The linguistic landscapes of Girona and Perpignan: A contrastive study of the display of the Catalan language in top-down signage

Lipovsky, Caroline
University of Sydney

1 Introduction

This study aims to examine the ways in which the Catalan language is presented to locals and visitors in the towns of Girona in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia and Perpignan in Northern Catalonia through an analysis of their linguistic landscapes. The linguistic landscape, because of the influence of public institutions and entities on its shaping, constitutes an ideal focus to investigate the status of regional languages and influence of national and local language policies. Indeed, 'the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice [… and] sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society' (Shohamy 2006, 110).

Catalonia's linguistic landscape has attracted much interest, as shown in the studies that contrast quantitatively the use of Catalan vs. Castilian. Surveys of shop and business signs in Barcelona (Solé Camardons 1997; Cazo 2004) highlight a discrepancy in the choice of languages of identifying signs vs. informative signs. Effectively, while identifying signage (e.g. business names, trademarks) shows a relative predominance of Catalan over Castilian text, informative signage (e.g. opening hours, special offers, prices, menus) shows a clear predominance of Castilian. Moreover, between 1997 and 2004, the use of Catalan in identifying signage increased slightly, whereas the use of Castilian increased significantly within informative signage. A longitudinal study conducted between 2001 and 2006 in 15 Catalan cities by the Catalan government (Fabà – Llaberia 2008) highlights a stronger presence of Catalan in public contexts (administration, teaching and health) and identifying signage. Similarly, a study of advertising in Barcelona (Solé i Camardons 1998) points to the predominance of Catalan in advertisements for public services. Other studies focus on multilingualism linked to the presence of immigrants in diverse Barcelonian districts. A study of shop and businesses signs (Comajoan Colomé – Long 2012) shows that while Castilian prevails quantitatively, Catalan is visually more salient, while a study of shops and businesses on Barcelona's Avinguda Gaudí (Comajoan Colomé 2013) outlines the significant role of Catalan in commercial signage with a presence in nearly half of all signs, although Castilian gains in significance in informational signs.

Studies conducted in France on the other hand attest to the restricted place of signs using the Catalan language in the linguistic landscape of Northern Catalonia. Blackwood (2010; Blackwood – Tufi 2015), in two surveys

completed in 2008 and 2014, estimated their proportion at 2% of surveyed signs at 10 sites within Perpignan and 1.4% in 10 neighbouring towns in the *Pyrénées Orientales Département*. In Perpignan, the vast majority of Catalan monolingual signs were found to be bottom-up (or private) signs, whereas top-down (or government) signs were mostly French-Catalan bilingual.

The contrasting of cities has been shown to be fruitful for highlighting distinct approaches to the use of language in the linguistic landscape - see Leeuwarden and San Sebastian (Cenoz – Gorter 2006), Brussels and Montreal (Mettewie *et al.* 2012), Gandía and Valencia in the Valencian-speaking area (Lado 2011). In the same vein, this study seeks to examine and contrast the status of the Catalan language afforded by national and local public institutions and entities in Girona and Perpignan. The analysis is based on the study of particular sites (post-office, train station, tourist sites) and includes fixed as well as mobile (flyers and forms) signage.

2 Catalan in France and *Pyrénées Orientales*

French language ideologies have long been based on homogenization, equating the French language with democracy and the indivisibility of the nation; consequently, regional languages became symbols of anti-nationalism (Määttä 2005). France's linguistic and educational policies have long reflected a one nation – one language ideology, showing a "preoccupation with legitimating and institutionalising French as the 'common' national language" (May, 2001, 157). Starting during the Third Republic, public schools have operated in a monolingual and unifying ideological context where the French language symbolizes national unity, with a hierarchical conception of languages where French dominates all other languages, European languages (such as English and Spanish, the most widely taught languages) hold a second place, and regional languages have only recently been legitimized (Hélot 2008). In terms of top-down policies in the public space, the 1994 *Toubon* law (Légifrance 2017) stipulates in its article 3 that "[t]oute inscription ou annonce apposée ou faite sur la voie publique […] et destinée à l'information du public doit être formulée en langue française" ([a]ny inscription affixed or announcement made in the public space, [...] and intended for the information of the public must be in French). The law aims at creating a francophone environment in the public arena and contributing to reinforcing social cohesion around a shared language ("créer un environnement francophone dans l'espace public et […] contribuer à renforcer la cohésion sociale autour d'une langue partagée" (Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France 2016a, 7). In 1999, France signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 2017). It is significant that none of the articles that were selected by France when signing the Charter went beyond 'encouraging', 'promoting' or 'developing' regional languages (Määttä 2005, 178). The Charter in any case was never ratified as it was considered incompatible with the French Constitution by the Constitutional Council. Even so, regional languages have become increasingly acknowledged in French laws, reflecting new conceptions of French national identity influenced by language ideologies predominant in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and EU treaties (Määttä 2005). Subsequently, Catalan was

officially recognized by the *Conseil Départemental des Pyrénées Orientales* as a language of the department, together with French, in December 2007. The Conseil also issued a *Charte en faveur du Catalan* (Conseil Départemental des Pyrénées Orientales 2007). Its article 4, in particular, states that

> [d]e manière générale, toutes les structures départementales (services, administrations, organismes associés et partenaires) intègrent la dimension de la langue catalane dans leurs fonctions et attributions, en particulier en ce qui concerne la communication avec le public et la signalisation.
> (in general, all departmental structures (departments, administrations, associated organizations and partners) integrate the Catalan language component into their functions and responsibilities, in particular with regard to communication with the public and signage.)

In 2008, an amendment to the French constitution (article 75-1) recognised regional languages as part of France's heritage. This recognition "represents an important step towards the softening of a rigid monolingual ideology" (Lüdi 2012, 218). The *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France* (DGLFLF), while ensuring that the French language remains pre-eminent on French soil ("veillant à garantir la primauté du français sur le territoire national"), also endeavours to valorise France's languages ("s'efforce de valoriser les langues de France") (Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France 2017). In the public space, the DGLFLF (2016b, 5) also recognizes that

> '[i]l est d'intérêt général que tous les Français, grâce à ces manifestations de présence des langues dans l'espace commun [signalisation bilingue et toponymie], puissent avoir accès à ce capital historique et culturel qu'ils connaissent mal mais qui est leur bien commun'.
> ([i]t is in the general interest that all French people, thanks to these occurrences of languages in the common space [bilingual signage and toponymy], have access to this historical and cultural capital that they know little of, but which is their common property.)

In 2016, *Pyrénées Orientales* became part of the new *Occitanie* administrative region that was created from the amalgamation of *Languedoc-Roussillon* and *Midi-Pyrénées* (Midi Libre 2016). A subheading adds *Pyrénées-Méditerranée* to *Occitanie* in all institutional communication (Conseil Régional Occitanie / Pyrénées - Méditerranée, 2016a). Although the logo for the new region includes the four stripes and gules and gold colours of Catalonia's 'senyera' or flag,[1] its name suppresses all reference to Catalanness and was contested by a number of locals (Diesnis 2016).[2] In 2017, an *Office public de la langue catalane* (OPLC) was founded to coordinate the actions of the State, *Occitanie* region and *Pyrénées Orientales Département* in the promotion of the Catalan language (Conseil Régional Occitanie /Pyrénées - Méditerranée 2016b).

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[1] https://www.laregion.fr/concours-logo
[2] Indeed, the historical region of *Occitania* (*lo País d'Òc*) where Occitan was spoken, is also much wider than the new administrative region of the same name.

3 Catalan in Spain and the Autonomous Community of Catalonia

The official language of Catalonia until the 1716 *Nueva Planta* decrees that imposed Castilian in the territory, and co-official language during the Second Spanish Republic between 1931 and 1939, Catalan is once again a co-official language of Catalonia alongside Castilian (Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France - Observatoire des pratiques linguistiques 2012). Indeed, the 1978 Spanish Constitution (Gobierno de España 1978), in its article 3, states that the Spanish languages (other than Castilian) shall also be official in their respective Autonomous Communities:

> El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.
> Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.
> (Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
> The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Self-governing Communities in accordance with their Statutes.)

The 1983 *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* (Generalitat de Catalunya 1983) sets as an objective the normalization of the use of the Catalan language in all areas and guarantees the normal and official uses of Catalan and Castilian. As such, it recognizes the right of citizens to use both Castilian and Catalan; it sets as a teaching goal the knowledge of both languages and provides children with the right to receive their primary education in either language, while making the teaching of both Castilian and Catalan compulsory at secondary level; it promotes the use of the Catalan language in the mass media and in cultural productions. The 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística* (Generalitat de Catalunya 1998a) that replaces the 1983 Act consolidates previous policy. It expresses the will of the Generalitat "to continue encouraging the process of recovery and the presence of Catalan in all sectors of social life", "consolidates […] the policy implemented […] under the Act of 1983 regarding public authorities, education and institutional mass media" and "specifically acknowledges citizens' linguistics rights", "ensures the presence of Catalan in several fields of social and cultural life […] such as the private media […] and the social-economic world", and "obliges public authorities and Catalan institutions to protect it [Catalan], to use it and to generally promote its public use at every level" (Generalitat de Catalunya 1998b, 5-6). Concerning the linguistic landscape specifically, Catalonia's *Llei de Política Lingüística* 1998, in its articles 30-32, stipulates that

> [l]es empreses públiques de la Generalitat i de les corporacions locals [...] han d'emprar normalment el català en llurs actuacions i documentació internes i en la retolació (article 30)
> (public companies of the Generalitat and local authorities […] shall normally use Catalan in their internal procedures and documents, and on their signs.)[3]

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[3] English translation by Generalitat de Catalunya (1998b). Note the modal verbs in the Catalan text (*han d'emprar, s'han de fer, han d'ésser redactats*).

