the linguistic landscape of the mediterranean

french and italian coastal cities

robert j. blackwood and stefania tufi

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The Linguistic Landscape of the Mediterranean

French and Italian Coastal Cities

Robert J. Blackwood and Stefania Tufi
University of Liverpool, UK

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For Jude
Per John

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An Introduction to Mediterranean Linguistic Landscapes

The city as space, place, and symbol

In his classic work *The City in History*, Mumford reconstructs the development of the idea of the city from 'a city that was, symbolically, a world' to 'a world that has become, in many practical aspects, a city' (Mumford, 1961, p. xi). Along different lines, Lefebvre (1970, p. 7) predicted the 'complete urbanization of society' in so far as the urban would eventually envelop all ways of being, thinking, and acting. If on the one hand this remains a working hypothesis, on the other hand the dissemination of urban culture is pervasive and influential. By urban culture we mean a process, typical of late modernity, which emanates from the city but is also the result of the relationship between the wider culture and the city and of how urban culture impacts on the city itself. Studies examining such aspects have been at the centre of sociological and anthropological research (Redfield and Singer, 1954; Harvey 1973, 1989, 1996, 2006) but we position this book in relation to debates that have been percolating through sociolinguistics over recent decades. We exploit representations of the city which have moulded the collective imagination whereby the city as symbol is the epitome of social breakdown, anonymity, loneliness, forms of marginalization, and crime. However, it is also a privileged site of encounter and mobility, a laboratory of social and cultural activity, and a magnet for human energy. It is the repository of political and economic power and a container of crowds engaged in a wide variety of actions and with shifting boundaries. Dynamism is a constitutive feature of the city, a happening space, but so is its inherent fragmentation. Urban Linguistic Landscapes (henceforth LL), which are at the centre of this book, are constantly involved in the construction of urban culture.

A high level of dynamicity and complexity can similarly be applied to notions of the Mediterranean as they have been articulated over time. This geographical space is not a pre-determined entity; rather, it is a historical product. As such, notions of the Mediterranean have converged and diverged in the awareness of existing diversity and plurality, but it is clear that contact, exchange, and contamination are some of the defining characteristics of the Mediterranean area (Cancila, 2008). To a certain extent, the Mediterranean invented the city and therefore all cities have something inherently Mediterranean in them (Aymard, 2008). The cities discussed in this book are firmly anchored in a Mediterranean perspective which is self-propagated and their urban cultures are permeated by both internal and external visions of tradition and modernity. It is our contention that this space provides us with an exceptionally rich array of visual discourses on the city as a structure where topography and architecture are constantly inscribed, and where LL agents continue to rework the public space. The city as a transcultural space presents us with acts of identity which range from the normative to the transgressive and subversive, and while engaged in these acts, language agents create the space in which language practices are performed (Pennycook, 2010). This perspective highlights notions of agency and creativity and the construction of space as a product of concepts and discourses actualized in relational practices (Lefebvre, 1991). In this context, space production is part of meaning-making processes aimed at the transformation of space into place, and into both a material and a symbolic site of human experience.

It is within this framework that we have conducted our investigations of the LL of French and Italian Mediterranean cities. All the cities discussed in the book date back to antiquity with respect to their origins, and all of them have been through post-modern transformations and become globalized in recent times. Their LL are manipulated amongst conflicting but fluid discourses of tradition and modernity, centrality and peripherality, inclusion and exclusion, and linguistic fixity and non-normativity. The emphasis is therefore on lived space (Lefebvre, 1991) and its performative power, and on the enactment of spatialized identities.

Origins of public signage

As regards the commercial sign, its origin dates back to Roman times. Due to very low literacy levels, merchants used to signal the type of establishment via iconic representation – a bunch of grapes would mean

'wine sold here', a goat 'milk sold here' and so on (Zappieri, 1981). Therefore, images dominated public (including religious) space and verbal elements started appearing in the fourteenth century, typically on signs indicating establishments where food and lodging were provided. Instances of the institutional management of signs in the public space of Italy, however, are not documented until the Napoleonic era. In addition to Italian, which was prevalent, prestigious languages such as Latin and French started appearing on signs in the eighteenth century and by the end of the nineteenth century commercial signs in foreign languages, including English, were ubiquitous. Conversely, commercial signs displaying local dialects became unusual in the nineteenth century. At the time of the institutionalization of written Italian, the national language was gradually becoming more widespread. However, the very limited access to written registers on the part of a primarily dialectophone Italian population led to the perception that using a dialect in the public space was unsuitable and improper. Raffaelli (1983) reminds us that only in more recent times and with newly gained linguistic confidence have Italian shop keepers used local and regional terms on their shop signs, often with the intent to exploit perceptions of authenticity that only local languages can convey. In the 1960s, for example, instances such as Sicilian *carnezzeria* (Italian *macelleria*, butcher's) were noticed by Migliorini (1962, p. 236, quoted in Raffaelli, 1983, p. 19, fn. 33). This term is still used and was in fact recorded as part of the surveys carried out in Palermo.

LL studies and our contribution

Over the last decade or so, there has been an exponential increase in the research into the LL. Dozens of articles have been published across a range of journals; several volumes of collected essays have been edited; there is a well-established series of international workshops; major conferences organize strands of presentations on the subject; 2015 saw the launch of a journal dedicated to the field. We do not pretend to be in a position to summarize the breadth of research here, although it is pertinent to identify areas of LL research to which this book contributes. It is important to note that LL studies have existed *ante litteram* and Backhaus (2007, pp. 12–39) provides a comprehensive overview of the development of LL research until its formal organization around the term 'linguistic landscape'. Despite this profusion of outputs into the LL, there are as yet relatively few monographs which tackle this subject. These include the examination of the languages of Jerusalem by Spolsky

and Cooper (1991), which predates the first attested use of the term 'linguistic landscapes'; Backhaus' study of Tokyo (2007); and Blommaert's investigation in Blommaert (2013).

This book positions itself in relation to each of these three landmark LL works. Spolsky and Cooper's 'Languages of Jerusalem' is not solely a discussion of the LL, and one of its defining characteristics is the dense historic and sociolinguistic overviews it provides. We enter into this tradition and contextualize all of our findings far beyond an opening chapter which positions our research within French and Italian national frameworks. We provide extensive historical and sociolinguistic backgrounds to each of the cities we investigate since we contend that these synopses are crucial to understanding the debates played out in the LL. The level of detail presented here is the result of a conscious choice, and we draw together in English for the first time scholarship published in French and Italian which not only contextualizes the data analysis that follows, but also contributes to wider debates in sociolinguistics. Backhaus' quantitative approach to the mix of languages in the public space in Tokyo is echoed in part here inasmuch as our examination of the LL of these French and Italian Mediterranean cities captures statistical data on visible multilingualism. We began this project before the publication of Blommaert's ethnography of Antwerp's LL, but we join with him in the exploitation of critical apparatus not always associated with sociolinguistics to contribute to the body of LL research. Like Blommaert (and many other LL scholars) before us, we privilege qualitative analyses of signs in an ethnographical study of the people who live, work, and pass along the Mediterranean shorelines of France and Italy.

In very broad terms, there are three strands of LL research to which this book contributes, as well as from which we draw inspiration. Without seeking to reduce the scope of this book, we position ourselves in relation to studies on minority languages in the LL, the visibility of the languages of migrant communities, and the debates around the pervasiveness of 'English' (whose quotation marks we qualify in Chapter 6). Minority languages, which from our perspective include regional languages and dialects, constitute a rich seam of material for LL scholarship. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) open the debate on the extent to which the LL is a forum for exploring multilingualism, and their sustained work in Donostia / San Sebastián (Gorter et al., 2012) highlights the extent to which minority language revitalization can be measured in the LL. Furthermore, Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh (2012) tackle the issue of vitality from the perspective of ideologies of dominant languages within nation-states, and this clearly finds an

echo in our discussions not only in France but also in Italy. Marten, van Mensel, and Gorter (2012, p. 7) pose important and useful questions on the role of minority languages in the LL market, the mechanisms that influence language practices, and the extent to which visibility equates with prestige, functionality, symbolism, and tokenism, all of which we address in different ways in this book. Muth (2014) reminds us that minority languages within a given territory can at one and the same time be a 'majority' language elsewhere, and we explore this viewpoint in Chapters 2 and 3.

In European cities in late modernity, the consequences of the mobility of people and goods are attested in the LL, and we explore the extent to which non-territorial groups, usually through migration in all its forms, mark the public space. Questions of visibility, language policy, and vitality have been addressed by, amongst others Barni and Bagna (2010), and Barni and Vedovelli (2012), and we continue the conversation by seeking to understand how the languages of migrant groups perform multiple functions in the LL, including the demarcation of space, the addressing of specific audiences, and the misleadingly simple question of which languages of what groups appear in the public space. In both France and Italy, sizeable populations of ethnolinguistic groups have settled in the cities we investigate, and yet the patterns for written language use differ across cities, language groups, and the national border between France and Italy. Garvin (2010) reminds us of the connection made between culture, ethnicity, and migrant languages, as well as drawing attention to political and social discourses reflected (or omitted) in the visibility of the languages of ethnic minorities, and we pick up these threads in our discussions. In addition to discussions around Arabic, Chinese, and Sinhalese, we devote considerable space to the question of English as a language in the LL. Not only do we exploit Seargeant's work on the ambiguity inherent in coding signs as 'English' (Seargeant, 2012) and on the increasingly widely held notion of an 'idea of English' (Seargeant, 2009, 2011) rather than standard English as reproduced in textbooks, dictionaries, and grammar books, but we engage with the questions of language policy where, in France in particular, the English language is to be managed and even restricted in the public space. As noted by Curtin (2009), the bidirectional indexicality of English in the LL is a worldwide phenomenon from which the cities we investigate are not exempted. We seek to understand better how English in these coastal cities responds to the binary opposition posited by Lanza and Woldemariam (2015) whereby discourses of globalization stress the

significance of the language in contradiction to management strategies which create hierarchies omitting reference to English.

In common with much LL research, this book provides a synchronic account of certain LL at given times. As highlighted in this study, however, the complex cityscapes of our time are immersed in dynamics of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) so that their social and demographic texture is volatile, ever-changing, and unpredictable (Blommaert, 2013). This affords LL research new opportunities for diachronic studies, as can be seen in the discussion about Trieste and Perpignan in Chapter 3. At the same time, we engage with the process of diachronic LL research insofar as the methodology permits an examination of the same sites within the cities under scrutiny at various intervals in order to be in a position to discern trends in written language practices. In particular, we return to the same survey sites in Perpignan (discussed in Chapter 3 and in Blackwood, 2015) so as to be able to evaluate change over time in the construction of space. The approach adopted in the data collection for this project lends itself ideally to these kinds of reassessments of LL, and in this respect, this book is the starting point for long-scale evaluations of language change in the public space.

The purpose of this book is not to provide a comprehensive illustration of all languages present in the LL of the selected cities, but rather to adopt a number of approaches with respect to each regional/comparative context to show how fruitful and versatile the LL can be. Each chapter adopts a perspective which we identify as emblematic and particularly suitable for the given contexts. This does not mean that what we say about migrants and LL in Naples, for instance, could not be applied to migrants in Palermo, or that our conclusions on regional languages in Nice do not also resonate in Ajaccio, but on the basis of data and space configuration, the relevant model seems to be more appropriate in the given chapter. Our contention is that the LL can tell us a great deal about linguistic and social dynamics in these urban settings but, at the same time, studies in the LL have to engage meaningfully with scholarship not habitually exploited for sociolinguistic research. We do not presume here to reach definitive conclusions on the potential symbiotic relationship between the LL and these other disciplines, but rather we hope that this starts a series of conversations whose initial discussions have proved fruitful in our studies. We therefore engage with material drawn from politics and sociology in our examination of cosmopolitanism in the LL; social psychology gifts to sociolinguistics social representations, which we explore in relation to the LL; human geography has begun to privilege border studies, a topic

highly pertinent to the cities we investigate; political science, social anthropology, and geography have each treated peripherality in their own distinct ways, and we join Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013) and their collaborators in extending this paradigm into sociolinguistics; human geography has also explored questions of insularity, and in this book we seek to test insularity as a resource. Each chapter takes a different intellectual proposition and applies it to a specific case setting, thereby grounding the principles from other disciplines in data collected from the Mediterranean coastal cities under investigation.

As discussed elsewhere (Blackwood, 2015), LL research grapples with two methodological approaches that, we believe, are increasingly divided in the rapidly growing body of work. Here, we seek to reconcile quantitative and qualitative perspectives in data collection, and argue that, for the kinds of questions with which we wrestle, it is imperative to fuse the two methodologies. Numerical information extracted from the surveys provides both a quantitative dimension and a context, so that we can evaluate the prominence of national languages, the presence and distribution of all languages in the respective LLs, the use of English and other languages of culture, migrant languages and so on. At the same time, the qualitative analysis of the data gathered along the shorelines of the Mediterranean permits the exploration of questions of authorship, function, audiences, materiality, and so on that cannot be addressed by quantitative approaches alone. In seeking to privilege the regional languages and dialects of France and Italy in this survey of coastal cities, we have encountered the challenge of the relative paucity of signs in Provençal, Sardinian, or Genoese within the survey areas established for the project. As a consequence, we refer on occasion to additional data observed outside the surveys in order to complement the quantitative and qualitative dimensions. One response to this shortcoming of quantitative research in the way we have undertaken data collection is the concept of the visual frames outlined by Kallen (2010) who re-imagines the LL as 'a confluence of systems, observable within a single visual field but operating with a certain degree of independence between elements', thereby underscoring the significance of the dynamics between the areas of human activity. This is not a quantitative approach in the style we have largely adopted for this project but is rather an invitation to consider the site of inquiry as the nexus of multiple aspects of lived experience. This is an approach whose potential we have begun to test in Trieste and on Corsica (Tufi 2013b; Blackwood, 2014) and to which we return here in some of the analyses we undertake.

This book responds to calls for a re-positioning of writing within sociolinguistics, where a binary framing of speaking/writing has been dominant and where ideologies of standard languages/correctness have permeated the discussion. Lillis and McKinney (2013) address the unsuitability of such a model from several perspectives. At a macro-level, for example, the divide between orality and literacy is an ideological one and reflects a western-centric bias which is re-proposed in further dichotomies such as pre-modern/modern. At a micro-level, the neglect of written language would prevent us from investigating the proliferation of written modes brought about by the digital technologies and therefore exclude multimodal frameworks which re-assess the role of writing as part of social semiotics. This latter aspect is particularly pertinent in the context of this book. Analysing LL brings to the fore the role of writing in its traditional functions and learned characteristics. In addition, it provides the opportunity to investigate discourses and ideologies of writing and to re-assess writing as an ordinary, everyday social practice where boundaries are blurred and language use is versatile, creative, and subversive. In this perspective multimodality (Kress, 2010) is particularly relevant in the construction of the public space, in so far as space is made up of multiple signifiers realised by a number of semiotic devices in addition to language (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). Sign emplacement (Scollon and Scollon, 2003), framing, materiality and configuration, therefore, are taken into account in order to provide a better contextualization for our analysis.

Naming languages

The identification of languages as discrete units was instrumental in the creation of nation-states and, therefore, they are political and ideological constructs. In recent times, and primarily within discourse analysis, a critical stance towards traditional views of language has been accompanied by the employment of new terms that better describe language practices in superdiverse urban environments (Vertovec, 2010). Concepts such as linguistic repertoires (Blommaert, 2005), language as a semiotic resource in multimodal systems of signification (Kress, 2010), polylanguaging (Jørgensen et al., 2011) and metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2009) have become established and provide more accurate accounts of practices of languaging (Garcia, 2009) in given contexts.

There are three main issues, however. The first is that practices such as polylanguaging and metrolingualism seem to characterize superdiverse urban environments and cannot be easily extended to all social

groups in those settings where categories such as ethnicity, gender, age, social class, and sexuality *inter alia* still play an important role in the manifestation of language behaviour. The second issue is metalinguistic. In other words, it is impossible not to refer to Italian or French precisely because of the currency that these terms continue to enjoy. We acknowledge that *Italian* and *French* are historical products as a result of abstract ideological constructions that were invented to articulate the nation as an imagined community (Anderson, 1991). Essentialist views of language are a result of this legacy and they are at the heart of political movements that seek self-determination, independence and/or recognition of language rights (Joseph, 2006). However, we cannot do without these terms and even the arguments put forward in Jørgensen et al. (2011) have to rely on existing labelling and would not be comprehensible without the reference to *Danish*, *Turkish*, *Spanish* or the periphrasis 'what is considered to be *Danish*, *Turkish*, and *Spanish*'. In other words, these terms and the worlds that they conjure up exist by virtue of the discourses which have been articulated and have sedimented over time. We embrace a critical view of linguistic discreteness and believe that a holistic approach to LL should not exclude consideration of semiotic practices other than language. The deliberate emphasis on language remains at the core of the discussion as one of the richest and most revealing aspects of human communication. The third issue is closely related to the second. A comprehensive theory of language practice does not exist. Pennycook (2010) represented a call to think differently about languages, but there has been little work in the field towards analysing the practical implications of thinking differently, for instance, in education and policy making.

It is therefore understood that all language practices are complex and that linguistic and other identity is constantly negotiated and in the making or, to use Blommaert's expression, it is *semiotic potential* (Blommaert, 2005). We also accept that traditional sociolinguistic criteria are not sufficient to account for language behaviour, especially in superdiverse environments where individuals can have multicultural and multilingual backgrounds and where the proximity of difference (Pennycook, 2010) affects people, space, and the construction and re-construction of place on a daily basis. We will, however, use language labels such as *Italian* and *French* in the sense of objects, artefacts that continue to make meaning in their ideological and historical dimensions and because their use and their perception as ideological and historical objects has a central role both in the material and in the symbolic construction of linguistic landscapes.

Terms used in the course of the book

In approaching the writing of this book, we have had to agree on the terms we use to cover a range of sociolinguistic phenomena. Although we both approached this project with linguistic backgrounds, we have had to reconcile particularly French and Italian perspectives at a terminological level. Despite the many similarities we note in this project, and despite the common border, the shared experiences, and the collective European heritage, there are distinctions between the standpoints in French and Italian scholarship, and for the purposes of clarity, we outline the terms we agreed to deploy in this book. We follow the Council of Europe terminology whereby given territories are *multilingual* whilst individuals are *plurilingual*. When discussing Italian contexts, the term *dialect* will be used to indicate a language variety employed in a given locality which has not undergone a process of standardization. The term also indicates the lack of official status and stands in opposition to *language*, a definition denoting both Italian and the minority languages in use on Italian soil and recognized as such in national legislation (see Chapter 1). For the French contexts, the term *dialect* will be avoided, given its negative ideological connotations in France, and its use over the nineteenth century to denigrate what are now generally referred to as regional languages.

The methodology for the collection and analysis of LL material is being refined as the field develops. We highlighted some issues associated with the coding of signs in a previous work (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010), but a number of studies discuss what constitutes a sign and typologies have been devised in order to account for different contexts.[1] Widespread in published LL research is the distinction between *top-down* and *bottom-up* when discussing authorship, power, or management in the public space. In his discussion about public signage in officially bilingual Wales, Coupland (2010) maintains that all LL artefacts should be seen as originated 'from above'. Linguistic landscaping 'from below' is not a suitable definition insofar as all LL is governed by language ideology and performed for specific purposes. We might add that language actors, as an expression of different communities of interest, are in competition and that the linguistic construction of the public space is usually part of processes of transformation from space to place and that visibility is often a component of voice and empowerment. Although Coupland's reflection is certainly applicable at the micro-level, in terms of power relations, agency, and influence and from the perspective of impact upon the passer-by we identify significant differences between

types of signs – for instance, between the sign on a government ministry and a shop sign, but also between a billboard advertising a global brand and a hand-written 'for sale' notice in a shop window. Of course, all signs perform discursive practices which are attributable to ideological frameworks (and to their inherent contradictions), but the discursive weight of signs varies. This depends on aspects such as materiality and emplacement of the sign, the rituality and commodification of sociocultural relations and according to established hierarchies within local and global linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1991). For example, coding must respond to the challenge of whether a sign saying 'Happy Easter to all our customers' can be categorized as a commercial sign, even more so when it is coded in Italian, English, French, and Spanish. It goes without saying that a generally acknowledged power structure can be contested and rejected, and in this case the LL becomes a site of transgression. An act of transgression, however, is performed and recognized as such only in opposition to what is considered to be compliance with local norms. In part of our analysis we suggest that conscious use of the spaces of transgression can in turn comply with ideologies of transgression and therefore be performed as acts of compliance for the purposes of the LL. For instance, it can be argued that the normalization of graffiti writing in certain areas of Italian cities is primarily an act of identity, rather than transgression. If non-standard languages are represented together with Italian on a wall covered in graffiti, then those languages acquire legitimacy and citizenship.

This view of the public space does not lend itself to a schematic categorization of signs. Rather, coding is instrumental to the analysis and should be adapted to the context and the focus of the investigation. Our experience suggests that coding signs as *bottom-up*/*top-down* or even *private*/*public* expresses rigid dichotomies which are unsuitable for an analysis of LL.

We therefore employ terms such as *institutional* in the widest possible sense and, by extension, institutional entities might include a national parliament, a school, a church, a cultural centre, and a film club in so far as they are all based on some kind of organization.

For the same reasons, and due to issues of co-textuality and multimediality, we tend not to code signs according to pre-established categories. Rather, their meaning-making roles and discursive weight are defined in the given contexts which we analyse.

When discussing various vectors in language variation, as attested by our data, we call upon the concept of 'minority', and we acknowledge from the outset that this is not a neutral term, not least if it is used in

institutional discourse which has already been framed from a 'majority' perspective and presumes congruity between minority and majority views (Philibert, 1990). We normally use it in its generic sense, but we are aware that discourses constructed around 'minority' can in fact legitimize the socio-economic and political marginalization of the relevant groups on the part of 'majority' institutions and society. Counter-discourses of unity and homogeneity of the majority contribute to the crystallization of unequal power relations, and a significant example is represented by the area of Trieste in Chapter 3.

Methodology

Elsewhere (Blackwood, 2015), we identify a series of challenges that have emerged over the lifespan of this project, which include the nature of a sign, the coding of signs, the choice of survey areas, and the selection of images. For the purposes of data collection, we followed Backhaus's definition of a 'spatially definable frame' (Backhaus, 2007, p. 66) which has been suitable for our purposes, due both to the relatively large size of the corpus, and to the degree of flexibility it affords the researcher. However, we acknowledge that there is some ambiguity in this definition since it does not differentiate between the sizes of signs, as highlighted by Huebner (2009, p. 71). He notes that this elision of difference between sign sizes has a notable consequence in that

> […] the resulting analyses afford equal weight to a 3 × 6 inch sign reading 'pull' adjacent to the handle of a shop door, to a 2 × 5 foot banner hanging from a light pole advertising a movie, and to a 20 × 40 foot sign proclaiming the name, telephone number and products of the shop itself.

The emphasis of our research does not privilege the quantitative significance of signs in different languages, although we concede that this shortcoming in the definition of a sign, not yet addressed satisfactorily in the literature, has to be considered when drawing conclusions about visibility in the public space. This challenge comes into focus in Chapter 4 when we examine signs that feature only one word: Corsica.

This is something we first explored elsewhere (Blackwood, 2011), when we addressed the visibility of this one word which constitutes a significant proportion of the signs in Corsican. Over a quarter of the signs coded as Corsican comprise of the word 'Corsica' as a one-word text on postcards, tablemats, and towels (n = 139). As we establish in

Chapter 4, Corsican distinguishes itself as France's most visible regional language in the Mediterranean, but this visibility is assured in part by the use of the one-word name for the island in Corsican: 'Corsica'. It is therefore important to acknowledge that, whilst these 'signs' are small and brief, the visual impact – something not easily measured in LL studies this far – is notable, inasmuch as the Corsican word for the name of the island is repeated time and time again in the streets of Ajaccio. This reinforcing of the use of Corsican is more symbolic than practical, not least because the very nature of these signs on products is that they are to be consumed (normally by visitors to the island) and removed from their temporary location on the streets. Although only one word, the use of 'Corsica' on postcards, towels, and table mats engages in what Barthes (1977) refers to as 'anchorage', which Jaworski (2010) reconsiders in his discussion of postcards as linguistic landscapes. Jaworski (2010, p. 572) identifies a typology of six principal functions, according to which the use of 'Corsica' would be classified as a 'caption'. Acknowledging their potential to be multilingual, Jaworski (2010, p. 579) concludes that captions, such as 'Corsica', 'are used as part of mediationary means to establish a sense of place or to brand the destination.' For these slogans or 'captions' on various ephemera in tourist shops, we contend that the language choice is made, at least in part, to identify Corsica as corsophone. As noted above, part of the challenge of the quantitative phase of this research is the coding of signs according to named languages. In this context, the question centres on the potential to code 'Corsica' in one of three ways, since not only is it the Corsican term for the island's name, but it is also the English and the Italian term. Despite its resonance in English and Italian, we argue that in the LL of Corsica, this term should be coded as 'Corsican', not least because of its presence and usage in daily island life. As noted elsewhere (Blackwood, 2011, p. 121), 'the term "Corsica" is used in political life (such as the grouping of nationalists, *Corsica Nazione*), in the media (where the evening news bulletin is called *Corsica Sera* and a news magazine appears monthly, entitled *Corsica*), and elsewhere'. To this list, we would now add the rebranded local airline (formerly *Compagnie Aérienne Corse Méditerranée*, now *Air Corsica*), the ferry company *Corsica Ferries*, the Ajaccio tourist agency *Corsica Voyages*, and the food manufacturer *Corsica Gastronomica*. On Corsica, especially to a local audience therefore, 'Corsica' resonates as a Corsican, rather than an English or Italian term. On this basis, we code these items as Corsican.

In terms of the coding of signs, in this book we build on our work elsewhere (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010) when attributing text on signs to

a particular named language. Of particular note in this study is the use of proper names in the public space, usually surnames or place names. As we have already argued, the viewer understands the language of the sign differently, depending on a number of factors, including their experience of language(s) and their nationality. Proper names which index a place on Corsica or Sardinia, for example, we uncontroversially code as Corsican or Sardinian. More challenging is how to classify the surnames used as business names. We propose to adopt the approach we set out regarding the Language of Representation (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010, p. 207) and code these names as part of the named language, since the surnames resonate as Sicilian, Catalan, or Genoese to a local audience.

The choice of survey areas remains contentious, in that seeking to take a representative sample of streets in a given city leaves the data collection exposed to the accusation of arbitrariness or impartiality. This is another challenge that researchers working on the LL have identified and long discussed but not yet resolved (Blackwood, 2015). For this book, we have adopted a pragmatic approach, albeit with a consistent and shared starting point. For each survey area, we have surveyed extensively 50-metre stretches of 20 sites; on occasion (such as in Ajaccio, Northern Catalonia, Trieste, and Cagliari) we undertake some surveys outside the city and where this is the case, we highlight this – and the reasons for this decision – in the following chapters. Where we have been flexible in the selection of survey areas is that, where appropriate, we have adapted the political and topographical organization of a given city, using for example the *quartieri* of Naples or the *arrondissements* of Marseilles to achieve wide and balanced coverage. Nevertheless, in this kind of LL research, there will inevitably be an in-built arbitrariness to the selection of streets to be surveyed. Where possible, we have identified at random a 50-metre stretch of the chosen streets, assiduously selecting the site of enquiry before examining the signage – in other words, we did not look for particularly semiotically rich or interesting parts of the city but rather sought to convey the full complexity of the public space as represented by the sites chosen. We fully acknowledge the shortcomings to this approach, not least in the erroneous potential to provide a comprehensive, synchronic study of the LL of the French and Italian Mediterranean shorelines. It has never been our intention to use the LL to provide a snapshot of written language practices in places such as Perpignan and Genoa, not least because we concur with Blommaert (2013, p. 10) who sees sociolinguistic systems (which we explicitly extend to include cities) as 'always dynamic, never finished, never bounded, and never completely and definitively describable

either'. What we seek to do, therefore, is to use the sites of enquiry selected to address a series of questions, theories, approaches, and positions in order to enable us to comment on issues where language, cities, and people coalesce.

Any book on the LL could fill all its pages with images to discuss, evaluate, and dissect. The Mediterranean coastal cities we investigate are no less rich, no less saturated with interesting signs than Backhaus' Tokyo or Blommaert's Antwerp. Inevitably, we have had to privilege some signs over the thousands collected along the Mediterranean shoreline, and we use them in this book for different purposes. Some of the images that we provide we discuss as multimodal objects, highlighting the nexus between words, shapes, colours, emplacement, and audience. On some occasions, where we test the relationship between a given assertion and a particular sign, we feel that the image merits particularly close attention, and we devote space to discussing many of the aspects of their multimodality. On other occasions, we use an image to represent a trend, a style, a particular point that we are seeking to underscore. Here, we include an image explicitly for illustrative purposes. The consequences of providing a small fraction of the images we have collected include the necessity in places to describe without showing a particular sign. Although not ideal, this practice is limited to those signs where we believe that a description alone suffices.

Organization of the book

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the linguistic histories of France and Italy in order to reconstruct the main factors that account for the current linguistic repertoire of both countries, of which the LL is an integral part. We discuss how a range of political-ideological discourses and socio-economic developments have intertwined, and to what extent different social actors have actively participated in the construction of the public space. In this context, language policy as outlined in Spolsky (2004) allows us to adopt a holistic approach to language change and language management in Italy and France, and to dissect the complexities and rootedness of language ideologies and of their impact upon language practices. With respect to the two countries, we identify significant differences in the origin and development of language variety, and as governed by institutional bodies. However, it is striking to note that both formal and informal channels of enculturation share similar characteristics in both settings and that they have been equally effective in the consolidation of language beliefs.

Chapter 2 is where we first contrast sites on either side of the national border: Nice, Monaco, and Genoa. Here, we explore the potential for LL to contribute meaningfully to border studies by the examination of signs which activate meaning and either create or erase borders. In particular, we use the LL to identify gradations in the bordering process, where we discuss the creation of national, regional, and localized borders through language. In Nice, the LL points to a national border that unquestionably divides France from Italy, but which is not entirely impermeable, not least to the flow of Italian. In Nice, Monaco, and Genoa, the data indexes borders that have not been fixed by nation-states with fences, custom houses, and lines on maps. Instead, these borders have been acknowledged by speakers of regional languages and latterly actualized by signs in Nissart, Monegasque, and Genoese. In Genoa in particular we note the making of borders by migrant groups through language and other semiotic resources to mark out spaces within districts in the city.

In Chapter 3, attention turns to where France and Italy encounter other nation-states on the Mediterranean, namely Spain to the west and Slovenia to the east. The notion of peripherality and its impact upon language use guides our examination of Northern Catalonia and Friuli-Venezia Giulia, where the border areas are not only sites of negotiation between national standard languages (namely Castilian and Slovenian) but also significant other varieties – Catalan and Triestino – which figure to varying degrees in local repertoires and at the same time contribute to understandings of power, peripheries, and processes of institutionalization. We investigate the linguistic appropriation of space by local civic authorities who, in sustaining the visibility of languages such as Catalan and Slovenian, simultaneously reinforce their minority status.

The islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica are the sites onto which our discussion of insularity and peripherality are projected in Chapter 4. We analyse the interconnections between different constructions of the local space – the island as a highly territorialized and bounded entity, the island in its existential dimension, and the island as a resource – in order to situate the multiple levels of LL agentivity against a background of conflicting attitudes towards insularity. We highlight that centre-periphery relations have been characterized by an element of ambiguity which is partly the result of an insular elaboration of competing models of regionalism, and which has been acted out as open conflict at different times in the three areas. We contend that processes of spatialization of core islandness have been replicated at different levels, and that linguistic and semiotic landscapes on the three islands construct gradients of split insularity and nested insularity. The LL on the three sites

contributes to the enactment of complex linguistic identities which, amongst other aspects, also point to insularity as a resource.

Marseilles and Naples are at the core of our investigation in Chapter 5. We approach the study of the local LL from the perspective of social representation theory (Moscovici, 1984). This framework seemed particularly suitable due to the role that Marseilles and Naples play in the collective imaginary, both internally and externally, thanks to their encapsulating significant components of the archetypal Mediterranean character. The multilingual and multicultural make-up of the two cities is an integral part of perceptions of their inherent Mediterranean-ness, but linguistic identities are performed in a dissimilar manner in the two areas. On the one hand, all available linguistic resources seem to be mobilized in the Neapolitan LL, so that inscriptions in the public space demarcate it as a site of normalization of diverse language practices to the extent that even migrant languages are accommodated into existing discourses of precariousness. In Marseilles, on the other hand, the written absence of regional languages and the very limited visibility of migrant languages point to a public space of compliance with the normative stance of written French, whilst elements of cultural distinctiveness are delegated to non-written modes of expression.

Given its significance as a code, we reserve Chapter 6 for a discussion of English in the LL, and critique its use through the prism of cosmopolitanism as a school of thought. We present the opposing ideologies of anglophilia (which can evolve into anglomania) as attested in Italy, and anglophobia, as experienced amongst France's elite, although we argue that the positioning of the English language is more nuanced and ambiguous than these broad sentiments imply. We trace the contexts for the current attitudes articulated towards English on both sides of the border between France and Italy, before identifying trends in transnational cosmopolitanism as borne out by signs featuring English, often in the international food services industry. We also use the LL to examine elite cosmopolitanism as indexed in English, which is more widely indicated by the data in Italy than in France, a conclusion which points to the perceptibly different values ascribed to the English language in France and Italy.

1
Sketching the Contexts: Italy and France

Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of language change and language management in Italy and France in order to situate the competing factors and actors which are responsible for the linguistic construction of the respective public spaces. In the course of the discussion we shall highlight aspects ranging from political-ideological discourses to socio-economic developments and their interconnections. Language policy will be analysed in its broadest possible framework (Spolsky, 2004) to give an indication of the complexity and rootedness of language ideologies, and of how they impact on language practices. We are aware that we merely touch upon a number of fundamental issues and debates revolving around the linguistic histories of the two countries, but the intention is to bring to the fore similarities and differences between the two contexts in order to provide a setting for subsequent chapters.

One of the principal structural differences between Italy and France is due to the organizational models which defined their composition and which are rooted in the Middle Ages. On the one hand, Italy, and primarily northern and central Italy, was characterized by polycentric structures based on city-states which enjoyed political and economic autonomy; France, on the other hand, was from the outset an example of a 'primacy organization' (Salone, 2005) controlled by a major capital city, Paris. In spite of this major constitutive difference and of the diverging modalities in the development of language policy, it will become apparent that both countries were immersed in the philosophies and aesthetic principles promoted by the European elites since the early modern period. To mention one aspect, linguistic purism is considered to have been articulated for the first time by the Italian

Accademia della Crusca (founded in 1583) and following the codification of a literary canon in 1525. This type of ideology was rooted in classical ideals inherited by the fifteenth century humanists and looked to literary models, and predominantly poetic production, along the lines of what had constituted the models for poetry and prose in Latin in the classical world (Marazzini, 2004). This profoundly conservative attitude on the part of cultural elites was therefore firmly anchored in the past and in rigid social organizations characterized by exclusive practices carried out in exclusive languages. Vernacular interpretations and perceptions of linguistic purity and beauty are the result of internalized aesthetic discourses which were fixed in works such as Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*, which included a normative grammar of Italian. In Bourdieian terms (Bourdieu, 1986), it could be argued that Bembo produced an *ante-litteram* theory of linguistic taste and social distinction. In this sense, perceptions of the aesthetic value of languages are a result of enculturation processes, and they have generated hegemonic discourses which cross over national boundaries. The linguistic histories of both Italian and French bear witness to this phenomenon.

Italy – polycentrism and linguistic diversity

The lack of a unitary state and the emergence of a mercantile class which extended its linguistic practices, that is the use of local vernaculars, to written domains are usually indicated as the beginning of linguistic polycentrism on the Italian peninsula (Petrucci, 1994). This gave rise to distinct literary traditions which, where supported by influential cities, gained remarkable prestige, as will become apparent over the course of the book. The sense of independence and autonomy of the numerous political entities represented a challenge both during and after the formation of the Italian nation-state in 1861. The implementation of a highly centralized system at this juncture was primarily a legacy of the Franco-Piedmontese style of administration, but was also guided by the awareness of the vulnerability of the new national entity. As a result, federalist ideas of state administration were rejected in the name of unity (Mack Smith, 1997). However, the town/city and its surrounding area, and sometimes a pre-existing state, continued to represent a strong element of belonging and identity (Lyttleton, 1996).

The above issues are closely linked to the question of national unity and national identity, which has been the subject of much academic writing on Italy.[1] The *Risorgmento* itself, that is the social, cultural and political movement that led to Italian unification, never ceases to be an

object of interest on the part of Italian and international scholars and observers alike (Patriarca and Riall, 2011). Discourses of a divided history have therefore permeated constructions of Italy at all levels and, amongst other aspects, they have nourished recent regionalist claims and demands for local autonomy since the 1970s. Although the Italian Constitution (1948) had sanctioned the introduction of regional authorities in their current form, the 20 Italian regional governments did not come into existence until 1970 and administrative devolution came into effect in 1997 with the law of 15 March 1997/59. It can be argued that the enactment of the constitutional principle of regional autonomy provided the institutional background to subsequent regionalist movements such as the Lombard/Northern League. Indirectly, and before the establishment of European agendas, the Constitution represented a move towards recognizing and complying with the plural nature of Italian society.

Italian polycentrism is arguably most evident in language matters. Urban centres have often provided linguistic models and promoted processes of koineization in wider areas, therefore consolidating a type of linguistic diversity which is unparalleled within Europe (De Mauro, 1963). The linguistic relationship between centre and periphery has not been a smooth one. The literary prestige acquired by the Florentine vernacular via the works of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio guaranteed the establishment of a linguistic model as early as the fourteenth century. This vernacular was codified in 1525 via Bembo's *Prose della vulgar lingua* and continued to be used in literary production, but its use was limited to a small elite. The vernacular started being used alongside Latin in formal education in the late sixteenth century, and the publication of the *Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612) sanctioned normative Italian as an object of study via learning tools (De Blasi, 1993). It was only after unification in 1861 that increasing masses of Italians were exposed to a language which was to fulfil public functions as a natural consequence of its consolidated role of language of culture. At that stage, and via diverse sections of the population, Italian came into contact with numerous local varieties, some of which had prestigious literary traditions and which had been in use in the former capitals of independent states and kingdoms (including Naples, Palermo, Genoa, Venice, and others) (Marazzini, 2004).

The term *dialetto* (dialect) in the Italo-Romance context started appearing after the codification of the literary language, and stood in opposition to *lingua* (language) precisely because of the lack of characteristics such as standardization that make a linguistic variety a language. Given that Italy's dialects are the continuation of varieties deriving from Latin, they are not dialects of Italian, but parallel developments (Maiden and Parry,

1997). As a result, and unlike anglophone environments, the dialects of Italy can be structurally very different from Italian and their lower status is due to extra-linguistic factors. They represented the main means of (oral) communication for Italians until recent times and have traditionally been relegated to the private sphere. Italian and local varieties have, since unification, coexisted, and featured in individual and community repertoires to varying degrees and with different communicative functions. After unification, the Piedmontese administrative model was extended to the rest of the Italy, but the Piedmontese kings did not impose their idiom upon the country. Amongst many regional differences, Tuscan Italian was the de facto national language insofar as it had contributed to the construction of a common cultural heritage. Florence was therefore to remain the linguistic capital, while the political capital would be Rome after the end of the papacy's temporal power in 1870.

Italy is therefore a linguistically diverse country, one where history and geography have played fundamental roles in the shaping and development of myriad language varieties. Against a backdrop of nineteenth-century linguistic nationalism, and from an external perspective, Italy was a non-nation in so far as it lacked a common language to articulate its nation-ness. Alternative accounts highlight the unsuitability of this model for Italy and maintain, for instance, that it is not necessarily one language that confers linguistic identity to a nation, but it is the nation's linguistic heritage as a whole. From this perspective, and due to the richness and plurality of its expression, Italy could be considered to be an ultra-nation (La Fauci, 2010). Italo-Romance dialects continue to be used to this day and a recent survey (ISTAT, 2014a) confirmed trends already highlighted in previous investigations: even though exclusive use of the dialect continues to decline, and it is now employed with 'strangers' only by a small minority, about 30 per cent of respondents declared that in the home and with friends they normally employ a dialect alongside Italian (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Language practices in contemporary Italy: Italian/dialect use

	Home	**Friends**	**Strangers**
Mainly or only Italian	53.1%	56.4%	84.8%
Mainly or only dialect	9.0%	9%	1.8%
Both Italian and dialect	32.2%	30.1%	10.7%
Other language	3.2%	2.2%	0.9%

Source: ISTAT, 2014a.

This is partly a consequence of the fact that the spread of Italian occurred at an accelerated pace only after the Second World War and due to socio-economic factors such as urbanization, extended state education, and mass consumption of television programmes (De Mauro, 2014). From a disciplinary perspective, this explains the central role of the concept of language repertoires in discussions about language practices in Italian linguistic studies, a legacy of Italian dialectology as it developed in the nineteenth century (Grassi et al., 1997). Leaving aside spatial variation, of which all Italians are aware (Cini and Regis, 2002) and which contributes to complex linguistic repertoires, Berruto (1987) outlined the architecture of contemporary Italian as a result of three intersecting axes which account for variation on a diastratic, diaphasic, and diamesic level. In other words, an observation of the interplay of factors such as social group, context, and medium allows us to interpret language behaviour along the continua of language variation. Discrete categories of types of Italian including *regional*, *colloquial*, and *standard* are labels of convenience to be applied to spoken realizations of the national language, which have progressively become more fluid as ever increasing masses of people have had access to and mastered Italian. This has in turn brought about processes of re-standardization of Italian which have produced neo-standard Italian (Berruto, 1987), a consequence of the relaxation of the normative stance dominating written practices. Simultaneously, contact phenomena have affected both dialects, which have become Italianized to a certain extent, and Italian, which is always characterized by regional elements in oral production.

The articulation of both individual and group biographies would be impossible without reference to the set of language varieties that Italians can draw upon in everyday communication and that are constitutive elements of local and group identities. National history would not be complete without an understanding of Italy as a diglossic country at the time of unification and its long transition to bi- or multilingualism and *dilalia* (Berruto, 1987), a concept developed to represent current practices whereby Italian has progressively entered domains which were entirely dominated by dialects until not long ago.

In this context, the eventual disappearance of dialects has been debated since Pasolini, a leading film-maker, poet, and intellectual of the twentieth century, introduced his thesis in 1964 (Pasolini, 1971). In fact, dialects maintain a high degree of vitality in Italy, as recent surveys show. Geographical differences in terms of usage persist, and both context and interlocutor remain significant variables in language behaviour. The current configuration of linguistic repertoires is rather

complex because dialectal varieties and varieties of Italian have multiplied as a result of ever larger masses of Italians being brought up speaking and being educated in Italian on the one hand, and non-standard varieties incorporating standard expressions which make them viable means of communication on the other. Effective bi- or plurilingualism has led to new dialectal uses and users and to the widespread practice of code-switching and code-mixing. In addition to its oral uses, the dialect is being employed for a variety of functions which range from literary production to rap lyrics, and from advertising to social media. An aspect that is being constantly emphasized by the surveys is that these uses cut across social groups (ISTAT, 2014a).[2] This explains the multifaceted contribution of dialects to the construction of the public space as testified by the case studies discussed in this book. This also explains that, although Italian is indisputably the dominant language in public environments, the Italian LL has been characteristically and increasingly multilingual insofar as new language actors have also contributed to the construction of the public space. An outline of language policy and its peculiarities will provide a context for an understanding of different degrees of participation in processes of place-making and -marking.

Language policy in Italy

Elsewhere, we have used the term *non-policies* with respect to institutional measures (or lack thereof) aimed at the spread and consolidation of the national language (Blackwood and Tufi, 2012). This definition rests on evidence provided by existing scholarship on the topic (De Mauro, 1963; Tosi, 2008; Orioles, 2011) and highlights the lack of a systematic approach to the implementation of a planned and thorough spread of the common language via institutional channels. Given that at the time of unification Italian was primarily a written reality, a significant channel to guarantee regular contact with Italian would have been state education (two years of compulsory schooling in 1861 which was increased to five in 1887 – see Gensini (2005)). However, instruction in a language which was effectively foreign for the vast majority of pupils in the nineteenth century would not have caused a shift to Italian on its own, had the population not been through radical socio-economic changes which accelerated processes of Italianization significantly only in the second half of the twentieth century. As a result, language policy cannot be meaningfully assessed without taking into account issues of literacy and the development of state education. From this perspective, it could be argued that in Italy institutional language policy was mostly

covert (Shohamy, 2006), but pursued via education, which is one of the main forces in language management (Spolsky, 2009). It can also be argued that it was mostly education practices (Spolsky, 2004) which were involved in the dissemination and consolidation of language ideology.

It has been variously estimated that, at the time of unification, between 2.5 per cent (De Mauro, 1963) and 10 per cent (Castellani, 1982) of the population could speak Italian. These estimates are based on literacy rates and therefore, before we could rely on systematic surveys on language use, the only way to account for Italian speakers (or users) was to look at improvements in education provision. At the end of the nineteenth century, illiteracy was still widespread (40 per cent), but this is understandable in a context where compulsory education was of five years in 1877 and was increased to age 12 in 1905 (Gensini, 2005). In addition, problems relating to the actual implementation of compulsory schooling were at times insurmountable, and ranged from insufficiency of infrastructure on the one hand to open hostility from families who needed children for labour on the other – phenomena witnessed as widely in France as in Italy at this time. At this stage institutional, directed language policy can primarily be identified within the educational policies which promoted Italian both as the language of instruction and as an object of study. In this respect, the impact of schooling was significant and lasting insofar as the teaching of Italian emphasized prescriptive and normative uses of the language, and the pupils' production was heavily sanctioned because, inevitably, it carried strong dialectal features that needed to be eradicated.

Although national syllabi and methods incorporated what could be defined as a punitive approach to language teaching from the outset, it is customary to single out fascist language policies in terms of clear and directed legislation introduced to regulate language matters. Raffaelli (1983) highlights, however, that there is a tendency to view fascist language policies in isolation, whereas purist if not openly xenophobic tendencies can be identified in the nineteenth century as well. They were the legacy of the Jacobin principle whereby language matters can and should be regulated, even though this entails the use of authoritarian methods. The first law regulating the language of commercial signs in unified Italy was in fact promulgated in 1874, admittedly for mainly fiscal purposes; foreign words were subjected to the payment of a higher tax than Italian words (Raffaelli, 1983, pp. 33–7). The fight against the use of foreign words on commercial signs became overtly political in the changed climate of the early twentieth century, when irredentist and

nationalist groups appropriated the language issue for an anti-German campaign. The area around Lake Garda in the north of the country was the border between Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire at that time and it had been a holiday destination for high numbers of German-speaking tourists for years. Local businesses had been using German profusely on their commercial signs to accommodate the German tourists' needs. As a result of the campaign promoted by the nationalists and with the support of the Dante Alighieri Society, local town councils introduced a series of measures to limit the presence of German on commercial signs. Interestingly, the symbolic use of the wider semiotic landscape also came to the fore and linguistic xenophobia was accompanied by architectural xenophobia. In the early twentieth century the debate extended to the management of the built environment, with open criticism of the 'German style' of the buildings erected in the area (Raffaelli, 1983, pp. 86–9).

Although the nineteenth century was characterized by occasional official measures inspired by nationalistic ideals and a purist and aesthetic conception of language, this period established a tendency that was subsequently enhanced in pre-fascist times and finally taken to extremes under Mussolini's rule. Fascist language policies have traditionally received much attention as they represent the only systematic attempt to regulate language use in Italy, at least in the public sphere (Klein, 1986; Foresti, 2003). The first decree-law 352 of 11 February 1923 was in fact about the introduction of a tax on *insegne* (in their specific meaning of *signs* in relation to shops or other commercial establishments) that included foreign words, one of the very first pieces of legislation introduced by Mussolini (quoted in Raffaelli, 1983, p. 6). Fascist policy concentrated on three main areas: foreign words were to be banned, Italian was to be imposed upon national minorities as part of a process of de-nationalization, and dialects were to disappear from public and private use as signs of cultural fragmentation and disunity. As is typical in similar regimes, language purification as managed by the state had a number of effects which ranged from the ridiculous to the violently oppressive. On the one hand, for instance, the *Accademia d'Italia* (1929–1944/45) was instructed to compile lists of 'barbarisms' to be banned: *frutta* (fruit) or *fin di pasto* (end of meal) were to be employed instead of *dessert*; *arlecchino* (Harlequin) instead of *cocktail*; *uovo scottato* (blanched egg) instead of *uovo alla coque* (poached egg), and so on. On the other hand, national minorities such as the Germans of South Tyrol or the Slovenes of Venezia Giulia saw their languages disappear from education, local administration, and public spaces

including cemeteries, where even proper names were Italianized. Whilst such draconian measures had a limited impact on actual language use (Mengaldo, 1994), they were significant in terms of the consolidation of linguistic prejudice and of the stigmatization of non-standard varieties. In addition, they re-enforced the anti-dialectal stance adopted by much of the educational establishment since its inception (De Blasi, 1993). Finally, they had a long-lasting impact on feelings of exclusion and fractured identities, which can still be detected in certain parts of Italy (see Chapter 3).

