The study of linguistic landscapes, the analysis and interpretation of the relationships between languages and spaces, is a blooming field in current sociolinguistics. In all their diversity, linguistic landscapes can be seen as the linguistic mirror of the dynamics of our globalised society. This book offers a selection of the best presentations given at the 3rd International Linguistic Landscape Workshop, which took place at the University of Strasbourg in May 2010. The various contributions offer new perspectives on the mapping of multilingualism in different social contexts, and analyse how the linguistic landscape reflects social change. The book includes chapters in French and in English and provides a wide array of case studies dealing with language policy, political activism, art, advertising, religion, literacy, education and migration.

Christine Hélot is professor of English at the University of Strasbourg (IUFM Alsace), and a researcher in the field of sociolinguistics, bilingualism and educational linguistics.

Monica Barni is professor in Educational Linguistics at the Università per Stranieri, Siena and researcher in the field of language policy in education, specifically in relation to immigrants, and in plurilingual societies.

Rudi Janssens is a lecturer at the faculty of Literature and Philosophy at the VUB and senior researcher at the Brussels Information, Documentation and Research Centre (Brio).

Carla Bagna is a Researcher in Educational Linguistics at the Università per Stranieri, Siena. She is also the director of the Language Centre of the University.
Linguistic Landscapes, Multilingualism and Social Change
This book is dedicated to Nira Trumper-Hecht who passed away in May of 2011 at a young age. Hearing about the term ‘Linguistic Landscape’ and reading the Bourhis and Landry (1997) article was the main trigger for Nira to start doing research on the topic of Linguistic Landscape; it brought together her backgrounds in sociology and language and led directly to her MA research which documented the LL of the diverse city of Tel Aviv (Trumper-Hecht, 2005). Nira collected her data by hand, without a digital camera but through her own drawings of a large sample of signs displayed on shops and buildings around Tel Aviv, copying the signs verbatim into her notebook. It was a unique way to collect data, a way to create a direct relationship and connection with the LL of the surroundings. The results pointed out to great diversity of the city in its many neighborhoods and to the contrast between homogeneous top-down and diverse bottom-up signs.

Nira was a pioneer in research on linguistic landscape in Israel; she continued her work in the project documenting mixed cities in Israel (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006). Nira and her colleague Hannan collected rich data in ten mixed cities in Israel (via digital cameras, this time). The study showed that Israel consists of a number of bilingual entities in terms of its LL, in different combinations of languages – Hebrew and English in Jewish Areas; Arabic and Hebrew in Arab areas and Arabic and English in East Jerusalem. This very study led Nira to pursue a fuller picture of LL research in her dissertation, which was directed at policy makers and pedestrians, beyond
‘cold’ documentation; rather it involved actual people, those who hang the signs, those who read them. Nira was especially interested in ‘mixed cities’, referring to cities where Arab and Jewish reside in the same territory; this was Nira’s passion and expertise. She was keen on understanding the role that LL played as an indicator, for separation but also for co-existence between Arabs and Jews in Israel.

Her dissertation focused on three such ‘mixed’ towns: Upper Nazareth, Acre and Jaffa. She collected ample data via questionnaires, in depth interviews with pedestrians (walkers), shop owners in the markets and various discourses with officials in the three municipalities. Nira was eager to learn about the motivations, reactions, uses and abuses of language in public space; she noted the stark differences between Jews and Arabs in their reactions to the LL in these cities and how city officials overlooked Supreme Court ruling stipulating the inclusion of Arabic on public signs following their own personal ideologies. Most of all, Nira discovered how central LL served as a tool, a policy device to overcome discrimination between groups, as an instrument for reflecting collective identities and conflicting ideologies, and as a remedy to bridge differences and for enhancing tolerance. She showed that the LL patterns that emerge in each of the cities reflected their unique ‘character’, their social and political make-up, history, economics and degree of tolerance. Hence she concluded that LL can serve as a reliable index for deeper levels of co-existence. She also learned about the pivotal roles that policy makers at the municipality levels can play in utilizing LL as an activist tool in their cities (Trumper-Hecht, 2009, 2010).

Nira’s research was closely related to her societal consciousness, to her intellectualism, depth of thinking, critical views of multiple dimensions of societal and urban phenomena, and her strong passion and commitment to justice and activism in urban spaces. For Nira, LL was a way of life and she was the main spirit behind the organization of the first LL conference in Tel Aviv in December of 2008. It was during that meeting that she learned about her disease, she was so saddened and shocked; in a most profound and courageous way she shared with the participants the bad news, unable to deliver her paper; a moment none of us present in the room will ever forget. Nira continued her active work during the next three years, collecting data, delivering brilliant papers on LL in Siena and at a LL symposium at the AAAL conference in Atlanta, researching and delivering lectures at many more conferences in Israel; always with passion and with deep intellectual interpretations. Her chapters are quoted by researcher in LL worldwide, and her word is referred to constantly in many LL writings worldwide and among young students who will continue in her footsteps.

Nira was/is one of my best friends, a person I love being with, discussing issues and protesting injustices; with Nira there was never an irrelevant topic, not a wasted word, never a dull moment, everything was deep, insightful, analytical, meaningful, smart and very opinionated. Our relationship consisted of mixtures of the personal, the professional, the social, the political, with no boundaries, always unique and
Dedication to Nira

stimulating. Nira is missed by many of her friends worldwide, by her many close friends, her loving students and by her husband Ben and daughter Anna. We embrace Nira as her presence continues to carry on living with us in different ways.

Elana Shohamy

Publications by Nira Trumper-Hecht

Trumper-Hecht, Nira (1999): Multiculturalism and multilingualism as reflected in the linguistic landscape of Israel: The story of five urban areas in the Tel Aviv metropolitan region (M.A. thesis, in Hebrew). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University

Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2005): Multiculturalism and multilingualism as reflected in the linguistic landscape of Israel: The story of five areas in the Tel Aviv metropolitan region. Hed Ha-Ulpan He-Hadash, 88 (in Hebrew)


Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2010): Linguistic landscape in mixed cities in Israel from the perspective of ‘walkers’: The case of Arabic. In Elana Shohamy, Ehezer Ben-Rafael/Monica Barni (eds.), Linguistic Landscape in the City (pp. 235-251). Bristol: Multilingual Matters
DURK GORTER

Foreword

Signposts in the Linguistic Landscape

“Where should I be able to go where I do not see one bit of advertising?” Morgan Spurlock asks in his documentary film the ‘Greatest Movie Ever Sold’. Consumer activist Ralph Nader answers him: “to sleep”. The film demonstrates how advertising, marketing and product placement have penetrated our world. Brand names and advertisements are everywhere. We live in visual times and it is difficult to walk down a shopping street in almost any city around in the world and not notice the abundant use of commercial signage.

Written language is an important part of these multimodal messages. Investigations of the written language used on signs in public space, including non-commercial and official signage, go under the name of ‘Linguistic Landscape’ studies. It is a blooming field and the current volume adds to its momentum. The chapters here demonstrate several of the many possibilities for pertinent Linguistic Landscape studies that excite the curiosity of researchers with different disciplinary backgrounds. This new collection provides evidence to the steady progress researchers make in this subject area with an increasing number of studies across all continents. Although the geographic focus of most chapters is on Europe, it does have a global reach. The book itself also chooses a multilingual approach: although most chapters are written in English, some are also in French.

In this Foreword I cannot do more than setting out some of the signposts. Technological innovations have a direct influence on the development of the field of Linguistic Landscape studies. For example technology has made data-collection accessible to anyone who can operate a digital camera. Today almost all modern mobile phones have a camera included as a standard application and these devices are omnipresent, as we know all too well. It has already changed the ways people take, look at and share pictures. The cameras can capture photographs of sufficient high quality for most items in public space. Taking photos of the Linguistic Landscape requires hardly any effort and poses no particular difficulties.
Furthermore, one does not even have to take pictures because there are numerous sources of data of public signs freely available on the internet. Special groups or categories are used for signs and signage on photo sharing services such as Flickr, Photobucket, Picasa or Slickpic. However, efforts to maintain a dedicated website or blog to the study of Linguistic Landscape have not been very successful thus far.

Innovations in the urban landscape itself pose new challenges to the researcher of Linguistic Landscapes because signs become less static. The massive introduction of flat screen video panels and digital billboards with ever changing visuals and texts, some of them even interacting directly with passers-by lead to a highly dynamic and fluid Linguistic Landscape.

When a researcher wants to capture a picture of a particular sign, for example a storefront, it will sometimes raise suspicion of a shop-owner and from time to time a bystander can be a little curious or surprised, but in general taking such pictures is accepted everywhere. It hardly ever causes serious problems, I know from my own experience. The fact that almost everyone has a digital camera in their pocket or handbag makes it, for example, easy to give students in a sociolinguistics or an applied linguistics course a ‘Linguistic Landscape’ assignment. There are hardly any obstacles for such assignments and they can greatly contribute to raising awareness about language use, literacy practices, globalization, multilingualism and multimodality, to name just a few possibilities.

Newcomers to the field of Linguistic Landscape studies should be warned that one can easily get ‘hooked’. Once you have started to study the language on the signage in urban environments, the experience of walking down a shopping street is forever different.

The totality of the signs in a particular Linguistic Landscape is, of course, the end result of the doings of many actors. The interaction between the words as they are written on the signs and language policy is a crucial issue for Linguistic Landscape studies. Language rules and regulations imposed by authorities can have a great influence on what signage will be present in the public space. The analysis of the development and implementation of language policy can provide insights into how the Linguistic Landscape in a specific city, region or country has been consciously moulded.

The use of languages in the public sphere can be strictly regulated by the authorities, who dictate the use of certain languages and prohibit the use of others. Often the authorities try to control and steer the use of languages in the linguistic landscape and thus they develop language policies that contain detailed requirements. As the linguistic landscape can be one of the most perceivable signs of diversity in a city the authorities may use their power to give preference to certain language groups and to exclude or diminish the presence of others.

Language policy in relation to linguistic landscape has many facets. An interesting example, treated in three chapters in this book, is the case of Belgium, in particular its capital Brussels, where detailed regulations about the public display of
Dutch and French are in force. The language struggle in Belgium is notorious and Rudi Janssens in his chapter shows how some local councils even try to ‘regulate what is free’ through promoting and also directly pressuring shopkeepers into a change of their linguistic behaviour, even without a legal basis. Miriam and Eliezer Ben-Rafael demonstrate in their chapter that behind the seeming chaos and complexity of the Belgian linguistic landscape there is an intelligible reality. As people do not always agree with the authorities they may find creative strategies to circumvent the strict regulations for instance by using ‘clins d’oeil bilingues’ (bilingual winks of an eye). Laurence Mettewie, Patricia Lamarre and Luk Van Mensel in their chapter on Brussels and Montréal analyze these strategies of non-compliance in terms of local power relations and expressions of identity.

These contestations of the language regulations are a more general phenomenon and can be called a “language of dissent”. Its manifestation on walls, banners, images, flags, cloths, leaflets, posters, stickers and any other material is analyzed by a number of the chapters in this book.

The Linguistic Landscape may superficially seem to reflect the diversity of languages in a specific community, but it does not. It would be a mistake to conceive of the linguistic landscape as a mirror of the language relationships in a city, region or country, because at most its distortions can be seen like a carnival mirror. The Linguistic Landscape can inform us about and exhibit some of the underlying ideas, ideologies, conflicts and power struggles between different stakeholders. The outcome is the constructed landscape as a whole, which can be an important indicator of ongoing social change.

Signage can also be a significant way to convey the messages of protesters in mass demonstrations, marches, public debates, the Occupy movement, the Arab Spring, etc. Often the protesters carry handmade signs written in straightforward formats, which display real bottom-up data. They are part of processes of ‘glocalization’ as they are aimed at local as well as international audiences. Some interesting studies in this direction are presented in the five chapters of part 2.

A numerical approach to the distribution of languages on different types of signs can seem to be an easy beginning for the study of the linguistic landscape. The basic question is how many different languages do you observe and how often? Counting is, however, not always easy. The unit of analysis is not immediately obvious (“What is a sign?”), the sample of signs cannot be drawn at random from a population and the attribution of a text to belong to a specific language can be impossible or dubious (for example, brand names or loanwords). Furthermore, are mobile texts such as bus tickets or cash receipts included and what about waste materials on the street, such as wrappers and other rubbish, also containing texts?

Linguistic Landscape studies should go further and not limit themselves to the written language and the variations in text types on signs, they should relate to images, colours and other visuals, as well as voices, music and other sounds and to dynamic changes in the physical (mainly urban) surroundings.
In addition there is a need for a more rigorous research approach. The field of Linguistic Landscape studies is still in its infancy but this circumstance cannot be used as an excuse for authors to give insufficient attention to methodological rules. It should become common practice to make their studies replicable and their results verifiable by other researchers.

Besides the quantitative approach there are numerous interesting qualitative and critical questions to be asked which go beyond a distributive approach. For example questions about authorship: who puts up the signs, when and where? It is not only a matter of which languages are used, but often it is even more telling which languages are not used at all (the absence of languages). Other relevant questions relate to the audience of signs: who reads them, how are they perceived and what attitudes do the readers of the signs have towards the languages on display? How do people react to languages or scripts they cannot read at all? How do individuals, organizations and governments deal with the increasing presence of English as the global language? A simple and straight answer is often difficult to give to such research questions.

The study of the Linguistic Landscape can result as well in reflections on some of the core issues of sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. It can lead to calling into question the basic concept of language per se, or ideas about bilingualism or multilingualism.

The abundance of signs in urban environments has also been called ‘visual pollution’. This is a type of pollution, which sometimes the authorities want to fight against. One measure is to implement a ban on digital billboards, as is the case in some American states and cities. The struggle of Mayor Gilberto Kassab of Sao Paolo in Brazil has become a famous case worldwide. The mayor started a campaign to ban outdoor advertising and limit the number and size of storefront signs under the Clean City Law (Lei Cidade Limpa). The advertising agencies went strongly against it and were warning for severe negative economic effects. As a consequence of the law, thousands of billboards and oversized signs were removed in the largest metropolis of South America. Surveys showed that the population favoured the result. The mayor rhetorically stated: “of all the different kinds of pollution, visual pollution is the most obvious”.

The studies included in this volume try to answer several of the questions mentioned above and they all point to the complexity of the Linguistic Landscape. The signs display languages in dynamic ways and demonstrate the interconnectedness of different societal levels. At the same time these studies call forth new questions, more than they can provide answers. The chapters here represent a timely and significant contribution of insights concerning Linguistic Landscapes. Through them we gain more knowledge about language related phenomena, in particular multilingualism. The study of the Linguistic Landscape serves to arrive at new insights and to make better explanations of multilingual processes in local and global contexts.
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Introduction

In 2008, Dr Elana Shohamy, from Tel Aviv University invited a group of scholars working in the field of sociolinguistics to participate in the first international conference on the Linguistic Landscape. Since that first highly stimulating exchange on the way sociolinguist researchers analyse and interpret the relationships between languages and spaces, the field of Linguistic Landscape (LL) has grown significantly. LL colloquia or papers are now part of every major international conference dealing with language and major publishers have produced several edited volumes, which illustrate not only the originality of research in this new field but also its relevance to our understanding of language in our contemporary globalised world. Indeed it is obvious to state that the process of globalisation does not restrict itself to an increasing economic integration (or chaos) but that it also “transforms the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions” (Held et al. 1999, 16. And languages are at the heart of such processes of transformation.

Therefore, the extraordinary diversity of the LL all over the world can be seen as the linguistic mirror of the dynamics of our globalised society. As we know, LLs are moulded in fluid and dynamic ways by different historical, social, political, ideological, geographic and demographic factors, and “at the same time, illustrate processes that are inherent to their own dynamic, which, in turn, participate in the melding of the wider social and cultural reality” (Shohamy et al., 2010, xiii).

Globalisation has also meant that increased mobility and migration have enhanced the multicultural character of our cities and of our daily experiences with languages and linguistic diversity, since it is now at a local level as well that multilingualism has become the norm. Moreover, communication technology has also made locality in our interactions less central; Increasing means of communication via Internet and the new social media have resulted in most people being confronted on a daily basis with the global lingua franca that the English language has become.

Yet globalisation does not only stress the importance of a lingua franca but introduces local multilingualism as well, and added to migration factors, the complexity of the LL has become a greater challenge for researchers. For instance, previously the linguistic arena was traditionally determined by the majority versus the minority language, whereas in our contemporary world, we can now see more and more languages coming into play in the various spaces that define our lives.
Through the study of the LL one can witness the top-down approaches of language policy makers whose agenda is to protect mainly endogenous language(s) being resisted by the bottom-up reactions of the members of the local community who use their languages in all their diversity and creativity to express their identity, their resistance to dominant discourse and who even find new ways of expressing dissent. In one way the LL is a testimony of these linguistic dialogues or battles and can be said to reflect social change, and in another way, the LL has become a way of resisting norms and of inducing social change.

This book does not present a systematic analysis of the processes described above but addresses the LL from several different perspectives. It offers a selection of the best presentations given at the 3rd International Linguistic Landscape Workshop, which took place at the University of Strasbourg in May 2010. It is the first book to include some chapters in French, alongside others in English, in the domain of research on Linguistic Landscapes.

While the first study dealing with LL was a sociolinguistic study of multilingualism in Tokyo (Backhaus, 2005), the next one (Gorter 2006) explained and established LL as an emerging field of research in sociolinguistics. The third volume (Shohamy and Gorter, 2009) defined the borders of LL studies and opened the field to possible expansions and different approaches, and the latest one (Shohamy et al., 2010) focused on LL studies in a particular setting, the city, describing what LL investigations tell us about present day cities – in general as well as in different circumstances – looking at it from the different points of view of diverse disciplines.

The present volume takes all these issues further, looking at what linguistic landscapes (in the plural) can tell us about multilingualism in different social contexts, how LLs are used in different social spheres, such as politics, education, art, advertising, religion, etc; and how it reflects social change in our complex and globalized contemporary societies.

Regrouped under 5 main headings, the 19 chapters that comprise this volume give rise to a wider sample of sources of LL signs being analysed, thus complexifying methodologies and raising new questions. The various chapters include many new settings for the study of LLs such as learning contexts (the classroom and teacher education), places of work, menus and brand names, political demonstrations, religious conflict, artwork etc. Following on the previous publications mentioned above, this book also investigates the relationships between the LLs, lan-
language policy and multilingualism in various parts of the world and in countries which have not been studied before, such as the Gambia, Portugal and Scotland, among others previously investigated (Israel, the USA, the UK, France, Spain, Italy, Ethiopia, Belgium, the Baltic States, etc.).

Several of the chapters also investigate the LL as a site of political discourses, which need to be deconstructed to make sense of the relationships between people, language(s), signs, space and power. New methodological approaches are also proposed in some of the chapters, such as using interviews, oral narratives, city excursions to investigate of the LL, thus taking the analysis of Linguistic Landscapes further.

The first section of the book deals with LLs as part of language policy. In the contributions of Barni/Vedovelli on the one hand and Janssens, on the other, the authors show how language policy focuses on reducing the visibility of the linguistic diversity of the population, respectively in Italy and Belgium. In both countries, the LL is perceived as an arena where linguistic and cultural diversity is immediately evident and thus must be mitigated, covered, or hidden by norms and regulations.

Barni and Vedovelli explain how policy makers feel that the Babel of languages and alphabets on display in the LL are the most perceivable signs of diversity in a city and they analyse how they exercise their influence to conceal the multilingual character of the population. In his contribution, Janssens analyses how language policy is used to support the traditional Flemish character of the current multilingual Brussels’ periphery and how the regional government in this case is directly involved in controlling and steering the linguistic landscape in order to impose the Dutch language on the streets and to limit the use of French.

As to Dunlevy, she stresses the importance of language policy for traditional languages by comparing the LL of a rural area in Galicia with that of an urban area, but her research points to the fact that official policy is not always reflected in practice, at least as illustrated in the LL. Her analysis confirms that the public space has its own rules and regulations, which are often unique, as they tend to defy declared top-down policies.

Based on his corpus of observations, Lüdi analyses the language policy at the level of a multinational company while Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael do the same for a country as a whole, namely Belgium. Starting from the macro setting of a company, Lüdi analyses the role played in moulding the semiotic landscaping in different neighbouring factories situated in France, Switzerland and Germany by the company management and by the political, juridical, demographic, and educational context. He describes how different concepts of communication are used by the higher and lower management of the companies and that the polyphony of voices present at the workplace produces a complex mosaic, rarely harmonious, composed of numerous oral and written language practices determined by various contextual factors.

Based on observations in different Belgian cities and municipalities, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael propose a model of interpretation of the transformation of the lin-
guistic landscape in Belgium due to two main factors: the complex linguistic situation with three official languages that refer to three distinct populations, and the process of globalization, which determines the use of English as a lingua franca as well as the emergence of new immigrant languages. With the proposed model, based on the interweaving of three sociological perspectives used in the analysis of social facts, the Belgian linguistic landscape, perceived at a first glance as chaotic, becomes an intelligible one, or “ordered disorder” (Ben Raphael, Shohamy and Barni, 2010).

The top down approaches to influencing the LL, as presented in the first part of this volume, are followed by examples of bottom up approaches in the second section, which is entitled Linguistic Landscapes as language of dissent. The chapters in this section highlight the role of the protagonists who have generated the LL and who are sometimes part of the LL whether in protests, artistic performances or religious ceremonies. A dynamic, transient LL is described where what is made visible redefines our understanding of historical facts, of political decisions or of religious affiliations. For example, protestors in demonstrations modify the LL, its texts and images, and claim their role as protagonists in the way they use language and languages in a given space and time, which they also modulate through the very use of language and their own language(s).

Section 2 starts with Shohamy and Waksman’s chapter which takes as its starting point an analysis of cities as “places where groups are excluded, marginalised and divided due to diverse backgrounds, religion, languages, ideologies, economics, social classes and various forms of ‘otherness’”. The two authors explore the theme of conflict between two images of the same city: one where the city is ideologically constructed via the LL as global and nationalistic, and another which focuses on groups of individuals who argue, contest and provide their own interpretation of the city. In other words, city-dwellers are the very agents of a new conceptualisation of the city and through the LL they write or represent their own interpretation of history as well as contest a dominant nationalistic interpretation of history.

Then, both Hanauer and Seals analyse how the LL is temporarily taken over during public demonstrations where protestors need to express their demands for change. Hanauer compares three different protest meetings to demonstrate how the transitory linguistic landscape was transformed to work as a political discourse, using different representational genres: handheld signs, banners, signed vehicles, bumper stickers, clothing, flags and leaflets, which all provide information and statements of affiliation and identification. As to Seals, she explains how, by showing an image of solidarity, public protests led by a suppressed minority can reinvent the LL and transform erasure into visibility and power, again using different and complex modalities, such as flags, signs, clothing, and videos, which constantly interact and support each other in the creation of meaning.

In the next chapter, Mor and Johnston try to conceptualise the relationship between reality, images and people by describing the way artists transformed the peace
The artwork on the wall is formed by images and symbols and rather than just representing the conflict, it tells the ‘reader’ various stories, histories, ideas and values which are part of people's narratives and perceptions. In other words, the perceived messages on the wall are the outcome of people's perceptions.

And finally, Woldemariam and Lanza explain how the LL in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) is used as a platform for competition between different religious movements all claiming their messages in as many modes as possible to demonstrate their vigour and to gain influence. The religious LL thus becomes a nexus for several discourses touching on politics, national identity, modernity and power.

Section 3, entitled LL and languaging, focuses on a particular creative mode of dealing with local multilingualism. The theme of linguistic creativity in the LL is dealt with at the morpho-syntactic, lexical and semantic levels, where the freedom of expression and responsibility of the author of an LL text are imposed on an audience, or a customer (in a museum or restaurant for example). What are the responsibilities of the author of a menu, of a sign or of the naming of a museum towards the public who reads these texts in the LL? This question leads to a necessary reflection on how the LL is received or interpreted by those who undergo the LL in their daily lives. Institutional reactions (as explained by Janssens in this volume) or choices made for a public of “tourists” as examined by Cenoz and Gorter (2009) are usual topics of analysis.

However, how aware are those who produce different LL texts of the effect of what they wish to express on the passer by? Is the (often private) author sensitive to an ethical dimension in the construction of the LL? Or does this have nothing to do with ethics (as in advertising). Why can’t the LL just be the trace or the marking of the authors’ free will or indeed their wish to state different forms of engagement?

Seargeant illustrates how by mixing a linguistic code and a particular script, messages that look like English reveal a multilingual and multicultural conceptualisation of language. In this way the meaning of a sign is not just limited to the materiality of the sign (what is grammatically and semantically encoded in its verbal content), but is a product of code, script, actualisation, and the reader’s cultural beliefs about the presence and the value of different languages in the world.

Mettewie, Lamarre and Van Mensel comparing the LLs of Brussels and Montréal reveal the emergence of new linguistic practices, the creation of what they refer to as ‘bilingual winks’ (signs with linguistic elements mixed from different languages), as a linguistic strategy which helps to sidestep language legislation. In their view, this strategy reflects local power relations and is the expression not only of a bilingual identity but also of resistance to top-down policies, shared through these winks between authors and readers.

The contribution of Bagna and Machetti deals with the use of pseudo-italianisms – or words which are not present in the Italian lexicon but which are very similar to Italian words – and their iconic functions in brand names and on menus. Their
analysis points to links between the commercial products and the perception of Italian fashion, taste, good quality and high aesthetic standards, supporting the common representations foreigners have about the value of these sectors of Italian culture and life.

These remarks on the relationships between authors and readers are related to ideas presented in section 4 of the volume where the reflection on LL focuses on LL as an activity mediating between subjects with different levels of education, between younger generations’ perceptions of diversity and those of the people whose role it is to explain linguistic diversity because of their position as teachers and educators.

Thus, section 4 addresses the various ways in which the LL can be ‘read’ in different contexts and by different people. Juffermans and Coppoolse analyse the complex link between the visual messages in the linguistic landscape and the level of literacy of people living in a Gambian village, showing how different levels of literacy competence in the people they interviewed caused a range of interpretive practices that led to various meaning making of the linguistic landscape surrounding them.