> Les empreses i les entitats públiques o privades que ofereixen serveis públics [...] han d'emprar, almenys, el català en la retolació i en les comunicacions megafòniques (article 31)
> (Companies and public or private entities which provide public services [...] shall, at [the very] least, use Catalan in their signs and loudspeaker announcements.)

> Les comunicacions i les notificacions escrites adreçades a persones residents a Catalunya [...] s'han de fer almenys en català (article 31)
> (Written communications and notices addressed to individuals resident in Catalonia […] shall at [the very] least be in Catalan.)

> La senyalització i els cartells d'informació general de caràcter fix i els documents d'oferta de serveis per a les persones usuàries i consumidores dels establiments oberts al públic han d'ésser redactats, almenys, en català (article 32)
> (Permanent signs and posters with general information and documents offering services provided to users and consumers in establishments open to the public shall be at [the very] least drawn up in Catalan.)

and also

> [e]ls topònims de Catalunya tenen com a única forma oficial la catalana (article 18)
> (the Catalan versions of the place names of Catalonia are the only official ones.)

Catalan has benefited from a programme of revitalization, based in particular on language immersion during primary education (Boyer 2015). Catalan has also become the standard medium of instruction. Article 3.1 of *decret 75/1992* (Generalitat de Catalunya 1992) states that

> [e]l català com a llengua pròpia de Catalunya ho és també de l'ensenyament. S'utilitzarà normalment com a llengua vehicular i d'aprenentatge de l'educació infantil, de l'educació primària i de l'educació secundària obligatòria.
> (as Catalonia's own language, Catalan is also the language of teaching. It shall be habitually used as a lingua franca and teaching language in pre-school, primary and compulsory secondary education.)

Not only this, the 2006 *Estatut d'Autonomia de Catalunya* (Generalitat de Catalunya 2006), in its article 6.2, proclaims Catalonia's citizens' right and duty ('el dret i el deure') to know both Castilian and Catalan:

> El català és la llengua oficial de Catalunya. També ho és el castellà, que és la llengua oficial de l'Estat espanyol. Totes les persones tenen el dret d'utilitzar les dues llengües oficials i els ciutadans de Catalunya tenen el dret i el deure de conèixer-les. [...] D'acord amb el que disposa l'article 32, no hi pot haver discriminació per l'ús de qualsevol de les dues llengües.
> (Catalan is the official language of Catalonia. It is also Castilian, which is the official language of Spain. All individuals have the right to use the two official languages and the citizens of Catalonia have the right and the duty to know them. [...] In accordance with the provisions of article 32, there cannot be any discrimination for the use of any of the two languages.)

This points to the *Generalitat*'s efforts to improve the status of the Catalan language (Pradilla Cardona 2011).

4 Number of Catalanophones

In 2014, Catalan was spoken by an estimated 8.71 million individuals in all Catalan Countries, including 5.34 million in Catalonia (*Principat de Catalunya*) and 142,000 in Northern Catalonia (Pradilla i Cardona – Sorolla Vidal 2015, 73). In Catalonia, where Catalan has become the principal medium of instruction, the capacity to use Catalan is becoming widespread amongst the new generation (Vila i Moreno 2008). In contrast, in *Pyrénées Orientales* where Catalan is usually at most a school subject, according to the *Association pour l'enseignement du catalan*, 3,000 speakers of Catalan are lost each year while only 300 new speakers are trained through teaching (Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France 2013, 13).

In Catalonia, those who state that they can speak Catalan represented 73.2% of the total population in 2011 (Pradilla i Cardona – Sorolla Vidal 2015, 22). Although the massive arrival of newcomers in the last twenty years has led to a huge increase in its linguistic diversity (Pradilla Cardona 2011), the number of speakers increased from 3.7 million in 1986 to 5.3 million in 2011 (Pradilla i Cardona – Sorolla Vidal 2015, 28). Besides, L1 Catalanophone individuals represent 33.4% of the population (2.1 million speakers) in Catalonia (Generalitat de Catalunya 2015, 29-30). Catalan is also the habitual language for more than half of the population (51.5%) in the Girona Counties (*Comarques Gironines*) (Generalitat de Catalunya 2014, 13).

In contrast, in Northern Catalonia, those who can speak Catalan represented 35.4% of the population in 2015 (Generalitat de Catalunya, Consell Departamental dels Pirineus Orientals, Institut Franco-català Transfronterer de la Universitat de Perpinyà 2015, 4), and 31% (or 30,000 speakers) in Perpignan (Baylac Ferrer 2016, 11). Besides, L1 Catalanophone individuals represented 12.7% of individuals aged 15 or more (47,115 speakers) in Northern Catalonia in 2015, with no one in the age group 15-29. Indeed, the majority of Catalanophones are older people, offering an image of the Catalan language as 'llengua dels avis' (grandparents' language) (Baylac Ferrer 2016, 14-15). Lastly, only 5.7% of individuals (21,106 speakers) used Catalan as their everyday language (Generalitat de Catalunya, Consell Departamental dels Pirineus Orientals, Institut Franco-català Transfronterer de la Universitat de Perpinyà 2015, 5).

5 Linguistic landscape theory and methodology

According to Landry and Bourhis (1997), the linguistic landscape serves not only informational, but also symbolic functions indexing the relative influence and status of the linguistic communities of a given territory. The presence of a regional language in the linguistic landscape in particular 'says something about language beliefs towards that language' (Blackwood 2015, 39). In other words, the degree of visibility of a given language holds an indication of the

extent to which this language is valued – or not – by the social actors of the public space.

Since Landry and Bourhis's (1997) seminal study, linguistic landscape studies have evolved from largely quantitative to more qualitative, drawing on a range of sociological, political, economic, and so on, approaches while engaging with other fields of study such as language policy (Barni – Bagna 2015). Quantitative approaches (such as accounting for the presence of mono- vs. multilingual signs, frequency and distribution of different languages) may serve to contextualize language use. Effectively, a quantitative perspective will establish a language's visibility in the linguistic landscape. However, a symbiotic approach whereby quantitative data analysis is supplemented through detailed qualitative interpretations is deemed essential for a fuller and more exhaustive comprehension of language revitalization and commodification (Blackwood 2015). Such qualitative methods, including the analysis of code preferences within signs with multiple codes (i.e. two or more languages), or the visual impact of particular languages within multilingual signage (Scollon – Wong Scollon 2003; Kress – van Leeuwen 2006), may point to underlying ideologies and better ascertain the status of languages vis-à-vis each other. Meanwhile, the inclusion of mobile signage (pamphlets, banknotes, leaflets from public bodies and services, etc.) in linguistic landscape studies has been advocated for a fuller view of power relationships between languages and the ideologies governing those relationships (Sebba 2010). There is also a need for ethnographic approaches taking into account the signs' authors and users to better contextualize the signage (Barni – Bagna 2015). The views of linguistic landscape actors themselves are seldom sought to interpret signage (see however Malinowski 2009; Papen 2015; Thistlethwaite – Sebba 2015). Yet, 'the inclusion of interview data […] provides an important extra layer of interpretation which would likely have been missed by following the more typical researcher-led LL [linguistic landscape] methodology' (Thistlethwaite – Sebba 2015, 28). This approach adds insiders' interpretations to the analysis of the data, allowing for insight from the LL-actors themselves and to gain insight into the production of the signs. Besides, this allows the analysis of texts 'without losing sight of their social situatedness' and to 'conceptualize social processes in which texts figure' (Heller – Pujolar 2009, 178).

6 Data collection

Perpignan in Northern Catalonia and Girona in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia (Figure 1) were selected as the sites of investigation.
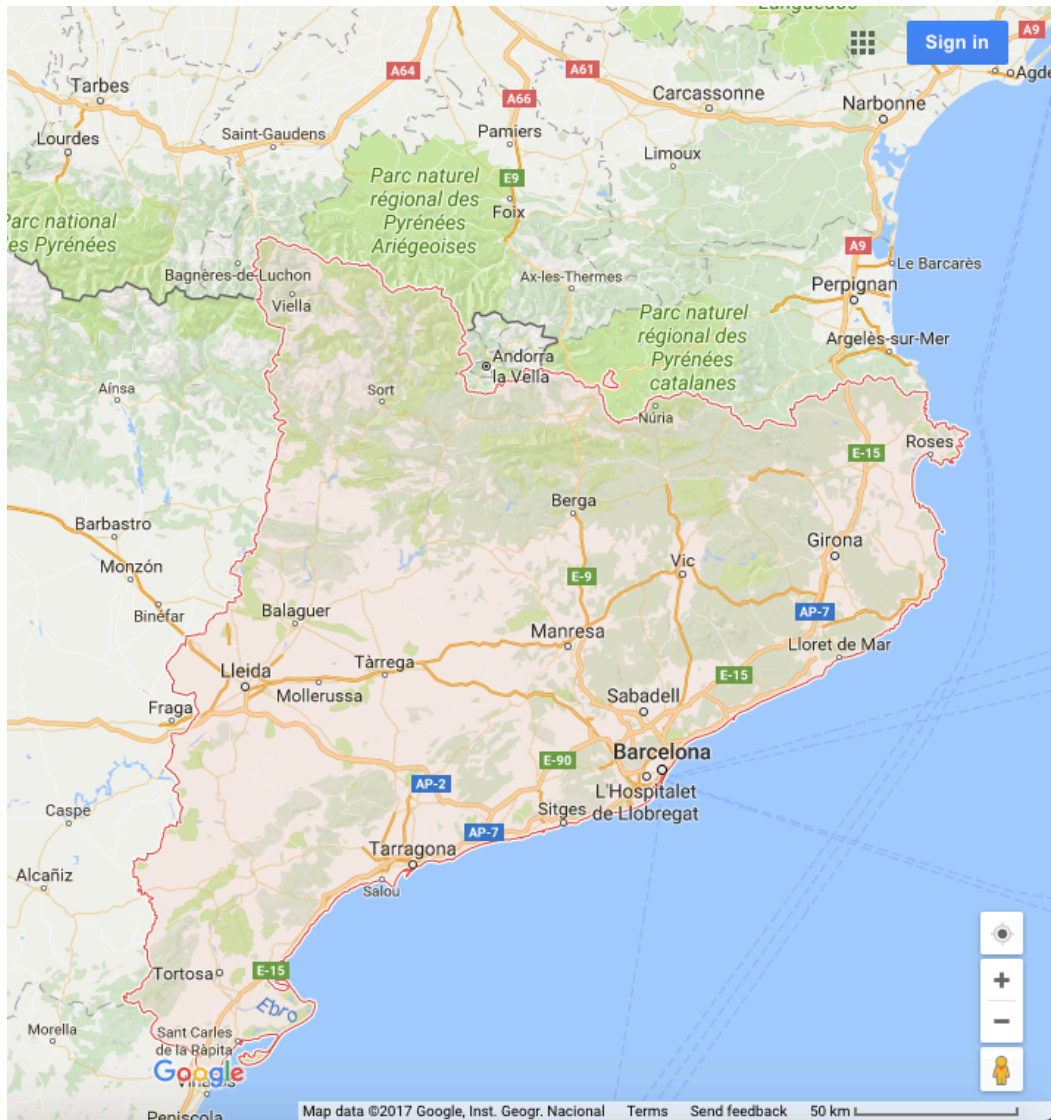
Figure 1. Northern Catalonia and Autonomous Community of Catalonia (source: Google 2017)