Within a radically changed context, the Italian Constitution (1948) laid the foundations of the Italian democratic republic and fully endorsed discourses of human rights which were at the centre of post-Second World War reconstruction. Whilst not explicitly identifying Italian as the official language of the state, the Constitution refers to minorities in Article 6: 'The Republic safeguards linguistic minorities with special norms' (Costituzione della Repubblica Italiana, 1948). Thus the emphasis was on minorities, those groups who would not be discriminated against on ethno-linguistic grounds and whose languages would enjoy protection. Article 6 represented a statement of intent and in fact more specific legislation detailing which languages were deserving of protection would not be introduced until 1999. Law 482/1999 was finally passed in spite of the long debates that it had sparked in the 1990s, a time when parts of the political establishment feared that provision for minority groups would encourage separatist claims (Richardson, 2001). The legislators were keen to enshrine the principles and the spirit of European and international legislation relating to lesser known languages and cultures into Italian legislation. The law, however, rather than valuing the national linguistic heritage, singled out 12 minority languages: 'The Republic safeguards the language and culture of Albanian, Catalan, Germanic, Greek, Slovenian, and Croatian populations and of those speaking French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin, Occitan, and Sardinian'. Again, the text put an emphasis on minority groups and those who were historically associated with a given territory, implicitly excluding provision for other minority languages. The shortcomings have been identified by a number of scholars (Orioles, 2003; Toso, 2008a; Iannaccaro and Dell'Aquila, 2011): for example, the identification (and consequent exclusion) of given minorities seemed to be arbitrary. In addition, provision was to be allocated regardless of the significant differences in the sociolinguistic composition of the relevant minorities.

Since the introduction of regional assemblies in Italy in 1970, regional linguistic legislation has progressively included further measures for the

protection of minority languages, therefore reflecting attempts to compensate for the lack of provision or for the inadequacies of national legislation. In the course of the book we refer to this type of legislation where appropriate, but it should be clarified that current regional borders were the result of political/administrative decisions which did not take into account linguistic realities. For example, on Sardinia the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero and Sardinian varieties enjoy special protection according to national law 482/1999. However, national legislation does not include Tabarchino, another minority language on the island. This is a Genoese variety taken to two small islands off the south-west coast of Sardinia by settlers in the eighteenth century (see Chapter 4). In this instance, regional law 26/1997 passed in Sardinia preceded national legislation and established that the island would safeguard its cultural and linguistic heritage in its entirety.

Changes in (implicit or covert) language policy have remained closely related to changes in education throughout the post-war period. The education reform of 1962 changed the organization of compulsory education with the introduction of unified middle schools (up to age 14) which adopted a national curriculum. Whilst this marked an attempt to address social inequality, populating schools with a mass of new pupils coming from all social groups also brought to the fore linguistic disadvantage. The language question acquired centrality within the protest movements of the late 1960s which, amongst other aspects, criticized the elitist bias of the education system and its exclusionary practices. The ensuing debate involved teachers, educators, politicians, and families and led to the articulation of new, more inclusive language learning syllabi, first in middle schools (1979) and later in primary schools (1985). In this respect the work undertaken by GISCEL (Group of Intervention and Study in Linguistic Education) was highly significant and led to the formulation of the *Dieci tesi per l'educazione linguistica democratica*, that is 10 principles which aimed to inspire and guide teachers towards the attainment of a truly democratic linguistic education.[3] These principles have in fact informed relevant European work on intercultural education. Concepts pertaining to the linguistic repertoire and plurilingual individuals, some of the defining characteristics of the vast majority of Italians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, are used throughout documents issued by the Council of Europe, such as *A European Reference Document for Languages of Education?* (2007) and the *Guide for the Development and Implementation of Curricula for Plurilingual and Intercultural Education* (2010) (D'Agostino, 2012).

Intercultural education is at the heart of Italian attempts to address the needs of an increasingly diverse population, and in this perspective education remains central as a means of enacting institutional language policy. Migrant groups currently represent about 8 per cent of the country's population (Caritas, 2014) and the presence of migrant school children rose from 37,000 in 1993 to 800,000 in 2012 (Colombo and Ongini, 2014). Migrant groups have further diversified the country's linguistic composition, especially in view of the fact that migration into Italy is characterized by extreme fragmentation with respect to place of origin (Caritas, 2014). This might explain the fact that even though language-in-education policies to support both the integration of non-Italian pupils and the teaching of their respective languages and cultures were introduced as early as 1982, research in the field shows that an increasing emphasis on intercultural education has been mirrored by a shift from the needs of migrant children to wider educational goals, mainly as articulated by the European agenda (Liddicoat and Diaz, 2008).

Discourses of integration and intercultural education are therefore solidly incorporated into educational practices in Italy. The principles inspiring these discourses, however, do not seem to guide such institutional channels as local administrations. We have highlighted the sporadic nature of the linguistic regulation of the public space in Italy and this is arguably one of the reasons why written practices in Italian cityscapes look distinctly multilingual. However, in recent times a number of local councils have introduced measures to curb the preponderance of certain migrant languages in given areas of Italy. The desire to restrict the display of these languages has been presented as an attempt to safeguard the 'authenticity' of local architecture and activities or to make signs 'comprehensible' to all passers-by (Barni and Vedovelli, 2012). Whilst the flawed character of such measures does not require further comments, in the future this type of local legislation might have significant repercussions on issues of participation, authorship, and visibility in the construction of local LLs.

France – linguistic centrism

Unlike Italy, modern France has, as a nation-state, been a model for centrism and this position extends to ideologies about language. Estival and Pennycook (2011, p. 330) summarize this neatly, noting that, 'arguably starting with the *Serment de Strasbourg* in 842, certainly gaining strength with the post-revolutionary insistence on primary education in French, language policy has been unremittingly centrist and monolingual'.

The narrative that has been nourished by France's elite since the sixteenth century is that French has a beauty, purity, and elegance that is not merely apparent to all who encounter the language, but is something that needs to be protected (Adamson, 2007, pp. 1–6). This became axiomatic in influential circles whose dominance in language policy can still be felt in the twenty-first century. Lodge (1993, p. 4) argues that 'the myth of "clarity" and "logic" inherent in the standard French language is extremely pervasive' in France. This supremacy of French in a range of subjective qualifications has had a lasting effect on language use, of which the LL is one aspect. This is not to say that those who commission, design, pay for, erect, maintain, or remove signs do so in a manner governed by this long history of the pre-eminence of French, but we explore in this volume the extent to which this unremitting ideology plays a part in the construction of place by a public which is, as elsewhere in Europe and beyond, multilingual. For the purposes of contrasting the approach in Italy, we trace briefly here how France can be considered, as Spolsky (2004, p. 83) posits, 'the paradigmatic case for strong ideology and management'. This union of a strident ideology and highly directive language management strategies has significant repercussions for the creation of the LL in France, including along its Mediterranean shoreline.

The linguistic centrism in France, with its focus on Paris (after the definitive transfer of the seat of power from Versailles), is the result of centuries of the cumulative concentration of institutions, individuals, and power in the capital city. From the perspective of language policy, we outline below the main landmarks that punctuate the last five centuries. Contributors to the lore regarding the nature of the French language noted above are not solely drawn from the ranks of kings, presidents, politicians, and law makers. Some of the earliest participants were poets in the Renaissance, such as the group known as the Pléiade. 1549 saw the production of what amounts to a manifesto for the Pléiade which, in the words of its author Joachim du Bellay, is a defence of the French language, and is identified as the first call to arms to use French (rather than Latin, at this stage) as a national literary language (Walter, 1988, p. 95). From this point onwards, the discourse of defence becomes entrenched, presupposing some kind of aggressor, whose incarnations evolved over the centuries. By the end of the sixteenth century, another poet, François de Malherbe, had risen as a key figure in the standardization of French, not least given his political influence to the court as the official poet to kings, regents, and Cardinal Richelieu. Adamson (2007, p. 3) notes that Malherbe pioneered the notions of the purity of form

of French, as well as strict rules governing usage. Despite the acknowledged significance of the Renaissance across Europe, Italian was singled out as a potential threat to French by the scholar and printer Henri Estienne, whose treatises on French identify Italianisms as the major challenge to the purity of the language (Ayres-Bennett et al., 2001, p. 339). Linguistic centrism and especially language policy have long been coloured by the issue of borrowings, with Latin and Italian supplanted by English in the late modern period as the main threat against which French should be defended.

The *Ancien Régime*, in other words the governance of France before the watershed of the 1789 French Revolution, considered questions of its own survival rather more acute than language issues, not least given the civil wars during the middle of the seventeenth century. Louis XIV consolidated his power at Versailles by the introduction of a system of *intendance* where appointed emissaries were despatched to the regions of France to counter-balance the influence of the local nobility, a development which reinforced the country's centrist model. Ayres-Bennett (1996, p. 178) summarizes the seventeenth century as 'a period of restrictive codification and control of French' by which time 'the influence of Latin on French lessened'. The perceived desirability of purifying the French language, married to its professed perfection, reached one of its high-water marks with the writings of Claude Favre de Vaugelas, a grammarian responsible for identifying *le bon usage* (the proper use) which has become the benchmark for the French language (Judge, 2007, p. 25). It is at this stage that *l'Academie française*, whose members identified the norm upon which *le bon usage* was to be founded, emerged as an important force within language use in France. As discussed elsewhere (Blackwood, 2013), *l'Académie française* has taken on mythical status and is perceived as more powerful and influential, especially in anglophone discourse, than it is in reality. A superior court which makes final judgement on language matters, *l'Académie française*, as Estival and Pennycook (2011, p. 333) underscore, does not have ultimate legal authority, nor is it completely resistant to language change. Moreover, *l'Académie française* is not responsible for neologisms; this task has been assigned to the General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France (DGLFLF), which in turn delegates the process of neologizing to the General Commission for Terminology and Neologisms, with specialist commissions for terminology housed in ministries within the state apparatus (Blackwood, 2013, p. 41).

Nevertheless, the spectre of *l'Académie française* has cast a considerable shadow over language ideologies, and the emergence of a language

ideology which dictates that there is only one monolithic and undifferentiated variety of French to which all speakers should aspire has echoed down the centuries. The effects of this dogma are explored in the French Mediterranean cities investigated in this book, and we consider the ways in which this discourse permeates not only the ways in which languages are emplaced in French coastal towns, but also language beliefs (Spolsky, 2004) regarding multilingualism and the place of French in the LL. Once codified through this process which involved poets, grammarians, and public servants, the next phase of standardization, according to the model established by Haugen (1966), is acceptance. Acceptance of French in France means the extension of the use of this new national standard language across the territory, and Lodge (1993, p. 190) describes this as a 'multidimensional process' requiring spatial, functional, and social diffusion.

The spread of French spatially, which occurred largely during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was an extension of the model adopted by the *Ancien Régime*; before the Revolution, *intendants* (royal civil servants) managed the regions of France on the basis of their political relationship with the king, in part through communication with the court in French. In modern France, the creation of a civil service, which provided a stable income and a pension on retirement, created a network of government employees whose position depended on their ability to speak French. Spatial diffusion was accelerated by the Industrial Revolution, and the rural exodus, which saw men and women leave their villages to work in factories in France's cities, removed them from their communities where regional languages continued to be used as a first language, whilst exposing them to French and the economic advantages of its mastery. Judge (2007, p. 27) also highlights the improved transport system (especially the railway network), and – from 1875 onwards – universal, compulsory military service as factors in the spread of French. This spatial diffusion overlaps with its functional counterpart whereby French became the default language for formal (and subsequently informal) domains, including 'urban affairs (local government, the law, finance, long-distance trade) before rural matters (agricultural techniques, the local market, village get-togethers and so on)' (Lodge, 1993, p. 190). Social diffusion is understood as the cascading down of the French language through the social classes, with specific interventions (such as the creation of universal, free schooling, discussed below) hastening the process.

By the twentieth century, a set model for linguistic centrism had been established. The language of the king and court, which was

re-appropriated for the citizens of France by the Revolutionaries and their successors, was ideologically charged as the superlative code for communication. Moreover, French was to be protected from influences perceived to be undesirable, including foreign borrowings, Latinisms, and so-called barbarisms. Much of the ideological work that led to this positioning of the French language took place in Paris, and the institutions associated with the language, in replicating the model for the wider state apparatus, are found in the capital city. Unlike Italian polycentrism, France's holistic conceptualization of language and, in particular, a standard language, pivots on Paris, as the capital city. At the same time, this linguistic centrism is secured and enriched by a philosophy that has, until the twenty-first century, prized monolingualism over linguistic diversity. Whilst mastery of modern foreign languages has not been stigmatized, the hegemonic position of French is consistently underscored by the breadth of France's elite, even once the existence of the country's regional languages was formally acknowledged, a point to which we return below.

In terminological discussions around language use in France, three terms emerge which dominate the debate, each of which is freighted ideologically in ways dissimilar to their use in Italy. As in Italy, the use of these terms in France is a product of the long established language ideologies, whereby a broadly accepted hierarchy has materialized in France, with *patois* generally viewed as 'debased, corrupt forms of French' (Lodge, 1993, p. 5), and with – on a national level – relatively low value. Laurendeau (1994, p. 132) teases out the paradoxical conceptualization of *patois*, noting that they are both stigmatized but also enjoy localized prestige. From the perspective of this study into the LL of Mediterranean cities, *patois* are less relevant than *dialects* and *languages*, not least because the designation refers largely to spoken varieties, whose forms are not traditionally written, and even less publicly displayed within the LL. Wolf (1972, p. 173) summarizes *patois* as the modes of expression from all different regions which are subordinated in some way to the koiné language. For the purposes of this exploration of languages in the public space, we do not intend to contribute to the debate on the status of *patois* in France. It suffices to note that this glossonym refers often to highly localized varieties of the French language, often denigrated for purported imperfections, and invariably set up in opposition to the French language (Boyer, 2005, p. 78).

Dialect has different connotations in the two countries investigated here, and in France, it is seen as subordinated to *language*, not least in the sense of the much-recited aphorism that a language is a dialect

with an army and a navy. Lodge (1993, pp. 4–9) highlights the popular discourse in France which subjectively sees *dialect* as 'better' than *patois*, largely on the basis that *dialects* tend to have a written form, and a greater level of standardization. He then identifies the view held by (socio)linguists, who class *language* as a superordinate term, below which a number of *dialects* are considered to be hyponyms (Lodge, 1993, p. 15). In contemporary France, in much public discourse, the use of the term *dialect* tends to connote a non-standard form of a well-established language. *Dialect*, therefore, has often been associated with Alsatian (seen as a variety of standard German; see Bothorel-Witz and Huck, 2003), and until fairly recently Corsican (whose relationship with Tuscan Italian is used by some to devalue its status). However, Kasstan (2015, pp. 77–8) draws attention to the potential transition in status of several varieties from *dialect* to *language* in France over the last 30 years, a point which highlights both the desirability of the glossonym 'language', and a uniformization in designating language varieties which privileges *language* over *dialect*. This trend reached a legal landmark in 2008 with the change to the Constitution which refers to 'regional languages', rather than *dialects* or even *patois* (a point to which we return below). For the purposes of this study, rather than adopt the distinction offered by Haugen (1966, p. 926), which places emphasis on the structural differences in the genetic composition of the varieties, we use the term *regional language* to refer to those codes which can be identified as both distinct from French, but also collectively recognized as discrete by their speakers, such as Corsican and Catalan.

Language policy in France

As highlighted above, Spolsky (2004, p. 83) considers France to be a classic example of a state committed to interventionist language planning strategies which are designed to guide the practices of the wider population. As part of this language management, as contextualized by the linguistic centrism outlined above, the ideological commitment to French above all other languages is extended into language use in the public space. The focus of French language management, however, has only recently come to fall on aspects of the LL, and initially, attention was paid primarily to the securing of domains for French. The first milestone in this long journey targeted the judiciary and public administration, at a time when Latin remained the H language in this medieval diglossia. Clerico (1999, p. 149) refers to the 1539 Edict of Villers-Cotterêts as 'the birth certificate for French as an official language',

despite the fact that only a few lines of the decree's 192 articles confirm King François I's desire to ensure that all legal and administrative documents were written '*en langaige maternel François et non autrement*' (in the French language and not otherwise). Judge (2007, pp. 17–19) puts the success of this piece of language legislation down to a range of factors, including the development of the legal system which had already begun to favour French (largely because petitioners to the judiciary by this stage did not understand Latin), a paucity of priests able to write in Latin, and the increasing literary prestige of French – a current which Du Bellay and the Pléiade enthusiastically joined.

France's monarchs, whilst not disinterested in language policy, did not devote much time or energy to ensuring the spread of French (Blackwood, 2008, p. 15). As long as those governing France could communicate with the court in French, little effort was expended in changing the language practices of the wider public, to the extent that, according to the findings of the survey co-ordinated in 1794, five years after the Revolution, by the Abbot Grégoire, French was spoken exclusively in only 15 of France's 83 *départements* (administrative counties) (Adamson, 2007, p. 8). Since this was viewed as undemocratic, and the perpetuation of France's *patois* and *dialects* dismissed as the continued subjugation of citizens denied full participation in society by their lack of French, the National Convention (France's single-chamber legislature in the aftermath of the Revolution) passed what Hagège (1996, p. 86) describes as 'the second great act of language policy in the history of French'. At the end of the period known as the Terror, the decree of *2 Thermidor* (20 July 1794) was passed which rendered all documents not written in French illegal, and criminalized the act of drawing up documents in any language other than French. Although the impact of this law was uneven, not least because parts of it were temporarily suspended, and then rewritten differently in subsequent years, the tenor of language management was set, and the ideology behind these landmarks of language policy echo through to contemporary France.

As elsewhere in Europe at this time, the focus of language policy switched to language education policy, which as Shohamy (2006, p. 76) argues is 'a form of imposition and manipulation of language policy as it is used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice through formal education'. Education has emerged as a coveted domain in language policy in France as early as 1530, when François I founded the *Collège de Lecteurs Royaux* which taught in French (Judge, 2007, p. 21). However, as with subsequent attempts to extend the education system across France, a lack of finance and – in the case of the launch of

Napoléon's *lycée* system and prestigious *Grandes Écoles* – ideological ambivalence to mass education (Adrey, 2009, p. 117) made progress in the teaching of French slow and largely unsuccessful until the end of the nineteenth century. At the start of the nineteenth century, Walter (1988, p. 124) asserts that the *patois* were used for 80 per cent of communication. As Weber (1977, p. 501) highlights, one fifth of the population of 7.5 million still spoke no French by 1863. At the same time, however, the spread of semiotic resources associated with the French language, most notably the shields illustrated with the initials 'RF' (for *République française*) were erected across France, especially for the commemorations of France's national day, 14 July or Bastille Day (Pellegrinetti and Rovere, 2004, pp. 125–6). We therefore see, during the eighteenth century, the first deliberate emplacement of the French language in town squares and streets in order to affirm national identity, of which language had been an unalienable part since the Middle Ages.

Much has been written about the significance of language-in-education policies in France as the catalyst for the transformation of language practices. The creation of a free, obligatory, and secular education system, enacted by a series of education laws between 1881 and 1882, certainly initiated the process whereby large numbers of citizens of France were, over the years, exposed to the French language. After some time, the school system, once physically established in even the most remote and rural parts of France, became an effective teacher of the national language, although other, extra-linguistic factors, played their part in this development. The nature of education, especially its compulsory and free character, addressed some of the challenges to the dissemination of French, and here the situation echoes that present in Italy, where children, especially those required for agricultural labour, found themselves obliged to attend schooling where use of the regional language was highly stigmatized. This point is reiterated by Lachuer (1998, p. 47) who draws attention to the fact that schools were not merely education establishments, but local incarnations of the French state, whence the principles of the republic would emanate to the wider community. Strikingly, little in the way of language management strategies was enacted over the course of the twentieth century that had a significant impact on the hegemony or the diffusion of French. By the close of the nineteenth century, the tenor for France's linguistic centrism had been set, and its effects were to ripple for almost the duration of the twentieth century.

Over the past quarter of a century, two amendments to the French Constitution have contributed to the wider discourse on language use

in France. In 1992, French was identified in Article 2 as the official language of the Republic, enshrining in law what, as Judge (2007, p. 23) notes, had long been practised across the country and its institutions. The context for this seemingly belated one-line addition to the Constitution was the passing of the European Community's Maastricht Treaty, which created the European Union and established its structure. Adamson (2007, p. 27) points to the latent fear that English would emerge as the working language of the European Union, given the high proportion of second-language English-speakers across the member states. In clear contrast to the Italian Constitution, the French Constitution following this change underscored the dominance of the French language, without acknowledging the linguistic diversity as a lived experience across the country. 2008 saw a minor modification to Article 75 of the Constitution, which acknowledged formally the existence of an undefined number of regional languages, which are recognized as part of France's 'heritage'. That this acknowledgement is a long way down the Constitution from the recognition of an official language has not gone unnoticed (Blackwood, 2014, p. 66). Moreover, the regional languages are not named or even enumerated; whilst this provision can be perceived as an act of marginalization, the identification of these languages as part of the country's heritage, which is normally associated with palaces, castles, and towers, reinforces the long-standing narrative that Corsican, Catalan, and Occitan – amongst others – are part of France's past, rather than its present or future (Giordan, 2008, p. 29).

From the perspective of legislation regarding the use of languages in the public space, language policy to govern the LL dates back to the second half of the twentieth century. Adamson (2007, p. 13) identifies three laws passed in twentieth-century France which she argues constitute the main legal measures enacted to defend the French language: of these three laws, two relate directly to the use of language in the public space, the third to language teaching. As we have noted elsewhere (Blackwood, 2008, p. 57), the Bas-Lauriol law of 1975 stipulated that the use of French was obligatory in a range of commercial activities, including the appointing of employees, operating procedures, and advertising, thereby confirming the place of the standard language in virtually all aspects of the working life of the country. That this law was passed as late as the final quarter of the twentieth century might seem overdue, given France's long established language ideology, and reliance upon legislation to affect change. From the perspective of this investigation into the LL, the provisions of the Bas-Lauriol law – whose measures,

in the words of Judge (2007, p. 29), had to be 'watered down' having contravened directives of what was then known as European Economic Community – publicly reaffirmed the supremacy of the French language in commercial activity, both written and spoken, which regulates the appearance of the public space in ways not replicated in Italy.

The Toubon law of 1994 is the iconic language law that has the greatest resonance in France, both in terms of popular awareness and of impact on the LL. From the perspective of our study of the LL of France's Mediterranean cities, the impact of such explicit language management merits closer examination, not least because the myth-making around the Toubon law has created a popular perspective that suggests that any language other than French used in any kind of economic activity is criminalized. Given that much of the public space in the town and city centres surveyed for this project is given over to commerce in all its guises, the management of language use in the LL is very much the concern of the Toubon law, although its reach extends beyond language on the streets of France, and includes all texts associated with trade and economic exchanges. However, despite some popular misconceptions, the provisions of the Toubon law (whilst extensive) do permit the use of other languages, but demand a translation. The scope of the Toubon law includes education, employment, public services, and above all trade and commercial activity. The law positions itself in relation to the Constitution, and in particular Article 2 which identifies French as the language of the Republic of France. With the explicit inclusion of written, spoken, and audio-visual advertising, the Toubon law affirms that the use of French is obligatory in commercial exchanges, and that information must be provided in French, in addition to any other languages chosen by the manufacturer (Blackwood and Tufi, 2012, p. 114). As such, the law does not proscribe the use of languages other than French, but unambiguously requires the presentation of this information in French, and (as outlined in Article 4) the French version must be as legible, audible or intelligible as the source text. Elsewhere (Blackwood and Tufi, 2012, p. 124), we conclude that the national language ideology, as clearly and unequivocally articulated in the Bas-Lauriol and Toubon laws, affect language beliefs and practices of those who are responsible for the appearance of the public space, namely shopkeepers, national (and international) chain stores, and businesses.

At the same time that these national measures govern the behaviour of those normally associated with language change, that is those individuals and groups who live and work in communities, towns, and cities, there are more localized pressures which compete in the formation of

language beliefs along France's Mediterranean coasts. Amos (forthcoming) highlights how regional and civic authorities interpret national legislation and develop their own policies regarding the use of regional languages in the public space. This is the case in several of the cities we examine in this book, including Corsica's Territorial Authority and the *département* of *Pyrénées-Orientales* in Northern Catalonia, where language policy has been extrapolated by local councils which call for the greater visibility of the area's regional language, largely through its emplacement in the public space. It is somewhat over simplistic to summarize the intended consequences of language policies in France as conflictual, with national policy using the full weight of the law to enforce the hegemony of French whilst local actors, through elected bodies such as regional and town council, authorize the situating of regional languages on the walls of their towns and cities. It remains the case that the French language can rely on its legal protection, its place in the Constitution, and the laws identified here, but at the same time, it would be misleading to suggest that there is no space for official, or top-down, use of those languages identified with specific indigenous ethnocultures in France. Equally, migrant languages have no official protection, and no formal recognition, despite the estimates of high numbers of speakers of languages such as Arabic and Berber, or widely diffused but lesser spoken languages such as Vietnamese and Wolof.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a number of features that have characterized the linguistic histories of Italy and France. Linguistic codification was rooted in the philosophies and aesthetic principles which had governed the learning of Latin and the imitation of its classical production. Ideologies of linguistic purity entailed the exclusion of words and structures which were perceived to be alien in the process of consolidation of cultural elites. This trend has manifested itself with a degree of consistency in France over the centuries due to the early creation of state structures and of a strong centre of power. However, and even in the absence of a similar political setting, the same ideologies became widespread in Italy before the creation of a unitary state and they gained further justification among competing visions of linguistic nationalism as it was being configured in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The importance of a common cultural heritage carried by literary Italian was emphasized and served the purposes of narrating the necessity of a unitary state during the period of the *Risorgimento*.

Processes of enculturation via both formal (education) and informal (internalized ideologies) channels have been extremely effective with respect to the consolidation of language beliefs in both countries. As for language practices, we have indicated a number of socio-economic factors which account for the spread of the two national languages at different times in history. We have also emphasized the role of state education as a primary vehicle for the implementation of institutional language policy. If we leave language policy via education aside, however, the difference between Italy and France is noteworthy in a number of respects which are highly influential. Unlike in France, in Italy there is no national legislation such as the Toubon law regulating the presence of languages in the public space, amongst other environments. In France such official organisms as the General Delegation for the French Language and the Languages of France (DGLFLF) were instituted to exercise control on language matters, but there is nothing equivalent in Italy. The *Accademia della Crusca* (Accademia della Crusca, 2014) is still in existence, but its functions are not normative: they revolve primarily around research into the Italian language in all its aspects, as emphatically stated in its statute.

The Italian Constitution and subsequent national legislation confer status to and assign provision for a number of minority languages. With all their limitations, Italian measures introduced to recognize and deal with internal plurilingualism and multiculturalism have inspired parts of legislation at a European level and paved the way for addressing issues brought about by increasing numbers of migrants. Diverse linguistic repertoires provide resources now employable in the construction of the public space in creative ways which were not foreseen a few decades ago.

France does not present us with the type of linguistic variety which characterizes Italy, although we do not mean to assert by this that France is, by any stretch of the imagination, monolingual. Moreover, the variation within the French, elided in the narrative woven by France's elite, is striking and operates along several axes, including formality and field. Scholars attempt to name these Frenches, often in relation to the standard language,[4] but the boundaries between these varieties are blurred and most speakers of French have access to more than one variety. Beyond the French language and its stylistic and regional variations, there are fewer regional languages and dialects spoken in France than in Italy, and they are less widely used. At the same time, France is home to a high number of migrants, bringing languages from Arabic and Berber to Vietnamese and Wolof to the national repertoire, but the French state

is, based on its documentation and statements, unconcerned about the influence of these languages on French and its position within France. English, of course, is the exception to this laissez-faire position, largely because of its perceived prestige, utility, and pervasiveness.

Unlike France, Italy does not combat borrowings from other languages. Indeed, quite the opposite is the case (see Chapter 6). The Italian language has traditionally embraced terms coming from different languages and they have often been normalized to the point of enjoying wider usage and not just conscious manipulation by cultural elites.[5] Even after the fascist attempt to replace borrowings with newly coined words and expressions, Italians went back to using them after the end of the regime (De Mauro, 1963). In contrast to France's highly centralized and effective system, in Italy even a cultural policy aimed at the promotion and dissemination of the Italian language and culture abroad has been extremely fragmented to say the least (De Mauro and Vedovelli, 1996).[6]

It remains to be seen to what extent these differences between the two countries have had a bearing on the construction of the respective public spaces and we endeavour to engage with this question in the course of the book.

2
The Linguistic Landscapes of the Ligurian Sea

Introduction

In late modernity, it is not unusual to encounter the discourse of the 'borderless world', and scholars in the social sciences, history, politics, human geography, and other disciplines have been engaged in discussions surrounding this imminent upheaval in international relations.[1] This borderless world has not yet come to pass and even within the European Union (characterized by the free internal movement of humans, labour, and goods), States continue to acknowledge the formal borders that separate countries, such as the one between France and Italy. Although the title of this chapter references the Ligurian Sea, in fact we investigate the land border zone between France and Italy and thereby explore the potential for the LL to contribute to border studies. We are encouraged in this work by, *inter alia*, Watt and Llamas (2014, p. 2) who contend that, in terms of language, borderlands are remarkable places, ripe for analysis along several vectors, including the relationship between language and identity (which we also address in Chapter 3). As is the convention in LL studies, we privilege here the cities that fall within the border zone, examining on the western side of the border Nice (20 miles or 32 km from the border) and Monaco (8 miles or 13km), and on the eastern side Genoa (106 miles or 170 km). From the outset, we acknowledge that Nice and Monaco sit much closer to the national border than does Genoa, but we contend that the comparison is significant, given the history of the coast that flanks the Ligurian Sea. Historical and cultural contacts have characterized this coastal area, and the legacy of past events can still be identified both in linguistic terms and in terms of a wider cultural heritage. Intense maritime contact and close commercial relationships between the different urban centres

that line the Ligurian Sea date back to the time of the early Crusades. It has been estimated that between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries a quarter of the maritime vocabulary in use in the western Mediterranean (including France, the Iberian peninsula, and northern Africa), a Mediterranean lingua franca, was directly influenced by the vernacular of Genoa (Aprosio, 2008, p. 278). With respect to France in particular, Genoa was the main provider of ships, sailors, and shipbuilders from the time of the First Crusade. As highlighted by Aprosio (2008, p. 275), the hands which in the thirteenth century built the shipyard in Rouen, home of the first French navy, were Genoese and so were the admirals who led it for a long period of time.

In this chapter, we test the potential for the LL to contribute to border studies from several perspectives, including the extent to which this increasingly redundant physical border is linguistically and semiotically porous. Although much LL scholarship has considered language as symbolic, the capacity for language to evoke an emotional response is increased in places and spaces of contestation. As Diener and Hagen (2010, p. 3) note, the delineations of borders are 'subjective, contrived, negotiated, and contested', and it is the meaning-making that the LL performs in this border zone which we discuss here. Donnan and Wilson (2010, p. 76) describe border areas as 'performative arenas which encourage symbols to proliferate' and although the EU has been, in the words of Scott (2012, p. 83) 'a project of transcending national borders and their logics of division', we examine the emplacement of languages in the public space inhabited by people who, for their lifetimes, have been conscious of the national boundary regardless of the side on which they live and work. If we accept Donnan and Wilson's contention that borders offer a 'theatricalised physical presence' (2010, p. 73), we consider whether, in an era where such national boundaries are diminishing in importance, the cultural constructions of life in France and Italy border cities reflect a denationalized process of meaning-making through language in the LL. In other words, we use the LL to see whether there is the cross-border language use in the public space, and whether the discourses revealed by such usage are mirrored on both sides of the frontier. To use the term highlighted by Newman (2008, p. 144), in this chapter we examine the role played by languages (national, regional and other) in the 'bordering process'.

Linguistic and cultural exchanges between the two sides of the current border are ancient. Until the middle of the twentieth century, for example, Ligurian varieties used to be spoken around Cannes and Grasse due to the establishment of communities from Albenga in the

fifteenth century. Opportunities for language contact were provided by the significant Italian presence in southern France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Linguistic integration took place via the common use of Provençal varieties, and the Italian influence is considered to have played an important role in the construction of ethno-linguistic specificities in this part of France. As recently as 1947, and following the political settlement of the Second World War, Italian territories around current Tende and La Brigue were incorporated into France. This development, together with the existence of other communities who live in the *département* of *Alpes-Maritimes*, account for the fact that about 40,000 Ligurian-speaking people are to be found in south-eastern France (Toso, 2008a). This chapter, as a consequence, will probe the extent to which French and Italian as languages are mobilized on the other side of the border with a view to understanding better the purposes for which the written forms of these national languages are deployed 'abroad'.

Nice: a historical overview

The city of Nice is the fifth largest in France, with 344,000 citizens recorded in the census of 2011 (INSEE, 2014a). Nice's position as a major urban centre of France is striking when considering how recently it was incorporated into the country, having been a city-state allied to Piedmont and Sardinia until 1860. Like Marseille, Nice was originally founded by Greeks from Phocæa, and was conquered definitively by the Romans in 8 BC (Latouche, 1932, pp. 18–19). Having developed around its port, Nice allied itself with Genoa in the centuries before the first millennium, although it was coveted by Provence (Bordes, 1976, pp. 61–66). In the fourteenth century, Petrarch noted that Nice was the first Italian city on the west (Visciola, 2011, p. 75) but the socio-political relationship with France is lengthy and complex. Wright (2002, p. 92) goes so far to comment that, for the five centuries of Nice's alliance with the House of Savoy, France could best be described as 'the enemy and aggressor', having fought to incorporate the city into France during the Italian War of 1542–1546, the Nine Years' War of 1688–1697, and the War of Austrian Succession from 1740–1748. After the French Revolution of 1789, Nice (along with Savoy) was the first territory annexed by France, an event which Gonnet (2003, p. 29) notes was the fifth invasion of the city by the French. The abdication of Napoleon in 1814 ended the French occupation of Nice, and the city (plus Savoy) was returned to Piedmont-Sardinia by the 1815 Treaty of Paris.

It is this context in particular that colours our assessment of the porosity – linguistically-speaking – of the national border, given the repeated shifting of the border over the centuries.

The final transfer of Nice into France was engineered by Napoleon III, who had made his support for Piedmontese expansion, conditional on the acquisition of Nice and Savoy by France. Agreed in secret between the Napoleon III and the Piedmontese Prime Minister, Count Camillo di Cavour in 1858, the victories of France and Piedmont-Sardinia at Magenta and Solferino were the catalyst for Piedmont to cede Nice to France, pending the result of a plebiscite in the city. This took place on 22 April 1860, with an overwhelming vote in favour of joining France (Wright, 2002, p. 92). This outcome was reached despite the public and vocal rejection of the proposals by Nice's Italophile élite, including Giuseppe Garibaldi, the famous Italian patriot and soldier, who was born in the city in 1807. Post-plebiscite, the transformation of Nice's population took place in two directions, with internal emigration by French citizens to the country's new eastern border city, as well as immigration from Italy, especially Piedmont, meaning that by 1891, 23 per cent of the city was Italian (Schor et al., 2010, p. 41), a proportion that whilst fluctuating remained more or less the same until the outbreak of the Second World War (Schor et al., 2010, p. 72). Over this same period – France's *Belle Epoque* from 1871 to 1914 – Nice emerged as a favoured destination for the discerning European traveller, notably the English, led by Queen Victoria who visited several times during the final years of her reign. In the 1930s, Mussolini identified Nice as a *terra irredenta*, a status that complicated the position of Italians in the city, some of whom identified with fascism, and others who had fled Italy and the persecution they suffered. During the Second World War, Italian troops occupied Nice from November 1942 until the city's liberation in August 1944, and the immediate post-war period witnessed a further increase in immigration from Italy to participate in France's reconstruction. This brief summary of Nice's relationship to Italy highlights the permeability of the border, even during periods of intense geopolitical upheavals, and the residual Italianness of the city is something to be explored through the LL.

Nice: a sociolinguistic overview

In terms of language practices, Gonnet (2003, p. 33) highlights that Tuscan Italian assumed its position as the H language from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, when the Duke of Savoy, Emanuele Filiberto, required lawyers to switch from Latin to Italian. As with all

parts of France in the post-Revolutionary period, official and political life was to take place in French, and Nice's local council was no exception to this. However, as early as June 1814, only two months after the abdication of Napoléon I, the city council switched back to deliberating in Italian (Vernier, 2006, p. 158). In the decades leading up to the 1860 plebiscite, Schor (2006, p. 313) notes that French was still used by the élite of the city, given its official status with the House of Savoy and its importance as the international language of diplomacy. Sawchuk (2010, p. 28) contends that in linguistic and cultural terms, Nice was 'predominantly gallic in character' by the time of the definitive annexation by France, not least because of the 'French colony' where wealthy French citizens spent their winter months, and where newspapers were published in both French and Italian. However, those opposed to unification with France cited the fact that Nissart had become particularly Italianized to the extent that it could no longer be confused with Provençal as a reason to vote against the annexation (Courrière, 2011, pp. 14–15). By the end of the nineteenth century, the language practices of the city had been changed completely as citizens of Nice had undergone a language shift to French, a change that Wright (2002, p. 91) argues is noteworthy because there was no shared past or common aim between Nice and France.

The LL of Nice and Monaco

In Nice, 15 surveys were undertaken across the city, with streets selected from districts across the centre. A total of 9,505 signs were recorded, of which 60 per cent (n = 5,704) were in French alone, and a further 2.2 per cent (n = 212) with other languages. Eight additional languages were recorded in the LL of Nice: Dutch, English, German, Italian, Latin, Nissart, Russian, and Spanish. In Monaco, five survey areas were identified, and a total of 1,988 signs counted; of these, 58 per cent (n = 1,169) were only in French and a further 0.7 per cent (n = 14) featured French. In terms of the varieties of languages on the walls of Monaco, from those attested in Nice, there were no instances of Latin, Russian, or Nissart in the survey areas. At the same time, Monegasque appeared in 1.8 per cent (n = 36) of signs in the Principality.

Italian in France

As noted above, the status of Nice as a town associated with Italian cultural history for much of its past means that the LL provides a frame in which to explore the extent to which traces of the Italian language

persist. In terms of data across the four locations in France, this survey site is where the highest number of signs in Italian is recorded, although in proportional terms, at 1.3 per cent (n = 151), the quantitative occurrences of the language are conspicuously minimal. Of this very small sub-corpus of signs featuring Italian, over half (58 per cent, n = 88) are monolingual, and examination of these signs informs better our understanding of the role of the language in what is an overwhelmingly francophone space. In part, the visibility of Italian is a consequence of what Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) refer to as banal globalization – a concept that explains the presence in Northern Catalonia, Marseille, and Corsica, as well as in Nice, of other languages (including also Spanish and German) of the transnational economy. Therefore, a number of Italian newspapers, on sale in shops across the city, are included in the data, as are the publicity material provided for Italian products.

Whereas Spolsky and Cooper (1991, pp. 7–8) detected the various periods of governance of Jerusalem on the walls of the Old City, in Nice, very few remnants of Italian, reflecting the period when Nice was part of the Duchy of Savoy, remain, and only one non-contemporary sign in Italian was recorded within the ten survey areas in the city. The only echo of Italian from the Savoy era recorded for this project is a sign erected in 1891, well into the French period, which commemorates the death in 1840 of the Italian violinist and composer Niccolò Paganini. In rather poetic nineteenth-century Italian, the sign records the death in this house of Paganini, and the silencing of his violin, whilst its melodious notes still drift across Nice (Figure 2.1).

It is notable that 30 years into the French ownership of Nice, a permanent sign was erected in Italian on the walls of the old town. As we consider the marks left in the public space around the Ligurian Sea, the paradoxical nature of this sign is arresting. In French Nice, part of a France whose institutions were gripped by a zeal for the usage of the national standard language in all aspects of public life, a permanent plaque, written in Italian, was erected to commemorate the passing of a famous musician. No translation into French is provided; no access to understanding the meaning of the sign is offered to those who do not speak Italian. In death, Italian resonates as the appropriate language to use to commemorate the passing of the Genoa-born musician. Erected by his admirers, and paid for through public subscription (CRDP, 2015), it is worthy of note that Italian is felt to index best Paganini's identity for a permanent sign placed in a prominent position in the heart of Nice, which (by the time of the erection of the sign) has been subject to strident language management strategies for several decades.

Figure 2.1 Sign in Italian commemorating the death of Paganini

The visibility of Italian beyond this plaque is accounted for by much more contemporary signage in Nice. The use of Italian in what might refer to a top-down manner merits further discussion. In the civic frame, a space is consistently found for Italian, normally alongside English. This choice of trilingual signage can be found in public-owned (or public-private partnerships) service industries, such as Nice's tramway system (Figure 2.2), the city's bicycle hire scheme *Vélobleu*, or parts of the SNCF, the national railway network. Here, within these elements of the civic frame, the language practices of the potential audience are acknowledged, and information is provided in three languages: French, English, and Italian. Given that statistics for 2013 (Côte d'Azur-Touriscope, 2015) identify Italians as the largest national group of visitors to the Côte d'Azur (including Nice), constituting 16.8 per cent of international tourists, the relative paucity of written Italian in the LL is striking.

In the tram system, the railway network, and the bicycle hire scheme, not only is French used, but the utility of both English and Italian is recognized by their consistent inclusion in signage. What is unchallenged in these three signs is the supremacy of French, given its position within the frame of the signs, and the choice of font. In other words, the code preference hierarchy (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) is self-evident; it is uncontroversial to note that French dominates the three signs. In all

Figure 2.2 Instruction sign inside Nice's tramway carriage

three cases, it occupies the dominant upper position, and its font is larger, although only marginally so for the tramway signs. Although concessions are made to English and Italian, the visual dominance of French is matched on the *Vélobleu* docking station by the artistic and functional dominance of the national standard language. In terms of decoration, each docking station includes the legend in French *Bougez en toute liberté* ('Get about in complete freedom'). Functionally, French is the only language provided on the maps at each docking station, so users of the scheme will need to use the national standard language to get their bearings. Moreover, in the panel for paying to hire a bicycle, the instructions appear in French only.

Despite their overall multilingual approach to information, which gives Italian a space in the LL not reflected elsewhere in the French data gathered for this project, the civic authorities – in the designing of the instruction panel by which members of the public can hire a bicycle – omit any languages other than French from the vital final stage of the process. Not all aspects of the civic frame in Nice include Italian as a linguistic resource. Two examples suffice. First, the port authorities in Nice use only French and English in their signage, with a preference for French. In some signs, French is used on its own, such as in the combined arrivals/departures board on the quayside. Further

along the port, a second display board, this time providing information only about departures, uses both French and English in a duplicating manner. No space is accorded to Italian, although in part this might be because ships sail only to Corsica, the island off the Italian coast which has been part of the French state since 1789. However, given the high number of Italians who use the port to sail to Corsica, it might have been expected to see Italian in the LL. Elsewhere, French and English are found in the signage relating to the tourist initiative known as *Cityzi*, launched in Nice in 2010. *Cityzi* invites smartphone users to scan the Quick Response (or QR) code in order to download tourist information relative to given sites around Nice to their mobile telephone. *Cityzi* has erected a number of signs across Nice, usually on the side of notable buildings or tourist attractions, with a QR code to be scanned for further information. The instructions for using the *Cityzi* codes are presented first in French and then in English, with no other languages used. Although operated by a private company, and therefore not part of the local authorities, *Cityzi* is engaged in activities directly linked to tourism, a domain that might be considered to fall within the civic frame when, as in this case, it is providing information (rather than explicitly selling a product) to tourists. For these tourist information panels, English is used to address all audiences who do not read French, and no space is accorded to Italian, despite the high number of tourists who visit Nice.

Nissart in the LL

As a variety of the regional language Occitan, Nissart is given little coverage in scholarship on the languages of France. In some respects, discussions regarding the status of Nissart as a dialect mirror the debate over the relationship between Provençal and Occitan (see Chapter 5). As with the question of the regional language variety of Marseille, it is not our intention to explore here the issue of Nissart as a dialect or patois, or to comment on the nature of its connections to Occitan. Even the name attributed to the variety is contested; in the classical norm, based on medieval Occitan, Niçard is given as its name, whereas the Mistralian norm (named after the nineteenth-century Occitan movement's founding father, Frédéric Mistral) refers to Nissart, which is closer to French orthographical conventions. Blanchet (2006, p. 144) argues that Niçois – as he refers to it – is a separate language, and has been since the break (for socio-political reasons) from Provence in 1388. Sawchuk (2010, p. 28) refers to Niçard as 'an Occitan-Ligurian mélange', whereas Sibille (2000, p. 35) maintains that Nissart is close to coastal Provençal, but is

more archaic and includes influences from both Italian and Ligurian. Isnard (cited in Gonnet, 2003, p. 21) argues that Nissart evolved differently to Occitan, and includes aspects of Old Piedmontais and Friulian, with only minimal influence from Provençal. Speaker numbers, as for the other regional languages of France, are not estimated officially, and given the marginalized position of Nissart within published research, there are not even estimates of the numbers of people in the city or in the *département* of *Alpes-Maritimes* who speak the language. Schor (2006, p. 313) concludes that Nissart remained the L language of the city until the effects of obligatory French-language schooling, and massive inward migration to Nice were felt, in the final years of the nineteenth century. In 1904, Alexandre Baréty and Henri Sappia founded *l'Acadèmia nissarda*, as a learnèd society to encourage all aspects of Nissart cultural life, and Schor (2006, p. 313) lists the various societies and associations, from *l'Escola de Bellanda* in 1880 through to *l'Assouciacioun doù Malounat* in 1997 that have been formed to sustain the Nissart language and culture.

In the survey areas for Nice, only a very small trace of signs in Nissart, the regional language, was recorded (0.04 per cent, n = 5 signs). This virtual complete absence of Nissart in the LL positions the language in a comparable position to Provençal in Marseille, in terms of a hierarchy. However, the presence of Nissart in Nice is more striking than that of Provençal in Marseille because of the ways in which the language is being used creatively. The tramway has been discussed above in relation to the presence of Italian in the city's LL. This tram network is the responsibility of *Métropole Nice Côte d'Azur*, the first of a new kind of local authority, which comprises 49 *communes* (local parish councils), including the city of Nice (Navas, 2012). It has been in place since 2007, and at the same time that the tram became fully operational, the *Métropole* opened what they designate as an Open-Air Museum by commissioning public works of art to flank the stops along the route of the tram. As well as installations, such as the seven illuminated statues on Masséna Square, the *Métropole* appointed the artist Ben Vautier, known as Ben, to create a series of pictures for each of the line's 42 shelters. Ben, renowned for his text-based art, produced a series of inscriptions, featuring white text on black backgrounds, known as 'Aphorismes'. Within the survey area for this project, two Nissart-language signs were recorded, including Figure 2.3.

The Nissart sign in Figure 2.3 is a quotation from the Gospel according to St Matthew (Chapter 7, verse 8), 'he that seeks finds', and is signed in the bottom right-hand corner by the artist. The use of Nissart

Figure 2.3 Nissart in a tram shelter

was not uncontroversial in Nice, as reported by *Nice-Matin*, the local newspaper (Rinaudo, 2008), to which Ben responded by noting that the language and its culture are lived out on a daily basis in the city. This very limited use of the regional language in the LL of Nice is interesting in that there is clearly a value attached to Nissart by those in the local authorities, as well as by individuals such as Ben. The choice of public art installed along the tramway line was decided by an open competition, whose panel of experts was headed by François Barré, former chief executive of the Pompidou Centre in Paris, and director of Architecture and Heritage at the French Ministry of Culture between 1996 and 2000 (Ville de Nice, 2008). As such, we note the aesthetic value ascribed to a written language, even a regional language, as a legacy of a national language ideology, and in competition with French. The use of Nissart in art is reflected in several bilingual street signs, which name the street in both French and the regional language, although this format of street signage is not uniform across the city, and is worthy of brief further examination. Figure 2.4 is a street sign in Nice's old town, and provides information in terms of both the street name, and directions to other sites of interest.

Figure 2.4 Street sign in Nice's old town

As can be seen in Figure 2.4, some of the streets in Nice's old town use both the French and the Nissart name for the road, with the French version in the dominant upper position, and a Nissart version in a subordinate position, but in the same font and using the same size text. These are relatively new signs, and are found only in the narrow streets of the old town. Above the street name sign is what we contend is a sign intended largely for visitors, given its icon (showing the universal symbol for someone – invariably a man – walking) and the directions to various points of interest, such as the cathedral and an art gallery. It would seem likely that most locals know the route to the cathedral, hence identifying visitors as the primary audience for this sign. However, also indicated is the *Lycée Masséna*, a prestigious secondary school renowned in the area for its preparatory classes for France's elite higher education establishments, and which counts the poet Apollinaire, the aviator Roland Garros, and the artist Yves Klein among its former pupils. The inclusion of the school might suggest that this sign is also destined for a more local audience, since the school is not open to the public. What is striking from the perspective of the LL is the use of French, and only French, to enumerate the destinations on the sign, but gives the name of the alleyway in Nissart – with no French translation. There is, consequently, an interesting contrast between the usefulness of the directions, which are given in French (the national

standard language, used for wide communication), and the name of the passageway which is provided in Nissart. From this, we argue that there is a sense in which the regional language anchors Nice's cultural and linguistic identity in its place, whilst the default language for practical information is provided in French. Moreover, the prestige of French is acknowledged in the bilingual street names by the code preference system adopted.

