Ursula Reutner

14.2 "Minor" Gallo-Romance Languages

Abstract: Today, Occitan and Francoprovençal are languages spanning over five nation states, where they are in competition with prestigious official languages. The consequences are a strong dialectal variation on the one hand and a relatively weak need for normative models on the other. This article provides an approach to identify language planning attempts within both languages taking into account the vicissitudes of their status throughout history. Whereas Occitan boasts a glorious past, and its variety "Aranese" has a highly legal recognition stimulating diverse efforts of codification, Francoprovençal is disputed even with its mere existence. After a presentation of both languages, the article retraces relevant aspects of their history and present status in society in order to present the institutions, codification instruments and main issues pertinent for their standardization.

Keywords: Gallo-Romance, Occitan, Francoprovençal, regional languages, standardization, codification, elaboration, status planning, corpus planning, sociolinguistics

1 Introduction

General reflections – Status and corpus are usually considered two separate aspects of language planning in the tradition of Haugen (1983). This separation helps to discern different parts in the process but risks drawing strict lines in our minds that do not exist in real life. Surely, it is beyond doubt that status and corpus do not always go hand in hand: there are, of course, languages with a high status and small corpus and others with a large corpus and low status. Yet, when it comes to language planning, the two aspects are highly interlinked and difficult to divide. Three examples may suffice to illustrate this reality.

First, declaring a language as official to a nation is an aspect of status planning, but whenever this declaration goes beyond a theoretical statement, it automatically involves (conscious or unconscious) corpus planning: the varieties used for example in administrative texts or on road signs highly influence the standardization process. People usually perceive them as a norm of orientation even if the respective texts are no codification instruments in a traditional sense, whereas explicit attempts of standardization like composing normative dictionaries or grammars sometimes do not have any consequences for the language at all.

Secondly, the decision whether or not to use a language at school is part of status planning but again strongly linked with corpus planning. Not only is the existence of grammars and dictionaries often a prerequisite and at the same time a

consequence of the language's introduction at school, but also the variety used for teaching is practically codified through text books, semi-officialized by the use on the blackboard and dispersed through pupil's works even if the selection process is unconsciously realized.

Thirdly, standardization has often been accomplished by language usage in literature and media. The most prominent example is the translation of the Bible presented by Martin Luther, whose primary aim was definitely not the standardization of the German language, but nevertheless contributed to it. The usage of a language in the media (with their function as a linguistic role model) and especially on the Internet nowadays (with its easy access to the wide distribution of written information) can be, at first sight, considered as status planning. At the same time, it is a powerful impulse of its corpus planning, since a language used in certain domains cannot be separated from the way it is used there.

The following article will therefore go beyond the highly theoretical efforts of corpus planning *in sensu strictu* realized through grammars and dictionaries with their sometimes limited range and effect. Furthermore, it will consider those aspects that are regarded as parts of status planning but are actually often much more important for a language's corpus than the direct efforts of corpus planning.

Minor Gallo-Romance languages – Gallo-Romance languages usually comprise French, Francoprovençal and Occitan, whereas some authors also include Catalan (cf., e.g., Koppelberg 1998). Others unite Occitan and Catalan in a special group of bridging languages between Gallo-Romance and Ibero-Romance languages. In contrast to French and Catalan, Occitan and Francoprovençal are endangered languages with a declining use and are sometimes described as minor. The term *minor* is considered to be quantitatively descriptive not judgmental, especially since Occitan has a very impressive corpus of written usage with world famous literature.

Structure of the article – Both languages will be presented one after the other following the same pattern. Accordingly, a closer examination of Occitan in France, Italy, Spain and Monaco is provided before considering Francoprovençal in France, Italy and Switzerland. In both cases, the first sections aim at familiarizing the reader with each language; they explain their status as languages in their own right and give an overview of their prominent dialects, then present their different denominations, speech area and vitality. The next sections recall the history of both languages while setting a special focus on aspects relevant to their process of standardization such as dominant varieties, codification instruments and institutionalization. The third sections present the current linguistic situation of both languages starting with their different legal status in the five states and the respective regions. They present their roles in the educational systems and in the media, roles that are not only crucial for the institutional process of standardization, yet can also prompt the codification led by other stakeholders. The closing sections portray the institutions engaged in language planning, recent codification instruments and main issues of codification.

2 Occitan

2.1 Overview

2.1.1 Status as a language and dialect variation

Distinct language or languages? – Occitan can clearly be distinguished from the (other) Gallo-Romance languages French and Francoprovençal (see below, 3.1.1). However, it offers such a wide range of dialect variation that some linguists do not define it as one single language but consider it to be an umbrella term for manifold *lengas d'òc*: "l'occitan [...] n'a jamais émergé. On peut penser qu'il a plutôt convergé" (Chambon/Greub 2002, 491). Not only is the linguistically divergent Gascon often regarded as a language in its own right (see below, *Gascon as a special case*), but other dialects are also: "Provençal satisfies the sociolinguistic criteria for being considered as a distinct language (and not a variety of Occitan)" (Blanchet 2003, 1). When reflecting on the standardization process of any language, the consideration of its variation is of high importance. In the case of Occitan, this is all the more true. Chambon even states that "les parlers d'oc n'ayant jamais connu de processus socialement accepté de standardisation ou de narrativisation, toute la linguistique occitane est en effet dialectologie, ou dialectologique" (2012, 204s.).

Dialect classifications – Within Occitan studies, Bec's dialect classification (⁶1995 [1963], 32–49) can be considered the most widely accepted. He aligns Occitan's six main dialects which are separated into three major language groups: northern Occitan (with Lemosin, Auvernhat, Alpin), southern Occitan (with Lengadocian, Provençal) and Gascon (with Aranese). Nonetheless, Wheeler (1988, 246), for instance, only distinguishes between a northeastern group (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Alpin, Provençal) and a southwestern group (Lengadocian, Gascon).

Supradialectal classification with Catalan – Supradialectal approaches classify Occitan with Catalan, in ancient times described as one and the same: "[...] despues de los Araves, no se han escrito en toda España tantos, tan buenos, i tan sotiles libros en prosa, i metro, como en esta lengua Catalana [...] la Proençal, i Catalana son una mesma lengua" (anonymous 1559, 6). Bec (⁶1995 [1963], 52–56), for example, distinguishes between Arverno-Mediterranean (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Provençal, Alpin), central Occitan (Lengadocian) and Aquitano-Pyrenean (with Gascon, Rossellonese, Balearic, Alguerese, central Catalan, northern Catalan and Valencian), and Sumien divides Arverno-Mediterranean in Transoccitan (Lemosin, Auvernhat, Provençal) and Niçard-Alpin and classifies central Occitan and Aquitano-Pyrenean as Pre-Iberian (2006, 146–149).

Gascon as a special case – Reasons why Catalan is often linked to Occitan are its common early history (see below, 2.2.1) as well as some analogies with Gascon that appear in the supradialectal classifications within Catalan. From an Occitan perspective, Gascon is therefore often perceived as "lengatge estranh": Molinher

explains in his 14th-century *Leys d'Amors*: *"quar nos no prendem en nostres dictatz en romans lunh lengatge estranh si no en la maniera dessus pauzada et apelam lengatge estranh coma frances. engles. espanhol. gasco. lombard. E quar la lenga de Gascuenha reputam per estranha. per so nos no devem dir aytals motz si be hom los ditz en Gascuenha. Quar trop mal pauzo li gasco alqus motz"* (1842 [1332–1356], 388) [because we don't use foreign languages in our poems in Roman except in the way we have explained above, and we call foreign languages languages like French, English, Spanish, Gascon and Lombard. And as we regard the language of Gascogne as foreign, we shouldn't use such words, even if they are used in Gascogne, because the Gascons often use bad words]. Some linguists such as Baldinger (1962, 331s.) or Chambon/Greub (2002, 492) consider Gascon a Romance language by itself due to particular differences concerning language evolution. It is almost as divergent from Occitan as Francoprovençal in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax (Wheeler 1988, 246) but commonly regarded as an Occitan language variety.

2.1.2 Nomenclature

Generalization of regional varieties – The use of *Provençal* to identify the koinè of southern France in general was once common but has been increasingly abandoned in order to avoid confusion with *Provençal* referring to the dialect of the Province of Provence. Other varieties also served as pars pro toto, a prominent example of these are *Les Gasconismes corrigés* (Desgrouais 1766) intended to purify the French language from southern influences ("francitan") in general.

