion that I will examine is "trends in existing language domains." The UNESCO report underlines the importance of this factor by claiming that "[w]here, with whom, and the range of topics for which a language is used directly affects whether or not it will be transmitted to the next generation" (UNESCO 2003: 9). Languages are ranked based on the nine criteria using a six-point scale; higher numbers indicate higher vitality. In the case of the first criterion, "trends in existing language domains," the top score (five points) is "Universal use," which has the language being "actively used in all discourse domains for all purposes" (UNESCO 2003: 9). The lowest score (zero points) is "Extinct" and reserved for languages that are "not spoken at any place at any time" (UNESCO 2003: 10). The corpus suggests that Occitan corresponds to the description of "Limited or formal domains" (two points), the characteristics of which are the following:

> The non-dominant language is used only in highly formal domains, as especially in ritual and administration. The language may also still be used at the community centre, at festivals, and at ceremonial occasions where these older members of the community have a chance to meet. The limited domain may also include homes where grandparents and other older extended family members reside, and other traditional gathering places of the elderly. Many people can understand the language but cannot speak it.
> (UNESCO 2003: 10)

Occitan, as represented in the corpus, conforms to the above description in many ways. It is used in rituals to some extent, especially in Masses that are celebrated in Occitan. A related usage, which is remarked upon in the corpus itself, is the use of Occitan in formalized well-wishing on holidays, as in (29).

(29)　**Occitan** > voeux. Signe de temps nouveaux pour la « lenga nostra » (notre langue) : nombre d'institutions et associations ont désormais choisi d'adresser leurs traditionnels voeux au moyen de cartes bilingues : **occitan** et français. Bonne année : Bona annada ! (prononcer : bouno annado). DMTA011114OCCa

In (29), a new trend regarding the New Year's greeting card is described, as many institutions and associations had recently begun the practice of using Occitan as well as French in such messages. The language's symbolic weight , which consists of its capacity to appeal to tradition, is thus lent to an intended expression of warmth by an institutional entity toward individuals in the community.

The locales "community centre, festivals, and ceremonial occasions" are also well represented in the corpus, as the extensive representation of SSS domain suggests (see Section 4.5). The family / home domain attests, in an very limited way, to the use of the language in the home by elderly family members; however, the fact that these accounts were recollections of middle-aged people's youth does not imply that such usage is ongoing today. The EHPAD

initiative, in which Occitan is instrumentalized to improve care, is based on the recognition that elderly residents are often native speakers.

The final characteristic of the description is that "[m]any people can understand the language but cannot speak it." This holds true in the Midi-Pyrénées region, where 64% of survey respondents agree that the following terms describe their competence: "Comprennent le sens global ou quleques mots - parlent avec difficulté" (Région Midi-Pyrénées: 4). The seeming popularity of events that reward such receptive competence and do not demand language production may be attributable to this situation as well.

The second criterion concerning domains of use rates the language's "response to new domains and media." These new domains include "[s]chools, new work environments, new media, including broadcast media and the Internet;" the UNESCO report states that they "usually serve only to expand the scope and power of the dominant language at the expense of endangered languages." In this case, five points denotes a "dynamic" language, one which "is used in all new domains" and zero points a language that is "inactive" and "not used in any new domains." (UNESCO 2003: 11). The data in the corpus suggest that Occitan would score one point, or "minimal," meaning that it is "used only in a few new domains" (ibid.).

Of the 846 target texts in the domain analysis, 46 are situated in the education domain (either public or associative). This is the most extensive representation in the new domains, as defined by UNESCO. Arguably, two of the three texts found in the work domain demonstrate that Occitan is used formally in a new work environment, elder care (see Section 4.6).[115] The reflected presence of Occitan in new media like radio, television, film, and the internet is minimal when compared to traditional forms like literature, theatre, and music (see Tables 5.9 and 5.10).

6.5.2 The EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale)

The EGIDS is used by the *Ethnologue* language database.[116] *Ethnologue* treats Occitan as one language, in contrast with UNESCO's division into six languages; it ranks Occitan as "threatened" (level 6b).[117] This designation denotes a language that "is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users."[118] *Ethnologue* also describes the recognition status of a language. In the case of Occitan, "[t]here is a law that names this language and recognizes its right to be used and developed for some purposes;" it is further noted that Occitan is recognized in the educational domain.