In line with Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh (2011), this study focuses on particular sites. Post-offices, train stations and tourist sites were chosen as this methodology allows the contrast of signage at State level (post-offices and train stations run by public service companies) vs. municipality level (tourist signage put in place by the *Ajuntament de Girona*, *Consell Comarcal del Gironès* and *Direction Patrimoine Historique et Archéologie de la ville de Perpignan*).

To identify tourist sites in Girona, I began with its places of interest, as described in the map edited by the *Ajuntament de Girona* and available at the Tourist Office (Figure 2). I then surveyed the historic city on foot and took photographs of all the relevant signs. I used the same approach in Perpignan, using the *Guide touristique: Envie de Perpignan* and *Plan du centre-ville de Perpignan* distributed at the Tourist Office (Figure 3).
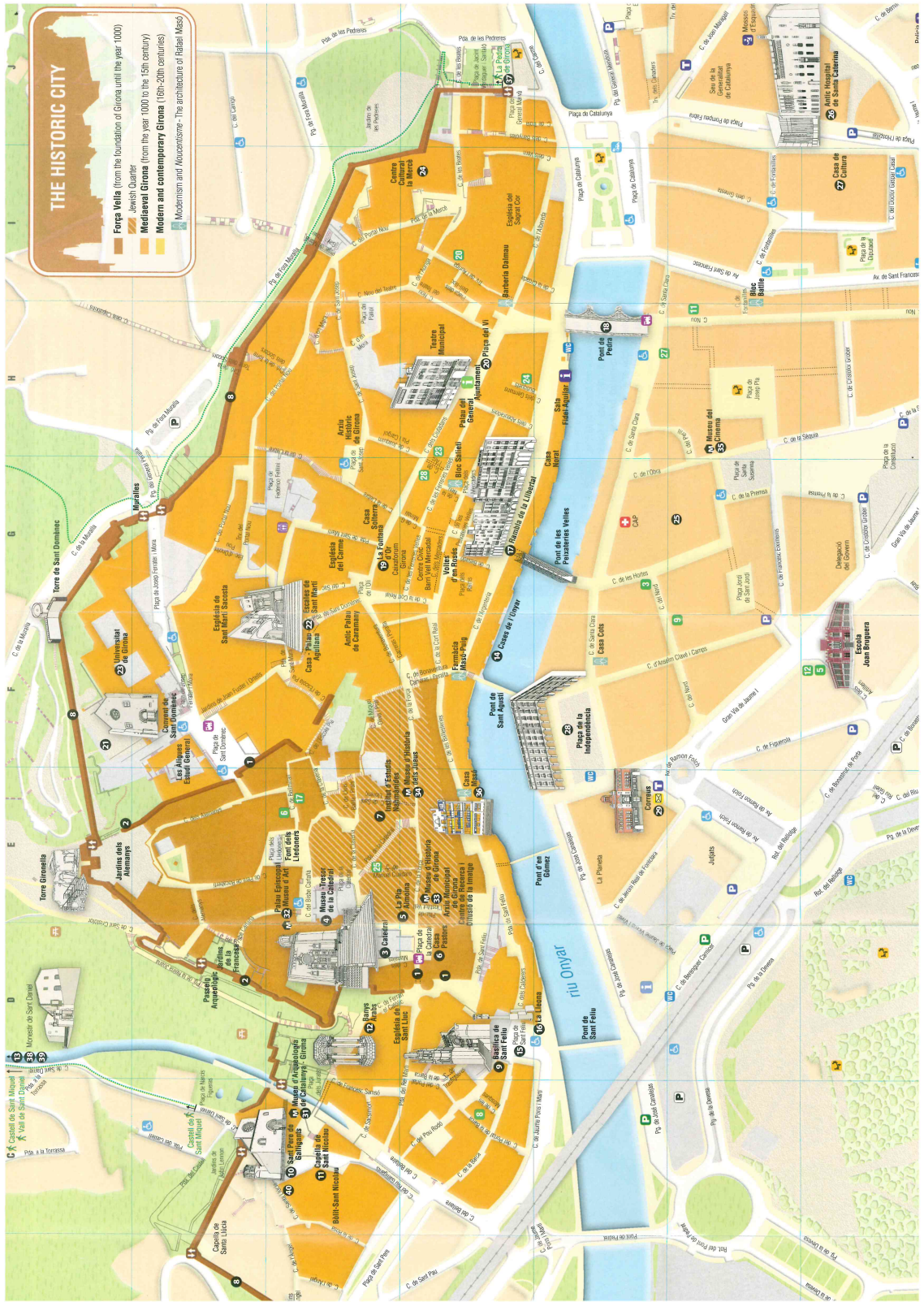
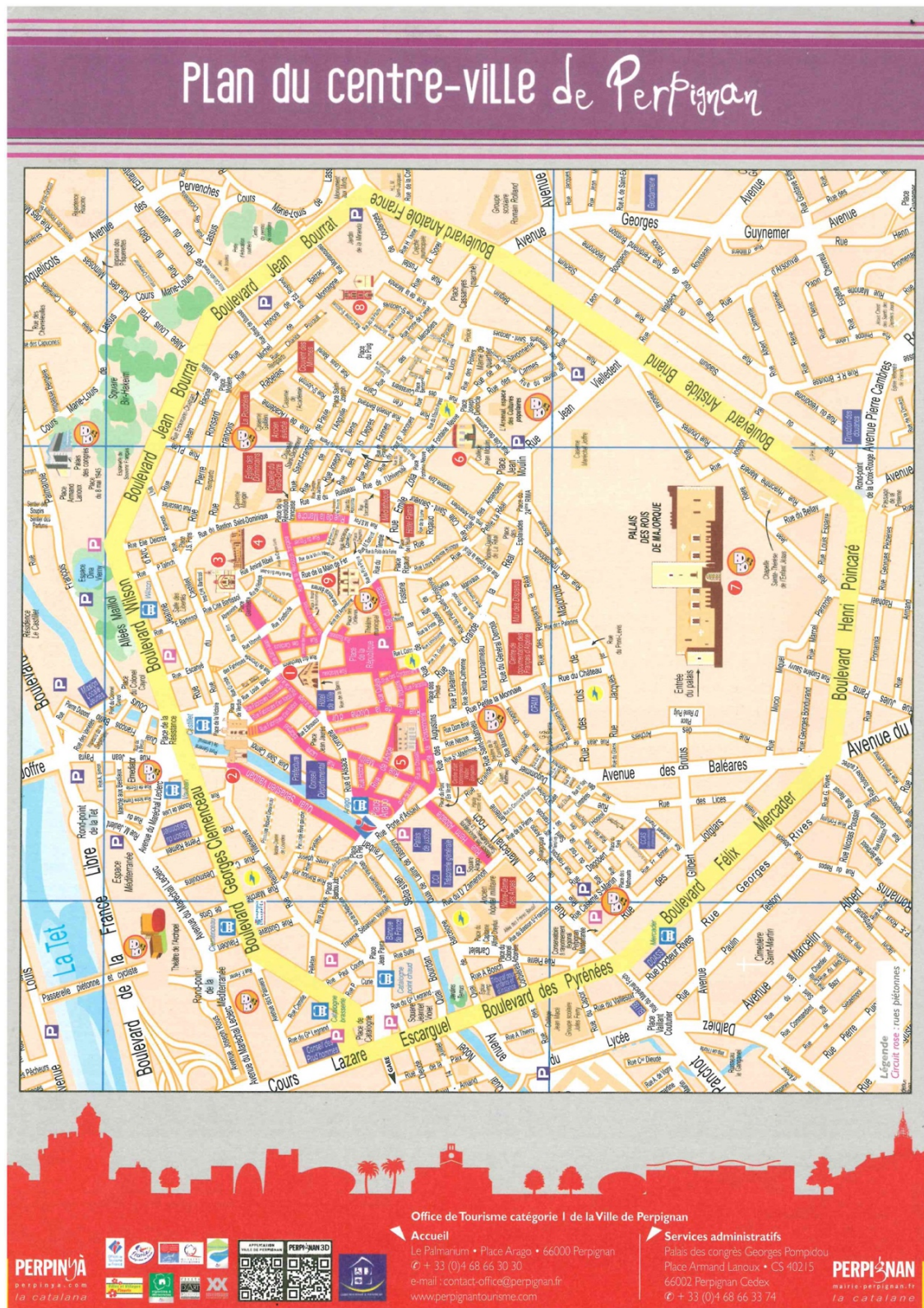Figure 2. Surveyed area, Girona (source: Ajuntament de Girona)

Figure 3. Surveyed area, Perpignan (source: Office de tourisme)

I use Backhaus's (2006, 55) definition of a sign, that is, 'any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame'. For a more comprehensive view, the survey includes mobile signage such as post-office leaflets and forms, train

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timetables, tourist maps, flyers and entry tickets to monuments and museums (see Sebba 2010 for a similar approach). Analytical criteria for visuals include methodologies outlined in Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003) and Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The sample, collected in June and July 2017, includes 159 signs collected in Girona and 120 signs in Perpignan, totalling 279 signs (see Table 1).