Nissart is used within another domain of life in the city, namely in the supporting of the local football team, *Olympique Gymnaste Club Nice Côte d'Azur* – normally abbreviated to OGC Nice. As part of supporting OGC Nice, Nissart is used by ultras, the most prominent and passionate of football fans, first referred to as such in Italy in 1968 (Louis, 2006), although it should be noted that the regional language is also deployed by mainstream supporters of the club. Although the survey area did not include the *Allianz Riviera* stadium where OGC Nice plays its home matches, one example of the Nissart-language ephemera associated with the club was recorded on the side of a recycling centre. This sticker bears the legend in Nissart '*Pilhas garda, sieu nissart*' ('Watch out! I'm from Nice') and is one of several slogans associated with the football club, as well as resonating more widely as sayings in Nissart (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5 Nissart football sticker on the wall of a recycling centre

This sticker is clearly transgressional, in that it is not an intended part of the civic frame onto which it has been placed, although that is not to say that this kind of saying in Nissart is rejected by the local authorities. A variation of this maxim, '*M'en bati, sieu nissart*' ('I don't care, I'm from Nice), is used by the artist Ben in his series 'Aphorismes' on the city's tramway stops. Nissart is used relatively widely as a fetish by fans of OCG Nice, and this sticker is one example of the wide re-appropriation of the regional language by all supporters (and not merely ultras) at OCG Nice, who, for example, sing the 1912 song *Nissa la bella* ('Nice the beautiful') as a football chant, and use Nissart on their clothing, such as *Copa* (for cup winners) and *Campioun* (for league champions) to commemorate victories in football competitions. The use of Nissart in clothing is also adopted by the cultural association *Nissart Per Tougiou* ('Nissart forever'), who aim to sustain the historical cultural richness of Nice. *Nissart Per Tougiou* organize exhibitions, events, guided tours, language classes, and concerts, all with the aim of revitalizing Nice's cultural heritage (although from the perspective of the LL, no trace of their activities was attested in the surveying of the city). This use of Nissart for the purposes of articulating a distinct cultural identity, through the network of supporters of OCG Nice, is mirrored in a more sinister way by the use of the regional language by ultras, such as *Armada Rumpetata Nissa* and *Secioun Nissarda*. As such, these examples of Nissart in the LL exemplify what Coupland (2014, p.138) refers to as 'metacultural reflexivity' in that they project values – in this case pride – onto the regional language.[2] Regardless of the nature of the use of Nissart, there is a clear symbolic value ascribed to the language by individuals as diverse as city councillors, artists, and football ultras.

Not only is Nissart used for streets and stickers, but there is a tendency to employ the language to name artefacts pertinent to Nice's cultural history. This is evident in the naming of the shuttle bus by the Nice port authorities. Although the bus was not part of the formal survey area, it is worth examining briefly the languages used on the sides of the vehicle. The shuttle bus is described on its side in first French and then English, but it is given the name *Lou Passagin* in Nissart before both explanations (Figure 2.6). The inscriptions in three languages are just below the line of the roof of the bus, and not easily legible, not least because the Nissart name is in dark blue against a black background. *Lou Passagin* was the name of a small fishing boat that provided a free ferry service back and forth across Nice's old port until the middle of the twentieth century; the motorized and land-based twenty-first century equivalent has been named in Nissart, establishing (for those aware of its history) a link between the boat and the minibus.

Figure 2.6 The shuttle bus *Lou Passagin*

Given the rarity of the signs featuring Nissart, it would be unwise to read too much into its restricted visibility in the public space, but this very small sub-corpus of signs points to a wider trend in terms of attitudes to the regional language and the national language, as well as to the relationship between the two. At the same time that a panel of prestigious experts agreed to include Nissart in the art installations that line the tramway route, the regional language has been omitted from the interiors of the tramcars, despite their multilingual signage to address a public that speaks languages other than French. From this, we contend that, at a local level, the value attached to Nissart locates it within cultural identity, rather than conferring practical utility upon it. There is a place for the regional language, but it is not accorded a functional role in urban life in Nice; rather, it is used for artistic decoration and local colour. This contrasts with the use of Corsican in everyday life in Ajaccio, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Monaco: a historical overview

Monaco is an independent sovereign city-state, bordered on three sides by France. As a Principality, it is ruled by the House of Grimaldi; Carlo Grimaldi first took possession of the Rock of Monaco in 1331, and in 1458, Lamberto Grimaldi assured residents of the Rock of the permanent protection of the Grimaldi family (Passet, 2010). In the fifteenth century, Spain occupied Monaco, and was eventually expelled by Louis XII of France, in 1641. The Treaty of Péronne of 1641 saw

Monaco become a protectorate of France, thereby heralding the start of the formal relationship between the Principality and its neighbour (Martin, 2011, p. 97). At this time, French was first introduced into the repertoire of the Principality. As noted above when discussing Nice, the French Revolution saw France in expansionist mood, and the Rock of Monaco was annexed in 1793, at which point the use of French became a legal requirement in all official domains. This preference for French was confirmed when the House of Grimaldi was restored in 1814, when the Court chose French over Italian for official communication. In 1848, whilst under the protection of Turin, Monaco lost the towns of Menton and Roquebrune, which were placed under the protection of Sardinia (Gonnet, 2003, p. 18), and the Principality assumed the shape and size to which it more or less corresponds today. The relationship with France was formalized with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, whereby France agreed to ensure Monaco's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The nature of the mutually supportive relationship with France was redefined in 2002, in a new treaty, although the outline of the arrangement between the two entities was largely unchanged. Although Monaco has its own constitution, passed in its current form in 1962 (and revised in 2002 to incorporate the changes of the treaty with France), the education system is modelled on that of France, and Article 8 of Monaco's constitution states that French is the language of state, and whilst Monegasque is referred to as a national language, this recognition does not confer official status on the variety (Toso, 2008a, p. 219). Beyond this, there is no extensive language policy that dictates the usage of language, with no provision for managing the public space.

In part as a consequence of the absence of language management seen in France, the LL of Monaco is more diverse than those recorded in Nice, Marseille or elsewhere for this project. Of a sub-corpus of 1,988 signs in Monaco (across five sites), 41 per cent (n = 819) do not feature French, with English appearing on its own on a tenth of all signs recorded in the Principality. In many of the multilingual signs, English is the main functional language, used to convey information, but it is visually dominant. English is also widely used in small signs and labels, notably for high-end consumer products, including jewellery, clothing, and cars. We discuss fully the role of English in the Mediterranean in Chapter 6 but it suffices to note that the multinational and affluent nature of Monaco's population explains in part the striking diversity of the Principality's LL.[3]

Monaco: a sociolinguistic overview

Although the LL of Monaco is largely multilingual, Monegasque, the regional language, is not widely visible. Monegasque is a variety of western Ligurian (Toso, 2008a, p. 219), closely related to the dialect of Vintimillois, which is spoken on the Italian side of the national border. Toso (2011) asserts that Monegasque emerged as a separate variety after Genoa colonized the Rock of Monaco in 1215, after which time Monegasque developed from the Genoese spoken by the Rock's new inhabitants, with influences from the Ligurian spoken by the indigenous population. He also notes that influences from both Provençal and French have marked the language (Toso, 2008a, p. 219). Passet (2012) identifies influences on contemporary Monegasque from Occitan (including Turbiasc, Mentonasc, and Nissart) and Ligurian (especially the varieties spoken in Ventimiglia and San Remo). Although usually considered a spoken language until the twentieth century, Antonio I (1701–1731) wrote letters to his daughters in Monegasque (Passet, 2010). Having been a language used orally in private life, including in the home, on the streets among long established residents of the city, and in cultural associations, the codification process began in the 1960s with the publication of a grammar book, *Grammaire monégasque*, written by Frolla (1960). Frolla subsequently published a bilingual dictionary in 1963, commissioned by the Principality's government and reprinted in 2004. Toso (2006, p. 426) notes that support for the codification and elaboration of Monegasque coalesced from the 1920s onwards in intellectual and literary circles in Monaco, in part to combat negative language beliefs where speakers had begun to dismiss Monegasque as a *patois*, and thereby an inferior form of communication. In common with France, Monaco does not ask its citizens to declare their language usage in the census, and so there is no reliable data on the number of speakers of Monegasque in the Principality.

Monegasque in the LL

In terms of the presence of Monegasque in the LL of Monaco, of the 1,988 signs recorded in the Principality, 1.7 per cent (n = 35) feature the regional language. In comparison with Nissart in Nice or Provençal in Marseille, this proportion is relatively high. However, the figures should be handled with caution, since the surveying of the streets of the Principality coincided with the preparations for the marriage of His Serene Highness Albert II to Charlene Wittstock, and the celebratory

ephemera for the wedding accounts for almost three quarters of the signs featuring Monegasque. These signs were temporary pendants, hung in shop windows, featuring the slogan '*Viva u Príncipu! Sicí benvegnüa Principessa! Viva Múnegu!*' ('Long live the Prince! Welcome to the Princess! Long live Monaco!'). Another version of the sign was a sticker (Figure 2.7) bearing the same legend plus a detail in French, noting that this was for the royal wedding to take place in Monaco in July 2011.

The signs and stickers both use the red and white colours of Monaco's flag and a stylized crown as part of the semiotic resources to convey the Monegasque nature of the forthcoming nuptials. The use of the Monegasque language is noteworthy given the almost complete absence of the regional language elsewhere across the survey areas. Not only is the act of writing in Monegasque in the public space unusual, but based on the data collected here, temporary. From July 2013, according to the portal of the government of Monaco, destinations on the small network of local buses have been displayed in both French and Monegasque, in a low-cost exploitation of digital resources to increase the visibility of the regional language, a phenomenon we have discussed elsewhere from a Corsican perspective (Blackwood, 2014, pp. 71–2). These flashes

Figure 2.7 Monegasque and French royal wedding sticker

of Monegasque are a new phenomenon, and were not part of the LL of Monaco when we surveyed the city-state for this project. Both the royal wedding paraphernalia and the new bilingual bus signs highlight one of the shortcomings of the methodology we adopt for this project, namely the impact of the dynamic nature of the public space. A sign can appear only temporarily and thereby distort the numeric presence of a given language, or can be absent during the surveying of a specific area, but appear subsequently after the researcher has gone. Contextualizing signs, however, something that we engage with consistently in the course of the book, helps the reader to position and calibrate numerical indicators accordingly. There was only one permanent street sign in Monegasque on a street in the Rocher de Monaco district of the city-state, but the visibility of the regional language in fixed signage is particularly scarce. In other words, the extent to which Monegasque has a permanent presence on the streets of Monaco is negligible almost to the point of invisibility.

Genoa: a historical overview

Genoa (archaic *Genua*) was founded by the Ligures, who were Romanized after 205 BC (Voltaggio, 2010). It was a prosperous city until the fall of the Roman Empire, and was subsequently controlled by the Ostrogoths, the Byzantines and the Longobards until 774 AD. It acquired an important political role in the western Mediterranean under Carolingian rule in the fight against the Moors, and by the twelfth century it had accumulated enough wealth and power to emerge as an independent city-state, a maritime republic with one of the largest navies in the Mediterranean. Participation in the Crusades allowed Genoa to extend its influence and colonial power to the Orient. Genoa was the first city-state of Italy to become a regional state and the Genoese regarded themselves a *nation*, and therefore different from the other peoples of Italy, by the middle of the twelfth century. This fostered an early consolidation of its linguistic and cultural identity (Muljačić, 2008).

The international dimension of Genoa as a naval and commercial power already provided a cultural and political model for the whole region in the twelfth century and it earned the city the title *la superba* ('the proud'). In this context Genoese acquired a hegemonic role as a language of communication, as an identity marker, and in literary production. Its undisputed prestige transformed the ethnonym 'Genoese' into a cover term that has been applied to and used instead of the name of

the region, Liguria, for centuries (Toso, 2002). In the absence of a strong political and military centre of power, the decline of Genoa would have been relatively fast had the city not been endowed with extraordinary financial and naval means. Credit from the Genoese Bank of St George was relied upon by a number of distinguished customers and primarily Spain, which therefore remained an important ally. The French annexation of Genoa in 1805 marked the end of centuries-old freedom and independence for the city, whilst the Piedmontese take-over in 1815, although a cause for humiliation, represented the beginning of a new phase that would make Genoa an integral part of Italian history.

Genoa: a sociolinguistic overview

In the spatial dimension of language spread, Genoa has had a different role compared to other Italian contexts. Unlike other Italian port cities discussed in this book, and in addition to large numbers of merchants and visitors who went to the city for business reasons, traditionally it attracted migrants from relatively close, inland areas (Van Doosselaere, 2009). During the consolidation of its colonial power and up until the height of its mercantile success, however, the language of Genoa was taken to numerous localities in an area that extended from the western Mediterranean (and beyond, with trading posts and commercial colonies established in western Morocco), through to Flanders in northern Europe (Bruges) and to the eastern Mediterranean (and beyond, extending as far as the Sea of Azov and the Georgian coast). Genoese was therefore a colonial language *ante litteram*, exported in its variants by the peoples of Liguria who moved to the colonies, either temporarily or long term (Toso, 2008b). It was, according to Forner (1997, p. 246) 'the language of political debate (through the despatch of officials of the Genoese Republic to the new provinces); the language of the nobility (through the granting of feudal properties to the Genoese aristocracy); and the language of commerce (through the establishment of Genoese trading posts)'. Before the establishment of scientific dialectology in the nineteenth century, Ligurian varieties had been set aside from other northern varieties within the context of a *ripudio della settentrionalità* ('rejection of northern-ness'; Toso, 2010, p. 413). This tradition was instrumental for the consolidation of a perception of alterity with respect to the rest of northern Italy and as such it reinforced feelings of an alternative and unique identity.

When Piedmontese rule was imposed upon Genoa and Liguria, following the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the existing sense of rejection

was strengthened and political writings fed anti-Piedmontese feelings while providing ideological ground for nationalistic discourses. In this respect, Muljačić (2008) maintains that rejection of Piedmontese rule was one of the possible causes of an early spread of spoken Italian among the bourgeoisie in Genoa in the nineteenth century, in the sense that it was preferable to use Italian rather than Piedmontese, the language of the rulers. The spread of Italian continued over the course of the twentieth century, when Genoa became one of the main industrial hubs of Italy. Intense urbanization and significant immigration from other regions of Italy are among the main factors which explain a swift Italianization of the area so that according to a 2002 ISTAT survey, Liguria is one of the two Italian regions where the exclusive use of Italian in the family is strongest (67.5 per cent of respondents, second to Tuscany – 83 per cent). A 2006 survey confirmed this trend (68.5 per cent of respondents said that they use only Italian in the family), a fact that stands out in a country where active bi- or plurilingualism is widespread, especially in informal and familiar contexts.

Against a background of a historically outward inclination of the city and in view of the fluidity of the border with France, it seems that an interpretive tool which focuses on the enactment of alternative forms of citizenship will help us understand the LL of Genoa. In particular, the citizenship of the everyday (Dickinson et al., 2008) emphasizes the social and relational aspects of participation and engagement with the urban dimension on the part of new city subjectivities and diasporic groups. As for existing city subjectivities, we shall see that place is constructed as a constitutive aspect of a mobile and transformative citizenship and not as an exclusive feature of identity. Classical conceptions of citizenship see the individual as an active participant in the public affairs of the polis. These ideas were rooted in antiquity and challenged by liberal constructions of the citizen as a passive recipient of rights (Marshall, 1950). In this view the granting of civic rights is a consequence of territorialized visions of citizenship, which is in turn performed within the bounded entity of the nation-state. The increasingly diversified and mobile societies that have characterized (at least parts of) the world since the late twentieth century have enacted new forms of active citizenship which operate at the sub- and supra- and transnational levels. Transversal forms of engagement and participation have changed the geography of citizenship (Dickinson et al., 2008) so that new spaces and discourses of citizenship are being articulated, at times as forms of contestation in response to exclusionary practices. The LL of Genoa provides a testing ground for the construction of discourses

of citizenship of the everyday and of transformative citizenship and in order to illustrate this perspective the discussion will focus on signs featuring the local language, Genoese, and on those displaying migrant languages. It will become apparent that the linguistic manipulation of the public space contributes to the performance of shifting and mobile border identities.

Genoese established itself as the prestige variety not just in the city, but in the whole region and as a colonial language. As such, it contributed to the creation and consolidation of a regional identity throughout the centuries. In the post-war period some radical socio-economic changes have caused a shift to Italian that is more noticeable than in other areas of the country. The decline in the use of Genoese, however, had already become apparent in the 1920s and in spite of the fact that Fascist measures against the use of dialects had been somewhat more lenient toward Genoese. Fascist ideology and propaganda highlighted local glories, such as the splendour of the old republic and the cult of Columbus. Dialectal theatre was very popular, and it acquired international stature through figures such as Gilberto Govi, so linguistic censorship was relatively lenient (Toso, 2002). Literary uses of Genoese were developed as early as the thirteenth century (Toso, 2009), and the language was employed in the drafting of policy documents and public acts until the end of the fifteenth century. In subsequent periods Genoese was represented in a range of writings including both educated and popular registers in forms such as poetry, theatre and song. Attempts to protect Genoese date back to the sixteenth century and in competition with post-codification literary Italian (1525), but we have already outlined the historical and socio-economic reasons which have caused the shift to Italian, in this region more than in others. Whilst the prestige of Genoese has consolidated feelings of regional identity in Liguria, language shift was not slowed down by a regional law aiming to protect and promote local languages which was passed in 1990 (regional law 32/1990). However, in addition to cultural niches such as theatre and song, Genoese can be heard on local radio stations and TV channels and seen on dedicated websites. It also finds a space in educational and cultural initiatives which highlight local heritage.

The LL of Genoa

Historically, Genoa was made up of six *sestieri* (a *sestiere* was literally one sixth of the city), which are currently incorporated into the nine

municipalities that compose the city. Surveys were carried out in areas representing all municipalities and 7,352 signs recorded. Italian featured on its own on 73 per cent (n = 5 364) of the signs, and together with other languages on 15 per cent (n = 1 120) of the signs. Twenty additional languages were recorded: Albanian, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Dutch, English, French, Genoese, German, Greek, Japanese, Latin, Neapolitan, Portuguese, Romanian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Turkish, Urdu, and Wolof. The visual impact of French (as the language of France, not as a migrant language) is comparable to that noted for other Italian settings analysed for this project. In addition to featuring on multilingual signs for the consumption of French-speaking tourists, instances of French on the whole were an acknowledgment of the long-lasting influence of industrial sectors such as perfumes (*eau de toilette*) and cosmetics, drinks (*champagne*), furnishings (*moquette*) and fashion (*sabot*, a type of shoe). In addition, French might have been used to add a flavour of sophistication and elite cosmopolitanism when displayed on shop signs (a florist's was named *Les Champs Élysées*). These instances point to the fact that French seems to carry predominantly symbolic functions in the LL of Genoa and, in particular, it is mobilized in the performance of social boundaries.

Genoese in the LL

As regards LL, occasionally Genoese is used in place names and on commercial signs and it can be seen in reference to local products and for marketing purposes in tourism. In the surveyed areas, Genoese featured on 55 signs, of which eight were monolingual – four commercial signs (Figure 2.8), two stickers, one graffito and one ZE sticker which stood for 'Zena', Genoa in Genoese.

Figure 2.8 was on the window of a historic shop selling old and modern kitchenware in the city centre. The sign is entirely in Genoese and it reads: 'Columbus discovered America in 1492, but our kitchenware shop does not mess around either! It has been here since 1830!!!'. The employment of deceptively basic materials and a simple, hand-written execution clash with a sophisticated attempt to transform history and local heritage into commodities to be offered with the purchase of goods. The Genoese Cristoforo Colombo is one of the best known explorers of all times and the comparison between the time of the discovery of America and the age of the shop is a daring one. Customers are invited into the shop for a journey of discovery among objects that date back to bygone times and on premises which claim to have remained practically unaltered since 1830. The language

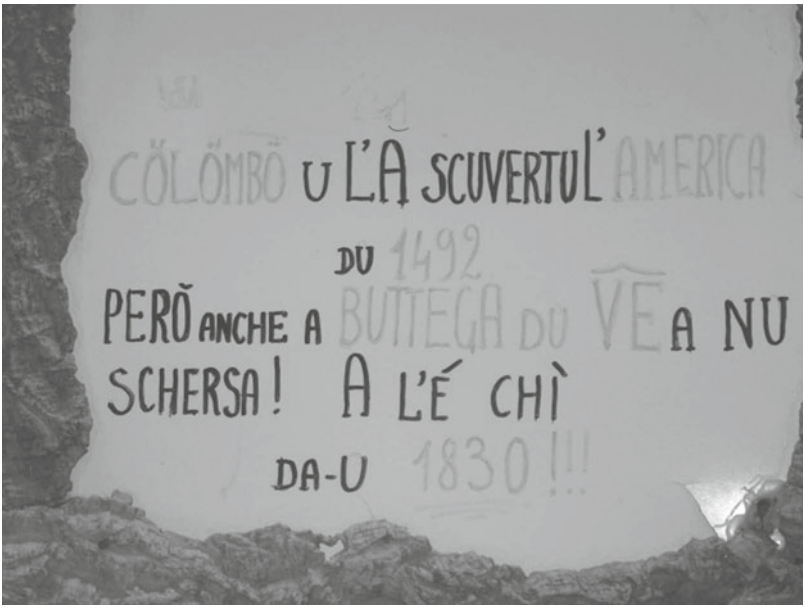

Figure 2.8 Genoese sign on shop window

cannot be other than Genoese, spoken by generations of local shopkeepers who are becoming a rarity as repositories of authenticity and rootedness. In addition to an explicit link to the past, however, the reference to Colombo establishes continuity with the city's tradition of transcending its own urban boundaries and embarking on voyages of discovery.

In addition to the monolingual signs, in 47 signs Genoese appeared either with Italian (17 signs), with English (three signs), or with both Italian and English (27 signs). Signs which can be identified as institutional were the ZE sticker, which was issued by the city council, and a 'zenazone' tourist card, a tourist initiative supported by the local administration. The rest of the signs were all private. The city name Zena was seen on three shop signs (a greengrocer's, a restaurant and a cocktail bar), on a t-shirt displayed in a shop window, and on two stickers advertising a restaurant bar for a young clientele. Although it can index a link with tradition, the dialectal city name Zena has maintained its currency and is also employed in contexts which explicitly address a young audience (Figure 2.9). *Zena Zuena* (young Genoa) featured on a poster advertising a charity event appealing to a crowd of connected,

globalized and engaged youngsters as an occasion to perform their glocalized identities (Figure 2.9). The multilingual sign features Genoese in the title (with a primarily connotative function), Italian in its informative content (the where, what and how of the event) and English in music-related vocabulary (concerti 'live and dj set'), in the phrase 'drink and food', on the website and related proper name 'redhouse' and in the 'music for peace' logo. Words such as 'festival' and 'cabaret' are established borrowings, but they contribute to construct the generally multicultural feel of the event, where, in addition to being entertained, it will be possible to participate in debates and film showings and taste multi-ethnic cuisine.

As highlighted in Blackwood and Tufi (2012), the use of Zena on a number of signs can be considered to be instances of city branding, an effort which had the purpose of turning the city into an attractive tourist destination on the occasion of the celebrations of Genoa as the European City of Culture in 2004. The *zenazone* tourist card, which gives tourists the benefit of discounts when accessing local facilities, exploits the city's linguistic heritage as an acknowledged marker of authenticity and uniqueness, and this can be seen to mirror instances of Nissart in the LL of Nice. The use of Genoese, however, can also be

Figure 2.9 *Zena Zuena* (Young Genoa), a charity event

interpreted in its performative function in the construction of multiple and intersecting identities where place carries a constitutive property. In this sense the construction of the citizenship of the everyday applies equally effectively to existing city subjectivities. In this respect, Figure 2.9 in particular constructs a kind of dissected and fragmented form of citizenship which highlights traits of agency such as pacifist, engaged, mobile, multi-ethnic, multilingual, alternative, and so on. These traits are not to be understood in binary terms and therefore the suggestion of global citizenship is not in opposition with the reference to a locality, that is Zena/Genoa. The everyday lived as participation in a localized event is central to the construction of a new geography of citizenship which can be transformative and potentially subversive in so far as it is in opposition to institutional understandings of rights and obligations. From this perspective perceptions of citizenship as a function of territoriality are contested and its resulting boundaries blurred.

Migrant languages in the LL

At the time of the surveys (2008), migrants accounted for 7 per cent of the urban population (42,744 out of 611,204 residents) (ISTAT, 2012a). The top ten national groups represented in the province of Genoa were the following (Table 2.1):

The linguistic traces left by Ecuadorean migrants are particularly evident in parts of the LL of Genoa and therefore it is important to provide some background information. Ecuadoreans form the largest group and one which is now relatively established. Contacts between Ecuador and Genoa are historical (Tufi, 2010), but the recent Ecuadorean diaspora

Table 2.1 The top ten national groups represented in the province of Genoa

	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Ecuador	6,142	8,646	14,788
Albania	2,518	2,013	4,531
Morocco	2,270	1,054	3,324
Romania	1,234	1,489	2,723
Peru	928	1,416	2,344
China	656	642	1,298
Senegal	971	150	1,121
Ukraine	136	908	1,044
Sri Lanka	538	432	970
Tunisia	441	239	680

Source: ISTAT (2012a).

is mainly due to the 1990s economic crisis. Italy (in addition to Spain and the US) was a viable destination because until 2003 a visa was not required.[4] It was predominantly women who moved to Italy, responding to a high demand for domestic work. The creation of a support network made it easier for subsequent fellow nationals to go and stay in Genoa. Religious and linguistic affinities represented a strong advantage. Ecuadoreans seem to be very active in the network of support associations and organizations made available to their community, and not just as users of services but as organizers and managers (Chiari, 2005). This explains the fact that the surveys identified Spanish as the most visible migrant language in so far as it appeared in 13 monolingual signs out of 22, and in 15 multilingual signs out of 37. In addition to the degree of visibility, the typology of signs in or including Spanish was the most diversified and featured commercial, informational and transgressive signs such as graffiti.

Before looking at the data more closely, it is worth introducing an area of Genoa which provided good examples of signs displaying migrant languages in its historical vocation as a *lieu de passage*, *Via (di) Prè*. In medieval times the street was excluded from the city proper by subsequent sets of walls built to accommodate the growth of Genoa. The toponym *Prè* is considered to be an adaptation of the Latin word *proedia*, indicating farmland and therefore a non-urban area. The street was the main thoroughfare that took travellers into and out of the city gates from/to the west. As such, it developed to offer the many passers-by and visitors useful services, whilst hosting residents who carried out maritime activities, given its close proximity to the sea. When it was included in the city in the fourteenth century, it had already grown into a densely populated area (Baghino, 2015). The original configuration of the street has been largely maintained. Narrow and tall buildings still characterize its aspect and the visitor is reminded of its medieval importance by the church of St John the Evangelist and *Commendam*, an adjacent building which was meant to provide assistance to pilgrims and crusaders directed to the Holy Land. *Via Prè* seems to have kept its original function throughout the centuries and up until contemporary times. Urban developments such as the main railway station, accessible from one end of *Via Prè*, and new roads to meet the demands of increased vehicle traffic have facilitated the arrival and settling of newcomers. In the post-war period many southern Italians came to work and live in Genoa, one of the most dynamic industrial hubs in the north-west, sharing available housing with local dock workers. In the last few decades migrants from different corners of the world have

gradually taken their place and, as a result, *Via Prè* is possibly the most multicultural street in Genoa. The street cuts across an intricate web of *carrugi*, narrow alleyways that, in providing countless hideouts throughout the centuries, have contributed to giving the area a bad reputation, one that local administrations have not succeeded in improving in spite of repeated attempts at urban regeneration.[5] In its unravelling along the area which constituted one of the old *sestieri* of the city, and running parallel to the old port, *Via Prè* symbolizes multiple borders which can be discerned in the local LL as well.

Signs featuring migrant languages in *Via Prè* often contribute to configure the locality as precarious, unstable and changeable in its ethnic and social composition. Also materials, execution and emplacement suggest the opposite of durability. Figures 2.10 and 2.11 provide instances displaying such characteristics.

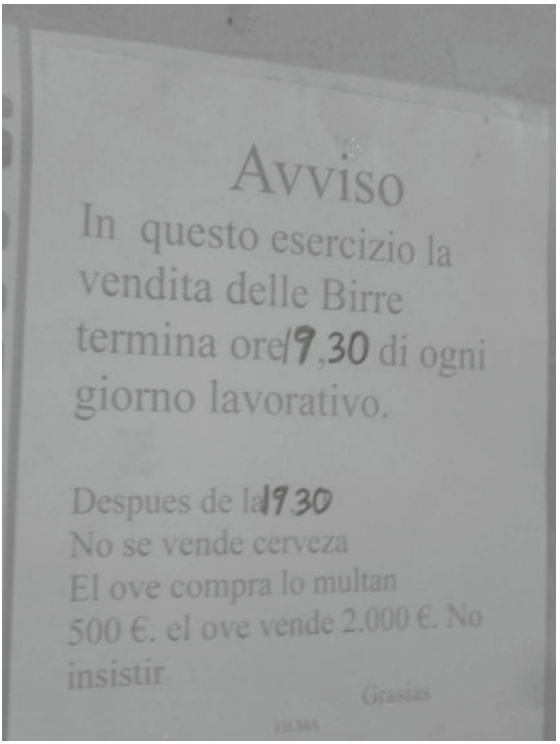

Figure 2.10 Italian/Spanish notice on grocery shop window

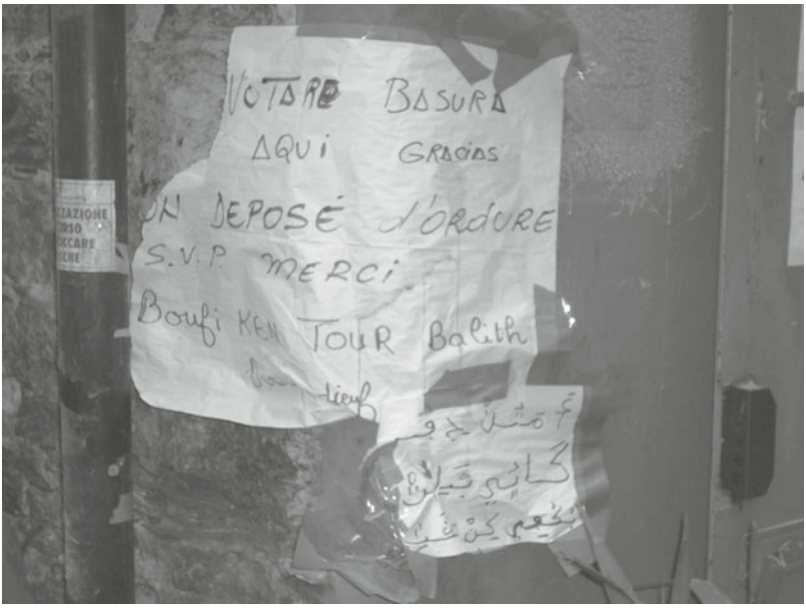

Figure 2.11 Sign in Spanish/French/Wolof/Berber in Arabic script

The bilingual sign in Figure 2.10 was displayed on a grocery shop window and the Italian text, written in a formal commercial register, reads 'In this commercial establishment the sale of beers [*sic*] ends at 19.30 on every working day'. Non-standard forms include the capitalization of B- in Italian *birre* (beers) and the omission of Italian *alle* (at + definite article) before the given time, 19.30. The use of the 24-hour clock led to a manual correction in red ink. A close inspection reveals that the time was originally included in the typed text, but using the 12-hour clock – hence 7.30. This will have caused a misunderstanding on the part of customers and was therefore corrected. The Spanish text is a rendering of the Italian message, with additions that plausibly address aspects of (perceived) cultural behaviour. The Spanish employed is not standard, either, and it shows a higher degree of approximation. This is probably due to the fact that in the local context the bureaucracy involved in the process of opening a shop makes one fairly familiar with formulaic expressions which are typical of that institutional universe of literacy. The Spanish text reads: 'Beer is not sold after 19.30. Those who buy it are fined €500, those who sell it €2,000. Do not insist. Thank you'.

Non-standard forms can be observed at various levels – *la* (instead of *las*) 19.30, use of capitalization, punctuation, text organization, vocabulary and spelling. The text therefore displays a form of grassroots literacy (Blommaert, 2008) which is typical of diasporic groups, often excluded from local elite literacies. However, in so far as it is possible to interpret its meaning, the text is just as effective in its communicative function whilst it helps define a voice, and a place, for transnational subjects. Adjusting to the new environment has meant, among other aspects, internalizing the notion that Italian has a high institutional status in Genoa, hence Italian appears first in the vertical dimension of the sign. On a pragmatic level, the sign is also part of a dialogue with local authorities insofar as it identifies the shop-keeper as somebody who abides by the rules. The Spanish version can be attributed to the fact that a large number of customers are Spanish speakers (typically Ecuadoreans) and they are individuals who, in the sign originator's view, require a more persuasive message.

Figure 2.11 reproduces a sign placed on the corner of a residential building. The sign looks extremely precarious in its material characteristics: two pieces of paper are kept together and stuck on an external wall by brown tape. Part of the paper was already missing and the elements would rapidly cause it to disintegrate. It looks like the same hand invited the residents 'not to leave rubbish here' in several languages (Spanish, French, Wolof and Berber in Arabic script) and the author drew upon all his linguistic resources to communicate the message to a mixed community where members are expected to understand at least one 'national' language. The reader will be able to detect aspects of grassroots literacy, such as the Italianism 'votare' in the first line (from *vuotare* – to empty) where the final -e was erased in order for the word to look 'Spanish' and the non-standard morpho-syntax in the 'French' sentence. The execution of the sign was clearly rushed and probably dictated by sheer exasperation due to the local problem with rats, as the sticker on the drain pipe to the left of the sign suggests ('Rat pest control in progress, do not touch the traps').

Other signs in the area did not look as precarious. They were industrially produced and the result of more careful planning. Such was the sign for a *Centro commerciale latino* [sic], the Latino shopping centre which provided a number of commercial and recreational services for the Ecuadorean community, for example a restaurant (where they had *karaoke*), slot machines, a travel agent's, and a hairdresser's. The semiotics of the sign spoke both to a culturally defined target readership and to a generic one. The ending -o in the word *latino* reproduced

a rounded Ecuadorean flag, but the information was delivered via Italian and English in order to attract other potential customers and by making use of what can be considered formulaic expressions in use among migrant groups (*phone center* and *money transfer*). Financial transactions were further advertised via the ubiquitous presence of brands such as Western Union and [Money]Gram, with the multinational money transfer company RIA appearing alongside the Spanish word *envia* ('RIA sends').

Figure 2.12 is interesting in its unusual combination of a *Latino* and Arab culinary offering. The term *latino*, as an abbreviation of *latino-americano*, has acquired currency both in the Italian press[6] and in academia and Latin-American individuals are often referred to as *latinos*, therefore maintaining the Spanish plural form. The semiotics of the sign indicates a deliberate expression of a wider diasporic identity that encapsulates Latin-American and Arab identities (including a concession for Italy), with different national 'signatures' represented by the individual flags (starting from the left the flags are respectively Moroccan, Ecuadorean, Italian, Tunisian, Colombian and Peruvian). The verbal message is a creative mix of resources drawn upon Italian (*Gusto Latino E Arabo*), Spanish (*Restaurante*), and French (or English) (*Carthage*), although the presence of the Moroccan and Tunisian flags would suggest the use of French and so would the ancient city of Carthage, located near modern Tunis. The Roman *biga* (two-horse chariot), which stands out as a bas-relief on both sides of the sign, could be interpreted as a reference to a wider Latin heritage and influence, and in this vein the background of the sign reminds us of the geometric pattern of a Roman mosaic. This would establish a link with local heritage as part of a discourse of

Figure 2.12 Latin-American and Arab restaurant

inclusiveness. The exclusion of the Arabic script would therefore point to a desire to be transparent to an Italian audience.

Conclusions

This chapter has taken the LL as a lens through which sociolinguistics can contribute to the development of border studies, in part by its examination of the national border between France and Italy and its porosity from the understanding of languages as codes. In Nice and Monaco, although the proportion of Italian is higher than in the other French cities examined in this book, the long-standing linkages between these cities in the border area and Italian do not equate to the extensive visibility of the language of Italy. At one level, it might be possible to explain this relative absence using the conclusion offered by Nugent (2012, p. 558) where he concedes that 'it is perfectly possible for towns to face each other across the line but to have fairly minimal mutual interaction [...] because the towns in question are orientated toward their respective centres and have their backs turned to each other.' From the perspective of languages and national narratives, as noted in Chapter 1, France has long stressed the significance of Paris and the supremacy of French, which despite (and quite possibly largely because of) the close historical bonds between Nice and Monaco on the one hand and Italy on the other, has resulted in an energetic and largely successfully gallicization of the public space in both cities. Nevertheless, in a continent characterized in part by internal mobility, the LL points to an absence of what Donnan and Wilson (2010, p. 78) refer to as 'symbolic clutter' where LL items participate in symbolic and performative displays of the border area. Very little signage in Italian appears in a city that was, in the terms of international relations, Italian until approximately 150 years ago. In Nice, written language use inscribes and performs the national border in processes no longer enacted by a physical barrier, formal crossings, and border police.

At the same time that French and Italian, as prestigious standard languages, comment on national borders, regional languages in the LL also contribute to the bordering process, but from an internal, localized perspective. Nice as a city within Provence boasts its own regional language, Nissart, which distinguishes the city linguistically from its neighbours such as Menton (where Mentonasc boasts numerous Ligurian features) and towns to the west (which are more closely identified with Provençal). There is some evidence of institutionalized local

borders created through Nissart, as attested by flashes of the regional language at tramway stops, and street signs in the old city of Nice. As a symbolic field, Nice is identified as distinct from its neighbours by occasional regional language usage on the part of the civic authorities, but there is no evidence within the survey areas of the city to suggest that other actors involved in the construction of the LL employ Nissart. In Monaco, it is English rather than Monegasque that performs the act of bordering from France, although the French language still dominates the public space in the Principality. Monegasque does reify a difference between Monaco and France, but its visibility is slight and, according to our research, temporary.

A denationalizing process of meaning-making through language in the LL is particularly evident in some uses of Genoese. Even institutional attempts to appropriate and commodify tradition are not anchored in a national context, but rather in a local one. The written instances of Genoese discussed in this chapter, however, project locality either into a past that transcended local boundaries, highlighting the global impact of Genoese identity, or into a present (and a future) where place is a function of citizenship experienced within movable identity borders. As regards migrant languages in the LL of Genoa, we would like to propose that the LL of *Via Prè* constructs a dynamic transnational space where the politics of national belonging and self-representation as a result of structured, top-down models coexists with forms of citizenship of the everyday (Dickinson et al., 2008). From this perspective, routines and daily practices enacted by individuals lead to the emergence of alternative forms of citizenship. Written practices as exposed in *Via Prè* are instrumental in articulating localized forms of group membership. In so doing they mediate relations of power and forms of agency, highlighting the social and relational dimension of citizenship. *Via Prè* therefore affords othered groups who experience social and spatial marginalization (Desforges et al., 2005) the opportunity to create spaces of citizenship where ethnic, cultural, religious and other identities are promoted by diasporic communities and where the production of everyday reality is situated at the intersection of the transient and the familiar. From this perspective the street is constructed and appropriated as a landscape of transnational, multilayered citizenship in the process of continuous re-scaling of degrees of participation from the supra-national (a wider diasporic community which disregards national boundaries) to the sub-national (different types of local communities). In this context specific languages (such as diasporic Spanish) which fulfil a range of functional uses may enact

territoriality so that borders 'emerge from the identities carried within individuals and groups' (Diener and Hagen, 2009, p. 1206). However, the LL constructed by transnational identities performs shifting and movable borders so that they can be produced and reproduced (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33) in the spatialization practices of different social groups.

3
Peripherality in the Border Areas: Trieste and Northern Catalonia

Introduction

Having explored the LL of the Mediterranean coast of the Ligurian Sea, this chapter will focus on where France and Italy meet other nation-states on the shoreline, in particular the Gulfs of Trieste (to the east) and of Lion (to the west). To the east, the border has been contested over centuries and was agreed in its current state only as recently as the middle of the twentieth century. To the west, although the border has been fixed for over three centuries, the changing status of the territory on the other side of the Pyrenees has had an impact on the LL in France. In Chapter 2, we began the examination of the potential of border studies to contribute meaningfully to sociolinguistics, in general, and the LL, in particular. For these borders, we make use of the body of scholarship devoted to the periphery, taking our lead from Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013a) whose volume on multilingualism in the periphery poses a series of questions pertinent to this chapter, as well as to Chapter 4, where we explore the LL of France and Italy's main Mediterranean islands. There is, therefore, some overlap in terms of the approach to both chapters 3 and 4, although peripherality is not the primary emphasis of our analysis when examining Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.

Human geography has long considered the connection between centre and periphery as a useful concept in understanding the dynamics of relationships, and Hilhorst (1971) is amongst the first to frame this correlation through the prism of domination, where the centre dominates the periphery. Political science has also tested the potential of the centre-periphery model, and not merely in the context of state formation but often with a focus on economics and/or science. Nesvetailov (1995, p. 854) highlights how socio-economic historians

and political sciences have explored 'relations between an economically developed, politically strong and culturally self-sufficient centre, and a periphery weak in all these respects'. In social anthropology, the centre-periphery dynamic has been investigated within nation-states, testing the relationship between national elites and local sub-elites, as well as across national borders and along lines of social class (Staniland, 1970). A common thread across the disciplines is power, and in this chapter, we use the LL as the site of enquiry for the examination of relations between speakers and their languages at the borders of France and Italy. In doing so, this chapter responds to the call from Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen (2013) for the exploration of the connection of multilingualism and the periphery along the vectors of language shifts and language flows. The LL is an ideal approach for the critical evaluation of the 'display' of peripheral multilingualism (Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen, 2013, p. 223) and in this chapter, we examine both linguistic identities and ideologies as they are negotiated in the public spaces of Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Northern Catalonia. Although there is clearly a spatial aspect to this understanding of the periphery, we take this centre-periphery paradigm beyond its geographic perception to privilege its human and linguistic aspects. Mény and Wright (1985, p. 1) highlight that physical distance between the periphery and the centre is but one factor in the distinctiveness of the borderlands; 'what becomes essential is distance in economic, cultural, social, ethnic, political, or even psychological terms', and we explore several of these elements in this chapter.

We focus in particular on two languages as they appear in the LL of Italy and France; in Italy, we concentrate on Slovenian, whilst also discussing Triestino – the Venetan variety spoken in Trieste. In France, we focus on Catalan in the examination of the LL of the area known as Northern Catalonia, but our analysis extends also to the visibility of Castilian Spanish, given that the national border is with Spain.

Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trieste: a historical overview

There are only hypotheses about the founding of ancient *Tergeste*, a Celtic settlement, and the exact period when it came into Rome's orbit is uncertain. Under Augustus, it became a Roman colony and developed into an urban centre which enjoyed prosperity until the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 AD. In mediaeval times, Trieste was under the alternate control of the Longobards and the Byzantines until it came to be part of the Carolingian Empire in 787 AD (Arneri, 2002). The city was

subsequently under ecclesiastical sovereignty between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. After two centuries of struggles against Venice, in 1382 Trieste chose to come under the protection of Austria and this marked the beginning of the long relationship with the Habsburgs. By then, the city had developed a distinct personality, as a result of the influence of the Latin, Germanic, and Slavic cultures. Under Habsburg rule the city was declared a free port in 1719 and enjoyed almost uninterrupted growth and prosperity for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A cosmopolitan hub, it attracted investors, professionals, and intellectuals who came from different parts of the empire (and beyond) and brought different cultures, languages, and religious faiths with them.[1] Whilst Friuli, which constitutes the majority of the regional territory, became part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1866, the areas bordering current Slovenia and including Trieste (Venezia Giulia) remained under Habsburg rule until the end of the First World War. This period marked the beginning of a difficult time when Venezia Giulia was the object of territorial claims and a bone of contention on both sides of the border.

The end of First World War and the inclusion of Istria and part of Dalmatia into Italian territory involved a change in the status of Trieste. The city was increasingly Italianized and nationalistic and anti-democratic tendencies caused a deepening of anti-Slavic feelings. Political and ideological affiliations, whereby ethnic Italians were considered to be fascist and ethnic Slavs communist, radicalized existing cultural and linguistic differences and sense of identity (Ara and Magris, 2007). With Mussolini coming to power (1922) and the gradual consolidation of the regime, there was active and violent repression of minorities and of all their manifestations of diversity. The forced assimilation of Slovenians and Croatians caused their mass departure: it is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 Slavs left Italy during Fascism (Corni, 2011, p. 74). The collapse of the fascist regime in 1943 also caused a mass exodus: between 200,000 and 350,000 ethnic Italians left Istria and Fiume (Pupo, 2005), particularly after the 1947 Treaty of Paris that confirmed territorial divisions under the administration of allied forces on the one hand (zone A) and of the Yugoslav People's Army on the other (zone B). Therefore the boundary that had been drawn in 1945 and named the 'Morgan Line' was maintained and it practically coincides with the current border, settled by the London Memorandum and the formal return of Trieste to Italy in 1954.[2]

Repression, displacement, and death characterized the relationship between the Italian and the Slavic ethnic groups in Venezia Giulia for

a long time and painful memories revolved around two main themes: the 'exodus' and the *foibe* massacres – the summary executions of ethnic Italians who were buried in the *foibe*, natural cavities that are found in the karst area of Istria. Although relationships have normalized and Venezia Giulia is a multicultural and multilingual border area whose residents enjoy the rights granted by a democratic system, it is interesting to note that a desire to re-assert ownership over a very contested territory has assigned a privileged role to language. In the course of the discussion it will become apparent that the LL of Trieste and its surroundings plays an active role in the performance of local identities and as part of discourses of otherness.

Friuli-Venezia Giulia: a sociolinguistic overview

The complex linguistic repertoires that can be found throughout Italy are further enhanced in regions such as Friuli-Venezia Giulia (FVG), of which Trieste is the regional capital. FVG gained its institutional name as late as 1964 and after a number of significant events over the course of the twentieth century as outlined above. Bordering Austria to the north and Slovenia to the east, FVG lies at the intersection of the three main European language families: Romance, Germanic, and Slavonic. Regional boundaries therefore encapsulate linguistic continua that are peculiar to the area and that extend into neighbouring countries. As is often the case in similar geopolitical contexts, the settling of current borders spanned several decades and was not achieved without contestations on both sides of the frontier. This is particularly relevant for the eastern border, where sizable Slovenian-speaking communities came to be part of Italy, which we discuss more fully below. Figure 3.1 provides a geolinguistic representation of the region.

Friulian, a group of Romance varieties, is spoken in the larger area. Similarly to other Italian regional contexts, however, the area is not linguistically homogenous. Venetan varieties are in fact spoken in Pordenone and in other urban areas such as Udine, in Trieste, and in other towns on the coastal area, and in the small darker areas on the map. These varieties are primarily the result of Venetian influence (Ferguson, 2007, pp. 162–6).[3] Both German and Slovenian varieties are spoken in the area to the north-east of the region (with German also being represented in the towns of Sauris and Timau), whilst in the remaining bordering strip Slovenian varieties are widely used. Slovenian varieties are also spoken in the area just outside Udine in Friuli, the so-called Slovenian Venetia (*Slovenska Benečija*), but historical events

Figure 3.1 Linguistic map of FVG
Source: Based on Marcato, 2001, p. 26

relating to this community differ from those relating to the eastern border. Local language varieties feature characteristics that are distinctive to this area and their speakers do not identify with a common Slovenian heritage, nor do they look to standard Slovenian as their language of reference (Toso, 2008a). Italian is usually part of the individual linguistic repertoire across the whole of FVG.

Consideration and respect for speakers of territorial languages was a consequence of the general climate following the end of the Second World War, when human rights were at the centre of reform and policy-making in the democracies of western Europe (see Chapter 1). This was epitomized by the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Italy, there was also a desire to respond to ethnic and independentist claims that emerged in various parts of the country and not just in border regions.[4] In addition to the statement of intent represented

by Article 6 of the 1948 Italian Constitution ('The Republic protects linguistic minorities with special norms'), more recent national legislation has sanctioned the officiality of, amongst others, three languages alongside Italian in FVG as part of law 482/1999, ('Norms regulating the safeguard of historical linguistic minorities'): Friulian, Slovenian, and German. Within the LL examined for this project, the only instance of a sign where the four official languages of the region were represented was the plaque outside the building that hosts regional authorities stating 'Regional Council of the Autonomous Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia' in Italian, Friulian, Slovenian, and German. From the perspective of this chapter, of most significance in terms of national legislation is law 38/2001, which aims to protect the Slovenian linguistic minority, and states that 'The Republic recognizes and protects the rights of Italian citizens belonging to the Slovenian linguistic minority present in the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine.'

As discussed in Chapter 1, regional legislation regulating language matters started appearing after 1970, when regional authorities came into being. As a result, significant linguistic legislation has gradually been incorporated into the regional statute of FVG and includes the regional laws 15/1996 and 29/2007 for the protection and the promotion of Friulian language and culture, laws 4/1999 and 20/2009 for the protection and the promotion of German amongst Germanophone communities, and law 5/2010 for the promotion of Venetan varieties. The resurgence of a Friulian cultural movement was greatly influenced by the nineteenth-century scientific activity of the linguist G. I. Ascoli, the founder of Italian dialectology.[5] The main feature of the movement has been a primary interest in the maintenance and revitalization of the local language and culture. Efforts in this direction have consistently relied on a very efficient network of organizations and include a range of academic activities carried out at the University of Udine (Toso, 2006). Following regional law 15/1996, for example, the Regional Observatory of the Friulian Language and Culture (*Osservatorio regionale della lingua e della cultura friulane* or *OLF*) was founded. This was subsequently replaced by the Regional Agency for the Friulian language (*Agenzia Regionale per la Lingua Friulana* or *ARLeF*) in 2004. According to its (bilingual) website, ARLeF plans and coordinates all activities for the promotion of the Friulian language and culture (ARLeF, 2015). This includes initiatives such as language testing for the award of certificates of proficiency in Friulian as approved in May 2014 (Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 2014).

Speakers of an archaic Carinthian variety are to be found in the two small centres highlighted in the northern area of the linguistic

map, Sauris and Timau. These communities seem to be the result of migrations dating back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Telmon, 1992). Carinthian varieties are also spoken in three towns in the Val Canale (Tarvisio, Malborghetto-Valbruna and Pontebba in the north-eastern corner of the region), which were under Austrian rule until the First World War. These varieties are usually part of the individual linguistic repertoire together with Italian and standard German, which is widely used. There are less than a thousand speakers of the Carinthian varieties, but their languages enjoy protection under both national and regional laws and support is provided for initiatives aimed at their maintenance, including educational ones (Toso, 2008a). Unlike Friulian, Slovenian, and German, however, neither Triestino, the Venetan variety spoken in Trieste and surrounding area, nor other Venetan varieties spoken in the region enjoy official recognition. Some support for Venetan varieties, however, was envisaged by the regional law 5/2010, as outlined above. This chapter will not deal with Friulian, nor with German as a territorial language, because the area under investigation is the province of Trieste, where these languages are traditionally not in use.