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[115] As discussed in Section 4.6, Footnote 28, work that is directly linked to Occitan is not included in the study data. If it were, it might represent another new domain: language revitalization work.

[116] "Language Status." *Ethnologue*. https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status. Consulted 14 November 2019.

[117] "Occitan." *Ethnologue*. https://www-ethnologue-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/language/oci. Consulted 9 December 2019.

[118] "Language Status." *Ethnologue*. https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status. Consulted 9 December 2019.

The *Ethnologue* ranking of 6b places Occitan in a situation where "the primary factor in focus is the state of daily face-to-face use and intergenerational transmission of the language."[119] Fishman describes stage 6 (in the original GIDS) as representing "a language-in-culture waiting for young people to create their own families and for intergenerationally diverse families to achieve the demographic concentration of communities" (1991: 93). Here, Fishman emphasizes the importance of "the informal daily life of a speech community" to the reversal of language shift (ibid.). The corpus suggests that the spontaneous use of Occitan is likely minimal, given its low reflected presence in the domains of family / home, friendship, and work.

Lewis and Simons add subtlety to the original GIDS with regard to "institutions outside of the home." For Fishman, reestablishing intergenerational transmission is of paramount importance; he argues that, without it, "no language maintenance is possible" (1991: 113). Indeed, *Ethnologue* notes that, in the case of Occitan, "[c]hildren who learn it in school cannot communicate in Occitan with their parents. […] Few children learn the language."[120] However, this disconnect between school and home is not inevitable. Hinton cites the cases of Hawaiian and Maori as she notes that, in some cases, "revitalization in the school setting (Stages 4,5) [GIDS] precedes revitalization in the home, for the most part (Stage 6), and may become the main inspiration for language use at home" (2013: 294). Indeed, institutional legitimacy may invest a language with social legitimacy: "[t]he fact or belief that the language is appropriately used at a higher level may encourage the belief that it should be used at a lower level" (Spolsky 2011: 151).

According to *Ethnologue* and UNESCO, Occitan's vitality is quite low. However, analysis of this corpus shows that, while the language's reflected domains of use are indeed very limited, the SSS domain is portrayed as vital. Given the importance of associative sector in community life, the emphasis on SSS use may give the impression that Occitan is socially legitimate. Whether this will translate to increased acquisition and intergenerational transmission is still in question. Nevertheless, as is the case for other languages in similar situations, the circumstances of Occitan's endangerment and revitalization are not easily captured with a rating alone. The current study demonstrates the potential of public discourse to add nuance and depth to assessments of language vitality through the analysis of the representation of the language and the practices associated with it, not simply through estimates of language use.

6.6 Conclusion

UNESCO's treatment of the Occitan as six languages instead of one brings out an arresting contrast. Languedocian is classified as "severely endangered" and in a more precarious situation than Gascon or Alpine Provençal. However, Languedocian is also the dialect spoken in the heartland of the Occitan movement, which has labored for decades to find a place for the language in society. The former Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc regions, where Languedocian is

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[119] "Language Status." *Ethnologue*. https://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status. Consulted 9 December 2019.

[120] "Occitan." *Ethnologue*. https://www-ethnologue-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/language/oci. Consulted 9 December 2019.

spoken, have been a proving ground for revitalization initiatives. There have been successes, most notably in the matter of prestige planning. According to *Ethnologue*, there are widespread "[p]ositive attitudes" toward the language, an observation that is abundantly supported by the present corpus.[121] Studying the domains in which Occitan is present sheds light on its continuing peril.

According to the analyses in this chapter, language use is shown in public discourse to be largely confined to the SSS domain. The fact that Occitan is so widely implicated in community activities suggests that it has considerable cultural capital, and that there is enthusiasm around its revitalization. Despite the fact that traditional cultural practices are emphasized in the SSS domain, it would be inaccurate to characterize Occitan's presence in this domain as a case of language maintenance. Rather, there appears to be a transformation and displacement of such practices to suit language revitalization needs.