Oc – The designation *Occitan*, also referred to as Fr. *langue d'oc*, Occ. *lenga d'òc*, is derived from Dante's classification of Romance languages. In *De vulgari eloquentia* [On Eloquence in the Vernacular] he states: "nam alii *oc*, alii *sì*, alii vero dicunt *oïl*" (1979 [1304–1307/1308], 70 [I/ix/25]) [for some say òc, others sì, yet others say oïl] and thus classifies Occitan, Italian and French dialects according to their realization of the affirmative particle *yes* in òc, sì and oïl languages. In the 19th century, the medieval denominations *lingua d'oc* and its derivation *occitanus* reemerged while asserting themselves more and more even though there was a struggle between their advocates. This became evident in the double determination of the respective teacher's exam *CAPES d'occitan-langue d'oc* (2.3.2).

2.1.3 Geographic and quantitative distribution

Geographic distribution – The totality of areas in which Occitan and its dialects are used spans over parts of France, Monaco, Italy and Spain. The Occitan-speaking territory in France stretches across all four administrative regions in the south, thus comprising the complete regions of Occitanie and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, as

well as big parts of Nouvelle-Aquitaine and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes. In Monaco, Occitan is only encountered in peripheral areas adjoining France. Italy's Occitan Valleys in Piedmont and Liguria (*valadas occitanas*) and the Guardia Piemontese, an Occitan-speaking enclave founded in Calabria by Waldenses, present the easternmost part of the Occitan zone. Spain's Aran Valley in the Pyrenees of Catalonia forms the southern border of Occitan.

Quantitative distribution – Quantitative indications differ in both languages according to the definition of who is to be counted (cf. Reutner 2017, 19). The *Ethnologue* indicates for example 218,310 speakers: 110,000 in France, 100,000 in Italy, 4,500 in Monaco, 3,810 in Spain (Simons/Fennig 2019), and The Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity between one and three million: 1–2.8 million in France, 50,000–100,000 in Italy, 4,700 in Spain and 4,500 in Monaco (NPLD 2017). Kremnitz, who stated in 1997 that maybe 3 million could speak the language and 1 million actually spoke it (1997, 1188), lowered his estimations to between 600,000 and 1.5 million in France (2015, 54). Bernissan calculates the total number of native speakers in France at around 110,000 and of new speakers (*néo-locuteurs*) at around 20,000 (2012, 492). Bert/Costa give percentages of age groups indicating those who speak the regional language well (first numbers) or understand it well (second numbers): 2/4% (under 30), 0/2% (30–40), 1.5/7.5% (40–50), 3.9/15.6% (50–60), 7.2/24.6% (60–70), 14/32% (70–80), 30/60.9% (over 80) (Bert/Costa 2009, 34s.), and mention a total of 6.3% of traditional speakers, with 1.1% among the 40–50 year-olds, 1.6% among the 50–60, 10.2% among the 60–70, 14.4% among the 70–80 and 17% among the over 80 (2009, 34s.).

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2.2 History of standardization

The evolution of Occitan has been highly influenced not only by inter-linguistic diglossia (in competition with first Latin and then French) but also intra-linguistic dialect variation. Because there has never been a political entity in the Occitan area, the linguistic evolution was strongly affected by its division into different sovereign territories. The following historical abstract centers mainly around the intra-Occitan problem of standardization. Accordingly, the historical evolution of Occitan can be divided into three major periods: the cultural blossoming between the 11th and 13th centuries, Occitan's decline and retrogression in the centuries to follow until its new awakening as of the 19th century.

2.2.1 Cultural blossoming

Legal-administrative texts and troubadour lyrics – The Old-Occitan blossoming was initially shaped by vernacular tradition that appeared predominantly in legal-

administrative as well as religious texts, the language of which bears resemblance to meridional varieties of Occitan. The first literary texts appeared around the year 1000. One century later, the troubadours, with their most important early representative William IX of Aquitaine (1071–1127), paved the rise of Occitan until the 13th century. The poetry of travelling minstrels later established Occitan as an important written language, which reached parts of Italy (*scuola siciliana*), Galicia (*cantigas de amor*), Catalonia (*trobador*) and northern France (*trouvères*).

Koinè – Even though the dimension of the standardization effects emanating from the troubadours and their Occitan poetry are controversial within Romance linguistics, their medieval koinè later built the basis for what is now known as classical norm (see below, 2.2.3). Since the troubadour texts avoided regionalisms in order to be widely understood in the Catalan-Occitan area, they distinguished themselves through a relatively high consistency being geared toward the meridional Occitan of the Toulouse region.

Poetics – As there was a need to explain the poetic rules to future poets, troubadour lyrics also made Occitan the Romance language with the first grammar: Ramon Vidal de Besalú's *Razos de Trobar* (1190–1213) written in Catalonia and recommending Lemosin (cf. Städtler 1988). It was followed by other poetics depicting the most important normative tendencies in the Middle Ages and generally showed preference for Lengadocian over Gascon and Provençal: Uc Faidit's famous *Donatz Proensals*, written around 1240 in Italy, Terramagnino da Pisa's *Doctrina d'Acort* (ca. 1280–1290), Jofre de Foixà's *Regles de Trobar* (1286–1291), Guilhem Molinher's *Leys d'Amors* (1332–1356, already cited in 2.1.1 and also referred to as *Flors del Gay Saber*) as well as Johan de Castellnou's *Compendi de la conaxença dels vicis que poden esdevenir en los dictatz del Gay Saber* (1341; for more details cf. Schlieben-Lange 1991, 106ss.).

Challenges – However, the lack of a commonly accepted linguistic center for the Occitan territory impeded endeavours to establish a uniform, standardized variation of Occitan. The outbreak of the Albigensian crusades (1209–1229) drastically changed circumstances in southern France. The destruction of Occitan courts dispossessed the troubadours of their livelihood and subsequently initiated Occitan's downfall. The County of Toulouse was incorporated into France (1271) which not only set the basis for the later francization of the Occitan area but also separated it from the Catalan zone, which developed differently from then on.

2.2.2 Decline

Declining written usage and the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts – Closely linked to the evolution of royal power and the French state in the 14th and 15th centuries, the usage and cultivation of Occitan declined significantly, triggering a diglossic situation in southern France. Occitan was still officially used as a written language, but French

gained more and more domains. Eventually, with the edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), French was declared as the only official language superseding not only Latin but also regional languages such as Occitan.

Loss of a pan-Occitan language awareness – Written tradition of Occitan successively vanished in favor of French, the language of administration and culture. Due to the corresponding decline in pan-Occitan language awareness, the dialectal variation increased. Scattered standardization attempts in the 17th century only concerned specific regions and mainly referred to literary language. Occitan was more and more glorified in light of its past and described as a "lost language" (Pasquini 1994, 25s.), which further emphasized the diglossic situation.

Standardization through the alignment to Paris – In the course of the 18th century, dictionaries like Pellas' *Dictionnaire provençal et françois* (1723) or Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages' *Dictionnaire languedocien-françois* (1756) had normative impacts and initiated new debates on standardizing Occitan in terms of grammar, orthography, and lexicography. They originated less in the will to codify Occitan than in the practical need to help aspiring Occitan speakers brush up on their French after an economic and social rise in Paris. This became most evident in Desgrouais' *Les Gasconismes corrigés* (1766). The strong alignment to French as the dominant language led not only to a further decline in language awareness, but also to a degradation of Occitan being more and more regarded as a mere dialect of French (for commented lists of different types of Occitan-French dictionaries cf. Schlieben-Lange 1991, 115–121).

Declining oral usage after the French Revolution – "Une nation – une langue" soon became a powerful idea in the minds of French revolutionaries. Whereas the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts led to the replacement of Occitan in written texts, the French Revolution aimed at imposing the French language in daily life (for more details cf. Martel 2015) from 1793 onwards. This could only be accomplished after the introduction of compulsory school education (1881) and gradually led to the substitution of Occitan by French in southern France.