The surveys

The province of Trieste includes six municipalities where local linguistic repertoires feature Triestino and other Venetan varieties, Slovenian varieties, and Italian. Numerical information about the local population is reproduced in Table 3.1, as it is directly related to the analysis that we provide below.

The data was collected from 20 commercial areas in 2010. 10 surveys were carried out in Trieste and 10 in the other five municipalities which

Table 3.1 Population in the six municipalities of the province of Trieste as of 1 January 2010

Municipalities	**Population**
Trieste – Trst	205,523
Duino Aurisina – Devin Nabrežina	8,675
Monrupino – Repentabor	891
Muggia – Milje	13,410
S.Dorligo della Valle – Dolina	5,945
Sgonico – Zgonik	2,102

Source: ISTAT, 2010.

constitute the province. The corpus consists of 9,628 signs, of which 6,312 were displayed in the main city and 3,316 in the province. Italian featured on its own on 63 per cent (n = 6,095) of the signs, and together with other languages on 15 per cent (n = 1,545) of the signs. Other languages identified in the LL were Chinese, Danish, English, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, Slovenian, Spanish, Russian, Triestino, and Turkish.

Slovenian in the LL

In border areas such as Venezia Giulia, vernacular discourses of identity revolve around language as a constitutive and central part of everyday life, as a repository of cultural and social capital, and as a fundamental means of survival for the minority group. Ethnographic evidence highlights the regular recourse to the term 'mother tongue' in narratives of Slovenian identity (Carli et al., 2003). This reveals a strong emotional attachment to, and the begetting power of, language, a likely consequence of internalized ideologies of one nation – one language that essentializes language and is responsible for a monolithic vision of ethno-linguistic identity (Carli et al. 2003, pp. 868–71). As will be explained in the discussion of the data, the essentialization of the Slovenian language has rendered it a sophisticated instrument for both the symbolic and the material re-territorialization of the area.

It should be pointed out that the high degree of ethno-linguistic awareness among Slovenians is fostered by a host of activities that range from leisure through to business, culture, and religion and where communication takes place in Slovenian. A dense network of cooperatives and associations, supported by financial institutions, exists alongside an ethnic political party (*Slovenska Skupnost* – Slovenian Union), schools, and cultural institutions such as a Slovenian theatre (*Slovensko stalno gledališce*), a library (*Narodna in študijska knjižnica*) and a research institute (*Slovenski raziskovalni inštitut*). Churches and clergy have an important role because they carry out their duties in Slovenian and because they promote religious, cultural, and recreational activities within the community. There are a number of sports associations, and the media in Slovenian are well-developed. In addition to weeklies, magazines, and journals, the newspaper *Primorski Dnevnik* is published daily and *Radio Trst A* broadcasts in Slovenian for 12 hours a day. Since 1995 there have been regional TV broadcasts in Slovenian (Sussi, 2003; Ožbot, 2009).

Although language practices are supported by positive attitudes towards Slovenian by the in-group, Slovenian is not endowed with

a high degree of prestige, either internally or externally. It is the language of a minority in an Italian border area and, internationally, as the official language of Slovenia, it does not enjoy high status (Brezigar, 2009). As far as the visibility of Slovenian is concerned, urban dynamics differ considerably from extra-urban dynamics. Although 10 per cent of the residents of Trieste are of Slovenian origin (Toso, 2008a, p. 82), the use of Slovenian in the city has declined steadily (Carli, 2002). The invisibility of the language contributes to articulating discourses of exclusion and of truncated identity. There is recent evidence that younger generations of ethnic Italians fail to acknowledge that Slovenian is spoken in Trieste (Sbisà and Vascotto, 2007) and that narratives of the Italianness of Trieste have been internalized by both groups. Slovenian city subjectivities are hardly represented in the LL of Trieste city. Six signs featuring Slovenian were recorded in total. There were two commercial signs (the daily newspaper *Primorski Dnevnik* and the bank *Credito Cooperativo del Carso – Zadružna Kraška Banka*), one 'push' sign on a hotel door, and three signs indicating types of organizations (a Slovenian association and the Slovenian library in the same building, and the plaque on the building hosting the regional authority, mentioned above). The general paucity of signs and the absence of private signs in Slovenian reveal a reluctance to inscribe the self (and to be inscribed) in the material texture of an urban context that is synonymous with conflict and alienation.

It has been suggested that greater support for public written communication of minority languages would be desirable in order to increase their visibility (Kaučič-Baša, 1997), but other environmental characteristics can be more decisive and not conducive to a change in language practices. From an ecological perspective (Hornberger, 2002), language attitudes and opinions held by majority language speakers about the minority language are just as important as those held by minority language speakers. The two sets of attitudes and opinions interact to co-construct discursive spaces and to maintain or challenge positions of power. Years after the introduction of specific linguistic legislation in favour of Slovenian (law 38/2001), the LL of Trieste city demonstrates that it is not possible to establish a direct correlation between higher visibility of a language (Slovenian) and its vitality, or between institutional support and language maintenance (Tufi, 2013a).

The area outside the city in the province of Trieste (see Table 3.1) offered a different LL. The visibility of Slovenian increased dramatically and the potential effect on the viewer was magnified, due to the overall

Figure 3.2 Hairdresser's sign

reduced occurrence of signs compared to Trieste city. A range of signs initiated by a variety of actors and featuring Slovenian included shop signs (florists, bakers, bookshops, hairdressers – Figure 3.2, restaurants and cafés) and signs displaying information for the public, such as 'beware of the dog' and a notice about a village festival.

The range of official signs was equally varied. These signs are understood to be issued by organizations such as municipal authorities, churches and political parties. Municipal authorities and their agencies tend to issue bilingual signs in Italian and Slovenian, and not just for directional signs, toponyms, or street names (Figure 3.3), therefore availing themselves of the possibility of using two languages as contemplated by regional law 20/1973.[6] In Muggia a tourist sign featured English as well as Italian and Slovenian, for example, and Figure 3.4 shows two monolingual signs, Italian and Slovenian, on a bin for recycling glass and cans in Duino Aurisina. Two hand-written notices were posted on the door of a church (Duino Aurisina) and on a tree (S. Dorligo) respectively, whilst information about a public meeting called by the Communist Refoundation Party appeared in two monolingual versions, Slovenian and Italian, side by side in Sgonico.

Figure 3.3 Directional sign

Figure 3.4 Bin for recycling glass and cans

Table 3.2 Signs featuring Slovenian in the province of Trieste

	Commercial	**Official**
Monolingual (Slovenian only)	16	23
Multilingual (Slovenian plus another language)	104	77
Total	120	100

Official signs, however, were not outnumbered significantly by commercial signs, as can be seen in Table 3.2.

This is different from what happens in majority language situations, where on a 50-metre stretch of a commercial road it is normal to see hundreds of commercial signs in the majority language and a few dozen official signs (Tufi, 2010). From one perspective, the visibility of Slovenian in this area indexes the community and their language practices, and official signs are arguably a reflection of linguistic legislation introduced in 2001. Figure 3.3 could be interpreted to be a direct example of this. A layered double sign (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991) showing temporal stratification, the sign on the top is only in Italian and it looks older than the sign below it, which is dated 5 May 2001. Legislation for the promotion of Slovenian was introduced in February 2001. The inclusion of German, however, cannot be ascribed to the presence of the German-speaking minority because this minority is located elsewhere in FVG (see Figure 3.1). The new sign is more likely to have been added in order to highlight the historical significance of the road, which was inaugurated in 1780 by the then governor of Trieste who worked for the Habsburgs. The sign therefore celebrates a time of splendour for Trieste and its cosmopolitan and multilingual set up. This sign differs, for example, from a tourist sign which was part of a set on an itinerary in the town of Muggia. In observance of current linguistic legislation, the Italian text was dutifully reproduced in Slovenian as well, but only after the text in English, which is often the default choice for bi- or multilingual tourist signs. A hierarchy was therefore established via the order in which the three languages appeared, relegating Slovenian to final position.

The remarkable incidence of signs of an official nature suggests a process of re-territorialization of the province of Trieste, the extra-urban area that is the traditional site of Slovenian work and life. In this process, the Slovenian language performs a number of functions (see also Tufi, 2013b; forthcoming). First, language and its boundary-making

properties re-enact the border between the different ethnic groups, challenging the existing geopolitical boundary via discourses of institutional legitimacy (Paasi, 1991). The local LL therefore transcends the political border in the creation and maintenance of a cultural landscape (Anderson, 1996, p. 11). The public use of the Slovenian language has a central role in the performance of a new material border. It is part of a wider iconography of the boundary as the manifestation and reproduction of territoriality as well as of the boundary landscape itself (Paasi, 1996). Second, the essentialization of the Slovenian language makes it a powerful tool for the linguistic re-construction of places of belonging in the struggle for survival. Using the ecological metaphor, a symbiotic relationship is actualized whereby saving Slovenian from extinction equals saving the community that uses it. This narrative is articulated in a public forum (institutional space) because it underpins a desire to elevate the status of the language (and of its speakers) in the local linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991) whilst seeking public acknowledgement of it. Third, in parts of the province of Trieste Slovenian is a majority language and as such it constructs discourses of majority language ideology and practices via the re-appropriation of institutional spaces. The fact that official signs are over-represented, however, suggests an imbalance between achieved equality in the legal status of Slovenian and perceived power relations between different ethnic groups. From a different perspective, it could be argued that the act of constructing the LL within consolidated institutional discursive practices is a way to resist and react to dominant minoritization practices (Lefebvre, 1991). As a matter of fact, Slovenian has acquired higher visibility as a consequence.

Triestino in the LL

As already mentioned, the language spoken in Trieste, Triestino, is a Venetan variety. Triestino is still widely used, due to both the cultural and economic importance of Trieste in the region and the speakers' desire to assert their identity as non-Slovenian and non-Friulian (Toso, 2006, p. 106). As a variety of Veneto coloniale, Triestino gradually replaced Tergestino, a Friulian variety. The LL of Trieste is an example of how language policy in the components identified by Spolsky (2004) affects the visibility of languages in the public space. Both the absence of an institutional policy for the protection and the promotion of the local language (including a process of normalization of the language code) and the beliefs of the speakers themselves (*Triestino* is considered to be a dialect and therefore unsuitable for written use in the public space) prevent the local variety from participating in the construction

of the local LL significantly. The speakers' beliefs in turn affect local language practices. Although *Triestino* enjoys a degree of prestige outside Trieste as well, language practices remain confined to the oral sphere and only occasionally do they cross over to literary or artistic production, which is in any case intended for local consumption.

Out of 9,628 signs collected in the area of Trieste, only 0.23 per cent (n = 22) displayed the local variety. Monolingual signs in Triestino included two shop signs (*Osteria de scarpon*; *Al bon pan*) and one sign (Figure 3.5) that was used on a shop front in *Corso Italia* to advertise an audio-book of dialectal poems (*Trieste zità de veci?… No, de zente vissuda*! 'Trieste: a city of old people? No, of people who have lived life to the full!').

In addition, Triestino featured with Italian on two signs outside a greengrocer's in *Via delle Sette Fontane* where the local variety had a clear ludic function (*VIAGRA NOSTRAN – seguire attentamente le avvertenze* 'Home grown Viagra – read the instructions carefully', put on a basket of chillies, and *PATATON OGM* 'Giant GM potato' by a giant potato, and in a poster advertising theatre dialectal performances (17 occurrences). It is interesting to note that the actual theatre was in Muggia, where they speak *Muggisano*, another Venetan variety, but they were advertising performances in *Triestino*, which is the urban prestige variety in the area.

Unlike the wide popularity and prestige enjoyed by Neapolitan theatre (see Chapter 5), performances in Triestino are a particularly localized cultural form (Fischer, 2010). Marcato (2002) highlights that evidence of literary production can be dated between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and therefore much later than other dialectal traditions in Italy, but it was only in the second half of the twentieth century that published poetry and prose in Triestino became more conspicuous. Based on the dialectal data gathered, all signs featuring Triestino converge to reinforce expressions of localized identity where the dialect performs specific functions. Using Berruto's (2006) categories, the symbolic function is identifiable in the shop signs (of a small

Figure 3.5 Sign in Triestino on shop front

family-run restaurant and a bakery), which commodify quality as an inherent aspect of authenticity. The folkloristic/museum-like value is discernible in the sign advertising the collection of poems as a document of lived life with archival properties, therefore anchoring Triestino in the past. That Triestino is a viable means of communication, however, is testified by the ludic function of the greengrocer's signs which is made possible by linguistic manipulation where contemporary borrowings (*Viagra*, *GM*) contribute to maintain the vitality of Triestino.

On a different level, the limited visibility of Triestino can also be attributed to discourses of peripherality that have become progressively established in a city which is both the material and the symbolic easternmost strip of land on Italian soil. In the competition with Slovenian, which permeates the public space of the extra-urban area, the city inscribes itself predominantly in Italian in the performance of a cultural counter-border. Moreover, it should be noted that in the urban centre Triestino is more visible than Slovenian, therefore reinforcing the viewer's impression that Slovenian is marginalized or non-existent.

Northern Catalonia: a historical overview

Northern Catalonia (from the French *Catalogne Nord* and the Catalan *Catalunya Nord*) is the term given to the territory within France that has historically been identified with Catalunya, and corresponds approximately to the French *département* of *Pyrénées-Orientales* in the south-west corner of the country. This area, which covers 4,116 km^2, was contested through the Middle Ages by France and Spain, with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659 definitively according the then counties (or *comarcas* in Catalan) of Rosselló and Conflent to France (Marley, 1995, p. 14). The area was originally known as Roussillon during the Ancien Régime, but was reorganized at the time of the French Revolution, not along cultural or linguistic lines, but according to topography, meaning that the *département* contains the Occitan-speaking wine-growing area of Le Fenouillèdes alongside the historic Catalanophone counties (Lagarde, 2013, p. 456).

During industrialization, despite the rapid development of Spanish Catalunya, the citizens of Northern Catalonia increasingly looked eastwards to France, rather than westwards to Barcelona, for economic migration. Judge (2007, p. 81) explains that this was in part due to the railway network, which reached Perpignan in 1862 but did not cross the Pyrenees, meaning that communication would inevitably be with parts of France, rather than with Spanish Catalunya. Trade, especially

in the burgeoning market of local products including fruit, vegetables, and (since the nineteenth century) wine, was accelerated using the railway network, but for the French national market, rather than to Spain (Lagarde, 2013, p. 458). Employment in agriculture declined over the nineteenth century, as elsewhere in France, meaning that the civil service – requiring fluency in French – became the region's main employer. The *département* is not very wealthy in comparison with the rest of France; in terms of GDP per capita, it ranks as the 81st *département* out of the 96 in European France (INSEE, 2005).

INSEE reports that the population of *Pyrénées-Orientales* was 445,890 at the census of 2011, of which 118,238 people live in Perpignan, the only city in Northern Catalonia. The rate of unemployment in the city stood at 21.5 per cent of the population in 2010, in comparison with a national average of 9.1 per cent. Part of the challenge faced by this part of France is what Castex (2005, p. 130) refers to as 'heliotropism' whereby Northern Catalonia, because of its climate and quality of life, attracts the retired (who comprise 20 per cent of those coming to this part of France) and those seeking seasonal work in agriculture and tourism, but which leaves them financially inactive during the low season. Metaphorically and literally, Northern Catalonia is twice peripheralized. First, it stands as a peripheral corner of France, some 850 km from Paris and over five hours by train, in what is a highly centralized country with civic, cultural, and public life concentrated in the capital. Second, it is the extreme edge of the Catalan-speaking territory, and almost 200 km from Barcelona. From both perspectives, the economic life of Northern Catalonia is relatively depressed.

Northern Catalonia: a sociolinguistic overview

Although the Ancien Régime up to the French Revolution of 1789 is largely considered to be uninterested in language policy as long as local representatives of the Crown could communicate easily with Versailles, it is inaccurate to suggest that the king and his court did not seek to manage language use in France, especially in newly acquired territories. Hawkey (2011, p. 37) notes the imposition of French hegemonic ideologies from the reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715), whereby Catalan as a language is seen as contrary to the honour of the French nation, signalling the start of the decline of the use of Catalan in Northern Catalonia. As early as 1672, the city of Perpignan was required by the Crown to establish a school to teach French language and morals to the city's elite (Sibille, 2000, p. 41). France's landmark linguistic legislation

of 1539, the Ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts (see Chapter 1), was extended to Northern Catalonia by Royal edict in 1700 (Lagarde, 2013, p. 457), thereby beginning the official change in language management strategies. As replicated across other parts of France, French was required in increasing numbers of domains, highlighting the language as what Lagarde (2013, p. 457) refers to as 'the key to social mobility'. Marley (1995, p. 18) identifies, over the first century of a French Catalan space, six measures designed to enforce the gallicization of Northern Catalonia: the posting of French priests to parishes in the area; the teaching of French to the local aristocracy; the integration of leading noblemen into the French military; the enforcing of French law; the transfer of legal activity to the city of Toulouse; and the focussing of the administration of the area to the neighbouring region of Languedoc. Collectively, these measures had an inevitable impact on language practices in Northern Catalonia and, despite some resistance,[7] accelerated the widespread shift from Catalan to French amongst the population.

For Catalan cultural life in Northern Catalonia, Barcelona in general, and *l'Institut d'estudis catalans* (the Institute for Catalan Studies or IEC) – founded in 1907 – in particular, became an important cultural reference point, especially for those involved in the production of literature and poems. Whilst the intergenerational transmission of Catalan faltered in Northern Catalonia, Southern Catalunya exercised its right to autonomy under the constitution of the Second Spanish Republic (1931–1939), making Catalan co-official with Castilian. This continuation of the nineteenth-century *Renaixença*, or revival of Catalan language and culture, nourished literary production in Northern Catalonia. The second-half of the twentieth century, when General Franco's trenchant language beliefs towards Catalan (and Spain's other regional languages) precipitated the decline in use of the language within Spain, witnessed the emergence of Northern Catalonia as an alternative centre for Catalan culture. In 1968, in the town of Prades in Northern Catalonia, the first Catalan Summer University took place, to promote and advance the cause of the Catalan language and culture, with courses, seminars, exhibitions, and competitions designed initially to sustain the spirit of the revitalization movement.

In terms of language activism in France in the post-war period, Catalan was included in the provisions of the 1951 Deixonne law, which permitted one optional hour of Catalan teaching in state schools, although Marley (1995, p. 21) notes that the conditions were not applied until 1975. Judge (2007, p. 81) argues that Catalan in Northern Catalonia was sustained by its use in Spain and by the flourishing of its

use in intellectual circles such as the *Grup Rossellonès d'Estudis Catalans* (The Roussillon Group for Catalan Studies, founded in 1960), and the *Institut Rossellonès d'Estudis Catalans* (The Roussillon Institute for Catalan Studies from 1967). In a development that mirrors minority-language education elsewhere in France, the first Catalan-medium school, as part of the fledgling *Bressola* (the Cradle) association opened in 1976; these were offered limited financial support from the state in 1982 (Hawkey, 2011, p. 39). Cerquiglini (2003, p. 92) reports that by 1997, 62 per cent of the population of Northern Catalonia were favourable to Catalan-language education in school in the *département*. In late 2007, the *département* of *Pyrénées-Orientales* officially adopted its *Charte en faveur du Catalan* (Charter in Support of Catalan) which calls for local actors to promote the Catalan language, whilst not challenging the position of French in Northern Catalonia. The Charter calls for the inclusion of Catalan in signage (Article 4), its use alongside French in material for which the *département* is responsible (Articles 6 and 7), and first and foremost for its official recognition at local level (Article 1).

The surveys

The data for this chapter was collected in 2008, and as with the fieldwork undertaken in VFG, data was collected at 10 sites within an urban setting,the city of Perpignan, and a further 10 places in the periurban surroundings of the main city, in this case, the *département* of *Pyrénées-Orientales*, including the border towns of Le Perthus, Céret, Prades, and Collioure. In 2014, the 10 sites in Perpignan were revisited with a view to reconsidering the visibility of Catalan in particular in the public space. This chapter will focus on the data collected from the original 2008 survey, not least because this was the systematic recording of all signs in all languages across the 20 sites, in line with the approach to all the other investigations covered in this book. Nevertheless, we will make occasional reference to the 2014 findings in terms of the visibility of Catalan, since these not only enhance the discussion of the visibility and vitality of Catalan in the city of Perpignan, but they also contribute to the usefulness of the LL as a methodology for the diachronic evaluation of language practices in writing (as noted in the Introduction). In total, 9,645 signs were recorded, of which 76 per cent (n = 7,339) feature only French; a further 0.7 per cent (n = 70) include French plus another language. In total, and in addition to French, a further seven languages are attested in the survey areas: Catalan, English, German, Greek, Italian, Latin, and Spanish.

Catalan in the LL

The 2008 surveying of Northern Catalonia, and in particular Perpignan, took place coincidently at a notable landmark in the city's relations with Catalan cultural identity and with the notional greater Catalunya which crosses the borders into Spain and Andorra. Since 2004, the *Organització Capital de la Cultura Catalana* (the organization responsible for Catalan Capital of Culture) has nominated a Catalan city – in the broadest sense of the term – to serve as Catalan Capital of Culture for a year, during which time cultural, linguistic, and other events are staged to promote Catalan identity. In 2008, the accolade of Catalan Capital of Culture was awarded to Perpignan, the first and only time a town in France has enjoyed this designation since the launch of the scheme (although the Andorran town of Les Escaldes was capital in 2011). Given that one of the two primary aims of being Catalan Capital of Culture are to increase the diffusion, prestige, and public use of the Catalan language (CCC, 2015), it can be reasonably expected to discern the regional language in the LL of Perpignan during 2008 and beyond.

The extent to which Catalan is recorded in the LL of Northern Catalonia is minimal, with 1.4 per cent of the corpus (n = 118) featuring the regional language, of which just over a half (53 per cent) are in Catalan on its own. This figure is, in itself, misleading and challenges the usefulness of quantitative approaches to the LL, since a third of the signs recorded which are monolingual in Catalan are slogans on t-shirts in the window of a shop on the *rue Louis Blanc* in Perpignan. The transitory nature of the LL is underscored by the revisiting of Perpignan in 2014, by which stage the t-shirt shop on the *rue Louis Blanc* had closed, thereby removing a significant proportion of the signs in Catalan in the survey area. Fortuitously, a new gift shop, selling clothing emblazoned with Catalan-language logos, has opened in *rue Mailly*, also within the original survey area. Overall, however, the presence of the regional language in the public space is sustained to a significant degree by the decisions taken by the civic authorities in Perpignan. There are several aspects of the presence of Catalan in the LL of Northern Catalonia worthy of further exploration. One of the challenges of coding signs in the LL is highlighted here by the proximity between Castilian and Catalan. Given that we seek here to understand better the relationship between languages and the actors in the public spaces of the Mediterranean, the methodology employed for this project calls for the coding of the language(s) in signs in order to compare the visibility of varieties in competition. However, where the language that appears in the sign can be understood to be either or both languages under examination, the

methodology does not permit the level of granularity required. We must also acknowledge at this stage the double peripheralization of Northern Catalonia from what we might call a Spanish perspective. On one and the same time, Perpignan and its neighbouring towns find themselves at the periphery of a notional greater Catalunya as well as on the borders of the Kingdom of Spain, whose official language is Castilian.

This coding challenge emerges when we record a street sign in Perpignan that could be written in either Castilian or Catalan; the *Avenue Félix Mercader* is also designated *Ronda Félix Mercarder* on a street sign within one of the survey areas. *Ronda* is both the Catalan and Castilian term for 'Avenue', and so the term could designate the presence of Castilian, Catalan, or both languages in the LL of Perpignan. This is also the case for the 12 posters on a shop window on the same street, which read '*Super oferta*' – a sign that can be read as Castilian, Catalan or both. On the one hand, it is possible confidently to code the '*Super oferta*' posters as Catalan, given the co-text in the space identified with the poster is in Catalan, and the premises themselves are visually Catalanophone, since the posters appear in the windows of a travel agency called – in Catalan – *Catalunya evasió*. On the other hand, the '*Super oferta*' posters were viewed as Castilian by the travel agency's owner, who identifies himself as a French-born Catalan, and who received the posters directly from Spain and put them up in the window of his premises. Although he speaks Catalan, and serves a Catalan clientele in Perpignan, his knowledge of the provenance of the posters makes him consider them to be in Castilian, not Catalan. This perspective chimes with the discussion we have initiated elsewhere about the aspects of an individual's character, including prior knowledge, which govern one's engagement with the LL (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010). As such, we contend that this coding dilemma hints at the linguistic tension of peripheries, whereby individuals' perceptions are contested and subject to competing ideologies.

The second aspect of the presence of Catalan in the LL of Northern Catalonia to be analysed is the role played by Perpignan City Council in the management of the public space, and in particular its use of Catalan in signage for which it is responsible. Elsewhere (Blackwood, 2010), we have considered the role played by Perpignan City Council in emplacing Catalan in the LL, especially within the civic frame (Kallen, 2010). In particular, we analysed the former official logo for the city of Perpignan (Blackwood, 2010, p. 299), which is both bilingual and uses the colours most closely identified with Catalunya, namely red and yellow (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6 The official logo for the city of Perpignan until 2012

This logo was replaced in 2012 by one which removes the images of the Castillet, one of the remaining gates to the ancient walled city at the heart of Perpignan, and which instead accentuates the text within the sign (Figure 3.7).

First, it is worthy of note that the two logos include both French and Catalan; this multilingual approach to the representation of the city is not something replicated in Nice and Marseille, and was only introduced into the formal sign for Ajaccio City Council after the initial fieldwork for this project had been completed. Despite its long-standing history as a francophone city, peripheralized within a notional greater Catalunya, the City Council elects to project itself to its citizens as a French- and a Catalan-speaking body. The extent to which Catalan is used by the council is not something that can be deduced from its signage; the symbolism of the multilingual sign is, we contend, more significant than the language practices of its employees. This representation of the city as Catalan, produced in both French and Catalan, anchors Perpignan

Figure 3.7 The new official logo for the city of Perpignan

within a Catalan cultural sphere in a way not replicated in other parts of France (such as Bayonne in the French Basque country; Toulouse; Montpellier; Hazebrouck in Flemish France; Strasbourg and Haguenau in Alsace; or Brest and Quimper in Brittany). The decision to deploy Catalan as a linguistic resource is carried out across the city, where tourist information signs, produced by Perpignan City Council, provide information for the visitor in Catalan, Castilian, English and French and most strikingly in the signage for the local multimedia library on *rue Emile Zola* (Figure 3.8).

The affective value of using Catalan in this and other signs is, in many respects, as important as the information conveyed in the regional language. In the multimedia library, signage is frequently in both French and Catalan, including the labelling on shelves, opening times, logos for the library, and directional signs. Of particular note,

Figure 3.8 Bilingual signage in the multimedia library in Perpignan

in Figure 3.8, is the use of Catalan below French in a temporary sign. Unlike in Marseille, where we discuss the use of French in a space devoted in theory to Occitan, Catalan is accorded a space in an impermanent sign on the door of the library. Although largely consistent in the balance between French and Catalan, there are inevitably French-only signs in this space, including the instructions on the main door, details on how to use the coffee machine, and information on borrowing rights.

In the tourist signs, which identify locations of architectural and artistic merit in Perpignan, information is provided in four languages: French, Catalan, Castilian, and English. The use of English for touristic purposes is not uniform across Perpignan, and the sign in the city centre which notes the start of the pilgrimage route – the *camino* – to Santiago in north-west Spain is written in French and Catalan, featuring the *ela geminada*, the interpunct used in Catalan to distinguish between the traditionally short /l/ and the palatal /ʎ/ (Figure 3.9).

The sign, erected by the *département*, adopts the European model of using brown for tourist signs, and deploys other semiotic resources,

Figure 3.9 French and Catalan in the sign for the *camino* to Santiago

such as the UNESCO scallop shell in yellow on a blue background, to convey the meaning of the sign. Of note from the perspective of the LL is the use of the national standard language and the regional language, balanced by the exclusion of English. This sign positions non-French or non-Catalan visitors as outsiders, who are not addressed by the languages on the sign, and have to draw on the visual resources in order to construct meaning (Shohamy and Waksman, 2010, p. 251). This sign also performs the function of placing the location within an explicitly Christian frame of reference by identifying the distances to the holy cities of Jerusalem and Rome, neither of which feature on the *camino*.

From the signs for citizens of Perpignan in their local library, through those informing visitors of sites of architectural interest, to pilgrims beginning the long walk to Santiago, it is the French civic authorities in Northern Catalonia, rather than private enterprise (with one or two notable exceptions) who emplace the Catalan language in the LL. It is particularly noteworthy that the findings from this project identify the local councils, who during the centuries since the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees acted to suppress the use of Catalan, as the principal actors

in the use of Catalan in the LL of Northern Catalonia. The *Organització Capital de la Cultura Catalana*, whilst based in southern Catalunya, made Perpignan its Catalan Capital of Culture in 2008. At the time, this celebration of the Catalan language and culture accounted for a handful of signs in the city featuring the scheme's logo. One of the aims of awarding this status to a town is to increase the visibility of the Catalan language, and since 2008, it is possible to discern how the civic authorities in Perpignan have maintained the presence of the regional language. This emplacement of Catalan, however, has not been embraced consistently by business or individuals in the city, apart from occasional nods to the regional language, such as bilingual name plates for the city on the platform of the railway station, or the use of Catalan in the welcome sign of the *Casino* supermarket on *boulevard Felix Mercader*. Beyond these ripples, the data gathered for this project suggests that Catalan has not found a more prominent space in Perpignan, and that, paradoxically – given the approach of the state and its agencies until the latter part of the twentieth century – the regional language owes its position to the civic authorities rather than private individuals and businesses.

Castilian in the LL

As with the visibility of Slovenian in FVG, the presence of Castilian Spanish in the LL of Northern Catalonia differs depending on the setting. In peri-urban areas, especially on the border between France and Spain, Castilian Spanish figures in the data collected, either on its own, or in combination with another language. On its own, Spanish appears in 29 signs in the Northern Catalonia corpus, of which half (n = 14) are recorded in the border village of Le Perthus, which straddles the national border between France and Spain and becomes the village of Els Límits on the Spanish side of the frontier. In a settlement that sits on both sides of a border, it is unsurprising to attest the presence of the neighbouring language. The presence of two Spanish banks, Telebanco and Banco Popular, in French Le Perthus not only account for the presence of Castilian in France, but also attest to the impact of globalization. Although only a matter of metres inside France, these banks sit in a foreign country and are subject to the banking (and linguistic) regulations of France. The names of the banks are retained in Spanish, but other signs are in French, in accordance with French legislation for language use in commercial activity. More unexpected is the use of Castilian Spanish on a cash machine, where the instructions on the machine are given in Spanish. The presence of a neighbouring language

when emplaced by a large, international business highlights the porosity of borders of EU member states, where the free movement of labour, goods, and – in this case – languages means that French citizens are exposed to Castilian if they choose to use the Telebanco to withdraw their euros. Technically separated by an arbitrary border, drawn 350 years ago, the presence of Castilian on its own is an example of Thurlow and Jaworski's banal globalization (2011). Further evidence of this kind of linguistic globalization can be found in the Castilian inscriptions on the windows of the banks, noting that there is video surveillance and other security devices. Whilst these signs might well address a Castilian-speaking public, it is equally plausible that these have been provided by the bank's head or regional offices, and used in a branch that is just over the border in France.

In Perpignan, 18 miles / 29 km from the Spanish border, there are further attestations of Castilian appearing on its own in the public space. These differ from those recorded on the border with Spain in that they are produced and emplaced by private enterprise based not in Spain but in France. In particular, a pizzeria and a travel agency in

Figure 3.10 Architectural information sign featuring Catalan above the Castilian text

Perpignan both use Castilian in their signage, including locally-made advertisements addressing a passing clientele that speaks Castilian. The travel agency has posters in its windows in Castilian advertising direct flights between Madrid and Mauritius, as well as inviting passing trade to '*Viaje con los mejores*' (Travel with the best), whilst the pizzeria informs the wider public that 'se habla español' (Spanish spoken here). More often than not, in Perpignan, Castilian appears alongside (and, in fact, usually below) Catalan. Its visibility is not normally assured by private individuals and companies but by local authorities who, since the initial survey of 2008, have included Castilian in some signage (and notably the information boards regarding the sites of architectural merit – see Figure 3.10) but in a pattern that is insignificant in comparison with the use of Catalan.

Conclusions

The key aspects which we have identified in the two areas via the analysis of the respective LL are complex dimensions of peripherality, of the performance of border identities, and of processes of institutionalization of minority status. Peripherality is in fact experienced as double peripherality in both contexts, but with differences. Within a context of macroperipherality represented by Trieste and the national border, language actors compete in the assertion of linguistic identity and re-territorialize the area via the co-construction of a cultural border. Language practices consolidate othering processes which have relied on historically sedimented notions of geographies of bounded identities whereby Slovenians belong to the rural areas and Italians to the urban areas of Venezia Giulia (Sbisà and Vascotto, 2007). The semiotic practices that actualize identity, however, change and interact with given environments (Hornberger, 2002). From this perspective, Triestino is assigned internal peripherality insofar as it embodies a form of localized culture and is coterminous with Italian, the language that has been delegated to assert alterity with respect to Slovenian.

The double peripherality of Northern Catalonia is due to both its physical positioning and the minority status assigned to the local language. Unlike the use of Slovenian, the use of Catalan in Northern Catalonia is mainly symbolic and, as discussed above, the gesture of including Catalan in multilingual signs is more revealing than the actual language practices of their originators. As such, the findings in Northern Catalonia chime with the conclusion offered by Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen (2013, p. 224) – the display of the minority

language does not necessarily overthrow the prevailing language ideology, outlined in Chapter 1, which sees French dominate other languages in most functions. Slovenian in the surveyed area maintains a high symbolic value, but it also fulfils a range of communicative functions. A common feature of the two regions is that the proliferation of bi- or multilingual signage reflects institutional management of the public space and of its inscriptions which are imbued with majority language ideology. Even in the absence of explicit narratives of exclusion, the use of Catalan in Perpignan reflects processes of institutionalization of minority status, given that its emplacement is due to the civic authorities and not to private agents. This is also the case in the province of Trieste, where higher visibility of Slovenian has taken place significantly via linguistic appropriation of public space on the part of the authorities. In conclusion, it seems that Blommaert's (2005) definition of identity as semiotic potential is particularly pertinent in this context: both bounded identities and multiple identities are performed via the enactment of different potential repertoires in the flexible and dialogic dimension provided by LL. This includes those instances of globalized identities which we inhabit, perhaps temporarily, in the crossing of physical borders which do not represent material barriers any longer, as the discussion of Spanish in Northern Catalonia has revealed.

Above all, as highlighted in this chapter, the LL contributes meaningfully to the exploration of centre-periphery dynamics. A close examination of the material culture identified in this chapter – what Donnan and Wilson (2010, p. 78) describe as 'symbolic clutter' – can play a significant part in the evaluation of changing language ideologies, especially at border areas. Language in its written form as part of the construction of the public space in these peripheral places points to trends in commodification and meaning-making, especially in terms of authenticity. Perpignan City Council use multilingual signage to enact a double identity, but significantly an identity that is not realised through Castilian – despite the common border – but through the historically authentic Catalan language, and the colours associated with Catalunya. In the area of Trieste, language contributes to the performance of a border identity which is trapped in dominant minoritization and peripheralization discourses as constructed by the majority. In this view, concessions granted to the Slovenian group, and that, crucially, include language visibility, have been exploited within accepted majority ideologies which have encouraged the linguistic institutionalization

of public space. As a result, and unlike Northern Catalonia, cultural dis-continuity between the two sides of the Italian border has radicalized perceptions and expressions of inherent peripherality. Issues of periphery, identity, authenticity, and commodification are carried over into the next chapter where we investigate the LL of France and Italy's Mediterranean islands.

4

Insularity in the Linguistic Landscapes of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica

Introduction

The islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily have long been understood as parts of France and Italy, and any study of these two states from the perspective of the Mediterranean demands an engagement with these landmasses. Language use on islands is exposed to different and, in some ways, additional pressures in comparison with the mainland. The physical space between a continent and outlying islands nourishes specific phenomena with their own sociolinguistic consequences. We do not presume that these phenomena are limited to islands, but their effects are intensified in specific ways as a corollary to the fact of separation by a body of water. Traditionally, insularity has been perceived as a defining characteristic of islands; insularity favours internal circulation and we seek to test the implications of this in the LLs of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, in particular for the people who inhabit these zones. For all islanders, external borders are not a matter of interpretation: an island's territory ends where the sea begins. Geophysical characteristics therefore seem to provide the material for a durable sense of identity and for the preservation of linguistic features that can be generalized more easily across local varieties when compared to other contexts.

The insular dimension has also meant connectivity, which we understand in the light of the definition by Horden and Purcell (2000) that highlights the product of movement, contacts and exchanges with other subjectivities, as well as a well-developed ability to metabolize external cultures over the centuries. As a result, islands within the islands have taken shape on all three islands, and have left their linguistic traces.

Connectivity, however, does not seem to be a constitutive element of insularity, at least in its imagined geography and human geography.

With respect to islands, the transformation of material landscapes into metaphorical spaces seems to have taken place together with a characterization of islanders as people who are intrinsically indomitable and 'naturally' inclined to be independent. These and other elements have contributed to a certain construction of the self which is highly territorialized and, in the climate generated by theorizations of nationalism from the eighteenth century onwards, have made island spaces and communities particularly suitable as models of nations. The perceived congruence of political and natural borders made islands the primary sites of nation-states (Gellner, 1983). Perhaps Braudel's view (1949, p. 116) that the larger islands in the Mediterranean are miniature continents best encapsulates both insularity and connectivity. Braudel cites Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily amongst them and it is their dimension as microcosms that we would like to bear in mind in our discussion of the respective LLs.

Another element that seems to be constitutive of Mediterranean island identity, at least for those islands that are at the centre of our discussion, is the perception and self-perception of limitedness and peripherality (as discussed in Chapter 3). Discourses of exclusion from the mainland with respect to consolidated political entities such as France and Italy permeate both intellectual production and other articulations of local culture and have become sedimented in constructions of alterity. These constructions are characterized by a tension between awareness of diversity and aspirations of autonomy on the one hand, and lack of confidence and dependence on centralized institutions on the other. Conflicting attitudes and duality with respect to the material and the existential dimension of insularity result in attitudes that are best described in binary terms (Conrad, 2009). Language on the three Mediterranean islands has played an important role in the articulation of island identity, diversity, and peripherality. This chapter will investigate developments in the perception of linguistic specificity, within a context of increasing superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), and explore the scope for the LL and its authors to communicate a specific island identity that is distinct to a national one. We test the extent to which insularity and peripherality sustain this distinct identity, through language practices in the public space of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.

Within multilingualism, closely related to an examination of the centre–periphery forces is the opposition of global versus local, although for the purposes of this chapter, we reframe the contestation as national versus local. Although both French and Italian can be considered as 'global' languages, our approach here is positioned in part to

understand the relationship between the prestigious national standard language – the language of the centre – and the regional languages and dialects, which are broadly viewed as less prestigious in the centre, but which conversely, on the three islands, enjoy differing levels of status, characterized by qualities including authenticity, desirability, and value (Duchêne and Heller, 2012). As such, this discussion builds on the body of research into the evolution of multilingualism and contributes to the wider discussion. As argued by Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013b, p. 5), 'the changing centre–periphery relations play an important role in understanding and reconfiguring multilingualism in minority language spaces', and LL research provides empirical evidence that contributes to the debate on this trend within sociolinguistics. In addition, discourses of insularity have contributed to the permanence of an element of ambiguity that is discernible in centre-periphery relations for the three islands. This ambiguity is partly the result of an insular elaboration of competing models of regionalism and which have been characterized by conflict in the three areas. With respect to Corsica, Lochlin and Daftary (1999, p. 15) identify three types of regionalism: Jacobin regionalism, whereby being part of the relevant nation-state is not questioned, but the region demands support from the centre on the basis of civic equality; autonomist regionalism, based on the distinctiveness of the region's culture and identity and leading to forms of self-government; and separatist regionalism, aspiring to complete separation and formation of an independent entity. At different historical times these models of regionalism have been promoted by political groups within the three islands and they have intersected in the configuration of a range of possible outcomes. It is interesting to note that the recourse to forms of violence or banditry, which have not met wide popular support but have nevertheless been deployed on the three islands, is part of narratives of exclusion and abandonment that resurface in local discourses of insularity and its conflictual relationship with the centre.[1]

It can be argued that the above models of regionalism are an elaboration of the dual model of national identity, namely cultural as opposed to civic, as it was theorized and consolidated between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Joseph, 2006). However, post-structuralist views of language have also fed into language practices so that the LL of Sardinia, Sicily, and Corsica articulate intersecting dimensions of linguistic identity which aim to overcome or transform the cumbersome weight of tradition. In the context of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, the centre–periphery dynamic is negotiated within a given

nation-state, although we acknowledge from the outset that these three islands have been incorporated into Italy or France, and as such the relationship within either nation-state is governed to a certain extent by the islands' sense and length of integration. It is also the case that the relationships between each island and the centre of the nation-states are different; it is clearly inaccurate to assert that there is a generic bond between islands and the centre. Another dimension to consider is the extent to which these islands as peripheries contain their own centre–periphery dynamic; we have focused our data collection, although not exclusively, on the 'capital city' of each island, and so have selected the centre of a periphery for this examination. Inevitably, therefore, this project further peripheralizes places on the three islands beyond the 'capitals'. This replication of the centre–periphery dynamic on each island transforms Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily into models of the nation states to which they are, in turn, peripheral.

Sicily and Palermo: a historical overview

Palermo is the regional capital of Sicily, the largest Mediterranean island. Sicily has a rich cultural history and heritage that dates back to antiquity and that is the result of the settling of different peoples. The name of the city is the outcome of the Arabic adaptation *Barlam* of the Greek name *Panormos* (port all around), but originally Palermo was a Phoenician colony from the tenth to the eleventh centuries BC (Voltaggio, 2010). The city was not dominated by the Greeks, unlike other areas of Sicily, but was under the Carthagenians until the Romans took over in 254 BC. It was ruled by Byzantium after the fall of the Roman Empire and until the Arab conquest in 831 AD, which transformed Palermo into a wealthy metropolis. After Norman rule, the golden age of Palermo is usually identified with the time under the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (Benjamin, 2006). The Emperor moved his court to Palermo in 1220 and this inaugurated a period of artistic and cultural splendour. The local vernacular was used for the first time in the composition of poetry by the members of the prestigious Sicilian School.

Although it was subsequently dominated by different rulers such as the Angevins, the kings of Aragon, and the Savoy dynasty, the Kingdom of Sicily lasted until 1815, when it was merged with Naples as the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies under the Bourbons. The annexation of Naples and Sicily to the Kingdom of Italy in 1860 was problematic. Periods of independentist revolts and protests in the middle

of the decade were violently repressed by the Italian government, such as by Prime Minister Crispi in 1894 (Finley et al., 1986). Attempts to obtain independence, however, pre-date Italian unification and re-surfaced after the end of fascism (Mack Smith, 1997). In 1946, Sicily was granted a statute which established a degree of autonomy in regional administration in the attempt to pacify separatist claims (Toso, 2006). Sicilian ethno-nationalism was elaborated in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a time when language acquired a prominent role as a component of national identity. Sicily could rely on a prestigious literary tradition that dated back to the time when Emperor Frederick II moved his royal court to Palermo and was instrumental in promoting literature through the Sicilian School of Poetry (Marazzini, 2004). The language used in poetry at the time, however, was a sophisticated and erudite expressive form that was based on Sicilian and not the vernacular in its many local varieties that ordinary people employed in everyday communication. In addition, written evidence shows that after the mid-sixteenth century Sicilian stopped being used in official documents, which would be drafted primarily in Tuscan from then onwards. From the same period, Sicilian intellectuals would strive to demonstrate that, if not deriving from Sicilian, Tuscan was structurally so similar to Sicilian that the two languages could be considered to be varieties of the same language (Lo Piparo, 1987, p. 748). As a result, Sicilian was not identified as the one and only repository of ethnic identity. An early embracing of plurilingualism as a value, in fact, sanctioned the separation of linguistic identity from ethnic identity. A conception of Sicilian linguistic nationalism was elaborated between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries through the writings of a group of intellectuals and within a context of failed attempts to free Sicily from Naples. These intellectuals highlighted that learning Tuscan effectively meant learning a foreign language for Sicilians, and that for Sicily to be considered a nation, Sicilian should be the language of education and public writing. These ideas, however, were isolated and were not developed further within political discourses of Sicilian autonomism and separatism in the nineteenth century. The Sicilian nation did not need a Sicilian language and, in fact, an excessive emphasis on a separate linguistic identity would have been contrary to the desire to participate and be included in European modernizing processes (Lo Piparo, 1987, p. 750). The perception of the risk of peripheralization seemed to have been already evident at the time.

Vecchio (2013, p. 6) highlights that, after Italian unification and the coming into existence of a state in 1861, the intellectual debate

on Sicilian was conducted in different terms. It was not a question of deciding whether Sicilian was a language or not, but rather a matter of accepting that Sicily could not be an independent nation. The nation as an ideological product was not to be separated from the nation-state and therefore Sicily did not need a Sicilian language any longer. In the eighteenth century (and before), on the contrary, the idea that Sicily was a nation was simply a fact, at least in the intellectual argumentations put forward by contemporaries, and the general lack of linguistic claims did not make it any weaker (Vecchio, 2013, p. 7).

At the end of the Second World War, independentist tendencies became very strong in Sicily. Political and cultural separatism, however, was not associated with linguistic ethno-nationalism in the contemporary form of *sicilianismo*, or autonomist movement. The characteristics of current *sicilianismo* are the legacy of centuries-long discourses about the nation Sicily not being in need of a language. It can be viewed as a non-debate, given the non-conflictual nature of its manifestations. Lo Piparo (2013, p. 51) summarizes it very effectively: Sicilian never became a language and its unaccomplished status as a quasi-language epitomizes the history of Sicily, a quasi-nation. Sicilian linguistic and cultural specificity remained at the centre of post-war initiatives such as the *Centro Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani* (the Centre for Sicilian Philological and Linguistc Studies, founded in 1951), which carries out academic research into Sicilian whilst maintaining links with educational establishments. On the political front, independentist groups have continued to exist to this day with varying degrees of popularity (Toso, 2006).

Its very geographical position puts Sicily at the crossroads of different civilizations and makes it naturally predisposed to embrace and generate multiple identities. The Norman period, however, was decisive for the consolidation of its Christian and European dimension. Later ideological formulations of modernity would deem fragmentation and diversity undesirable in state-like organisms that needed to be unitary for them to be considered to be modern (Ligresti, 2012). In Chapter 5, we discuss stereotypical representations of the Mediterranean and of its inhabitants when considering Marseilles and Naples. Those constructions of the South have generally included Sicily and existing generalizations ignore historical counter-evidence with respect to the main topoi of represented Sicilian culture. One recurring topos is the presumed agrarian past of the island that has characterized narratives of Sicilian life and society, therefore disregarding the predominantly urban character of Sicilian centres since antiquity (Ligresti, 2012).

The largely neglected urban dimension of Sicily and of its cities' political and professional networks contribute to an understanding of those relational processes that made possible such outcomes as regional autonomist projects and the regional statute. As early as 1946, the statute allowed a high degree of independence in the internal administration of the island and constituted an *ante litteram* model for current federalist projects at national level. It is in the framework of this legacy that we would like to locate Palermo and recent regional legislation, which is not exclusively linguistic, but aims to incorporate the study of the Sicilian history, literature and linguistic heritage into the teaching of Italian and European histories, literatures and languages in Sicilian schools. This type of effort can be considered to be a continuation of discourses of participation in the development of the centre-periphery relations.

Sicily and Palermo: a sociolinguistic overview

The awareness of linguistic and cultural specificity is widespread in the island, together with the perception of the existence of a form of regional Italian with peculiar Sicilian connotations. However, the use of Sicilian in this chapter is to be intended as an abstraction because, as in other Italian contexts, there are different varieties that have been studied and analysed extensively (see for example Ruffino, 1997), but not a single entity which we may call 'Sicilian'. As the regional capital of Sicily and its main administrative centre, Palermo has attracted significant numbers of migrants from other parts of the island since the late 1940s. Between the 1950s and 1970s, and following the introduction of regional institutions for the implementation of the regional statute, large groups of Sicilians from outside Palermo moved to the city (13,000 people per year) and a significant portion of these newcomers (40 per cent) formed the local ruling class (D'Agostino, 1996). The influx of Sicilians from outside Palermo, many of whom were highly educated and went on to take important political, economic, and administrative positions, favoured an accelerated Italianization of the city when compared to other parts of Sicily. Moreover, the communicational needs of regional migrants with different dialectal backgrounds led to an early development of regional Italian. This process, however, was accompanied by a stigmatization of the local dialect, and by the association of dialect use with problematic areas in the historic centre. By extension, dialect use became also synonymous with social disadvantage and, sometimes, with life on the margins of society. As a result, discourses of

identification, acceptance or rejection of the dialect contribute to the performance of local identities.

D'Agostino (2004) quotes a number of studies which point out that the regional migrants positioned themselves in a complementary relationship with existing urban history and culture. Choosing some of the fast-expanding urban areas as places of residence at the time (1950s to the 1970s) contributed to consolidating a sense of alterity whilst causing the decline of the historic centre. The collective internalization of linguistic and territorial urban maps led to generalized assumptions with respect to the spatial and social distribution of language practices in the city. The characterization of the city in binary terms is part of a widespread perception (Amoruso and Scarpello, 2005): the historic centre is inhabited by and large by working-class groups who are predominantly dialectophone, whilst the middle classes reside in some of the residential urban areas that have grown around the city centre and use predominantly Italian. In a reversal of the centre-periphery relation, competing group norms of language use (Labov, 2001) have re-oriented part of the residents out of the city centre for identity-forming purposes (Eckert, 2000). This spatialization of identity can also be seen to have created layers of insular identity characterized by degrees of dialectization. Local language practices are in fact more complex than this, but internalized correspondences between dialect use, social groups, and urban spaces have also been part of the linguistic and metalinguistic acquisition of local varieties on the part of groups of non-Italian migrants who have been populating Palermo since the 1970s. The instrumental use of Sicilian has profound connotations that range from a means of survival to a means of integration (Amoruso and Scarpello, 2005). It is interesting that the local dialect is re-assigned a positive value by those migrants who have included it in their repertoires in the consolidation of their multiple identities and as a result of their linguistic as well as physical mobility. As a result, these new language agents have incorporated locally-constructed understandings of insularity and peripherality into their discursive practices, of which the LL is an integral part.