This evolution in the practice and presence of the Occitan language is traceable through domains of language use. *Al Canton* describes the former role of the Occitan language in Aveyron thus: "[m]ais on y évoque aussi la présence de l'occitan dans les chants identitaires, les parodies du sacré, les paroles des airs à danser, les comptines scolaires, les métiers, le commerce et les traditions ludiques ou festives" (Bedel 2007: 8) This portrait of Occitan in all domains, from religion to education, from work to secular social settings, stands in stark contrast to the data yielded by the corpus. Certain of these uses, especially song, have been taken up in revitalization efforts. However, events and practices once guided by "une relation plus ou moins stable entre l'homme et son milieu naturel et social" have been recreated, in the name of language revitalization, cultural heritage, or community togetherness (ibid.). Despite continuities in the practices in question, the types of initiatives that ensure Occitan's presence in Carmaux, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, and their environs today are products of a very different social context. The rural lifestyle that governed such practices has all but disappeared, and along with it the "diversité linguistique" lauded by the authors of *Al Canton* (ibid.).

In the corpus, the primary agents of language revitalization are not families and neighborhoods, but civil society groups, who propose linguistic and cultural activities in public spaces like schools and community centers, museums and libraries. That a top-down approach to language revitalization is prevalent is unsurprising, given the prevailing top-down language ideology in France, as well as the fact that the corpus is composed of public discourse. Even given the bias of the corpus toward public spaces, the lack of representation in the informal domains of home and friendship is troubling by any metric. Creating space and time in which people can build intimate emotional ties with the language is essential as Occitan revitalization moves forward.

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[121] "Occitan." *Ethnologue*. https://www-ethnologue-com.libproxy.berkeley.edu/language/oci. Consulted 9 December 2019.

Conclusion

> The peasant cannot say what he sees, what he feels. French lacks words for many of his implements, etc. How does one translate: *rilha, fulhas, pica-prat, pouda…*? How does one say: *estranujar, essirbar, foueirer, afournelar, abarjar, acounelar*? What does one call: *la fourna, lou rueul, lou palhassou, la palhasseta, lou tinau, lou pelau, la sesta, …la coudieira, la barja, lou counoul, la bourouda, lou zalou?*
>
> Marcellin M. Gorse[122]

Epilogue: Spring

Come back to Villefranche-de-Rouergue and Carmaux in late spring. This time, come by car. Once you've entered Villefranche from the west via the D911, you must negotiate a series of five traffic circles. They resemble each other so strongly that you will need to mark them by the big box stores that sit just off the highway: Lidl, Aldi, E. Leclerc, Intermarché, Bricorama, and more. Park in the Place Louis Fontanges; it's actually just a parking lot. From here, walk up the steep stairs to avenue Vincent Cibiel; here you will find the headquarters of the COV and the IOA. There is a meeting room, there are offices with big windows, there is a storeroom full of surplus CDs, DVDs, and books. Everywhere are records of past events and initiatives: posters for a concert featuring La mal coiffée, DVDs on local toponymy. There is an air of commitment, of possibility, but there is also a heaviness, the weight of labor for an uncertain cause.

The same weight can be felt in the meeting room of the COC, located in the *centre culturel* behind the Carmaux library. At a meeting, there is singing and there are reminiscences. There are plans to engage with new community members through cooking workshops and participation in a comic book festival. In both places, the high median age of the group members is noticeable. The same refrain plays for the COV and the COC: we need to attract more members, younger members. Occitan revitalization has attracted significant youth engagement in Toulouse, but the case is not the same here. Perhaps more concerts?

Now leave the meeting, leave the genial circle of *occitanistes* who roar with laughter at each others' *blagas* and retold stories. Walk down the street on a warm spring evening; walk toward the city center. No matter the town, you will see the same empty businesses with *À louer* signs in their windows. The shops that are open are quiet; the fashions they sell a decade out of date. It's evening, and the streets are quiet. The summer visitors from the north, keen to float down the local rivers and explore the cool stone monuments, have not yet arrived. The locals have gone home for the day; the *centre-ville* holds no charms greater than their own homes and

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[122] Gorse, Marcellin M. 1896. *Au bas pays de Limousin: Études et tableaux*. Paris: E. Leroux. 9.