Table 1. Distribution of collected signs

	Girona		Perpignan		Total
types of signs	fixed	mobile	fixed	mobile	
tourist signs	100	6	93	7	206
post-office signs	4	4	1	1	10
train signs	43	2	17	1	63
total	147	12	111	9	279

7 Results

I will first contrast signage in Girona and Perpignan, as authored by public service companies (postal and train services), and will then turn my attention to municipal signage, as found at tourist sites.

7.1 Post-offices

In Girona, both Castilian and Catalan are displayed in signage by *CORREOS* at the post-office and on mail boxes. According to Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003, 120), when a text is written in multiple codes, that is, in two or more languages, the preferred code is displayed on the top, on the left, or in the centre, while the marginalized code is situated on the bottom, on the right or on the margins. Thus, as shown in the various examples in Figure 4, while the typefaces, font sizes and colours used are similar for Castilian and Catalan, Castilian seems to be the preferred code for *CORREOS*, compared with Catalan, because of its prime position in the layout of the texts.

Figure 4. Girona's post-office and mailboxes with information in Castilian and Catalan

In all the forms and flyers that I found at *CORREOS*'s post-office (e.g. *El Camino con CORREOS, Tarjeta Correos Prepago MasterCard®, Correos Express*), Castilian also seems to be the preferred code, appearing in first position, followed by Catalan. For instance, in the flyer offering services to pilgrims walking to Santiago de Compostela (Figure 5), information is displayed first in Castilian, then in Catalan, even though in similar sans serif typeface, font sizes, bolding and colours. As shown in the form for international mail (Figure 6), Castilian is also displayed first, followed by Catalan (e.g. *<Nombre/ Nom>, <Persona de Contacto / Persona de contacte>*). When a word is the same in Castilian and Catalan, a single word is also used (see *<Empresa>, <País>*), meaning that economy of space seems to be favoured over allocating status to both languages.

Figure 5. Girona's post-office flyer with information in Castilian and Catalan

Figure 6. Girona's post-office form with information in Castilian and Catalan

Thus, mobile signage by *CORREOS* fulfils the requirements of Catalonia's 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística* that demands that at the very least Catalan (*almenys el català*) be used in signage by public companies that offer public services. Although the wording 'almenys el català' seems to suggest that the

Catalan language would stand at the core of signage, *CORREOS* can be said to afford more status to Castilian than Catalan through the prime position of text in Castilian in both their fixed and mobile signage and the omission of Catalan in forms when wording is similar to Castilian.

In contrast, Perpignan's *LA POSTE* displays information in French exclusively in both its fixed and mobile signage, as shown in Figure 7. This is in line with the *Toubon* law (article 1) that states that 'la langue française […] est la langue […] des services publics' (French […] is the language […] of public services). Indeed, such displays in monolingual French are consistent with national language policies that strive for the primacy of the French language.

Figure 7. Perpignan's post-office with information in French exclusively

7.2 Train stations

The train station corpus that was collected in both towns is in no way exhaustive due to the impossibility of surveying all the platforms and because of security tightening around train stations that prevent an exhaustive record of

all the signs – for instance, access to platforms is only given to high-speed train (*TGV*) passengers a few minutes before departure further to luggage and ticket checks at Girona's station. As such, rather than a comprehensive record, the corpus is meant to represent the range of signs that travellers may be exposed to between their train and the station entrance/exit. Note that when the same sign was repeated across the station, it was only recorded once. Table 2 presents the distribution of monolingual and bi-/multilingual signs at both stations.

Table 2. Distribution of fixed signage across languages at Girona's and Perpignan's train stations

	Girona		Perpignan	
	n	%	n	%
monolingual Catalan	1	2	1	6
monolingual French	0	0	6	35
bilingual Castilian/Catalan	13	30	0	0
bilingual French/Catalan	0	0	1	6
trilingual Castilian/Catalan/English	18	42	0	0
trilingual French/English/Castilian	0	0	9	53
quadrilingual Castilian/Catalan/English/French	11	26	0	0
Total	43	100	17	100

At Girona's train station, a total of thirty-seven out of the forty-three fixed signs that were photographed and recorded are authored by *adif,* the national state-owned company that acts under the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works and Transport in charge of the management of most of Spain's railway infrastructure such as stations. The remaining six signs are authored by *Renfe SNCF* (*Renfe* operates train networks for *adif*; *SNCF* operates France's rail services). The only Catalan monolingual sign at Girona's train station serves to identify Girona itself (see Figure 8). This is in line with Catalonia's *Llei de Política Lingüística* 1998 (article 18) that stipulates that the Catalan versions of the place names of Catalonia are the only official ones. As shown in Table 2, 98% of signs are bi-, tri- or quadrilingual, with two in five signs (42%) in Castilian, Catalan and English (positioned in this order in the signs). Therefore English, as a lingua franca understood by most visitors, is favoured as a third language appearing in the signs, while French is displayed as a fourth language choice after English.

At Perpignan's much smaller station, a total of seventeen signs were recorded. While all the signs are inclusive of Catalan at Girona's station, the only signs that display Catalan at Perpignan's station are the bilingual sign that identifies Perpignan on the platforms, and a Catalan monolingual sign identifying a commercial venue above the station (see further discussion below). The majority of the signs (53%) are trilingual and display French, English and Castilian (in this order). Thus, as is the case at Girona's station, the country's national language is provided with more status, compared with the other languages, through its prime position in all the signs, while English is given preference over the language on the other side of the border. A significant difference across the two stations is the absence of Catalan in all the

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multilingual signs in Perpignan. Another significant characteristic consists of the numerous monolingual signs (35%) in the national language.

Typically, signs at Girona's train station are displayed in sans serif typeface with Castilian in the top or left-hand side position (see Figure 8). As discussed earlier, a top or left location corresponds to a preferred code. However, code preference can be played off against salience, that is, text in a prime position can be overridden by text in an otherwise understated position that is written in a larger print size and/or occupies a larger portion of space in the sign, therefore gaining in prominence (Scollon – Wong Scollon 2003, 125). Thus, even though wording in Castilian is placed in a top or left location corresponding to a preferred code, its prime status is somewhat lessened through bolding of the wording in Catalan, as illustrated in the various signs in Figure 8.

Unlike the practice in the signs authored by *CORREOS*, as discussed earlier, the same word is used twice when it is the same in Castilian and Catalan, thus allocating a visible presence to each language, as shown with the words *<Ascensor>* and *<Consigna>* in Figure 8. When words in Castilian and Catalan are the same, the word in second position (thus in Catalan) is also highlighted through bolding, slightly subverting the code preference allocated to Castilian through its prime position in the layout.

Castilian and Catalan are usually followed by English only or English and French in smaller font, but using capitals, with English preceding French. Note that the French words *<ASCENSEUR>* and *<CONSIGNE>* are displayed, even though they are cognates with 'Ascensor' and 'Consigna' and could easily be understood by a speaker of French, especially since they are accompanied by icons (lift, key, suitcase).

Figure 8. Multilingual signs at Girona's train station

With one exception, all the fixed and mobile Castilian/Catalan bilingual signs are informative, rather than identifying signs. As illustrated in Figure 9, Castilian/Catalan bilingual signs either provide instructions or information to the passengers. As was the case with the directional signage just discussed, Castilian is given code preference through display in first position while Catalan, although in second position, is provided with visual salience through bolding.

Figure 9. Castilian/Catalan bilingual signs at Girona's train station

In the leaflet authored by *Renfe SNCF* detailing high-speed train timetables between Madrid and Paris (Figure 10), Catalan appears in prime position before Castilian in the layout, and appears visually salient through the use of bolding. Catalan is also made more eye-catching through the use of burgundy colour, compared with the grey colour used for Castilian in some of the text. Unlike

the fixed signage discussed earlier, this leaflet thus provides Catalan with higher status through the combined assets of prime location in the layout and visual salience afforded through bolding and garish colour.

Figure 10. Catalan/Castilian bilingual leaflet

Although Perpignan is the first stop in France along the *TGV* route transporting potential visitors from Tarragona, Barcelona, Girona and Figueres, there is almost no display of Catalan at the station. Two words/phrases only indicate an intention to display the Catalan language. The first is the identifying sign <*Perpinyá*>, which appears under the French <*Perpignan*> in the platform signs. As illustrated in Figure 11, the Catalan *Perpinyà* is actually spelt <Perpinyá> in the sign, meaning that *Perpinyà* is being displayed incorrectly all over the station since Catalan does not possess the grapheme <á>. It would therefore seem that accents in the *SNCF* signage have been placed haphazardly[4]. This is in spite of a *Nomenclàtor toponímic de la Catalunya del Nord* (Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2007) that establishes the official forms of names. Although the typeface for <*Perpinyá*> is similar and the size of the lettering the same as for <Perpignan>, a prime position in the layout of the sign indicates that French is the preferred code. Moreover, because the information is already available in the French language, the addition of <*Perpinyá*> to the platform signs points to a symbolic use (see Landry-Bourhis 1997; Cenoz – Gorter 2006) of the Catalan language, whereby the usage is linked to affect and identity rather than informational.

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[4] One of the reviewers pointed out similar haphazard placing of accents at Argelès-sur-Mer station, where <direccìo> is used instead of *direcció*.