The contributions of Hancock and Clemente/Andrade/Martins both look at the LL in educational contexts. Hancock introduces his student teachers into reading diversity based on interpreting the LL of Edinburgh. His study reveals that the student teachers interpreted the LL around their schools in different ways, which can be analysed as avoidance, acceptance or awareness. Learning to read the LL can be used as a means to understand power relationships between languages and literacies within society and to drive the attention of teachers who will necessarily operate in multilingual and multicultural schools not only to the material world of signs, but also to the symbolic meaning communicated by them.

In a similar way but dealing with primary school children Clemente/Andrade/Martins use the LL to raise awareness of linguistic diversity in the Portuguese educational context. The authors analyse the course they designed to introduce young children to the reading of the LL in order to discover the cultural and environmental diversity of the world; they also explain their objectives, i.e.; to develop in young learners more positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity as part of a general environmental diversity and thus to understand and respect it.

The final part constitutes a link with the previous researches in LL study focusing on mapping multilingualism. Marten/Lazdina/Poseiko/Murinska look at the LL to unveil the languages traditionally present in several medium size cities of the Baltic States, and the role of English and Russian as two linguae francae. Their study embraces a multidisciplinary perspective including economics, language policy, attitudes and identity. They conclude questioning the common assumption that English could be a threat to previous linguistic traditions, and state that like in many other places in the world, English in fact coexists alongside other languages.

As to Saez and Castillo, they evaluate the diversity of the LL in the supposedly ‘monolingual’ city of Madrid and propose an interpretation of the different patterns of distribution of language signs in its urban context as linked to the different kinds
of acculturation and sociolinguistic integration of immigrants. Their study is one of the first to look at the different varieties of a language (Spanish) being displayed in bottom up signs, due to specific migration patterns.

The final chapter written by Bogatto/Bothorel-Witz analyses the LL of the city of Strasbourg in France. By mapping the languages of shop front signs, they concentrate on the symbolic, informative, economic and cultural aspects of the LL and describe the distribution of the different signs over several districts of the city. They propose an interpretation of the way the urban space is structured through its linguistic signs, linking Linguistic Landscape studies to Urban Sociolinguistics studies.

In conclusion, if we look back at our initial question – what can linguistic landscapes tell us about multilingualism in different social contexts? – it is obvious that the analyses of linguistic landscapes presented in this volume go far beyond counting the number of languages present in a given space, and give us far more information to deconstruct than simply an indication of the extent of the diversity of languages present in a specific space and in a specific community.

The moulding of linguistic landscapes amounts to much more complex issues related to language contacts, linguistic creativity, translanguaging, relations between languages and other codes, between written discourses and other discursive modalities, between many actors who write, read and contest linguistic landscapes, according to their attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and engagement at individual, societal and political levels. All these different actors, the signs they write (or don’t write), the languages they choose (or don’t choose), the modes they use (or don’t use) and the reasons for such engagement with the written word/picture, contribute to the creation of meaning in a given space and show identity claims, power relations, and various forms of dissent.

In its complexity, linguistic landscapes are the mirror of our complex societies and our search for their interpretation can only be born out of cooperation between scholars from different disciplines using different methodologies from linguistics, applied linguistic, semiotics, political science, education, visual arts, cultural studies and so on. Defining the field of linguistic landscape studies more precisely is no easy task, and previous scholars have stressed the creative dimension of the multiple methodological approaches used to decipher the way the public space is symbolically constructed. There are many challenges left to consolidate this relatively new field of study, but we hope this volume will contribute to expanding the scenery yet further again (Shohamy/Gorter, 2009) and that it will stimulate new researchers to embrace it more creatively again, in all its complexity.
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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND LANGUAGE POLICY
Summary
This paper aims to reflect on the link between (language) policies and linguistic landscape, and in particular on how language(s) are perceived and used by policy makers to shape linguistic landscapes. The linguistic landscape is felt by policy makers and passers-by alike as the most perceivable sign of diversity in a city. So the Babel of languages and alphabets that is on display must be mitigated, covered, or hidden. Reflecting on these considerations, we wish to show what is happening in the linguistic landscape of those Italian cities where the most diversity is present, and where the visibility of languages has led to the adoption of rulings that severely limit their use in shop signs. Comparing data collected in linguistic landscapes before and after the adoption of these rulings, we want to explore the effects of the fight against linguistic and cultural diversity at an institutional level in the arena where it is immediately evident.

1 Introduction
This paper aims to reflect on the link between (language) policies and linguistic landscape, and in particular on how language(s) are perceived and used by policy makers to shape linguistic landscapes.
Landry/Bourhis (1997, 34) stated that “the linguistic landscape may be the most visible marker of the linguistic vitality of the various ethnolinguistic groups living within a particular administrative or territorial enclave”. In a previous work (Barni/Bagna, 2010) looking at linguistic landscapes in some cities in Italy, we demonstrated that there is no direct relationship between the presence of a language in an area, its vitality, and its visibility in linguistic landscapes. The relationship depends on various linguistic, extralinguistic and contextual factors. The presence of languages can also not be linked to language vitality, and we agree with Pennycook’s remark (2010, 68) that the enumeration of languages present in linguistic landscapes cannot help us to understand the traffic of meaning. We are not interested in looking at linguistic landscape “from perspectives that limit the possibilities of thinking about language and place in different ways” (Pennycook, 2010, 68), using it just as “an indicator of a particular language, with the focus … on the representation of different languages in public space” and “how official language policies are reflected in public signs” (ibid.).

In this paper we are interested in highlighting how different languages, or rather the diversity of languages, are perceived by policy makers, and how languages and their presence are used by them as a means to exorcise diversity.

Shohamy (2008) and Shohamy/Waksman (2009), looking at the linguistic landscape in Tel Aviv, have demonstrated how linguistic landscapes can be used as an arena where political and social struggle takes place. More recently, Waksman and Shohamy (2010, 58) have shown how “the shaping and perceptions of cities are also influenced by the way policy makers decide to market the cities’ identities”, and Pavlenko (2010) concluded her diachronic investigation on linguistic landscapes in Kiev by claiming that it is the place where changes in political regimes are immediately evident at a linguistic level.

Our research and the data gathered aim to highlight the fact that linguistic landscapes are perceived as the most powerful indicator of diversity in a specific area and, for this reason, they are used by policy makers as an arena for political decisions. Linguistic landscape is also the most perceivable sign of diversity for passers-by, so that the Babel of languages and alphabets on display in certain areas, in particular those where immigrant communities are present, immediately perturbs passers-by. Thus, in order to reassure people, the Babel of languages and alphabets must be mitigated, covered or hidden, and decisions are taken by policy makers to do this.

Reflecting on these considerations, we wish to show what is happening in the linguistic landscape of those Italian cities where the most diversity is to be seen in public spaces.

In these cities, in the last few years, this visibility has led to the adoption of rulings at the local level that severely limit the use of languages other than Italian in shop signs or other commercial activities.

Comparing data collected in linguistic landscapes before and after the adoption of these rulings, we want to see what kind of changes took place, and the effects of the
fight against linguistic and cultural diversity at the institutional level in the arena where it is immediately evident.

2 The Surveys

For our comparative investigation we selected two urban contexts in Italy with a marked presence of immigrant communities, Rome and Prato. The two cities were selected because they are areas where communities of immigrants have lived for more than twenty years, and they were the first urban spaces in Italy where regulation about (immigrant) language use was applied. In the following paragraph we will examine why these regulations were introduced and the changes in linguistic landscape after they were enforced.

2.1 Rome: 2004, 2010

In 2004 we carried out a first LL survey in the Municipio I administrative area in Rome, which includes the Esquilino neighbourhood. It is the area with the greatest number of foreigners (25,004, 11.16% of Rome’s total foreign population in 2004) and the highest percentage of foreigners – 20.4% – relative to the total number of residents (Barni, 2008; Barni/Bagna, 2010).

At that time, the texts seen in the social communication space in Esquilino showed a complex and varied urban linguistic landscape: twenty-four (visible) languages were identified, scattered unevenly across the area, and able to establish different relations with Italian and other languages.

We counted around 90 different attested ways of combining languages in a text. We found texts written in a single language, texts in two languages, and texts containing as many as eight different languages, combined in different ways. The data gathered in Rome highlighted a city open to contact, that offered the possibility for languages to manifest and combine themselves in a vast range of uses: monolingual choices, seen in the use of a single immigrant language or of Italian alone, opened up into innumerable possibilities for interweaving with other languages, increasing the degree of plurilingualism and openness in language use.

The most visible language was Chinese, although it was not the language of the most numerous immigrant community. This is partly due to the Chinese community’s role as entrepreneurs, and to the fact that, since the 1990s, Rome has taken on a central role for Chinese business in Europe, even though this role has diminished since 2005 due to the growth in importance of Barcelona (Spain) and other European cities (Caritas, 2009, 9).

Chinese was the leading language both in terms of dominance (quantitative prevalence of texts observed in the area) and in terms of autonomy, i.e., use in signs for public communication without Italian or other languages. Of the 296 monolin-
gual texts observed, 197 are in Chinese only. At the time, English was only the third language.

The fact that all the Chinese texts were examples of bottom-up types of signs showed how little attention the Italian authorities paid to the languages of others in public communication. But the presence of Chinese in bottom-up signs in the linguistic landscape started to be felt too strongly. Its visibility was so great that in 2006 it led Italian institutions and the long-standing (Italian) residents of the neighbourhood to perceive it as a cause of social tensions, and to use it as an instrument in their battle against diversity. The document entitled Esquilino dei mondi lontani [The Distant Worlds of Esquilino] (Caritas, 2007, 54) underlined how the district felt “the alienating impact caused by the presence of ideograms […], an indecipherable language that does not facilitate everyday communication” (our translation).

The visible presence of the Chinese language was such that it led to a negotiation and to the signing of an agreement between the Municipality of Rome and the Chinese community (11 May 2007). This document emphasised that the Chinese community must “improve shop signs and fittings, being sure to install signs written in Italian at the top, and in Chinese below”. This provision offers us an element of confirmation as to the impact of the Chinese language, which so strongly affects an area that laws are made regarding its use. In this case the aim of the agreement is to regulate and even limit the use of a specific language.
We carried out a second survey, in February 2010, in order to highlight the changes that had taken place in the Esquilino linguistic landscape since the signing of the agreement.

From 2004 to 2010, the number of immigrants in the neighbourhood increased: there were 38,533 foreigners at the beginning of 2010 (Caritas di Roma/Camera di Commercio di Roma et al., 2010, 168). It was still the area with the greatest number of foreigners (12% of Rome's total foreign population in 2010) and with the highest percentage of foreigners (29.7%) relative to the total number of residents (ibid.).

The demographic composition had changed significantly, but Esquilino still remained the area of Rome with the most diversity (Caritas di Roma/Camera di Commercio di Roma et al., 2010). The most numerous communities with more than 1,000 residents were those from Eritrea, China, Bangladesh, Romania, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Somalia, the United States, France, Poland, Ethiopia and India. The Chinese community’s presence in the district had almost doubled (2,435 persons), while the number of Chinese-run businesses had remained constant.

From 2004 to 2010 what had profoundly changed was the Italian political context, in which the fear of diversity had increasingly come to manifest itself as political dispute. We need only consider how the theme of fighting against immigration was one of the key points for certain political movements (like Lega Nord and all the connected movements) in the 2009 regional election campaign. And this policy had an immediate impact on the linguistic landscape.

The first results of the Esquilino linguistic landscape survey highlighted the following tendencies:

1) Chinese is still the most visible language in Esquilino, but in nearly all shops signs have been changed and Italian now appears alongside Chinese. The level of autonomy (i.e. the use of signs in public communication without Italian) of Chinese has thus been reduced almost to zero. Cases of signs written in Chinese only are very rare.

2) The consequences of the battle against Chinese, which outcome was the signature of the cited agreement, can also be seen to have affected other languages: the 2004 survey, which led to this part of Rome being described as open to contact and the mixing of languages, no longer corresponds to reality. Today there are far fewer examples of languages such as Tagalog, Urdu, Punjabi etc., and in all signs these languages are accompanied or substituted by Italian. Only English, which is perceived as a non-foreign language, has been able to take advantage of this situation, substituting other languages.

3) The urban linguistic landscape is much less complex and varied. The different ways of combining languages in a text are far fewer. The linguistic space has been restructured, with the aim of simplification. A greater number of shops are now without signs, even though clearly run by foreigners. It would appear that when
Picture n. 2: Rome, 2010: Italian and Chinese language in shop signs

Picture n. 3: Rome, 2010: Shop with no signs
faced with an imposed choice of language, people prefer to choose silence, the zero signifier, rather than giving up their own identity.

4) The reduction in possibilities of expression has not only affected signs, but also other types of text. We found far fewer flyer-type texts and personal messages stuck on walls, even though the area was full of them in 2004. Here too the cause is political: committees of Italian citizens, together with the Rome City Council, have organised periodical street and wall-cleaning campaigns. The very few flyers we found were in Chinese. The only posters in Piazza Vittorio, the main square at the heart of the neighbourhood, were from a far-right political movement.

2.2 Prato: 2006, 2010

The second town examined in our surveys is Prato, the municipality with the highest number of foreigners (25,489 people) among its resident population (186,608, data from 31 May 2009, Municipality of Prato).

In our first survey, carried out in 2006, we found 12 languages visible in the LL (Lufrano, 2007). In Prato, as in Rome, Chinese was the most visible language in the urban linguistic makeup (128 items contain Chinese; in 39 cases the texts are solely in Chinese).

In Prato, unlike Esquilino, the visibility of Chinese was determined not only by individual choices or strategies of a commercial nature, but also by the handling of communication and public life more generally. Compared to Esquilino, the domains of use of Chinese were broader: the authors/sources of messages in Chinese (or Chinese and Italian) were not only members of the community itself, but also of Italian institutions. In other words, the visibility of Chinese was exerted through both bottom-up and top-down mechanisms, making it a unique case in Italy, due to the intensity and range of this balance (Barni, Bagna, 2010, 9 ss.).

As in Rome, on 3 August 2009 Prato introduced an article into the Regulations for Commerce, Retail Activity in Permanent Premises (Part VI, article 37, paragraph 3, Municipality of Prato), which states: “Signs or writing in a foreign language inside or outside of shop windows should be accompanied by the equivalent translation in Italian. Exception is made for foreign words that have entered into common Italian usage” (our translation).

In the city, 140 signs written in only one language were held to be in breach of this regulation and blacked out, and their owners were fined.

In January 2010 we carried out a second survey in Prato. The results were very similar to those found in Esquilino: the new regulations had above all hit other “exotic” languages; English had gained an advantage from this situation, almost as if it were not considered a foreign language; Chinese had remained the dominant language, but it had lost its autonomy in signage. All signs had been substituted, and Italian was always present alongside Chinese.
All the other languages that we found in the linguistic landscape in 2006 had almost disappeared. The use of a foreign language is now perceived as a distinguishing and
isolating factor, and the delicate linguistic equilibrium created over the years is to-
day compromised. Prato, which had stood as an example due to the type of policy
chosen with regard to immigrant groups and their languages (Barni/Bagna, 2010), is
thus becoming a place in which the linguistic choices of some ethnic groups are now
the subject of social clashes and rulings adopted in the name of public order.

The most noteworthy difference in Esquili no is the presence both in shop win-
dows and on the streets of many texts of private communication (bottom-up signs)
written by Chinese residents in Chinese only. Chinese is always present even in the
top-down texts produced by Italian institutions (City Council). This presence, we
believe, bears witness to the delicate equilibrium created over the years, and contin-
ues to show acknowledgement of the importance of the Chinese community in the
city.

3 Conclusions: Between Babel and Pentecost

These are the two ideal poles between which we find our society’s linguistic vicis-
situdes, made up as they are of choices about linguistic use and linguistic identity at
the personal, communal and societal levels.

Babel is regret for a lost world where, thanks to there being but one language, all
mankind was able to communicate without problems. Divine punishment took the
form of a multiplicity of languages, and the resultant human inability to communi-
cate. Since that moment, differences in languages have been seen as punishment,
and the consequence is fear of the “others”, of the foreigners and their languages and
their differences from ours. This fear exists because the mutual lack of understand-
ing generated by no longer sharing a common language gives rise to a high risk of
conflict. Fear of the other, fear of conflict, refusal of others’ languages: Babel is all
of these things.

Pentecost, on the other hand, is the opposite pole, and involves languages in rec-
onciliation. Pentecost, after all, is the gift of tongues. With Pentecost, differences in
language no longer generate fearful refusal, but rather become the norm for commu-
nication and exchange: others and their languages exist, and contact with them does
not provoke conflict. From this perspective, every situation of human contact with
different languages does not cause an intrinsic barrier to communication: the plural-
ity of languages is instead seen as a richness that allows the creation of ever-
increasing new meanings for human beings. The recognition that the plurality of
languages can be a tool for creating dialogue between human beings: this is the
meaning of Pentecost from a linguistic point of view.

Linguistic landscapes, however, seem to us to be one of the places in which Ba-
bel in this symbolic sense prevails. The diversity of languages in linguistic land-
scapes is obvious to all, and is to be fought and hidden. This is the reason why lin-
guistic landscapes become political battlegrounds.
We can in general affirm that the “language question” has come to play a central role in the Italian debate on immigration, above all over recent months: from being an obstacle to obtaining Long-Term Residence Permits, to being a tool for obtaining citizen’s rights (Barni, in press; Vedovelli, 2010).

In order to understand the climate in which we find ourselves, let us mention just two proposals from the Italian political party Lega Nord, dated 23 April 2010. The first: non-EU citizens wishing to open a shop should first pass an Italian test. It is therefore proposed that authorization to begin trading be dependant upon the presentation by non-EU applicants of a certificate issued by the relevant accredited bodies certifying that they have passed a basic Italian exam. (What does that mean, and who decides?)

The second proposal states: No to multilingual signs, yes to those in the local dialect. It is proposed that the authorisation granted by municipalities for external shop signage be conditional upon the use of one of the official languages of EU member states or of the local dialect.

The recently approved Interministerial Decree (4 June 2010) follows the same line, establishing that the issue of a long-term residence permit for non-EU citizens is subject to passing an Italian language test: the language is used as a filter, as an instrument of exclusion (Shohamy, 2001, 2006; McNamara/Roever, 2006).

It is paradoxical that in increasingly multilingual countries (De Mauro, 2006; Vertovec, 2007), the Westphalian link between language and nation tends to be increasingly strong and emphasised, both in social policy in the broadest sense, and in education policies (Extra/Spotti et al., 2009; Mar-Molinero/Stevenson, 2006). Indeed, whilst in reality the fluid form of trans-nationality and mixing (Blommaert, 2010; Gal, 2006; Jacquemet, 2005) is the norm, language policies tend to bring us back towards the static framework of national monolingualism. Immigrant languages, the thousands of languages that have been brought to Italy with immigrants, must be hidden or even disappear. They continue to be considered a threat rather than a resource for the development of society and of our production system, and no indication is given regarding their maintenance.

In fact, proposals and norms of this kind show how individual and collective linguistic spaces, as semiotic/symbolic spaces in contact, become a battlefield between Babel and Pentecost.

Language is the primary mechanism for forming our own personal and collective identity, both as a single individual and as part of a wider social and national community. In the back of our minds is Babel, the fear of others’ languages that leads us to close ourselves suffocatingly inwards and wish that there could be one way of life, one way of thinking, one way of speaking. The Others are foreign to our form of identity, and thus we believe they generate conflicts that put our identity at risk. This is why we want either to hide the Others or make them resemble us.
References


The Linguistic Landscape as a Political Arena: The case of the Brussels periphery in Belgium.

Summary

The Brussels periphery has always been a linguistic battlefield in the confrontation between the two main language groups in Belgium. Nowadays, the Flemish government pursues a tough policy stressing the Flemish character of this periphery. One of the elements in this policy is to influence language used in the public space. Two strategies are applied. The first is the exploration of the legal limits trying to impose Dutch on the street scene. The second strategy is the creation of a grey area in which language use is free, such as in publicity and signs in shops, but where moral pressure should lead to the adoption of Dutch as the only language used by shopkeepers. This chapter gives an overview of the rules and regulations the government discusses to control and steer the linguistic landscape. It presents a general idea of the different elements that are selected to impose Dutch and discusses the impact of these strategies on the linguistic landscape. It is an illustration of how a local or regional government tries to impose a regulation where by law, language use is free. But in the light of the history of the conflicts between the two main language communities in Belgium, this policy does not come as a surprise.

Résumé

La périphérie de Bruxelles a été toujours un champ de bataille linguistique dans la confrontation entre les deux principaux groupes linguistiques de Belgique. Actuellement, le gouvernement de la Région flamande poursuit une politique stricte soulignant le caractère flamand de la périphérie. Un des éléments de cette politique est d’influencer la langue employée dans l’espace public. Deux stratégies sont appliquées. La première est l’exploration des limites juridiques afin d’imposer le néerlandais dans la rue. La seconde stratégie est la création d’une zone floue dans laquelle l’emploi d’une langue se veut libre, comme dans la publicité et pour les enseignes de magasins, mais où la pression morale mènerait à l’adoption du néerlandais comme unique langue employée par les commerçants. Ce chapitre offre un aperçu des règlements examinés par le gouvernement en vue de contrôler et d’orienter le paysage linguistique. Il donne une idée générale des différents éléments sélectionnés pour imposer le néerlandais et examiner l’impact de ces stratégies sur le paysage linguistique. Il s’agit d’une illustration de la manière dont un gouvernement local ou régional essaye d’imposer un règlement dans un
1 Introduction

The Brussels Capital Region is a dynamic urban region housing the seat of many international organizations and companies. Although politically bilingual, the city is characterized by a multilingual and multicultural population. Due to the process of suburbanization, people and service industries tend to move from the urban centre to the green belt around Brussels. Historically this rural fringe was already at the centre of the heated political debate between the two main language communities. Nowadays the linguistic situation is even more complex with a growing multilingual and multicultural population changing the linguistic composition of the municipalities and, what is supposedly, ‘affecting the Flemish character of the area’.

This contribution is based on a research project assessing the policy of different political actors aiming to preserve this ‘Flemish character’. One of the cornerstones of this policy is the so called ‘dutchification of the street scene’. Based on policy documents, discussions with local and national politicians and civil servants, interviews with shopkeepers and the analysis of the linguistic landscape (LL), this article presents an overview of the strategies and impact of the attempts to impose Dutch as the dominant language in the LL.

2 The Brussels Periphery as a Linguistic Arena

Since the interbellum period, the Brussels periphery has been a politically contested area due to the linguistic composition of its inhabitants. One of the results of the introduction of language laws was that since 1932 (Language Law of 28th June 1932) the result of the language questions in the ten-yearly censuses has decided on the official status of the languages of the municipalities. The law recognised 3 official languages: Dutch, French and German. When 30% of the population declared speaking another official language different from the previous one, the municipality had to use that language in their communication with the citizens. When the 50% threshold was exceeded, the municipality changed language regime. Due to this mechanism, the language census became a political referendum and the municipalities around Brussels changed from monolingual Dutch-speaking into bilingual Dutch- and French-speaking ones. This phenomenon, known as the ‘oil stain’, was strongly contested by the Flemish politicians who accused the municipalities of malversations. The negotiations following this political crisis resulted in the fixation of the language border and the abolition of the language censuses. Since 1962 (Law of 8th of November 1963 on the fixation of the language border, and Language Law
of the 2th of August 1963) the official language of the municipality has been constitutionalised. The law distinguishes three different situations: a municipality can be monolingual (the overall majority) bilingual (the 19 municipalities of the Brussels Capital Region), or a municipality with language facilities, a type of unbalanced bilingualism (near Brussels and the linguistic border). Brussels is the only officially bilingual region. The municipalities around Brussels are part of the Flemish region with Dutch as the only official language. Six of these municipalities have the status of ‘municipality with language facilities’ for French-speakers. Apart from their right to ask for primary education when more than 16 parents from that specific municipality demand it, these facilities refer to the relation between the individual citizen and the administration. The system of language facilities is the result of a political compromise. To reach this agreement, politicians from both communities had to find a solution acceptable to the rank and file of their party. In practice, this resulted in a legislation formulated in blurred terms. Francophone politicians considered the facilities as the recognition of a French-speaking minority in Flanders that is entitled to use its own language. The Flemish political parties stress the fact that facilities are meant to help French-speakers to adapt to a Dutch-speaking environment, which means they are temporary. According to the law, these rights are individual rights, so French-speakers are not recognized as a minority group but they are only entitled to speak French because they live in a specific municipality. Likewise, the law does not stipulate the temporary character of the language facilities; on the contrary, the language status of these municipalities can only be changed when a majority in each of both language groups in both the House of Representatives and the Senate agrees. These contradicting views are a permanent source of political discussion.

The above paragraph describes the first level of this linguistic arena. Since 1993 (the 4th State Reform, also known as the St-Michaels Agreement), Belgium is a federal state made up of three regions (Flanders, Wallonia and the Brussels Capital Region) and three Communities (the Flemish Community, the French Community and the German-speaking Community). This is the second level. Both regions and communities have their own competences, their own elections, parliament, government and administration. However, the Flemish Region and the Flemish Community merged into one entity, the Flemish federal state. The distribution of responsibilities is based on a horizontal logic so that a decision taken by a region or community cannot be overruled by the federal government. In case of contradictions or conflict, they will be settled by court. Essential for the municipalities in the Brussels periphery is that they are all situated in the Flemish Region and that, notwithstanding the fact that in some of these municipalities the use of French is allowed, the French Community cannot assert any power over this area. The French-speaking citizens living in Flanders are not part of the French Community. On this level, just as on the third intermediate level of the province, Francophone political parties are absent in the debate and the decision-making process.
The fourth level consists of the different municipalities. In most municipalities Dutch is the only official language and the majority of the population is Dutch-speaking. However, the municipalities with language facilities are dominantly French-speaking with a French-speaking political majority (see Janssens, 2002). Since the use of French is restricted to the relation between the individual citizen and the government, governance itself must be exerted in Dutch.