2.2.3 New awakening

Félibrige – At the same time, the second half of the 19th century marks the revitalization of Occitan and its codification. The literary movement Félibrige, founded on the model of the French Pléiade in 1854, heralded the beginning of Occitan's modern standardization. The most important representative of the group is Frédéric Mistral (1830–1914), Nobel Prize laureate of 1904 for his epic poem on the farmer's daughter who fell in love with a modest basketmaker, *Mirèo* (1859; Mistral 1860). He helped leverage the popularity of Occitan not only in France but also internationally.

Fédéric Mistral – Mistral's *Tresor dóu Félibrige* (1878–1886) is a comprehensive pluri-dialectal dictionary that includes the different *lengas d'òc* comprising Proven-

çal. The orthography later referred to as Mistralian norm or Felibrean norm, however, is inspired by Simon-Jude Honnorat's *Vocabulaire Français-Provençal* (1848) and Joseph Roumanille's *Dissertation sur l'orthographe provençale* (1853) and thus only based on the language varieties of the lower Rhône valley. Mistral avoided underlining any pan-Occitan speech unity and delimited the validity of his norm by naming it *lengo prouvençalo*. He applies this variety to French rules (e.g. <ou> for /u/), while also adopting phonologic considerations (e.g. suppression of <r> in infinitives, <s> in plurals and <t> in past participles). Due to its evident dialectal slant and strong reference to literary language, the Mistralian orthography could not become a commonly accepted standard. Nevertheless, it represents an important breeding ground for following standardization approaches.

Antonin Perbòsc and Prospèr Estieu – In order to unify the Occitan dialects and present a commonly acceptable orthography, Antonin Perbòsc (1861–1944) and Prospèr Estieu (1860–1939) recollected the writing of the troubadours. In 1919, they presented a standardization approach on the basis of the widely understood Lengadocian that followed etymological principles and could be accepted by speakers of other varieties. In the tradition of the troubadours, they tried to bridge dialectal differences, especially focusing on the autonomy from French. Accordingly, they replaced the French digraph <ou> by <o>, represented /ɔ/ by <ò> and adopted the digraph <tz> for the second person plural (*cantatz* 'vous chantez') to distinguish it from the second person singular (*cantats* 'tu chantes').

Loís Alibèrt – However, their deliberations lacked systematization, especially in the field of morphology. Therefore, Alibèrt (1884–1959) presented an attempt to reconcile their system with the Mistralian orthography. His elaboration of the Perbòsc/Estieu orthography also known as classical or Albertine orthography is based on etymological forms and considers the most characteristic phonological and morphological elements of the contemporary *lengas d'òc*. Thus, it allows the encoding of different Occitan varieties. He replaced some prominent Catalan graphemes (e.g. <ll> → <lh>, <ny> → <nh> like in Portuguese: Cat. *filla*, Occ. *filha*, Pt. *filha*; Cat. *Catalunya*, Occ. *Catalonha*, Pt. *Catalunha*; <ix> → <is>, <tx> → <ch>, <ig> → <g>), corrected Perbòsc's and Estieu's misleading remarks on the usage of *-v-* and *-b-*, and differentiated between *-s-* and *-ss-*. As a result, his *Grammatica occitana segòn los parlars lengadocians* (1935) and his *Dictionnaire occitan-français selon les parlers languedociens* (1966) heralded Occitan's standardization process. Since they permit synchronic and pan-Occitan understanding, Alibèrt's works still present an important normative reference commonly known as the classical norm.

Institutions – The Félibrige movement was primarily a literary movement that did not systematically advocate for a better status of Occitan. Due to the lack of political impact, other institutionalized endeavors arose with the ambition of protecting and defending Occitan, among them the foundation of the Institut d'Estudis Occitans (cf. below, 2.4.1). Due to efforts of the IEO and trend-setting codification instruments, the Lengadocian of the Toulouse region rose to the basis of a widely

accepted standard variety of Occitan (for further reading on the standardization history of Occitan see among others Bec [6]1995 [1963], 65–116; 1991, 51s.; Bernsen 2006, 1981–1992; Boyer/Gardy 2001; Kremnitz 1974, 86–260; 1981, 20–32; Lafont 1971, 41–45; Martel 2013, 512–528; 2004; Pasquini 1994, 62–76; Polzin-Haumann 2006, 1474–1480; 2017, 97ss.; Sauzet/Brun-Trigaud 2013; Sibille 2002; 2003a, 179–184; Sumien 2006, 60s., 157; Taupiac 2001, 91–100).

2.3 Current linguistic situation

2.3.1 Legal status

The current linguistic situation of Occitan emerges from varying legal backgrounds in the four nation states, where great differences in terms of official recognition are evident. Whereas Aranese is co-official in Catalonia, Occitan is not an official language in Italy, Monaco or France. Hence, Occitan faces a quite paradoxical situation with the second smallest language community in the Aran Valley accounting for the highest legal consideration.

France – French is the one and only official language of the French Republic which is underlined by the passus "La langue de la République est le français" added to the Constitution in 1992 (RF 1958/2015, art. 2). In 2008, the French government under Sarkozy passed an amendment taking into special account regional languages: "Les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine de la France" (RF 1958/2015, art. 75-1). This amendment only has a symbolic function as France still lacks concrete decrees or enactments concerning the conservation and protection of regional languages. Moreover, France failed to ratify the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), signed in 1999 (for further reading concerning the difficulties of the ratification process see Alén Garabato 2013, 327–336; Tacke 2015, 221–223).

Italy – The Italian Constitution does not specify any official language. The only reference to language can be seen in article 6 that ensures the protection of linguistic minorities: "La Repubblica tutela con apposite norme le minoranze linguistiche" (RI 1948/2019, art. 6). In application of this article, the law 482 of 1999 declares Italian official while comprehensively safeguarding historic linguistic minorities (RI 1999, art. 1), among them Occitan and Francoprovençal (RI 1999, art. 2) (cf. Pirazzini 2012 on the law and the discussion concerning the ECRML). The details are specified in the regional laws. In 1970, the Region of Piedmont declares in its Statue: "La Regione difende l'originale patrimonio linguistico, di cultura e di costume delle comunità locali e ne favorisce la valorizzazione" (RP 1970/1990, art. 7) and successively completes this article. The special reference to Occitan and Francoprovençal is introduced in 2005 (RP 2005/2016, art. 7). Piedmont further protects and promotes the knowledge of its linguistic heritage in the regional law 26, in which it announces

supporting the teaching of Occitan and Francoprovençal as well as their usage in the media (RP 1990/1997, art. 3 and 5).

Spain – Spain reveals a different constitutional consideration of regional languages. While referring to Castilian as official language for the whole nation state, article 3 of the Spanish Constitution also makes reference to the respective regional Statutes of Autonomy (RE 1978, art. 3). Accordingly, Occitan or more precisely the Aranese variety of Gascon is granted special protection in the Catalan Statute of Autonomy of 1979 (GC 1979, art. 3) and becomes a co-official language in the Aran Valley in 1990 through the law 16 (GC 1990, art. 2.1). Due to a reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia in 2006, Occitan is now a co-official language in all of Catalonia besides Catalan and Castilian (GC 2006, art. 6.5).

Monaco – French is the official language in Monaco: "La langue française est la langue officielle de l'État" (PM 1962, art. 8). The traditional national language is Monégasque, a Ligurian dialect that is also taught in school and used on street signs for example.

2.3.2 Educational system

France – The Post World War II period was shaped by the introduction of Occitan into the educational system. During that time, several previously unsuccessful attempts at legislation bore fruit as the *Loi Deixonne* passed in 1951 (and as other important legal texts concerning the educational system later were integrated into the *Code l'éducation*; cf. Tacke 2015, 224–231). In order to achieve "la promotion et l'enrichissement des langues et cultures régionales" (RF 1951, art. 7), it authorized optional courses in regional languages in the "zones d'influence du breton, du basque, du catalan et de la langue occitane" (RF 1951, art. 10). Subsequently, the number of students taking optional secondary school examinations in Occitan increased from 236 (1952) to 9000 (1980) (cf. Kremnitz 1997, 1191). Writing was instigated and promoted the standardization of writing at a high range. In 1975, the *Loi Deixonne* was completed by the *Loi Haby*: "un enseignement des langues et cultures régionales peut être dispensé tout au long de la scolarité" (RF 1975, art. 12). Additionally, the *Circulaire Savary* (1982) and the *Circulaire Bayrou* (1995) supported the teaching of regional languages. A *CAPES d'occitan-langue d'oc* was introduced in 1992. In the tradition of the bilingual education institutions Ikastola (Basque country, since 1969), Diwan (Brittany, since 1976), and Bressola (Catalonia, since 1976), privately run Calandretas have offered bilingual education in Occitan since 1979; today there are 68 Calandretas in southern France. During the school year 2013–2014, a total of 56,066 students studied Occitan in elementary or secondary schools, representing the second largest group among the regional languages, only topped by Alsatian (264,783 students), while Breton (36,880 students), Corse (36,295 students), Creole (22,431 students), Catalan (14,565 students), and Basque (14,281 stu-

dents) account for clearly fewer students (DGLFLF 2015, 79; for further reading see for example Alén Garabato 2013; Lespoux 2013; Martel 2007, 131–147; Sibille 2003a, 187ss.; Weth 2014, 501ss.).