Another sign using Catalan shows the words *<el centre del món>* above the street-side entrance of the station. They designate a commercial complex inaugurated in 2010 and named as a tribute to Catalan surrealist painter Salvador Dalí, who considered Perpignan's train station to be the centre of the world (Mériot 2016). Although the sign is monolingual, it also serves a significant symbolic function as a mark of Catalanness.

Figure 11. Bilingual French/Catalan sign at Perpignan's train station

Most signs (exit, ticket office, train departures and arrivals, etc.) are displayed in sans serif typeface in French, followed by English and Castilian (in this order) in italics and much smaller font (see Figure 12), thus providing French with more status. As is the case in Girona, written information is supplemented with icons. Similar to signage at Girona's train station, words that are the same in different languages are repeated – see for instance the word <trains> in Figure 12 - thus allocating a place to the English language in the signage. Note though in Figure 12 two untranslated words: the term 'WC' to designate the toilets, and word *<Voie>*. This stands in contrast with Girona's station, where the latter word was systematically displayed in four languages, as shown in Figure 8. Finally, all the mobile signs (such as information leaflets) that I could find were provided in monolingual French. This is indeed in line with the 1994 *Toubon* law.

Figure 12. Sign displaying French, English and Castilian at Perpignan's train station

Thus, if we compare signage at Girona's and Perpignan's train stations, signs in Girona are characterized by the presence of Catalonia's two co-official languages in prime position with Castilian displayed first as the preferred code and Catalan appearing in second position, but made visually salient through bolding. English and French are attributed lesser but similar status in last position and smaller typeface. Signage at Perpignan's station is characterised by the near-absence of the Catalan language, except to symbolically identify Perpignan (albeit misspelt) on the platforms and as a cultural reference to Dalí's '*centre del món*' in a commercial sign – ironically in a failed attempt to revitalize the area (Mériot 2016). The national language in Perpignan is also afforded a much stronger visual presence than other languages, with all the texts in French displayed in much bigger font than English and Castilian. At both stations, foreign languages are distinguished from the local ones through capitals (Girona) or italics (Perpignan). Lastly, each language holds minimal status in the signage as information is usually (but not systematically in

Perpignan) duplicated across various languages even when words are the same or could be easily understood as cognates.

Interestingly, bilingual informational leaflets authored by *Renfe SNCF* afford Catalan with a higher status than Castilian through placement in prime position in the layout and visual salience provided by the use of bolding and vivid colour. If we consider the intended readership for these leaflets, this also reflects a significant usage of the Catalan language in everyday situations in Catalonia.

7.3 Tourist signage

Most top-down (or government/official) tourist signage in Girona and Perpignan is authored by the *Ajuntament de Girona* and *Mairie de Perpignan*, with a small number authored by the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, *Consell Comarcal del Gironès* and *Département des Pyrénées Orientales*. As such, an analysis of the languages used in these signs and their positions in the layout vis-à-vis each other may unveil municipal and regional linguistic preferences.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the different languages featured in Girona's signage. Catalan stands out as the most-used language, occurring in all the signs. This correlates with Catalonia's 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística*, which states that 'at the very least' Catalan must be used by public companies of the *Generalitat* and local authorities on their signs (article 30). The second most-used language is English, displayed in nearly one-third (30.2%) of all the signs. As such, English is slightly more represented than Castilian, which occurs in 28.3% of all the signs. The next most used language is French, appearing in almost one-quarter (22.6%) of all the signs.

Table 3. Summary of language use in Girona's tourist signage (n=106)

Languages	n	%
Castilian	30	28.3
Catalan	106	100.0
Dutch	2	1.9
English	32	30.2
French	24	22.6
German	6	5.7
Hebrew	2	1.9
Italian	3	2.8
Latin	2	1.9
Russian	6	5.7

Although there are no statistics regarding the distribution of local and foreign visitors, Girona's Tourist Office keeps records of their desk enquiries. These records show that in 2016, 45% of visitors came from Spain, out of which 63% originated from Catalonia. The other 55% were foreign visitors. French visitors accounted for 18% of enquiries, with smaller numbers from Belgium and Canada (Caterina Costals Ribas, *Responsible de l'Oficina de Turisme de la Generalitat a Girona*, personal communication, 29 June 2017). Thus, the distribution of languages in Girona's tourist signage, as shown in Table 3, more or less reflects languages with which Girona's visitors may be

familiar, with English acting as a lingua franca.[5] Figure 13 shows a further breakdown of languages in Girona's tourist signage. As shown in Figure 13, over two-thirds of signs are written in monolingual Catalan.
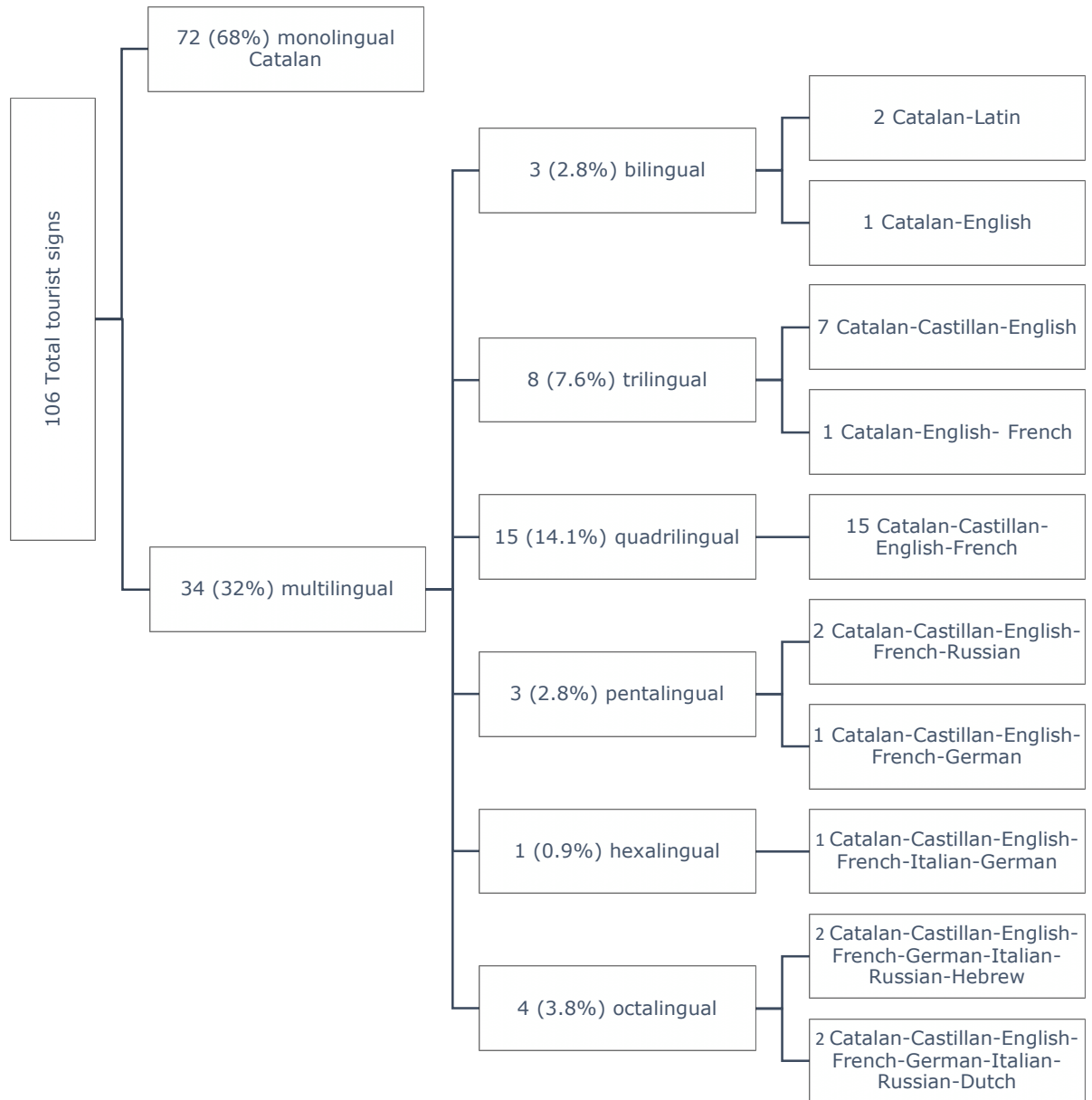
Figure 13. Language choice in Girona's tourist signs

As shown in Table 4, the range of languages displayed in Perpignan's tourist signage is more restricted than Girona's with five languages represented. French stands out as the most-used language, occurring in all the signage. This can be viewed as an effect of France's long-lasting 'one nation–one language' linguistic policies warranting the primacy of the French language, such as the 1994 *Toubon* law promoting the French language in the public space. Catalan is the second most-used language, appearing in 82% of all signs. Castilian and English both appear in nearly half of the tourist signs.

Table 4. Summary of language use in Perpignan's tourist signage (n=100)

Languages	n
Castilian	46
Catalan	82
English	46
French	100
German	3

As in Girona, Perpignan's Tourist Office keeps statistics about their desk enquiries. These records show that in 2016, 62% of visitors came from France - a much higher proportion of national visitors than in Girona. The other 38% were international visitors. Out of these, 34% came from Spain, 18% from the UK, 12% from Germany, 5% from the Netherlands, 2% from Italy and 29% from other countries (Office de Tourisme de Perpignan 2016). Thus, the distribution of languages in Perpignan's tourist signage, as shown in Table 4, partially reflects the languages spoken by the main visitors, with English acting as a lingua franca. The Tourist Office also produces one-page flyers about their top ten attractions in Dutch, Italian and Russian, thus catering to visitors whose languages are not displayed in the street signage.[6] Figure 14 details the combinations of Perpignan's mono- and multilingual tourist signage.