Language legislation is a matter of the federal (national) government. Language use is free so the government can never intervene in private situations between citizens, in cultural activities, in religious matters and in commercial life, apart from those aspects of commercial life where official government acts are involved. Apart from education, it reduces the area of government intervention to ‘administrative matters’. The different governmental levels mentioned above each develop their own strategy towards the language conflicts in the periphery of Brussels. Only the federal level, where both language groups are represented, can change the language laws as well as the language status of the municipalities. In every phase of the process of state reform, the language situation in the Brussels periphery was an element of disagreement. On this level, a strategy of confrontation and pacification is applied. The second political actor involved is the Flemish government. The importance Flemish politicians pay to this area is stressed by the fact that the Flemish periphery around Brussels is a distinct policy area, called ‘Vlaamse Rand’, with a minister attached to it. The Flemish policy is oriented towards the support of the so called ‘Flemish character’ and the organisation of language courses for other language speakers. The political discussion on this level is dominated by the fact that most French-speakers do not adapt to the Dutch-speaking environment and continue using their own language. The same concern is at the centre of the policy of the third actor, the province of Vlaams Brabant. A fourth actor, the municipalities, has a similar concern and, comparable to the Flemish government, most of them have an alderman responsible for the ‘Flemish character’ of the municipality. In this context, the municipalities with language facilities are a fifth actor. The local French-speaking politicians in charge of these municipalities are defending the right of the French speakers to use their language in all circumstances. Although the Francophone political parties are only represented at the national level, these local French-speaking politicians are members of the same francophone political parties involved into federal politics. Since the Flemish government is responsible for the implementation of the municipal code and the local Francophone politicians do not get any support there, they address their complaints to the Council of Europe where they expect more support and where they can discuss their issues on a supranational level. The general rationale in this linguistic arena is that one of the 5 actors mentioned above issues a regulation, that one of the other actors, an organization or an individual citizen complaint and that the decision of the court provides a precedent for similar cases or designates it as inadmissible according to the current legislation. Although different elements of
language use and language legislation are dealt with on these different levels, the discussion in this article is restricted to those issues related to the LL.

3 LL and Language Policy

Already for years, the LL has been playing a role in this political conflict. In 1937 the Flemish activist Flor Grammens started painting over the French text on street signs and governmental messages in municipalities where Dutch was the language of the citizens but where French was used for governance. Since then, this protest campaign was often copied, even nowadays. Another important moment of the use of the LL in the linguistic conflict is situated just after the ‘Egmont Agreement’ in 1977 when an extension of the language facilities for French speakers in the Brussels periphery was assumed. The municipality of Dilbeek started to put up billboards near the main roads with the text ‘Dilbeek, waar Vlamingen thuis zijn’ (Dilbeek, where Flemings feel at home). Officially they were intended to discourage the immigration of French-speakers but in fact it was an element in the symbolic battle to conquer the LL. Other municipalities followed that example. Even nowadays these billboards can be found near the main roads. Where 30 years ago it was a visual element in the battle between Flemings and Francophones, the composition of the population has changed just as the interpretation of the slogan. This is nicely illustrated by an expatriate from Holland, whose mother tongue is also Dutch but who said: ‘Every time I pass this billboard, it reminds me of the fact that I do not belong here’. For her, it was not a matter of language use but of ethnic differences (see photo 1).

Photo 1. Street sign stressing the Flemish character of the municipality
Where former initiatives were characterised by a bottom-up approach, nowadays the Flemish government itself tries to influence the LL. Two strategies are applied. The first is the exploration of the legal limits trying to impose Dutch on the street scene. The second strategy is the creation of a grey area in which language use is free, such as in publicity and signs in shops, but where moral pressure should lead to the use of Dutch.

3.1 Exploring the legal limits of regulating the LL

3.1.1 Flemish municipalities

Although in these municipalities there is no discussion about the official language of communication, attempts were made to explore the limits of what can be considered as an act of governance. In the following, five examples are given of local political actions to push French off the public scene. They are based on two studies ordered by the provincial authorities to explore the legal possibilities of ‘dutchification’ (Boes/Abbeloos, 1999; Veny, 2007) and on interviews and newspaper cuttings.

A few weeks before the elections, the local municipality normally provides billboards on strategic places where political parties can hang up their election posters. Since these boards are the property of the local municipality, during the election campaign of the regional elections of 2009, the municipality of Halle issued a police regulation that all messages on that board should be in Dutch or that otherwise the election posters would be removed. This provoked manifestations of French-speaking candidates trying to hang up their posters while members of Flemish activist groups were trying to prevent them. Members of the Union of Francophones, a common list of Francophone candidates, instituted legal proceedings against the municipality. The court decided that the act of obstructing parties to use the public billboards is against the constitutional principles of equality and non-discrimination. The local government must allow all candidates to make use of these billboards. As a result, several municipalities refused to put such billboards on their territory so that they would not give the impression that politics in this region is a matter of Flemish and Francophone parties.

Municipalities also own properties they concede to private persons, like the cafeteria of the local sports hall, the exploitation of the restaurant linked to the local museum etcetera. The question was raised whether a municipality can stipulate in the exploitation agreement that all publicity and all posters must be in Dutch. Legislation however prescribed that the government cannot impose language restrictions via private law when they are not allowed to do it according to the public law. So the local government cannot decide on the linguistic landscape of the establishments they own if they rent it out to a private person.

Another mixture of public and private use is the organization of markets on public domain. In Merchtem, in 2005, the local council decided that stallholders were
only allowed to use Dutch to sell their products and that all slogans on the market stall had to be in the local official language. The motivation of that decision was that everybody who is visiting the market had to know immediately that he was in a Flemish village and would order his purchases in Dutch. This is not evident for the stallholders since most of them also attend markets in bilingual municipalities and their stands are oriented towards a bi- or multilingual public. If they had not removed slogans in other languages, they would have been banned from the market for one year. After the decision was made public, the municipalities of Liedekerke en Vilvoorde also wanted to include the same bye-law in their market act. But the provincial governor, after an appeal to the Flemish minister for Home Affairs, reversed this decision. Their motivation was that since language use between individuals is free, the local government could not impose the use of a particular language between citizens only because the interaction takes place in the public domain. The local council is not competent to take decisions on language use in these circumstances since trading between two private persons cannot be seen as an act of governance.

The commercial environment has always been a problem for those trying to impose rules on the LL. In this domain, language use is free and the fact that shopkeepers easily switch to the language of the client rather than responding solely in Dutch is often seen as the first step in the shift toward a bilingual or multilingual commercial environment. Different actors (municipalities and the province) have asked before for legal advice or ordered scientific studies on how it was possible to impose the use of Dutch in a commercial context. One of the possibilities to intervene is the law on honest trade and the protection of the consumer (Law of 14th July 1991). Customers must be able to fully understand what they buy or sign. Legal specialists agree that in that respect the use of the local official language can be imposed but other languages can never be prohibited. Language use on billboards, slogans, publicity etcetera is free and cannot be regulated by law.

A final attempt of local authorities to influence the LL is to attach conditions to the support they provide to initiatives of local organizations. Suppose the local authority supports a manifestation by supplying labour force letting municipal workers help in setting up podia and galleries. Can the local authority claim that the manifestation and the LL it is creating will be exclusively in Dutch, since municipality workers cannot be deployed in situations contradicting the official policy of the municipality? According to the legal authorities, the answer is no. Again, such a manifestation is not an act of governance but a private initiative and in this domain, language use is free.

3.1.2 Municipalities with language facilities for French speakers

In previous paragraphs, it was the local community council that was exploring the limits of the legislation in an attempt to ‘dutchify’ the LL. In the municipalities with
language facilities, the political majority is French-speaking and supports linguistic diversity. In this context higher-level authorities look for a minimal interpretation of the facilities. The flexibility of the term ‘messages to the public’ is the basis of their attack. Language facilities are an individual right but can all ‘messages to the public’ from the local council be seen as an expression of this individual right? According to the legal interpretation of the province, street signs showing the name of the street are not just meant as an individual message of the municipality to the inhabitants of that street but rather as a general message for those who are less familiar with the neighbourhood. If this interpretation of language facilities holds, it introduces a strict difference between the language of communication between an individual and the administration and the language used in messages for wider concern spread by the local authority. In Flanders, this language should be Dutch. However this discussion is purely theoretical since the province does not have the legal authority to place street signs in these municipalities while bilingual signs are no violation of the law either. Nevertheless it is a clear illustration of the use of the LL as a political arena.

3.1.3 Regional regulations: public transport

Some regulations exceed the municipal boundaries. A good example is the lettering on public transport. In Belgium, the railway is a national company while the bus and tram services are decentralized and are the responsibility of the regions. De Lijn, the bus company of the Flemish region, does not only drive through Flemish municipalities but also through municipalities with language facilities and the Brussels Capital Region. Since these bus services are a public service, they have to act according to the administrative language regulations of the place where their services are provided, so bilingual in the Brussels Capital region and in the municipalities with language facilities. In the rest of Flanders, only Dutch can be used. As a result, the buses crossing the regional border are equipped with electronic announcement boards so that on Flemish territory they can use indications in Dutch and when the law prescribes bilingualism that it is possible to use alternating indications in Dutch and French. Meanwhile the Flemish government restricted the use of the French spelling of the names of Flemish municipalities. Officially, 40 municipalities have both a Dutch and a French name. Examples in the Brussels periphery are Sint-Genesius-Rode (Dutch) / Rhode-Saint-Genèse (French), Halle (Dutch) / Hal (French) … In public transport, these names are only used when the law allows bilingual services, but for the rest the municipalities are asked to use that name only for touristic purposes and not for public transport services.
3.2 Regulating what is free

The attempts of the government to intervene in the LL by legal action only have a limited effect. But the efforts described here stress the symbolic value of the LL. Therefore, at the same time, the Flemish government launched, what they call, a ‘flanking policy’. Where in previous part the discussion was based on legislation and the official use of the language, here they shift to the basic assumption that Dutch is not only the official language of the region but also the vernacular, here seen as the native language of the people traditionally living in this area. Where language laws are restricted to a limited number of governmental issues, the expression ‘the use of the vernacular’ can be applied in domains where language use is free. If you use another language than Dutch in circumstances where it is allowed, it can still be interpreted as a lack of respect for the local vernacular. This ‘flanking policy’ has two sides, a soft one and a hard one.

3.2.1 The soft approach: language promotion

Language promotion can be considered as the soft approach towards integration of non-Dutch speakers. Although most of the efforts in this domain are concentrated on traditional ways of language learning, some of the awareness campaigns affect the LL as well. One of the initiatives sponsored by the provincial government is the ‘Here you can practice your Dutch’ campaign. In shops with a campaign sticker on the door, non-Dutch speakers know that they can order their purchases in Dutch and that the shopkeeper will help him or her without switching to French or English. However, when talking to the shopkeepers, they give a highly personal interpretation to the campaign. Most of them put up the campaign sticker to show their concern with the current evolution of bilingualism but they do not want to emphasis it too strongly. Only in a few shops, the staff has met language learners who wanted to practice Dutch while shopping. The majority of the shopkeepers do not mention any difference since the start of the campaign.

On the level of the different municipalities there are regularly local campaigns to support Dutch in the LL. In the municipality of Grimbergen, there was a competition for shopkeepers to choose the most original Dutch name for their shop. The winner was rewarded and publicity was guaranteed.

3.2.2 The hard approach: blurring the legal limits

The effect of the above campaigns is minimal. Therefore a harder approach seems more effective. Some local councils organise a complaints service where citizens can react when in local organisations other languages are spoken but Dutch, when shops advertise in other languages, when the shopkeeper speaks other languages with his costumers etcetera. When receiving a complaint, a civil servant contacts the
organisation or shopkeeper and explains that one should respect the use of the local vernacular and that the local council hopes they will change their linguistic behaviour. In the interviews with the shopkeepers, they mentioned this practice on occasion and most of them believed they had violated a law when receiving an official letter from the municipality. This creates a grey zone where people think that because of the authority of the local council they violate a law and that they have to speak Dutch so as not to be punished.

But the municipality can put pressure in a more subtle way as well. When a team from Halle participated in a television competition to win their own restaurant, they chose the French expression ‘Les Deux’ as the name for their restaurant. As a reaction, the local mayor intervened and said that the municipality had signed a charter of the Flemish government to exclude all foreign languages from the LL and advised them to opt for a Flemish name if they wanted to have full support from the local community. Finally the restaurant got a Dutch name, ‘Halletwee’.

Sometimes it is less subtle. On August 22th 2010 the Flemish television broadcasted a program called ‘Borderline cases’ where the situation in the Brussels periphery and Quebec were compared. In that program, a mayor stated that property developers are kindly requested to advertise in Dutch only and that they should even screen their buyers to be sure they spoke Dutch. The mayor said they did, because the local council decides on the permits they need to realise their projects.

3.2.3 Shopkeepers: between the devil and the deep blue sea

Observation and registration of the LL and interviews with shopkeepers were also part of the research project. For that purpose, four municipalities were selected, each time a municipality with language facilities and a neighbouring municipality with Dutch as the only official language (Sint-Genesius-Rode and Hoeilaart on the one hand, Wemmel and Merchtem on the other). In their main shopping areas, 845 pictures were taken for analysis and 134 shopkeepers were subject to a structured questionnaire. In general they feel uncomfortable with the current discussion since politicians often point a finger at them because, according to the political rhetoric, they are the first to switch to French if they are addressed to in that language. They turn the tables to these politicians who give speeches to their grassroots support stressing the fact that in the local government offices, not a word of French is spoken, but they are not confronted with the effects of multilingualism in daily life. With the same firm attitude, shopkeepers cannot make a living. When they switch to the language of the customer, some Dutch-speaking customers are treating them as collaborators. Several shopkeepers even moved to the municipalities with language facilities to be able to serve their customers in their own language.

During the interviews it was already clear that the shopkeepers were very much aware of the impact of the LL on their customers. They applied different strategies not to scare off neither Dutch- nor French-speakers. In the Flemish municipalities
they tried to avoid scrupulously all expressions in French. English however was not considered as a problem. In the municipalities with language facilities there was a balance between Dutch and French. Shops where only one of the two languages is used were rare. A Dutch-speaking hairdresser, with a bilingual price list and bilingual lettering on his window, even wrote his name in an alternative French spelling, not to give the impression of favouring one language over the other. Remarkably, on some shop windows all lettering is absent so that from a distance it is even impossible to figure out what they are selling. Most owners try to use both languages, even immigrants for whom neither French nor Dutch is their home language. Nevertheless there is a clear difference between the shops who opened recently and the others. These new shops are dealing with language in a much more creative way, trying to transcend the linguistic controversy (for a comparison between both, see photo 2 and 3).

Photo 2. Traditional shop in municipality with language facilities

The ‘dutchification’ of the LL is considered as an approach to put French-speakers off and to underline the Flemish character of these municipalities. In reality, shopkeepers consider it as a kind of language law they have to obey. Most of them agree with the fact that those inhabitants that do not speak Dutch should at least try to make an effort to speak the language, however trying to control the LL does not seem to have any effect on this. It is more an instrument politicians use in their mutual competition and in the electoral struggle.
4 Discussion

The active role of policy makers in modelling the LL shows the important symbolic value of language use in the public space. Of course, the history of language conflicts in Belgium comes into play here, but not only are the top-down signs subject to political dispute, the bottom-up signs are also used by individuals and commercial agents. Although the local authorities do not have the right to intervene in language use when it is not an official act of governance, they create a kind of grey zone where the use of languages, other than the local vernacular, is considered as a lack of respect.

The ultimate goal of these political strategies, to stop the process of frenchification and to encourage French-speakers to use Dutch, is not achieved. Such an approach focusing on a conflict area with a high symbolic value, is doomed to fail and even has a polarising effect. The result of this policy is primarily restricted to the Dutch-speaking community. First of all there is a clear effect on the creators of the LL, whether or not they agree with the political involvement. Shopkeepers are very much aware of how they deal with language in the public space. But the discourse on the LL is also an important element in the political debate. By raising the issue, local politicians can give the impression to stop the evolution towards frenchification and multilingualism. The LL as a political arena is the representation of the concern the local community shows in relation to a growing internationalisation and
the multicultural reality of current society. The LL plays a role in the process of political identity construction in times of social and political uncertainty.

The attention Flemish politicians pay to the LL is in line with the general political discourse that guides the process of state reform in Belgium. The Flemish political parties have always tried to reduce the impact of the personality principle to limit the use of French in the public sphere (see Witte/Van Veldhoven, 2010) The attempt to ‘dutchify’ the LL is a perfect illustration of this pursuit. In this respect, the LL can be considered as an indicator of the confrontation between two political strategies guided by the principle of territorialism versus the personality principle.

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Summary

This paper focuses on the linguistic landscape of an urban and a rural area in the bilingual community of Galicia (Spain) where Galician and Castilian Spanish are both spoken. The study focuses on the analysis of the use of the minoritised language (Galician) and the state language (Castilian) on signs in order to discern if the traditional linguistic differences between urban and rural Galicia are apparent in the linguistic landscape, while also addressing how language policy affects – or does not affect – the landscape.

The study focuses on how language policy and traditional language use have combined to create a linguistic landscape in which diglossia rather than bilingualism is dominant in signage. The findings indicate that the linguistic landscape is indicative of a diglossic bilingual community in which the language policy is not always visible. Because the policy is not highly directive and is decentralised, it allows for language choice within the community. Differences between rural and urban areas were noted thus supporting the hypothesis of geographical diglossia in the linguistic landscape.

Résumé

Cette étude se concentre sur le paysage linguistique d’un espace rural et urbain dans la région bilingue de Galice (Espagne) où le galicien et la langue officielle (le castillan) sont tous deux parlés. Cette étude analyse la présence sur les affichages de la langue minorée (Galicien) et de la langue officielle en vue de déterminer s’il existe des différences linguistiques traditionnelles dans le paysage linguistique entre la Galice rurale et la Galice urbaine tout en posant la question de savoir si la politique linguistique influe, ou pas, sur le paysage linguistique.

Cette contribution se concentre sur la manière dont les politiques linguistiques et les usages traditionnels des langues se combinent afin de créer un paysage linguistique dans lequel la diglossie et non le bilinguisme est prédominant dans l’affichage. Nos résultats montrent que le paysage linguistique est indicatif d’une communauté diglossique bilingue, dans laquelle les politiques linguistiques ne sont pas toujours visibles. Dans la mesure où la politique est décentralisée et peu directive, cela permet d’opérer un choix linguistique au sein de la communauté. Nous avons noté des différences entre espaces ruraux et espaces urbains en accord avec l’hypothèse de la répartition géographique de la diglossie dans le paysage linguistique.
1 Introduction

Kallen (2010, 42) notes “there is an implicit general view in most linguistic landscape research that only one linguistic landscape occupies a given physical space at a particular time”. I argue that in Galicia there is more than one, and it is the “zero-sum competition for dominance” that Kallen refers to that makes the Galician linguistic landscape indicative of the linguistic situation of the community.

To that end, this study focuses on the linguistic landscape of an urban and a rural area in the community of Galicia (Spain) where Galician and Castilian Spanish are both spoken. This study therefore aims to discern if the traditional linguistic differences between urban and rural Galicia are apparent in the linguistic landscape.

In any non-monolingual community the choice of which language to use in a particular circumstance is often a political matter. As Joseph (2006, 10) notes, it is political because it “simultaneously depends upon and determines the relationships among the speakers”. This is clear in the Galician situation as the vast majority of the population is bilingual in both Galician and Castilian. Therefore language choice in Galicia can be viewed as a perpetual political statement.

By focussing on the linguistic landscape of a selected area in both an urban and rural region of Galicia, I aim to discern if the traditional linguistic differences between urban and rural Galicia are apparent in the linguistic landscape, while also addressing the issue of how language policy affects- or does not affect- the landscape.

2 Linguistic Situation in Galicia

2.1 Diglossia

The bilingual situation in Galicia can more correctly be referred to as diglossic rather than a bilingual society. In the more extended sense of diglossia, following from Fishman (1967) the term is often used to refer to the functional separation of two different languages by domain, whether that domain is geographical (so that Belgium is diglossic but not bilingual for Fishman) or contextual (e.g. school vs. home). In the case of Galicia, it is not that the signage is diglossic in so far as Castilian is used for signs and Galician used for other purposes (or that Castilian is used for official signage and Galician for private signage), but that in the domain of signage generally, signs tend to be in one language or the other. Applying Fishman’s categories, we could say that the Galician areas analysed show diglossia, in that two different codes are used within the landscape, without bilingualism (i.e. the individual elements within the landscape tend not to be bilingual).
2.2 Area of Study

The sample used in this study, which is by no means exhaustive, focuses on the main squares of the city of A Coruña and the village of Cee. The city of A Coruña has a population of approximately 400,000 (INE 2008) and is the largest and most industrial city in the province of A Coruña. It is known as the wealthiest metropolitan area of Galicia and as the most outward looking and urban Galician city (Simónis ed. 2007, 550).

The coastal village of Cee lies 95 kilometres from the city of A Coruña. The population of Cee is recorded at 3,348 (INE 2008). Cee is a rural community dependent on fishing, farming and local trade for business, with a very small influx of tourists brought mainly by the pilgrimage Camino de Santiago.

Approximately a quarter of all Spaniards speak a regional language in addition to, or instead of, the official language of the state, Castilian Spanish (Hoffman 1996, 61). However, Galicia is the only autonomous community of Spain in which the autonomous language, Galician, is the majority language (Hoffman 1996, 68).

As is evident from the Mapa Sociolingüística de Galicia 2004 [Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia], the language distribution is very different in a rural area such as Cee, with a population of less than 5,000 than it is in A Coruña with a population of over 50,000. This difference is evident in Figure 1: it is salient that the majority mother tongue of the urban area is Castilian, whereas Galician is clearly the majority mother tongue in the rural areas.

Figure 1 Mother tongue according to number of inhabitants in an area.

(Data taken from MSG 04 Lingua inicial Segundo o habitat do residencia no MSG-04)
3 Language Policy in Galicia

3.1 Galician Language in Society

A diachronic analysis of the Sociolinguistic Map of Galicia of 1992 (González González ed. 2007, 26) shows the effect the linguistic policies of the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1939-1975) had on the Galician landscape. The sharp decline in first language Galician speakers of the era can be partly attributed to the policies adopted by Franco’s government. The Galician language was repressed from use in all public affairs, and intellectuals and Galician culture advocates were either silenced or forced into exile. These factors contributed to the decline of the language to the threatening status of a prohibited language. However, among the rural population Galician continued to be the language of communication during the regime (Hoffman 1996, 79), thus it can be considered that it was Galicia’s rurality that saved the language.

The exact number who spoke Galician during the Franco regime is unknown due to the fact that the census at the time did not include statistics related to the other languages of Spain (Stephens 1978, 670). Despite its continued use among the rural population, Galician became heavily stigmatised, as did the other regional languages, and Castilian was seen as the language of prestige and social advancement. Castilian remained the language of written communication and the educated upper classes, whereas Galician became the language of the rural, uneducated population. It is this traditional diglossic divide that this study focuses on in order to discern if it is still apparent in Galicia today.

3.2 Language Policy post-Franco

Following the death of Franco in 1975, the Constitución de España [The Spanish Constitution] was ratified in 1978.

Article Three of its Basic Law deals specifically with the question of language within the newly formed state. It states that ‘Castilian is the official Spanish language of Spain’¹. The other languages of Spain are recognised in an official capacity, unlike previous Constitutions which did not support them, as Article 3.2 states ‘The other Spanish languages will also be official in their respective autonomous communities, in accordance with their Statutes’. The article goes on to recognise ‘The richness of the distinct linguistic varieties of Spain’ as cultural heritage which must be respected and protected. Thus, although the ‘other languages of Spain’ are recognised as official in their respective autonomous regions, it does not specify what the regions are, or the ‘distinctive linguistic varieties’. This careful wording still places Castilian in a position of supremacy over the other languages: it is the

¹ All translations of citations are the author’s own.
only recognised official language for the entire country. Thus, by opting for a territoriality principle of linguistic model, speakers of the autonomous languages cannot claim any linguistic rights outside of their community, and similarly the linguistic rights of immigrants in autonomous communities are not protected.

Article Five of the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia (1981) states that Galician is the native language of Galicia; it will be the official language alongside Spanish and that the Galician public bodies should endeavour to ensure the normal and official use of both languages and allow for the use of Galician in all domains of public and cultural life (Lei inorgânica 1/1981 Art. 5). The Statute also states that Galician must be the language used by the majority of the Galician population, regardless of the official standing of Spanish or Galician, thus implying that it must be the socially chosen language rather than just politically enforced.

3.3 Language Planning in Galicia

The Lei de normalização linguística [Law of Linguistic Normalisation] of 1983 builds on Article 5 of the Statute of Autonomy. Torres (1984, 59-60) defines normalisation in the Spanish context as “a process during which a language gradually recovers the formal functions it had lost and at the same time works its way into those social sectors, within its own territory, where it was not spoken before”. Therefore normalisation can be understood to be the codification of the language and social extension for wider, everyday use.

The ‘Laws of Linguistic Normalisation’ authorised the co-existence of the national language and the regional languages thus encouraging the use and knowledge of both in a mutually beneficial relationship. It declared linguistic discrimination illegal, although this may be contested as similar to the wording of the Spanish Constitution, it is seen that Spanish and Galician have rights, but the languages of immigrants in Galicia are largely unprotected. The Laws of Linguistic Normalisation recognises Galician as the lingua propia (Article 1); that is Galicia’s autochthonous language, thus emphasising the language as a symbol of identity and of cultural heritage.

Before democracy, the linguistic policy regarding place-names was unambiguous: all signs, both official and non official should, in theory, be in Castilian. With democracy, the prohibition on the use of the other languages of Spain was lifted. Article Ten of the Law of Linguistic Normalisation established Galician as the only obligatory official language to be used in toponymy and signage in Galicia. It is significant in that it is the only article in the Law that declares the use of Galician exclusively as the official form (Ferreira et al. 2005, 122).
4 Methodology and Analysis

According to a study conducted in Galicia in March 2009, 50.3% of participants claim Galician as their mother tongue and a further 24.2% have grown up bilingually with Spanish and Galician (CIS 2009). Thus one would presume that the linguistic landscape would show a higher visibility of Galician than Spanish. Whereas the official policy of the community is of a preference to Galician, State laws advocate bilingual signage in Galician and Castilian. By classifying the data under categories of language dominance in bi- and multilingual signs and also language use in official and non-official signs, the effectiveness of the language policy can be examined.