Italy – The Region of Piedmont supports the teaching of Occitan through the regional law of 1990/1997 (cf. above, 2.3.1), but there seems to be a strong resistance to its introduction at school among the population. Most people interviewed by Pla-Lang can imagine Occitan as an optional subject (2008, 108) at the most.

Spain – Teaching of Aranese was stipulated in the Statute of Autonomy of Cata-lunya of 1979, reformed in 2006 (cf. above, 2.3.1), and promoted by the *Llei de nor-malització lingüística a Catalunya* of 1983 (GC 1989) that was transferred to the *Llei de política lingüística* in 1998 (cf. Tacke 2012). Nowadays, Aranese is not only taught but also used as a language of teaching in the Aran Valley. It has the same rights as Catalan in other areas of Catalonia, but its usage is controversially discussed by parents. Practical considerations support the use of Spanish and Catalan, as a good knowledge of both is necessary in order to apply for many jobs in Catalonia. The choice of Aranese, by contrast, conveys the impression of being more ideologically motivated (for further reading cf. Suils/Huguet 2001, 159s.; Viaut 2001, 408–412).

2.3.3 Media

Occitan is present in print as well as audio-visual media and more and more pene-trating the Internet.

Print media – Newspapers and journals like *Jornalet. Gaseta occitana d'informa-cions* have been published daily in Occitan in Barcelona/Toulouse since 2012 in the classical orthography. *Prouvènço d'aro* has appeared monthly in Marseille since 1987 in Mistralian orthography, as well as *Aquò d'Aquí*, published monthly in Mar-seille since 1987, and *La Setmana*, appearing weekly in Lescar since 1995.

Radio – Several radio stations have broadcast their whole program in Occitan or offer particular slots treating or using the Occitan language since the beginning of the 1980s, for example Ràdio Lenga d'òc (Montpellier), Ràdio Occitània (Tou-louse), Ràdio País (Pau), Radio Albigés (Albi) and Radio Coupo Santo (Avignon). Catalunya Ràdio (Barcelona) broadcasts some programs in Aranese.

Television – Even though an Occitan-only television channel exists merely on the Internet (<www.oc-tv.net>), there are some regional programs in Occitan lan-guage on other channels: France 3 Occitanie broadcasts, for example, the program *Viure al País* with small documentaries on everyday life (FT 2019a) and France 3 Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur a weekly magazine *Vaqui* (FT 2019b); but all in all, we are speaking about a very small percentage of the whole broadcasting time, France 3 offering only 56.53 hours in Occitan (Provençal excluded) and 67.51 hours in Occi-tan Provençal throughout 2014 (DGLFLF 2015, 84). TVSud presents documentaries in Occitan on a regular basis (TVSud 2019), Barcelona Televisió offers the programs *Aranèsoc* and *Infòc* (betevé 2019; for further reading cf. Sibille 2003a, 185s.).

Internet as a platform for old advocates – The goal of strengthening Occitan via traditional media was once confined to a local level, whereas nowadays, most of the mentioned products of the print and audio-visual media are also accessible via the Internet. Similarly, the institutions engaged in promoting and strengthening Occitan (cf. below, 2.4.1) also operate in the digital sphere. Thus, their aspirations of language revitalization cannot only be achieved more economically and at the same time more professionally, but can also reach a wider range of people and more easily attract younger speakers. The comparably low intergenerational transmission of Occitan, often problematized in current research, can certainly profit from the new digital opportunities.

Internet as a new platform for everybody – The Internet is not only used by traditional groups to publish conventional products in another medium. Since the end of the 1990s, the standardization of Occitan has also been driven directly in the digital area: private homepages, discussions and postings in social media platforms and even a general encyclopedia are now available in Occitan. The frontal page of Wikipedia in Occitan points to a total of 86,120 articles written in this language (cf. Wikipedia 2019a) and the authors of these articles are leading lively discussions on language online. Whereas minor languages have always profited from enthusiastic amateurs publishing glossaries, booklets, or little texts to promote their language, the digital age grants popular linguistics a more and more important role in the process of standardization (for further reading on popular linguistics in the case of Occitan cf. Osthus 2006, 1542ss.).

2.4 Codification

2.4.1 Institutions

IEO – The Institut d'Estudis Occitans (IEO), founded in 1945, can be considered the most prominent pan-Occitan institution in terms of popularity and acceptance. It highlights aspects of status planning in its Internet presentation when it explains that it is "working for the recognition of the Occitan as a full European language" and "supports the efforts of all those who want the Occitan language to find its place in the cultural diversity inherent in today's society". Corpus planning is included when it states that it aims at "the promotion and teaching of Occitan respectful of dialectal diversity" and "the maintenance and development of the Occitan language and culture as a whole" (IEO 2019a). In this respect, the IEO endeavours to establish a normative standard and to fix it in referential codification instruments. Highly committed to allow for dialectal differences, it aspires to promote the classical norm in its respective dialectal versions. It works on the renewal of Occitan vocabulary in order to adapt it to modern language usage with several dictionaries presenting for example the terminology of biology, mathematics and informatics

(IEO 2019b) or for sports like jousting, bullfighting, football and rugby (IEO 2019c; 2019d).

Lo Congrès – Lo Congrès permanent de la lenga occitana (CLO) was founded in 2011 in order to successfully revitalize Occitan on a transnational level. In the tradition of the IEO, it applies the classical norm to different dialects and aims to overcome the competing linguistic concepts of Occitan (CLO 2019a). It offers an Internet database supplying various codification instruments (CLO 2019b): an Occitan-French, French-Occitan dictionary, *dicod'Òc*, based on 15 dictionaries and already covering the 5 varieties Auvernhat, Gascon, Lengadocian, Provençal, and Alpin (CLO 2019c), as well as a digital conjugation guide, *verb'Òc* (CLO 2019d), a dictionary of Occitan toponymy, *Top'Òc* (CLO 2019e), a database of Occitan terminology, *Term'Òc* (CLO 2019f), and a dictionary of Occitan expressions, *Express'Òc* (CLO 2019g).

IEA – The Institut d'Estudis Aranesi (IEA) was founded in 2014 as an official institution to cultivate the use of Aranese in Catalonia. Like the IEO, it is geared toward the classical norm but has adapted to its Gascon variety (cf. IEA 2019 and for more information on the institutional support in Catalonia CGA 2017, in Italy Pla-Lang 2008, 73–97, and Salvi 1975, 172ss., and in France Bert/Costa 2009, 132s., as well as the evaluation in Diver 2015, 213–223).

2.4.2 Codification instruments

Over the past centuries, many codification instruments of Occitan have emerged, including the poetics meant to explain how to compose troubadour lyrics (cf. above, 2.2.1), dictionaries intended to help Occitan speakers with French (among them Pellas 1723 and Boissier de la Croix de Sauvages 1756; cf. above, 2.2.2), or intended to support the understanding of Occitan texts like Honnorat (1846–1847; 1848) and above all Mistral (1878–1886; cf. above, 2.2.3). Language planning institutions offer online applications like the ones already mentioned of Lo Congrès, *dicod'Òc*, *verb'Òc*, *Top'Òc*, *Term'Òc* and *Express'Òc* (cf. above). The following listing adds some other codification instruments of the 20th and 21st centuries for different areas of Occitan, thus illustrating that most reference works are conceived for a special variety of Occitan.