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[6] Note that bottom-up signs by commercial enterprises (outside the scope of this study) also use visitors' languages to attract their clientele. For instance, *Le Petit Train de Perpignan*, a company that organises guided tours of Perpignan's historic centre aboard a little train, produces a multilingual flyer in French, English, Catalan, Castilian, German and Russian. This practice reflects a concern for matching the language of the signage with the readership of international visitors (see Bruyèl-Olmedo – Juan-Garau 2015). When I did their tour, audio commentaries were provided in French, English and Russian.
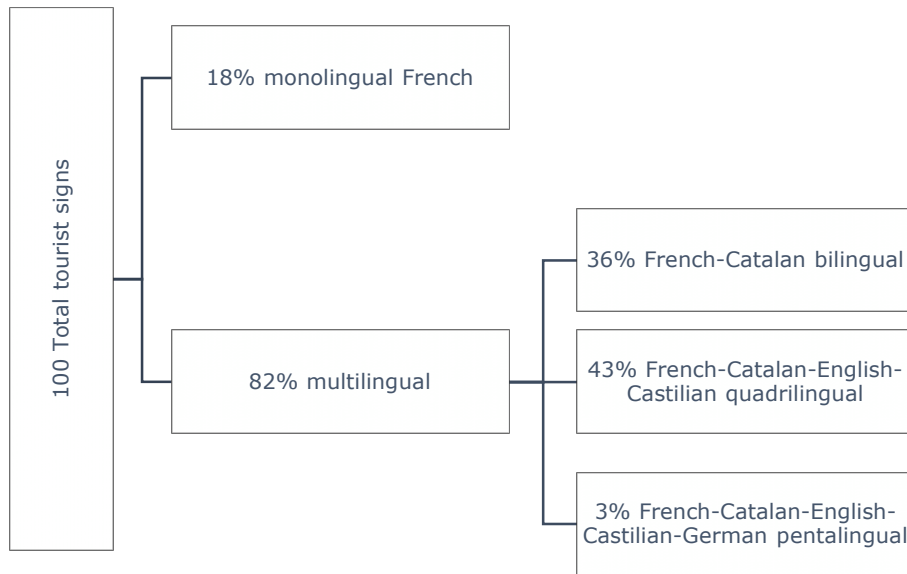
Figure 14. Language choice in Perpignan's tourist signs

If we compare tourist signage in Girona and Perpignan (Figure 15), the allowance made for the Catalan language is strikingly different. In Girona, over two-thirds of the tourist signage consists of Catalan monolingual signs. This shows that Catalan is the preferred code for local authorities. In contrast in Perpignan, Catalan systematically appears in conjunction with other languages in multilingual signs, so Catalan is less prominent, compared with French. The inclusion of English in both Girona's and Perpignan's signage, as well as French in Girona and Castilian in Perpignan, also indicates a will to accommodate international visitors, thus signalling an informational function for these languages.
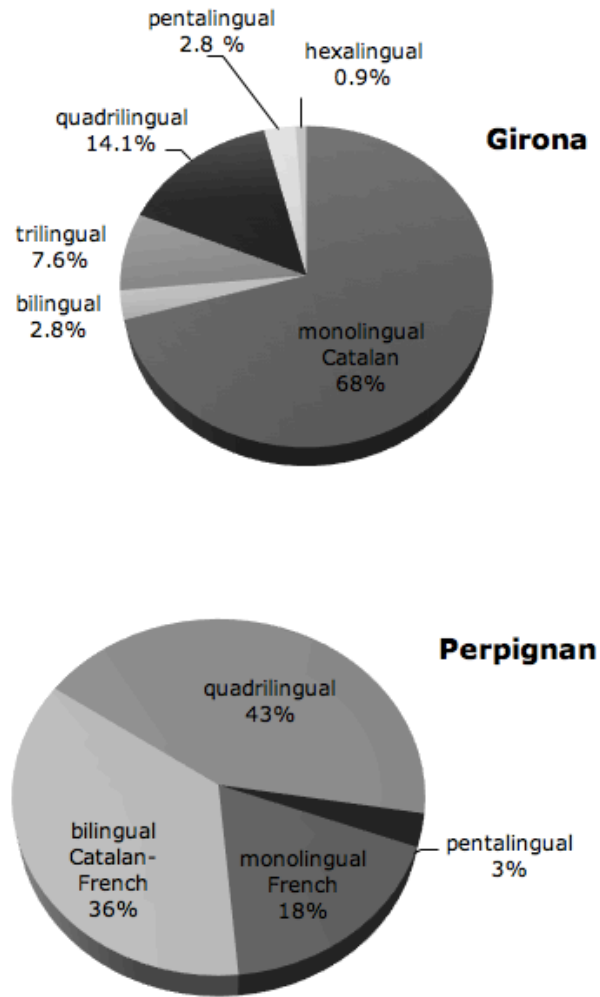
Figure 15. Distribution of mono- vs. multilingual signs in Girona's and Perpignan's tourist signage

7.3.1 Girona

In Girona, signs identifying places of interest are systematically written in monolingual Catalan, as illustrated in Figure 16.[7] In this manner, tourist signage complies with Catalonia's 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística* (article 18) that stipulates that the Catalan versions of the place names are the only official ones.

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[7] The same applies to directional signage and street names.

Figure16. Identifying signs in monolingual Catalan

The signs that provide information, on the other hand, are multilingual with Catalan being systematically given prime position. As shown in Figure 17, the identification of the place of interest is displayed in monolingual Catalan in larger font. This information is also displayed in the top part or 'Ideal', coinciding with an area of prominence in the layout (Kress - van Leeuwen 2006, 186-87). Information is then displayed in four languages with Catalan in first position, followed by Castilian, English and French. Information is each time duplicated. Duplicating, according to Reh (2004), acknowledges the existence of more than one language in the targeted audience, meaning that one language is insufficient to reach all the potential readers.
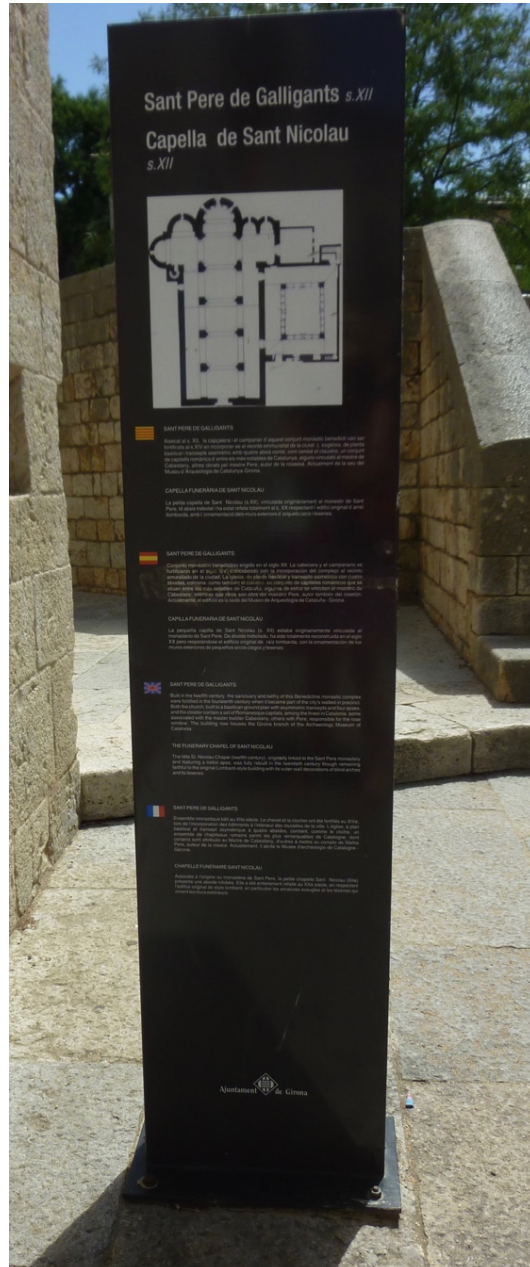
Figure17. Information sign in Catalan, Castilian, English and French

In signage outside Girona's Tourist Office (Figure 18), Catalan is also the preferred code, as indicated by its prime position, larger font size and bolding that make it visually predominant. Moreover, the identifying sign <*Oficina de Turisme*> is written in Catalan only, while opening hours are also indicated exclusively in Catalan. This makes information in the other languages fragmentary (Reh 2004), with only selected parts of the Catalan text being displayed.

The information about the Tourist Office's opening hours is offered in five different languages: Catalan, Castilian, English, French and Russian (in this order). Many Russian nationals have been touring the town for the day from the Costa Brava after Girona's airport started welcoming low-cost flights in 2003, although their numbers have dwindled in the last three years (Costals Ribas, personal communication, 29 June 2017). As was the case with the flyers

intended for particular markets, the presence of the Russian language thus suggests economic motives (Cenoz - Gorter 2009), with an effort to adapt the signage to visitors' readership.
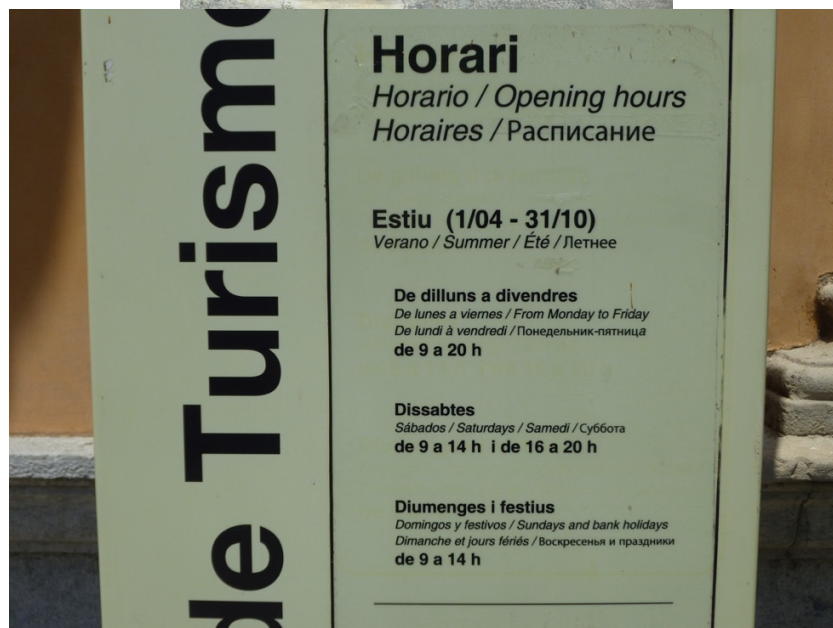

Figure 18. Information in Catalan, Castilian, English, French and Russian at Girona's Tourist Office

7.3.2 Perpignan

"En ce qui concerne le patrimonial, tout est bilingue. C'est juste historiquement et culturellement" (As far as heritage is concerned, everything is bilingual. This is right historically and culturally). As suggested by Elisabeth Doumeyrou, *Direction du Patrimoine Historique et Archéologie, Ville de Perpignan* (personal communication, 5 July 2017), Perpignan's municipality has made a deliberate choice to display Catalan throughout the town's heritage signage. The two other languages used in the signage are aimed at the town's visitors: English for its universality and Castilian because of the high number of Iberian visitors (Doumeyrou, personal communication, 5 July 2017).