Given that each linguistic landscape can present unique features which call for different research methods, I established my own protocol for research in Galicia, based on examples of previous linguistic landscape research and the specific questions of this study. Huebner notes (2006, 50) “the data are meant to be not an indication of the linguistic compositions of the city as a whole, but simply an illustration of the range of linguistic diversity”. Milroy (1987, 21) also concurs that what is vital is that “researchers decide what type of representativeness is sufficient- or obtainable- for them”. For that reason, areas deemed to be representative of the cityscape and landscape in general must be focussed on. Thus the main squares of A Coruña and Cee, which are economically, historically and socially comparable, were deemed to be the most suitable areas of analysis for this study.

Plaza María Pita is the main square of the city of A Coruña, situated at the edge of the old town and adjacent to the main shopping area. The establishments in the square are mainly shops and restaurants, with residential apartments in the upper floors. The square also has a number of glass buildings known as galerías dotted around which serve as cafes and restaurants. When an event is to be celebrated in the city the main celebration will normally occur here and so it was for its central role in the life of the city, its central location as well as its economic and social importance that this square was chosen as the survey area.

Praza da Constitución is one of the main squares in the village of Cee. The square has a central role in the life of the village as not only is it traditionally one of the most important squares of the village, it is also socially important as the benches and shade provided by the trees in the centre make it a popular place for the evening walks that are customary in Spain. The establishments in the square include a Church, restaurants, shops, a newspaper kiosk as well as a museum and a music school. Also, festivals and local events tend to centre on the plaza, thus making it similar in its role in the community as Plaza María Pita in A Coruña, therefore proving suitable for the study as they are as close variables as possible.

Field data collection was conducted by surveying the visibility of Galician and Castilian and also the presence of other languages in the two areas in question using two digital cameras. Pictures were taken of all the signs in the sample areas in...
June/July 2009. Details of each sign were recorded noting location, size, source of the sign (government, personal etc), genre of the unit (shop front, poster, advertisement, etc) visible language or languages and the content of the sign. A quantitative approach was taken by coding all signs in the area according to the languages that appear in order to establish the distribution of languages in this bilingual community. Thus the task was to determine in which language or languages each linguistic element that occurs is written in. All data was then further coded under various categories as outlined by Ben-Rafael et al (2006, 11) including official or non official signage and visible languages.

In accordance with Backhaus (2006, 55; 2007, 66) a sign is considered to be “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame”. Signs not counted were items without text, such as pictures, emblems and logos. However Backhaus’s theory of disregarding non-stationary objects was rejected as non-stationery and temporary units such as vehicles and posters were considered to be just as important and indicative of the linguistic landscape as permanent and fixed units, as Kallen (2010, 53) indeed notes “the landscape as a visual entity undeniably contains transient signage, as found in graffiti, temporary posters, labels, stickers, notes and various ephemeral forms of expression” that are equally indicative of the linguistic landscape as permanent or fixed signage is. The corpus of this study comprises of a complete inventory of the signs in the main square of the urban city of A Coruña and the rural village of Cee. Thus resulting in 205 units in A Coruña and 124 in Cee.

Picture 1 Evidence of linguistic layering

The newer unit in the foreground displays Galician only, with the original Castilian-only unit above the door in the background. Also visible in the picture is an official ‘No Parking’ in Galician only.
Picture A is a monolingual Castilian street sign in A Coruña. Picture B is a more recent monolingual Galician street sign in Cee, demonstrating the diglossia between urban and rural and also demonstrating linguistic layering. Both of these signs are now offset by the new bilingual signage signs (Picture C) in accordance with the bilingual linguistic policy advocated in Galicia.

5 Analysis and Discussion

Contrary to previous findings in other cities (e.g. Backhaus 2007, Edelman 2006) foreign languages were found to have a minimal visibility in the landscape of both the urban and rural area of Galicia that was analysed. Thus this study focuses on the interior languages of the community (Galician and Castilian) and their individual roles in society. My findings concentrate on the way in which language policy and traditional language use have combined to create a linguistic landscape in which diglossia—understood in terms of Fishman’s extended notion of separation by domain—rather than bilingualism is dominant in signage in the Galician landscape.

During Franco’s rule, the prohibition of the Galician language in the public sphere resulted in all official signage being in Castilian. However, since the return to democracy, street signs have been replaced by bilingual or Galician units. In Cee however, no official bilingual units were recorded, and all street signs were solely in Galician. In A Coruña older street signs were still evident with the street name appearing only in Castilian. This was offset by the presence of the new bilingual signage advocated by the Xunta\(^2\) (see Picture 2). This layering is also evident in the signs for official buildings, as in Picture 1 where one can see layering in the signage for a museum (the newer sign in Galician only in the foreground and the old sign in

\(^2\) The Xunta (Xunta de Galicia) refers to the Executive Branch of the autonomous community of Galicia
the background in Castilian only). This evidence of layering in the bilingual community is one of note as it not only indicates the linguistic history of the area but is also telling of the linguistic struggle for dominance and a change in policy with regard to language use.

Scollon and Scollon (2003, 120) state that in bilingual signs “the preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the centre and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or in the margins”. If this is taken to be true in the Galician context, although there is higher visibility of Galician than Castilian in Cee, in bi- and multilingual signs Galician is always given less importance in the rural area. This suggests that although Galician is the dominant language of the community, Castilian is recognised as the more important language in multilingual settings. In the urban area however Galician is the dominant language in 54% of bilingual signs suggesting it is more in line with official policy and serves as an agreement between the policy of the autonomous community and that of the State.

In the rural area of study, Galician is the language of official signage in 94% of the instances, whereas in A Coruña it is the opposite as it is the language of official signs in only one instance. This lack of concord of language use even among official signs further strengthens the hypothesis of diglossia among urban and rural areas of Galicia. Street signs and road markings appear in either/or, and very rarely in the bilingual mode. The conflicting autonomy and State laws mean that although bilingual signage is advocated by the State in all State services, the autonomous government in their laws support Galician as the obligatory language of signage in Galicia. As a result, this diglossia is strengthened, as there is a clear discrepancy in official signage. This diglossia is further strengthened by the fact that in private signage, occurrences of Galician and Castilian in the rural area are quite similar in quantity (see Figure 2). Whereas the occurrences of private signage in Castilian far outnumber the occurrences of private signage in Galician in the area, this reiterates the importance of the linguistic policy for the protection and maintenance of the minoritised language in urban areas.

State signs tend to reflect language policy, whereas private signage shows more diversity in language choice. In Spain however, the policy allows for diversity, thus local decisions on language use in signage affect State signage. From a synchronic perspective, this variation reflects the differing patterns of language use in official and non official signage, lending itself to the hypothesis that policy is not always reflected in practice.
Figure 2: Language of Official Signs (top) and Private Signs (bottom) in monolingual and bilingual signs in A Coruña and Cee

5.1 Language Mix

Due to the high level of ambiguity among the languages of Galician, Castilian, and indeed Portuguese, as used on signs, wordplay and metaphorical codeswitching in
bilingual signs is not a dominant feature in Galicia as the languages are generally too closely connected to allow for such a practise to work. However, there is evidence of such usage with other languages, most notably English. The castilianisation of English words is increasing in popularity, especially with regard to the transliteration of shop and bar names in the city that wish “to convey a cosmopolitan air rather than to attract an audience proficient in English” (Huebner 2006, 41), such as the bar ‘Private’, phonetically [prɪˈʃæt̪ē]. The castilianisation of Private proves the little importance placed on ‘foreign’ languages in the Galician context as English is used for its connotational value rather than to transmit information, as noted by Cenoz and Gorter (2006, 70). Barni and Bagna (2009, 135) arrived at the same conclusion in their study of the Italian Linguistic Landscape as they concluded that the use of English or other ‘foreign’ languages had “no other justification than the prestige of the language itself, associated with specific contexts of use”. Knowledge of the other language involved is irrelevant as it is in fact taking advantage of the fact that the majority population are not proficient in the ‘foreign’ language in question. Thus in the case cited above, English is used to promote an image of sophistication and to attract a particular clientele, not for reasons of linguistic or political persuasion.

The practise of using Galician words in Castilian contexts, and vice versa is recognised as codemixing rather than lexical borrowings as it happens in an unsystematic way. Although there is more evidence of codemixing Galician in a Castilian context, the opposite does also occur in oral communication, although not notably in the linguistic landscape. Although interlanguage wordplay is not a viable feature between Galician and Castilian, codemixing does often occur, as Galician words are often used in an otherwise Castilian context especially with regard to cultural features or things that are considered to be uniquely and typically Galician, such as quiemada, pulpo a feira, son de meiga. The use of Galician in these contexts can be seen as a method of furthering the idea of authenticity of product and/or experience similar to the usage of the English word Private for the bar name as cited above.

5.2 Diglossia in the Linguistic Landscape

Diglossia has existed in the Galician community to varying degrees in the past. This diglossia is still apparent today and is reflected in the linguistic landscape. A notable difference exists between the linguistic landscape of the rural and the urban areas of study. The traditional preference for Castilian in the urban area still remains, as the prestige the Castilian language has enjoyed in the past has impacted on signage. Equally, the traditional association of Galician with the rural is still apparent as there is higher visibility of Galician in the linguistic landscape of Cee than of Castilian (see Figure 3).

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3 This is evidenced by observations made in the city of A Coruña from September 2006 to present.
In A Coruña there is little difference among the counts of bilingualism and language mix in the signage analysed, suggesting that both a) language policy has some effect on the language of signs in the urban area and b) although Castilian is the dominant language, Galician is gaining prestige as it is incorporated in just under half of the total of all signs (Galician, bi- and multilingual and signs involving language interplay). In Cee however, it is clear the bilingual policy has little or no effect as there is only one bilingual sign in this study, thus furthering the point that official policy has little effect outside of the urban areas. There is higher evidence of language mix than of bilingualism thus emphasising high level of bilingualism in Galician and Castilian among the community and the ease with which both languages are used in the public sphere.

In Galicia, Hooper (2006, 101) notes that “the absence of institutions of state throughout the 19th and most of the 20th centuries meant that with a few rare exceptions the cultural space functioned as the only Galician public space”. The effect of the diglossia that this partition of languages had on the community is still prevalent today as units related to cultural events were almost exclusively in Galician in Cee and the majority in Galician in A Coruña, indicating the strength and indeed status given to the minoritised language in the arts and culture (In total 76.5% of cultural units in the two areas displayed the Galician language, with 56% of these being monolingually in Galician). For the purpose of this study, a cultural event is defined as any temporary or permanent sign related to social and political events and matters to do with the arts such as exhibitions, festivals, concerts etc (permanent signs such as museums were also included). Galician is more visible in the social and cultural domain therefore implying it is the more socially significant language nowadays, as
opposed to during the Franco regime when it was both politically and culturally stigmatised and prohibited (Beswick 2007). Its dominance in this area of social life also emphasises the importance placed on the language in the construction of a Galician national identity. However Castilian is still the favoured language of signs in matters of commerce, therefore suggesting that the presence of Galician in signage is more a result of language practice rather than language policy.

5.2 Language Visibility in A Coruña and Cee

In A Coruña there was clear evidence of a stronger visibility of Castilian signage than Galician, despite the Galician language propaganda that was highly visible throughout the city in support of the UNESCO world heritage bid at the time of the study. In Cee however, a more even distribution was found. Nonetheless, Galician was more prominent in the rural landscape thus supporting the view that the traditional diglossia of Galician in the rural areas and Castilian in the urban is still apparent in the linguistic landscape of Galicia.

There is a dramatic difference between the number of units in Castilian in A Coruña and those in Galician in the same area. The high visibility of Castilian can be seen to be the result of many factors, including status of power and prestige. Ultimately, the Castilian language does exert power over the Galician, as despite the positive influence the various laws of autonomy have had for Galician, Castilian is still the only recognised language of the entire State, thus Castilian will undoubtedly hold an advantage over the other languages of the State. Castilian is the language that has always been associated with prestige in Spain, and so it is understandable that the language of prestige will have a higher visibility in the landscape.

The linguistic landscape serves important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory. If using linguistic landscape as the sole area of analysis, Galician would seem to be a threatened language. However, this is not true: orally Galician is the dominant language, but due to educational and linguistic policies of the past there are low literacy levels among the older generations, which can be attributed to the favouring of Castilian over Galician in some, but not all, public signage in Galicia. It is clear from the data analysed here that monolingual signs are much more common than the bilingual signage advocated by the government in both urban and rural areas. In A Coruña a total of 153 monolingual signs were counted, as opposed to just 13 bilingual Galician-Castilian signs and eleven bi- or multilingual signs involving one of the official languages and other language(s) (see Figure 3). A similar result was found in Cee as 95 monolingual signs were recorded with just one bilingual Galician-Castilian and 9 bi- or multilingual involving one of the official languages and other language(s). This supports the hypothesis that Galicia is a diglossic linguistic landscape without bilingualism. In total, there was more evidence of language mix than bilingual signage, again emphasising that language policy, al-
though favourable for the minoritised language is not necessarily always effective. The differing predominant language in A Coruña and Cee would suggest that the socially dominant language is different in urban than rural areas.

Conclusion

Shohamy and Gorter (2009, 3) note that “while ‘officiality’ can affect language practices, the public space has its own rules and regulations, which are often unique as they tend to defy declared policies”. This is clear in the Galician context as policy is not always reflected in practice. My findings show that the official language policy regarding the minoritised language (Galician) is supportive towards the maintenance of this language in the urban areas. However, the influence of linguistic policy in the urban areas and the maintenance of the traditional in the more rural areas is apparent in my results, thus demonstrating the ineffectiveness of the linguistic policy to implement the linguistic laws on the public signage equally in both urban and rural areas.

There are important differences in language dominance in the urban and rural areas studied. Galician is more dominant in the rural area analysed, and Castilian in the urban area, highlighting that the traditional diglossia that exists in Galicia is still apparent in the linguistic landscape. Galicia still largely remains a bilingual community with little influence of foreign languages as manifested through the linguistic landscape. However, this bilingualism is diglossic in that both languages exist separately in the linguistic landscape, as there are more instances of each language existing on its own than in a bilingual or code-mixing capacity. Code-mixing is employed in the linguistic landscape in order to evoke the concept of authenticity of product or experience and is also indicative of the high levels of bilingualism in Galicia. Because the policy is not highly directive and is decentralised, it allows for language choice within the community- if a community wants to use more Galician than Castilian, it can do so, but equally it is possible to use more Castilian than Galician. The findings of this study conclude that the differences that were noted between rural and urban areas support the hypothesis of geographical diglossia in the linguistic landscape. This diglossia demonstrates the influence of linguistic policy on the urban area and the maintenance of the traditional linguistic choice in the more rural areas.

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Bibliography


Le paysage linguistique belge: Un chaos intelligible

Résumé

La querelle linguistique qui oppose Flamands et Francophones en Belgique est depuis de longues années un sujet internationalement connu. Elle soulève la question de son identité et de ses chances de survie. En Belgique s'affrontent trois langues officielles se référant à des populations distinctes. Cette situation est d'autant plus complexe que le pays se trouve au cœur de l'Europe, héberge à Bruxelles une des trois capitales de l’Union Européenne, compte le Quartier Général de l’OTAN, et constitue un carrefour de la globalisation attirant des populations de tous les coins du monde. Des aspects qui soutiennent, chacun à leur manière, l'utilisation de l’anglais comme lingua franca en même temps que l’apparition de nouvelles communautés linguistiques. Cette complexité se reflète dans le paysage linguistique à travers le pays qui se transforme de région en région et crée une impression de chaos. Nous étudions ce paysage en nous aidant de trois perspectives sociologiques qui ne s’excluent pas et qui ensemble permettent de présenter le paysage linguistique belge comme une réalité intelligible.

Summary

The linguistic rift which opposes Flemish and French speaking communities in Belgium is a well-known fact. It questions the country’s identity and its chances of survival. It gainsays the assumption, which posits that any national identity is expressed in a legitimate tongue pertaining to the national territory. In Belgium, we have three official languages that refer to three distinct populations. Moreover, this country, at the heart of Europe, hosts in Brussels a capital of the European Union and Nato's General Quarter. It thus constitutes a crossroads of globalization and attracts immigrants from all over the world. These aspects propagate the use of English as lingua franca at the same time as the emergence of new speech communities. This complexity is reflected in the transformations of the linguistic landscape throughout the country: from one area to another, leaving a general impression of chaos. We study this landscape through three sociological perspectives that endow LL reality with some intelligibility.
Carte linguistique de la Belgique

Légende:
- gris clair: région flamande
- gris foncé: région francophone
- noir: région germanophone
- hachuré: Bruxelles-capitale bilingue franco-flamand

Introduction

La querelle linguistique qui oppose Flamands (ou néerlandophones) et francophones (pour la plupart d’origine wallonne) est l’un des sujets de l’actualité internationale (Bitsch 2004). Une de ses conséquences est qu’elle pose aussi bien à l’intérieur qu’à l’extérieur de la Belgique, la question de son identité et de ses chances de survie. Cette problématique saute aux yeux: les mêmes endroits peuvent changer d’appellation selon la région de même que la langue des panneaux publicitaires ou les indications routières.

Cette réalité linguistique contredit l’hypothèse sociologique et sociolinguistique selon laquelle toute identité nationale s’exprime dans une langue légitime attachée au territoire national: en Belgique s’affrontent trois langues officielles se référant à des populations distinctes. Cette situation est d’autant plus complexe que le pays se trouve au cœur de l’Europe, héberge à Bruxelles l’une des trois capitales de l’Union Européenne ainsi que le Quartier Général de l’OTAN, et constitue un carrefour de globalisation attirant des migrants de tous les coins du monde. Des aspects qui soutiennent, chacun à sa manière, l’expansion de l’anglais comme lingua franca en même temps que l’apparition de nouvelles communautés linguistiques (Dubois 2005).

Ces développements font que le problème linguistique belge principal – la controverse français/flamand est noyée, en quelque sorte, dans un contexte qui comprend désormais la question de l’identité nationale, ses rapports entre les identités régionales, celles des communautés ethnoculturelles et les allégeances supranationales. Un nœud d’énigmes qui donne à l’analyse du cas belge tout son intérêt géné-
ral et pour laquelle l’étude du paysage linguistique (PL) est particulièrement appro-
priée.

La popularité récente des études sur le PL parmi les sociolinguistes répond à
l’importance qu’acquiert le contexte urbain et les textes qui le jalonnent dans la vie
contemporaine. Ce nouveau courant d’investigation a suscité la collaboration de
chercheurs venant de disciplines diverses – de la linguistique appliquée à la sociolo-
gie – sur la base de la compréhension commune que le PL représente la construction
symbolique de la scène publique (Ben-Rafael et al 2006; Ben-Rafael 2008). Les
moyens de cette construction consistent dans le marquage des objets matériels et
immatériels par des éléments linguistiques qui peuvent être analysés selon leurs lan-
gues, leur salience ou encore leur aspects syntaxiques et sémantiques.

Le PL est ainsi conçu comme un champ qui possède une dynamique qui lui est
propre, influencée par son contexte social, politique ou culturel. Cette approche qui a
déjà été développée dans plusieurs ouvrages (Gorter ed. 2006; Shohamy/Gorter ed.
2008; Backhaus 2007; Shohamy/Ben-Rafael/Barni. eds. 2010) se tourne vers la
sphère publique comprenant rues, squares, établissements publics, et tout principa-
lement – magasins et agences. Bref, tout ce qui, au-delà du domaine privé, s’affiche
au public.

La notion d’espace ou sphère publique est associée au travail de Jürgen Haber-
mas (1989) qui y voit une zone tampon entre l’Etat et la sphère privée. L’essentiel
de cet espace consiste en ‘centres’ où l’on trouve boutiques de mode, grands maga-
sins, cafés, restaurants, cinémas et théatres – et parfois aussi les sièges d’institutions
officielles ou d’exécutifs de grandes firmes. Cet ensemble hétérogène est marqué par
une quantité infinie d’items linguistiques offrant souvent par la pluralité de ses lan-
gues, couleurs et formes, l’image d’une véritable jungle. Ce tout apparaît, à première
vue, comme le paroxysme du désordre. Le nombre d’acteurs qui commandent ou
élaborent les items du PL agissent d’ailleurs le plus souvent sans coordination sous
les inspirations les plus diverses (Eder 2005).

La notion de chaos décrit bien cette réalité fluide et incohérente. Cette notion dé-
signe des situations caractérisées par un haut degré d’impondérabilité (Gleick 1987).
Antithèse de la régulation, elle désigne l’absence de restriction à la fois innovatrice
et destructive de normes existantes.

Du fait même de son incohérence, une réalité chaotique est difficilement étudiée
de manière systématique (Urry 2005). S’agissant du PL, les incohérences, si elles
acquièrent un tant soit peu de permanence, peuvent devenir à travers leur perception
repétée de la part des passants, un tableau familier. Le fait de paraître ensemble finit
par faire saisir leurs éléments comme un ensemble. Le désordre de l’image laisse
alors la place à une notion de configuration ou la situation respective des éléments
les uns vis-à-vis des autres devient une caractéristique du tout. Enpruntant à la pys-
chologie de la perception, un concept de Gestalt (‘configuration’) s’impose alors
(Scholl 2001) dont la pertinence réside dans l’hypothèse que cette configuration est
porteuse d’attributs qui lui sont propres en tant que telle, et qui n’appartiennent à aucune de ses composantes individuelles.

Dans ce sens, chaos et Gestalt ne sont que les deux faces d’une même réalité. Les passants captent le PL de la même manière qu’ils enregistrent une vue panoramique contrastée comprenant montagnes, vallées, forêts et bord de mer. À la différence du paysage naturel, le PL est un fait de société qui peut devenir emblématique de son environnement comme le sont les PLs des Champ Elysées ou de Times Square pour Paris ou New York.

Il reste, qu’en dépit de sa perception comme Gestalt, l’incohérence du PL demande à être déchiffrée. En d’autres termes, et sous la forme d’une question, peut-on dégager de manière cohérente des principes qui contribueraient à expliquer l’incohérence du PL? Ce questionnement conduit à la méthodologie structuraliste (Levy-Strauss 1958) qui interpelle les ‘principes structurateurs’ qui détermineraient les faits de ‘surface’.

Des travaux précédents (Ben-Rafael 2008) ont mis en évidence quelques approches pertinentes de la littérature sociologique. Parmi ces approches, trois d’entre elles nous semblent importantes lorsqu’il s’agit de l’utilisation de codes linguistiques. Une première approche est liée au nom de Bourdieu (1983) qui veut que la réalité sociale consiste essentiellement en relations de pouvoir entre catégories de participants dans des champ donnés. Pour le PL, ce principe devrait s’exprimer dans la capacité de certains acteurs à imposer à d’autres des utilisations de ressources linguistiques à l’encontre de leurs aspirations. Une deuxième approche est subjectiviste et met l’accent sur la présentation de soi (Goffman 1963; 1981). Elle analyse l’action sociale comme une fonction de la préoccupation de l’acteur à se mettre en valeur vis-à-vis de son environnement. Dans cette optique, l’acteur PL agirait de manière à se présenter au passant de la manière la plus avantageuse. Une troisième approche se réfère aux identités collectives dont l’importance ne fait que croître dans les sociétés actuelles où règne la diversité culturelle. Dans un tel contexte, nombre d’acteurs PL façonneraient leurs items en mettant en évidence des allégeances communautaires qui attirent certains publics – régionaux, ethnoculturels ou religieux (Calhoun 1997).

En bref, si la perspective associée au nom de Bourdieu questionne les rapports de forces entre catégories d’acteurs PL, celle liée à Goffman met en évidence la présentation de soi, tandis que l’approche diversité culturelle accorde un rôle majeur aux identités collectives. Ces trois hypothèses ne s’éliminent pas mutuellement. La recherche empirique devrait montrer, selon les circonstances, combien chacune contribue à déchiffrer l’‘ordre’ sous-jacent au désordre de surface.
Le paysage linguistique belge

Contours du champ de la recherche

Le PL belge est un des plus complexes qui soient (Housen/Janssens et al. 2000). La Belgique est un état fédéral de près de onze millions d’habitants. Depuis sa création en 1830, elle connaît un débat sans fin sur la gestion de sa division linguistique néerlandophone-francophone à laquelle s’ajoute la petite minorité germanophone. Aujourd’hui, outre les institutions fédérales en charge des sujets dits d’importance nationale, le pays compte trois Régions fédérées: (1) Bruxelles-capitale (10% de la population en 2009 dont 90% sont francophones et 10% néerlandophones) est officiellement bilingue; (2) la Flandre reconnaît le néerlandais comme sa langue officielle et groupe le nord-ouest du pays (58%); (3) la Wallonie, au sud-est, constitue la partie francophone (32%). Chacune de ces Régions possède un parlement et un exécutif jouissant d’autonomie dans des domaines définis (économiques, transports et l’aménagement du territoire).

La Belgique est aussi dotée de structures communautaires-linguistiques qui chevauchent partiellement la division en Régions et qui comptent aussi une petite communauté germanophone (moins d’un pourcent de la population). Ces communautés – flamande, francophone et germanophone – ont des compétences dans les domaines de la culture et de l’éducation. Les deux premières regroupent les populations des Régions et celles de Bruxelles selon leurs identités linguistiques respectives. La Communauté germanophone se réfère à neuf communes groupées sur un territoire restreint au sud du pays qui appartiennent, par ailleurs, à la Région wallonne.

Il faut ajouter que, du côté flamand, les organes régionaux englobent la structure communautaire et disposent de compétences différentes selon qu’ils agissent sur des questions régionales propres à la Flandre, ou des problèmes d’éducation ou de culture qui concernent également les Flamands de Bruxelles-capitale. Seule la partie francophone de la Belgique illustre une double structure – régionale pour la Wallonie, et communautaire pour les populations francophones – wallonne et bruxelloise. La Flandre et la Communauté française ont choisi Bruxelles comme capitale alors que la Wallonie a choisi Namur. Le siège de la Communauté allemande est à Eupen, la ville germanophone principale. En outre durant les 30 dernières années, 22% de la population de la Belgique sont arrivés dans le pays. Près de la moitié de ces immigrants sont d'origine africaine (Afrique du nord et subsaharienne), turque ou asiatique. A Bruxelles, ils représentent plus du tiers de la population.