Spelling – Besides the Mistralian norm, there is the classical norm (cf. 2.2.3) that codification instruments of the second half of the 20th century adapt, for example to Provençal (Lafont 1951; 1972), Gascon (Bec/Alibèrt 1952), Auvernhat (Bonnaud 1969), or Lemosin (Desrozier/Ros 1974). As for Aranese, the government of Catalonia installed a commission to develop an appropriate orthography with the result of the *Nòrmes ortogràfiques der Aranés* that became operative in 1983 (GC 1999).

Grammar – The four volumes of Ronjat (1930–1941) still represent the most complete grammar. Reference books with a strong normative character are Alibèrt (1976 [1935]) for the classic norm and Sumien (2006) aimed at establishing an *occitan larg*.

Bonnaud (1974) is a grammar of Auvernhat, whereas the grammar of Salvat (^{5}1998 [1943]) and the conjugation guides of Pojada (^{5}2014 [1993]) and Sauzet/Ubaud (1995) are again based on Lengadocian.

Lexis – With Gallo-Romance historical dictionaries like the FEW and specialized dictionaries like the DAO, DAG, DOM, ancient Occitan enjoys lexicographic description of high academic standards (cf. Chambon 2015, 31ss.). Numerous are the dictionaries on the contemporary *lenguas d'òc*; among them Alibèrt (1979 [1966]), Laux (2001 [1997]), Cantalausa (2003), Guilhemjoan (2005), and Lagarde (2012) are geared to Lengadocian, Gonfroy (1975) to Lemosin, Lèbre/Martin/Moulin (1992) and Fettuciari/Martin/Pietri (2003) to Provençal, Dubarry (2009 [1998]), Rei Bèthvéder (2004) and Grosclaude/Nariòo/Guilhemjoan (2007) to Gascon, Omelhièr (2004) to Auvernhat, and Faure (2010) to Alpine.

Language guide – All kinds of teaching material are available to those who want to learn Occitan, for example the *Cours Assimil* for French learners (Nouvel 2007 [1975]; Quint 2014) and Cichon (2002 [1999]) for German learners.

2.4.3 Main issues

Competing norms – The two major competing norms are the Mistralian, based on Provençal, and the classical based on Lengadocian. Both are adaptable to different Occitan dialects and account for a better pan-Occitan acceptance (cf. 2.2.3). In addition, other norms have been emerging since the 1970s as well as a large variety of individual spellings representing local phonetics by applying the rules of the French orthography to Occitan. While there might be a tendency among older readers who never became literate in Occitan to prefer these spellings based on French, the younger generation will probably rather tend towards the classical norm having studied Occitan at school.

Illustration – The following three versions of article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* illustrate the different principles of the Mistralian norm based on Provençal, the classical norm used for Provençal and the classical norm for Lengadocian. They show for example that in the Mistralian norm, [u] is noted by the digraph <ou>, [-o] is noted <o>, a graphic accent distinguishes between stressed vowels and unstressed diphthongs, and only some mute final consonants are noted (*dre*), whereas in the classical norm [u] is represented by <o>, [-o] is represented by <a> and final consonants are never dropped.

"Tóuti li persouno naisson liéuro e egalo en dignita e en dre. Soun doutado de rasoun e de counsciènci e li fau agi entre éli em' un esperit de freiresso" (Mistralian norm).

"Totei lei personas naisson liuras e egalas en dignitat e en drech. Son dotadas de rason e de consciéncia e li cau agir entre elei amb un esperit de frairesa" (classical norm for Provençal).

"Totas las personas naisson liuras e egalas en dignitat e en drech. Son dotadas de rason e de consciéncia e lor cal agir entre elas amb un esperit de frairesa" (classical norm for Lengadocian).

Coping with varieties in a standardization process – Occitan's normative situation is rather complex as it accounts for manifold *lengas d'òc*, partly present in different standardization attempts. Roughly speaking, three solutions can be found to cope with such a dialectal variation in a standardization process: equality of varieties, imposition of one variety and, last but not least, abstraction from varieties. The first option of accepting the different varieties on an equal level leads to a polynomial model that considers language unity as a merely abstract concept. Explicit norms give way to self-regulating forces of languages. Very democratic in theory, this option is difficult to accomplish in practice as a speaker's desire for orientation seems to exist at least when writing and especially when learning the language. The second option of imposing one of the dialects or a group of dialects as orientation was, for example, the solution for the standardization of French, Spanish and Italian based on the varieties Francien, Castilian and Tuscan. These varieties were dominant due to the political, economic or cultural supremacy of some of their speakers. If in a pluricentric stage of language evolution no dialect predominates, it is difficult to select one variety that the speakers of others can accept. For this reason, the third option of abstracting from actually existing varieties does not privilege one single variety. However, it aims for a compromise by gathering features of different dialects like Euskara Batua is meant to do for Basque or Rumantsch Grischun for Rhaeto-Romance. In trying to be acceptable for all, this option draws the criticism of those who consider it as an artificial norm that threatens the regional varieties and therefore the transmittance of the cultural heritage (for these three options cf. Reutner 2006).

Coping with the varieties of Occitan – Even if many of the standardization instruments are based on Lengadocian that has the advantage of being one of the more conservative southern dialects (cf. below, 3.1.1 – *palatalization*) and of being central, adjacent to most of the others and thus comprehensible in different regions, Occitan language planners do not want to privilege one single dialect. Their intent rather is to establish a general standard accessible to speakers of different varieties on the basis of the classical norm while adapting to different dialects, the so called *occitan larg*, *occitan estandard* or *occitan referencial*. In a certain way, they try to reconcile the polynomial model with the human need for orientation. When Lo Congrès defines the "respect de l'unité et de la diversité de l'occitan" (CLO 2019b) as one of its principles, it is designed to create unity by accounting for dialectal variation. Such an idea of "unity by diversity" can be achieved by the usage of one single orthographical system in all dialects, reflecting varying forms and pronunciations.

3 Francoprovençal

3.1 Overview

3.1.1 Status as a language and dialect variation

How to create things with words – In 1873, the Italian linguist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli (1829–1907) introduced the designation *franco-provenzale* as a collective term for those Gallo-Romance dialects that – according to dialectological criteria – can neither be considered French nor Occitan. In order to group these dialects, Ascoli introduced a third type, taking an intermediate position between the two others closer to French than to Occitan:

> "chiamo franco-provenzale un tipo idiomatico, il quale insieme riunisce, con alcuni caratteri specifici, più altri caratteri, che parte son comuni al francese, parte lo sono al provenzale, e non proviene già da una confluenza di elementi diversi, ma bensì attesta sua propria indipendenza istorica, non guari dissimili da quella per cui fra di loro si distinguono gli altri principali tipi neo-latini" (Ascoli 1878, 61).

Controversial topic – Ascoli's deliberations opened a heated debate, which is still present today. The main reason for the argument persists within his language definition which struggles to name definite linguistic traits exclusively valid for Francoprovençal. Thus, the question of whether or not it can actually be considered a language of its own is crucial when dealing with Francoprovençal.

Double evolution of A – In order to distinguish Francoprovençal from both French and Occitan, Ascoli focused on phonetic criteria and saw the evolution of the Latin A as the main distinctive feature. After a non-palatal consonant, the stressed Latin A evolves in open syllable to /e/ in French, but is maintained in Francoprovençal (and Occitan): Lat. PRĀTŬ(M) > Fr. *pré* vs. Frp. *pra*, Occ. *pra*; Lat. PŎRTĀRE > Fr. *porter* vs. Frp. *portà*, Occ. *portar*. After a palatal consonant, the stressed Latin A results in /e/ in Francoprovençal (and French), but is kept in Occitan: Lat. CĂPRĂ(M) > Frp. *tsevra*, Fr. *chèvre* vs. Occ. *cabro*; Lat. MĂNDŬCĀRE > Frp. *midjé*, Fr. *manger* vs. Occ. *manjar*.

Word-final vowels – Actually, Ascoli's criterion of the evolution of the stressed Latin A seems convincing when differentiating between Francoprovençal and Occitan but doesn't clearly distinguish Francoprovençal from French. Much more useful for identifying these languages is the loss of Latin unstressed word-final vowels in French pronunciation (also maintained in writing). They are conserved in Francoprovençal (as for example in Italian), which often lead to a paroxytonic stress: Lat. CĂNTŌ > Fr. *je chante* vs Frp. *tsanto* (It. *canto*), Occ. *canti*; Lat. LĂRGŬM > Fr. *large* vs. Frp. *lardzo* (It. *largo*), Occ. *large*; Lat. NŎSTRŬM(M) > Fr. *notre* vs. Frp. *noutron* (It. *nostro*), Occ. *nòstre* (*noutron*, *voutron* always being highlighted as a very original

creation in Francoprovençal). Hasselrot, who added this criterion (1938, 80), is convinced that no other linguistic area of comparable importance can be delimited with the same precision by the aid of such an efficient phonetic difference (cf. 1966, 258).