In information tables, the French text is positioned in the top-left corner, followed by Catalan, English and Castilian (from left to right); in wall signs, French is displayed in the top-right corner, followed by English, Catalan and Castilian (from top to bottom). As stated by the advertising executives who have designed the signs for the municipality (Doumeyrou, personal communication, 5 July 2017), readers' gaze is attracted to the left in long horizontal signage, whereas their gaze lingers on the right-hand side in vertical signage. This highlights an informed decision on the part of the municipality to afford prominence to the texts in the French language. In stand-alone signs, French and Catalan are given prominence through their top positions on each side of the signs, with English being displayed below French and Castilian below Catalan. The text is duplicated, that is, all of the information is presented in multiple languages (Reh 2004). This means that a reader conversant with only one of the four languages displayed has access to the full content. Identification of the site appears in French and Catalan in larger font. French is displayed first in the direction of reading in white colour, while Catalan appears in second position and black colour. Both the prime position and colour provide the French text with visual emphasis. As shown in Figure 19, French texts *<Le palais des rois de Majorque>*, *<La rue Émile Zola>* and *<Les allées de Maillol>* stand out visually, compared with the texts in Catalan.
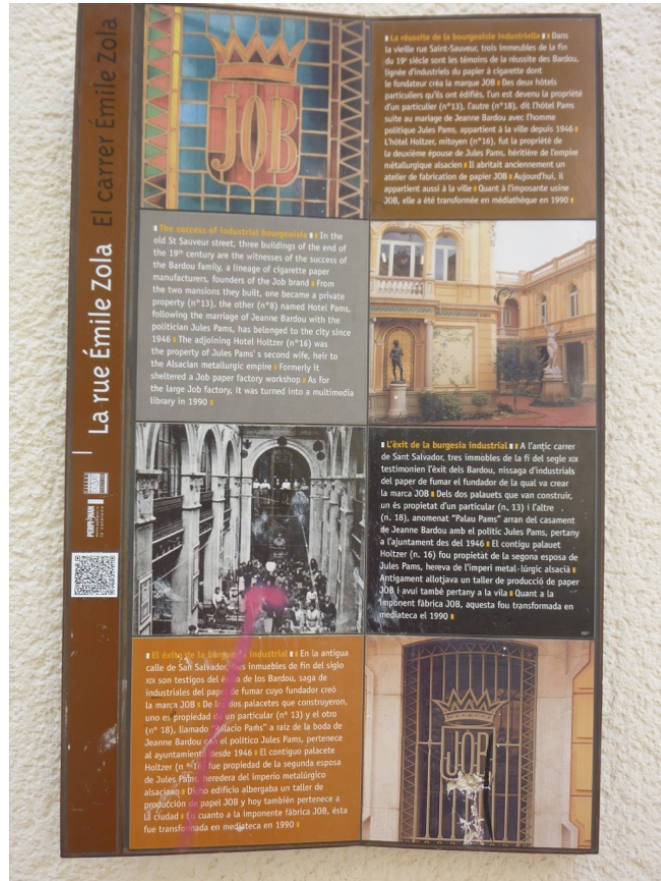
Figure 19. Information signs in French, Catalan, English and Castilian

Identifying signage is French-Catalan bilingual. Originally, the texts were to be in the same four languages as in the information signs, however signs would have become larger or the text less readable (Doumeyrou, personal communication, 5 July 2017). Therefore, French and Catalan only are used in those signs. As shown in Figure 20, both languages use sans serif typeface with French displayed in white colour and Catalan differentiated through light brown. Details regarding opening days and hours are provided in French only, meaning that information is fragmentary. That is, only selected parts of the text in one language are being displayed in another language as well (Reh 2004). As a result, the French text is visually prominent. This prominence is reinforced by the identification of the heritage site in French only in bolding and larger lettering in the top part of the sign. Note Perpignan's slogan '*Perpinyà la catalana / Perpignan la catalane*' inscribed in the gules and gold colours of Catalonia's *senyera*, which appears in the 'Real', the lower part of the layout that presents practical information (Kress - van Leeuwen 2006, 186-87), and informing readers of the authorship of the sign.
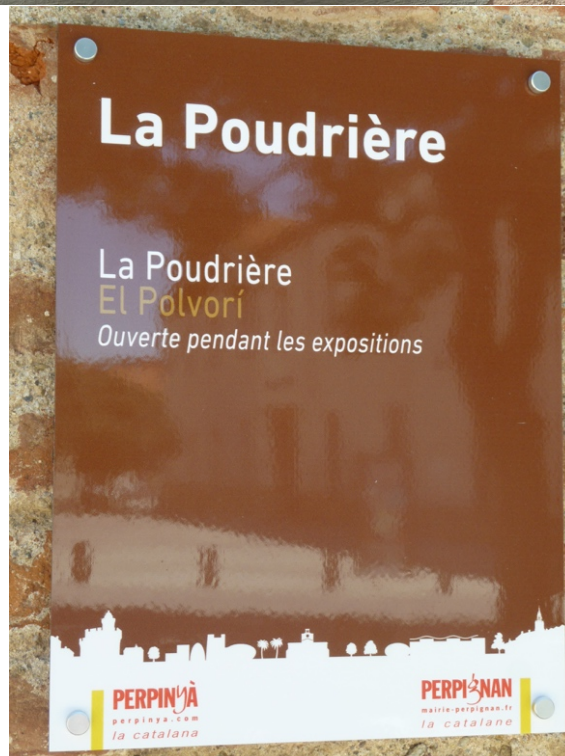
Figure 20. Identifying signs in French and Catalan

8 Discussion and conclusion

The distinct language hierarchies that prevail in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia and Northern Catalonia as the result of divergent local and national linguistic policies south and north of the border are well-known to a Catalan studies audience. Linguistic landscape theory however sheds a new light on the status of the Catalan language in various ways.

This contrastive study of Girona's and Perpignan's linguistic landscapes first reveals that the Catalan language prevails in Girona's top-down (or government/official) signage quantitatively, with Catalan present in 100% of all the surveyed signage and making up all the identifying signs. This is the result of a legal function or obligation (Cenoz – Gorter 2009; Comajoan Colomé – Long 2012), whereby the use of Catalan in signage reflects compliance with a linguistic legislation that imposes the presence of Catalan in the signage of public and private entities that offer public services (Catalonia's 1998 *Llei de Política Lingüística*). The legal function thus contributes to explaining the large share, in Girona, of Catalan monolingual signage and its strong presence in multilingual signage. The strong presence of Catalan in Girona's top-down signage, as shown in this study, is also consistent with studies in Barcelona and other Catalan cities that establish the predominance of Catalan in identifying signage (Solé Camardons – Romaní 1997; Cazo – Romaní 2004; Fabà – Llaberia 2008) and public services (Solé i Camardons 1998; Fabà – Llaberia 2008). Also in line with the literature, the results highlight the use of Castilian, together with foreign languages, in informative signage (Solé Camardons – Romaní 1997; Cazo – Romaní 2004; Comajoan Colomé 2013). This contributes to responding to the needs of readers who are not conversant with Catalan. If we consider the signage qualitatively though, the quantitative preponderance of Catalan is mitigated by the prime position of Castilian text over Catalan text in the layout of multilingual signage at the post-office and train station, showing that Castilian is the preferred code (Scollon – Wong Scollon 2003). Catalan however is afforded visual salience over Castilian in tourist informative multilingual signage through its prime position in the layout and the use of larger lettering. These findings highlight a differentiated status for the Catalan language in texts authored by national public entities such as *adif* and *CORREOS* vs. those authored by municipal and regional public institutions such as the *Ajuntament de Girona, Consell Comarcal del Gironès* and *Generalitat de Catalunya.*

Another contribution of this study is the perspective that it brings on fixed vs. mobile signage (such as leaflets and forms). Although Castilian is afforded higher status in fixed signage through its prime position in the text layout – even though this is mitigated by the visual salience of text in Catalan resulting from bolding – the analysis of mobile signage reveals that Catalan is the preferred code, compared with Castilian, in train timetable-leaflets authored by *Renfe SNCF*. This is highlighted by the prime position of Catalan before Castilian in the layout, and visual salience afforded to Catalan over Castilian through the use of bolding and vivid colour.

In Perpignan's top-down signage, Catalan is systematically used within bilingual and multilingual signage, in which the French language is afforded higher status through prime position in the layout and use of bigger lettering that make French visually salient, while the language of monolingual signage

is French, an outcome of longstanding linguistic policies favouring the national language. Indeed, the *Pyrénées Orientales*'s 2007 *Charte en faveur du Catalan*, while promoting the use of the Catalan language, does not challenge the primacy of the French language:

> En premier lieu il convient d'affirmer que : La politique de promotion de la langue catalane ne se fait pas au détriment de la langue française.
> (First of all, it should be stated that: The policy to promote the Catalan language is not at the expense of the French language.)