Language management in Sicily has been characterized in recent years by a series of regional language laws. Regional law 85/1981, which represented an attempt 'to favour the study of the Sicilian dialect and of the languages of ethnic communities in the island's schools', had the merit, on the one hand, of being inclusive, and therefore of reflecting a democratic perspective on all language varieties present on the island, a principle which inspired much regional legislation in Italy

following the lively debates of the 1960s and 1970s (see Chapter 1). On the other hand, the very wording of the law postulated the existence of a unitary Sicilian dialect, which does not exist, and assumed that the study of the dialect (any dialect) is unproblematic. The law does not seem to have been applied effectively (Toso, 2006, p. 157), but what is interesting is that regional law 9/2011 (focusing on norms on the promotion, valorization and teaching of Sicilian history, literature and linguistic heritage in schools), reflects a completely different conception of the study and the teaching of local varieties. This conception is clearly illustrated in Ruffino (2012a), where historical, linguistic, and educational perspectives on the legislation are provided, bearing in mind the changed context 30 years after law 85/1981. Ruffino (2012b, p. 16) discusses the possible misunderstandings and the risks that the new law might bring. Amongst other aspects, the scholar warns against the likely marginalization of the study of the Sicilian linguistic heritage if this is relegated to a 'dialect class' which is taught in addition to existing timetables. On the contrary, in Ruffino's view the reference to regional linguistic and cultural specificities should permeate the teaching of all disciplines and the consequent integrated teaching of regional culture should be supported by well-trained teachers and suitable support material. More importantly, this view envisages the presence of linguistic education in the curriculum of all schools. A holistic view of education underpins linguistic education, which encourages reflection upon language variety, upon multilingualism as the norm of virtually all corners of the world and upon individual and community plurilingualism as an asset, therefore fostering a high degree of language awareness and promoting the values of cultural diversity. The concrete application of such an idea of regional culture, which is never viewed in isolation but in its fertile exchanges with the national and international contexts, would consolidate the tradition established in Italy in the 1970s and at the same time tie in with the guidelines for intercultural education published in recent documents of the Council of Europe (see Chapter 1). With respect to the role of the island's linguistic specificity, however, this view further dilutes the ties between language and regional identity, at least from an institutional standpoint.

Regional law 85/1981 mentions the intention to support the languages of 'other ethnic minorities' living on the island. Albanian varieties, which are in use in three towns south of Palermo and the vestiges of settlements that date back to the late fifteenth century, are identified clearly both in national legislation on linguistic minorities

(law 482/1999) and in regional law 26/1998 (which includes measures for the safeguarding and valorization of the historical, cultural, and linguistic heritage of Sicilian communities of Albanian origin and of the languages of the other linguistic minorities). The latter mentions 'other' linguistic minorities in addition to the Albanian group. The reference is to northern or 'Galloitalic' varieties in use in a number of towns scattered around the island. These varieties are the result of settlements of northern Italian groups who moved to Sicily in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during Norman rule. Although they have been the object of several cultural initiatives, they do not enjoy any special protection (Toso, 2006). Once again the inconsistent approach to minority languages is revealed by the somewhat arbitrary nature of linguistic legislation in Italy (Toso, 2008a).

Sicilian in the LL

In Palermo, about 30 historical *quartieri* have been grouped into eight municipalities for administrative purposes. Fifteen of the *quartieri* were surveyed in 2012 and 10,569 signs recorded. Signs featuring Italian, either on its own (74.5 per cent, n = 7,874) or together with one or more other languages (14 per cent, n = 1,485) make the national language the most visible linguistic resource in the Palermitan LL. In addition to Italian, 16 languages featured on the recorded signs: Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, English, French, Georgian, German, Hebrew, Latin, Portuguese, Russian, Sicilian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Turkish, and Twi (used in Ghana/Ivory Coast). Sicilian in its local and/or regional forms was identified in 48 signs (0.45 per cent) including graffiti and a range of commercial signs displayed on removal vans, on restaurants, and other eating establishments, and on items of clothing for sale. Other signs featuring Sicilian included regulatory signs such as 'no parking'. Figure 4.1, however, can be considered to be an example of institutional signs insofar as it appeared on a church notice board positioned outside the church and along the main road.

This poster highlights a charity initiative to raise funds for access to clean water in Kenya, and the dialectal slogan ***VIVI*** *E LASSA* ***VIVI****RI* (emphasis in the original) both dominates the verbal message of the sign and is intentionally used in its double meaning. On the one hand, it is a Sicilianized version of the Italian *vivi e lascia vivere*, 'live and let live'. On the other hand, in dialectal Sicilian the phrase means 'drink and let drink', therefore directly appealing to a local audience who will decode both semantic contents of the homograph and establish the link between water and life. This link is also established

Figure 4.1 Church poster

at the verbal-visual level through the repeated use of the bold type font for the word ***VIVI***, in yellow in the image. In order to capture the powerful underlying message 'No clean water means no life', non-dialect speakers will be aided by the explanatory sub-title in Italian 'Music and cabaret to guarantee the right to water in Kenya' and by the image of the child drinking water from a bottle. The use of the local dialect in this context reinforces community ties via a call for solidarity, therefore speaking the language that is closer to their emotional and affective sphere. At the same time the choice of Sicilian is an acknowledgement of the fact that it still represents a largely shared,

and therefore viable, means of communication. In this instance the universalistic message of the poster expressed in the local language challenges notions of isolation and seclusion and assigns dialectal speakers a dynamic and transformative role. In addition, it constructs a metageographical space of agency which upsets common understandings of distance and proximity.

Conversely, the graffito reproduced in Figure 4.2 can be interpreted to amplify the distance with centres of power and the immobility of the insular condition. Graffiti featuring Sicilian included anti-establishment slogans such as Figure 4.2 ('Down with thieving politicians'). Of all the surveyed areas, this type of graffiti was identified in the historic centre, often in areas which have been increasingly populated with migrants. In such instances local literacies (written reproduction of Sicilian) and transnational literacies (signs featuring migrant languages) can be interpreted as constructing a LL of globalization experienced as exclusion. In this perspective, spaces of dissent are cut out of institutional spaces (a public wall) and emphasize alienation with respect to institutional authority.

Migrant languages in the LL

Sottile (2005) highlights the widespread perception that in Palermo's historical markets (such as *Capo* and *Ballarò*) the dialect dominates. However, an examination of recordings of sellers calling out to sell their wares and of interactions (Serio and Soriani, 2005) showed that the markets are multilingual places where different varieties are employed, including dialect, Italian, and regional Italian, and where

Figure 4.2 'Down with thieving politicians'

code switching and code mixing are widely practised. Interestingly, these practices reflect the linguistic changes that have affected virtually all areas of Italy where, at different times and with different modalities, there has been a shift from exclusively dialectophone speakers to speakers with complex linguistic repertoires.

The identification of the market and of its linguistic practices with the actual *quartiere* where the market is placed has been integrated in the personal and collective mapping of the city and of its signifiers. In addition, the characterization of the market as a site of socialization and as an inclusive space where modes of expression are flexible and changeable has allowed the incorporation of exogenous elements such as the new languages brought by new residents.

At the beginning of 2013 there were 654,987 inhabitants in Palermo, of whom 21,326 were foreign (ISTAT, 2013). This latter figure is similar to the figure reported at the beginning of 2011 (20,252 or 3.1 per cent of the total population), when the breakdown according to country of origin was also provided (Table 4.1).

As with migrant groups in other parts of Italy (see Chapter 5), in Palermo, too, a full immersion in unfamiliar spaces often leads to spatial appropriation and re-functionalization. Migrant languages in the LL reflect the attempt to make sense of the new physical environment and of its places by naming or re-naming them so that familiar space is named into existence. D'Agostino (2006) highlights the linguistic mechanisms whereby migrants in Palermo adapt the local toponymy in order to domesticize unfamiliar surroundings and re-enforce personal and collective memory. With respect to religious sites, she discusses

Table 4.1 The top 10 nationalities represented in the city of Palermo at the beginning of 2011

	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Sri Lanka	1,930	1,582	3,512
Bangladesh	2,273	1,177	3,450
Romania	537	1,700	2,237
Philippines	474	806	1,280
Tunisia	598	531	1,129
Mauritius	522	600	1,122
Ghana	606	471	1,077
China	431	458	889
Morocco	442	402	844
Serbia	244	294	538

Source: ISTAT, 2012b.

the physical and symbolic appropriation of the sanctuary of the local patron saint Santa Rosalia, which is located on a hill overlooking Palermo. Migrants with different backgrounds and different faiths (for example, Hindu, Buddhist, and Catholic alike) go on pilgrimages to the sanctuary to perform their own religious practices, therefore sharing a place of worship with Sicilians.

With respect to the LL practices that we observed, we would like to propose the term *nested insularity* indicating processes of linguistic and cultural insularization which have taken place within existing patters of insularity. As we have seen, this was a result of the social re-distribution of residential areas following the accommodation of sizeable numbers of immigrants from other parts of Sicily between the 1950s and 1970s. This process, however, is discernible in the socio-spatial accommodation of migrant groups. We shall illustrate this point by focusing on the Bangladeshi and Ghanaian communities in Palermo. In Italy the Bangladeshi community is the largest in Europe after the UK. The group is perceived to be peaceful and unproblematic, but this contrasts with the highly divided political affiliations which are reproduced in the associations that are present in Italy. The interethnic *Associazione 3 Febbraio* (Figure 4.3), for example, was founded on 3 February 1996 to fight racism and to create better conditions for migrants. The sign in Bengali is about a demonstration organized in Palermo.

In spite of the fact that 30 per cent of Bangladeshi migrants in Italy have a high level of education, they tend to be employed as unskilled labourers. This is probably the reason why a growing number of Bangladeshis have opted to start small commercial businesses into which they and their families and friends have invested considerably, but which allow them to have an independent activity (Cologna, 2013). Even though suburban and provincial areas are their preferred destinations, the city provides better job opportunities and it is predominantly in the urban centres that linguistic traces index their presence, their commercial activities such as shops and small wholesalers and services for the community such as money transfer and Internet points.

On *Via Maqueda*, one of the main thoroughfares in Palermo city centre and where the sign in Figure 4.3 was displayed, small Bangladeshi retailers have gradually replaced local commercial establishments so that their shops lined the street in 2012. The social and sociolinguistic restratification of the area (Blommaert, 2013) has taken place together with a wider semiotics of change: both shop fronts and displayed goods – from costume jewellery and leather goods to fast food establishments

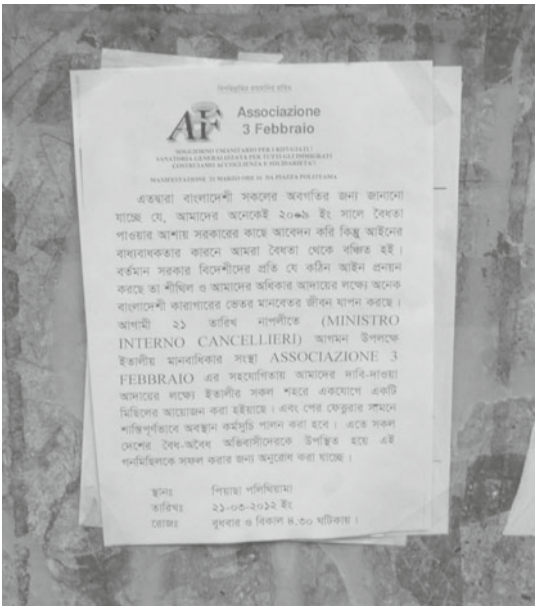

Figure 4.3 Sign about a demonstration organized in Palermo by the Associazione 3 Febbraio

and food retailers – construct a superdiversity of styles, tastes, and traditions in a relationship of continuity with adapted configurations of localities. Everyday practices have evolved – the way people eat, what they purchase, and how they socialize – and in so doing they have involved, affected, and intersected different communities and enhanced their degree of agency in identity-making processes. The idea of nested insularity here refers to both the concept of the linguistic island, which in linguistics highlights the typological distance from language varieties employed *around* one linguistic island, and the material enactment of social practices such as written language and its demarcating properties. A similar development was represented by the Ghanaian group in Palermo, with the difference that in this instance nested insularity includes outlets of connectivity.

Ghanaian migrants started arriving in Italy in the mid-1980s. Initially Ghanaian women moved to Italy and found employment as domestic helps or carers. This is still the case for many of them, but some carry out commercial activities such as market stalls, shops and hairdressing.

The Palermo community tend to live in the Albergheria quarter, which is next to *Ballarò*, one of the main urban markets (Barrale, 2011).

The language in Figure 4.4 is Twi, one of the main (group of) languages in use in Ghana. The religious expression *Yesu ka wo ho [shop]* (Jesus loves you) is widely used in Gospel lyrics (performances are widely available on YouTube). The reference to religious practices is not casual. The windows of the establishment in fact display a variety of signs ranging from an electoral announcement through to an advert about courier services and film posters, all entirely in English, the official language of Ghana. The main sign above the entrance signals the presence of the given community in the area and it identifies it as the main local hub of activities: people meet there, they use it for private and public announcements, and it is part of a network of hubs in a very eventful and lively area, the market, which is frequented by all sorts of people every day. The intertextuality and the multimodality of the signs on the shop window construct the community via the representation of their meaning-making practices. Socio-religious practices such as a 'naming and child dedication' for a new-born baby announced on a notice posted on the shop window are an integral part of this process and point to institutions (the Pentecostal *Christ Apostolic Church* and the Catholic *Santa Chiara*) which are infrastructures of superdiversity (Blommaert, 2013). The 'naming and child dedication' represents a

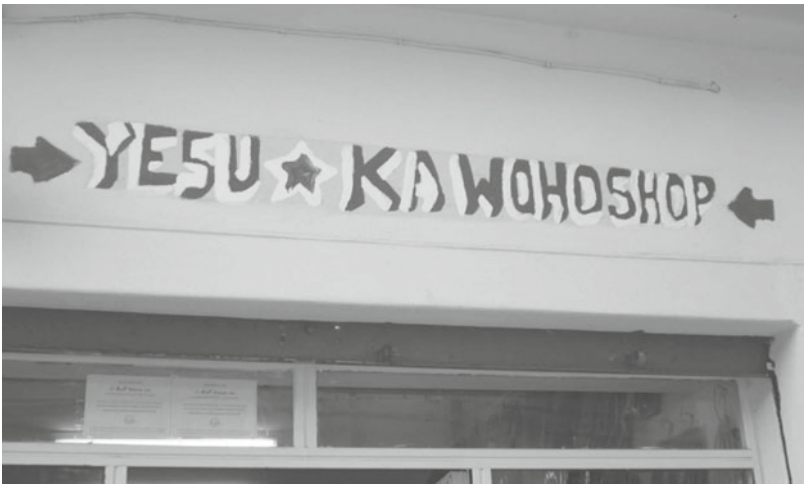

Figure 4.4 Shop providing services for the Ghanaian community

traditional rite-of-passage event whereby the new-born's introduction into the community marks their becoming an actual person. Rooted cultural practices will subsequently be enacted in a space that has been transformed into a place of worship, the Christ Apostolic Church, where the ceremony is celebrated. The party will eventually take place at Santa Chiara, a church in the Albergheria area that has carried out activities in support of migrant communities, regardless of their particular faiths, since the 1980s. The celebrations will therefore be accessible to an extended community of migrants, diasporic groups who constitute nested insularities characterized by points of connectivity. The given LL and its explicit intertextuality effectively contribute to the construction of a meaningful semiotics of participation and belonging.

Sardinia and Cagliari: a historical overview

In an article about political discourses of identity and belonging in Sardinia, Mazzette (1992) highlights that it is insularity as the primary dimension of territoriality that allows the individual to perform their social, cultural, and political identity. The peculiarity of the insular dimension is instrumental in the construction of the border between (or around) the inside and the outside. The inside is characterized by permanent Sardinianness as a given whereas the outside is characterized by a material and metaphorical configuration which is mutable and dependent on the relationship with the outside, be it Italy, the EU, or any other entity to be opposed to Sardinia (Mazzette, 1992, p. 370). Mazzette's research also revealed that Sardinian society is made to coincide with the Sardinian ethnic group whose constitutive elements are the linguistic, historical, and cultural heritage (1992, p. 373). Significantly, language is identified as the element of unity (therefore disregarding internal linguistic fragmentation) that has allowed the Sardinian people to resist outside influences and maintain internal integrity. Claiming the Sardinian nation, however, does not equal claiming independence from Italy, but rather an enhanced form of self-government or autonomist regionalism as identified in Lochlin and Daftary (1999, p. 15). The Sardinian form of autonomist regionalism, however, differs from that of Sicily insofar as the language question has, especially in recent times, often been at the centre of a lively debate. The wider public has generated and/or transmitted discourses of linguistic identity that revolve around the essentialization of Sardinian and this process has been supported by open manifestations of linguistic activism. Contradictions and opposing tensions have run through linguistic regionalism on

Sardinia so that the awareness of peripherality and vulnerable insularity has alternated or co-occurred with forms of antagonism with the Italian state. Language ideology has greatly influenced the debate and contributed to an outcome that leaves Sardinians deeply divided over the language issue. To draw upon the centre–periphery metaphor and its linguistic implications as elaborated in Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013a), the regional centre of normativity has reproduced national/regional dynamics and this has caused the rejection of a model of Sardinian for the sake of localized linguistic assertiveness. Sardinia therefore seems to display a multiplicity of nested insularities. If Sicilian can be considered to be the quasi-language of a quasi-nation (Lo Piparo, 2013, p. 51), Sardinian actually enjoys the official status of *language* in an autonomous region (a small nation), but external recognition of its cultural and linguistic specificity does not seem to curb processes of language shift as shown by the islanders' language practices.

Archaeological evidence suggests that Cagliari, the regional capital of Sardinia, was founded in the neolithic period (6000–3000 BC). The Phoenicians established the colony of *Karalis* and transformed it into a lively commercial port from the eighth century BC. In 238 BC, it came under the control of the Romans, who granted it the status of municipality. Subsequently, the city was ruled by Byzantium before becoming the centre of an independent *giudicato* in the Middle Ages (the giudicati were autonomous administrative units in Sardinia between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, Brigaglia et al., 2006). In the meantime, the Sardinian coasts had been the target of periodic Moorish incursions that had caused the retreat of parts of the population into the interior of Sardinia, and this history of internal migrations would bear particular significance with respect to the linguistic debate about what constitutes real Sardinian. In addition, the period between the sixth and the ninth centuries AD marked a time of isolation from the Latin tradition and of consolidation of the local vernaculars. Scholars therefore date back to the early Middle Ages the configuration of a language which maintained archaic traits in its internal development when compared to the vernaculars in use in other parts of Romance-speaking Europe and which consistently appeared in written legal documents instead of Latin (Paulis and Lupinu, 2006). Conversely, the absence of literary texts in Sardinian in the medieval period was experienced as a cultural deficiency that needed to be remedied. Extreme solutions to this void materialized over the course of the nineteenth century, at a time when language was gaining a privileged place as a marker of national identity, and included the discovery of medieval literary texts of dubious origin

in the attempt to demonstrate that Sardinian literary production had pre-dated the poetry composed by the members of the Sicilian School (Lorinczi, 1997).

Cagliari, together with other parts of Sardinia, came under the sphere of influence of the powerful city of Pisa prior to the Hispanic domination (1323–1720). Both civilizations left linguistic traces in Sardinian; for instance, the former has been considered to be responsible for the Tuscanization of Campidanese, the vernacular of Cagliari, and of southern Sardinia (Blasco Ferrer, 1984). A direct example of the linguistic influence exercised by the Hispanic domination is a linguistic island that survives in the north-western town of Alghero, where a variety of Catalan is still in use. The year 1718 marked the end of Spanish rule of Sardinia. The island was united with Piedmont under the house of Savoy, therefore constituting part of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Given that the Piedmontese rulers would eventually become the rulers of Italy after the establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, this period marked the beginning of a problematic relationship with the peninsula, always characterized by a desire for self-determination on the one hand and an awareness of economic dependency on the other.

The idea that the internal and mountainous areas of Sardinia were the more authentic parts of the island – a concept that finds an echo on Corsica – insofar as they had been sheltered from external cultural and linguistic influences, consolidated itself between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries (Brigaglia et al., 2006). Sardinian national conscience and pride were elaborated between 1825 and 1850, when local historiography laid the foundations of Sardinian representations and self-representations. It was at this time that the Sardinian language as an expression of Sardinianness acquired a privileged role. From this perspective, the normative grammars of the nineteenth century can be seen as an attempt to confer prestige and lustre to the Sardinian language, and it was therefore natural that such prescriptive texts should describe the Logodurese variety. This variety was based on the literary language (Dettori, 1988), in use in the northern and more internal areas of the island, and it fitted the ideals of archaicity and purity that were the pre-requisites for a language that served the purposes of a (small) nation. Scholars of Sardinian linguistics contributed to the consolidation of the existing language ideology by carrying out fieldwork in the more internal and isolated parts of Sardinia in the early twentieth century (Wagner, 2001). Speakers of Logudorese became the ideal repositories of existing linguistic stereotypes, and interpretations of pre-modern ethnic and ethnolinguistic characteristics of the group,

and by extension of the Sardinian people, would account for much of the change observable in the current linguistic practices of the islanders.

Issues of peripherality, amongst which the association of Sardinian use with under-development, and the perceived risk of permanent isolation at least partly explain the gradual shift to Italian that has been taking place on Sardinia. Whilst language shift has been registered in the whole of Italy in the post-war period (see Chapter 1), there have been noticeable regional differences with respect to the rediscovery of local culture and the re-evaluation of the local linguistic heritage that have taken place since the 1960s. It can be argued that, in Sardinia, the perception and self-perception of isolation and marginality has provided additional grounds for a reduction in local language use and transmission, seen as a hindrance to modernization, emancipation, and social mobility.

Sardinia and Cagliari: a sociolinguistic overview

Political efforts to articulate a Sardinian revival, or *neo-sardismo*, date back to the late 1960s and they were coupled with nationalist claims based on assertions of cultural distinctiveness (Clark, 1996b, p. 97). The movement brought about new opportunities for the institutional acknowledgement of linguistic specificity and for language provision. Following a period of intense activism and debate in the 1970s and 1980s, increased awareness on the part of the general public provided a broad consensus towards the formulation of regional language legislation (Rindler Schjerve, 1993). The most significant outcome was the introduction of regional law 26/1997, on the promotion and valorization of Sardinian culture and language. This preceded national law 482/99, which established that Sardinian was one of the official minority languages of the Italian state. The first institutional attempt to provide Sardinian with a written norm (*Limba Sarda Unificada* – Unified Sardinian Language) was made in 2001 (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna, 2001), but the outcome was very controversial. Elements of both academia and public opinion rejected a linguistic model which was based on Logudorese, that is the variety of Sardinian that had been identified as the most authentic and therefore deserving of standardization.[2] Plans in favour of *Limba Sarda Unificada* were therefore abandoned and in 2006 the regional administration adopted a written variety of compromise, the *Limba Sarda Comuna* or Common Sardinian Language (Regione Autonoma della Sardegna, 2006), for the purposes of internal communication. The results of a comprehensive sociolinguistic

survey on language use were published in 2007 (Oppo, 2007) and, amongst other aspects, it confirmed the slow but steady decline in the use of local varieties, mostly noticeable in the lack of intergenerational transmission, in favour of a shift to Italian. The survey highlighted the many tensions and contradictions that characterize language attitudes and practices, but for our purposes what is more important to identify is the profound and continued engagement with the language question on the part of language agents. The essentialization of Sardinian still pervades positive attitudes and opinions towards the local language and has fostered forms of deep emotional attachment to it. As a matter of fact, however, language practices seem to work against hard-fought institutional concessions in terms of language maintenance, and they effectively reflect a separation between regional/ethnic identity and linguistic identity (Blackwood and Tufi, 2012). It seems plausible to suggest that the awareness of peripherality with respect to national (and international) centres of power has been influential in both the elaboration and the consolidation of language ideology and in the manifestations of linguistic activism. Official recognition of linguistic specificity, however, has not been conducive to the reconciliation of multiple linguistic identities so that the duality that seems to characterize islanders (Conrad, 2009) persists in the separation between the thinking and the feeling about language on the one hand and the gradual shift to the national idiom on the other (Pavlenko, 2006).

Although the use of Sardinian is being eroded steadily, Oppo (2007, p. 7) reports that 68 per cent of Sardinians speak a form of Sardinian and that an additional 29 per cent have a passive knowledge of one variety. In spite of it still being widely used, the local language does not seem to be employed in the local LL conspicuously, therefore pointing to a reluctance to draw upon Sardinian as a viable linguistic resource for those written practices that contribute to the construction of the public space. The sporadic examples of written Sardinian seem to fall mainly into two categories, which contribute to articulating opposing discourses on Sardinian. One category is that of institutional signs which testify to the gained status of the language following the political militancy of past decades and the legislative sanctioning of such status. A plaque identifying the office of the provincial council of Cagliari is a pertinent example insofar as it duly displays both Italian and Sardinian.

The other category includes signs that make a direct or indirect reference to tradition (see 4.x below for a discussion). Be it the name of a restaurant, the label on some locally produced foodstuffs, or an artistic

Figure 4.5 'The bread oven' (Sardinian)

mural (Figure 4.5), these signs celebrate the language of the past and not of the future. The local LL therefore reproduces the duality of existing discourses about Sardinian and reinforces both in-group and out-group perceptions of cultural and linguistic insularity.

Sardinian in the LL

Cagliari is administratively divided into 33 *quartieri*, of which four constitute the historic centre. Given the small size of the city (157 297 inhabitants), 12 surveys were carried out in the city of Cagliari and eight in the surrounding area including the towns of Assemini, Quartu Sant'Elena, Quartucciu, Selargius, and Sestu, with a total population of 315,967 (ISTAT, 2008). Italian is the most visible language in the area. Out of 11,379 signs collected in 2008, 79 per cent (n = 9,031) featured Italian, either on its own (60.1 per cent, n = 6,905) or together with one or more languages (18.6 per cent, n = 2,126). In addition to Italian, 17 languages featured on the recorded signs: Arabic, Chinese, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Hindi (transcription), Japanese, Latin, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Sardinian, and Spanish. Sardinian featured on 31 signs (0.27 cent of the total). Nine

signs were monolingual, of which six were graffiti, two were regulatory signs (translating a *no smoking* notice into the local language) and one was a sticker displaying (part of) the name of a local political party, *Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia* (For the Independence of the Sardinian Nation). Linguistic militancy on Sardinia has traditionally been high on the agenda of political parties such as *Sardigna Natzione Indipendentzia*, which has consistently campaigned for Sardinian independence since 1994 (Sardigna Natzione, 2015). The party, however, relies on limited support and has never gained any seats either in the national parliament or in the regional assembly (Ministero dell'Interno, 2015). Whilst marking the public space with an assertion of the national status of the island, the sign also acts as a reminder of the limited incidence of such political initiatives which remain invisible to national state structures.

Of the remaining signs, 15 also featured Italian (as in Figure 4.6), four English and three both Italian and English.

The signs in Figure 4.6 were in the centre of *Quartu Sant'Elena*. The top sign (*Via Eligio Porcu*) is in the standard format and material used throughout the town. For well-informed locals, Eligio Porcu was a military hero who was awarded the highest decoration for valour following his death in the First World War. The road is therefore dedicated to a distinguished local figure, as is often the practice in Italian town centres, and it does not need additional explanations (Amos, forthcoming). Events relating to the First Word War occupy a significant place in Sardinian collective memory and have contributed to discourses of heroism and sacrifice. The regional regiments of the Sassari Brigade became legendary for their courage and heroism and, importantly, they created the opportunity for groups of Sardinians coming from different areas of the island to get to know each other for the first time. The brigade therefore fostered a sense of community and created strong loyalties to Sardinia (Clark, 1996a, p. 88). It is not by chance that signs such as the bottom one have been added in the more central areas, coinciding with the original village, to remind the viewer of local heritage and of how the simple act of place-naming has carried the weight of important historical and political events. In terms of emplacement, the historical sign appears below the current sign because its primary function is not regulatory or denotative; rather, it is documentary. Linguistically, *Bia de Cuventu* (Convent Road) is in Sardinian, and the gloss explains 'documented in 1846'. *Via Centrale* (Central Road) is instead in 1875 records and it is in Italian. By 1846 Sardinia had been under Savoy rule for more than a century, but roads were assigned names in Sardinian.

Figure 4.6 Street signs, one in Italian (top) and one in Sardinian and Italian (bottom)

By 1875, the Kingdom of Italy had been in existence for 14 years, but the use of Italian had clearly been extended to the whole of the state for public functions. The two signs therefore construct a narrative for public consumption which is multilayered and points to different discourses of power and power relations articulated in different languages. The signs also reproduce the tension between conflicting loyalties on the one hand, and between conflicting models of regionalism on the other within an overall rejection of insularity.

Migrant languages in the LL

Although the number of economic migrants in Sardinia has increased steadily from the 1980s, it is much lower than that of other regions of Italy. At the beginning of 2009, migrants represented less than 2 per cent of the local population in Sardinia, whilst the national average was approximately 7 per cent (ISTAT, 2012b). Unlike in other regions of Italy, however, migrants are present in the vast majority of Sardinian towns. This is mainly due to the fragmentation of the local labour market, offering relatively few opportunities, and to the main occupations,

such as itinerant selling, of some of the largest immigrant groups (Zurru, 2007). Zurru (2010) highlights that the majority of Sardinia's migrants have not been joined by their respective families, an indication of the fact that their intention is not to stay on the island long-term. This potentially adds to the degree of mobility that characterizes these individuals. Table 4.2 lists the top 10 national groups represented in the province of Cagliari at the end of 2008 (ISTAT, 2008).

In the surveyed areas of Cagliari and its environs, traces of migrant languages were few and far between (see also Tufi, 2010). The 14 signs recorded were all commercial and featured Arabic (seven), Chinese (six) and Hindi (one) together with Italian or with Italian and English. While Chinese characters appeared alongside Italian in the relevant signs, what was coded as 'Arabic' and 'Hindi' in these instances were transcriptions of proper names such as 'Al-Amin'. This aspect and the general absence of language used for internal communication point to two possible explanations. On the one hand, the fact that the relevant communities are scattered around the island does not seem to provide the context for an active inscription of one's own linguistic contribution in the local LL. On the other hand, transliterated proper names represent an early attempt to negotiate portions of space on the part of new language agents. The symbolic value of this operation is particularly significant insofar as the act of naming acquires a primary identity dimension and claiming part of the public space can be interpreted as a request for inclusion in the local human geography. Claiming ownership of and primary access to a small segment of space that is inherently Sardinian

Table 4.2 Top 10 national groups represented in the province of Cagliari at the end of 2008

	Males	**Females**	**Total**
Philippines	412	645	1,057
Romania	265	722	987
China	510	462	972
Morocco	607	352	959
Senegal	887	65	952
Ukraine	91	689	780
Germany	243	226	469
Tunisia	208	139	347
Pakistan	207	38	245
Bosnia-Herzegovina	115	118	233

Source: ISTAT, 2008.

highlights the 'demarcating' power of space and its active involvement in the construction of social reality (Blommaert, 2013). Once again it is clear that the characteristics and the histories of migrant groups and of the regions where they live and work account for a set of variables which will influence the level of interaction between space and actors. These variables will also assign a certain degree of agency to languages and language communities at a given time. For the purposes of this chapter, the LL of Cagliari and of its surroundings constructs sporadic identity markers on the part of migrants which reinforce the existence of multiple nested insularities which have been accommodated alongside existing nested insularities on the island.

Corsica and Ajaccio: a historical overview

Throughout the Middle Ages, Corsican was swapped like a coveted possession between the city states of Pisa and Genoa, leading to the settled pattern of diglossia (Fishman, 1967), with Tuscan Italian used as the H language, and Corsican as the L language. Casta (1995, p. 135) contrasts the position and status of both languages by classifying Tuscan Italian as the language of gentlemen, in comparison with Corsican – the language of the shepherds. Although the island was positioned firmly within an Italo-Romance sphere, there were brief interludes of direct involvement from colonizers from other language areas, such as the fifteenth-century spell when the Kings of Aragon controlled the island, and a first taste of French rule in the middle of the sixteenth-century under Henri II. These interventions had little tangible impact on language practices in Corsica. Within this well established diglossia, not all islanders spoke Tuscan Italian, largely for the rather prosaic reason that the domains associated with the H language were ones to which many on the island did not have access, either by choice or necessity (Blackwood, 2004, p. 135). As one of the Mediterranean's most mountainous islands, communication across Corsica was both limited and challenging, which resulted in the persistence of numerous varieties of Corsican, each with varying levels of mutual intelligibility. From a Corsican perspective, this is the context of the nested insularity we explore in this chapter. The state of linguistic diversity was perpetuated by the lawlessness of the island during much of the Middle Ages, where villages protected themselves from external interference from pirates, Saracens, and a steady flow of invading forces (Blackwood, 2008, p. 12). The eighteenth century opened with Genoa struggling to control Corsica, not only in terms of the local uprisings against Genoese rule, but as a consequence of external attacks,

motivated by the island's strategic position within the Mediterranean. Glossed as Corsica's brief interlude of independence, from 1755 to 1769 Pasquale Paoli led the island, from the mountain town of Corte, and wrote – in Tuscan Italian – a constitution for an independent Corsica. Paoli's rule was centred largely on the island's interior, whilst Genoa continued to hold much of the coastline. This period coincided with the Seven Years War, which saw France and Great Britain in conflict in the Mediterranean, at which point Genoa relinquished its claim to Corsica, and agreed (as part of the 1768 Treaty of Versailles) to cede the island to France. This transfer of ownership from Genoa to France is viewed by some, especially in Corsican nationalist rhetoric (Arrighi and Pomponi, 1997, p. 75) as the sale of Corsica, and was resisted on the island by Paoli's forces until the decisive battle of Ponte-Nuovo in 1769 which definitively marked the start of French rule that lasts to the present day.

The period from 1769 to the twenty-first century can be characterized by the highly successful introduction of French into the linguistic repertoire of the island, and the diminishing of the use of both Corsican and, in a much more comprehensive way, Tuscan Italian. The pace of the transfer of domains from Tuscan Italian to French accelerated after the French Revolution of 1789, although initially rather slowly. The nineteenth century was marked by the gradual realignment of Corsica's orbit away from Italy and towards France; for much of this period, as noted by Thiers (1989, p. 32), Corsica was 'largely anchored in the cultural and ideological sphere identified with the Italian language'. This focus on Italy was as much practical as anything else, given the proximity of the island to the peninsula, the tradition of Italian scholarship for the training of the island's elite (Marchetti, 1989, p. 77), and the trade links that made the supplying of the island with produce and newspapers the only feasible option during the winter. Nevertheless, over the nineteenth century, with the establishment of compulsory, free, secular education – delivered exclusively in French – as its climax, the status and use of French eclipsed Tuscan Italian, not least because of the economic advantages associated with mastery of the prestigious national standard language (such as through employment in the rapidly expanding civil service).

Although it is important not to overstate its significance, the treatment of Corsica by Fascist Italy during the Second World War marked the end of direct Italian influence over the island. During the 1930s, some Corsican intellectuals (such as Petru Rocca), Italian Fascists, and a small minority of islanders championed Italian irredentism. The behaviour of Italian troops in Corsica, when eventually they occupied the island from 1942 onwards (Chaubin, 2005, p. 13), shattered any

illusions of fraternity between Corsica and Italy, and post-liberation, Corsicans identified first and foremost with France (Silvani, 1976, p. 32), and – conflating Corsican with Italian – the use of the regional language was viewed with suspicion (Gauthier, 1982, p. 114). The definitive break with Italian culture in the middle of the twentieth century resulted in a re-centring of multilingualism on Corsican within a French territory. It is in education that the use of the Corsican language is most strikingly marked since the end of the Second World War. Corsican was not included in the landmark Deixonne law of 1951 (see Chapter 1), which, for the first time, permitted the optional teaching of four of France's regional languages for an hour a week in secondary school. Highly symbolic, although of little practical benefit (Blackwood, 2007, p. 21), the Deixonne law was extended to include Corsican in 1974, from which point onwards the pace of Corsican-language formal education accelerated dramatically. By this time, Corsican cultural life had embraced the language through societies, such as *Scola Corsa* (Corsican School), which revived informal language teaching and coupled it with traditional activities, and through the production of cultural matter, including Corsican song and literature (Jaffe, 1999, pp. 127–28).

Since 1982, Corsica has enjoyed a unique status within France, having been endowed with its own Regional Assembly with rights to address economic, social, and cultural issues pertinent to the island (Adrey, 2009, p. 188). This fundamental change in the political management of France was heralded by the election of the country's first Socialist president, François Mitterrand. In 1991, Corsica was granted its status of *Collectivité Territoriale* (Territorial Authority), which incrementally assumed responsibilities for the island's economic development, environment, transport infrastructure, and – significantly from the perspective of the LL – the Corsican language and culture. By the end of the twentieth century, Corsican language activism had ceased to be a concern only for separatist movements (Judge, 2007, p. 105), and this both explains and is illustrated by the extension of the regional language into such H domains as education and the media. However, Adrey (2009, p. 202) is ambivalent regarding the vitality of Corsican, highlighting the decrease in its use and 'the perceived disengagement of the population', especially in certain socio-economic groups.

This overview of Corsica's geopolitical history points to some of the competing narratives in the multilingual situation on the island in the twenty-first century. Corsican has been spoken on the island for far longer than French, although it never achieved prestigious status and was always subordinated to an esteemed 'standard' language. The

imposition of the French language on the island is a relatively recent phenomenon, and one which still features in contemporary representations of the modernization of Corsica. At its heart is conflict, with an independent Corsica – whose institutions privileged Tuscan Italian rather than *a lingua dei pastori* (the language of the shepherds, Casta, 1995, p. 135) – ranged against a colonizing power in the form of France. The subsequent treatment of Corsica, with the outlawing of the Corsican language for official purposes, and the refusal by the state to recognize formally Corsican as a collective identity, rejecting the notion of 'the Corsican people' (Blackwood, 2008, p. 80) has led to the creation of a Corsican cultural identity set up in opposition to French identity (see also Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes, 2013a). This contestation is not a universal experience on the island, and, as in many parts of the West, islanders live out complex, compound identities with little difficulty. The decentralization of powers since the 1980s has meant that islanders – through their elected representatives in the tiers of regional government – are responsible for their own language management strategies, but on the explicit understanding that French is the language of the Republic and must be used in all aspects of official life.

Corsica and Ajaccio: a sociolinguistic overview

Unlike in Italy, where regional laws (discussed above) pertain to specific parts of the country, in France, the centralizing tendencies of governments since long before the Revolution have meant that binding decisions on formal language management are made in Paris for the whole of France. However, the decentralization measures highlighted above have had consequences in terms of legislation. On several occasions since the start of the 1980s, the regional authorities, based in the city of Ajaccio on the south-western coast of Corsica, have sought to engage in language management, often with strikingly radical ambition. As early as 1983, the Regional Assembly passed its first resolution to use systematically the Corsican language in signs for toponyms, as well as extend its use into aspects of public life (Marchetti, 1989, p. 209), but measures that challenged the primacy of French, such as the attempt to make Corsican co-official on the island with the national standard language, were struck down by either France's Constitutional Court, or the Council of State. Whilst actions by the regional authorities to increase the position and status of Corsican might have stalled, the management of other explicitly Corsican visual resources was less problematic. In 1987, the Assembly voted on an action which would change the

semiotic landscape of the island, by agreeing to the use of the Corsican flag on administrative buildings, as well as schools across the island. This vote, although not emplacing the Corsican language in the LL, emphasizes an expressly Corsican image in the public space (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010, p. 2). In 2009, the Assembly reinforced the role of the Corsican flag – a Moor's head in silhouette on a white background – by voting to use this icon on car registration plates, further managing the semiotic language of the island.

Where local language management has been more successful is with the series of development and training plans, and a specific strand within the plans, which pertains directly to the LL, has emerged, which has become the focus of a separate action plan in the form of the *Cartula di a lingua corsa* (the Charter for the Corsican Language). Although not legislation like the regional laws discussed above with regards to Sicily and Sardinia, the Charter for the Corsican Language stresses the significance of placing Corsican in the LL from the perspective of language revitalization. Signatories to the Charter are expected to engage in a series of commitments to Corsican, the first of which is the active contribution to the visibility of the regional language in the public space; the fourth pledge is to the consistent use of Corsican in the naming of places (including buildings) and cultural artefacts; the sixth and seventh undertakings are to use the regional language in the signatory's signage, and in paperwork (whilst respecting the need to provide a version in French at the same time). Given that the passing of language legislation is solely the privilege of France's government in Paris, this kind of low-level language management is far removed from the regional laws passed in Sicily and Sardinia, but the Assembly's resolutions, and innovations such as the Charter for the Corsican Language are important local language management strategies.

Whilst Ajaccio might be the administrative centre of the island, many Corsicans look to Corte, the 'capital' of independent Corsica, as the repository for the island's cultural identity, a status which blurs the boundary between centre and periphery, and does not follow the pattern noted elsewhere, such as Inari in Sámiland (Pietikäinen, 2013, p. 77) which is peripheral in terms of Finland, but central for Sámi. Pujolar (2013) highlights the potential for the countryside, in opposition to the city (invariably favoured for LL research), to flourish as a site for local language practices which differ from those in urban centres. Ajaccio as a city is positioned therefore in contradiction to rural Corsica.

Local understandings of what constitutes real Corsicanness seem to be influenced by a set of dual relationships such as bureaucratic versus

cultural (that is, ethnic) and urban versus rural. In this perspective, and due to the shift to French political hegemony via a substitution process, we would like to propose that split insularity characterizes Corsica. On the one hand, the experience of insularity has been moulded by the relationship with France and the awareness of peripherality. On the other hand, insularity as a constitutive aspect of local identity is rooted in ethnic constructions of the self. This might apply at the collective level, whilst the idea of nested insularity applies at the individual level. The French civic model of national belonging allows individual Corsicans to opt to comply with obligations set by the state without preventing them from relinquishing an ethnic core which has been consolidated and passed on for generations. As Pujolar (2013, p. 58) notes, 'linguistic minorities can also mobilize the countryside as a site where the national past is somehow still available, peripheral to the urban present, and often embodied in outdated cultural and economic lifestyles.' The challenge, therefore, of LL research which privileges the city-as-centre is to recognize that the presence of a regional language is diluted in an urban setting where alternative ideologies – in the case of Ajaccio, possibly replicating the pattern of Paris as France's ultimate centre – govern the appearance of the public space.

Corsican in the LL

Given the dominance of the written form of French in France, and in the light of the language management strategies outlined elsewhere in this book (and in Blackwood and Tufi, 2012), it is unsurprising that the data collection for this project confirms the dominance of French in the LL of Corsica. We recorded French on its own in 82 per cent of the signs (n = 7496), and with another language in a further 2.9 per cent of the entire corpus (n = 267). What is particularly notable, especially in comparison with the other regional languages and dialects examined in this book, is the visibility of the Corsican language. From the 20 survey sites in and around Ajaccio, Corsican appears on its own on 5.6 per cent of the signs in the corpus (n = 511) and with another language – usually French – in a further 0.8 per cent (n = 81). This phenomenon has been explored from different perspectives already (Blackwood, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2014), so here we seek to synthesize the conclusions already reached, and expand the scope of the analysis into Corsican as a linguistic and semiotic resource.

First, we explore the use of Corsican in spaces that Kallen (2010, p. 43) refers to as 'the civic frame', which are the various levels of government and authorities who manage public life. Having identified three civic frames for Corsica (Blackwood, 2014, p 64), namely local town councils,

the island-wide Territorial Authority, and the French state, investigating the use of Corsican by these forces highlights the fact that only one sign – Figure 4.7 – out of the corpus of 592 signs featuring Corsican was erected by the authorities (Blackwood, 2011, p. 127).

The scope for the questions of peripherality and the LL to feed into one another can be explored through the deployment of Corsican by the civic authorities. In part, the Territorial Authority was created as a response to the island's unique status as a part of metropolitan France yet separated from the mainland by a wide stretch of the sea.[3] The Territorial Authority has emerged as a major actor in the emplacement of Corsican into the public space, creating a specific discourse regarding the appropriateness of the regional language in the public space of the island. This confident use of a formerly heavily stigmatized language is

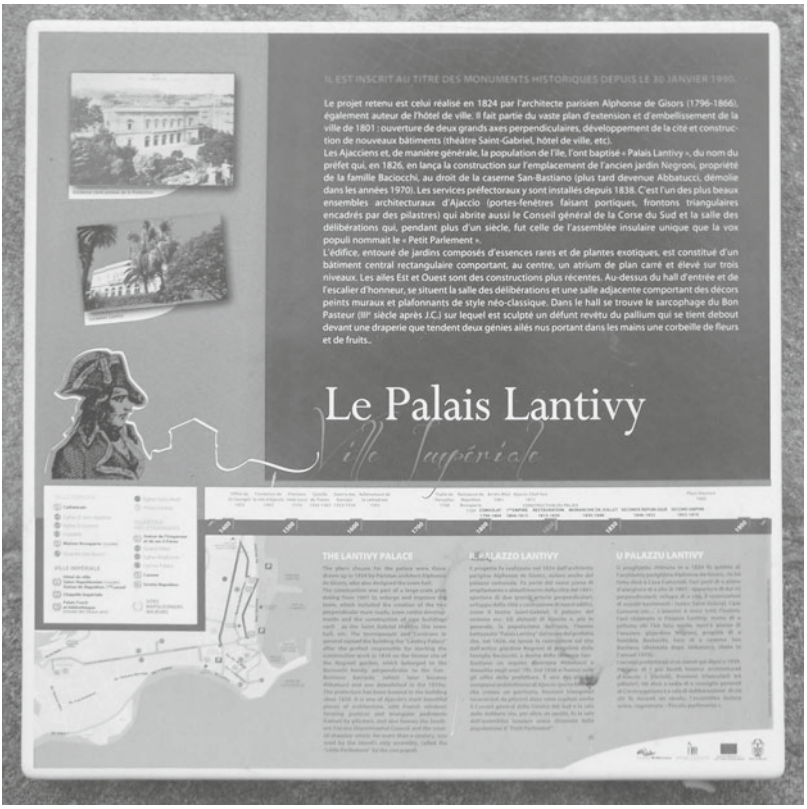

Figure 4.7 Multilingual sign featuring French, Corsican, and English

not replicated to the same extent elsewhere in France's Mediterranean, something we argue is in part as a consequence of the island's position on the fringe of the country as well as the self-reflective space created by centuries of insularity.

Examples of the emplacement of Corsican by the Territorial Authority, and by city councils abound, although their frequency does not match the extent to which French continues to be used in signage erected by public bodies. In 2009, the island-wide regional authorities invested in new rolling stock for the small Corsican train network. Inside the trains, and in their external decoration, significant use of the Corsican language was made, giving to the language a clear practical use (Figure 4.8). This deployment of Corsican for functional purposes is complemented in the artistic design of the exterior of the trains, where the destinations of the train (on its two routes on the island) are written in both French and Corsican. There is, therefore, a reinforcement of Corsican as a language of utility – in other words, its presence permits Corsican speakers to complete their daily lives using this language – and also as a language of cultural identity. The latter has long been affirmed in the island, and it is the former which is attested by the presence of Corsican in the LL, amongst other factors. This example of the use of Corsican as a linguistic resource is matched by other developments, including the electronic parking meters in Ajaccio and Bastia which inform the wider public that a car has exceeded its allotted time in a parking bay, all of which collectively point to a wider functional use[4] of the regional language not witnessed elsewhere in France as part of this Mediterranean project, and only really matched by Slovenian in the province of Trieste in the Italian cities investigated here. Even in Brittany, another outlying part of France, rolling stock features a flash of Breton – the regional language – in the naming of the train network, but no other information, including instructions, is provided in the regional language. The peripheral nature of Corsica, and the ways in which individuals and political parties have responded to this in terms of the organization of local government, have led to a much more widespread use of the regional language. At the same time, the insular nature of lived experience – the Corsican train only runs up and down the spine of the island, unlike trains in Brittany which venture into other regions of France – buttresses both the possibility and the feasibility for the emplacement of Corsican alongside French. The management of the public space in Corsica is being undertaken by the various levels of civic authorities in a way that retains the privileged dominant position of French, but finds a place for Corsican within its multilingual signage.

Figure 4.8 Instructions inside a train carriage

What is not the case is that, in the civic frame, French cedes the entire space within a sign to Corsican.

The acknowledgement of the use of a language other than French on the island is not uniform, and some actors elect not to have recourse to anything other than French in their signage. Figure 4.9 is the official sign, in the standardized format, font, and size, from the French Ministry of Culture and Communication, and which acts as a historical marker to commemorate a place significant to a famous person, in this case Pasquale Paoli, leader of the short-lived Corsican Republic. Immediately apparent is the institutional and national appropriation of a Corsican past, gallicized explicitly by the rendering of the Christian name in its French rather than its Corsican version: Pascal rather than Pasquale.