Par ailleurs, la Constitution belge institutionnalise les distinctions géolinguistiques et tout développement démographique qui porte atteinte à la cohérence linguistique des communautés peut occasionner des contestations du découpage territorial. C’est le cas de six communes flamandes proches de Bruxelles où se sont établis de nombreux francophones. Ces communes jouissent d’un régime ‘à facilités linguistiques” où l’administration utilise deux langues dans ses relations avec le public. Le même statut au bénéfice du néerlandais est accordé aux Flamands résidant dans des communes wallonnes. De même, des communes à facilités existent pour l’utilisation
de l’allemand en territoire francophone ou du français, en territoire germanophone. Ces conditions rendent souvent l’utilisation des langues selon le territoire problématique et causent de nombreuses occasions de tensions. Un exemple particulièrement ardu, l’arrondissement de Bruxelles-Hal-Vilvorde, dit BHV, groupe 35 communes limitrophes de Bruxelles et est traversé par la frontière linguistique franco-flamande. Les Flamands exigent la scission de l’arrondissement et l’annexion de la partie flamande à la Flandre tandis que la partie adverse exige des garanties au profit des francophones qui y vivent et seraient séparés de leur hinterland linguistique. Certains francophones s’opposent aussi à des frontières linguistiques qui isoleraient territorialement Bruxelles et ses 19 communes de la Wallonie. La polémique alimente les positions séparatistes flamandes qui revendiquent l’indépendance de la Flandre ainsi que les exigences des germanophones en faveur d’une plus grande autonomie (Witte2011).

Cette complexité fait tout l’intérêt du PL belge qui devrait refléter la fragmentation géolinguistique du pays tout en révélant la pertinence relative des principes structurateurs dans ces circonstances. Elle porte à présager que les relations de pouvoir s’impriment ici tout particulièrement dans le PL. Elle devrait aussi montrer à quel point des communautés nouvelles issues de l’immigration sont capables de s’affirmer là où elles se concentrent – à Bruxelles principalement. Enfin, l’exposition de la Belgique à la globalisation et son rôle dans le cadre d’institutions supra-nationales devraient aussi contribuer à un rôle important de l’anglais en tant que lingua franca actuelle.

Notre recherche a pris place durant les années 2004-2010 en plusieurs phases. Notre instrument essentiel fut un appareil photographique qui a permis de photographier les items PL des quartiers commerciaux des villes investiguées. Dans ce qui suit, nous analysons en premier la région germanophone, continuons en Wallonie et poursuivons en Flandre. Nous laissons en dernier Bruxelles qui offre le visage le plus composite.

En contrée germanophone

La communauté germanophone se concentre sur un territoire de 854 km² et compte un peu plus de 70.000 habitants répartis en neuf communes qui offrent des facilités linguistiques à leur minorité francophone. En contre-partie, deux communes francophones proches octroient des facilités linguistiques à leurs résidents germanophones.
Le paysage linguistique belge 75

Tableau 1. PL en contrée germanophone*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>All/An</th>
<th>All/It</th>
<th>All/Fr/An</th>
<th>All/Fr/Fl</th>
<th>All/Fr/It</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eupen</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>StVith</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Résultats agrégatifs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pourcentages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Abréviations All=allemand; Fr=français; An=anglais; It=italien; Fl=flamand; Ch=chinois

Les publications officielles dans les communes germanophones se font toujours en français et en allemand. Certains panneaux de signalisation sont également bilingues. Comme les autres communautés, la Communauté germanophone possède son parlement et son gouvernement pour les domaines qui relèvent de sa juridiction.

Notre recherche nous a conduits dans les deux villes principales, Eupen (18.000 habitants) – la capitale administrative – et St Vith (9.000 habitants). Nous y avons photographié les enseignes et les panneaux dans les rues principales et résumons nos données dans le Tableau 1. Ce tableau montre qu’à Eupen comme à St Vith, l’allemand exerce une domination presque exclusive. Le flamand est quasiment inexistant et n’apparaît que très rarement en compagnie de l’allemand ou/et du français. La présence de l’anglais est, elle aussi, mineure. Ce qui est évident dans le PL de cette région est donc l’importance attachée à l’allemand, qui, comme nous le verrons aussi, est ignorée du reste du PL belge. Ici, aucun doute ne plane sur à sa vitalité et son caractère emblématique qui réduit le français qui prédomine tout autour à un statut marginal.

Le LP en Wallonie

Notre recherche en Wallonie nous a conduit dans quatre villes – Louvain-la-Neuve (LLN), ville universitaire francophone importante (20.000 habitants, résidents temporaires inclus); Ottignies, ville résidentielle voisine de LLN (30.000 habitants); Waterloo, ville touristique proche de Bruxelles (30.000); Malmédy, ville francophone en pays wallon profond qui offre des facilités linguistiques à sa minorité germanophone (12.000). Le Tableau 2 nous montre:
1. Une absence presque totale du flamand;
2. Une grande uniformité entre les localités en ce qui concerne le rôle prédominant du français - seul pour la plupart du temps mais parfois accompagné de l’anglais;
3. Une présence importante de l’anglais dans des localités de Waterloo et de Louvain-la-Neuve qui comptent des résidents et visiteurs étrangers en nombre important;
4. Une absence presque totale de l’allemand à Malmedy en dépit du fait que cette ville offre officiellement des facilités linguistiques germanophones.

Ainsi, nous obtenons un nombre très limité de modèles et de langues: (1) deux modèles selon l’importance relative de l’anglais; (2) une prédominance du français et l’inexistence du flamand.

Tableau 2: Le LP en pays wallon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FI</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Fr/Fl</th>
<th>Fr/An</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louvain-la-Neuve</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterloo*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottignies</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malmedy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pourcentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>Fr/Fl</th>
<th>Fr/An</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Un cas Fr/Espagnol à Waterloo a été assimilé aux cas Fr

Le PL en pays flamand

En pays flamand, nous avons étudié plusieurs localités et villes éparpillées: St Pieters Leeuw (31,000 habitants); Louvain (Leuven en flamand) (ville universitaire et commercante; 95,000); Gand (Gent; 234,600); Ostende (Oostende; ville balnéaire de 70,000 habitants); Hasselt (province du Limbourg; 69,000 habitants); Gaasbeek (village touristique; quelques milliers d’habitants). Le Tableau 3 donne l’importance des divers codes. Ce tableau regroupe St Pieters Leeuw, Hasselt et Gaasbeek qui présentent un même syndrome. Ceci est aussi vrai de Louvain et de Gand, mais vu
l’importance de chacune de ces villes en Flandre, nous présentons leurs données séparément. Il ressort:

1. St Pieters Leeuw, Hasselt et Gaasbeek illustrent une forte prédominance du flamand qui laisse une faible présence à l’anglais et un rôle minime au français;
2. Louvain montre l’importance du flamand et une présence non négligeable de l’anglais;
3. Gand offre un tableau similaire à celui de Louvain avec en plus une présence relative du français;
4. Ostende fait place à l’anglais et au français, sans remettre en question le rôle du flamand.

Ainsi la région flamandophone fait montre d’une diversité de modèles-ceui attaché à l’uniformité flamande, celui qui tolère l’anglais et celui qui va jusqu’à concéder une part au français. Une diversité de modèles qui va de pair avec une diversité plus grande de langues.

Tableau 3: Les langues du PL en pays flamand*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fl</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>It</th>
<th>Fl/Fr</th>
<th>Fl/An</th>
<th>Fr/It</th>
<th>Fl/An/A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St Pieters Leeuw, Hasselt, Gaasbeek</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louvain</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gand</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ostende</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pourcentages</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les langues principales dans l’ensemble (%)</td>
<td>Fl seul ou accompagné</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN seul ou accompagné</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr seul ou accompagné</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Au total, nos données sont indicatives de la prédominance du flamand, de la présence significative de l’anglais, et de la non-absence totale du français dans certaines villes.
Bruxelles-capitale

La Région Bruxelles-capitale (1,140,000 habitants) ressort dans le contexte belge par son caractère officiellement bilingue – français-flamand. Son parlement garantit une représentation minimale pour les Flamands (un cinquième des sièges), et un gouvernement paritaire. Depuis la création de la Région, ses 19 communes constituent ensemble la seule partie officiellement bilingue dans le pays.

Nous avons investigué plusieurs communes et espaces représentatifs des diverses facettes de la ville y compris une commune flamande à facilités pour francophones. Nous avons ainsi visité:

1. Le quartier des institutions européennes
2. Les deux centres commerciaux de la ville
3. Deux quartiers résidentiels à large majorité francophone
4. Une commune flamandophone de la périphérie bruxelloise
5. Deux quartiers comptant des majorités maghrébines
6. Un quartier où les immigrés subsahariens sont nombreux
7. Un quartier commercial asiatique
8. Un quartier à forte population turque.

Dans le quartier européen (Tableau 4 partie 1) qui consiste d’immenses bâtiments, la moitié des items PL – panneaux publics et enseignes d’agences et commerces – sont unilingues français; un certain nombre porte des inscriptions en anglais. Seul un petit nombre affiche uniquement le flamand. Parmi les éléments bilingues, les items français-flamand sont les plus nombreux, suivis par les items français-anglais. Une petite minorité est multilingue. Ainsi celui qui s’attendait à voir ici un plurilinguisme symbolisant la construction européenne ne peut être que déçu.

Les deux grands centres commerciaux présentent un même modèle (Tableau 4 partie 2): de nombreuses boutiques et grands magasins portant les noms de grandes firmes internationales. Pour les autres, l’anglais arrive en premier suivi à petite distance par le français. Le flamand n’obtient une importance relative qu’en s’alliant au français. L’italien est présent sur quelques enseignes.

Les quartiers résidentiels (Tableau 4 partie 3) affichent une prédominance du français mais l’anglais joue, à nouveau, un rôle important. Le français seul compte pour la moitié des items, et l’anglais pour un quart. Une autre catégorie non négligeable consiste en items bilingues français-anglais. Les autres formules restent marginales, et le flamand, une fois de plus, est presque absent.
Tableau 4: PL de Bruxelles (N=25 ) (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quartier</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>Fl</th>
<th>An</th>
<th>Fr/Fl</th>
<th>Fr/An</th>
<th>Fr/Fl/An</th>
<th>Fr/Fl/An/All</th>
<th>Tot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quartier des institutions européennes</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>Fl</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An/All</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartiers centre-ville (N=141)</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>It</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An/All</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartiers résidentiels (N=145)</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>Es</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/Es</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartier flamand (N=29)</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An/All</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartiers ‘maghrébins’ (N=51)</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/Fl</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An</td>
<td>Fr/Fl/An/All</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartier ‘africain subsaharien’ (N=78)</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>Fr/M</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>An</td>
<td>Fr/M</td>
<td>Fr/An</td>
<td>Fr/An/F/M</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Fr: français
- Fl: flamand
- An: anglais
- It: italien
- As: langue asiatique
- All: allemand
- Es: espagnol
- Ar: arabe
- Tu: turc
- M: marqueur non-linguistique

*Liste des langues:

Dans la commune flamande (Tableau 4 partie 4), le flamand qui est ici la langue officielle prédomine les items unilingues du PL, et apparaît avec le français dans la plus large partie des items bilingues. La place du français s’explique par le fait qu’il s’agit d’une commune à facilités pour francophones. Cette présence du français n’est cependant pas au goût de chacun: ici et là on observe des actes de vandalisme sur les éléments français des items PL. L’anglais, par ailleurs, est presque absent.

Dans les quartiers maghrébins (Tableau 4 partie 5), un segment relativement nouveau du ‘coeur de l’Europe’, le français est de retour en tête des modèles unilin-
gues. Ceci s'explique par le fait que de nombreux Nord-Africains, possédaient et utilisaient le français avant leur arrivée en Belgique, conjointement à l'arabe. Le modèle prédominant est ici l’item bilingue français-arabe comptant pour la moitié de tous les items relevés. En outre, de nombreux items unilingues français portent des marqueurs arabes (noms, symboles ou graphismes). Ces tendances laissent place aussi à l'anglais qui s’allie parfois à l'arabe. Le flamand reste très faible.

Le quartier subsaharien (Tableau 4 partie 6) est aussi dominé par un PL français reflétant la présence d’une population d’origine francophone. Le caractère africain s’exprime ici dans les marqueurs graphiques apparaissant sur de nombreux items. Le flamand, à nouveau, est d’importance restreinte.

Le quartier dit ‘asiatique’ (Tableau 4 partie 7) se compose d'une rue commerciale et de ses alentours. Il compte des établissements chinois, vietnamiens, thaïlandais et japonais et est situé dans un des centres de la ville. Une attraction touristique, il possède de nombreux restaurants et boutiques. Il illustre une certaine prédominance de l’anglais- seul ou en conjonction avec les langues asiatiques (environ la moitié des items). Ces langues asiatiques peuvent aussi apparaître seules; prises comme un tout, elles obtiennent une deuxième place, tandis que le français arrive en troisième place. Par ailleurs, le flamand apparaît dans une variété de modèles pour un tiers des items.

Le quartier ‘turc’ (Tableau 4 partie 8), enfin, se situe à une faible distance d’une des zones centrales et s’étend sur une chaussée importante. Il accorde également une nette prédominance au français tout en illustrant de nombreux marqueurs turcs. Le turc seul détient le troisième rang. Certains items apparaissent également en anglais, attachés à des marqueurs turcs, tandis que le flamand est à nouveau pratiquement ignoré.

Le Tableau 5 donne une vue d’ensemble qui ne tient compte que des trois langues principales. Il confirme que, malgré le statut officiel bilingue de Bruxelles, le français s’impose sans ambiguïté comme la langue privilégiée. Cela apparaît clairement dans presque tous les quartiers – l’exception la plus notoire est la commune flamande. La prédominance du français à l’endroit du flamand n’est pas moins frappante dans les aires de centre-ville que dans les espaces communautaires. Notre recherche confirme ainsi la réalité et l’acuité des relations de pouvoir existant entre les partis de la querelle linguistique. En outre, l'anglais jouit d’un statut spécial dont – dans les aires centrales il devance même le français. En prenant les expressions d’identités ethnoculturelles, Bruxelles apparaît aussi comme une ville segmentée où jouent des particularismes linguistiques singuliers. Il est peu douteux que le PL de Bruxelles dévoile une réalité qui tranche sur les différents modèles relevés dans les autres régions du pays.
Tableau 5: Le PL de Bruxelles à travers ses langues principales (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quartiers</th>
<th>français</th>
<th>flamand</th>
<th>anglais</th>
<th>Lgs d’orig / marq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UE.</td>
<td>76 (28)</td>
<td>40 (4)</td>
<td>44 (20)</td>
<td>8 (-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre-ville</td>
<td>48 (29)</td>
<td>16 (3)</td>
<td>53 (44)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Résidentiel</td>
<td>70 (46)</td>
<td>10 (-)</td>
<td>46 (28)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commune fl.</td>
<td>59 (4)</td>
<td>86 (31)</td>
<td>14 (7)</td>
<td>(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. maghrébine</td>
<td>80 (27)</td>
<td>2 (-)</td>
<td>6 (2)</td>
<td>61 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. subsaharienne</td>
<td>85 (27)</td>
<td>8 (-)</td>
<td>30 (6)</td>
<td>50 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. asiatique</td>
<td>41 (5)</td>
<td>31 (14)</td>
<td>54 (14)</td>
<td>54 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop. turque</td>
<td>77 (8)</td>
<td>9 (-)</td>
<td>14 (8)</td>
<td>77 (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Les chiffres en dehors des parenthèses indiquent les pourcentages obtenus lorsque l’on additionne les nombres d’utilisation des langues concernées – seules ou en alliance avec d’autres. Les chiffres entre parenthèses indiquent le nombre d’items où la langue considérée apparaît seule.

Notes: 1 % d’utilisation d’une langue supplémentaire (allemand) sur les enseignes des institutions UE; 2 Un petit nombre de langues apparaissent (surtout l’italien) et représentent moins de 1%; 3 Tous les cas se réfèrent à l’arabe; 4Tous les cas se réfèrent à des marqueurs de l’Afrique; 5 Tous les cas se réfèrent à des utilisations du chinois, japonais, thai ou vietnamien; 6 Tous les cas se réfèrent au turc ou à des marqueurs turcs

Conclusion

Considérant le PL belge dans son ensemble, nous voyons trois axes qui interagissent tout en comportant chacun son propre impact. Ce sont la dimension territoriale-langue nationale, les rôles de l’anglais et la présence de langues et marqueurs ethnoculturels.

1. La dimension territoriale-langue nationale

Le caractère problématique du PL belge découle aussi bien de la division du pays en communautés linguistiques-territoriales différentes, que de l’absence de référence symbolique de chaque côté à ce qui est essentiel pour l’autre: le flamand est quasi-ment ignoré en région wallonne et le français inexistant dans certaines localités flamandes.

Un autre point névralgique de la réalité linguistique belge révélé par le PL consiste dans le fait que Bruxelles, capitale nationale officiellement bilingue n’assume que partiellement son rôle symbolique dans ce domaine. De par sa démographie linguistique, la ville n’accorde qu’un statut subordonné à la langue majoritaire de la nation, et affiche une allégeance première au français, lui aussi langue of-
ficielle mais minoritaire à l’échelle nationale. La capitale se trouve ainsi en disso-
nance avec la majorité de la nation tandis que sa tolérance relative, ça et là, vis-à-vis
du flamand la met, par ailleurs, en décalage par rapport à la Wallonie, la plus grande
part de la communauté francophone dont elle fait elle-même largement partie.

Malgré ces discontinuités, le PL de chaque région fait montre, en soi, de cohé-
rence selon sa propre perspective: en territoire germanophone, c’est l’allemand qui
prédomine tout en montrant une certaine ouverture au français; en territoire wallon,
c’est le français qui domine sans partage avec le flamand; en territoire flamand, nous
avons plus ou moins le même modèle renversé, mais le flamand se montre dans
certaines localités plus ouvert au français. À Bruxelles, nous l’avons vu également,
la prédominance du français tolère une présence relative du flamand.

2. Les rôles de l’anglais

Dans cet ensemble de divergences, les rôles de l’anglais dans le PL requièrent une
attention particulière. Ces rôles ne sont que très peu concernés par le fait que
Bruxelles soit une capitale de l’Union Européenne ou que de nombreuses institu-
tions internationales y aient élu domicile. L’anglais doit son implantation dans le PL
belge – comme dans beaucoup d’autres pays – à son statut de *lingua franca* de notre
epoque; il exprime l’empreinte de la globalisation sur la vie des sociétés.

D’autre part, l’anglais en Belgique, est aussi un facteur de dépolarisation des ten-
sions franco-flamandes. Il offre, sur le territoire de chacun des camps rivaux (sauf en
territoire germanophone), un moyen de communication avec les ressortissants de
l’autre partie sans exiger le recours au code identificateur de l’autre’. La globalisa-
tion qui propage l’utilisation de l’anglais dans le monde ne serait pas, dans ce cas,
un facteur d’affaiblissement du cadre national, comme il l’est parfois assumé, mais
plutôt un moyen qui, grâce à sa neutralité, contribue à la coexistence de communau-
tés linguistiques inamicales dans ce même cadre.

3. Les langues et marqueurs ethnoculturels

Autre trait saillant du PL belge, et de Bruxelles en particulier, est la présence de
nombreuses formes supplémentaires de bilinguisme indiquant le développement
de santé configuration socio-culturelle au niveau sociétal porteur de transfor-
mations sociales et culturelles potentielles.

Ces conclusions s’attachent aux principes de structuration qui nous ont guidés et
qui, vus conjointement, nous offrent une perspective relativement cohérente du PL
belge en dépit de ses apparences chaotiques. Nous avons vu que les rapports de pou-
voir jouent un rôle décisif dans les relations entre les communautés linguistiques
 principales. Nous savions au départ que le conflit franco-flamand était une caracté-
ristique fondamentale de la vie belge. L’analyse du PL montre, en plus, le rôle de
langue-tampon que joue la *lingua franca* de la globalisation – l’anglais.
Notre recherche a aussi montré que les relations de pouvoir à Bruxelles qui – en dépit du statut bilingue de la ville – minorisent la place du flamand s'impriment également dans les quartiers ethnoculturels (O’Donnell/Toebosh 2008). Ces relations, semble-t-il, expliquent cette stratégie PL dans ces quartiers qui consiste à afficher la langue du parti dominant, le français, aux côtés des codes ethnoculturels – l’arabe, le turc ou les marqueurs africains.

Derrière cette stratégie, il y a manifestement l’impact de cet autre principe de structuration qu’est l’identité collective (Glick Schiller 1999). Bruxelles est un cas idéal-typique de ce multiculturalisme engendré par la migration en Occident de nouvelles diasporas (Appadurai, ed. 2002). Notre étude témoigne de la formation de ces communautés où des cultures nouvelles affirment leur présence tout en s’efforçant de s’insérer dans leurs nouveaux environnements (Chee-Beng 2004). A Bruxelles, ces développements ne mettent pas nécessairement en cause les rapports de force dans le conflit flamand-français dans les circonstances présentes, mais pourraient présenter de nouvelles possibilités de conflits linguistiques et culturels dans l’avenir (Mettewie/Janssens 2007).

Ce principe d’identité collective comporte une signification d’autant plus critique en Belgique que l’identité nationale elle-même est liée à trois langues officielles se rattachant chacune à une autre entité limitrophe souveraine – les Pays-Bas pour le flamand, la France pour le français et l’Allemagne pour l’allemand. Ainsi les langues belges sont-elles des langues communautaires plus que nationales – au sens plein du terme (De Shutter 2001).

Le troisième principe de structuration, la présentation de soi, s’exprime en premier dans la large utilisation de l’anglais. L’utilisation de cette langue, nous l’avons dit, se justifie comme langue-tampon. Si, cependant, l’anglais peut jouer ce rôle, c’est qu’il jouit du prestige de *lingua franca*. De telles circonstances poussent, entre autres, à l’adoption de l’anglais par de nombreux items PL afin de mettre en valeur les biens et les services qu’ils désignent.

En conclusion, le paysage linguistique plurilingue de la Belgique qui, à première vue, donne l’impression d’un désordre dénué de toute consistance systématique, peut être décodé lorsque soumis à l’analyse partant de principes de structuration. Nous avons suivi ces quelques principes, dans leurs manières de s’entrecroiser dans les contextes communautaires et ethnoculturels complexes qui font la société belge. Nous avons pu montrer la consistance en soi des diverses scènes analysées, chacune illustrant la prédominance d’une ou deux langues caractéristiques. Ces scènes, toute-fois, qui appartiennent à un même cadre national, présentent des contrastes sans équivoque; juxtaposées, elles diffusent une vue d’ensemble chaotique. Ce caractère chaotique, cependant, se relativise lorsqu’il s’avère que ce sont les mêmes quelques principes qui modèlent, à chaque fois d’une manière différente, les diverses facettes de l’ensemble. Que ces scènes soient ainsi façonnées par les mêmes éléments fait que le tout qu’elles forment, aussi chaotique et fragmenté qu’il soit, devient pour le moins, un ensemble intelligible.
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The Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape as a Tool for the Comprehension of Companies' Language Management and Practices

Summary

In this paper, we apply the methodology of the analysis of the linguistic landscape, conceived as a form of language practice, to the premises of two companies in the Upper Rhine region that are part of the fields of our research on the dynamics of linguistic diversity within the framework of the European project DYLAN. One of our research questions was whether the linguistic landscape of the companies analysed resulted from a policy of integrated communication, representing the impact of the company’s language management and thus justifying the metaphor COMPANY = ONE COMMUNICATING PERSON. Our answer to this question is a cautious one: indeed, a company’s linguistic landscape can be considered as a kind of macro-text or a set of texts emanating from the company as “scripter”. At the same time, however, we observe that this macro-text emanates from a plurality of voices and that the concert of these voices often sounds far from harmonious, but reveals what are heterogeneous social representations, along with the competences of the actors and their communicative intentions. Considering this type of communication as a form of language practice, we focus less on the linguistic landscape itself as text (i.e. as more or less a decontextualized result of a writing process) than on the enunciative act of linguistic landscaping.

Résumé

Dans cette contribution, nous appliquons la méthodologie de l'analyse du paysage sémiotique, considéré comme une forme de pratique langagière, à deux entreprises dans la région du Rhin Supérieur qui font partie de nos terrains de recherche sur la dynamique de la gestion linguistique dans le cadre du projet européen DYLAN. Nous voulons entre autres savoir dans quelle mesure le façonnage du paysage sémiotique faisait partie des instruments de la communication intégrée de l’entreprise, représentait l’impact de la gestion des langues de celle-ci et justifiait la métaphore ENTREPRISE = PERSONNE. En réponse à cette question, on dira que le paysage sémiotique peut en effet être considéré comme un macro-texte ou un ensemble de textes émanant d’un “scribe” entreprise. Pourtant, ce macro-texte est hautement polyphonique; et le concert de cette pluralité de voix est loin d’être harmonieux, mais révèle des représentations sociales hétérogènes, qui correspondent à des compétences et intentions communicatives divergentes des acteurs. Dans notre analyse, nous focalisons moins sur le paysage sémiotique
1 Introduction

Modern urban spaces are characterized by a flow of semiotic signs (pictures, posters, luminous advertising, road signs, architecture, etc.) that contribute to the constitution of people’s daily life and from which they cannot escape, thus confirming Watzlawick’s maxim (Watzlawick/Helmick 1979) that you cannot avoid communication. For many years now, urban sociolinguistics have analysed the role of verbal and non-verbal signs in the construction of urban identities and life, and in particular the wording of urban spaces (see for example the notion of the city as an enunciative space [de Certeau 1984] and the papers published in Bierbach/Bulot eds. 2007). A new, vivid approach concentrates on the linguistic or semiotic landscape1 or city-scape (Rosenbaum et al. 1977, Calvet 1990, Spolsky/Cooper 1991, Landry/Bourhis 1997, Ben-Rafael et al. 2004, Bagna/Barni 2005, Gorter ed. 2006, Backhaus 2007, Shohamy/Gorter 2008, etc.).