Having said this, reflecting the slogan '*Perpinyà la catalana / Perpignan la catalane*' that highlights Perpignan's twofold identity, the analysis of Perpignan's linguistic landscape seems to suggest that Perpignan strives to reconcile the two poles of one nation – one language ideologies claiming the primacy of the French language, and long-standing regional aspirations for Catalanness. Indeed, the bilingual ethnolinguistic construction of the city, while ensuring the visibility of the French language in the public space and conforming to national language ideologies, identifies with Catalonia (Blackwood 2015). The Catalan language is intrinsically linked to Perpignan and there is some political will to pair Perpignan with the Catalan language, as shown by the *Charte municipale pour la langue catalane* (Mairie de Perpignan 2010) adopted by Perpignan's town council in 2010:[8]

> La langue catalane est à la fois patrimoine et moyen d'expression de toute la population perpignanaise (Propos préalables).
> (The Catalan language is both heritage and means of expression for the whole population of Perpignan, Preliminary remarks.)
>
> La langue catalane, née il y a plus de mille ans dans notre pays, constitue un élément fondamental de l'identité, du patrimoine et de la richesse vivante de Perpignan (Préambule).
> (The Catalan language, born more than a thousand years ago in our country, constitutes a fundamental element of Perpignan's identity, heritage and living wealth, Preamble.)
>
> Le conseil municipal de Perpignan reconnaît officiellement, au côté de la langue française, le catalan comme langue historique de la Ville (article 1er).
> (Perpignan's town council officially recognizes, alongside the French language, Catalan as the historic language of the City, article 1.)

Article 6 of the *Charte municipale pour la langue catalane* in particular states that Perpignan incorporates the principle of bilingualism and/or presence of Catalan in all the signposts pertaining to [...] municipal competence ('Perpignan intègre le principe de bilinguisme et/ou de présence du catalan sur tous les supports signalétiques […] de compétence municipale'). Signage in Catalan in Perpignan may act as a discreet normalisation of the language use in the public space, as well as a way to reclaim linguistic capital by way of institutional means. This inclusion of the Catalan language within the linguistic

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[8] Note though that the *Charte* only appears as item 39 (out of 40) in the town council's agenda for their meeting of 10 June 2010 (http://www.mairie-perpignan.fr/sites/mairie-perpignan.fr/files/documents/oj-2010-06-10.pdf). Its text also remains essentially unimplemented, according to Baylac Ferrer (2016, 66).

landscape points to the non-market values of language diversity (Cenoz – Gorter 2009). Indeed, signage has a direct use - to convey information; it may also ensure that a language is preserved for future generations and provide speakers of minority languages with symbolic cultural capital.

There is another aspect of catalanisation in Perpignan that is worth mentioning: their use of the Northern Catalan language, *'roussillonnais'* or *rossellonès,* in tourist signage. Northern Catalan language is widely perceived as a 'català diferent' (Peytaví Deixona 2016, 12). According to Peytaví Deixona (2016, 33), 'en l'esperit de la gent catalanoparlant de la Catalunya del Nord [...] la francesització ha fet creure que parlava un « altre català », una varietat allunyada de la resta dels parlants' (in the mind of the Catalan-speaking people of Northern Catalonia [...] francization has made them believe that they spoke "another Catalan", a variety removed from that spoken by the rest of the speakers). Effectively, if all the informative texts are displayed in normative Catalan, the choice has been made, from a heritage point of view, to not use normative Catalan when referring to place names; rather, local Northern Catalan is used (Doumeyrou, personal communication, 5 July 2017). On the one hand, the use of Northern Catalan suggests a desire to keep with local linguistic traditions; on the other hand, the endeavour to use Northern Catalan rather than normative Catalan showcases Perpignan's specificity vis-à-vis other Catalan localities. Hence, the use of Northern Catalan also accommodates modern economic concerns that dictate to stand out through uniqueness. While branding itself for global consumption, the municipality not only seeks to assert its specificity vis-à-vis other towns in southern France, but also affirms its distinctiveness vis-à-vis the rest of Catalonia, providing their visitors with a more authentic experience. This suggests a process whereby language has become 'a marketable commodity on its own' (Heller 2003, 474).

The use of the Catalan language in Perpignan's heritage signage taps into visitors' desire for authentic cultural experiences, as well as consumers' knowledge of the value of regional languages as authentic signifiers of people, places and products. Pietikäinen *et al*. (2016) argue that new opportunities have emerged for the use of small languages (in relation to majority languages) in commerce, tourism and popular culture for both local and global consumption in a context of increasing commodification in society. They further argue that the minoritised status of some languages can bestow distinctiveness and exclusivity that can be turned to profitable use, as these languages can impart authentication and uniqueness to places and products. In fact, the *Charte en faveur du catalan*, in its article 4, spells out an economic aim that is grounded in its linguistic and cultural specificity:

> participer […] au développement économique du département grâce au respect de la personnalité linguistique et culturelle catalane.
> (participate [...] in the economic development of the department thanks to respect for the Catalan linguistic and cultural specificity.)

This redirection of the cultural domain towards economic aims illustrates the new ways in which '[n]o longer a question of rights, linguistic minorities are constructed as producers of added value' (Heller – Pujolar 2009, 182), highlighting a 'marketization of identity' (Heller – Pujolar 2009, 190). More than a mere promotion of the town's cultural heritage then, identification or

directional signage in Catalan becomes a resource to attract tourists seeking an authentic, culturally unique heritage experience.[9] Indeed, the Catalan language serves as a way to distinguish Perpignan from other cities and regions and showcase Perpignan as the capital city of French Catalonia vis-à-vis French visitors as well as those from Catalonia:

> Le catalan, ça donne un côté exotique à ceux qui ne connaissent pas, de tout voir dans une autre langue – par exemple, ce n'est pas la même chose à Narbonne (Doumeyrou, personal communication, 5 July 2017).
> (The Catalan language provides an exotic flavour for those who do not know the language, to see everything in another language - for example, it is not the same in Narbonne.)

This points to a commodification of Catalan, whereby the language is employed as a way of differentiating Perpignan from other cities such as Narbonne in Occitanie, thus creating a niche market for Perpignan. Signage in Catalan contributes to the construction and commodification of Perpignan as '*Perpinyà la catalana*', the slogan iterated across the town's signage. At a higher administrative level, this is in line with the *Pyrénées-Orientales*'s own slogan '*L'accent Catalan de la république française*', and the new logo (redesigned in 2015) for the *Conseil départemental des Pyrénées Orientales* heralding the gules and gold colours and four red stripes of Catalonia's senyera[10]. This is unsurprising since '[t]ogether with the architecture and the flows of passers-by, LL [linguistic landscape] is a major ingredient of the picture perceived by both residents and visitors of a given locality describing its "personality" and distinguishing it from other places' (Ben-Rafael 2009, 42). This emphasis on Catalan identity provides the town and department with symbolic 'distinction' or 'added value' (Heller-Duchêne 2012, 9) that differentiate them from neighbouring localities, while 'language and identity are mobilized as specific themes to create a sense of place and attract tourists' (Heller *et al* 2014, 546). This commodification of language and culture thus provides Perpignan with an opportunity to be competitive not only on the international, but also on the national tourist market. This points to the economic benefits that may come along top-down language revitalization in the linguistic landscape.

This study set out to characterize the status of the Catalan language in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia and in Northern Catalonia through a contrastive analysis of public signage in the linguistic landscapes of Girona and Perpignan. The analysis focused on specific sites – post-offices, train stations and tourist sites were selected, as this would allow the contrasting of signage and policies at national level (post-offices and train stations) vs. regional and municipal levels (tourist signage). The data include both fixed signage and mobile signage (post-office leaflets and forms, train timetables, tourist maps, flyers, etc.). The findings highlight a differentiated status for the Catalan language in texts authored by national public entities vs. those authored by municipal and regional public institutions, as well as in fixed vs. mobile signage. In Girona, Castilian is the preferred code for the post-office, as shown

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[9] In the same manner, the private company *Le Petit Train de Perpignan*, in their audio-guided tours of Perpignan's historic centre, seeks to provide cultural authenticity through playing a song in Catalan.
[10] see www.ledepartement66.fr

through its prime position in the text layout of fixed signage, and omission of Catalan when wording is similar to Castilian in forms and flyers. At the train station, apart from the Catalan monolingual signs serving to identify Girona itself, all the signs are multilingual, with Castilian displayed in prime position as the preferred code and Catalan appearing in second position, but made visually salient through bolding. In their *TGV* leaflet however, Catalan is provided with higher status than Castilian through its prime position in the layout and visual salience afforded through bolding and eye-catching colour, possibly reflecting a significant usage of the Catalan language in everyday situations. If we consider tourist signage authored by municipal and regional authorities, Catalan is accorded high status. Indeed, signs identifying places of interest are systematically written in monolingual Catalan, while multilingual informational signs display Catalan in prime position. In Perpignan, Catalan is entirely lacking from all fixed and mobile signage at the post-office. At the train station, the bilingual *Perpignan/Perpinyá* signs (with the Catalan misspelt) suggest a symbolic, rather than informational, use of the Catalan language, while Catalan is absent from all other multilingual signage, and information leaflets are provided in monolingual French. However, tourist signage authored by Perpignan's municipality accords the Catalan language higher status. Catalan is displayed in all the multilingual heritage signage – although French is afforded visual salience through prime position in the text layout and occasional lack of translation in other languages. This demonstrates the municipality's will to pair the town with the Catalan language, and reclaim linguistic capital by way of institutional means. Effectively, the use of Catalan as an identification tool for the town's cultural heritage, and of Northern Catalan where place names are displayed, suggests a desire to identify with local linguistic traditions and to showcase Perpignan's specificity. This also points to a commodification of Catalan for tourism and global consumption.

Acknowledgements

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