This description may seem melodramatic, but it is not inaccurate. In the brighter light of spring, Villefranche and Carmaux are not unique. They are two towns experiencing aging populations, declines in local commerce, and changes in the ways that residents meet and relate to one another. At the meetings of the COC and the COV, members consider how the community and camaraderie of the town square might be reborn in a particular way, through Occitan. As one social movement among many, Occitan revitalization is not unique, nor is it unique among language revitalization projects. The story of a language and culture that flourished, then declined, is common to thousands of communities. The portrait of the desired world that Occitan activists paint, comprising a rich cultural heritage, a utopian past, long artistic traditions, and sustainable cultural practices, are common as well. Not unique to southern France is the sentiment that frictionless communication and cultural uniformity are traitorous gifts.

Findings and significance

Over the course of this study, I have endeavored to better understand the current state and the role of Occitan revitalization activities in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. In order to present a clear portrait of Occitan, I relied on a set of research questions designed to analyze its representations in public discourse. The study has yielded a number of findings on the ways in which Occitan is portrayed in the community and some important clues about the domains of society in which it is represented.

The first research question, designed to target representations of Occitan itself as a subject of public discourse, is as follows:

1. How is Occitan portrayed in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

A bird's-eye view of the corpus indicated that the lemma *occitan** is by far more frequently used as an adjective than as a noun that is qualified by another adjective. Consequently, *(l')occitan* itself remained a relatively fluid concept, suggesting a certain reluctance or even refusal of definition. By the same token, this imbalance also suggests a sense of openness and flexibility with regard to the language-culture complex that is evoked in the texts.

Predication analysis, which treated the cases where *(l')occitan* was indeed qualified by an adjective or adjectival construction, turned up three major Discourses portraying the qualities of Occitan. First, there is an assertion that Occitan is valuable: a counter to its previous marginalization as a "patois." Second, Occitan is described as being an important part of the community in both Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Third, Occitan is presented as a link to history, culture, and place. All three Discourses point to a stabilizing function that Occitan purportedly plays; it represents not only a valorization of local ways but also their continuity.

In this study, I also sought to describe and understand the role of Occitan by exploring the nature of the associations between it and other social entities. The second research question underlies this analysis:

2. What is Occitan's role in local society, as evidenced in in public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

The nomination analysis confirms that cultural entities comprise the vast majority of those described as being "Occitan." Moreover, most of the objects, practices, and events thus described are related to traditional culture, not new media or innovative forms. I argue that, because the language has maintained a continuous presence in art forms like music, storytelling, and literature, it is more appropriate to refer to their perseverance as cases of language revalorization rather than language revitalization, as they emphasize the reclamation of difference, not the (re)establishment of language use in particular domains.

Using corpus data, I attempted to account for the domains of language use in which Occitan was portrayed as being implicated. The third research question guides this inquiry:

3. In what domains of language use is Occitan portrayed as being present, according to public discourse in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue?

Although this analysis was necessarily removed from spoken language use, given the text-based methodology, it did yield some striking results. Occitan is by far best represented in the secular social settings (SSS) domain. It appears in public spaces, such as museums, schools, and libraries, through the initiative of LPAs and government agencies. Although this result is likely due in part to the bias of the corpus toward public discourse, it is also reflective of the corresponding low representation of Occitan in the private sphere. This phenomenon is corroborated by other research on the low rates of intergenerational language transmission of Occitan as a challenge to its future sustainability.

Implications and future research

This study has built both on previous investigations of Occitan revitalization, as well as work on several issues related to language endangerment and revitalization. It was designed to provide an expansive portrait of the ways in which Occitan is conceptualized in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. In responding to my research questions, I have found that Occitan is the at the heart of a larger community revitalization approach, one which privileges cultural traditions and civic engagement.