We have applied this methodology to the analysis of the premises of national and multinational companies that constitute the fields of our research on the dynamics of linguistic diversity within the framework of the European project DYLANT (http://www.dylan-project.org).2 We first observed an important difference with other examples of research on the private sector in the urban linguistic landscape that concerns mostly the public sphere (shop windows, bill boards, different forms of inscriptions, etc.). In our case, access to the companies’ premises is, in contrast, restricted and severely controlled, often obstructed by fences, barbed wire, security agents and chaperonage (as a visiting researcher we could never circulate freely on the premises); one could almost speak of a kind of “extraterritoriality”; particularly

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1 We will not distinguish between these terms, but prefer the second one slightly more because it explicitly includes the multimodality of the signage in our terrains (cf. Jaworski/Thurlow 2009: “We are concerned here with the interplay between language, visual discourse, and the spatial practices and dimensions of culture, especially the textual mediation or discursive construction of place and the use of space as a semiotic resource in its own right”).

2 In order to match the characteristics of our terrain, we are enlarging slightly the definition of linguistic/semiotic landscape to embrace the totality of graphic signs accessible to the researcher on the premise of a company, i.e. on the roads, in the shops, food stalls and restaurants inside the enclosed site, inscriptions inside and outside buildings, panels, billboards etc. in offices and laboratories (as far as we were allowed to take photos); some of these signs are almost permanent (e.g. the names of buildings that can, however, also be changed), others more volatile and transitory (e.g. an advertisement or announcement through which an employee puts his car up for sale), some are visible to visitors while others are reserved for collaborators only.
if one compares the difficult access to these premises with the much more open national borders between France, Germany and Switzerland in the region in which we are working, a direct consequence of Switzerland’s adherence to the Schengen area. Consequently, we find huge differences in the linguistic landscape between the companies’ premises and the surrounding urban space, particularly as far as the proportion of English, national and neighbouring languages and languages of immigrants is concerned (as documented in Lüdi 2007).

Business studies tend to consider the linguistic landscape as part of the companies’ integrated communication (Bruhn 2003); it would thus be under the maximum control of the persons responsible inside the companies and also part of their language management. 3 Hence, the frequent use of the metaphor company = person (in the sense of Lakoff/Johnson 1980) suggesting that the company is the ‘author’ of all written signs we find in its premises. We will show that both assumptions are problematic, because the linguistic landscape represents a form of language practice that involves many instances and persons as writers, ordering parties or instances of regulation (see also Malinowski in Shohamy/Gorter 2008) and it avoids, at least partly, any language management measures.

In order to understand better the relations between these practices and the underlying language management, we will apply the analytical framework developed for the DYLAN project and in addition, notions like polyphony (Bakhtine 1978, Ducrot 1984), co-enunciation, in the sense that a communicative event implies an interaction and negotiation of meaning by the interlocutors, often with contradictory interpretations of meaning in the sense of Voloshinov’s (1929/1986, 41) (or Bakhtin’s?) arena, and, finally, language functions (Jakobson 1963).

This means that we focus less on the linguistic landscape itself as text (i.e. as more or less a decontextualized result of a writing process) than on the enunciative act of linguistic landscaping.

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3 By (measures of) language management we mean all forms of intervention by the company or its agents in the employees’ linguistic repertoires, their representations of language and multilingualism and their language behaviour in internal and external communication.

4 “In each speech act, subjective experience perishes in the objective fact of the enunciative word utterance, and the enunciated word is subjectified in the act of responsive understanding in order to generate, sooner or later, a counterstatement. Each word, as we know, is a little arena for the clash and criss-crossing of differently oriented social accents. A word in the mouth of a particular person is a product of the living interaction of social forces.” (Voloshinov 1929/1986, 41). There is a controversy whether this book was written by Voloshinov and/or Bakhtin.
2 The DYLAN Framework

This research is part of the DYLAN project on Language dynamics and management of diversity. As the analytical framework developed for DYLAN suggests – slightly adapted to the topic of linguistic landscaping –, we will not concentrate on one or several dimensions separately, but focus on the mutual relations (indicated by arrows) between the context, forms of interventions, social representations and practices:

The research questions are:

- Who are the actors (by whom and for whom) in semiotic landscaping? Are there different types of actors (scribes, instigators)? At which levels of hierarchy do they operate?
- Does management intervene in multiple writing acts and if so how do they do so and to what extent? Where intervention exists, what is its impact on practices?
- Based on which “language philosophy” and social representations are actions (language management measures and writing practices) taken?
- What exactly is the role played by the context, be it political (e.g. the existence, or not, of economic incentives to engage in language planning; the existence, or

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5 This is an integrated project from the European Union’s Sixth Framework Program, Priority 7, “Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society”. 19 partners, from 12 countries address the core issue of whether, and, if so how, a European knowledge-based society designed to ensure economic competitiveness and social cohesion can be created despite the fact that, following enlargement, the European Union is linguistically more diverse than ever before. (cf. Berthoud 2008 and http://www.dylan-project.org for an overview). The Basel team is one of the partners in this project.
not, of an underlying language conflict as in the case of Brussels), juridical (several official languages as exists in the Upper Rhine region, or not), demographic (monolingual or multilingual workforce, presence of languages of immigration), educational (language education, competences in English as foreign language), etc.? We will try to answer these questions based on observations and covering two terrains mainly: Pharma A and Factory A, one a global enterprise and the other regional but working cross border, both established in all three countries constituting the metropolitan region of Basel (in the district of Lörrach in Germany, the district of Saint-Louis in France and the cantons Basel and Aargau in Switzerland, at a maximal distance of 20 km from each other). This will allow us to investigate the impact of national legislation on social representations, language management and practices. However, we shall integrate some meaningful examples from other terrains too.

3 Observations

In this paper, our interest lies in a specific form of institutional communication called linguistic landscaping, conceived as a form of literacy, i.e. as a series of literacy events (Heath 1982, Barton/Hamilton 2000). Because of our research task in DYLAN, the analysis of this form of social communicative activity will be focussed on the management of linguistic diversity and practice of multilingualism as manifested by language choices.

6 Up to now, we have not been able to take photos on the French and German premises of Pharma A and in the German premises of Factory A. In our research notes, we noticed a very unilingual linguistic landscape in both: France and Germany. This is particularly astonishing in the case of Factory A in Germany because English appears increasingly as a working language in the divisions dedicated to research and development in this company.

7 Heath defined literacy event as “any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes” (Heath 1982, 93). Barton/Hamilton (2000, 8) refined this definition: “Events are observable episodes which arise from practices and are shaped by them. The notion of events stresses the situated nature of literacy, that it always exists in a social context”. As for literacy practices, they are defined by Barton/Hamilton (2000, 8) as “the general cultural ways of utilizing written language which people draw upon in their lives. In the simplest sense literacy practices are what people do with literacy.” One can also quote Street (1993, 12s.) for whom literacy practices are grounded on folk models that relate communicative events to the underlying ideological assumptions.
First, we shall present a number of observations grouped according to four criteria: the impact of the context, the plurality of voices or polyphony, language functions and the chronological dynamics.

3.1 The impact of the socio-political context

In France, the LAW No. 94-665 of 4 August 1994 relative to the use of the French language (Loi Toubon) interferes massively in the use of languages, among other domains at work and in the linguistic landscape:

Art. 2: The use of French shall be mandatory for the designation, offer, presentation, instructions for use, and description of the scope and conditions of a warranty of goods, products and services, as well as bills and receipts.8

The underlying principle is that all documents creating rights and obligations for salary earners in the framework of a contract of employment are to be translated into French, also, and mainly, for reasons of security.9

Neither in Switzerland nor in the Federal Republic of Germany is there a similar piece of language legislation. One could thus hypothesize that the preponderance of French in the premises of Factory A and Pharma A in France results from the impact of language laws. However, the local languages are also massively present in the German and Swiss sites of Factory A and, to a lesser degree, in the Swiss premises of Pharma A (particularly in the production locations). In fact, in a moment we will see that, independently of the legal framework, language choices are determined by the provenance of the workforce that is mainly local to Factory A and for the production sites of Pharma A, which is much more international in the case of the scientists and managers of Pharma A. Another factor could be the role of a selling-

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8 The Court of Appeal of Versailles gave a wide scope to these provisions condemning a company to make available to its employees French versions of software and technical documents: “En application de l’article L 122-39-1 du Code du travail, doit être traduit ou rédigé en langue française tout document dont la connaissance est nécessaire au salarié pour la bonne exécution de son travail dans le respect de son contrat de travail et des règles d’hygiène et de sécurité. Cette règle s’applique notamment aux documents destinés aux techniciens pour l’installation et la maintenance d’appareils produits par l’entreprise dès lors que ceux-ci sont au moins pour partie commercialisés en France”. (CA Versailles 2 mars 2006 n° 05-1344, Sté GE Medical Systems c/ Comité d’entreprise GE Médical System SCS)

9 “Le respect des règles de sécurité à l’intérieur de l’entreprise implique que les modes d’emploi ou d’utilisation de substances ou de machines dangereuses d’origine étrangère et destinées à être utilisées dans une entreprise en France soient rédigés ou traduits en français. Les documents susvisés peuvent comporter une traduction en une ou plusieurs langues étrangères” (Circulaire Premier ministre du 19 mars 1996, 2-3-1, JO 20).
point for the French branch of Factory A, implying that its main clients live in French-speaking countries and speak French too.

Let us add here that other languages (German, English, Italian and Spanish) are not absent from the premises of Factory A in France, but only in bi- or plurilingual signs in addition to French as we will see in a moment.

Generally, the high proportion of languages of immigration in the unskilled workforce leaves little marks in the linguistic landscape, except perhaps in the domain of security.

3.2 Multiplicity of voices

In an earlier study (Lüdi et al. 2009), we have already mentioned the existence of a wide variety of persons responsible for the signage in the premises of Pharma A. The notion of polyphony helps to make this observation more precise.

The term ‘polyphony’ (or multivoicedness) was coined by Bakhtin to explain the presence of several cognitive subjects in the novels of Dostoevsky where the author, or rather narrator, acts as one participant among others in the dialogue. If we assimilate the linguistic landscape into a text, we can then find a “plurality of consciousnesses, with equal rights and each with his own world that combine but are not merged” in the unity of the communicative event (Bakhtin 1984, 6–7). Later on, Ducrot (1984) and his French colleagues refined the notion insisting on the fragmentation of the speaker in the framework of a theory of enunciation. Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism also questioned the priority of the speaking subject in relation to the anchorage of a discourse in the interaction and with the plurality of voices manifested in the text. The nerve centre of an enunciation is not situated in the individual, but rather in the social milieu that surrounds him; thus a text results less from an individual act, but rather from a social activity and is deeply marked by a network of dialogic and inter-textual relations: “Toute énonciation, quelque signifiante et complète qu'elle soit par elle même, ne constitue qu'une fraction d'un courant de communication verbale interrompu” (Bakhtine 1978, 136). This is also true for an apparently monologic discourse that answers preceding ones, meeting expectations, provoking commentaries, etc.10 Voloshinov’s (1929/1986) notion of arena (or Bakhtin’s; see footnote 4) enlarges this view; this is particularly suited to the semiotic landscape that manifests a continuous see-saw between more personal and more public voices in a kind of disputed arena formed by this type of written social practice (see also Welch 1993).

10 See also Todorov (1981, 98) for whom a discourse is not homogeneous, but an “entité traversée par la présence de l’autre”: “Seul l’Adam mythique, abordant avec le premier discours un monde vierge et encore non dit, le solitaire Adam, pouvait vraiment éviter absolument cette réorientation mutuelle par rapport au discours d’autrui.”
“Pour qu’il y ait assertion, il faut qu’un sujet se porte garant que ce qu’il dit est conforme à une réalité censée indépendante de ce qu’on dit d’elle”, says Ducrot (1984, 187) and he distinguishes between the producer of an utterance, i.e. the real person producing a sentence (i.e. an utterance) (Ducrot 2009, 30), the locutor, that is the person who, “according to the very meaning of an utterance, is the person responsible for that utterance [...] He is the person who is designated, in the utterance itself” (id., 32) and the enunciator, i.e. the “source(s) of those different points of view which are represented within an utterance” (id., 35; see also Ducrot 1984, 192).

Obviously, numerous voices come together to form a company’s linguistic landscape. As is the case with the novels analysed by Bakhtin, “souvent (…) un seul et même mot pénètre à la fois dans le discours d’autrui et dans celui de l’auteur. Les paroles d’autrui, narrées, caricaturées, présentées sous un certain éclairage, tantôt disposées en masses compactes, tantôt disséminées çà et là, bien souvent impersonnelles (‹ opinion publique ‥, langages d’une profession, d’un genre), ne se distinguent pas de façon tranchée des paroles de l’auteur, les frontières sont intentionnellement mouvantes et ambivalentes, passant fréquemment à l’intérieur d’un ensemble syntaxique ou d’une simple proposition, parfois même partageant les principaux membres d’une même proposition.” (1978, 128s.)

The use of the concept polyphony of the company’s linguistic landscape also allows for the continuing use of the metaphor COMPANY = PERSON, but with significant changes. Interviews with representatives reveal that the “scripters” of signs are numerous. They are positioned at different points along a continuum going from the “official” communication (accounted for by different levels of hierarchy) to more “private” signs; sometimes, the writers are identifiable (e.g. the person responsible for a building, a collaborator offering his car for sale), but more frequently they are not. This leads us to a reinterpretation of the metaphor: multiple enunciators are hidden by the locator ‘company’. We find a superposition of different voices, i.e. enunciative sources in the set of texts constituting the company’s linguistic landscape, even if certain, more “private” signs can be assigned to a unique locator and enunciator. As for the language choice, we can observe clearly a competition between different voices in the “social arena” represented by the practices of landscaping.

Indeed, the choice of languages for linguistic landscaping reflects, in one significant way, the “scripters” linguistic repertoires (a factor called by whom by Backhaus in 2007) and in another their perception of the addressees’ repertoires (for whom). Thus, visitors to Factory A in Switzerland presumably speak English as all labels in a small museum immediately behind the entrance are in English. However, each visitor, or group of visitors, is personally greeted on a video screen above the visitors desk in his or her conjectured language (German for a researcher from Basel University, for example); simultaneously, a spot changing every few second welcomes everybody in a large number of the world’s languages, e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, etc. These choices are determined without doubt.
by a top-down language management: it is the company that welcomes the visitors and tells them: “Factory A is an international and plurilingual enterprise.”

Consequently, different language choices by mostly anonymous scripters are to be interpreted as signs of their diversity (cf. also Mondada 2004, 258 who spoke about “la dimension polyphonique des représentations attribuées à des énonciateurs particuliers”). As mentioned before, they reflect their views on the addressees as well as their own competences and the particular language functions performed by the signs.

Thus, photos 1 and 2 refer to a social representation in which the collaborators of Factory A are uniformly German-speaking in Switzerland and French-speaking in France:

![Photo 1 Factory A](image1.png)

![Photo 2 Factory A (F)](image2.png)
In contrast, the bilingual panels in Pharma A (photo 3) and Factory A (photo 4) suggest a more heterogeneous conception of the two companies’ collaborators and visitors respectively, local workers and visitors being addressed in German in Switzerland, in French in France, ex-pats from all parts of the world as well as international visitors in English.
A tablet photographed in the restrooms of Agro A (photo 5) even bears a trilingual inscription and thus addresses in addition French-speaking employees and visitors.

This tablet, which can be called ‘semi-private’ (produced by somebody working in this building in the name of all users of this toilet) is at the same time a sign of the scripter’s functional plurilingualism in that s/he does not distinguish properly between <Toiletten spülen> (flush) and <Wäsche spülen> (rinse). The anonymous correction belongs to the private domain and attests clearly to a more normative conception of the use of English. In this sense, the tablet is a type of arena wherein two conflicting views of English and its norms have a dialogue.

It is noteworthy that scripters with a bare competence in German (as manifested by Ture instead of Türe on a door open as well as Verpackungen instead of Verpackungen, the wrong use of capital letters and the syntax of the last sentence in photo 6) nevertheless choose German on the premises of Pharma A and renounce the use of their own languages, but also English, said by the endoxa to be “the language of Pharma A” (Lüdi et al. 2009). As in the case of rinse, they pay no attention to normativity and choose the local lingua franca, German, for messages directed at their fellow workers, assuming that the latter are German speakers or, at the very least, can understand German.

Multiple voices or ‘multivoicedness’ can of course lead to inconsistencies. In a building very recently added to Pharma A for example, targeted for an international public, the signage on the service doors is exclusively in German (DUSCHE DAMEN, WC H).
Similarly, in the case of Factory A (CH), the icon `<disabled>` is close to the unilingual German inscription *Besucher/Gäste* (visitors) that might not be understood by the mostly English-speaking visitors to whom this restroom is reserved. Yet, next to it, the *visitors’ rules* in two languages, German and French address them directly\(^{11}\). Certainly, the first sign is multi-addressed and totally understandable to the employees who are supposed to refrain from using this restroom. Let us add that such “counter-communicative” examples of using the local language in landscaping would certainly not be noticed at all in other countries where it is privileged by the law.

### 3.3 Communicative Functions

We referred in an earlier study (Lüdi et al. 2009, 2010) to a very pragmatic approach to language choice on the premises of Pharma A with respect to safety instructions: the goal of preventing accidents clearly outweighs local traditions that could privilege German as well as some managers’ preferences for the corporate language of English. In addition it should also be noted that it is one of the rare cases where French and Italian are preferred to English in multilingual signs. Similar cases can be found in Factory A (F), one tablet even disregarding French (photo 8).

The hypothesis is allowed that the conative and referential functions (Jakobson 1963) bring scripters to push up those languages that are really understood by the addressees, as for example Italian in the case of the – mostly immigrant – workers in charge of filling the liquid gas bottles (photo 7) or the building workers (*ZUTRITT*).

\(^{11}\) The equivalent of photo 4 in Factory A (F)
The Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape

Für unerachtigte verboten / Entrée interdite aux personnes non-autorisées / Divieto di entrata per persone non autorizzate. Some signs could also have been installed by the original equipment manufacturer (notably in the case of Factory A in France [photo 8]).

In other signs, however, the emotive function dominates with priority given to the self-image the scripter wants to convey. Thus Factory A wants to appear international and plurilingual (bilingual menu German/English with the inclusion of Italian elements, where Italian is not an immigrant language, but a language of prestige in a field such as gastronomy; a welcome screen in the language of the visitors with reference to numerous languages; Pharma A insists on its self-perception as a global company using unilingual English signs.

However, other language functions can be dominant. The following sign (photo 9) presents an interesting case. On one hand, it is another example of multi-addressed tablets to German and English speaking clients. Yet, this time there is no real translation. One may presume that the German speakers understand enough
English and that their counterparts are able to decipher the message without understanding exactly mit einem Schluck (<a sip of>) – and might be motivated to learn a little German. The scripter plays deliberately with the two languages and in so doing puts forward the poetic function.

3.4 The Time Factor

The linguistic landscape does not last forever, but sustains changes with the progression of time. Even if we do not face cases of “temporary” linguistic landscaping, during political manifestations for example (cf. Hanauer and Seals in this volume), some signs on the companies’ premises are more durable than others and the practices of landscaping are subject to change. We will confine ourselves to presenting three examples:

- Moving around on the main site of Pharma A in 2008, one could observe differences between older buildings, inscribed in German only, and more recent ones which are only inscribed in English (Lüdi et al. 2009). However, a second series of pictures, taken nine months later, reveals a strategic change. In the signage of the buildings which were built or completed in that period, bilingual signs are once more becoming more numerous (TREPPE RESTAURANT / STAIRCASE RESTAURANT).12

12 We deliberately refrain from quantifying our pictures (384 for Pharma A in two sessions, 130 for Factory A in Switzerland, 42 for Factory A in France), every statistical intent be-
In the same building of 2010, certain inconsistencies (e.g., the inscription of restrooms in German only) were corrected a couple of months later (but this was not the case for all of them) following several complaints from the communication department. The correction was not performed at the level of language choice, but rather by adding an icon to the inscription WC H:

- Another form of change over time is represented by the tablet where a language error was corrected by an anonymous hand (photo 5).
- In all of the preceding examples, changes over time were due to the successive intervention of different instances. In the last case, observed in Factory A, signs written by different scripters are juxtaposed, but they do not have the same status.
- At an office door, the official inscription is in German, with the design prescribed by the communication department. Inside the office, however, a more private and improvisational poster says ENTRY TO MV BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT and communicates another message, with a clearly emotive function: here, contrary to other departments, we speak English.

These examples also manifest competing language philosophies inside the same company, the linguistic landscape representing one of the social arenas in which these conflicts are played out.

4 Discussion

One of our research questions was whether the linguistic landscape of the two companies analysed resulted from a policy of integrated communication, representing the impact of the company’s language management and thus justifying the metaphor COMPANY = ONE COMMUNICATING PERSON.

At this moment in time our answer to this question is a cautious one: indeed, a company’s linguistic landscape can be considered as a kind of macro-text or a set of texts emanating from the company as “scripter”. At the same time, however, we observe that this macro-text emanates from a plurality of voices and that the concert of these voices often sounds far from harmonious, but reveals what are heterogeneous social representations, along with the competences of the actors and their communicative intentions. Therefore, the main problem is not attributing the different scripters to their respective hierarchical position in the company, but discovering how

13 We observed a very similar example during an international congress at the University of Vienna, but the “correction” was private: the organisers of the congress (the University’s English Department) had stuck ordinary paper sheets in A4 format, printed with a computer and containing the same icon, next to the official inscriptions (WC H, WC D, etc.).
this revealing polyphony, the management of linguistic diversity in our case, is structured.

At the same time, the comparison between both terrains shows important differences. In the case of Pharma A, a very large company with global ambitions, the concept of integrated communication seems particularly illusive. The important heterogeneity in the management and practices of linguistic landscaping, for example some incoherencies in language choices at all levels, could be traced back to an ambivalent linguistic philosophy. The impression that we are in the presence of a kind of arena in which different conceptions of multilingualism are confronted is finally confirmed in an interview with one of the leaders of Pharma A Switzerland, who told us:

dasch e bizeli Kampf won ig <i minere funkntion> muess durezieh denn eh si d’Sprache Minimalsprache wo mer dië isch Dütsch Französisch Änglisch (.) eh müüeds immer wie- der sige wils die die d- vom Konzärn här e-e Druck, dass alles nur no Änglisch isch, aber eh aso zwoi Landessproche verlang i aso es wird immer o no Dütsch und Französisch eh wir-wird das gmacht=

[it is kind of a struggle I have to go through <in my function [anonymised]>], so languages, the minimum we use is German, French, English; you must always tell it again because those from the holding company [sc. apply] pressure for everything to be in English, but well I insist upon two national languages so it is always also in German and French, that is the way it is done].

The opposition between those from the holding company and I, in my function, and expressions like go through a struggle / pressure / everything mirror different conceptions of the company’s communication; the voice of the locator echoes – and challenges at the same time – the voice of the company’s highest level of management (with which he identifies himself totally at other times, but this is not relevant for this particular quotation).

Factory A is, in contrast, a medium-sized company, rooted in the tri-national region (with some international ramifications. Its linguistic philosophy is less ambitious, dominated by two maxims: “we sell in the language of the client” and “the language(s) for internal communication is (are) the language(s) spoken by our collaborators”. The result is a moderate localisation of the linguistic landscape in Germany, France and Switzerland and a more modest, but obviously existing, role for English. Once again, however, there are inconsistencies that point to different conceptions of the role of linguistic diversity in general and of English in particular. The example of a French trainee who chose the German site of Factory A without speaking German because he wanted to practice and enhance his English gives a deep insight into this situation.

In both terrains, linguistic landscaping implies the presence of many different actors and it becomes more than obvious that this arena of multiple voices can only be (very) partly controlled by the companies’ management (see Lüdi et al. 2009).
We anticipated that the local political and legal context would exert a much more significant influence. It is true that the Loi Toubon imposes French on the companies operating in France. However, German is almost as dominant in the Swiss and German branches of Factory A (and, to a lesser degree, in Pharma A), and this is so for very pragmatic reasons. The respective national languages resist the ‘English only’ movement for reasons which go beyond the legal. If English is used for communication both with and among the many expats, it also plays a mainly symbolic role in the linguistic landscape; for their part local collaborators insist on using their own language(s) and this reaches up to the highest summit of the hierarchy. Thus, a high ranking collaborator in the Human Resources Department of Agro A international confirmed initially in an interview (conducted in German, our translation) that English was irreplaceable in his company, but added immediately:

Yes (…) by coincidence or not, I do not believe in coincidences, MY team is German-speaking (…) German-speaking to 100% except one female assistant, she is English. But WE in our team her, well I am the leader of the global team, with two direct collaborators, both are Swiss, and the Swiss team, where we have Germans and Swiss, well we speak German among each other, German or Swiss German.

(question: and when this English assistant is present, then you switch?)

Then we have to, or rather, no, I told her, you learn German now, in the end she has grown up here ((laughter)).

On the contrary, as has already been mentioned at the beginning, it is astonishing to observe that the languages of immigration are almost invisible in the linguistic landscape of both companies (except in their respective restaurants and for danger signs). The explanation lies most probably in the limited value of these languages – related to a low status of their speakers and discriminative attitudes towards them – within the linguistic marketplace of the Upper Rhine region and beyond.

In conclusion, our research on linguistic landscaping in two companies revealed a number of written practices sui generis that deserve an analysis on their own. But they also are part of a complex mosaic composed of numerous other oral and written language practices at the workplace (face-to-face interaction, phone calls, email, different types of forms, websites, etc.), actors’ social representations and contextual factors and the relationship between all of these still demands deeper consideration.

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http://www.dylan-project.org
Talking back to the Tel Aviv Centennial: 
LL responses to top-down agendas

Summary
The chapter focuses on various types of contesting voices in reaction to the narrative of the city of Tel Aviv as it was presented during the city’s centennial (Waksman and Shohamy, 2010). The data consists of diverse types of LL sources such as photos, art exhibitions, oral narratives, architectural designs, flyers and graffiti stencils as well as interviews with city’s activists. Based on the data analysis, a few patterns of urban marginalization emerged: exclusion and marginalization of neighborhoods of the city from the imagery and the landscape; overlooking the Arabic language and the discourse of the residents of Jaffa and erasing of past histories of the city from the public memory. We also concluded that activist groups make use of LL devices in ways which are multimodal, transient and dynamic mostly because of the short'shelf life' of bottom-up LL writings in the public scenery as these devices are more visible, salient and thus call for more public awareness and attention.