Paroxytonic stress – The feature is particularly striking in Francoprovençal onomastics, where toponymes like *Bionaz* ['bjona] or *Nendaz* ['nɛ̃nda] and anthroponymes like *Berlioz* ['bɛrʎo] still include the letter <z>, a silent letter only indicating that the final vowel is unstressed, described as the most original feature of medieval Francoprovençal writing (cf. Vurpas 1995, 401). There are more than 50 names of villages ending in -*az* only in Romandy (for example *Evionnaz*, *Veysonnaz*, *Penthaz*, *Nendaz*, *Ovronnaz*) and they are more and more pronounced according to French rules, as is the case with the name of the famous composer *Berlioz* [bɛʁ'ljoːz]. In other cases, the ancient spelling in -*az* was supplanted by a French version that represented the actual pronunciation by French orthography, like *Lausanne* (once *Lausannaz*) or *Evolène* (once *Evolenaz*). All in all, with its numerous non-stressed ending vowels, Francoprovençal is characterized by a frequent paroxytonic stress. In contrast to the French oxytony, stress therefore becomes a distinctive feature in Francoprovençal: Frp. *monte* ['mɔ̃ta] vs. *montez* [mɔ̃'ta], *rose* ['ruza] vs. *rosée* [ru'za].

Diphthongization – Stressed Latin vowels in open syllables have been diphthongized in Francoprovençal (like in ancient French and partly in Italian where the short/open vowels have also been diphthongized but not so for long/closed vowels) and distinguish it from Occitan where they are kept: Lat. PĔDĔ(M) > Frp. *pia*, Fr. *pied* (It. *piede*) vs. Occ. *pè*; Lat. CŎRĔ(M) > Frp. *queur*, Fr. *cœur* (OFr. *cuer*, It. *cuore*) vs. Occ. *cor*; Lat. STĒLLĂ(M) > Frp. *étèyla*, Fr. *étoile* vs. Occ. *estela* (It. *stella*); Lat. FLŌRĔ(M) > Frp. *fleur*, Fr. *fleur* (OFr. *flour*) vs. Occ. *flor* (It. *flore*).

Intervocalic plosives – The dental and velar intervocalic plosives [t], [k] fall silent in French and Francoprovençal in contrast to Occitan (and Iberoromanian languages) where the voiceless consonants (remaining voiceless in Tuscan) are only weakened and voiced: Lat. VĪTĂ(M) > Frp. *via*, Fr. *vie* vs. Occ. *vida* (It. *vita*); Lat. ĂMĪCĂ(M) > Frp. *amia*, Fr. *amie* vs. Occ. *amiga* (It. *amica*).

Palatalization of [k]^a/[g]^a – The examples mentioned above (CĂPRĂM, CĂNTŌ) together with Lat. GĂLBĬNŬ(M) > Frp. *dzuono*, Fr. *jaune*, Occ. *jaune* show that [k]^a/[g]^a is palatalized to [tʃ]/[dʒ], later [ʃ]/[ʒ] in French, while found with [ts]/[dz] in some Francoprovençal dialects. Northern Occitan dialects go with French and palatalize in [tʃ]/[dʒ] (*chabro*, *chanto*), whereas southern Occitan dialects are more conservative and maintain the [k], [g] (*cabro*, *canto*).

Dialect variation – Even though it is not agreed upon whether Francoprovençal can be considered a single Gallo-Romance language, a group of dialects or a single dialect, in view of the features mentioned, many linguists conclude with Gardette: "le francoprovençal est une langue différente de la langue d'oïl et de la langue d'oc" (1971, 89). Meanwhile, Francoprovençal appears in the official list *Les langues de la France* of Cerquiglini (1999) and will be treated as a minor Gallo-Romance language. Within the varieties of Francoprovençal, one can distinguish between northern and

Tab. 1: Features distinguishing Francoprovençal from French and/or Occitan.

	Latin	French	Franco-provençal	Occitan
A				
stressed in open syllable after non-palatal consonant	PRĀTŬ(M)	*pré*	*pra*	*pra*
	PŎRTĀRE	*porter*	*portà*	*portar*
after palatal consonant	CĂPRĂ(M)	*chèvre*	*tsevra*	*cabro*
	MĂNDŪCĀRE	*manger*	*medzé*	*manjar*
final vowels				
	CĂNTŌ	*je chante*	*tsanto*	*canti*
	LĂRGŬ(M)	*large*	*lardzo*	*larje*
	NŎSTRŬ(M)	*notre*	*neutron*	*nòstre*
diphthongization				
stressed vowels in open syllable	PĔDĔM	*pied*	*pia*	*pè*
	CŎRĔM	*cœur*	*queur*	*cor*
	STĒL(L)Ă(M)	*étoile*	*étèyla*	*estela*
	FLŌRĔ(M)	*fleur*	*fleur*	*flor*
intervocalic plosives				
	VĪTĂ(M)	*vie*	*via*	*vida*
	ĂMĪCĂ(M)	*amie*	*amia*	*amiga*
palatalization				
	GĂLBĬNŬ(M)	*jaune*	*dzuono*	*jaune*

southern dialects. The Glossary RA (2019d), for example, includes a large number of alternative forms to those indicated in table 1. This shows the wide range of dialect variation included in Francoprovençal, a remark that also applies to Occitan when looking up the forms of table 1 in the multidictionary *Dicod'Òc* (CLO 2019c; for further reading cf. Bauer 2017, 249ss.; Bert/Martin 2013, 490s.; Jochnowitz 1973, 34–56; Martin 1990, 673–676; Sibille 2003b, 117ss.; Stich 1998, 29–33; Telmon 1997, 1335s.; Tuaillon 2007, 165–203; Zwanenburg 2004, 179–182).

3.1.2 Nomenclature

Early labels – The disagreement about considering Francoprovençal as a language on its own strongly reflects upon the question of how to name it. Another name circulating in the past was *Mittelrhônisch* 'Middle-Rhodanian' (Suchier 1888), an expression that presents the drawback of excluding important regions such as the Aosta Valley and Swiss cantons like Fribourg and Neuchatel. *Südostfranzösisch* 'French from the South-East/southeastern French' (Meyer-Lübke [3]1920 [1901]) also is a critical term, since it may be confused with the French spoken in the southeast-

ern part of France. *Burgundo-Französisch* 'Burgundo-French' (Herzog 1906, IX) in turn led to the Burgundian theory vigorously defended by Walther von Wartburg (1950, 93–98; 1967, 81–94) stating that Francoprovençal owes its evolution mainly to the Burgunds, which was widely falsified.

Generalization of varieties – What's more, other terms such as *dauphinois*, *lyonnais*, *savoyard*, *forézien* and *bressan* are used to name the language. They circulate in several regional investigations trying to elaborate further linguistic features of Francoprovençal dialects and are usually more present in the speakers' awareness to refer to their local dialect than *francoprovençal*. Occasionally, these denominations for parts of the territory are also generalized and used as pars pro toto for a bigger area.

Arpitan – Nowadays, *arpitan* (or *arpetan*) is becoming a popular alternative label, especially on the Internet and among young militant activists. The term, literally meaning 'inhabitant of mountain meadows', was created in 1970 on the basis of the pre-Indo-European root *alp-*, in its modern dialect form *arp-* referring to "pâturages de montagne où les troupeaux sont conduits et passent l'été" (cf. ACA 2019b), which is critical as the Francoprovençal territory also includes plains of the Saône and the Loire rivers. Furthermore, it also might refer to the Alps and other mountainous areas like the Jura and the Massif central.