Although placed outside the ancestral home of the Corsican statesman, in his native village, the sign does not feature any Corsican at all. Its uniformity in terms of language choice mirrors the traditional ideology of the French state, with its preference for the French language and the exclusion of all other languages. Based on the original 2007 and the subsequent fieldtrips of 2010 and 2013, where the state is involved in marking the LL of Corsica, Corsican is rarely accorded a place. In

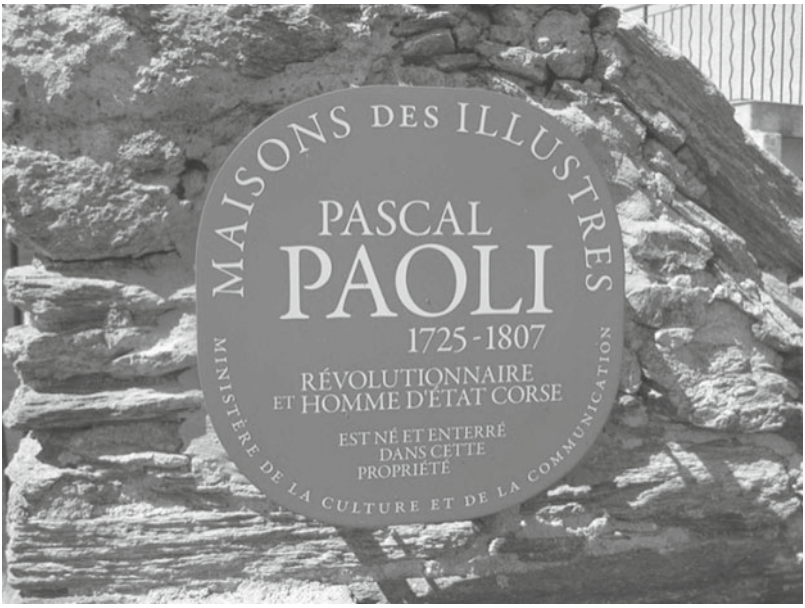

Figure 4.9 The plaque outside the home of Pascal Paoli

this sign, the peripheral location of Corsica is not acknowledged and the regional language does not appear. The scheme behind these signs, *Maisons des Illustres* (Homes of the Great and the Good), is administered from Paris by the designated Ministry whose responsibility extends from the capital to the far reaches of France, including not only Corsica but also the Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and the Polynesian island of Tahiti. In none of these cases is the peripheral location, combined with the linguistic diversity of the area, acknowledged in the language of the sign. In other words, whilst peripherality is, to a certain extent, a factor in the visibility of Corsican in the LL, the supremacy of French and the weight of tradition in terms of a national language ideology means that despite the distance of the island from the centre, Paris' language practices are replicated in spaces on the periphery, regardless of the insular nature of localized identities.

Other languages in the LL

The diversity of languages in the public space is much narrower on Corsica than in either Sardinia or Sicily, where 17 and 16 languages respectively were recorded. In the survey areas on Corsica, half of which

were in Ajaccio, the other half spread across neighbouring large villages, only eight languages other than French featured on the recorded signs: Chinese, Corsican, English, Italian, German, Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish. Strikingly absent from this list of languages visible in the public space are those used by the largest migrant communities. Géa et al., (2008, p. 21) conclude that there were approximately 11,000 North Africans, the majority of whom were Berber-speaking Moroccans, living in Corsica in 2008. With Corsica's population at 280,000 at that time, it is particularly conspicuous that the LL is not a place where North Africans choose to write in languages such as Arabic or Berber. In part, this invisibility brings into focus the position of Algerians, Moroccans, and Tunisians in the public space in Corsica, and especially the privileged centres of Ajaccio, such as the commercial streets around the *cours Napoléon*, the old city centre, and the tourist-oriented marina. The LL attests to a further process of peripheralization, whereby the languages of a group which live to a great extent in Corsica's two urban centres (INSEE, 2004, p. 11) do not express their ethnolinguistic identity in the Arabic or Berber in the public space. Beyond the absence of signs in these languages in the LL, the restrained multilingual nature of the public space is even more striking when the numbers of signs in some of these languages are enumerated. In a corpus of 9,123 signs, eight signs are recorded in Spanish, and two in each of Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese.

The extent to which Italian, German, and English are visible in public space is minimal, although notably more widespread than for Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, or Portuguese. We discuss the presence of English in these Mediterranean cities in Chapter 6, although some of the conclusions drawn there find their echo in the presence of Italian and German in the LL of Corsica. Of the sub-corpus of signs that feature German (n = 27), almost two thirds (63 per cent, n = 17) are labels where product details, including a camera, a toothbrush, and several German-language books, are given in German. Unlike the multilingual packaging we discuss in Marseille, these are monolingual labels but are not designed, we contend, to address a German-speaking market. Instead, these flashes of German are an example of the transnational flow of goods, where the products were originally packaged in German – in all probability for a German-speaking market – but which find themselves in shop windows in Corsica, testifying to the free movement of goods across the European Union. This phenomenon explains in part the presence of Spanish in Corsica, where six of the eight recorded signs are the Spanish-language manhole covers from the Spanish company Benito Urban. On the one

hand, these minimal ratings for languages in the LL remind us of the challenges to quantitative surveys, as discussed in Chapter 1. On the other, they point to the limited impact of banal globalization (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2011) on the LL of Corsica. This is, in part, the cost of the transporting of products to the island, underscoring its peripherality.

From the perspective of Italian in the LL of Corsica, the proximity – both geographically and spiritually – might well be expected to play a part in the construction of languages in the public space. According to INSEE (2012), France's national institute for statistics, 143,291 Italian tourists visited Corsica in 2011. Catering for these significant numbers has been reflected in the LL of Corsica. As discussed above, given the island's long-standing relationship with the Italian peninsula, and acknowledging its historic links to what might be described as an Italian cultural sphere of influence, it is unsurprising to find that, after English, Italian features more visibly in the LL of Corsica than any other non-territorial language. However, it is of note that there are relatively few examples of Italian in the areas surveyed (n = 55). Within the domain of commercial activity, a clothes shop on *rue Bonaparte* in Ajaccio is named in Italian, *Caffe Pacifico*, although with non-standard diacritic use, but the majority of signs coded as Italian featured on menus (n = 17), returning to the idea of the functional use of Italian to address visiting tourists. Another example is the appearance of Italian as one of three foreign-language instructions (in addition to English and German) on the screen of a cash machine on *Cours Paoli*, in Corte, north-east of Ajaccio. A significant proportion of the sub-corpus of signs featuring Italian (31 per cent, n = 19) is product labelling on products either made in or designed for an Italian market, which have – as a consequence of globalization – found themselves on sale on Corsica. The long history of the exchange of goods between the island and Italy (which, at their closest points, are separated by only 56 miles or 90 kilometres of the Ligurian Sea) might well lead us to believe that Corsica orbits the Italian economic market, in contradistinction to the island's marginal relationship with France. However, the relative paucity of products from the peninsula on sale on Corsica is notable. We contend that this counterbalances the notion of Corsica's peripherality in relation to France. Much closer geographically to Italy than to France, and with a longer history of trade with the peninsula, Corsica sits firmly within a French economic sphere of influence, which has clear impact on the extent to which the public space is multilingual. At the same time, the scarcity of signage in Italian challenges the argument put forward by Jaffe and Oliva (2013, p. 112) that positions Corsica in an Italian periphery.

Evidence of visitors to Corsica speaking Italian for ease of communication might well attest to the circulation of Italo-Romance languages on the island, but in its written form, Italian is largely absent from the public space, and so the extent to which the LL contributes to the understanding of Corsica's position within an Italian periphery is slight.

Insularity as a resource: the commodification of tradition

For the purposes of this chapter, and after drawing much attention to the vulnerabilities of the islands and to how they are central to discourses of disadvantage and exclusion, we would like to discuss instances of signs which point to insularity as a resource. We deliberately build on Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) because of the links with constructions of national identity and in order to highlight how deep-rooted mechanisms have been metabolized, adapted, and deployed in different understandings of regionalism on the three islands. While carrying out the LL surveys, it was evident that Corsican is also in circulation as a commodity, especially within flows of consumption of local produce. Of the corpus of signs in Corsican (n = 592), 54 per cent appear as a consequence of the use of Corsican by small- and medium-sized businesses in their shop fronts, signage, trademarks, and product labelling. Although Corsicans are not exempt from the Toubon law (discussed in Chapter 1), which requires the use of French in commercial exchanges, there is a clear tendency amongst local businesses to use the regional language in ways not replicated to the same extent in places such as Northern Catalonia, Marseille, or Nice. This trend includes the practice of small- and medium-sized firms to name themselves using a Corsican term, be that a place name, a proper name, or a Corsican cultural artefact (such as a geographic feature, a historical artefact, a traditional dish, or a local phenomenon – see also the Introduction to this book). In some ways, this echoes Fishman's concept (1991, pp. 20–4) of the linkages between languages and ethnocultures, where he notes that a language can be lexically 'most appropriate' for the associated culture. In other words, the essence of being Corsican is symbolically linked to the use of Corsican in labelling. Developing this idea, Heller (2003) contends that language indexes identity, but it can also act as a guarantee of authenticity commodification, and this use of Corsican in products serves as certification of the Corsicanness of the articles. This trend does not find its echo in, for example, Northern Catalonia or Nice. We argue that this is in part as a consequence of insular market flows which are themselves a result of the peripheral nature

of Corsica. Elsewhere (Blackwood, forthcoming), we examine in detail the use of Corsican by the island's drinks industry, and for the purposes of this chapter, it is significant to examine more closely branded merchandizing associated with consumables produced in Corsica.

Of the sub-corpus of 551 signs solely in Corsican, 13 per cent (n = 67) are the parasols distributed by *Pietra*, meaning that the brewer contributes to a significant proportion of the signage in the regional language in the public space. What is conspicuous in these parasols is the design of the logo for the beer's brand name. Whereas the official trademark for the brewery includes, at the top, the word for brewery in French – *brasserie* – the artistic interpretation for the parasols reconfigures the standard motif for *Pietra*, and places the Corsican-language slogan '*Biera corsa*' (Corsican beer) at the top of the sign. In redesigning the generic *Pietra* label, the brewers make two significant changes. First, the hierarchy of languages, following Scollon and Scollon's code preference (2003), is reversed, with the French-language term taken from its upper, prestigious position, and placed below the main part of the sign, therefore actively relegating the caption. Second, in the artistic reinterpretation of the *Pietra* label for the parasols distributed to cafés across the island, the bottom part of the motif is cut off, thereby completely erasing French from the sign. There are artisanal beers to be found in the other French survey areas, such as *Cap d'Ona* in Northern Catalonia, or *Treize* in Marseille, and whilst the former does use Catalan in its labelling, no merchandizing appeared in the survey areas or, more strikingly, was observed at all in Perpignan or Marseille. What the data collection on Corsica attests is the discourse of commodification as a clear marker of local authenticity which is in part, we argue, predicated on the peripheral nature of the island and the insular nature of the market, whereby some (but not all) goods circulate within the island, and are most keenly localized by (potential) consumers who recognize this authenticity. Value is added to produce through the regional language which indexes culturally valuable attributes including proximity, local products (including water and chestnuts), and self-sufficiency, all of which are conveyed through semiotic resources on product labelling which include – as seen on the parasols on café terraces – the regional language.

In Palermo, language as a commodity is exploited both for touristic reasons and to highlight locality as an inherent feature of authenticity and quality. Figure 4.10 is an example of the former and capitalizes on the tradition of local multilingualism.

During the golden age of Palermo, different languages were represented in the city. The street sign in Figure 4.10 was placed in what used

Figure 4.10 Trilingual sign in Via Calderai, Palermo

to be the Jewish quarter of Palermo. The brown colour of the sign identifies this site as one of tourist interest. The street is located right in the historic centre of the city and is part of an area where objects of domestic use such as large metal pots (or cauldrons: *calderai* means 'makers of cauldrons') were produced by the local Jewish artisans. The street is lined with shops selling metal implements to this day, even though it is likely that the items are mass produced. However, the sign gives an idea of the multilingual and multicultural composition of Palermo in medieval times and therefore of the linguistic influences that can be reconstructed analysing the lexis of local varieties. Of course, Italian had not been codified then, and the presence of Hebrew on the sign is purely documentary in so far as at the time Sicilian Jews used Hebrew only for religious purposes and were likely to speak a form of Arabic interspersed with Sicilian words (Rocco, 1995). The average tourist, however, will be intrigued by the exotic scripts. These in turn contribute to the construction of a mysterious past for what is already perceived to be a mysterious and arcane culture in the collective imagination. The clever manipulation of existing understandings of Sicily is generated

by current practices of island branding so that the link between the visitor's expectation (the demand) and a certain construction of the past-cum-present (the supply) is established.

In addition to the portions of the LL already discussed, Sicilian also featured on signs indexing eating establishments, such as those represented in Figures 4.11 and 4.12, therefore capitalizing on the value-added dimension of locality.

Figure 4.11 appeared above the entrance of an establishment selling a very traditional Palermitan snack/meal: bread and spleen (*pani ca' meusa*). The sign is entirely in Sicilian 'come in and you'll get an appetite', 'at uncle Giovanni's', 'bread and spleen', except for the information about delivery on the bottom right-hand side, which is in Italian. The association traditional food-traditional language, however, is not an imperative in similar contexts (Bagna and Machetti, 2012). Signs such as Figure 4.12 advertising contemporary, pub-like establishments which are likely to attract a young clientele can also rely on the use of Sicilian to conjure up an environment which is young, trendy, and cosmopolitan, but where special attention is nevertheless given to the quality of the food, which is presented as 'real typical Sicilian' (*Il vero tipico siciliano*). *'A rarigghia 'nne Tony*, 'Tony's grill' is, admittedly, supported by the drawing of an actual grill with food cooking on it, thus aiding decoding processes for the non-dialect speaker. However, both the remaining text (in Italian) and other semiotic devices point to a clientele accustomed to fast food, to neologisms such as *drinkeria*, 'drinking place', formed by an English root *drink-* and an Italian suffix *-(e)ria*

Figure 4.11 Sign advertising bread and spleen

Figure 4.12 Tony's grill

usually indicating a type of shop/service, and with a taste for international cuisine (image of a kebab). In this case, the element of tradition carried by the use of Sicilian is identified as a suitable component of a cosmopolitan repertoire.

As for Sardinian, the sign in Figure 4.13 was located outside a pizzeria called *Su nuraghe* in Selargius.

The first five lines of the text are in Sardinian: *Se sa pudda de 'su nuraghe' bolisi agattai e pappai piga su telefunu po da prenotai!!!* (If you want to eat 'Su nuraghe''s hen pick up the phone to reserve it). The rest of the text is in Italian *Diego e Miranda ringraziano per la gentile collaborazione* (Diego and Miranda thank you for your kind collaboration). The (irregular) hand-writing on a mobile board, together with the signature reporting the owners' first names, point to the informality of the small, family-run business. The public is addressed in Sardinian with rhyming lines and in a joking manner, perhaps showing off the author's linguistic confidence and in keeping with the name of the establishment, *Su nuraghe*. The *nuraghe* is a stone tower and part of archaeological evidence dating back to the Bronze Age in a number of Sardinian sites (Lo Schiavo, 2004). As a symbol of Sardinian ancient history and culture, references to the *nuraghe* are scattered around the island and the fact that, as in this instance, it is used to name a restaurant is not infrequent. The chosen name therefore establishes a strong link with the territory, its traditions, its community, and its language. This is part of the presentation, however, and the marketing message is judiciously bilingual – just in case passers-by and potential customers are alienated by the unfamiliar language, a gloss in Italian reminds them that in the

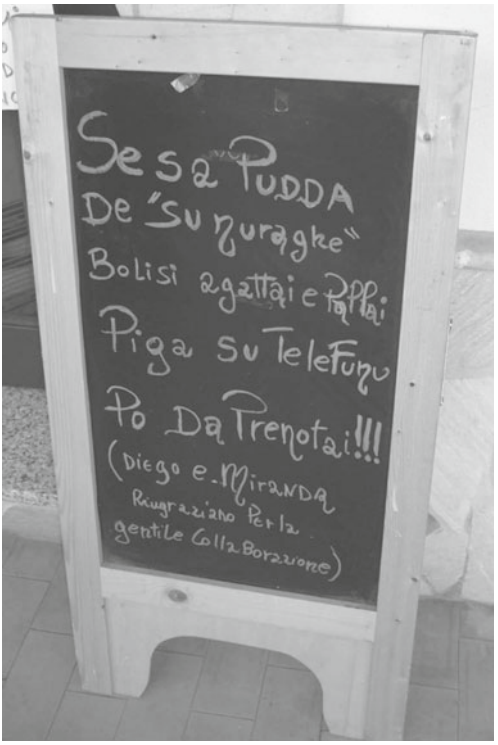

Figure 4.13 Sign outside a restaurant in Selargius (Sardinian/Italian)

restaurant Italian is spoken (and written), too. The style switches from informal to formal and in fact the Italian sentence is a typical impersonal formula which is characteristic of higher registers. We cannot exclude that the Italian sentence is used ironically, however, and the use of the word 'collaboration' might allude to the type of linguistic collaboration (or accommodation) which allows mutual comprehension and re-enforces existing ties.

Conclusions

The spatial finitude and the exposedness of islands generate and nourish discourses of vulnerability and disadvantage of the insular condition. This contrasts with external perceptions of wilderness so that the history of the three islands is punctuated with outside attempts to establish an order to the inherent chaos and rebelliousness. Episodes of

conflict and violence have characterized the three islands as contended territories, and they have usually coincided with internal attempts to assert difference. The physical characteristics of the islands and the inhospitability of part of their landscape have allowed islanders to seek sanctuary in the more internal areas at difficult times, therefore creating a privileged relationship with the territory and the spatialization of core islandness. We contend that this process has been replicated at different levels and that linguistic and semiotic landscapes in the three islands construct gradients of split insularity and nested insularity.

Understandings of peripherality are the result of the creation of centres of power and modalities of regionalism as they have been implemented in the three islands in recent times and encapsulate elements of tension and contradictions deriving from different models. Thus the awareness of economic dependence and infrastructural weakness (officially sanctioned by Art.158 of the EC Treaty which referred to the backwardness of islands) has coexisted with desires for autonomy or independence based on the acknowledgement of insular difference and identity. In part, the peripheral position of Corsica explains the greater use of the regional language in the public space. However, it must also be acknowledged that Perpignan, and Northern Catalonia more widely, are peripheral spaces in France, as is – although possibly to a lesser extent – the city of Nice (see Chapter 2). The Mediterranean coastline is, to varying degrees, a peripheral space in France, separated by considerable distance from the unchallenged centre of Paris. Geographic distance and transport connections are two measures by which the Mediterranean can be viewed as marginalized. Where a sense of peripherality is less plausible is when we consider Marseille, although the complex relationship between this major French city and France as an entity is explored more fully in Chapter 5. In other words, peripherality is not necessarily a prime reason for the use of Corsican in the island's LL, given the comparable positions of Nice and, even more so, Northern Catalonia. As such, we venture that the combination of peripherality with a long-standing tradition of (partly enforced) insularity explains the extent to which the Corsican language is visible in the LL.

The signs featuring Sardinian point to language practices that are embedded in political discourse, that are historically situated, and that are engaged in the 'everyday' production of meaning. Insofar as they are emplaced and mediated (Scollon and Scollon, 2003), they represent distinct genres that narrate the many interconnections between language and local identity. However, the paucity of signs featuring Sardinian reflects a reluctance to embrace the recent rediscovery of

dialects and minority culture as displayed by the economically more peripheral regions of Italy, such as Sardinia. In addition, over 10 years of institutional bilingualism sanctioned by the regional law 26/1997 and by national legislation on minority languages do not seem to have encouraged any remarkable traces in the local LL. Even official uses of Sardinian were sporadic in the LL of Cagliari and its metropolitan area.

Sardinian is therefore a strong component of ethnic identity, but not a core value to be maintained via intergenerational transmission, as Oppo's 2007 survey clearly showed. In comparison with Sicily, it seems that different dynamics and historical processes in the two islands have produced similar outcomes in terms of discourses on language and identity. In Sicily an early separation between linguistic and ethnic identity had consolidated itself by the nineteenth century, but this did not make the political argument of a Sicilian ethnic group any weaker. In Sardinia, on the contrary, the language question became increasingly central to the regional political agenda over the course of the twentieth century and beyond, and it served to articulate a local discourse of political emancipation and freedom from the models imposed by distant centres of power. Significant achievements in terms of recognition of cultural and linguistic specificity, however, arrived at a time when language practices had already started to shift in favour of Italian. The separation between linguistic and ethnic identity is currently in progress and available data on language use in Sardinia highlight the tensions experienced by language agents caught between the awareness that responsibility for the maintenance of Sardinian rests primarily with them, and the perception that local language maintenance can cause further socio-economic marginalization. As a result of the many tensions characterizing current constructions of insularity, however, we have identified in the LL novel attempts to capitalize on tradition in modes which exploit globalized flows of people and goods. It is not to be excluded that this phenomenon might constitute a push towards forms of local language maintenance.

5
Social Representations of Marseilles and Naples' Linguistic Landscapes

Introduction

The comparing of cities in LL research has been undertaken since Cenoz and Gorter contrasted San Sebastian and Leeuwarden in the 2006 landmark edited volume on multilingualism in the LL, and this approach has proved fruitful for highlighting trends in the management of the public space.[1] Here, we pair two Mediterranean cities with the intention of evaluating the potential for the LL to play a part in the social representations of Marseilles and Naples. We approach the LL of these ancient places with a view to assessing the extent to which written language use in urban centres echoes the social representations constructed around each city. We take this opportunity to differentiate further between the creation of LL in France and Italy, whilst exploring the scope for the LL to serve as a prism through which social representations can be examined critically. This chapter opens with a brief presentation of social representations of Marseilles and Naples, and then uses LL data to investigate whether the public space as lived and experienced by both cities' residents and visitors confirms the discourses that circulate in wider society regarding language behaviour.

In this chapter, as well as providing a brief overview of social representation theory, we outline representations of the two cities. We then discuss the LL data collected in the two cities, first from the perspective of the associated regional languages and dialects, and then by highlighting languages of migrant communities. For the purposes of this exploration, which simultaneously tests the potential for LL to serve as yardsticks by which to measure social representations, as well as comparing the ways in which the LL of the public space in both cities has been constructed, we contend that Marseilles and Naples share

a number of similarities which constitute their essence in the collective imagination.[2] Both cities are identified and portrayed in social representations as having a very distinctive culture (and primarily a vibrant popular culture) which defines them as Mediterranean archetypes and defies attempts at national appropriation. In a host of representational practices which include film, theatre, song, and literature, and visually captured in an aesthetic of the picturesque, Marseilles and Naples are autonomous microcosms before they can be classified as French and Italian respectively. From the football obsession to the song tradition, from the ideal climate to the endemic chaos, lawlessness, and rebellion, narratives of both cities construct them as physical and psychological borderlands, visceral and obscure spaces inhabited by inherently Mediterranean types – hot-blooded, passionate, and violent. The two iconic urban areas therefore have been conceptualized and universalized as metaphorical spaces. By outsiders, linguistic attitudes and opinions inevitably converge to connote the two geographic and human realities: lazy, untrustworthy, and unreliable (and regularly parodied) are all who sound Marseillais or Neapolitan.

Social representation theory: frameworks and applications

Social representation theory has particular currency in psychology and sociology, but sociolinguists have become aware of the possibilities it offers which permit the examination of various aspects of linguistic behaviour. Social representation was initially developed by Moscovici and has been reappraised and nuanced since then by psychologists, including Moscovici himself (Moscovici, 1984). Augoustinos et al.(2006, p. 36) summarize the theory as privileging 'the primacy of social concepts such as culture and ideology in social psychology', whereby commonly held theories, ideas, and knowledge are taken to represent a group, be it a social class, a particular profession, or the residents of a city. Similarly, Philogène and Deaux (2001, p. 4) understand social representations to be 'built on shared knowledge and understanding of common reality', which extends not only to intangible heritage such as proverbs, legends, and traditions, but also to images and cultural representations.

Social representation theory is used to explain and to analyse the social phenomena of groups, from the symbols they adopt (such as flags or images to represent themselves) to myths and songs (including national anthems and football chants). Moscovici (2001, p. 19) argues that 'their significance transcends the individual, but certainly not

because of their resemblance to the object they refer to, nor because of a physical link, but simply by virtue of a tradition or convention'. In sociolinguistics, where the symbiotic relationship between language and society is under investigation, social representations propose a specific discourse, against which various aspects of language and its use can be measured. From the perspective of the LL, it is not difficult to see the potential offered by social representations when seeking to understand better the dynamics of multilingualism. This possibility is particularly fruitful when we compare cities such as Marseilles and Naples, given the cities' well known social representations, fashioned and created by both self-perception and an external gaze. In order to contextualize the findings of the fieldwork in Marseilles and Naples, we suggest a broad social representation of both cities.

Marseilles has also long been also known as the Phocæan city and this soubriquet is itself interesting, since it refers back to the founding of what was then known as Massilia by the Greeks of Phocæa in 600 BC. In stressing its ancient roots, the city is understood in terms of its heritage, whereby Marseilles has welcomed, with varying levels of warmth, groups of incomers, conquerors, and immigrants throughout its two-and-a-half millennia history, starting with the Ionians from Asia Minor (Dell'Umbria, 2006). Given its strategic importance on the Mediterranean, Marseilles has been coveted by various seafaring powers, and identified as a suitable destination for those who have settled there, including Greeks, Italians, Armenians and, most recently, migrants from France's former empire (namely those from Indochina, the Indian subcontinent, North Africa, and Comoros). This representation of Marseilles as a city with not only a considerable history, but one characterized by its outward-facing nature, nourishes one of Marseilles' defining characteristics, namely its multilingualism. Temime (2005, p. 8) comments that Marseilles is 'one of those rare cities in the Mediterranean where one can still talk about "cosmopolitanism"',[3] and it is uncontroversial to assert that the city is represented in many media as a focal point for different nationalities, ethnicities, races, and religions. Despite their scepticism as to the extent that those arriving live out their lives as discrete groups in Marseilles, Peraldi and Samson (2005, p. 265), point to parts of the city where nationalities have traditionally clustered, including Italians in the *Belle de Mai* district, Comorians in *parc Kallisté*, and Armenians along the *boulevard des Grands-Pins*. Gasquet-Cyrus (2004, pp. 110–11) describes Marseilles as a 'sublimated Babel' and he notes how general public discourse on the city's cosmopolitanism 'have emphasised the positive aspects of

plurilingualism'. Blanchet (1992, pp. 71–82) notes that as recently as the second half of the nineteenth century, French was 'felt to be some sort of a "foreign" language even in Marseilles', and yet by the twenty-first century, and certainly according to the data gathered for this project, the city has become resolutely francophone. According to Gasquet-Cyrus (2004, p. 112), in this new millennium, the status of French as 'the unique vehicular language is not problematical'. This understanding of French as the sole common language of Marseilles is something we explore using the city's LL.

Social representations are not synonymous with literary representations, although social representations of Marseilles on film contribute to a generally accepted portrait of the city as multilingual. Although the commercially successful *Taxi* series does not suggest that Marseilles is anything other than monolingual (even going so far as to dub Sylvester Stallone into French in the 2003 film *Taxi 3*), multilingualism is a device employed in films such as *Bye-Bye* (1995), *Comme un aimant* (2000), and *Samia* (2000). It is worth considering that whilst French might dominate in cinematic representations of Marseilles, the variety of the language used is rarely the national standard taught in the Republic's schools. The use of non-standard French, contrasted in certain circumstances with *le bon français*, is particularly prevalent in the body of films set in Marseilles, dating back to the films of Pagnol and including contemporary works by Guédiguian which tend to concentrate, although not exclusively, on the city's ethnically white working class. This oral multilingualism on screen reinforces the portrayal of Marseilles as a city where languages other than French can be heard, and one of the issues that this chapter seeks to discuss is the extent to which this spoken use of languages extends to writing practices.

The origins of Naples are steeped in myth and associated with the tragic destiny of the siren Parthenope.[4] It seems that Greek colonizers founded the city between the seventh and the sixth centuries BC and named it after Parthenope, where it was believed that the remains of the siren lay (Voltaggio, 2010). Naples (*Napoli* in Italian) owes its name to Neapolis (Classical Greek) or new city, with which the newly developed area of Parthenope came to be identified from the sixth century BC. The history of Naples therefore spans almost three millennia and its urban development reflects that of its origins. A pole of attraction for subsequent waves of migrants, it grew in importance after becoming the capital of the Kingdom of Naples in the thirteenth century and until Italian unification. In more recent times it has gradually developed as a conurbation and is now the largest city in southern Italy and the third

most populous Italian city (with one million inhabitants) after Rome and Milan. The continuity with its foundation myth has been ensured by the literary, cinematic, theatrical, and song topoi of the Neapolitan soul torn between the nostalgia for a distant past and the necessary courage to deal with the present.

A great number of different peoples have made Naples their home over the centuries: from Italic groups such as Osci, Samnites, and Etruscans to Greeks in ancient times; from Longobards and Slavs to Normans and Catalans in the Middle Ages; and from the Spanish, the Austrians, and the French to the final annexation to the Kingdom of Italy (1860) in modern times (De Blasi, 2003). Naples has therefore acted as a site of encounter of different individual and group traditions, histories, and cultures.

As a multilingual and multicultural centre, after the establishment of the Kingdom of Naples, the city attracted people from other parts of the kingdom whilst accentuating its differences with other regional provinces. Even though Naples was a royal capital for six centuries, Neapolitan was not the language of the court, where French, Catalan, or Castilian governed together with the respective rulers and from where sixteenth-century Italian gradually became established as the language of the educated (De Blasi, 2006a). However, a continued literary tradition in Neapolitan starting from the fourteenth century has guaranteed a high degree of prestige attached to local cultural production in its various forms, and familiarity with this tradition and with the language that expresses it on the part of Italians. From the late nineteenth century, art forms that could rely on oral/visual – and therefore wider – dissemination such as song, theatre, and film would reach national audiences, and this phenomenon would be emphasized by the introduction of television broadcasts.[5]

As one of the Italian capitals of cinema from its inception (Brunetta, 2003), Naples has hosted film companies and studios, provided the setting for numberless productions, and inevitably immortalized certain Neapolitan types, who are consistently characterized by the regular use of the local dialect. Even in recent films such as the 2003 *Benvenuti al Sud* (Welcome to the south) which, in a light-hearted manner, attempts to deconstruct stereotypical representations of *napolenità* (Neapolitanness), a dinner party is transformed into a Neapolitan lesson for the northern protagonist who has to spend some time working in a small town in the Neapolitan province. The essentialization of Neapolitan is in fact the result of a widely-held perception that simplifies rather complex language practices and attitudes, a point to which we return below.

Pictorial and textual narratives that date back to the Grand Tour caused stereotypical representations of the Italian south to be already deep-rooted by the time visual culture developed into highly sophisticated forms in the twentieth century. These representations fall within more widely encompassing constructions of the Mediterranean and of the south of the world in western-centric discourses. Bertellini (2009) highlights that in early American cinema representations of the stereotype about a wild southern Italian landscape dominated by volcanoes transferred to a southern Italian type which was characterized by a volcanic temperament that was impossible to restrain. This established a connection between the representation of geographical space and the representation of a space's people, thereby producing an aesthetic of the picturesque. The visual arrangement of places as a form of representation, therefore, has given rise to a system of meaning (Bertellini, 2009, p. 2). The reduction of a space's people to a set of defining characteristics is also traceable in those representations of Naples and Neapolitans that seem to revolve around administrative chaos and crime, both petty and organized, as in the Camorra. In the 2008 film *Gomorra* (Gomorrah) the helplessness and isolation felt by, and the fear instilled in, the victims of the criminal organization Camorra, as well as the criminal acts themselves, are narrated through the use of space which is often enclosed, subterranean, and dark, and the site of violence. In some scenes, the aesthetic of the picturesque degenerates into the aesthetic of the grotesque, where by grotesque we intend both anthropological conceptualizations of alterity and literary realizations of tragicomedy. As a matter of fact, representations of aspects of the Neapolitan universe include the ridiculous and the grotesque because of traits that are constructed to be excessive, repulsive, melodramatic, and pathetic. The use of Neapolitan is an integral part of this type of construction.

Representational practices as described above and their long-term exposure to non-local audiences have contributed to the exoticization of Neapolitan culture and language, which is a result of de-contextualization and often reduces reality to stereotypes (Fabietti, 2006). These stereotypes of alterity are constructed by hegemonic and ethnocentric discourses that presuppose pre-digested forms of reality as understood and categorized by the representing subject (Foucault, 1969).[6] It could be argued that Naples and Neapolitan as the representation of the south in its dimension of negative alterity and of subalternity/inferiority has been described in post-colonial terms.

The liminality of the Neapolitan space as a place in-between, in constant flux between life and death, beauty and ugliness, paradise and

hell, and inhabited by shifty characters has been a widely-held view for centuries, as highlighted by eminent intellectuals such as Croce in his reconstruction of the much-used saying that *Napoli è un paradiso abitato da diavoli* (Naples is a paradise inhabited by devils) (Croce, 2006).

The surveys

Marseilles is divided administratively into 16 *arrondissements* or districts, and, for the purposes of this chapter, the 10 most central districts were selected, in each of which two streets were surveyed. From the 20 sites, a total number of 9,909 signs were recorded. Signs were attested in 13 different languages: French, Arabic, Chinese, Danish, English, Dutch, Italian, German, Spanish, Swedish, Japanese, Hebrew, and Latin. In addition to the relatively limited range of languages on display in the public spaces of Marseilles, French unquestionably dominates the city's LL: 82 per cent (n = 8,087) of all the signs recorded across the 20 sites in Marseilles were in French alone. A further 5 per cent (n = 503) featured French plus one or more languages. Despite the social representation of Marseilles as a multilingual, or cosmopolitan city, in the writings on the wall, the Phocæan city is overwhelmingly francophone in its written practices.

Naples is currently divided into 10 municipalities, but there are about 30 *quartieri* or districts in the city and people still refer to the different areas by their original names. Fifteen of the *quartieri* were surveyed and 12,724 signs recorded. Signs featuring Italian, either on its own (69 per cent, n = 8,798) or together with one or more other languages (14 per cent, n = 1,906) make the national language the most visible linguistic resource in the Neapolitan LL. In addition to Italian, 22 languages featured on the recorded signs: Arabic, Bulgarian, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Neapolitan, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Ukrainian, and Wolof.

For the remainder of this chapter, rather than focusing on the presence of French in Marseilles and Italian in Naples, we will explore the spaces in which other languages mark the walls and windows of these Mediterranean cities as part of the exploration of social representations. We will focus on two particular aspects of the Marseillais and Neapolitan LL: the role of the regional language or dialect in the material and symbolic construction of the public space, and that of the languages brought by migrant groups in recent times. For the non-territorial languages, our aim is to investigate the extent to which these

new language agents and their idioms are accommodated in the existing exoticizing discourses on Marseilles and Naples.

Provençal/Occitan in the LL

From the perspective of regional languages, Marseilles falls within the historic region of Provence, and is identified with Provençal, which can be considered as either a language in its own right or a variety of Occitan, spoken across southern France. The nature and status of Provençal has been the focus of considerable debate in recent scholarship and the perspective that Occitan is a significant regional language of France, of which Provençal is one variety, has been articulated by high-profile commentators and various institutions. These include Bernard Cerquiglini (1999), who was commissioned by the French government to identify regional and minority languages in France to which the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages would apply, and the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (see Blanchet, 2004, pp. 130–1 for a discussion of what he calls the 'Occitanist position'). At the same time, others – including the association *Collectif Prouvènço* – argue that Provençal is a distinct, autonomous language, and not a 'dialect' of Occitan (Costa, 2012, p. 83).The dominant position, however, is that there is one regional language spoken across southern France, namely Occitan, of which Provençal is but one variety.

In evaluating the presence of the regional language in Marseilles, it should be acknowledged that the sociolinguistic situation in Provence is ideologically freighted in ways not echoed elsewhere in metropolitan France. Conflict has characterized the language associations and movements associated with southern France, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, with the founding of the *Félibrige*, a revival movement and literary association, dominated by the poet Frédéric Mistral during its early days. It is not the intention of this book to engage with the debates surrounding the process of standardization (including the selection of a specific variety, and its codification). Nevertheless, in order to understand the visibility of Marseilles' regional language in the LL, it is helpful to outline the developments that have led to the current situation in Marseilles. Martel (2012, p. 23) traces the earliest phase of the revival movement, starting with the identification by Mistral of four major dialects of the Provençal language, of which the variety referred to as Marseillais was deemed 'hard'. This negative summary belies Martel's assessment (2012, p. 24) that in terms of written outputs, Marseilles and its variety dominated in the second half of the nineteenth century. Mistral preferred Rhodanien (his own variety), spoken around Avignon,

and through force of personality, writings, and politics, Rhodanien emerged as the dominant variety within the revival movement.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the centre of the language movement had shifted ideologically and politically, and from the French Resistance emerged the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* (the Institute for Occitan Studies)[7] which has preferred the term 'Occitan' for the language. Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus (2014, pp. 216–17) summarize the debate over the naming of the regional language thus:

> Before the Félibrige, the language of southern France was generally called 'patois', but previous names such as 'Provençal' and 'langue romane' lingered on. Mistral and his successors adopted the term 'Langue d'Oc', while the Occitan movement drew on a medieval term used in northern French royal charters, 'Occitan'. Both names are currently still in use, and they refer to exactly the same language and the same language area (although the territory in which the language is used is called either the 'Midi' or 'Occitania'). They reflect, however, internal ideological conflicts linked to political options and historical allegiances.

Questions of orthography have come to characterize many post-war discussions around the language, although Judge (2007, p. 110) highlights a notable rapprochement between the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* and the *Félibrige* in 1999, where an agreement was signed to permit the teaching of both Occitan and Provençal orthographies in the classroom in the education authorities of Aix-en-Provence (which includes Marseilles) and Nice.

The debate surrounding the regional language ascribed to Marseilles is coloured in part by the question of territoriality. Marseilles is located in what is broadly understood to be Provence, which for some – such as the *Collectif Provènço* – means that Occitan is illegitimate as the city's regional language (Costa and Gasquet-Cyrus, 2014, p. 219). Sibille (2000, pp. 35–7) argues that Provençal is a rural language of Provence, rather than an urban variety, and of its 250 000 regular speakers, only 5 per cent are found in Marseilles (see also Blanchet, 2004, p. 139). Gasquet-Cyrus (2004, p. 114), outlines the paradoxical relationship between the city and Occitan, whereby speakers reject Occitan as a name on the grounds that it is 'strange and scientific', and concludes that Occitan language activism boasts few engaged participants. Elsewhere (2013, p. 11), he rehearses the popular wisdom (and therefore another example of social representation) that Marseilles is 'the

least Provençal town in Provence'. Dell'Umbria (2006, p. 454) notes that language practices amongst the wider population in the city in the nineteenth century were far removed from the norm preferred by élites, both in Marseilles and in Paris, including lexis and grammatical markers drawn from Occitan.

In the light of this contextualization of the regional language identified with Marseilles, it is perhaps unsurprising that no signs in Provençal/Occitan were recorded in the 20 survey sites across the 10 central *arrondissements* of the city. This is not to say, however, that there were no examples of the language recorded anywhere in the city, and below we have two mini-case-studies featuring Occitan (according to the authors of the signs, who identify the language they use as Occitan, rather than Provençal). This need to step beyond the parameters of the data collection highlights one of the drawbacks of our approach to LL research with its fixed survey areas – in order to discuss the regional language as it appears in the public space, it is necessary to seek out examples. This issue exemplifies the question discussed in Chapter 1 regarding the methodology for LL research of this nature.

The first mini case-study focuses on the Occitan Cultural Centre on the *rue des Trois Mages* in the *1e arrondissement* in the centre of the city. The centre, known as the *Ostau dau país marselhés,* occupied until 2014 premises on the corner of the *rue des Trois Mages*, and Gasquet-Cyrus (2004, p. 115) regarded its presence as an aspect of 'the increasing symbolic visibility' of Occitan language activism.

The cultural centre offers conversation classes (in Occitan, as well as Réunionais creole), film screenings, cultural events, and concerts, as well as housing a library. The window displays include several bilingual posters in Occitan and French (as well as one in Réunionais creole, for the classes in that language) advertising the language classes and forthcoming events. In terms of its LL, the majority of the posters are bilingual, and place Occitan above French, confirming an implicit hierarchy for the languages. The sign above the premises is only in Occitan, as are the permanent details at the top of the blackboard next to the door (Figure 5.1). The blackboard next to the door is used for updates and notices written in chalk and erased when no longer pertinent. When we visited the cultural centre, on this blackboard, notification was given in French – and only in French – that the association's annual general meeting was to be held shortly.

Although the permanent LL of the association stresses the importance of Occitan (such as in the name of the building, or in the permanent descriptions of what the association does), it appears that French is used

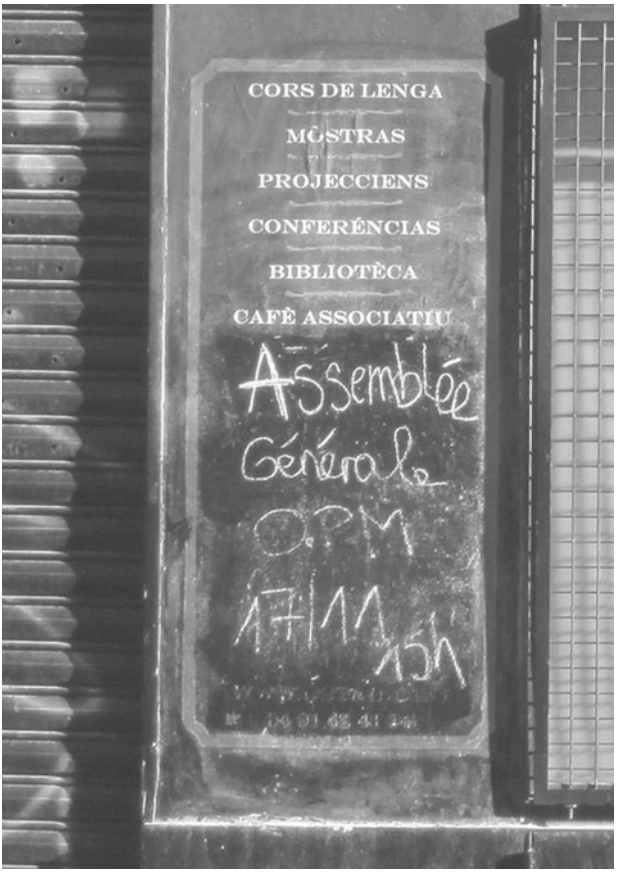

Figure 5.1 The blackboard outside the Occitan Cultural Centre

for immediate communications, with no translation offered in Occitan. As attested elsewhere as part of this study into the LL of Mediterranean cities, the use of regional languages is indexical, whereas French performs the transactional function. That this is the case at the *Ostau dau país marselhés* is all the more striking since the cultural centre seeks to promote and extend the use of Occitan in southern France, but itself chooses to rely on French in order to communicate with its audience. To consider this further, we return to the three sign rules proposed by Spolsky and Cooper (1991) in the light of their examination of Jerusalem. We cannot know the motivations of the person who wrote

in chalk on the cultural centre's blackboard, but we argue that they were conforming to the Sign Rule 2, whereby a sign is written in the language 'that intended readers are assumed to read' (Spolsky and Cooper, 1991, p. 83). In seeking to speak to the widest of communities amongst those interested in the centre's activities, the Occitan Cultural Centre writes in French on its blackboard, on the basis that the majority of the public passing along the *rue des Trois Mages* speaks French.

The absence of Occitan beyond the premises of the association is striking, although it is worthy of note that the civic authorities, in the only concession to the regional language recorded as part of this survey, erected a street sign in Occitan on the corner of the street beside the Occitan Cultural Centre. Whereas all the other street names in the city appear in French, and French alone, the street sign fixed to the building – in the style and form used by the civic authorities – reads *Carriera dei Tres Matges* in Occitan, rather than *rue des Trois Mages* in French, as observed along the rest of the street. The authorship of this sign is unknown, although we assume that – given its size, design, colours and font – it was produced by the City Council.

The appearance of the regional language in the civic frame of Marseilles' LL is striking given its absence elsewhere in the city. As another mini-case study of multilingualism in Marseilles' public space, let us turn to the permanent art installation inside the Regional Tourism Centre – *Le Comité régional de tourisme Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur* – on La Canebière, the city's main street. This wall, which extends over three floors, is a permanent exhibition inside the Regional Tourism Centre, with an interactive display at its foot which invites the visitor to explore the inscriptions on the wall. This exhibition explores multilingualism in the Mediterranean by displaying the naming of the Mediterranean Sea in the various languages associated with this body of water. On the four sides of the wall, on different floor levels (but fully exposed on all sides), in different sizes and different fonts are the dozens of languages that can be heard around the Mediterranean, both in the present day and throughout time (for example, Ancient Greek, Monegasque, Sicilian, Catalan, standard Arabic, and Georgian). This visualization of the Mediterranean as a multilingual space reinforces the social representation of Marseilles as major multilingual city on the coast, not least given that naming serves as a primary identity-assigning act.

The sea's name is given in Occitan, using the Mistralian standard – *la Mediterragno* – on the eastern façade of the wall, on the first floor, immediately below Castilian Spanish in the same sized font. Other inscriptions are much bigger, and no other language appears below another

Figure 5.2 The permanent installation in the Regional Tourism Centre

language in the same sized font (see Figure 5.2, where the Occitan entry appears on the right-hand side of the image). Whilst it is important not to over-analyse details such as the visibility of a language in a work of art, it is symbolic of the status and role of Occitan in the city that the City Council, in its commissioned work of art, does not give significant prominence to the regional language. To view clearly the inscription in Occitan, visitors must go upstairs into a small meeting room which overlooks the wall. Given that this is a permanent installation on display inside the Regional Tourism Centre, we can see here the internalizing of the state's ideology within an artwork, where the regional language is accorded a place, albeit a minor one, in a visual representation of multilingualism in the Mediterranean. Greater prominence is afforded to Classical Latin – a prestigious written language – than to the regional language associated with Marseilles.

Arabic in the LL

Given that France does not permit the formal identification of ethnicities through its census, figures for the numbers of people who are or who self-identify as non-French (however that might be interpreted)

are estimates based on projections from academic and other surveys. Borkert et al. (2007, p. 49) calculate that of Marseilles' 851,000 residents, 70,000 are ethnically Maghrebian, largely drawn from Algeria, with a further 45,000 Comorians constituting the second largest migrant community. Despite these statistics, in total, very little Arabic was recorded, with only 45 signs counted in a corpus of 9,909; from a quantitative perspective, this presence is negligible. Across the 20 survey sites, Arabic appeared in the LL in four different areas, and undertook notably different functions in each area. At the outset, we note that whilst Arabic might well be widely spoken by Marseilles' North African and Comorian communities, many do not write the language, and often speak regional varieties. Closer examination of the signs in this sub-corpus suggests the different ways in which Arabic is used in Marseilles. On the one hand, Arabic appears as a prestigious, international language in what we might understand as top-down signage. On the other hand, Arabic indexes Islam, as attested in a bookshop and a halal butcher's, in signs that have traditionally been considered bottom-up. The first group of signs is to be found on the doors of two consulates in Marseilles, and on the wall of a Moroccan bank, *BMCE*. In the cases of the consulates, for Algeria on *rue Paradis* in the eighth *arrondissement* and the Moroccan consulate on *les Allées Léon Gambetta* in the first, it can be argued that the Arabic script occupies the dominant position, at the top of both main signs. However, both visually and functionally, French dominates the signs; the majority of the information is provided in French, including opening times, and provisional arrangements during Ramadan, and there is more space covered by French. In the signage for both the Moroccan and Algerian consulates, the materiality of the signs differs, in that the permanent sign, in the upper position, includes the information in Arabic, whereas the supplementary signs – including practical information in French only – are made of different material; even something as ephemeral as paper is used for one of the informational signs at the Moroccan consulate. From the perspective of layering, therefore, the original sign is bilingual, with the Arabic above the French. Later signs, whose exact age is impossible to detect, appear in different (and in two of the three cases, cheaper) material, and usually in subordinate positions. This can be compared with the permanence versus temporality of language use at the Occitan Cultural Centre, where the fleeting text is framed by the language of alterity (Occitan at the cultural centre, Arabic at the consulates) but is written in the prestigious national standard.

The other prestigious use of Arabic is on the walls of the *BCME (la Banque Marocaine du Commerce Extérieur*), which is in the same street

Figure 5.3 The symbol for the euro and the Arabic sign for the *BCME*

(and therefore in the same district) as the Moroccan consulate. The signage for this commercial bank is interesting in that the building is adorned by monolingual rather than bilingual signs. The bank's name is presented in French on one wall, and round the corner on the same premises it appears in Arabic. The bank makes use of images beyond text, in that the symbol for the euro appears alongside the bank's name in Arabic – for those who cannot read Arabic, but are aware of the symbols of currency, this monolingual sign (Figure 5.3) relies on an internationally recognized icon.

Even at these premises, French dominates functionally; beyond the name of the bank in Arabic, all other information, such as where to find an alternative cash machine, is presented in French. The BCME is clearly identified as an Arabic – in this case, Moroccan – bank, but in speaking to its customers and to passers-by, it turns to French rather than Arabic.

The other domain in which Arabic was identified in the LL of Marseilles was on *Boulevard National*, where the Arabic-language signage accounts for 76 per cent of the sub-corpus. The presence of Arabic here was largely observed in two premises: a Muslim bookshop and a halal butcher's. In the bookshop, *Librairie La Sagesse* (a French name), books, gifts, and leaflets were in Arabic script; those passing by the shop could see this merchandising in Arabic. Less widespread, but still contributing to the presence of Arabic in this street, were the labels on products in the halal butcher's. In comparison with the bookshop, the use of written Arabic was less consistent in the butchers, and was often limited to product labelling. Nevertheless, both these examples attest to the use of Arabic in Marseilles, and suggest that a space for Arabic is carved out by those for whom it is an important, although possibly only symbolic, language.