Résumé
Ce chapitre analyse les différentes modalités et expressions de contestation face à l’histoire de Tel Aviv telle qu’elle fut présentée durant les célébrations du centenaire de la ville (Waksman and Shohamy, 2010). Les données regroupent différentes sources permettant d’analyser le paysage linguistique, des photos, des expositions d’art, des discours oraux personnels, des détails architecturaux, des pamphlets et des graffitis réalisés au stencil, ainsi que des entretiens avec des activistes. L’analyse des données a permis d’identifier des schémas de marginalisation dans l’espace urbain : certains espaces et quartiers de la ville sont exclus de ces manifestations graphiques, la langue arabe et les discours en arabe des habitants de Jaffa sont aussi exclus, et certaines parties de l’histoire ancienne de la ville sont effacées de la mémoire publique. Nous concluons que les groupes d’activistes utilisent différentes stratégies possibles pour marquer le paysage linguistique, et s’expriment de façon multimodale, transitoire et dynamique. Enfin, malgré leur durée de vie très courte sur la scène publique, ces écrits personnels et engagés sont bien visibles et attirent l’attention du public ainsi qu’une certaine prise de conscience de leur message.
1 Introduction

Research on Linguistic Landscape (LL) refers to the study of language and its uses all around us – in public spaces, in the virtual world and in the ecology at large. It focuses mostly on various forms of language – verbal, visual and semiotic, which are displayed in public spaces such as markets, shops, schools, neighborhoods and cities. The main assumption of this research is that language in public space is not random and arbitrary, but rather systematically produced and hence it is possible to identify patterns which are anchored in theories of politics, policy, identities, multilingualism, geography and economics.

The act of ‘writing on walls’, can be viewed as a performance that reconstructs ‘spaces’ and turns them into ‘places’ according to specific socially constructed agendas as described by Jaworski and Thurlow:

The focus of scholarly interest is nowadays often less on space per se as it is on spatialization, the different processes by which space comes to be represented, organized and experienced (Jaworski/Thurlow, 2010, 7).

These writings are conducted by different agents who shape, construct and reconstruct public spaces; hence the writings cannot be considered neutral as they reflect, represent and deliver varied agendas and discourses of those who display them as well as those who interpret them. Thus we refer here not only to city planners, shop owners, government officials and graffiti writers, but also to passers-by, those who interpret the LL writings according to their own identities, agendas and ideologies. Various agendas can be identified in these writing; economic ones as in the case of advertising and marketing products; social agendas as in the case of writings that include or exclude certain groups, or ecological, as in the case of promoting ‘green’ environments. These multiple, and often contradictory agendas are also sources of conflicts as the public space, believed by some to ‘belongs to all’, represents in fact unequal agents in terms of power and access to greater financial and political resources as these can manipulate it in their own favor. For example, agents representing big corporations can display advertisements and commercials on tall buildings in big prints and images that monopolize public spaces for the sake of promoting and marketing products. Private Citizens, on the other hand, rarely have such capabilities and are usually passive and captive audiences of these actions. Thus, while the public space is viewed as a ‘free zone’, major contestations and battles as to who is eligible to participate in it and in what ways, take place in very intensive actions leading to negotiations, compromises, as well as status quos and co-existence.

The public space then, is not a static arena but rather a dynamic and fluid space, constantly being constructed, de-constructed, and re-constructed. This results not only in changes in policies at the top but also in demographic movements and flows. It is especially in cities that language in public space falls in the midst of multiple
agendas which are discussed, argued and debated over time and space. LL then, plays a pivotal role in this process of participation, representation and engagement of spaces in cities.

Take for example the case reported in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz (Kosharek, 7.11.2010) about a long standing conflict about the naming of a central city square in Jaffa by the name of Sheikh Bassam Abu Zeid, a prominent Arab who was a leader of the city's Islamic Movement and its senior cleric. The struggle to commemorate Abu Zeid, who died three years earlier, went on for about two years. Arab residents of Jaffa wanted to name a street near where Abu Zeid used to live after him, but the city preferred to name that street after two founders of the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Shmuel and Sultana Tagger. In the end, Abu Zeid won proper recognition in a different place. The article describes the steps taken by the Arab members of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa city council to name the square Abu Zeid. The Arab members claimed that in spite of the large number of Arabs living in Jaffa, 25% of the population, only 14 streets are named after Arab figures while all the rest are named after Jewish figures. When the issue came up, the city did not respond to the request, the Arab Council members resigned as an act of protest. Yet, in July 2011, after a series of harsh negotiations and protests, the city Council approved the request and a square was finally granted the name of Abu Zeid to commemorate the person who was an active resident and a prominent leader in the Jaffa Arab community.

As this case shows, language in public space serves as a tool for contestation about representation, participation and inclusion. This is not to say that language in public space is always noticed or contested by all or that each and every language display is so heavily loaded and charged, but it does point to the fact that naming is viewed as a symbolic and calculated act, heavily charged and grounded in political and social agendas. Language in public space has become an arena of symbolic struggle and debate about participation and distribution of resources in cities, workplaces, schools, neighborhoods, national and global spaces. Indeed, an editorial of Haaretz newspaper wrote as follows:

Jaffa belongs to all its residents, Jews and Arabs. The Tel Aviv-Jaffa municipality must move ahead on the task of naming streets after Arab public figures, especially streets where most of the residents are Arab. It is the right of Jaffa's Arab residents, many of whom suffer from shameful social and economic neglect, to live on streets named after Arabs. The character of a mixed city should also express itself in the names of its streets. Commemorating Arab public figures will only increase the identification of Arab residents with their city, and perhaps with their country as well. Naming a square after Sheikh Abu Zeid is a step in the right direction, in Jaffa and in other mixed cities (Haaretz editorial, 24.7.2011).
Contestations and negotiations regarding language in public spaces are manifested most intensely in urban spaces where diverse populations of varied backgrounds live and engage in day to day interactions via employment, social activities, education and residence. Cities are entities which attract people of varied backgrounds, identities and demographics and these are manifested in the diversity of languages, ethnicities, ages, social and economic status and aspirations (Lefebvre, 1996). In cities, diverse groups often reside in autonomous neighborhoods, yet they are expected to be part of a bigger whole of institutionalized municipalities of cities that provide services and demand participation. Cities are also places where groups are excluded, marginalized and divided due to diverse backgrounds, and these are rooted in religion, languages, ideologies, economics, social classes and various forms of ‘otherness’.

The notion of the city as an unjust entity, has been discussed by many critical geographers although less so by sociolinguists. Soja (2010) has been one of the strongest protesters of cities as unjust entities. Within the context of Israel, Fenster and Yakobi (2005), demonstrate that in cities one can find huge gaps between the rich and the poor, those in the center and those in the periphery, a fast growing phenomenon especially within the movement of gentrification where city authorities take steps to attract wealthy residents and to push out those who cannot afford the high cost of living. Those who stay are often deprived of quality education, services, health and public services. Major conflicts occur between cities’ authorities who are keen on turning urban places as attraction for affluent people with cultural possibilities, luxurious buildings, cosmopolitism and global cultural offerings, and those who are attracted to cities mostly because of employment opportunities and intimate communities. Thus, current battles about the public spaces in cities are grounded in participation, equality, involvement, sharing, distribution and justice. Indeed, Foucault (1972) noted that through geography we create unfair, oppressive, domination and racism.

Language in its various modalities is used to mark such spaces, especially of urban entities as can be observed in the example of the sign in Jaffa. Yet, as Pennycook claims, most social theory has not been ‘spatial’ and language in public space has been an overlooked and ignored topic from pedagogical, social, political and research perspectives in cities (Pennycook, 2010). He introduced the term metrolinguistics to refer specifically to the various ways through which different types of language forms shape the city, a concept that Bogatto and Helot (2010) refer to as ‘urban writing’. Pennycook (2009, 2010) refers to the diverse ways through which writings in cities occur, beyond the verbal towards the ‘multimodal’: images, sounds, designs, moving portraits, objects, visuals, colors, graphics, graffiti, hip-hop, dance, silence as well as architecture in the forms of buildings, roads, parks, etc. The patterns that emerge is that language in the urban space is diverse, non-standard,
open, fluid and constantly changing so that all modalities work together to create meanings, information and interpretation (Kress/van Leeuwen, 1996).

At the same time, language in cities often goes through extensive negotiations as there is growing awareness of language in the public space as zones which represent agendas over inclusion, voice, presence and power. Understanding and critiquing the public space of urban entities can be instrumental for negotiating more inclusive and just societies. Given that space is often unequal and unjust, how does LL reflect this uneven situation? And more importantly, can LL be used to change, resist, contest and possibly work towards inclusive societies?

3 Background to the Current Study

It is the purpose of this chapter to document a case of contestation over language in the public space as it is manifested via different types of linguistic landscapes and grounded in contestation and struggle. The focus here is on the conflict between two images of the city: on one hand the city as constructed via LL as global, nationalistic and ideological, and on the other a focus on groups that argue, contest and provide additional interpretations of the city. We address here the reactions of various groups who contest the city’s agendas as they felt that their messages regarding the city at a certain point in time, were not conveyed, hence resulting in a feeling of exclusion. The data encompasses not only language on signs but also LL in its expanded definitions including a variety of additional semiotic sources of manifestations in the public space. This leads to a set of question such as: how can we practice discourse in more inclusive and equal ways? How can people participate in processes that shape the rights to inhabit spaces in the city in more just ways?, and in general, who owns the public space? We are attempting here to identify patterns of reactions of a number of groups to specific agendas constructed by the city municipality regarding the public space. We will thus describe the reactions of these groups in terms of their motives, pressures, ideologies, actions and contestations as manifested via LL.

More specifically, in an earlier work (Waksman, Shohamy, 2010) we showed how space was created via multiple types of LL devices in the forms of signs, images, buildings and people so that during the centennial the new LL re-defined the city as ideological, Jewish and Zionist. We interpreted the new signage as ‘from global to national’. The main readings of the signs showed that most LL writings were displayed in ‘Hebrew only’ and addressed primarily local and national issues. It was mostly a mono-vocal narrative with closed boundaries leading us to argue that the various representations of Tel Aviv’s centennial as exemplified by street signs, poems, logo and street exhibition of private photos portrayed the city as inherent part of the nation given that it emphasized its identity as Jewish and Zionist. Another conclusion was that not all groups and themes that played active roles in the life and the history of the city were represented and included. Specifically, we noted
that “The explicit design of Tel Aviv’s narrative invites other voices to gain access to the public sphere through other spaces and genres... all those voices...craft another type of geography and history of a city that deprives, deletes and destroys those who do not fit into the authoritative narrative” (Waksman/Shohamy, 2010: 72). For example, we described a flyer, appearing in various places in the city that reads: ‘Who is not being counted?’ printed on background of the map of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (see picture 1). We interpreted that as a visible act of expressing a feeling of exclusion which was experienced by some groups during the centennial, emphasizing the arbitrary meaning of counting 100 years of Tel Aviv-Jaffa on the one hand and avoiding other groups and histories on the other. It is the absence of certain groups in the LL that motivated us to further examine their vocal and visible reaction to the centennial.

We thus posed the following questions: Who are these groups and what are their agendas? Which LL manifestations do they employ in order to deliver their messages? What alternative options regarding the centennial do they propose?

4 Design and Sources

In order to address these questions, we collected data that focused on aspects that were related to themes and groups which were mentioned by different groups as being excluded from the centennial imagery.
Some of the data was collected during 2009-2010, the very year of the centennial but mostly during the year that followed it. Specifically, we focused on documentation of relevant representations and events in public spaces, of those groups and individuals that reacted explicitly to the image of Tel Aviv-Jaffa as portrayed during the centennial year. These included groups such as 'Zochrot' whose agenda is to raise awareness of the 'Nakba', (the catastrophe) referring to the 1948 events associated with the establishment of Israel where a large number of Palestinian moved or were removed from their homes. 'Zochrot' initiates and designs exhibits, personal narratives, video clips, interviews, flyers, photographs, brochures, magazines and excursions as well as educational activities (e.g., textbooks and school curricula). We interviewed two members of the group (R.J and N.M) who provided us with additional names of groups, individuals and activities who created special events for the centennial such as exhibits, films and displays of LL in the public spaces.

The data included the following sites and sources: a. Art exhibition of facets of the city of Jaffa; b. An exhibit of Jaffa architecture; c. A display of graffiti stencils of bilingual words of Arabic and Hebrew; and d. An excursion which included oral personal narratives of past residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In addition we conducted a number of in depth interviews with people involved in the various activist groups. Each of these sources will now be described in detail:

5 Documentations

5.1 Art Installations of Jaffa

The first installation refers to an art exhibit entitled ‘Ten gazes from Yaffa-Yafo towards the centennial festivities’ that took place in a gallery in the old port of Jaffa.
As stated in the brochure, the aim of the exhibit was to find out how the centennial festivities were perceived by 10 residents of Jaffa, Arabs and Jews and the emotions that the centennial evoked in them. The exhibit displayed, photos of each of these residents as well as their portraits accompanied by texts with their views and sayings regarding the city and the centennial (picture 2). The texts were displayed in Arabic, followed by Hebrew. In addition, pamphlets were displayed on tables along with personal narratives of the people and their biographies.

5.2 An Exhibit of Jaffa Architecture

This installation, entitled, 'The First Boulevard' was displayed in one of the main boulevards of Tel Aviv-Jaffa (Shderot Rotschild) and was initiated by the school of architecture of Tel Aviv University. It consisted of students’ projects reflecting archival materials, current documentation and future conservation planning of buildings in Jaffa’s main boulevard. These were represented via different types of media and displays such as videos, paintings, architecture models, photos and graphics. The main agenda of the exhibit was to give visibility and centrality to the boulevard which is currently neglected and marginalized. The display presented the buildings as they were in the glorious years of the 1920s-40s, in comparison to the current period and how they could look had there been appropriate preservations incorporating the community needs.

5.3 A Display of Graffiti Stencils of Bilingual Words in Arabic and Hebrew

This exhibition took place in a commercial touristic venue at the Tel Aviv old port. The display was initiated by ‘Pharhesia’ (the word in Aramaic means public space) which represents an organized group of activists consisting of artists, designers and educators dedicated to social, political and ecological agendas and who were developing a visual language to point to social and political injustice. One focus of their agenda was to grant visibility to the Arabic language and discourse in various conflicted public spaces. They use graffiti stencils which include contested words in Arabic with transliteration and translation into Hebrew (picture 3) such as the words ‘return’ referring to the return of Arab refugees to their home land, and others which are contextualized within the Jewish-Palestinian conflict. According to the designers of the lexicon display, the space and the words were chosen carefully together with young people from the local community, so it was a type of educational-artistic activism.
5.4 An Excursion Including Oral Narratives of Past Residents of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

Another resource of contestation related to an excursion that took place on the very day that commemorates the 'Nakba' (16.5.2009), organized by the group 'Zochrot'. It consisted of visits to a number of places where a number of Palestinian villages used to exist in the very place where Tel Aviv-Jaffa exists now. In each of the places, a person who is associated with the place, provided a narrative of the history and events of the time. Picture 4 shows a resident of the village of Sumeil who used to live there as a child describing the events of the time and its surroundings.
Based on an analysis of the themes of the above resources, a number of themes emerged:

a. The marginalization of Jaffa and its habitants  
b. The deletion of the Arabic language from the public space  
c. The disregard of past histories of the area

6.1 Marginalization of Jaffa and its habitants

The main theme that emerged from the data of the two exhibitions was the exclusion of Jaffa and its residents from the imagery of the Tel Aviv-Jaffa during the centennial. Evidence of this can be found in the following:

In the 'Ten Gazes' exhibition, voices of the people who live in Jaffa were echoed via written documentation of oral narratives of ten residents of Jaffa. The ideas and themes that emerged, related mainly to feelings of alienation and apathy towards the
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idea of the centennial especially with regards to the lavish nature of the festivities and the expenses associated with it. Thus, there were sayings by the people interviewed about waste of public money that could have been used for social welfare of the Jaffa community in particular. In addition, the residents protested against the evacuation and demolition of houses in Jaffa as part of the gentrification processes, the expulsion of Arabs, the trend towards “Jewifying” the area and especially the deletion of the Arabic language from the public space. Two themes were common to all the ten people despite their different backgrounds and stands. One was the deep sense of belonging to the Jaffa community and the second, the feeling of being excluded from the imagined community portrayed by the centennial narrative.

In picture 2 we can observe a typical example from the display that showed the portrait of Mr. Jamal Hamad, a resident of the city, accompanied by his comments:

All what they (the authorities) failed to do in the city for 40 years, they now expect me to repair; they want me to transform my house on my expense into a tourist site, Why?

Another example is taken from the display of Ms. Nadia Jarboa who expressed alienation from the centennial in the following words:

100 years to Tel Aviv does not relate to us. If they would choose to make something mutual it could be amazing, in my opinion…when I heard about the investment in the centennial I felt anger in my heart, Jaffa does not have any value…and in the municipality everything is in Hebrew. Why is it like this? Why don’t they say the municipality of Jaffa-Tel Aviv … Why can’t they use the two languages in official documents of the city?

Those expressions were enabled by the verbal, the visual and the spatial elements of the exhibition as manifested through the portraits, the sayings and the autobiographical details which deliver various points of view and personal feelings of exclusion. Yet they share something in common – being residents of Jaffa (in the past and/or in the present) as a type of belonging which is not necessarily based on their Arab/Jewish identity but rather on a new type of spatial identity.

The specific design of the visual/verbal elements emphasized what can be described as the interactive communicative Meta function (Halliday, 1994; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996) in the sense that the representational resources (the portraits and the sayings) and their design create a sort of direct relationship among viewers and the people presented in the display. Thus the display offered a collection of ‘gazes’ which de-construct the united image of the centennial. It rather reinforces the fact that Jaffa is not included and consists of a community with diverse voices and actors which their sense of belonging is not necessarily based on the typical national definitions and boundaries.

A different perspective was presented by the second exhibition ‘The First Boulevard’ which was more focused on the marginalization of Jaffa on a spatial basis and
the need to take into account its unique urban identity in future planning. The main motivation of the exhibit as written in the brochure is as follows:

Tel Aviv on its 100th anniversary is a city which has been internationally recognized as a cultural and architectural heritage site, and yet Jaffa, its ancient predecessor, remains all-but forgotten. The First Boulevard exhibition, displayed on Rothschild Boulevard at the center of Tel Aviv, attempted to put Yerushalayim Boulevard (the main Boulevard of Jaffa) back on the map (4.3.2010).

As can be deduced from the exhibition display, its aim was to place Jaffa in the focus again as an anti-thesis to its marginal image. The current runaway images of that space are confronted with the way it looked in the past and the way it could look in the future (picture 3) with the help of proper resources and planning based on social justice and community needs. Thus, by using historical imagery and perspective, this exhibition offers rewriting, remembering and envisioning the space of Jaffa as one that should be considered central to the centennial story.

6.2 The Deletion of Arabic Language from the Public Space

The focus here is on the fact that the Arabic language does not have visibility in the public space in the city although it is an official language in Israel and a language widely used by Arabs in Jaffa and in Arab cities elsewhere. This is the theme of the 'Comme Il Faut' exhibition (initiated by 'Pharehsia' group) which consisted of Graffiti stencils with various words in Arabic and Hebrew displayed in main leisure and touristic areas on the beach of Tel Aviv. Most of the words were taken from the discourse relevant to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; a typical item of the display included one word in Arabic and in Hebrew translation and transliteration of this word referring to contested concept in the relation of Arab and Jews. For example, the stencil graffiti with the word 'returning' (Picture 4a), referring to the idea of the right of Palestinian refugees to come back to Israel; this is written in three modes: big fonts in Arabic, then translation and transliteration into Hebrew in smaller fonts. This type of layout gives visible superiority to the Arabic language both by the layout and the size of font; this follows the idea of meaning construction through various items of the typography and layout as discussed by Van Leeuwen (2005). Thus, Hebrew is given a visibility of marginal and substantial. The loaded meaning of the words and their being part of the Palestinian discourse supply the content and the narrative to the minimal design. Thus, 'Comme Il Faut' exhibition is trying to deconstruct the LL power relationship. This is enabled by using various resources of LL such as words which are taken from the political discourse, by using the Arabic and Hebrew in the same display, by the layout and in the specific location in the public space. The marginal and the secondary status of Arabic language is replaced by a more central and visible status. This idea was further elaborated during the interview with O.B. (23.12.09), one of the artists who represented the 'Pharehsia'
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6.3 The Disregard of the Past History of the Area

Another aspect that related to the centennial contestation was the idea that the narrative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa is different from the one expressed in the imagery and LL of the centennial but rather its history is based on deletion of Arab settlements that used to exist in the space in the past. The flyers which were scattered all over Tel Aviv during the centennial were part of the representations that contested the notion of the city that ‘rose from the sands’ (picture 1).

The tour that followed was another spatial practice to display the same idea by the help of real people in real sites sharing their stories and memories in public spaces, pinpointing at places that used to be their homes.

The tour started in the area of Manshiyyah (one of the extinct Arab towns) presenting the poster of the Zochrot in 3 languages Hebrew/English/Arabic, in which the main concept is to ‘remember’ and this concept takes its meaning from the specific location and the geopolitical context, since the tour started on the current ‘Etzel Museum’ which is dedicated, as described on its plaque (in English and Hebrew), to those ‘liberators’ of Jaffa. So the very starting point was a place which referred to the events of the Nakba as liberating acts. The excursion was an opportunity for the people that were expelled from their places to come and tell their own version of the story in the very spot that used to be their home. In some of the places there was no evidence of the past since new buildings replaced the old ones; in other cases the building were still there but are closed and sealed and in other cases these are neglected and ruined as was the case for Abdel Nabi, the old Muslim cemetery in the north of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. Another place on the tour included a building on the campus of Tel Aviv University which was renovated and appropriated as a campus restaurant and a faculty club but which used to be the house of Shaykh Mawannis village and has been renovated and is currently a restaurant. In that same place Ms. Majdulin Beidas told her narrative regarding the place that used to be part of her village; she was particularly concerned about the fact that no signs are displayed by the authorities of the University that would mention the former history of the place. Another attraction of the tour was the visit to the run down area of the Abdel Nabi Muslim cemetery in the north of Tel Aviv where the writer Alon Hilu was reading aloud parts from his historical novel ‘The house of Rajani’ (Hilu, 2008) in which he describes the life of Palestinian people in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa area during the end of the nineteenth century. The ‘other’ history of Tel Aviv-Jaffa was revived by practicing the city through walks, talks, readings and landscapes. This rewriting of the urban texts is much in line with the idea of De Certeau (1984) of ‘writing’ the urban text by the practice of ‘walking’. In this case the excursion becomes a spatial act of resistance to the hegemony embedded in the centennial narrative. The main charac-
The findings of the above analyses demonstrate how the LL designed for the centennial, created an ecology in which multiple narratives were displayed, discussed and negotiated. The themes that emerged during the centennial included voices of residents of other parts of the city that were eager to be represented in their own ways. These themes included voices from Jaffa and its diversity in terms of people, languages and history, inclusion of the Arabic language and its political ‘vocabulary’ in the public space of the city by using various visible manifestations. Yet another theme centered around the transformation of the image of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, replacing the image of the new city that emerged from an ‘empty’ space, to an image of a city built over various forms of settlements that were functional, vital and diverse, and of a rich forms of life. Each of the voices that were echoed had their own agendas, yet they all aimed at dismantling the official homogenous message and the mono vocal narrative proposed through the LL of the centennial.

In this chapter we echoed a number of ‘voices’ which represent actors and displays that were more visible. However, we encountered other voices that were not visible in the LL sphere as they could be echoed in talkbacks, daily newspaper and multiple websites. Such was the case of people who were expelled from their houses in the process of gentrification, foreign workers who reside in a number of neighborhoods and around the area of the main bus station of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. In addition two books that were published exclusively for the centennial events, addressed those issues explicitly. One is entitled ‘Neither in Jaffa nor in Tel Aviv’ (Rotbard and Tzur, 2009) which included stories, testimonies and documents from Shapira neighborhood, a low income, poor area near the central station. That book was presented by the writers as a just act by giving voice to a space which was not included in any form in the formal narrative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and which had a ‘mute’ biography since the old people left or died and the current tenants are new to the place (mostly foreign workers and asylum seekers). Through a collection of private stories, documents and images, the book tries to capture the local specific identity of the place and its history as told by individuals.

Another voice was echoed in ‘City of Concept: Planning Tel Aviv’ (Marom, 2009). Marom describes the historical planning of Tel Aviv-Jaffa as based on the ideological principal that the ‘new’ and ‘planned’ space is much better than the ‘old’ and the ‘unorganized’. This was in line with the ideological narrative of Tel Aviv-Jaffa as the city that ‘rose from the sands’. On the basis of this type of ideological
framework, Jaffa and also the southern and the eastern neighborhoods were excluded and dealt with differently in the city planning over the years as places that need to be ‘repaired’ by urban renewal.

Another voice was echoed in “Longing” (2010) a documentary film created by Effi Banay which consisted of interviews with Jewish residents of Kfar Shalem who currently suffer from the gentrification process along with other interviews with Palestinians who were deported from the same place during 1948. In an interview (8.12.2009) Banay documents the inspiration for writing “Longing”. As he described it, he never felt as part of Tel Aviv-Jaffa; for him Kfar Shalem was his real home but it does not mean that mentally he feels that he belongs to Tel Aviv-Jaffa. He expressed this notion in the following words:

Tel Aviv is just an address...I lived in Kfar Shalem. If we go to Kfar Shalem we can't see any sign of the centennial, all the festivities belong and represent the Bauhaus...the white city and all other parts of the city don’t exist.

From the above description we can conclude that not all voices were visible in the public space, yet they were heard in other types of media like virtual debates, books and documentary films.