The study has also suggested several new pathways for research on local Occitan revitalization, among them an examination of the social networks of language activism and further analysis of the types of activities and practices on offer. Given the success of applying discourse-historical methodology to a limited set of linguistic devices, a more linguistically inclusive analysis is also possible in the future. Such an analysis could, for instance, address unmodified nominative tokens of *occitan**. In this section, I would like to briefly discuss five pathways for further research on Occitan that have the potential to enrich language revitalization theory more generally.

The first is in the domain of language prestige. Prestige is generally thought of as crucial to language maintenance and revitalization (see Section 1.8). At the same time, it is somewhat of a methodological black box. Attributing prestige to a marginalized language is held to improve the regard in which it is held. In the case of Occitan, prestige planning is even accepted as a prerequisite to revitalization. However, given the limited reach of the types of initiatives aiming

to improve Occitan's public image, one may ask whether prestige planning is ineffective, or even counterproductive. For instance, in this study I found that the the impulse to present a sunny view of Occitan in order to build public enthusiasm results in a dissonance between discourses and objective measures of language vitality. This, in turn, could lead to complacency from the public with regard to the plight of Occitan.

The second matter for further inquiry is the role of LPAs in language revitalization. The present study has proven that such associations have not only been the primary force in reestablishing the legitimacy of Occitan and fostering interest in it, but also that their current role in the community goes well beyond linguistic concerns. Indeed, they endeavor to build community engagement in a time of destabilizing change. In discussing the role of citizen associations in rural areas, Defrasne contends that

> si le village survit, il le doit à ses associations, sociétés de chasse ou de pêche, foyers ruraux, clubs du troisième âge, équipes sportives. […] Les municipalités rurales se battent pour conserver leur école, leurs commerces, leur café, lieu do convivialité. Elles ont compris l'intérêt des associations qu'elles subventionnent suivant leurs moyens. Elles aménagent un lieu de réunions, salles des fêtes ou de sport, des terrains de jeux, des espaces de rencontre. (1995: 36)

The mutual dependence of local governments and associations in language revitalization is a rich field of inquiry. In general, the role of groups in language revitalization is currently understudied, given its importance.

In this study, I have also discussed the effects of depopulation, economic transformation, and an aging population on rural France; a third possibility for future research involves its transforming cultural landscape. Any faithful linguistic portrait of France must include languages of immigration, both recent and long-standing, as well as French and regional languages. It seems that language activists would do well to take into account the changing faces of their communities, but there is very little evidence in the corpus that this is underway. Immigration brings the arrival of people with an eye to keeping their own cultural traditions. Furthermore, modern life means that French will always be necessary, and a diglossic society of the type that Fishman advocates is a distant dream. Since each language is a singular resource inherently connected to a particular place, time, and group of speakers, their convergence in a small community must be addressed thoughtfully. Future research on this topic should look closely at the ways in which Occitan activists negotiate diverse identities and histories. Are newcomers seen as future participants, or as inherent outsiders?

Since the present study was primarily concerned with representations, a fourth, complementary area of interest is that of language use. Corpus data suggest fascinating avenues for later analysis of use. Future researchers might consider exploring the use of Occitan in particular domains, especially under-researched and highly personal ones such as religion, friendship, and the home. New data on these could nuance the current dichotomy, which holds that Occitan is a preoccupation of the public sphere, used in education and the arts, but not well-represented in the private sphere.

A fifth avenue to be explored is language acquisition. The fraught issue of best practices in language revitalization has recurred at several points in the study. Undoubtedly, the pace of Occitan acquisition is frustratingly slow for many activists. Fishman's critique of language activists who try to accomplish too much, too soon, is certainly applicable to Occitan. He cautions that the "relative inaccessibility of the very core processes on which intergenerational mother tongue transmission depends" can lead to language movements preferring to implement "measures that are more easily plannable and manipulable" but "too great a distance from the nexus [of transmission]" (1991: 67). Is the slow pace of acquisition due to the Occitan movement's failure to observe the suggestion to reestablish in the home first? Successes in the campaign to revalorize Occitan have largely depended on its presence in the public sphere. Its current prestige and cultural cachet do not depend on its being widely spoken, but rather on its ability to function as what Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer refer to as a "'badge' of ethnicity," or an "expression of membership and pride" (1998: 98). In terms of the struggle to preserve the language in use, it appears that a new inflection point is on the horizon. Now that the goals of establishing legitimacy and prestige have been achieved, will the movement redouble its efforts to prioritize language, or its commitments to civic engagement through culture?