Losing the hyphen – Lacking good alternatives, Ascoli's term *Franco-Provençal* has prevailed in academic circles, even though it can be misleading. According to critics, the composition of *franco* and *provençal* rather suggests a hybrid language between French (*franco*) and Occitan (*provençal*; originally Occitan was also referred to as *provençal* as mentioned in 2.1.4). To avoid confusion, the term *Franco-provençal* is nowadays usually used without hyphen in the tradition of Gardette (for example 1960). Tuaillon (1994, 64) also speaks of *Proto-French*, a French that is typologically closer to Latin than French (for further reading on the discussion of denomination see Martin 1990, 671s.; Tuaillon 2007, 22s.; Costa 2011; Bert/Martin 2013, 495s.; Jauch 2016, 43–46).

3.1.3 Geographic and quantitative distribution

Geographic distribution – The Francoprovençal zone covers areas of France, Switzerland and Italy and is surrounded by four different languages: French in the north, Alemanic in the east, Piedmontese in the southeast and Occitan in the southwest. In France, Francoprovençal is spoken in parts of Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes and Bourgogne-Franche-Comté. In Switzerland, it covers the whole area of Romandy, except the canton Jura (and the northeastern part of the Bernese jura) of oïl tradition. In Italy, it is spoken in most parts of the Aosta Valley, in some northern Piedmontese valleys (the southernmost valleys being Occitan-speaking), as well as in the two enclave communities of Faeto and Celle di San Vito in the Province of Foggia (Apulia).

Quantitative Distribution – As for Occitan, it is difficult to determine adequate numbers. Martin first estimated the number of speakers of the whole Francoprovençal area below 200,000 (1990, 679) and then lowered this number to between 120,000 and 150,000 for the year 2000 (2002, 78). The language is especially vital in the Aosta Valley where the local population is at least able to understand Francoprovençal; a recent study reported that 81.8% understand and 45.8% speak Francoprovençal well or rather well (FEC 2013, 121), which is about 58,000–103,000 people (Istat 2013, 9). In France, Francoprovençal is primarily spoken by the elderly male, rural population, with a decreasing tendency; Sibille indicates numbers of about 60,000–100,000 speakers (2003b, 123) and the étude FORA (Bert/Costa 2009) estimates that 50,000 people (1%) are able to speak Francoprovençal in Rhône-Alpes (Bert/Martin 2013, 494). In Romandy, Francoprovençal was mostly abandoned in favor of French; estimations indicate 1–2% of people still use it. It is almost extinct in the reformed cantons Geneva, Neuchâtel and Vaud and better conserved in parts of the Catholic dominant cantons Valais and Fribourg (Knecht 2000, 151).

3.2 History of standardization

Latinity and the Middle Ages – The history and evolution of Francoprovençal is strongly linked to the special latinity of Lugdunum founded in 42 BCE. Lyon has been the breeding ground and main linguistic center for Francoprovençal ever since. The first manuscripts of Francoprovençal can be traced back to the 12th century: above all administrative texts (the toll rate of Givors appears in 1225) and religious texts like the translations from Latin *Les Légendes en prose* describing the life of 12 saints, the Theodesian code *La Somme du code*, written 1232 in Grenoble, and the meditations of Marguerite d'Oingt (ca. 1240–1310), *Spéculum* [Mirror], and her *Li via seiti Biatrix. Virgina de Ornaciu* [the Life of the Holy Beatrice, Virgin of Ornacieux], written in Lyonese dialect. With only these three known early texts, Francoprovençal never evolved a literary tradition comparable to that of French or Occitan.

Modern times in France and Switzerland – Whereas the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) heralded the end of the written usage of Occitan in the administration (cf. 2.2.1), it did not change the situation of Francoprovençal. In its territory, Latin had already directly been replaced as a written language by French, which was also partly used as a spoken language by the elite. Nevertheless, a modest dialectal literature evolved mainly incorporating written tragedies, comedies, parodies, carols, tales and pamphlets. In the 16th century, the Savoian composer Nicolas Martin published *Noël* (1530), which, supplemented by 14 songs (1555), became a written collection of traditional Christmas carols and Laurent de Briançon published three pamphlets in Grenoble. From the 17th century, there are around 25 authors known to us, including Jean Chapelon (1647–1694), who wrote more than 1500 chants in Saint-Étienne. About 10 authors continued his tradition of dialect writing in the 18th century like François Blanc, called Blanc-la-Goutte (1690–1742), with his fa-

mous tale of the inundation of Grenoble in 1733, *Grenoblo malherou*. Authors that contributed to the cultivation and usage of *patois* in the 19th century are, for example, Guillaume Roquille (1804–1860) of Rives-sur-Giers close to Saint-Étienne with his heroic poem *Breyou et so disciple* (1836), Louis Bornet from Gruyère in Switzerland with his religious poem *Les Tzévreis* and Amélie Gex (1835–1883) with her poems written in Savoy. Important 20th-century authors include Louis Mercier from Roanne (1870–1951) and the bard from Bresse Prosper Convert (1852–1934).

Modern times in the Aosta Valley – The 19th century saw western Europe's moment of a revitalization of the big classic languages Catalan, Galician and Occitan through the Renaixença in Catalonia, the Rexurdimento in Galicia and the Félibrige in southern France. This atmosphere is finally captured in the Aosta Valley, where the Francoprovençal literature is established by Jean-Baptiste Cerlogne (1826–1910). His poems *L'infan prodeggo*, *Marenda a Tsesalet*, *La bataille di vatse a vertozan*, *Megnadzo de Monseur Abonde*, written between 1855 and 1866, were published in *Poésies en dialecte valdôtain* (1889). Later he supplemented his poetic work with codification attempts: *Petite grammaire du dialecte valdôtain* (1893), *Dictionnaire du patois valdôtain. Précédé de la petite grammaire* (1907), and *Le patois valdôtain. Son origine littéraire et sa graphie* (1909). As commented for the Middle Ages, the works mentioned for the modern period in France and Italy should not mislead the reader into overestimating the very limited literary heritage of Francoprovençal (for further information on Francoprovençal literature cf. Bert/Martin 2013, 494ss.; Martin 1990, 677ss.; Martin/Rixte 2010; Sibille 2003b, 120ss.; Tuaillon 2001; Zoppelli 2009, 51ss.).

3.3 Current linguistic situation

3.3.1 Legal status

France and Italy – What was said about the Constitution of France and Italy and the legal situation Piedmont (cf. above, 2.3.1) applies accordingly to Francoprovençal. As for the autonomous region Aosta Valley, its Statute of Autonomy only states that French and Italian are equally used languages (RA 1948/2001, art. 38), but the regional law 18 of 2005 makes special reference to Francoprovençal (RA 2005, art. 1,5).

Switzerland – The Suisse Constitution does not include Francoprovençal among its four national languages: "Les langues nationales sont l'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche" (CS 1999/2017, art. 4; cf. also art. 70 for more details); it does however guarantee the freedom of language usage (CS 1999/2017, art. 18). The only cantonal Constitution considering other varieties is that of the Jura that stipulates the protection of patois (CS 1977/2017, art. 42.2).

3.3.2 Educational system

France – The Post World War II period in France was shaped by the introduction of regional languages into education, as outlined in 2.3.2. However, the Loi Deixonne of 1951, which regularizes the teaching of regional languages, authorized optional courses in Breton, Basque, Catalan, and Occitan (cf. RF 1951, art. 10) without mentioning Francoprovençal. Later it was extended to Corse (1974), Tahitian (1981), Alsatian/German (1988), Melanesian (1999), and Creoles (2000): Francoprovençal has never been integrated. Consequently, bilingual schools like Calandretas have not been established for Francoprovençal in France. Since 2000, the Association des enseignants de savoyard/francoprovençal (AES) has supported initiatives to impart Francoprovençal classes in Savoian schools. In the IUFM, the Concours Constatin et Désormaux was organized following the model of the Concours Cerlogne in the Aosta Valley with 200–300 pupils participating each year (cf. Bron 2011).

 Italy – To promote Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley, the Assessorat de l'Éducation et de la Culture founded the École populaire de patois in 1995. With 56 teachers, it offers 40 hours of language courses in Francoprovençal and is also responsible for the professional training of teachers (cf. RA 2019c). In addition, the Concours Cerlogne has served to sensitize pupils and parents for Francoprovençal since 1963. It is a big, three-day-long annual festivity organized for pupils and their parents in different locations of the Aosta Valley, during which an average of 2000 pupils present the results of their Francoprovençal language acquisition by staging theater plays, singing songs and reciting poems in patois (Josserand 2003, 112ss.; Telmon 1997, 1334).

 Switzerland – Suisse cantons are aiming at imitating the system of the École populaire de patois (cf. Jauch 2016, 47).