Neapolitan in the LL

When referring to the presence of Neapolitan in the LL, we use the term dialect in order, as explained in Chapter 1, to differentiate varieties such as Neapolitan from those which have been officially recognized as minority languages by legislation. Initiatives for the promotion of

Neapolitan in fact date back to the Renaissance period, but attempts to codify it have remained unfulfilled (Toso, 2006, p. 93). Current linguistic legislation and provision in the region is therefore only relevant for the linguistic community of Greci, in an area bordering with Puglia, where an Albanian variety is spoken. This language enjoys protection under both national legislation (law 482/1999) and regional legislation (law 14/2004).

Scholars have highlighted that over the centuries Neapolitan has not crossed the boundaries of the city to become the language in use outside Naples (De Blasi, 2006b; Ledgeway, 2009). Although the city was the capital of its homonymous kingdom for six centuries, it was never a dominant city in the sense that can be attributed to Genoa or Venice. It was, on the contrary, a cosmopolitan and multicultural centre where the urban vernacular was never imposed. This is why Neapolitan has remained a widely used means of communication within the city, but not outside it. As a matter of fact, even the language varieties spoken just outside Naples can display significant differences from Neapolitan.[8] This does not stop Neapolitan from carrying identity functions for a wider and less definable area precisely because Naples has been a cultural and linguistic point of reference for much of the peninsular south for a long time (Ledgeway, 2009, p. 16). Those social representations that construct the Neapolitan dialect as an essential trait of Neapolitans (and of a larger, undifferentiated southern population) therefore need to be verified against the following facts: not all Neapolitans speak Neapolitan, and non-use of Neapolitan is not necessarily due to an anti-dialect ideology but to the individual's linguistic background. The use of urban Neapolitan is nevertheless widespread and not limited to specific sociolinguistic domains or social groups. This is particularly remarkable in an urban environment such as Naples which is a metropolis by Italian standards with approximately one million inhabitants. The dialect is the usual means of communication between parents and children in a third of Neapolitan families, and it is used in alternation with Italian in more than half of families (De Blasi, 2006c, p. 281).

Dialectal expression, moreover, is still highly productive in literature, theatre, song, and so on, and this ensures continued familiarity with Neapolitan and its cultural heritage in the rest of the country and beyond. The external perception of a generalized and undifferentiated Neapolitan dialect is the result of the popularity and consumption of dialectal cultural products by non-Neapolitan audiences who genuinely do not capture linguistic differences between individuals coming from Naples and individuals coming from outside Naples. The influence of

deep-rooted beliefs about Naples and Neapolitans is traceable in stereotypes about language use as well so that the linguistic and cultural construction of Neapolitan and of its speakers shapes their representation and vice versa.

In the surveyed areas Neapolitan appeared on 53 signs (0.42 per cent of the Neapolitan corpus), of which 11 were monolingual: two were shop signs and nine were texts such as poems, proverbs, and sayings displayed on shop windows and street stalls, often as items for sale. In the remaining signs, Neapolitan appeared alongside Italian (37 signs, of which Figure 5.4 is one instance), and alongside Italian and English (five signs).

In Figure 5.4 the Neapolitan *FACIMME 'A FESTA* (Let's have a party) is prominent in terms of position, colour and font: a 'fun' font is part of the message and conjures up a convivial and happy atmosphere for friends to enjoy in a familiar setting, the type of setting where it is likely to hear Neapolitan. Factual information about the type of goods for sale is delegated to Italian. Even though the rounded shape of the text in the centre of the sign suggests the arrangement of room decorations, the font is plain and business-like and dominates the bottom part of the sign which consists of images. The multimodality of the sign

Figure 5.4 Shop selling party items

is therefore arranged so that the lower section attracts young or very young potential customers and the upper section attracts their parents/guardians, namely the individuals who are going to make a decision about purchasing the goods. In this instance Neapolitan 'speaks' the ordinary actions of ordinary lives in contemporary times.

In other instances it is interesting to note on the one hand the folkloristic intent of the signs including Neapolitan, and on the other the weight of the literary and cultural tradition. Both elements testify to the status of the language and to the familiarity it enjoys outside the city. This type of cultural capital can be exploited by actors such as publishers, who can rely on a niche readership in Neapolitan, but also by institutions. For instance, in *Via S. Biagio dei Librai*, better known as *Spaccanapoli* (Naples splitter) in the historic centre, items such as collectors' editions of Neapolitan lyrics were displayed on a book stall, where they reproduce established social representations and commodify artefacts of local culture (dialectal songs) for the consumption of the numerous tourists who visit the area.

An example of institutionalized use of the dialect is provided by the *Napolimania* campaign (Figure 5.5). Introduced to encourage the use of public transport, the campaign is run by the local public transport authority (whose acronym can be detected in the bottom left-hand-side corner) in conjunction with the company which produces signs in or including Neapolitan (*Azienda Napoletana Mobilit*à, 2006). The sign in Neapolitan/Italian/English is displayed on buses as part of the *Napolimania* campaign. The text in Neapolitan is in red and reads: 'Stamp your ticket, don't be naughty. The bus driver is working for you, too!!!' The Italian sentence is in blue and invites passengers to validate their tickets (literally 'Passengers are advised [impersonal form] to validate their tickets'). The English sentence is equivalent to the Italian text, but limited familiarity with usage and style explains the lexical choice of 'print' instead of 'stamp' and the relative informality of the register. In similar contexts 'Please (do not forget/remember to) validate your ticket' would probably be the unmarked choice.

Similarly to other signs of the same campaign, Figure 5.5 signals the change of language via different colours. Neapolitan occupies a dominant position, the font size is larger and it is in red, a ubiquitous attention-grabber. The text in Neapolitan is not limited to the request, for which the first line would suffice. From a metalinguistic point of view, the longer Neapolitan text is meant to stand out for non-Neapolitan speakers (including non-Italian tourists) and to assert the importance of the local language whilst being decoded as such. Conversely,

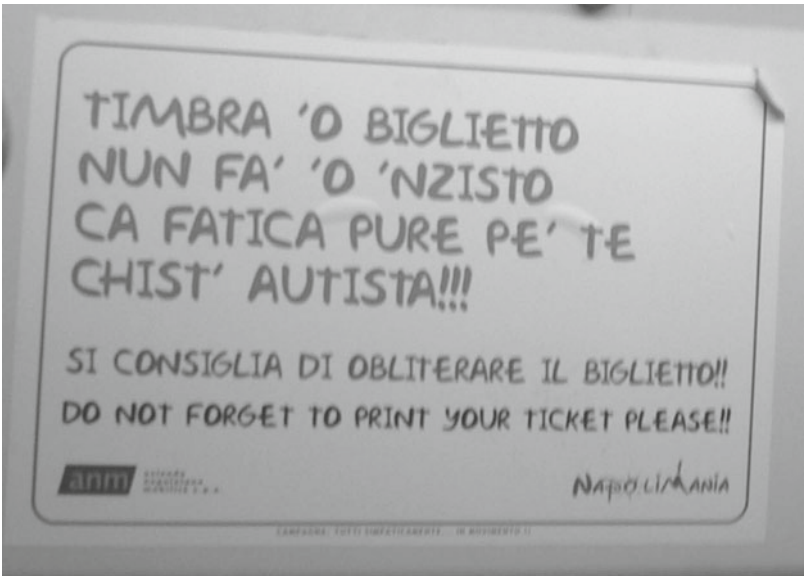

Figure 5.5 Sign on bus as part of the *Napolimania* campaign

Neapolitan speakers will be entertained by the local expression *'nzisto* (naughty) and directly involved in the intimate dimension of the dialect, which uses the informal 'tu' as the default form of address unlike the Italian, where an impersonal form (*si consiglia* – 'Passengers are advised') introduces a bureaucratic expression (*obliterare* – 'to validate', which is only ever used in this type of collocation).

Although the *Napolimania* signs are not included in the surveyed data insofar as they are displayed on buses, they are an example of official use of the dialect insofar as they are an initiative of the local council. The use of Neapolitan, Italian, and English in the campaign legitimizes Neapolitan as a competitor in the local linguistic market. This is reinforced by the presence of other signs featuring Neapolitan and recorded during the surveys, which reflect a wider use of the dialect by a range of actors for a range of functions. Neapolitan was used on hand-made political posters displayed on the occasion of a demonstration organized by unemployed people in April 2009 (Figure 5.6). The image has been cropped to exclude the name and photograph of the local politician who is the object of the rude statement. The Neapolitan reads 'This is the scum (literally "bog", meaning "toilet") of Naples'

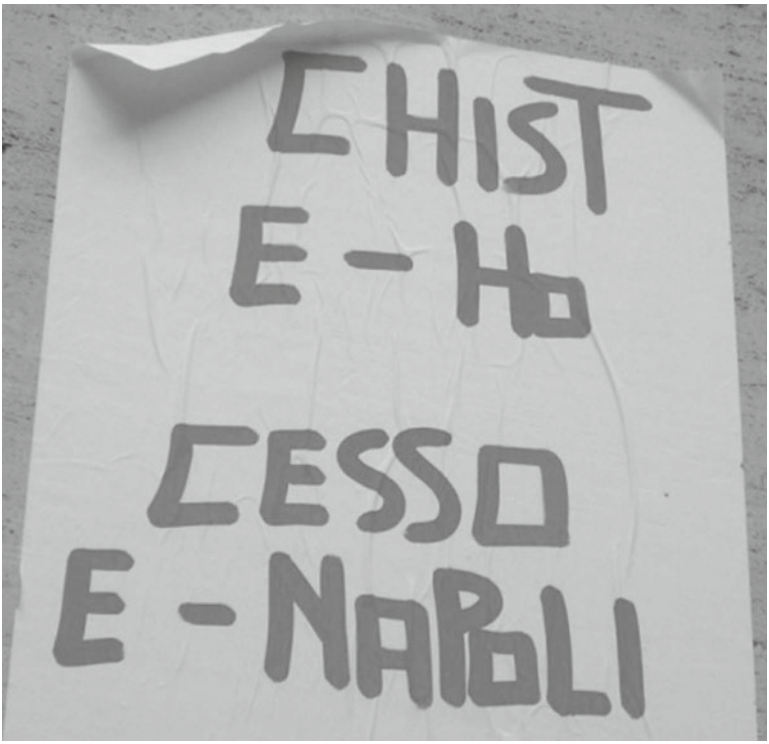

Figure 5.6 A political poster

and is an interesting example of the use of Neapolitan and regional Italian. For example, *HO* is an instance of hypercorrection: this spelling is used to mean 'I have' in Italian. In this context *HO* stands for the definite article (masculine singular) that is usually reproduced as *'o* in Neapolitan. *Napoli* is the Italian version of dialectal *Napule/Napul'*; the final vowel would be realized as a [ə] and it can be graphically omitted given its perceived 'absence'. This occurs for instance with the first word *CHIST* 'this'. These features show linguistic insecurity with respect to both how to reproduce the dialect in writing and incomplete schooling in Italian. Conversely, the language and spelling could be part of the message. As a protest sign, it is possible that it mixes Italian and dialect, deliberately disregarding any prescriptive writing models as a form of anti-establishment criticism and rejection.

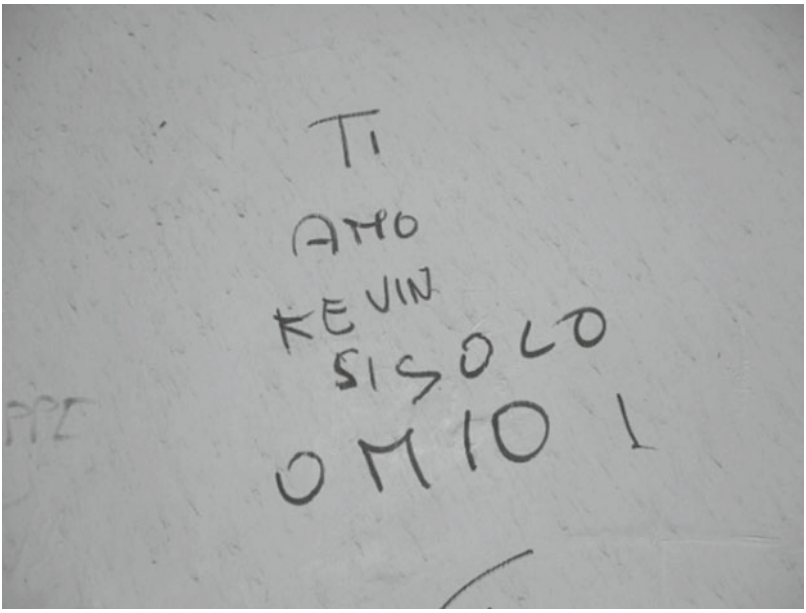

Figure 5.7 Graffito

A number of images of dialectal signs are provided in De Blasi (2006a, pp. 97–103) as evidence of Neapolitan appearing in new domains in the last few decades (see also Chapter 1 for a discussion of new dialectal uses). In terms of LL, De Blasi's data confirm that written Neapolitan contributes to the construction of public space in the form of commercial signage (shop signs and adverts), of informational messages and advertisements (announcements of both private and public events), and of institutional campaigns designed to make people aware of issues of public interest. The *Napolimania* campaign discussed above is an example of such initiatives.

In addition to its visibility in public spaces, the dialect is used on the Internet, in text messaging, and email, thus revealing that younger generations employ this communicative resource regularly. As regards the youth's use of Neapolitan in LL, graffiti such as Figure 5.7 show that the dialect is used creatively and drawn upon, together with other languages, in the widespread practice of polylanguaging (Jørgensen et al., 2011; see also Chapter 6). Maturi (2006) comments on the multilingualism of the walls of Naples and what they can tell us about the writers, noting that they move between codes with ease whilst reproducing oral

language behaviour, and that they have a naive perception of sound. The text opens with the Italian *TI AMO* ('I love you'), continues with the English name of the loved man (this could be a nickname, but we cannot exclude the existence of a real Kevin) and ends with the Neapolitan *SI SOLO O MIO!* ('You are mine and mine alone!').

In conclusion, and borrowing the terminology about language vitality from Landry and Bourhis (1997), whilst the presence of Neapolitan in the LL of Naples contributes to and reinforces the representations of the outgroup (non-Neapolitans) about the significant vitality of the language of the in-group (Neapolitans), it also reflects the beliefs of the in-group with respect to the vitality of the dialect. The beliefs of the in-group in turn impact on practices insofar as Neapolitan seems to be widely used and constitutes a valuable resource for the symbolic construction of identity in old and new contexts.

Migrant languages in the LL

Although Naples attracts a high number of migrants from outside Italy, studies have shown that many of them tend to use the city as a temporary base and then move on to areas in the centre and particularly the north of Italy, which offer better job opportunities (as reported in Orientale Caputo, 2007). The characteristics of migration into Naples, however, have changed and increasingly sections of the migrant population have become permanent residents. This is due to more work opportunities becoming available, notably the demand for domestic work on the part of Neapolitan families and the increase in the number of businesses, mainly linked to the Chinese community (Ammaturo et al., 2010). At the end of 2009 there were 27,481 foreign residents in Naples (ISTAT, 2014b). The first 10 groups are listed in Table 5.1. The top three groups represent the most significant communities in numerical terms. It should be borne in mind that the figures reported in Table 5.1 are conservative estimates (see Chapter 1).

The majority of Ukrainians in Naples are women and they are usually employed in the domestic sector and as carers, therefore representing one of the most invisible groups in terms of LL. There were no traces of Ukrainian in the surveyed areas, but there were signs featuring Russian. Working on the assumption that Ukrainians often speak and or understand Russian, the choice of this language on the part of the sign originator may simply be pragmatic in so far as the same language can target a linguistically diversified audience. Figure 5.8 below is the sign of an 'Association for the help of former USSR citizens in Italy' and indexes the existence of such an audience.

Table 5.1 The first 10 nationalities represented in the city of Naples at the end of 2009 – males and females

Country of origin	Males	Females	Total
Ukraine	803	4,847	5,650
Sri Lanka	2,529	2,362	4,891
China	1,184	1,044	2,228
Romania	650	949	1,599
Poland	227	1,272	1,499
Philippines	455	787	1,242
Dominican Rep.	221	362	583
Cape Verde	149	423	572
Bulgaria	112	449	561
Peru	210	304	514

Figure 5.8 Association for the help of former USSR citizens in Italy

Sri Lankans (mostly of Sinhalese ethnicity) generally live in the central areas of the city and in particular in the *Piazza Cavour/Sanità* area, which is where the sign represented in Figure 5.9 was identified. They tend to work in the domestic sector and, to a lesser extent, as employees in the catering business and in shops. In this respect they are not as invisible as the Ukrainian female migrants discussed above. Communities in the main Italian cities such as Naples have grown thanks to well-developed support networks (Henayaka-Lochbihler and Lambusta, 2004). A number of organizations and associations foster continued communication between groups and individuals across different areas of Italy. The sign in Figure 5.9 represents an example of group mobilization in so far as it gives details of a meeting in *Via Marsala* in Rome (near the main railway station) to remember war veterans.

In Naples the presence of Chinese migrants dates back to the early 1990s. The main occupations of the Chinese community revolve around

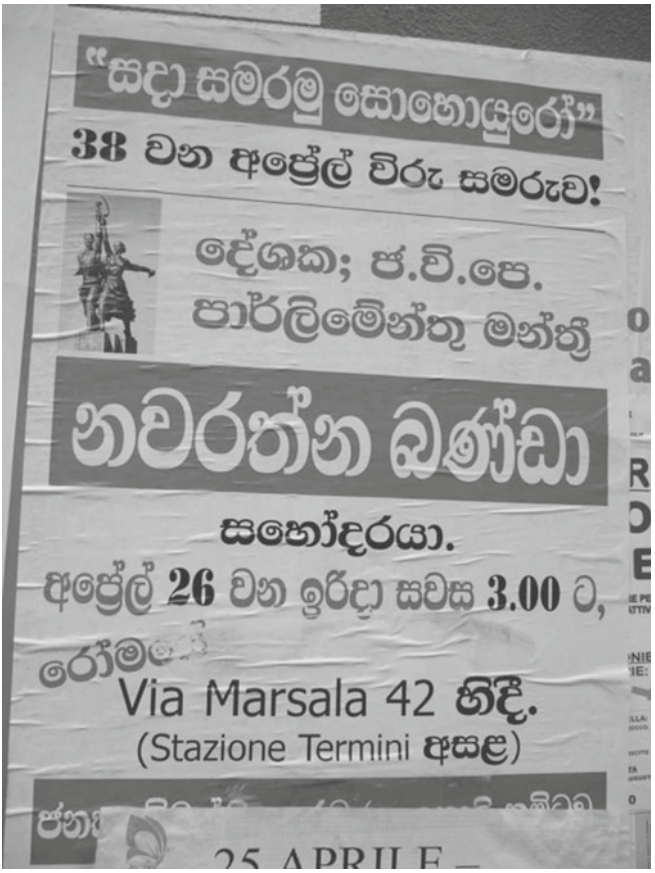

Figure 5.9 A poster in Sinhalese

commercial activities and include shops, market stalls, and restaurants. Evidence shows an exponential increase (by 692 per cent) in the number of Chinese businesses in the decade 2002–2012 (Camera di Commercio, 2012). Place of work and place of residence tend to coincide or be contiguous in the case of shops (both wholesale and retail), and this is mostly visible in the area around *Piazza Garibaldi* (see below).

The hairdresser's sign in Figure 5.10 provides an example of the multifunctional use of space. The business is not located at street level, which is the usual location of Italian commercial retailers, but it is on a higher floor in the building. Chinese appears in a dominant position,

Figure 5.10 A hairdresser's sign

but the second language is (non-standard) English, rather than Italian. Given that this sign was located in the multi-ethnic and multicultural area of *Piazza Garibaldi* (see below), the choice of English may be due to the highly diversified composition of the local environment and/or to the desire of the business owner to mark themselves out as a cosmopolitan business catering for a cosmopolitan clientele (see Chapter 6). Alternatively, given that Italian hairdressers have increasingly chosen English-language salon signs, the hairdresser's sign may simply indicate that the LL agent is conforming to the universe of signs denoting hairdressers in Italy and therefore asserting linguistic citizenship (or dual citizenship) via consolidated local forms of cosmopolitan citizenship.

Compared to other parts of Italy, the instability of the local job market and the economic precariousness of sections of the Neapolitan population seem to have created the premises for a generally favourable reception of migrants and for expressions of solidarity on the part of the local inhabitants (Ammaturo et al., 2010).[9] In addition, the significant presence of the informal economy in the area has to some extent favoured the mixing of locals and migrants in their commercial activities and consumer behaviour (Amato, 2008). At times the area around

the main station, for example, is transformed into a giant market where sellers and buyers are equally likely to be Neapolitans or migrants.

Figure 5.11 shows a shop sign opposite the entrance to the railway station. The shop sells 'European and international food products' (as clarified in the Italian line at the bottom) and the vaguely French flavour of the name *SuperBON* is intermingled with an iconic (and stereotypical) representation of an oriental face via the adaptation of the letter 'O'. The Chinese script under the shop name confirms the availability of 'oriental' food items. What is striking, however, is that the shop front sits comfortably between two very traditional Neapolitan establishments where the famous *sfogliatella*, a Neapolitan pastry (which enjoys an excellent reputation outside Naples as well) can be bought and consumed. In addition, the shop is located under the ubiquitous pizzeria sign. It is therefore apt that the sign should reproduce the colours of the Italian flag: green, white and red.

This historical ability to incorporate foreign elements in the fabric of the city together with the continued representation of chronic social deprivation in areas in the very centre of the city have constructed

Figure 5.11 A shop selling European and international food items

discourses of peculiar social amalgams that are reproduced in the social semiotics of the emblematic *Piazza Garibaldi*. Figure 5.11 is just an example of the LL of the area around the main railway station, *Napoli Centrale*, which is located to the east of the historic centre. Immigrant languages identified in the area include Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Sinhalese, and Wolof. In addition to providing affordable housing for a number of migrants, *Piazza Garibaldi* is a real hub for other migrants who arrive there from their countries of origin and for those who use trains or buses to travel to and from their workplace and homes. Different kinds of transactions are carried out in the square and the area is in a permanent state of flux, with migrants representing a regular component of a transient human landscape. The square epitomizes continuous movement through non-places such as bus and train stations (Augé, 2008) whilst constituting home, and therefore personal and intimate space, for its dwellers. Dwellings in the area, however, tend to be temporary and therefore represent the opposite of stability for migrants. This contributes to those representations of Naples as the site of permanent precariousness and allows the accommodation of the new LL agents and of their languages within existing discourses on the local urban context. *Piazza Garibaldi* is also a place where many migrants meet and socialize, where legal and bureaucratic services for migrants are offered (e.g. how to extend one's residence permit) and where it is possible to purchase 'ethnic' goods or food. As a multicultural site of encounter, exchange, and socialization, the square is appropriated and re-functionalized by migrants. The changeable use of space and the crossing of spatial boundaries between public and private, work and leisure construct discourses of incomplete citizenship and precariousness. From this perspective, the sign in Figure 5.10 narrates work activities carried out in private space and private time. Unlike the front of a 'regular' shop, the sign does not display opening times. Similarly, *Piazza Garibaldi* is the site of work and domestic activities that are carried out simultaneously.

Conclusions

The LL of Marseilles and Naples construct localized spaces where social representations are reproduced and exploited for a number of purposes, although these diverge from one another in terms of the extent to which the shared concepts and projections of the cities are reflected in the public space. In Marseilles, the LL is not particularly multilingual or cosmopolitan; from a quantitative perspective, the French language dominates the public space more in Marseilles than in the other four

sites in France investigated in this book. Based on the data collected and analysed for this exploration, we contend that it is a national social representation that dominates, rather that the localized projection of Marseilles as a city coloured by multilingual language practices. Instead, the LL suggests that the centuries of an unwavering language ideology that we discuss in Chapter 1 is a lived experience in this Mediterranean city that is otherwise characterized by high levels of ethnic mixing and a diversity of ethno-linguistic communities not replicated in other cities along the shore. In other words, the French language, especially in its prized written mode, is used to the marginalization of all other languages. The seeds for this divergence between spoken and written language practices were sown early; Dell'Umbria (2006, p. 329) draws attention to this from as early as the seventeenth century, when the literate might well speak in 'the local language' but write in French, despite the extent to which the national standard language was foreign to the majority in Marseilles. Whilst Occitan as a spoken language, and one embraced both in historical representations of the city (such as the art installation in the Regional Tourism Centre) and as the carrier of contemporary ethno-linguistic identity (for which the Occitan Cultural Centre actively lobbies), might well be the subject of intense academic and activist debate, its written form is largely absent from the LL.

It might be argued that Marseilles as a major city is less likely than some of the other cities discussed here to serve as the screen onto which written modes of regional languages are projected, given the disjuncture between the city and the traditional of Occitan and, in particular, Provençal, given their sustaining in rural rather than urban settings in modern France. The widespread absence of Provençal and/or Occitan from the LL nourishes further the social representation of Marseilles, given that whilst the French spoken in the city is often characterized by its distance from standard (which is widely interpreted as 'Parisian') French, the city is not now presented in either a local or national narrative as identified by the widespread use of the regional language. The civic authorities, as attested in the Regional Tourism Centre, might well – on very rare occasions – appropriate and commodify the regional language(s) of Provence, but in the artistic representation of multilingualism minorization processes are rehearsed.

For new citizens of Marseilles, there is very little space carved out in the LL by those who speak the languages of migrant communities. Hatubou (1999) might well identify Marseilles as the world's first city for Comorians, whose number exceeds that of Moroni, the capital city of the Comoros. However, the Comorians tend to live in the northern

suburbs of the city, and where Marseilles' city centre is marked by Arabic, it is as a consequence of élite cosmopolitanism (see Chapter 6) such as the consulates of Algeria and Morocco, or the well-established Maghreb banks, rather than thanks to the managing of the public space by Arabic-speaking LL actors. There are exceptions to this, such as the butchers' shop on the *Boulevard National*, but these are infrequent yet highly concentrated iterations of written language use in anything other than French.

In Naples, as already highlighted in Berruto (2006) for oral uses, written dialect performs different functions: it is a viable means of communication and an expressive and playful tool; it carries symbolic and ideological value; and it has a folkloristic and archival function. In addition, the LL of Naples displays elements of both the commodification and institutionalization of Neapolitan and of the cultural capital which it carries, therefore demarcating it as a site of normalization of dialectal use.

The migrants' contribution to the LL in *Piazza Garibaldi* can be interpreted as an attempted construction of place that crosses into enclosed spaces where linguistic and cultural practices remain invisible. This is the case of religious and other institutionalized practices as well as of socializing practices performed in domestic spaces. The mechanisms and modalities of re-composition and re-functionalization of space, however, are similar and point to the symbolic reconstruction of place. They aim to foster relationships, communication and a sense of belonging (Leonforte, 2009) and to counteract precariousness and up-rootedness. The migrants' contribution to the wider semiotic landscape, therefore, is realized via social semiotics and via a re-conceptualization of space. Narratives of precariousness are dotted around the LL and communicate a type of 'transit' urban economy which is accommodated into existing local discourses and the aesthetic of the picturesque.

6
Cosmopolitan Linguistic Landscapes of the Mediterranean

English and the construction of cosmopolitan identities

Cosmopolitanism originated in ancient Greek thought and in particular with the Cynics (Diogenes is said to have stated 'I am a citizen of the world (*kosmou polites*)') and the Roman Stoics (such as Seneca) (Nussbaum, 2002). In modern times cosmopolitanism was elaborated in Kantian philosophy as a universalistic concept that revolves around the idea of the individual's loyalty being primarily to other human beings.[1] This has also been termed *moral cosmopolitanism* (Delanty, 2009). This kind of cosmopolitanism can be incorporated in the *political* face of cosmopolitanism, one that involves deeper forms of cross-cultural engagement, whilst the other face would include *cultural* dimensions such as fashion, lifestyle, food, travel, and other everyday practices (Hannerz, 2006, p. 9). The latter aspect directly links cosmopolitanism to consumption. Urry (1995) in fact defines *aesthetic cosmopolitanism* as the practice of consuming difference – via the consumption of foreign places – on the part of the curious, reflexive, and mobile subject.

That cosmopolitanism is embedded in practices, habits, feelings, and orientations towards the Other is a view also shared by Beck (2003, 2006) in his formulation of *banal cosmopolitanism* which is rooted in daily, unremarkable actions such as shopping or eating that in turn produce cosmopolitan identities. This degenerates into *deformed cosmopolitanism* (Beck, 2006, p. 20), a result of the commodifying logic of late capitalism. The emphasis on consumption is maintained by Nava (2002). However, a critical element is introduced by means of considerations about how class, gender, and race shape cosmopolitan identity and cosmopolitan consumption. The cosmopolitan figure is still by and large identified with the western, privileged, white male. If the ability

to consume media images as well as material commodities grants one membership of the cosmopolitan community, cosmopolitan consumption also reproduces those inequalities that are due to different degrees of access to economic, social, and cultural capital and distinguish the sophisticated, knowledgeable, and affluent consumer and exclude the ordinary ones (Bourdieu, 1984; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002).

In relation to what has been termed *consumerist cosmopolitanism* (Calhoun, 2002), which carries little or no transgressive potential and therefore little political agency, Appadurai (1990) elaborates on Marx's idea of commodity fetishism and divides it into *production fetishism* and *fetishism of the consumer*. Production fetishism refers to what he would later term the *production of locality* (Appadurai, 1995) and to place branding via commodities and services that are actually the result of global processes and labour.[2] Locality therefore becomes 'a fetish which disguises the globally dispersed forces that actually drive the production process' (1990, p. 307). The consumer is turned into a sign that replaces real agency in so far as 'the consumer is consistently helped to believe that he or she is an actor, where in fact he or she is at best a chooser' (1990, p. 307). These concepts will be useful when explaining instances of 'authoritative' cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism is a perspective from which we will analyse the presence of English in the LL of the Mediterranean cities examined here. A light and diffused cosmopolitan identity is enacted via LL and constructed by both providers and receivers of goods and services who constitute a *consumption community* (Boorstin, 1973). Contrary to Boorstin's positive suggestion, however, social inequalities are reproduced in this type of community as well. The materiality of signs and their emplacement (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) contribute significant semiotic layers to the construction of cosmopolitan identities. Consciously, we removed the discussion of English from each of the preceding chapters in order to focus here on the questions generated by an analysis of English in the LL. We contextualize our evaluation first by outlining the relationship between the states of France and Italy and the English language, before discussing how the issue has been explored by others considering English in the LL. We then examine the data from the ten sites with a view to understanding better the role of English in the public space in the Mediterranean.

Italy

We have already discussed Italy as a multilingual country with respect to both its territorial languages and the languages that increasingly

have been brought into the country by migrants from the 1970s onwards. Due to complex historical processes, language shift from local varieties to Italian has occurred in relatively recent times, has affected different areas of the country differently, and has modified, if not simplified, individual and group linguistic repertoires. As a matter of fact, the majority of Italians are plurilingual and draw their linguistic resources from at least two language varieties (D'Agostino, 2007). It is therefore not surprising that the LL of Italy should be extremely varied and multilingual in all its aspects and that a high number of languages contribute to the construction of the urban space. Institutional attempts to regulate the use of languages in Italian public space have been sporadic at the national level and even Fascist policies do not seem to have influenced language use significantly in the first half of the twentieth century (see Chapter 1). Recent laws that restrict the visibility of foreign languages from the historic centre of a number of Italian towns are meant to control the development of commercial areas (and their resulting social space) where increasingly migrant languages have acquired visibility in shop windows and on walls. In some cases this type of legislation is openly discriminatory and it is disguised by claims about safeguarding the 'authenticity' of Italian town centres on the part of local administrations. Another stated reason is the alleged lack of comprehensibility of commercial signage via the public display of languages that are perceived to be distant and illegible by the local population.[3]

The degree of comprehensibility of languages such as French, German, and Spanish, however, is not questioned and they remain prominent. These languages are traditionally considered to be prestigious languages of culture and, in the case of French and Spanish, their status as colonial languages has afforded them wide diffusion globally. Historically, the three languages have been used to forge national identities and have been the carriers of remarkable cultural baggage. As a result, they are studied widely so that, in post-modern times and following the intensification of mass tourism, they have been relied upon for tourism purposes. Statistics (Banca d'Italia, 2013, p. 23) in fact show that European tourists represent the vast majority of tourists in Italy, although the contribution of languages such as Russian and Japanese to the LL testify to an opening of the tourist linguistic market to include languages spoken by wealthy newcomers (and investors). Incidentally, we are not aware of legislation introduced to curb the appearance of these languages in Italian town centres, in spite of the fact that Italophone viewers are usually not familiar with their scripts.

Studies have highlighted the impact of foreign cultural imports on the development of popular culture in Italy (Forgacs, 1990). As in other parts of Europe, the Anglo-American influence has been pervasive and has characterized stages of the Italian transition from traditional culture to a culture typical of industrial capitalism. More recently, the remarkably high visibility of English in the Italian LL is clearly the result of globalization processes and transnational flows, and its presence has similarly affected the public space of other national contexts. The passion for all things English in Italy, however, spans several centuries and dates back to a time when the English language and England were closely associated and an ethno-cultural stereotype still held.

In his 1911 book about *anglomania*, Graf describes Italian enthusiasm about English culture, albeit filtered through a French lens, in the eighteenth century. Both Voltaire and Montesquieu had spent time in England in the first half of the eighteenth century and both had written about it enthusiastically (Graf, 1911, p. 36). Voltaire is possibly the most famous admirer of England and saw English history as one continuous and indefatigable fight against despotism and tyranny; he therefore made way for the interpretation of the Civil War as a war of liberation from servitude (Bartoli, 2007, p. 7). This interpretation of English history was influential in Italy as well due to the circulation of French reports and French translations of English texts.

Klajn (1972) provides additional linguistic evidence in relation to the eighteenth century, when a first significant influx of anglicisms found their way into Italy. The passion was reciprocal and the *anglophilia* of the time was returned with *italophilia*: the British protagonists of the Grand Tour were greatly impressed by the ruins of Rome or Renaissance art in Florence. Political affinities between English liberalism and the Italian patriotism of the nineteenth-century Risorgimento strengthened the political and moral dimensions of the relationship. Italian Risorgimento heroes such as Mazzini and Garibaldi were greatly admired in England and not just by their contemporaries. At the beginning of the Second World War, Churchill's iconic speech encompassing the sentence 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat' is believed to have been inspired by similar words pronounced by Garibaldi when recruiting soldiers before the establishment of the short-lived Roman Republic in 1849 (Lukács, 2008).

Rando (1987) points out that English influences had in fact started making their way into Italian before the eighteenth century, but this century remains significant for the use of a first wave of anglicisms mostly related to English culture and political and scientific thought.

In the nineteenth century, anglicisms would come primarily from industry, social life, and, later on, sport. His study concludes that in the post-unification period (from 1861 to approximately 1987) approximately 4,200 English borrowings entered the Italian vocabulary (1987, p. 249).

More recently, Bartoli (2007) provides an ironic account of how this admiration towards the civil conquests that resulted from the Glorious Revolution, and which was shared by all the free spirits of Europe, gradually changed to an obsession with English fashion and all that was branded *Made in England*. The cultural and linguistic hegemony of French of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was soon to be replaced by English, but the post-war Anglo-American model was to be superimposed on that of old Britannia.

In the Italian press, articles about the 'invasion' of the English language appear at regular intervals.[4] According to surveys carried out by the translation agency *Agostini Associati*, between 2000 and 2008 there was a 773 per cent increase in the use of English words in documents produced by Italian companies, with a further 223 per cent increase in the following two years (Agostini Associati, 2012). The term *itangliano* was first coined in 1977 (Elliot, 1977), whilst *itanglese* is quoted in Italian dictionaries (such as Hoepli online dictionary). Among scholars there are those who have expressed their concern about the highly infectious *morbus anglicus* (Castellani, 1987) and those who see foreignisms as not having significant statistical relevance, as a normal physiological process and as an integral part of language change (e.g. Serianni, 1987; De Mauro, 2013).

Agostini Associati, however, based their statistics on documents issued by Italian companies, whose language can be considered to be a specialist language (as defined in Sanga, 1981) including terms relating to economics and marketing that have found their way into other languages as well. In addition, whilst contemporary Italian does appear to be very receptive to English words, the phenomenon involves primarily the written word and is mostly noticeable in the Italian media and in particular in the Italian press (Carrera Díaz, 2000). More recently, English borrowings have entered the new media and their use does seem to be ever increasing and indiscriminate. Italians do not seem to be concerned about the proliferation of English words and expressions that they are exposed to and, historically, attempts to regulate the use of foreign words in Italian have been viewed with scepticism, if not suspicion (Fanfani, 2003). As a matter of fact, if one excludes the Fascist period and its xenophobic linguistic policy, state institutions have

not traditionally regulated the use of foreignisms in Italy and strongly purist positions on the part of intellectuals have been rather sporadic (Cartago, 1994).[5]

It is interesting to note that the dual interpretation of Italian anglophilia, that is an engagement with certain political ideals and actions on the one hand and a mere chasing after certain fashions and tastes that can generate anglomania on the other, is somewhat reproduced in at least part of current scholarship on cosmopolitanism.

France

As discussed in Chapter 1, France has taken what might be considered a *dirigiste* approach to the management of language in general, and of the LL more specifically. The relationship between French and English is ancient, and has been characterized by its ebb and flow; Walter (2001) describes it in the subtitle of her monograph as 'an incredible love story'. This relationship between two languages is not completely disconnected from the relationship between France and Britain, which Tombs and Tombs (2006, p. 1) depict as 'one of the most intense, most troubled, and most significant [relationships] of modern times', which is characterized by 'wars, alliances, hatred, coexistence, envy, admiration, emulation – even, sometimes, love' (p. 2). However, since the twentieth century, this relationship with the English language is conducted not merely over the English Channel, but across the Atlantic Ocean, and is viewed through the prism of Anglo-Saxon attitudes and behaviours, rather than as a bond between Great Britain and France.

However, in comparison with Italy, from the perspective of France's governing elite, there is a sense of *anglophobia* with regards to the French language. Given the identification of the French language with French culture, and the place of France in the world, Lodge (1993, p. 6) argues that 'strenuous official efforts have been and still are deployed to maintain the use of French as an international language, and to combat the effects of outside (usually lexical) influences on the language, as if they were a hostile invasion.' The question of linguistic anglomania is most prominent from a linguistic perspective in the area of borrowings, the management of which is often ascribed to *l'Académie française*. Maurice Druon, the late Dean of *l'Académie française*, noted in his introduction to the 2000 edition of the *Académie*'s dictionary that 'We only make room for foreign words insofar as they are truly established in usage, and there is not already a legitimate French word which refers to the

same thing or expresses the same idea' and yet he also confirmed that *l'Académie* is more welcoming of borrowings than is widely believed to be the case (DAF, p. xviii). Estival and Pennycook (2011, p. 334) deconstruct the myths around *l'Académie française*, and they argue that the primary role of this body is 'to create and sanction alternative terms', despite the popular narrative that *l'Académie française* primarily acts to resist a linguistic invasion of French by English.

Ayres-Bennett (1996, p. 257) breaks down the pace of borrowings into French from English according to century, noting the start of the process in the seventeenth century, which accelerated in the eighteenth century, especially for terms 'denoting English institutions or eccentricities'. She argues that industry, commerce, and transport prompted further borrowing in the nineteenth century, followed by 'an explosion in the influence of French on English' in the last century. Although there is no suggestion that this rate of borrowing implies imminent obsolescence, concerns in France have been raised that the status of the language, as well as its internal structure, has been challenged by English. This has been the case especially since the end of the First World War, which formally ended with the Treaty of Versailles, the last international treaty to be written in French (Adamson, 2007, p. 6).

Lodge's 'strenuous official efforts' are matched at the same time by an openness by the wider population to English and all that the language conveys. The *anglomania* attested in Italy is replicated in French society in domains as diverse as education, commercial activity, and cultural production. Lecherbonnier (2005, p. 15) notes that English is now the language used by certain large businesses in France for their working practices, including internal communications, high-level meetings, documentation, and professional development. These major French companies include such giants as *Bouygues*, *Renault*, *Alcatel*, and *Axa*. As noted in Chapter 1, France has taken considerable steps to protect and extend the written use of French in commercial domains, which include the LL, but this does not prevent *anglomania* in advertising, highlighted by Lecherbonnier (2005, pp. 187–8) who laments how French companies 'address French citizens as if they had all been born in the Bronx'. He identifies companies such as *France Telecom*, *Accor*, *Europe Régie*, and *Mephisto* which use English-language slogans in advertising (such as 'high-speed company', 'check into emotions', and 'Global One with France Telecom – for your world-wide business solutions') despite the threat of fines levied for infractions of language legislation.

Beyond commerce, the most striking domain in which language beliefs of the wider population have embraced English is in cultural

output. Despite the laws passed to ensure the transmission of French-language music on French radio stations, and despite the protectionism associated with French film production, English-language film, music, and other artistic productions continue to find favour with the French public. Lecherbonnier (2005, p. 39) also argues that French anglomania is nourished by all aspects of Anglo-Saxon life, including clothing, food, leisure activities, arts, entertainment, and legends. In other words, this *anglomania* is not merely a linguistic phenomenon, but extends to eating habits, fashion, and even a certain world view.

The presence and visibility of English in the French language has become a favourite issue in the contemporary Anglophone world. On 12 October 2011, *The Independent* printed an article entitled 'Language watchdog goes interactive to teach French to the French', in which the author, John Lichfield, told readers that the website of *l'Académie française* includes a section which will 'provide lessons on how to speak correct French without slang or common mistakes or, worst of all, anglicisms.' In *The New York Times* on 6 June 2011, Caroline Weber, in her article 'Championing the French Language', notes that *l'Académie française* has 'expressed ambivalence about, even disgust at, acknowledging the legitimacy of Anglo-American terms like "week-end"'. In *The Australian* of 27 July 2010, Charles Bremner critiques 'the official campaign to keep the French language alive in the world and roll back the invasion of English' in an article entitled 'Losing campaign to fend off English'. He goes on to note that 'hundreds of millions of euros' have been spent on this task, and yet 'most American imports have survived the rules obliging civil servants and public broadcasters to substitute long-winded and committee-invented locutions for the snappy foreign version'. In the Anglo-Saxon collective psyche, the French language – and more specifically, its self-appointed guardians – is like the eleventh-century Norse King Cnut, who in vain commanded the rising tide not to wet his feet as he sat enthroned on the shoreline. The analogy is that despite the desire of some vocal supporters of the purity of the language, the rate of borrowings into French, usually from English, is accelerating and that there is nothing that can be done to stop this rising tide.

Etiemble (1964, pp. 269–71) brings to light – from as early as 1963 – what he refers to as *franglais* in periodicals as diverse as the daily newspaper *Le Monde* (criticized for its use of *un test ban* and *les tweeds*), *l'Humanité* (formerly, the French Communist Party's daily paper which included the use of *le smog*, and *les liners*) and *Elle* magazine (which printed articles discussing *le british-look* and *un patchwork*). Some 50

years later, the French press (both in hard copy and online) continues to embrace anglomania, where *Le Nouvel Observateur* of Bastille Day in 2012 highlights the cancelling of the President's annual *garden-party*, where *L'Equipe* on 26 August 2013 makes reference to *un standing ovation* at a football match, and where *Libération* printed its entire front page on 21 May 2013 in English to mark 'the government's proposed bill to teach some classes in English at French universities'. This visibility of English in the French media, and the reactions towards it, characterize the country's complex language beliefs towards English, which is viewed simultaneously as a prestigious world language with economic clout and considerable cultural cachet in terms of popular culture, but a language that is indelibly associated with an Anglo-Saxon model of MacDonalds, MTV, binge drinking, and American teen soap operas.

'English' in the LL

As discussed below, English is without doubt the most prominent of all languages after French and Italian in our surveying of the public space. The prestige carried by the English language is undisputed and its highly symbolic value is represented very strongly in the LL. On a global level, English embodies a social stereotype rather than an ethnocultural one and this is mostly noticeable in the forms of advertising that occupy vast areas of our urban spaces. In two articles, Piller (2001, 2003) emphasizes the use of English as a symbol of modernity, progress, and globalization which is directed at highly mobile individuals who are transnational consumers, and is 'the language of international communication and not the language of a particular national community' (Piller, 2001, p. 164). Elsewhere (Tufi and Blackwood, 2010), we have argued that the LL is one particular forum in which the linking of a particular language with a specific nation state is potentially problematic. Whilst Seargeant (2009, p. 30) argues that English, when used in the Japanese LL, indexes 'characteristics associated with the social group which is typically thought of as using the language', it is also possible that English in the LL is not automatically equated with the UK, or the US. English as the hegemonic voice in advertising does not need to be understood; it needs first and foremost to be decoded as 'English'. This process of decoding overshadows a sense of the text's meaning, or even its internal coherence. Seargeant (2011, p. 191) contends that 'the use by a Japanese company of an English slogan which exhibits a cluster of odd syntax and spelling choices according to the norms governing

standard British English may well be viewed with the local (that is, Japanese) speech community not as an incompetent attempt at 'correct' English, but as a persuasive index of an 'international' orientation.' In other words, accuracy, meaning, or force are less significant in many cases than the actual act of using the English language.

In the LL, where a language is perceived to be English, it is often fetishized in the Marxian sense, whereby the reader projects onto the sign a value which may or may not have a direct correlation with its material value (see also Kelly-Holmes, 2000; Huebner, 2006; Edelman, 2009). Thus far, research into the LL has attributed to English characteristics including prestige, and modernity (Ross, 2008, p. 33); creativity and humour (Mettewie et al. 2012, p. 213); success and sophistication (Piller, 2001, 2003) and wealth (Dimova, 2007). In an important contribution to the discussion of English in the LL, Seargeant (2009) identifies what he perceives to be the three main attributes of English as an 'idea' in Japan: globalization, authenticity, and aspiration. Furthermore, he concludes that it 'has a complex, highly contested, and much appropriated meaning' (p. 133), pointing to the tension between shared understandings and individual, personalized attitudes to English.

'English' in the Italian LL

In the Italian surveys, an average of 16.7 per cent of signs recorded featured some elements which could be decoded as 'English'. A breakdown of signs featuring English in the five Italian sites is provided in Table 6.1. We did not identify any significant differences in the written uses of English in these areas.

The data in Table 6.1 does not include brand names (see Tufi and Blackwood, 2010 for a discussion). If we were to include non-Italian-

Table 6.1 Distribution of signs featuring English in the Italian survey areas

	Total no. of signs	**No. of signs featuring English**	**Proportion of all signs featuring English**
Cagliari	11,379	2,110	18.5%
Genoa	7,352	854	11.6%
Naples	12,724	1,969	15.5%
Palermo	10,528	1,146	10.9%
Trieste	9,628	1,236	12.8%
Total / average	51,611	7,315	14.2%

sounding trademarks, the percentage would be noticeably higher at 24 per cent.

English in the Italian LL therefore indexes and constructs a wide range of cosmopolitan identities whilst fulfilling a variety of functions. English seems to be part of a communicational landscape where it is employed as a semiotic modality and as a mainstream resource. Italian companies and establishments use English words, phrases, and slogans on their products and/or on their shop signs/windows to impress a mark of modernity on their goods and to distinguish themselves as global commercial actors. Examples of Italian companies marketing themselves or their goods using English words included a range of *homewear* called *Sweet Years* and cosmetics by Italian brand Yamamay described as *Sensual – Energy*, *Suncare*, and *Aftersun & Body* in Naples; a lightbulb named *Immediately* in Trieste; an Italian engineering company was advertised as *Industrial Engineering* and an IT company *Microsales* (with an obvious reference to Microsoft) in Palermo; and a stationery shop in Palermo displayed the sign *Cartoshop*, a hybrid consisting of the Italian prefix *carto-* (paper) and the English suffix *-shop* replacing the Italian *cartoleria* (stationery shop).

Other signs displaying English were not directed to tourists or elite cosmopolites either. Both *New Dinamic Line* on a gym (It. *palestra* – Figure 6.1) sign and *Baby Parking* on a nursery (It. *scuola materna*) sign were in the outskirts of Palermo. Both linguistic elements (such as the non-standard use of English – *dinamic* instead of *dynamic*) and other semiotic elements (handwriting on the nursery sign) point to a semiotics of socio-economic disadvantage and exclusion. Similar characteristics were identifiable in a poster on a wall in the outskirts of Naples that advertised a course in pizza making (*Gastronomy School*): inexpensive material and execution, absence of colours and a general do-it-yourself appearance indicated that both authors and intended audience were likely to be non-elite cosmopolites.

In instances of transnational cosmopolitanism the use of English is often a necessity in so far as it acts as a *lingua franca*. This is the case of a sign displaying *Phone Center* seen in *Via Prè* in Genoa: this type of establishment is commonly found in central areas of Italian cities that have experienced a noticeable influx of migrants and provide services such as international phone calls and money transfer for residents whose countries of origin are very diverse. Similarly, a sign displaying English (*Bangladesh Garden – Indian Fast food*) was located in an area of Palermo, *Via Maqueda*, that is characterized by a number of shops and businesses run by Bangladeshis. The area, however, hosts businesses

Figure 6.1 Gym sign in Palermo

run by people from other parts of the world and is also interspersed with sites of interest for tourists. English is therefore a viable option for business naming purposes (*Bangladesh Garden*) and to provide information about type of food (*Indian fast food* – to note the generalization for an audience of both local and foreign customers who are likely to be familiar with Indian food, but not necessarily with Bangladeshi food). The sign in Figure 6.2 from Cagliari, conversely, seems to have been inspired by the wide currency that the word *fashion* enjoys amongst Italians and is therefore added to the Chinese characters and the Italian *Abbigliamento cinese*. Incidentally, *Cinese fashion* works well as a direct translation of the Italian and with the benefit of being comprehensible, even though not displaying the standard spelling *Chinese*. Different types of cosmopolitanism are therefore actualized in this sign, with layers of transnational and aspirational cosmopolitanism contributing to the identity of both the commercial establishment and the target clientele.