In closing

As I conclude the study, an opportunity to assess the viability and success of Occitan revitalization in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue presents itself. Nevertheless, I prefer to close by referring instead to Dorian's meditation on "[t]he value of language-maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed" (1987). She notes that "[m]arked political and/or economic change is the scenario most often suggested as favorable for a corresponding change in linguistic fortunes" (1987: 58). In most cases of language endangerment, Occitan included, the likelihood of such systemic change is low. Besides, Dorian argues, success is not guaranteed even with political and economic support. The case of Irish, where public funds have been poured into language initiatives without producing a truly Irish-speaking society, purportedly prove this point. What is lost in the assessment of failure in the Irish case, and, I argue, in the case of Occitan as well, are the gains made in terms of society and culture. Dorian advances three main benefits that suggest it may be worthwhile to undertake language maintenance and revitalization efforts, even against long odds.

The first benefit is psychological: "one of the commonest reasons for failure [is] negative attitudes internalized by the speakers or potential speakers themselves" (Dorian 1987: 63). Political recognition of a language may allow speakers to "possibly derive some compensation for the pain of stigma and ridicule […] by witnessing a reversal of official attitude and a possible concomitant lessening of general hostility to the minority culture (even if the language were lost) in the community at large" (Dorian 1987: 64). For Occitan, decades of work by LPAs and committed individuals has indeed led to such a valorization of the language. Furthermore, the creation of regional governments and their sponsorship of Occitan (as well as that found on departmental and municipal levels) sends a clear message that Occitan, and those who speak it, are worthy of esteem.

The second potential benefit of language promotion efforts is "the fact that they nearly always carry with them […] some emphasis on traditional lifeways and some transmission of

ethnic history" (ibid.) The research corpus showed a clear emphasis on traditional cultures, and at times seemed to privilege such cultural revitalization above that of language revitalization. Tsunoda casts this as a potential hazard for revitalization projects (2005: 191). However, Dorian argues that "[t]he self-awareness and self-confidence which can be regained through the recovery of such information have value in themselves" (ibid.). The regard with which Occitan is held in the corpus, with its insistence on vitality and community, suggests that the movement is already enjoying the fruits of such self-confidence.

The third benefit that Dorian evokes is an economic one: the imperative to teach language and to impart culture brings with it an imperative for labor (ibid.). Teachers must be trained, then hired and paid; musicians and authors must continue to play and write for paying audiences, even small ones; tour guides and personnel must serve those drawn by the cultural tourism offerings of the region. For Occitan, all of these spheres are dynamic, if not growing at a pace that is satisfactory to language activists.

This study has demonstrated that Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue are indeed reaping the cultural benefits of the Occitan revitalization movement. Whether revitalization of the language itself is sufficient and sustainable remains to be seen, although the data suggest severe imbalances in its use, which do not bode well for the future. In this study, I have also advanced the argument that community togetherness is at the heart of Occitan revitalization in Carmaux and Villefranche-de-Rouergue. Like all such, movements, Occitanism has more than a little utopianism at its heart. It aims to establish, or to reestablish, a state of grace in which social bonds and cultural practices are renewed. The use of language as a conduit for these strivings is at once indispensable and irrelevant. Social revitalization movements can take various talismans: religion, the land, a particular set of traditional practices. Why, then, does Occitan matter?

Occitan matters, in part, because history shows that the vitality of rural southern France declined in tandem with Occitan language and culture. Thus, an elegant solution presents itself: restore harmony through language and culture revitalization. Occitan is a sociocultural resource that is already available and well-developed; its vitality is insisted upon. For Occitan activists, the language is a source of belonging, harmony, and conviviality. They pose Occitan as a remedy to dissolution, to cultural uniformity, to isolation. Here, Fishman's proposition about the strong affective dimension of language revitalization comes into full flower. This movement has to be about language because language is the only space sufficiently expansive to hold the dreamed-of community.

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