3.3.3 Media

Print and audio-visual media – Some newspapers, periodicals, radio and TV programs include bits of Francoprovençal. The Francoprovençal-only radio station *Radiô Arpitania* went on air in 2007.

 Internet – Language vitalization is strongly conducted in digital spheres also in the case of Francoprovençal. All the following institutions traditionally act on a rather local level and have recently promoted Francoprovençal and its cultural heritage on the Internet. Furthermore, the Internet allows for new methods, like Vouiquipèdia offering speakers targeted discussion forums in their language (cf. for example Bedijs/Heyder 2012). However, in contrast to the 83,520 articles published in the Occitan Wikipedia (cf. 2.3.3), only 3,356 articles can be found in the Francoprovençal version (Wikipedia 2019b). Vouiquipèdia currently functions as digital platform for language activists to promote and enhance the knowledge about Francoprovençal rather than operating as a real general encyclopedia written in this language.

3.4 Codification

3.4.1 Institutions

BREL – The Bureau Régional pour l'Ethnologie et la Linguistique (BREL) was founded in 1985 in order to support Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley (RA 2019a). On their site *patois*, they give information about the language and its history, announce events and publications and promote some of the codification instruments (RA 2019b) mentioned below.

CEFP and other associations – The Centre d'Études Francoprovençales René Willien, based in Saint-Nicolas (Aosta Valley) since 1967, supports research and researchers of Francoprovençal, conserves and catalogues the works of the Concours Cerlogne and administers of the *Musée Cerlogne*, which documents Francoprovençal heritage of the region (CEFP 2019). Besides the CEFP, associations like the Comité des traditions valdôtaines (since 1948), Charaban – Théâtre populaire en patois (since 1958), the Fédérachon valdoténa di téatro populéro (since 1979), and the Association valdôtaine des archives sonores (since 1980) promote the patois and are supported by the regional law n° 79 of 1981. Initiatives like the Concours Cerlogne, the École populaire de patois (cf. for both 3.3.2), the Festival des peuples minoritaires, the Fête internationale des patois are contributing to enhance the interest and prestige of Francoprovençal (cf. Salvi 1975, 121s.; Favre 2011).

ACA – The most powerful institution operating outside of the Aosta Valley is the Aliance Culturèla Arpitana, based in Lausanne since 2004. It promotes cultural projects related to the Francoprovençal area (Arpitania) and in particular the language they call *arpitan* (see 3.1.2), supporting its public visibility and usage (cf. ACA 2019a; RAr 2019; for further information on the promotion of Francoprovençal in France cf. Bert/Costa 2009, 130ss., and in Suisse cf. Knecht 2000, 160ss.).

3.4.2 Codification instruments

Writing – Instead of a unified orthography, many individual choices prevail in Francoprovençal. Nevertheless, in France there seems to be a tendency of accepting the Conflans orthography, elaborated in the 1970s and 1980s by the Amis des patois savoyards meeting in Conflans/Albertville (Groupe de Conflans 1983), and in the Aosta Valley (with Cerlogne 1909 already mentioned above) the orthography presented by Schüle (1980). Both orthographies are semi-phonetic and recommend noting only the letters that are pronounced, otherwise following the French rules as closely as possible. The supradialectal approach of Stich (1998) is more etymological as it aims at proposing an orthography that can be adapted to the different dialects. Stich calls it "Orthographe de Référence A" (ORA; cf. Stich 1998, 36), which is criticized by those who perceive it as artificial and a possible danger to linguistic au-

thenticity (cf. Martin 2002, 81). Vouiquipèdia offers detailed information on these and other types of orthography, leaving the choice to its authors and hoping for the self-regulating forces of language planning:

> "Voilà ... Alors on a (enfin) une Wikipédia ... mais il faut se mettre tous d'accord sur la graphie à utiliser ... Donc cette page, c'est pour proposer vos modes de graphie, uniquement présenter et expliquer le système de graphie, et dans la page discussion on choisit quelle graphie on utilisera au futur ... Car il s'agit d'unir nos écritures pour ne pas trop sombrer dans des petits désaccords orthographiques ..." (Wikipedia 2017c).

Grammar – The oldest grammar for Francoprovençal in the Aosta Valley was again written by Cerlogne (1893); recent publications include Stich (1998).

Lexis – In the area of lexicography, we can mention Cerlogne (1907) in the Aosta Valley and Constantin/Désormaux (1902) in Savoy, the authors after whom the language contests in the respective regions have been named, as well as many other (dialect) dictionaries, among them Chenal/Vautherin (1962–1982; 1984), Duraffour/Gardette (1969), Stich (2003), Vautherin (2007) and Glarey (2011). Francoprovençal forms can also be found in the FEW (1922–2002), the GPSR (1924ss.), the REW (1935) and in the linguistic atlases. A glossary with audio support for pronunciation is available on the homepage of the BREL (RA 2019c).

Language guide – Teaching material is also available for Francoprovençal, among the different options is also a *Cours Assimil* (Martin 2005).

3.4.3 Main issues

Corpus – In contrast to Occitan, Francoprovençal's lack of a real written tradition impeded the elaboration of a unified orthography and the establishment of a koiné. The geographic fragmentation and the absence of political-administrative unity only aggravated this trend.

Artificially defined language – Not unlike Rhaeto-Romance, the linguistically defined language compound Francoprovençal is dispersed in different countries where it is placed in very different language ecologies and perceived in different ways. The speakers don't automatically consider themselves as a unity, which weakens the status of the language and complicates its standardization.

Controversial status – Unlike Rhaeto-Romance, which includes the clearly defined entities and their sub-dialects of Romansh (Grisons/Switzerland), Dolomitic Ladin (Trentino, South Tyrol and the Province of Belluno), and Friulian (Friuli Region), the area of Francoprovençal remains more vague and its status as a language is still being discussed.

4 Conclusion

Status and corpus planning going hand in hand – A historical survey showed that status and corpus planning were alternating and at the same time influencing one another across history. Whereas troubadour lyrics contributed to the corpus planning of Occitan in the 13th and 14th centuries and thus automatically advanced its status, the 15th-century Edict of Villers-Cotterêts aimed at the status planning of French as the only official written language, which also subsequently enhanced its corpus and lowered the status of Occitan. After another two centuries of corpus planning, especially for French (and in a more modest way also for Occitan), French was uncontroversially the high variety in a diglossic situation in which most people were rarely confronted with the official language, unable to write in any language and only used Occitan varieties in their daily life. The French Revolution took up the issue of status planning and tried to impose French as a spoken language, which only bore fruit with the introduction of compulsory school education at the end of the 19th century.

Minority status within five states – As Occitan usage was declining, its history partly joined that of Francoprovençal, though the latter never developed a written tradition comparable to that of Occitan. The 20th century is characterized by a fading oral use of both languages; nevertheless, corpus planning (especially in Occitan, but also in Francoprovençal) regained new impetus in different ways: first, by the suggestion of new graphic norms and the application of diverse codification instruments; second, by the establishment of institutions engaged in protecting and promoting the language; and third, by new opportunities offered by print and audiovisual media, and last but not least, the Internet. The standardization process of both Occitan and Francoprovençal is challenged by their minority status within the national boundaries of four different states. These states offer varying recognition to the languages: Francoprovençal is absent from French and Swiss national law but enjoys legal protection in Italy. Occitan's legal status is indirectly proportional to its speaker numbers: while it is only implicitly recognized in France where most of its speakers live, it is better protected in Italy and even co-official in Catalonia.

Varieties as a challenge for standardization – The even bigger challenge to standardization is the prominent dialectal variation of both languages. In the case of Occitan, the variation has led to a wide range of different suggestions so that Occitan language planning primarily has to cope with competing concepts of linguistic norms, especially the Mistralian and the classical. Recently, pan-Occitan movements like the CLO have started to bear fruit, more and more bridging the traditional gaps by replacing combat with a clever use of synergies. The question of the status of Francoprovençal remains, by contrast, unresolved. Ever since Ascoli introduced the new concept, linguists and laymen have disagreed whether to consider it a single Gallo-Romance language, a dialect or a group of different dialects. This debate is symptomatic for the historical evolution of norms in Francoprovençal and its cur-

rent status, in which standardization attempts are highly underdeveloped and lack interregional acceptance.

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