Returning to local uses of English, Figures 6.3 provides an example of graffiti where anglicized names and tags such as *Francy* are stylistic

Figure 6.2 Chinese clothes shop in Cagliari

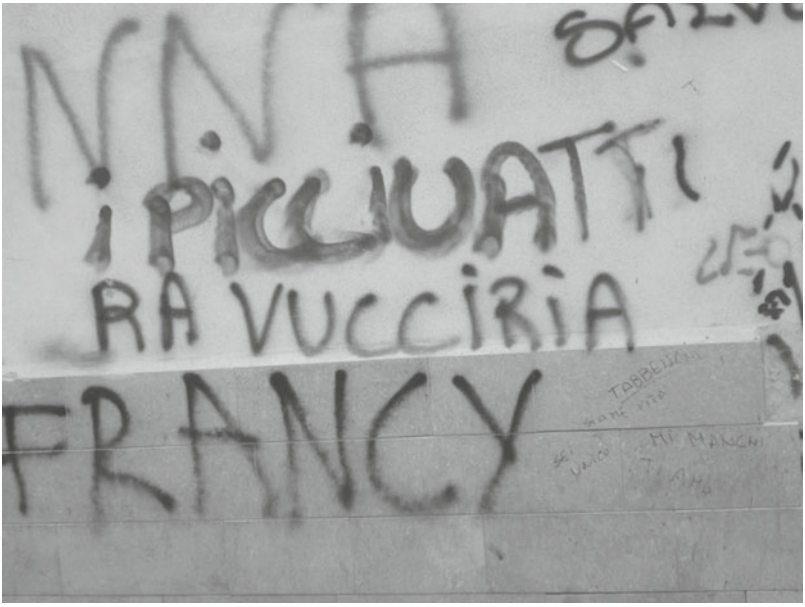

Figure 6.3 Graffiti: tags and signatures (Sicilian with 'Francy') in Palermo

devices and a result of regular contact with both mediated and non-mediated, experienced forms of cosmopolitanism. Arguably these graffiti were authored by young people and studies on the language of Italian youth usually highlight the high incidence of anglicisms or pseudo-anglicisms as elements often borrowed directly from the media

(Fusco and Marcato, 2005; Stefanelli and Saura, 2011). It is not surprising, therefore, that anglicized elements are employed alongside dialectal elements (*i picciuatti ra vucciria* – the boys from Vucciria) that equally feature in the language of youth as stylistic devices and as part of a repertoire that is constantly renovated. *Vucciria* is an area of Palermo that is famous for its historical market whilst *picciotti* originally indicated young mafiosi. The boys from Vucciria are provocatively re-appropriating/re-claiming (or just newly appropriating/claiming) the walls of an area that has recently become a trendy place for Palermo nightlife and the mix of dialect and anglicisms is part of a new metropolitan language (see below) that narrates a cosmopolitan city.

Transgressive signs such as graffiti can also manifest forms of engaged cosmopolitanism via political dissent and protest, as shown in signs carrying global significance and appeal to an international audience with shared political views. *NO GLOBAL WAR, NO BUSH DAY* was an (old) anti-war sign with explicit reference to American Presidents Bush (either father or son), whilst *EAT THE RICH* can be interpreted as a (violent) incitement to the removal of those responsible for social inequalities. The message would be the same if the slogan were decoded as a direct cinematic reference, given that the British black comedy *Eat the Rich* (1987) contained explicit anti-Thatcherite criticism.

An instance of elite cosmopolitanism is in Figure 6.4. The sign was on a boutique window in *Via Ruggero Settimo* in Palermo and invited customers (or viewers) to the event *Fashion and the city*, with obvious references to the American TV series *Sex and the City*, which portrays a very privileged Manhattan world.

The word 'exclusive' features in the Italian sentence ([Tru Trussardi] has the pleasure to invite you to an exclusive appointment) below *Tru Trussardi*, the designer clothing brand that was promoting the event. The fashion show is presented as a social event for select customers who will be able to enjoy cocktails and a DJ set while watching a *trunk show* (just like the protagonists of *Sex and the City*), an expression that is not transparent to an Italian audience that does not normally attend that type of gathering. The organization of the text and the fonts used make it simple but elegant, and the resemblance to the style of a wedding invitation underlines the fact that this is a unique opportunity to be part of a special group of guests who mean much to the host. Another shop was named *Class*, which is a statement in itself, and located in *Viale della Libertà* in Palermo, a street lined with designers' shops. Verbal elements in this prestigious part of the city were scarce because the area speaks for itself and discourses of silence

Figure 6.4 Invitation to a *Trussardi* fashion event in Palermo

(Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010) are more appropriate. Commercial signage is limited and discreet and even credit card signs are not represented in their standard size, as they appear on the windows of virtually all commercial establishments nowadays. They are reduced in size and hardly perceptible because they are not relevant. For the type of clientele that the designer shops in *Viale della Libertà* want to attract, money is not an issue. In addition, non-verbal semiotic elements such as the configuration of the residential space, the architecture and the actual emplacement of signs construct an exclusive spatial site where an elite cosmopolite can feel at home. The area can rely on a history of elite residents dating back to the eighteenth century, and more conspicuously to the end of the nineteenth century, when Palermo's nobility started moving to this quarter immediately to the north of the city centre to occupy a number of villas built by

the most renowned architects of the time (Chirco, 2005). Off-streets are airy and spacious and they reflect careful urban planning, unlike other noisy and chaotic areas. Shop fronts on *Viale della Libertà* blend in with existing architecture and entering some of the shops is like accessing a private palace: a balustrade conceals two sets of steps on either side that allow you to be admitted into another exclusive space. Young elite cosmopolites frequent the area in the evening by means of visits to the local bars and British-style pubs that they populate in pre-formed groups. These groups of friends drive to and congregate in these autonomous private spaces with which they strongly identify and which provide a shell for their evening social practices within demarcated personal and group boundaries. As Brucculeri and Giannitrapani (2010) explain very effectively in their discussion about the social semiotics of Palermo nightlife, these young people practise this type of socialization as distinction in their affirmation of diversity and in their not mixing with other groups, something which requires, amongst other aspects, the existence of open public spaces. The elite nature of the area is therefore consolidated by a social semiotics of separation, day and night.

The act of branding a product or a shop can be extended to a place and examples of authoritative cosmopolitanism in the form of place branding can be seen in Figures 6.5 and 6.6. The fetishistic production of locality (Appadurai, 1995) in Figure 6.5 is enhanced by product branding: *Franco Bombana* is the brand of *legwear* mentioned and the only Italian-sounding element of the sign. The word *only* in *Only Made in Italy* emphasizes to the potential customer that this is an authentic Italian product, designed by an Italian designer and produced entirely in Italy.[6] The long and prestigious tradition of Italian design and manufacturing, together with all the images that this tradition conjures up, transforms all that is produced in Italy into an object of desire, worthy of universal admiration and characterized by excellent quality. The sign in Figure 6.6 equally exploits the mechanisms of place branding and stereotypes associated with the quality of Italian manufacturing of which the global consumer is expected to be aware. The items for sale themselves are a primary contribution to the construction of tradition-in-locality in that they are reproductions of antique letter openers and magnifying glasses. Time and space therefore contribute layers of meaning to the uniqueness of the object whilst de-territorialization practices invite the cosmopolitan consumer to share in the global consumption community (Boorstin, 1973): the signs in both figures include web addresses.

Figure 6.5 Item by the Italian company Franco Bombana in a shop window in Trieste

In the Italian LL, English is therefore prominent in the practice of polylanguaging, which entails the use of features associated with different languages regardless of the language user's degree of familiarity with those particular languages (Jørgensen et al., 2011). This practice is common in super-diverse societies (Vertovec, 2007), which are characterized by high levels of mobility and transnational flows. Here individuals are not easily categorized in terms of their linguistic and cultural identity, amongst other aspects, and the demographic and social composition of groups has reached a level of complexity that was unimaginable until not long ago. Increasingly our cities are sites where diversity is the norm. Multiple encounters generate communicative needs that are best

Figure 6.6 Item for sale *100% Original Italian Quality* in Genoa

met by what has been termed metrolingualism, or the manipulation of linguistic resources on the part of language actors who are immersed in ever-changing urban dynamics and actively involved in the construction of urban space (Otsuiji and Pennycook, 2010). Different linguistic codes are drawn upon creatively in the construction of meaning and in the constant negotiation and re-negotiation of urban identities.

'English' in the French LL

In terms of proportions, the presence of English is minimal, although in most cases, it is more visible than any language other than French (with the exception of Corsican on Corsica); see Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Distribution of signs featuring English in the French survey areas

	Total no. of signs	No. of signs featuring English	Proportion of all signs featuring English
Corsica	9,122	417	4.6%
Northern Catalonia	9,645	254	2.6%
Marseilles	9,909	349	3.5%
Nice/Monaco	7,738	496	6.4%
Total/average	36,414	1,516	4.3%

As in Italy, French businesses use English words, phrases, and slogans to name their companies, to label their products, or to create a splash of something foreign and cosmopolitan on their shop windows. In Nice on the *avenue Jean Médecin*, a private tuition business calls itself *Education First*; on the *rue de Rome* in Marseilles, we find a branch of the chain *The Phone House*; a clothes shop on *rue Mailly* in Perpignan is called *Pure Style*; a shoe shop on Ajaccio's main street, the *cours Napoléon*, is known as *Jet One*. Given the exemption of brand names and trademarks from the Toubon law which requires a translation into French of all information in the sale of goods and services, the use of English here does not infringe any legislation on language use (see Chapter 1). In part, France's language laws – in particular the Toubon law – have an impact on the distribution of English items in the LL of the French cities in the Mediterranean surveyed here. There is clearly an awareness of the existence of regulations pertaining to the use of English in commercial activity, as the Toubon law has entered popular understanding of language management in France. What is less clear-cut is the extent to which the law's exact provisions are well known, and whether this has an impact on the use of English in public space. In terms of data, business names and trademarks, despite the exceptions provided in the legislation, only make up a small proportion of the signs recorded in English. Whilst every Mediterranean town boasts a shop with an English name, or where English is used in the registering of a French trademark, only 15 per cent of the sub-corpus of signs in English are business names or trademarks. In Marseilles, the figure drops to only 6.9 per cent (n = 24), whereas 29.5 per cent (n = 75) of the sub-corpus in Northern Catalonia are business names or trademarks.

Unlike in Italy where, above, we refer to a semiotics of socio-economic disadvantage in certain uses of English in the LL, there is no clear correlation between the margins of economic activity and English-language business names. In general, the data suggests that English is used to name smaller businesses in city centres rather than large companies, as outlined above with the four businesses from Nice, Marseilles, Perpignan, and Ajaccio. In addition, there is a clear trend to hybridity involving an English and a French element to business names in these coastal Mediterranean towns. In Perpignan, we recorded *Happy Croq* (a café on *rue Louis Blanc*), and *Canilook* (a dog-grooming parlour on the *boulevard Félix Mercader*); in Marseilles, *Le Number One* (a café on *boulevard Banon*); and in Ajaccio, *Le Freedom* (a bar on *avenue Pascal Paoli*).

As in the Italian coastal cities, English can take on the role of a lingua franca, although it is not always the default language for communicating with a public not necessarily familiar with the preferred first language of the sign-writer. For example, a butcher's shop on the *rue Nationale* in Marseilles translates the Arabic information into French, rather than English. The same approach is adopted by a Vietnamese restaurant on the *rue Buffa* in Nice. What is particularly striking in comparison with the Italian Mediterranean cities is the default to French, rather than English, as the lingua franca for migrant groups. North Africans from Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia make up the largest collective migrant group in France (INSEE, 2014b), and where members of these ethno-linguistic communities use Arabic in marking the public space for commercial purposes, the translation – or, to use the typology devised by Reh (2004, p. 8), the duplicating multilingual writing – is usually in French, not English. That is not to argue that there is no use of English as a lingua franca in French Mediterranean cities. On the *allées Léon Gambetta* in Marseilles, a restaurant specializing in eastern Asian cuisine, notably Thai, Chinese, and Vietnamese, is named *Thai China Fast Food*, whilst on the *route des Sanguinaires* in Ajaccio, a Chinese restaurant is called *China Blue*. Both these examples point to a use of English to speak to a wider market than is accessible in French plus the 'other' language. In both of these examples, the restaurant owners use other semiotic resources, such as lanterns and the Chinese dragon, to convey the cosmopolitanism of their premises, as well as placing English, rather than French, in their signage.

It is in Nice where we the practices in Italy are most strikingly echoed; international cuisine is marketed to both a domestic and tourist audience through English, such as at the café *Pita Break* (Figure 6.7), and *Chicken Baba* (Figure 6.8). These are not the hybrid forms seen in

Marseilles, Ajaccio, or Perpignan, but are exclusively in approximant forms of English (since standard English doubles the middle consonant in *pitta*).

Pita Break (Figure 6.7) addresses an audience not expected to read only French, and also speaks to its potential customers in English, Italian, and Arabic. The functional dominance of French, however, is confirmed again, whereby information on the nature of the business as a delicatessen, which serves food to be taken away is provided in French and French alone at the top of the sign. We contend that this sign, whilst appealing to passing trade amongst an international audience, reinforces the significance of French by addressing its potential clientele with important information in French. Speakers of Italian, or even those who merely recognize 'Welcome' are encouraged to consider *Pita Break* as a business where they can buy food, regardless of their nationality or linguistic repertoire. For *Chicken Baba* (Figure 6.8), the café owners rely on the semiotic resource of an image of a smiling chicken, giving the thumbs up, as well as an awareness of the term 'chicken' as a culinary item, to attract customers. In terms of cosmopolitanism, we

Figure 6.7 Café name using English in Nice

Figure 6.8 Café name using English in Nice

return here to Diogenes' Asia Minor with both these signs drawing at the same time on English and Turkish/Greek/Arabic borrowings with resonance across several languages. English is but one of the semiotic resources deployed, and in both cases (Figures 6.7 and 6.8), we detect the transnational cosmopolitanism but not at the high prestige end of the spectrum.

From the perspective of elite cosmopolitanism, English retains a prestigious position on the linguistic market of French Mediterranean cities. We contend that there are two aspects of elite cosmopolitanism attested by the signs in the LL. On the one hand, English connotes high-end tourism and travel, identified with the British (English) interest in the French Riviera during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, in the town of Menton, to the east of Nice, we see the street sign for *Edward VII Avenue* (also known locally as *Avenue Edward VII*) which is named in commemoration of the British king's visit to the town when he was the Prince of Wales (Figure 6.9). The interest shown by the British aristocracy in the French Riviera is

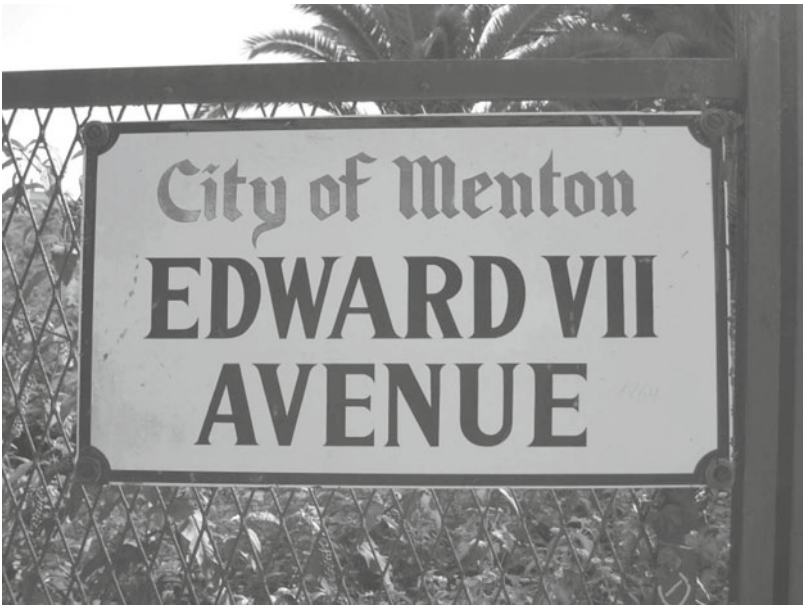

Figure 6.9 Street name in Menton

well known, and both the late king and his mother, Queen Victoria, spent time along the Mediterranean coast. This elite cosmopolitanism is expressed not only in the naming of a street after a British monarch, but also in the font of the sign, and the syntax.

We contend that this sign can be read in more than one way. Morphosyntactically, the sign can be understood to be presented in English (with the name of the street preceding the noun, whereas French syntax would place the noun – avenue – before its qualifier), but *avenue* is a French borrowing into English. Where this sign deploys semiotic resources connoting with elite cosmopolitanism is the use of fonts associated with the City of Westminster's traditional street signs. Not only does the sign denote a late British monarch, but in using the font and colours of street signs from one of London's most elite districts, it invokes nineteenth- and early twentieth-century sophistication, power, and taste.

This more historical employment of English to convey elite cosmopolitanism is complemented by modern and contemporary uses of English. In Chapter 5, in the case study of Marseilles and Naples, we

highlight the use of French alongside Arabic in the signs associated with international banking. Figure 6.10 shows the façade of the *Attijariwafa Bank* on the *Canebière* in Marseilles.

The *Attijariwafa Bank* is Morocco's largest bank, with bilingual signage on its premises in the centre of Marseilles. However, unlike the *BCME (la Banque Marocaine du Commerce Extérieur*), another Moroccan bank with a branch in Marseilles, the *Attijariwafa Bank* addresses its clientele (both actual and potential) in English through its signage on the streets of Marseilles. Here, the prestige of English-language banking and finance, with connotations of Wall Street in New York, the London Stock Exchange, and the US Federal Reserve is indexed by the use of the English-language term *bank* instead of *banque* in French.

Transgressive signs in the French cities surveyed for this project are few and far between – there is very little graffiti in English on the walls of Ajaccio, Marseilles, Nice and Perpignan. Where such splashes of English appear, they are usually banal in their nature, such as the sign on *l'Avenue de Général Charles de Gaulle* in Perpignan which reads *Fuck Prades* – a criticism of a neighbouring town and former 'capital' of the historic Catalan *comarca* (or county) of Northern Catalonia. Equally banal and conveying little beyond an awareness of the English-language term is the appearance of the word *love*, either on its own (as attested on the *boulevard Jeanne d'Arc* in Marseilles) or in a basic phrase such as *I love you* (recorded on the walls of the *rue Paul Colonna d'Istria* in Ajaccio). In Marseilles, one example of the transgressive use of English which identifies the author with a specific sub-culture is the sign on the *rue des Pistoles* in Marseilles which reads *So much anger built inside*, which is a line from Gang Starr's 1992 track *I'm the Man*. In general, and especially in comparison with the Italian Mediterranean cities, there is very little English-language graffiti to be found in the French coastal cities, and no attested use of English in graffiti at all in Nice. From this, we contend

Figure 6.10 The Attijariwafa Bank in Marseilles

that English is rarely one of the semiotic resources for which those writing on the walls of French Mediterranean cities reach.

Polylanguaging is the most widely attested practice that leads to the presence of English in the LL of French Mediterranean cities. Here, globalization, and especially the transnational flow of products, accounts for the widest visibility of English. To a certain degree, this visibility of English is what we might understand to be banal. Since Billig's discussion of banal nationalism (1995), scholars have explored banality in sociolinguistics, including Thurlow and Jaworski's assessment of banal globalization (2011), and Puzey's application of banal linguistic nationalism in the LL (2012). From the perspective of English in the Mediterranean, we see banal multilingualism insofar as our approach to data collection identifies and codes multilingualism as a widespread feature of the public space, but this multilingualism does not refer to plurilingual individuals, but to the emplacement of several languages in a given LL as a consequence of globalization. In Marseilles alone, multilingual packaging constitutes almost 60 per cent of the signs which feature English (n = 172). In the window of a hairdresser's on the *boulevard de la Concorde*, 50 bottles of *L'Oréal* shampoo whose trilingual information panels – in French, English, and Spanish – certainly place English in the public space in Marseilles. However, the extent to which this presence of English reflects anything other than the combination of the product labelling strategy employed by the *L'Oréal Group* and the consequences of the transnational movement of products is limited. In these examples, English is not used on product labelling as part of the trends in cosmopolitanism discussed above. Instead, we contend that this use of English is mundane and economically driven by manufacturers for whom making a multilingual information label is not primarily designed to address a multilingual clientele, but rather to permit the flow of goods between markets where three different languages are in wide use.

Conclusions

On the basis of our examination of English in ten sites on the French and Italian Mediterranean coastline, we return to the suggestion of global citizenship – as identified by Diogenes – to ask whether the English language, or what is understood by several million people along the Mediterranean shore as 'English' has become the defining characteristic of cosmopolitanism in the LL. As a semiotic resource and as a stylistic device and practice, English in the French and Italian LL is part

of a multimodal discourse in the construction of city subjectivities. It is part of sign repertoires of an individual or a community (Bateman, 2011) and it both indexes and constructs different types of cosmopolitanism, which is highly situated and multi-layered. The remarkable transactional value of English, due to its exceptional status as a global lingua franca, explains the high degree of its visibility, its currency, and its commodification.

The data gathered and analysed in this study points to an 'idea of English' (Seargeant, 2009) that is not universal, something which might not initially seem surprising. Where this is striking is that the value attributed to the 'English' used shifts perceptibly on either side of the national border. A pertinent example is the use of English in commercial activity. Where there is an overlap in France and Italy in the commodification of English in the economic market is in the food and drink industry, especially in retail. In particular, the data attests that the non-national food service industry employs widely the English language (such as *Chicken Baba* in Nice, *Thai China Fast Food* in Marseilles, *Bangladesh Garden* in Palermo and *Snack Quick* [sic] in Genoa), but these are not the traditional high-quality restaurants, especially those identified with the prestigious national cuisines of France and Italy. As such, we extend the 'mythologies' identified for France by Barthes (1957) beyond wine, milk, and steak and chips to include high-value cuisine, on the basis of the languages used to index national culinary traditions. The divergence in a shared 'idea of English' is highlighted in elite cosmopolitanism where the data suggests that what we are coding as English fulfils the role of conveying prestige much more extensively in Italy than in France. In part, the weight of language ideologies, which have in France fixed English as a challenger to French since the start of the twentieth century, contributes to the value ascribed to the English language. This deprecation of English is not indicated by the findings in Italy, where English uncontroversially actualizes different values in the LL and where a historical lack of institutional attention with respect to the foreignization of the public space is exemplified by scarce or non-existent legislation.

Despite its global reach, and despite the fact that it is the second most visible named language in the LL, English has not come to dominate visually the public space in either France or Italy. Despite a narrative whereby English is seen insidiously to infiltrate the towns and cities in which we live, we have not found that English competes meaningfully or in a threatening way in comparison with the national languages of French and Italian. Indeed, its quantitative visibility exceeds only

fractionally the regional languages, most notably Corsican, in the LL of these Mediterranean cities. English indexes alterity in ways that some managers of language choose to exploit. On Corsica, in a side street in Ajaccio, the naming of a bar *Le Freedom* signals a particular value and connotes with a specific concept. Given the social and political context of Corsica, as discussed more fully in Chapter 4, the naming of this bar in French would chime discordantly with nationalist ideologies on the island; for those seeking at the very least greater autonomy within the French state, to call a bar on Corsica '*La Liberté*' is notable for several, potentially conflicting reasons. At the same time, the choice of Corsican as the name for the bar would embed the establishment, its owners, and its clientele in a distinctive ideology; naming the bar '*La Libertà*' resonates with a particular section of Corsican society. '*Le Freedom*', however, with its French morphological marker, calls on the visual repertoire (Blommaert, 2013, pp. 43–4) of potential customers and hints at the cosmopolitanism we have explored in this chapter. It could also be argued that the deliberate language mix represented by the French article *le* and the English noun *freedom* performs a cosmopolitan identity where regional and insular perceptions of Corsica need to be obscured, and this is particularly meaningful with respect to our discussion of insularity in Chapter 4. From this perspective it is interesting to note that at times English appeared before Sardinian in Cagliari. For instance, a sign on the premises of a local association, where the verbal message was arranged vertically, welcomed passers-by in English first, then in Sardinian and lastly in Italian, therefore establishing a hierarchy in the multiple identities enacted by the sign itself.

7
Conclusions: The Transformative Power of Emplaced Language

Introduction

LL is a defining quality of the urban fabric, understood as a web of multiple meaning-making activities. LL agents interact with, transform, and challenge cityscapes as sites of evolving networks of individuals and groups, and of political and socio-economic processes. They participate in the construction of a communicational landscape that is composed of both explicit and implicit relations so that it also points to invisible or silenced linguistic dynamics. Discussions about language are rarely about language itself but about the discourses woven around language and via the medium of language. Choosing a language to construct a narrative is never a neutral act, as expressed by Bakhtin (1981, p. 294) 'Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others.' In the course of the book we have highlighted themes as they emerged from our fieldwork and from our reflections in relation to a sociolinguistics of place. In this sense, our analyses are firmly anchored in physical spaces that narrate localized stories and relational processes within given sociocultural sites. At the same time, however, we contend that the dynamics which we have observed also exemplify directions, approaches, and developments which can be shared and explored further in LL studies and beyond.

In our concluding remarks we propose a characterization of space on a metaphorical and symbolic level and in order to highlight the main aspects of this project. We remain conscious that spaces and places conflate and intersect, therefore producing those traits which confer a unique character to our urban environments.

National spaces

It is hardly surprising that the two national standard languages dominate the LL of the respective Mediterranean cities. French, explicitly identified as the language of the Republic in the Constitution since 1992, and demanded in all commercial activity since the Toubon law of 1994, saturates the public space in France. Given that this is the first language for almost every citizen of France, acquired by migrants seeking French nationality, and the lingua franca for many immigrants to France, it is to be expected that a francophone public emplaces the French language across the LL, including the Mediterranean cities discussed in this book. As a consequence of the centuries of directive language management strategies and aggressive gallicization processes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is more striking to note the proportion of signs which do not feature the French language (Table 7.1)

There is an average, therefore, of 15 per cent of the signs encountered in these French Mediterranean cities which do not feature French. In many cases, these are signs which are predominantly English, and a very small proportion of these are the regional languages, both of which we discuss below. The iterations of French point to a widely accepted discourse that French is the written code to be used in France, in part because this exemplifies Spolsky and Cooper's Sign Rules one and two which point to knowledge of the language and its instrumental use (1991, pp. 81–4). In other words, French is widely used for the fairly obvious reasons that it is known by the overwhelming majority, and used between them in written texts so as to facilitate communication. Its absence is due, we argue, to the other factors in the construction of place that we discuss below.

Table 7.1 Distribution of signs featuring French in the survey areas in France

	Total no. of signs	**No. of signs featuring French**	**Proportion of all signs featuring French**
Corsica	9,122	7,763	85.1%
Northern Catalonia	9,645	7,409	76.8%
Marseilles	9,909	8,590	86.7%
Nice/Monaco	7,738	7,102	91.8%
Total / average	36,414	30,864	84.8%

Table 7.2 Distribution of signs featuring Italian in the survey areas in Italy

	Total no. of signs	**No. of signs featuring Italian**	**Proportion of all signs featuring Italian**
Cagliari	11,379	9,031	79.3%
Genoa	7,352	6,484	88.1%
Naples	12,724	10,704	84.1%
Palermo	10,528	9,359	88.8%
Trieste	9,628	8,029	83.4%
Total / average	51,611	43,607	84.5%

As can be seen in Table 7.2, it is striking to note that Italian dominates the public space of the sites surveyed in an almost identical fashion to French in France.

The statistics return a situation of fundamental similarity in terms of the visibility of the two national languages. Their appropriation of the public space has taken place by virtue of standard language ideologies (Milroy, 2001) which rest primarily on extensive bodies of written production and on transmitted models of language elegance and correctness which are rooted in the aesthetic visions promoted by purist attitudes (see Chapter 1). Their dissemination is the result of different language management styles directed at regulating language practices, and the impact in terms of the stigmatization of local languages has been equally effective. What the statistics do not reveal, however, is the type of information on language use which is collected by organizations such as ISTAT (ISTAT, 2014a). This information confirms a situation of multilingualism for Italy that has been further enriched by the linguistic repertoires which the millions of migrants who have settled in the country in recent decades draw upon in their daily activities.

Another aspect is that French and Italian (as well as other national languages) in the LL do not often bring to the fore voice and agency for those who are able to contribute fleeting inscriptions in the standard language or those who are silenced in their written universe. In these instances the LL does not account for social disparities as they are revealed in written language practices in a part of the world where sophisticated levels of literacy in the standard language are essential for a full participation in the mechanisms of communal life. However, in comparison with France, the LL of Italy is manipulated by a more diversified range of language agents. Whilst this is partly due to the lack

of norms governing the appearance of languages in the public space, it also testifies to the range of linguistic repertoires available to the population and, crucially, to the fact that increasingly individuals and groups have displayed (often metalinguistically) the array of linguistic resources available to them with newly found confidence.

Regional spaces and localized identities

As highlighted in the Introduction, the concept of minority *language* is not uncontroversial and established discourses around minorities are flawed inasmuch as the terms of the debate are usually dictated by majority views (Philibert, 1990). In Italy, the recognition of national minorities was an integral part of discourses of reconstruction in the post-war period (Chapter 1). This perspective led to a number of institutional initiatives for the safeguarding of national languages represented in Italy which subsequently included other territorial languages in a somewhat arbitrary manner (Toso, 2008a). The most notable exclusions from national provision were the dialects, all those local varieties which still play an active part in individual and group repertoires. Our data indicates that the internalization of minoritization processes is played out in the LL in a range of modalities and that diverse components of localized identities are enacted via written language practices. Significantly, official recognition and status are not directly related to the visibility of the language varieties in question. The paucity of signs featuring Sardinian in the LL of Cagliari (n = 31), for instance, is inferior only to the number of signs displaying Triestino in Trieste (n = 22). Even though they do not enjoy language status, Genoese, Sicilian and Neapolitan appeared with similar frequency in the respective LLs (n = 55; n = 48; n = 53).

Slovenian marks the public space of the province of Trieste more prominently (n = 220), and this is in part the result of national legislation introduced in 2001. However, this is also a consequence of minoritization processes which entail linguistic appropriation of the public space on the part of institutions. As shown in Chapter 3, Slovenian is employed in the performance of the border at the national, regional, and local levels. Boundedness and separation also reinforce perceptions of external peripherality with respect to Trieste. Triestino is in turn assigned internal peripherality in the construction of a localized identity, whilst othering processes with respect to Slovenian speakers are primarily delegated to Italian in the westernmost strip of land of the national territory.

Localized identities in the LL of Sardinia and Sicily have been elaborated in particularly complex settings and are the result of multiple pressures and tensions deriving from competing models of regionalism within contradicting experiences of insularity. This includes the linguistic exploitation of tradition according to modalities afforded by global trends such as the massification of tourism and trade. The spatialization of core islandness has been replicated at different levels on the islands so that it is possible to identify gradients of nested insularity in the configuration of both local and transnational spaces (see below). In addition, local languages in both islands are employed to construct and contest discourses of peripherality and, particularly in Sardinia, this has entailed a minimization in the display of the local language as part of a developing relationship between the centre and the periphery. The fact that Cagliari is the regional capital of the island, and therefore the city which receives and disseminates institutional management from the centre, further reinforces this point.

Genoese and Neapolitan represent carriers of local culture in the wider regions and elaborations of the past as cultural capital are evident in both LLs, even though the ISTAT surveys consulted in the course of the project highlight the significant differences in dialect use in the two sites. That Neapolitan is a viable means of communication, however, is testified by the range of functions that the dialect fulfils even in public spaces normally inscribed in Italian. Conversely, Genoese participates in the construction of localized identities either in its being anchored in the past or in its becoming a component of global citizenship performed within moveable identity borders. The respective LL also show that both local languages are employable for operations of city branding, therefore contributing to a level of normalization of dialect use.

The minorization processes identified above have been echoed in France, albeit with greater zeal and, arguably, more widespread success, to the extent that some of the regional languages of France have been positioned as obsolescent, given the declining numbers of speakers, the increasing rarity of language use, and the persistent exclusion from domains pertinent for revitalization. This marginalization extends to the widespread absence of regional languages from the public spaces, and nowhere is this more acute than in Marseilles, where no signs in the 20 survey areas included either Occitan or Provençal. Despite the historic significance of Marseilles in the founding myth of modern Occitan revitalization, the regional language no longer – according to our surveys – conveys symbolically the city's past as a major city of Provençal-speaking Provence. Even more notable is the evidence that

neither Occitan nor Provençal is appropriated by the civic authorities to index the city's past. As discussed below when exploring transnational spaces, Marseilles distinguishes itself for having largely erased linguistic diversity from its walls.

In striking contradistinction, Corsican is the most widely iterated regional language across all nine cities examined for this book. The 592 signs coded as featuring Corsican point to the creation of a cultural identity grounded in the regional language, conveyed to domestic, national, and international audiences through linguistic (and semiotic) resources. In part as a consequence of the island's peripherality, which resulted in the emergence of a confident representation of Corsica as other than mainland France, and given the internal circulation of ideas of Corsican-ness across the island, a localized linguistic identity, with an echo in the LL, has emerged. Corsica's island status contributes to the development of this ethno-linguistic identity, whereas in Northern Catalonia, the connections with Catalan cultural identity across the national border with Spain contribute in part to the creation of a regional space that does not respect the sovereign borders of France or Spain. Catalan in Northern Catalonia appears less frequently than Slovenian in Trieste province (n = 118) but is considerably more widespread than the Italian dialects investigated here. This cross-border identity, reinforced by semiotic resources – most notably the colours of red and yellow – explains the visibility of Catalan, especially in relation to France's regional languages which cannot turn to the use of the variety beyond the national borders for support and the flow of cultural matter. In this study, this applies in particular to Nissart and Monegasque which have only the faintest of traces in the LL (five and 35 signs respectively). In both these cases, the emplacement of the regional languages is a new phenomenon and part of a tradition that is starting to take hold rather than the inverse. Although a long way from indexing a specific role, especially given the prominent alternative languages in the local repertoires (Italian for Nice, English for Monaco), the iterations of Nissart and Monegasque suggest the establishment of a branding of Nice and Monaco that recognizes the place of the respective regional languages.

Transnational spaces and identities

Transnational spaces are identifiable in all the Italian cityscapes which we have investigated and transnational subjectivities participate in discursive practices, even when their traces are sporadic. This is the case of

Trieste, for example, where occasional displays of Chinese (not included in the main discussion in Chapter 3) which were concentrated in the area around the main railway station point to the existence of a triple layer of peripherality in the area, with patterns of boundary-making practices being replicated at the national, regional, and local levels. This differs from the spatialization practices identified in Palermo, where the mental representations of areas of disadvantage were mapped onto the spatial distribution of linguistic repertoires. Language practices in areas of the city centre point to the emergence of patterns of nested insularity insofar as they have been led by migrant linguistic and cultural insularization which has taken place within existing patterns. This type of insularity shows blurred boundaries and outlets of connectivity, as exemplified by the Ghanaian exploitation of semiotic resources. Semiotic, non-verbal resources are employed in Cagliari more widely, where the particularly mobile and scattered nature of migrant groups has evidenced practices of spatial demarcation (Blommaert, 2013) with primary identity functions aimed to claim ownership on portions of social reality. This, too, can be interpreted through the lens of nested insularity realized via a multiplicity of micro-sites. Transnational LL spaces in Genoa are epitomized by *Via Prè*, where migrant languages perform both national identities and wider diasporic identities and they actualize processes of re-territorialization with shifting and moveable borders. The narrative constructed by migrant languages in Naples, finally, is accommodated into existing postcolonial discourses of subalternity and exoticism (Fabietti, 2006). In addition, the LL highlights that discourses of precariousness are underpinned by a re-functionalization of space, as exemplified by both the LL in *Piazza Garibaldi* and invisible language practices as reported in ethnographic sources (Ammaturo et al., 2010).

In the French Mediterranean cities, transnational spaces are far more fluid than in Italy, often to the point where the data suggests if not the erasure of migrant groups, certainly their extreme marginalization. This is most striking of all in Marseilles, regarded as one of France's most ethnically diverse cities, and home to high proportions of Arab- and Berber-speaking communities of North African ethnicity, as well as a significant Comorian population. In the ten most central districts of Marseilles, in which these communities live (in addition to their concentration in the city's northern *banlieues*), Arabic leaves a mere trace in the public space, and demarcates individual premises, such as a halal butcher's shop or an Islamic bookshop, rather than visibly bordered places. Even more noteworthy is the almost complete absence

of Portuguese; despite the fact that the Portuguese, since 1982, have been the single biggest ethno-national group in France after the French (INSEE, 2006), there is no demarcation of a transnational Portuguese space in any of the cities surveyed. A popular narrative has emerged which characterizes the Portuguese as invisible immigrants, whereby they are portrayed as white Roman Catholic Europeans, indistinguishable from the French. Based on our data, the Portuguese are further elided into France's population by the absence of written forms of the language on the walls of Marseilles, Nice, Perpignan, and Ajaccio.

There is a more discernible trend for the construction of space that indexes Italian migration, most strikingly – for obvious reasons – in Nice, Monaco, and Ajaccio. In these cities, and especially in Nice, we observe traces of transnational flows that head westwards from Italy into France, a pattern not replicated in the reverse direction. Over recent centuries, economic migration and geopolitical shifts explain the presence of Italians in significant numbers in the French Mediterranean cities, but unlike the Portuguese, who do not create lusophone borders in the LL, Italian speakers are addressed and address each other in the public space. In part, proximity between France and Italy explains this visibility, and new trends in Northern Catalonia point to a long delayed echo of this phenomenon, where the civic authorities, already addressing catalanophones in Perpignan, are belatedly speaking to Castilian speakers through texts erected in the last few years.

English and cosmopolitan spaces

Despite what one might conclude from the narrative carefully woven by France's elite, the English language occupies a minor place in the LL of the country's Mediterranean cities. Proportionally, whilst English is the second most widely attested language in Northern Catalonia, Ajaccio, Marseilles, Nice, and Monaco, there are very few iterations of the language, and far fewer signs featuring English in the French cities investigated here in comparison with the Italian cities. Moreover, the visibility of English is most often explained as a consequence of the free mobility of goods within the EU and the wider implications of globalization, such as the use of English by a Moroccan bank with global aspirations. In other words, despite the widely rehearsed ideology of English as a threat to the French language, there is little evidence to suggest that English challenges the practical communicative role performed by the national standard language. Moreover, despite the symbolic role ascribed to the English language, where it indexes variously modernity,

technology, and popular culture, our data point less to these attributes and more to alterity, especially in the food retail industry. Whilst high-end restaurants address the passer-by in French, international foods, especially those in less formal eateries use English in the act of naming their café or small restaurant. In this respect, cosmopolitanism in France's Mediterranean LL is performed by the English language more often when the value of the product is lower than a French equivalent. High-value clothes boutiques, award-winning restaurants, and all space managed by the various levels of the civic authorities eschew English in favour of French.

Counter-examples are provided by instances of elite cosmopolitanism, but these are less widespread in the French cities investigated here than the Italian ones. This elite cosmopolitanism points to various prestige associations made with the English language, including the identification with the French Riviera's illustrious past as the destination of choice for the British royal family, or the connotations of luxury entextualized in semi-permanent posters advertising the auction of oriental carpets in Monaco. The LL of French Mediterranean cities, however, rarely attest to the use of English as a lingua franca, and instead French more widely assumes this role – a point which reinforces the significance of the national standard languages in both countries, as discussed above. Although these cities on France's coastline welcome significant numbers of tourists, including English-speaking ones from the United Kingdom, there is little evidence of translations into English for non-francophone visitors. It is the case that, where a translation is provided, English is the default language, but the approach to addressing non-French speakers is inconsistent, and cosmopolitanism in France certainly does not equate to the widespread visibility of English. Despite the metaphorical hand-wringing on the part of France's elite, the self-appointed watchdogs, and the various pressure groups about the threat posed to French, English has been marginalized in the LL, and we contend that, at least in part, this is the consequence of the internalization of language ideologies which simultaneously elevate the status of French and diminish the pertinence of English. Centuries of strategies to form language beliefs that create this shared understanding, and directive policies to balance, at the very least, every iteration of the English language with a French equivalent, point to a restrained presence of English.

Our data shows that the LL of Italy is much more varied and multilingual than the LL of France, and that a high number of languages compete in the construction of the urban space. On the one hand,

this is a consequence of limited attempts to police public displays of multiple language varieties, and, as a result, the foreignization of public areas is created and recreated by social actors who do not apply self-policing (Foucault, 1975) when inscribing the walls of Italian cities. Although occasionally alarmed voices are raised against the alleged invasion of Italian by English, defensive attitudes are in the minority, and foreign words continue to dot the cityscapes of Italy either because they carry cultural stereotypes in their symbolic usage or because of the extreme mobility of goods and services which characterizes commercial exchanges in the postmodern era. What looks like a rather indiscriminate employment of English in the LL of Italy, however, can be dissected to reveal more fine-grained manipulations in the performance of cosmopolitan identities. These can be observed in examples which range from the banal through to the politically engaged and the transnational, and are exemplified by what can be decoded as 'English' in local company names, on shop signs, in graffiti, and as a component of elite cosmopolitanism conferring distinction in social semiotic practices. English contributes to the performance of transnational identities and, interestingly, it proves to be of versatile applicability in transnational understandings and experiences of cosmopolitan lifestyles. English participates in discourses of multimodality and stratified identities and, as a result, is a significant semiotic resource in the construction of city subjectivities.

Ultimately, we have been analysing signs in the public space, but, at the end of this book, it is worth recalling that the LL is constructed by people with competing motivations, desires, and tendencies. The discourses entextualized on the walls of Nice, Monaco, Genoa, Trieste, Perpignan, Palermo, Cagliari, Ajaccio, Marseilles, and Naples do not emerge out of the sunshine which beams down on these cities. We evoke here the individuals, groups, shopkeepers, elected representatives, artists, designers, and many other people who collectively construct identities, representations, aspirations, and realities that coalesce in the Linguistic Landscapes of the Mediterranean.

Notes

An Introduction to Mediterranean Linguistic Landscapes

1. See for example Reh (2004), Gorter (2006), Backhaus (2007), Barni and Bagna (2009), Ben-Rafael (2009) and Kallen (2010).

1 Sketching the Contexts: France and Italy

1. For an initial bibliography see, for example, Giumelli (2012).
2. For new dialectal uses see, for example, Sobrero and Miglietta (2006), Marcato (2006) and (2012), and Miola (2012).
3. The text can be read in Italian, French, and English in Ferreri (2010). For a discussion, see, for example, Lo Duca (2003).
4. A range of labels for varieties of French have been identified; for example, Massian (1985) classifies five categories of French, whereas Battye et al. (2000) name three labels.
5. For a detailed account see Serianni and Trifone (1994).
6. In spite of this, according to recent research Italian remains the fourth most studied language in the world. See Italian Foreign Office (2014).

2 The Linguistic Landscapes of Borders: France and Italy

1. See Newman (2008) and Diener and Hagen (2009) for short summaries of these debates around the turn of the new millennium.
2. This echoes the Mediterranean topos which we discuss more fully in Chapter 5.
3. We address élite cosmopolitanism in Chapter 6.
4. European legislation altering visa requirements can be accessed at the following website: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2003:069:0010:0010:EN:PDF
5. See, for example, the newspaper article by Destefanis *Botte e coltelli, il Far West di Prè* http://genova.repubblica.it/cronaca/2013/08/18/news/botte_e_coltelli_il_far_west_di_pr-64925100/
6. Unfortunately the term *latinos* is often used in association with the phenomenon of gangs in the Italian cities with relatively large groups of Latin-American migrants. See for example La Stampa (2013).

3 Peripherality in the Border Areas with Catalonia and Trieste

1. Finzi and Panjek (2001), however, highlight that the historically idealized portrayal of Trieste as a model of a multinational and multicultural city relates primarily to the urban elites. The different languages and cultures that have

passed through or stayed in Trieste have often acted more as barriers than as bridges between different groups.
2. For a more detailed discussion of the historical background see Tufi (2013b).
3. Varieties of *veneto coloniale* (colonial Venetan) became established in those areas of Friuli not bordering venetophone areas after Venice's conquest of Friuli in 1420. Venetan became the prestige variety (Finco and Rizzolatti, 2005) and was adopted by the local elites, subsequently spreading to other social groups (Penello, 2005). Friuli was under Venetan rule until 1797.
4. In the post-war period five Italian regions were granted special statutes that ensured a degree of autonomy in the administration of internal affairs. Three of them are border regions with identifiable ethno-linguistic features and whose *dachsprachen* correspond to national languages spoken just across the border: FVG – Slovenian, Trentino-Alto Adige – German and Valle d'Aosta – French. The other two are Sicily and Sardinia, the two largest islands in Italy (see Chapter 4).
5. In 1863 G. I. Ascoli was the first to propose the term Venezia Giulia to name the regional area currently bordering with Slovenia. Venezia Giulia was one of three *Venezie*, together with Venezia Tridentina (current Trentino-Alto Adige) and Venezia Euganea (current Veneto and central and western Friuli). Ascoli's considerations were primarily based on linguistic grounds (Salimbeni, 1980, p. 58).
6. The law is about public funding made available to support expenses incurred by local authorities for the translation and the production of material to be displayed in public spaces in the relevant minority language.
7. See Marley (1995, p. 18) for details of responses to the sociolinguistic survey commissioned during the French Revolution.

4 Insularity in the Linguistic Landscapes of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica

1. In the press, articles referring to the state of abandonment of Sardinia and Sicily abound, and were a common feature in France when discussing Corsica, until the creation of the Regional Assembly in the 1980s.
2. See Tufi (2013a) for an account of the context and the main issues relating to the codification of Sardinian.
3. For a full discussion on the process, see Adrey (2009), Blackwood (2008), and Jaffe (1999).
4. We fully recognize that this and other examples have the potential to fulfil more than one function, and it is equally the case that the deployment of Corsican in this signs is symbolic and indexes Corsican ethno-linguistic cultural identity.

5 Social Representations of Marseilles and Naples' Linguistic Landscapes

1. See, for example, Blackwood (2011), Muth (2012), and Mettewie *et al.* (2012).
2. Our matching of Marseilles with Naples is also noted by Dell'Umbria (2006, p. 12) who includes Barcelona to create a trio of comparable Mediterranean cities.

3. We address issues of cosmopolitanism in Chapter 6, and understand Temime's use of the word in the most generic of senses.
4. In the Odyssey (Book XII) Ulysses wants to listen to Parthenope's irresistibly seductive voice, but he has been warned by Circe that the sirens will lure him to death. He therefore plugs up his men's ears with beeswax and tells them to tie him to the mast of the ship to stop him from jumping overboard to join the sirens. Ulysses' plan was successful, but Parthenope threw herself into the sea out of desperation and died.
5. TV broadcasts of the theatrical production by Eduardo De Filippo (1900–1984) and regular repeats of films interpreted by Neapolitan actor Totò (1898–1967) are just two examples of the wide dissemination of Neapolitan cultural products (and language) via television. Neapolitan song was taken beyond the national borders by Neapolitan migrants and Enrico Caruso represents an illustrious example for singing at the Metropolitan Opera in New York in the early 1900s. Neapolitan is used in different musical genres as well and contemporary singer-songwriter Pino Daniele's jazz-rock production is a successful example of a non-traditional style sung in Neapolitan.
6. It suffices to mention the controversial *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (1958) by Edward C. Banfield, who theorized that 'amoral familism' was the ethos characterizing community life in southern Italy insofar as family interests were pursued at the expense of community relations and the pursuing of the common good. Rather than amoral familism being considered a likely consequence of historical processes and of the socio-economic structure of parts of southern Italy, the category was used as an analytical tool to explain the dynamics of family-centred relations and their detrimental influences.
7. The IEO was modelled on the Institute for Catalan Studies, founded in 1907.
8. Montuori (2006, p. 178), however, highlights the factors that may encourage a higher diatopic homogenization of Campanian dialects in the future. These are recent emigration from Naples to the rest of the region and not just from parts of the region to Naples, the fact that social interaction is currently more diversified than it was among closed rural communities in the past and the influence of the Neapolitan linguistic model, which has become rather Italianized over time and therefore can accommodate Italian expressions whilst still carrying identity functions.
9. This does not mean that there have not been episodes of intolerance or that Naples represents an idyllic shell for migrants. To some extent the worsening of the economic crisis has affected the traditional welcoming attitude of locals, as reported in the press and other sources. See, for example, Petruccelli (2013) and Ammaturo et al. (2010).

6 Cosmopolitan Linguistic Landscapes of the Mediterranean

1. Boon and Delanty (2007), however, point out the essentially legalistic dimension of Kantian cosmopolitanism: individual cosmopolitanism and world citizenship can only be realized in the presence of strong international law. Given that this vision presumes the existence of consolidated national entities, '… [Kant's] legalistic cosmopolitanism may even turn out to foster nationalism as such' (2007, p. 22).

2. Recent legislation about 'Made in Italy' products is a case in point. Law 8 April 2012, no.55 established that products can be branded 'Made in Italy' if the production process has taken place *predominantly* in Italy and in particular if at least two stages of the production process have been completed in the country. Although the law was conceived primarily to safeguard Italian industry from counterfeiting, the wording of the law concedes explicitly that many Italian companies have de-localized. This is in order to manufacture their goods in countries where labour is cheaper.
3. See, for example, recent legislation in Bologna, Comune di Bologna (2012) http://www.comune.bologna.it/media/files/odg_223_2012_mod_reg_insegne.pdf) and discussions carried out in the municipality of Treviso as reported in Tuveri (2011).
4. See for example the article by Bignami (2007) 'Provincia, addio al question time' http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2007/03/01/provincia-addio-al-question-time.html?ref=search
5. See Chapter 1 for examples of linguistic intolerance in pre-fascist times. Although at times the debate was rather heated, both within institutions and in the press, this was not followed by national legislation. As discussed in Chapter 1, however, linguistic purism and its political exploitation had long-term effects in terms of the consolidation of linguistic prejudice and in the formation of negative language attitudes and opinions towards dialects and non-standard Italian.
6. See Note.4 for a reference to legislation on *Made in Italy* branding.

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