The voices that negotiated explicitly the redefinition of Tel Aviv-Jaffa used multiple resources of LL text types such as: signs, pictures, graffiti, flyers, photos, art exhibitions, excursion, oral narratives, biographies, multiple languages, documentations, multimodal layouts and readings in the public space. All those spatial practices and representational resources were viewed by the groups to have an impact on the image and identity of the city.

The symbolic repertoire that was typical to all of those LL responses was their transient and dynamic nature. They all reacted in real time to real events and yet they vanished and faded quite soon after they appeared. The graffiti signs faded or were erased deliberately, the excursion and the oral narratives heard did not last for more than few hours; yet, evidence for their existence could be viewed only in the website of Zochrot. The flyers were torn away or were ‘gone with the wind’. The exhibitions were limited in time. This transitory nature of LL artifacts which is typical for LL created by resistance groups is a type of default option chosen by various actors that cannot obtain legitimacy for their messages to be heard and be displayed for long time in the public space. Hence they are forced to use other forms of display and maybe the only place in which their messages can have any durability is the documentation through the internet – the virtual LL, as described by Marmura:

Internet technology offers greater benefits to marginal interests than to those already enjoying access to mainstream political and media institutions (Marmura 2008, 247).

Yet even those types of displays in the physical public space that were described in the current study can be considered from our perspective, linguistic landscape de-
vices. Our claim is that despite their transient nature, they represent powerful means of dynamic reactions using the ecology and real time events as a sphere in which creativity can flourish.

The old notion of LL, used by top-down processes (in our case by the Tel Aviv – Jaffa municipality) after a while becomes obsolete, transparent and a ‘neutral’ background and landscape. People tend not to activate meanings embedded in durable representations. Example for this idea can be found in spaces that were designed for one purpose and are actually activated by the people for another purpose (Shohamy and Waksman, 2009). This idea poses question mark on the ‘traditional’ LL, in which visibility and durability are types of power and hegemony; our claim is that ‘long life’ visibility may be a type of weakness. As described by Scollon and Scollon (2003) part of the meaning of text is embedded in the way it is placed and situated in the physical world. In this case transitory and dynamic nature becomes part of the meaning.

In fact the protests and demonstrations that took place in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa during the summer of 2011 that called for social justice, employ transient LL artifacts such as a vast number of tents, hand-written flyers, posters, bulletin boards at the center of the city. This LL décor gains much attention from the public and possibly had more visibility than the durable signs produced by the city authorities. There is a need therefore to ‘read’ the meanings and textures of LL as multiple devices of dynamic forces that are engaged in negotiating the various agendas and identities of the city.

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Creating a Landscape of Dissent in Washington, DC

Summary

This paper looks to uncover how abstract space can become re-appropriated and reinvented to create a voice for a suppressed minority. More specifically, it examines how the ever-shifting landscape of a mass protest can become a landscape of dissent, by documenting the National Immigration Reform March that took place in Washington, DC in 2010. Over 200,000 people attended, constantly reinventing the landscape over the course of the day. The data focus on written and spoken words, images, and projected video, making up a qualitative multimodal analysis of over 200 photographs and five videos taken over the course of four hours. This analysis shows how multiple aspects of the landscape interact to create constantly shifting individual and group identities. I conclude by showing how an image of solidarity emerges by reinventing the landscape to transform erasure into visibility and power.

1 Introduction

The field of linguistic landscapes is a fairly new subfield of linguistics, though quickly growing, investigating the meaning and purpose of language in place and space. Previously, researchers of linguistic landscapes have primarily relied on
quantitative sampling, defining a space and counting the instances of language use within that space to understand how language is being socially or politically used. The purpose of this chapter is to take the investigative methods for the linguistic landscape and to apply them in a general qualitative way that would work for investigating the ever-shifting landscape of a mass-scale protest. In choosing to analyze the landscape of a protest, I am most interested in examining how this “landscape of dissent” is able to change erasure into visibility. Erasure here draws from Coupland and Jaworski’s definition, “where specific sociolinguistic evidence is rendered invisible in the drive to keep stereotyped generalizations intact” (2004, 37). In this chapter, I am interested in how a community that is erased in the public sphere is able to so drastically alter the landscape through a protest that they create visibility.

1.1 The Setting

Protests can inherently be mammoth, especially when they target current issues in the national or international context. Washington, DC provides the perfect arena for investigating such a protest, as people travel from around the country to take part in a large movement centered in the nation’s capital. As such, I decided to focus this project on documenting the linguistic landscape of the National Immigration Reform March that took place in the National Mall on March 21, 2010. The National Mall is located in the very center of Washington, DC and is a large expanse of grass running from the Capitol building to the Washington Monument, slightly over one mile in length. During the National Immigration Reform March, over two hundred thousand people attended this protest, filling the entire expanse of the National Mall. The presence of the protesters was mammoth, with thousands of images and signs constantly reinventing the landscape over the course of the day. Due to the constant shifting and fleeting elements of the landscape, I am examining moments in time of the protest to find a general qualitative overview of what the landscape of a protest looks like over the course of time, similar to the methodology applied by Pavlenko (2010) in her investigation into the historical landscape of Kyiv.

2 Theoretical Background

In order to answer the question, “How is a landscape of dissent constructed over the course of a protest, and what does it look like?” I draw from multiple social and sociolinguistic theories. Leeman and Modan discuss how the visibility of languages can be, and often are, controlled by a governing body, leading to a “sanitized” linguistic landscape (2010, 187). Therefore, I first establish that the landscape of a protest is unique as a site where a community that is essentially erased and “sanitized” by the majority becomes visible through their dissent as a community of practice. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, 464) define a community of practice as
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“an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor”. In the case of a protest, the mutual endeavor is to create visibility for the contested issue; in this case it is national immigration reform. In becoming a community of practice, albeit a temporary one, the group establishes temporary norms for speaking and representing themselves and their voices. This can be analyzed visually through linguistic landscapes.

To further theoretically ground the multiple elements of a protest, I look first to Lefebvre’s concept of “abstract space” (1991). With this theory, Lefebvre explains how abstract space is always changing and reflective of the social, which is exactly the essence of a protest. The particular social aspect that this protest is reflecting is the current contestation over United States immigration policy. Thus, the landscape of the protest is responding to this current issue. Further grounding individual aspects of a protest, Halliday (1978) explains that signs tell us something about the world and position us in relation to someone or something in it. Therefore, the signs present at a national immigration reform protest, including any written or printed words or images meant for public display, tell people about this issue, the effects that the current immigration policy has on groups of people, and ask people to then position themselves either in alignment or disalignment with the protesting group.

The reaction that is elicited from people is part of Scollon and Scollon’s “discourse of place” (2003). As they explain, within a “discourse of place”, space is transformed by signs, and people react to this transformation. When this occurs, the abstract space becomes reappropriated and reinvented in a way that creates visibility, which is part of what makes a national protest such a striking linguistic landscape.

In addition to the reappropriation of space, I am analyzing how images other than signs influence the linguistic landscape and what type of symbolic capital each image draws upon. Barthes (1968) emphasizes that every image in society becomes a sign, even clothing. Thus, I include in my analysis clothing with words, clothing without words, flags, and video projected during the protest. Each contributes to the linguistic landscape in a meaningful way, whether through invoking a particular group through an image or by engaging the surrounding people in a dialogue of sorts. Each of these also draws on a particular type of symbolic capital: embodied or institutional (Bourdieu, 1986). While embodied capital is achieved through personal narratives and experiences, institutional capital is achieved through reference to institutions and by engaging with them.

Finally, the presence of defined groups within a protest is intriguing because of the repetition of image they create, especially if they are wearing matching clothing or carrying matching signs. Tannen (2007, 60) explains that in discourse, “repetition is evaluative: It contributes to the point. Here falls the function of repetition which is commonly referred to as emphasis”. Furthermore, in formal semantics research, Lengyel (1988) stressed that repetition leads to cohesion. Thus, if repetition is ap-
plied to the language of a linguistic landscape, it can be argued that each group is creating an emphasis of their own message. Even more important, each of these smaller messages becomes cohesive and is reflective of the metamessage of the protest, the “social and emotional messages behind the literal content of talk” (Schilling, in press). As a result, the metamessage is strengthened with each instance of repetition. This then reinforces the community of practice’s goal of creating a landscape of dissent and leaves the observer with a lasting impression of the over-lying metamessage.

3 Methodology

In applying these concepts to this project, I collected multimodal data of the linguistic landscape, focusing on written words (signs, shirts, etc.), images (signs, colors, presence of groups, and non-verbal representational clothing), spoken words (the languages used and “dialogue” format of projected live video), and looking at how the projected video at the protest includes all of these. The original data includes over 200 photographs and five videos over the course of four hours. It is important to note that the data collected is only that which was sampleable by myself. Thus, this does not include every chant, individual conversations between protesters, every sign, and so forth. The data which I collected, however, do include general photographs of the landscape masses, individual photographs of particular elements of the landscape, and individual videos of projected videos and chants. I collected these as a participant observer and by constantly walking around and through the protest, continuously taking photographs, in an attempt to capture what people were experiencing in different areas and at different times of the protest. At this stage of the research, there were no direct criteria for what was documented, as I was attempting to document as wide a visual sample as possible.

I then categorized the photographs into topics using a grounded theory approach and indexed each photograph with the topics that they represent. I chose to focus on 32 photographs and three videos that best represented each area of focus. My final analysis is a qualitative overview attempting to capture the shifting nature of the protest and takes into account the languages present, purpose of the images, and languages used for addressing the audience in the videos. The analysis also examines how the specific languages used were able to create alignment with the protesting group and distancing from the general public, as well as how individual and group identities are created and constantly shifting in the linguistic landscape.

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1 The grounded theory approach is widely used in qualitative Applied Linguistics research and operates such that theories arise from the data. Data is collected, then coded, then grouped by similarity into modules, and theories arise from analysis of the modules.
4 Data and Analysis

4.1 Photographs

4.1.1 Reappropriation of Space

Selected photographs from the protest are included below. These pictures show how space was reinvented and reappropriated. In the first photograph in Example 1, the National Mall is shown filling completely with a sea of people, changing an open expanse of grass into one of the nation’s largest congregations of people, therein redefining the landscape. While protests are not uncommon at the National Mall, this location is chosen by groups because of the visual power of such drastic reappropriation. On a regular day, the National Mall functions as a park, with joggers on the path around the Mall, people playing frisbee and baseball on the grass, and tourists walking across the Mall to walk from one museum to another. Therefore, when the National Mall fills with so many people that no grass can be seen, a startling and very noticeable reappropriation of space takes place.

Permission was acquired from each photographed individual and group before photographs were taken.
Additionally, Example 1 shows the top of mobile restrooms becoming standing room for active protesters, therein giving the landscape of the protest multiple visual levels not previously present. Not only layering of space, but also a flouting of lawful norms took place during this action. In no normal situation would people be permitted to stand on top of mobile restrooms. However, so many people were doing this that the patrolling officers eventually gave up trying to control the situation, thus resulting in a meaningful win of power for the protesters. This creation of visual levels was also achieved through the use of flatbed trucks filled with people in the streets, blocking the view of the Capitol building from the Mall (not pictured). As the Capitol is the prime view at the Mall, this blocking of visibility presents the message that there is currently a different and more important use of the space. Through the use of multiple methods of reappropriation, the space became something new available for redefinition by the protestors, thus giving them a beginning element of visualization and power.

4.1.2 Groups as a Repetition of Image

Groups were also present in the form of political groups, regional groups, religious groups, ethnic groups, and so forth, representing a wide array of people and creating a repetition of image. Each individual group has their own individual message in their own words to convey to attendees. This is repeated through matching shirts and signs within the group, emphasizing their message. With hundreds of groups present, it is not possible to remember each individual message, but each of these messages is a unique voice being given to the overarching metamessage of immigration.
reform, and it is this metamessage that people take with them when they leave. As such, repetition at the small group level and larger protesting group level creates an incredibly strong emphasis on the overarching message for immigration reform in the United States that resonates long after the groups are gone.

4.1.3 Clothing as Symbolic Capital

Clothing, verbal and non-verbal was also present in mass quantities. At times, the clothing provided an extremely strong message to the crowd of observers. For example, one man wore a shirt with “Please listen” handwritten on it. An example such as this shows the power of projecting embodied symbolic capital through clothing that is simultaneously functioning as a sign. This also shows how powerfully the language of a sign such as this sign can be when engaging with the public, especially when one takes into account the fact that his shirt is in English, yet he did not speak any English. This powerful image thus uses clothing as a means of embodied symbolic capital to interact with the English speaking general public and get them to emotionally and mentally respond. The public is also being given a human face to put with the message, which could arguably make it more difficult for people to resist engaging with the protesting group. Additional non-verbal clothing present at the protest, such as a man dressed as an indigenous native, a man dressed as a mariachi, and a priest in full uniform come to represent entire groups of people and an understanding of the cultures being represented through those images, thus giving a voice to the socially silenced.

4.1.4 Additional Minority Language Presence

Additionally, the presence of minority languages on signs allowed for the representation of many people, all coming together to form one community of practice with the same message. People were able to communicate a message of solidarity with those who share their language, as well as connect on a larger level with all supporters of immigration reform, regardless of the message being presented. During the march, the two most represented languages were English and Spanish, which also reflects the most often used languages in the United States. However, some of the other languages that make up the languages of the United States were also present at

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3 I learned this when I asked to take his photograph. When I switched to Spanish to ask for his permission, he also expressed to me his passion for the protest and his hope to relay his feelings to the wider English-speaking audience.

4 A mariachi is commonly conceived of as a musician from typically Western Mexico who wears an elaborately detailed traditional costume and plays traditional Mexican band music.
the protest, including but not limited to Polish, Russian, Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Italian, and Irish Gaelic.

Many of the signs held by these groups displayed emotionally charged messages relying on embodied symbolic capital. For example, one sign at the protest was written in Korean and is translated as “We are also America,” showing the same message of immigration reform and inclusion, this time interacting with a smaller minority group of people but for the same purpose. Noticeably, the sign did not say, “We are also American,” but rather “We are also America.” This conveys a larger sense of what it means to live in the United States, a place often understood to be home to people from many places. It shares an often found message of immigration reform, that people who live in the United States may not hold American citizenship, but they are no less a part of America.

4.1.5 Flags
As minority languages were present next to the majority language of English, so was there a side-by-side representation of minority flags next to the United States flag. This created a dual-identifying community of practice, one whose message again reinforced that they can be both American and citizens of a shared world. Additionally, flags were worn as clothing by protestors, therein coming to represent and identify them completely by their projected dual national identity.

4.1.6 Signs
Additionally, the signs in all different languages access both embodied and institutional symbolic capital. Some signs are handwritten telling personal stories and are thus embodied, such as that shown first in Example 2. This sign tells the very personal story of a child who has lost his mother due to deportation. Crucially, it is presented as a child’s narrative, therein giving a voice of innocence to the movement. It is also important to note that even though this sign is in Spanish, since it is presented in a child’s language and since most people in the United States are at least occasionally exposed to basic Spanish, the language is simple enough that most people in the United States can understand the jist of the narrative. Such a presentation does not allow people to distance themselves from the message, but rather pushes them to emotionally connect with the movement and the not often seen faces of the children who are involved.

Contrastively, some signs are printed by companies with general slogans and are institutional, also shown in Example 2. While these signs support the message of the movement, they also add a sense of officiality to the protesters’ position. This is then able to further empower them as they present their message for immigration reform. And finally, some signs are handwritten statements addressing institutional authorities (e.g. “Mr. Obama”) and thus make use of both types of symbolic capital. All of
these signs in one space create a powerful mixing of embodied and institutional symbolic capital together to share stories and start conversations at all social levels.

(2) Signs Representing Embodied and Institutional Symbolic Capital

4.2 Videos

Videos interact with all of these above elements. The projected live videos included statements read by officials, visual images of maps showing where protesting groups were from, and live interviews with people at the protest. At times, one speaker would speak Spanish and then another speaker would say something completely different in English, not translating each other and therein addressing different groups
within the community of practice. At times, two speakers would talk, one in Spanish and one in English, translating each other, and thus reinforcing the dual identity presented in the landscape. Sometimes a call and response format took place in some of the video, engaging the audience in a dialogue on a mass scale and receiving a strong positive response.

It is interesting to note how these uses of projected live video on multiple screens to support the linguistic landscape differed greatly from the video shown near the end of the protest that was prerecorded by President Obama. This video only used English, spoke directly to the audience without engaging them in dialogue, and used only the image of his face and shoulders in front of the American flag in the institutional setting of his office. This particular video received a much different reaction from the protestors, with much silence and some negative reactions. There was also a striking difference in celebratory raised hands and signs between the two videos, with the latter video being received with almost none. This contrast further emphasized the embodied and institutional symbolic power that the protesting group made use of to create their call for reform through a landscape of dissent.

4.3 Complex Multimodality

Of course, the various elements that make up the linguistic landscape do not occur in isolation. During a mass-scale protest, they all occur at once, making for an incredibly complex multimodal presence. As shown in Example 3, the complex multimodality comes together when all flags, groups, signs, videos, and so forth integrate to create a presence much stronger than any one would be able to do alone. It is through this complexity that power is claimed by the silenced and erasure changes to visibility. It is then continued as such through the use of media sources such as television and the Internet to keep the events accessible to the public.

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5 All videos shown during the protest, with the exception of the video of President Obama, were live broadcasts from within the crowd, including multilingual translations and attempting to show the many different citizens in attendance. The video by President Obama stood in stark contrast to this for the reasons outlined above.
5 Conclusion

In summary, I found that the linguistic landscape of a protest includes many different modalities that are constantly interacting with and supporting each other. At the immigration reform march, the most prominent languages were English and Spanish, though others were present, representing many of the people currently in the United States. The variety of language presence and duality of presented identity are reflected through side-by-side visual representation of the United States flag with flags from other countries. Additionally, signs throughout the landscape create an image of solidarity within the protesting group and create a distancing from the government, president, and institutions of power. The presence of individual groups within the mass group creates a repetition of image and message. Also, the reappropriation of space on multiple levels strengthens visual presence and symbolic power. Through all of these, the landscape of dissent transforms erasure into visibility and power.

As of September 2011, immigration reform has still not been passed in the United States. Though the impact of the National Immigration Reform March was strong, the United States Congress soon after found itself busy instead with issues of healthcare reform. However, while the governing bodies may not be currently discussing immigration reform, the people continue to. This protest had a strong effect on the citizens, seen through their continued strong emotional reactions to the events of that day, and has continued to be talked about, therein giving the migrant communities a lasting voice.
Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Dr. Elana Shohamy, Christian Ortiz, and Greg Niedt for feedback and support on this project. Thank you also to all those fighting tirelessly for equality and to those who shared their stories with me. Finally, thank you to Dr. Christine Hélot, Dr. Monica Barni, Dr. Rudi Janssens, and Dr. Carla Bagna for taking interest in this work.

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Summary

This paper explores transitory linguistic landscapes as political discourse. Data was collected in Pittsburgh, PA, USA during 2008/9 and investigated three different demonstrations. The study examined the types of multimodal representational genres present at a political demonstration, the political role of each of these genres and differences in usage between the demonstrations investigated. The results revealed several different representational genres: handheld signs, banners, signed vehicles, bumper stickers, clothing, flags and leaflets. Dramatic interjection, provision of information and statements of affiliation and identification were found to be the functions of the transitory linguistic landscape as political discourse.

Résumé

Ce chapitre explore les paysages linguistiques transitoires en tant que discours politiques. Les données ont été collectées dans la ville de Pittsburgh en Pennsylvanie aux États-Unis au cours de l’année 2008/2009 et concernent trois manifestations différentes. L’étude a examiné les genres de représentation multimodale présents lors d’une manifestation politique, le rôle politique de chacun de ces genres et les différences entre les manifestations étudiées dans le cadre de cette étude. Les résultats ont révélé plusieurs genres différents de représentation: des signes portés à la main, des bannières, des véhicules marqués, des autocollants pour voitures, des vêtements, des drapeaux et des tracts. Interjections dramatiques, présentations d’informations, de déclarations, d’affiliations et d’identifications ont été identifiées comme les fonctions du paysage linguistique transitoire en tant que discours politique.

1 Introduction

Linguistic landscape research has traditionally investigated relatively stable multimodal representations within the public sphere (Shohamy/Gorter, 2009). While there is recognition of the possibility of change over time (linguistic landscapes are dynamic), this change is recorded in relation to months or years. The current paper takes a new direction and is interested in linguistic landscapes that are temporary in
nature and last anywhere from a few minutes to a few hours at most. This form of linguistic landscape, which I will term here as a *transitory linguistic landscape*, can be described as a temporary representational occupation of a specific area. While there may be many types of transitory linguistic landscape, the current study investigates political demonstrations. My interest in this form of transitory linguistic landscape is a continuation of a research agenda that has focused on the role of multimodal literacy contestation within public discourse (see Hanauer, 1999, 2004 and 2011). Specifically the current paper explores the role of signage (public literacy) in constructing symbolic and representational meanings during political demonstrations of different types. The data collected was from the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania in the US and addressed three different demonstrations that took place in 2008/9: a demonstration against Israel’s policies in Gaza, a demonstration in support of President Obama’s health care reform and an anarchist demonstration against the G-20 meeting held in Pittsburgh. This study aims to contribute to our understanding of the role of transitory linguistic landscapes as political discourse.

2 Linguistic Landscapes and Political Discourse

Early studies of the linguistic landscape explored “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” (Landry/Bourhis, 1997, 25) and had a clear orientation towards signage as explicated through definitions such as Backhaus’s (2005) “any piece of written text within a definable frame” (p. 56). These core understandings have developed so that a widened understanding of what a linguistic landscape consists of has evolved. Linguistic landscapes are now presumed to be semiotic, representational entities that construct meanings in public areas. Shohamy/Waksman (2009) see the linguistic landscape as any “text presented and displayed in public space” (p. 314) and widen the concept of text to involve verbal, digitized and visual representational resources as text. Thus the interaction among space, representation and the public has become the basis of what is studied as the linguistic landscapes.

Of interest to the current paper is the idea that the linguistic landscape involves the symbolic and representational construction of the identity and meaning of a particular physical site. In this formulation landscapes are a collection of images, sounds, sights, symbols and representations that infuse a space with social meaning. In other words, linguistic landscapes, including a wide range of forms of representation, construct a sense of place and identity that passersby and long term natives recognize, value and assign cultural meanings to. This does not mean though that linguistic landscapes at specific sites have a unitary meaning. Quite the opposite is true. As stated by Palmer (1999) “landscapes are able to contain and convey multiple and often conflicting sets of shared meanings” (p. 317). As seen in Hanauer’s (2004, 2011) research on political graffiti, landscapes can be “contested and appro-
Political demonstrations with their use of signs and other representational forms offer a particularly interesting case for investigation from the perspective of linguistic landscape research. Clearly, the political demonstration is a public event and is held in publically accessible areas and clearly this is a case of contestation in which specific political meanings are being conveyed. The aim of a political demonstration is to influence public opinion, give public presence to specific political positions and change (or form) public understanding, policy and law. Public demonstrations which take place in public locations allow groups the possibility of showing that they are worthy, united, numerous, and committed (WUNC) and as such should be recognized as valid political actors (Tilly, 2004).

As opposed to other forms of political expression, demonstrations function through the drama of physical presence at a particular site. A political demonstration takes place within an existing linguistic landscape and tries to temporarily recast symbolic and representational meanings at that place so that they serve the political aims of the demonstrating group. Thus, the political demonstration is a transitory form of linguistic landscape that interacts with (transgresses/ reinforces) the existing linguistic landscape at the site of protest and the symbolic meanings present at that site.

3 Research Questions and Aims

The goal of this study was to explore and explicate from a genre theory perspective the role of signage (public literacy) in constructing symbolic and representational meanings during political demonstrations. Overall, the study aimed to provide a description of the functions of transitory linguistic landscapes as an aspect of political discourse. The following specific questions were asked:

1. What types of multimodal representational genres are used in demonstrations?
2. What are the political functions of these genres?
3. Are there differences among different demonstrations in relation to the type and function of these genres?

4 Method

This study was conducted along ethnographic lines and consisted of participation in three different demonstrations, extensive photographic and field note documentation during the events, collection of literacy objects at the physical site and subsequent analysis of the internet sites of the organizations involved. Thus, the study involved
a rich set of information sources designed to provide evidence of both the transitory linguistic landscape at the site and an understanding of the broader aspects of the demonstration and its aims. The data was collected in the city of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA during 2008/9. The analysis delineated types of multimodal representational genres in the transitory linguistic landscape and inferred a function for each genre type. Specific consideration was given to the interaction between genre type and the broader aspects of the particular demonstration within which the genre appeared.

5 Descriptions of Demonstrations

This study investigated three demonstrations: a demonstration against Israel’s policies in the Gaza strip (Gaza Demonstration); a demonstration in support of President Obama’s health care reform (Health Care Demonstration); and a demonstration objecting to the G-20 meeting (G-20 Anarchist Demonstration). As summarized in Table 1, in relation to the explicit aim of the demonstration, the organizing group, the legal status, the site of the demonstration, and the number of participants, these three demonstrations had different characteristics. Data for these descriptions was collected from the organizers websites, newspaper reports, and observation.

Table 1: Demonstration Characteristics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aim</th>
<th>GAZA DEMONSTRATION</th>
<th>HEALTH CARE DEMONSTRATION</th>
<th>G-20 A ANARCHIST DEMONSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protest Israeli actions in Gaza</td>
<td>Promote President Obama’s health care plan</td>
<td>Object to global capitalism and the presence of the G-20 in Pittsburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizing group</td>
<td>Pittsburgh Palestine Solidarity Committee, Students for Justice in Palestine, Code Pink, Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Anti-War Coalition</td>
<td>Organizing for America, President Obama’s presidential campaign organization a project of the Democratic National Council</td>
<td>Pittsburgh Organizing Group: A range of loosely aligned anarchist, civil rights, working rights and animal protection groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal status</td>
<td>Municipal license to protest – limited to constant walking and no standing</td>
<td>Municipal license to use public park property for assembly</td>
<td>Illegal protest – no license requested or provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Downtown Cultural District – in front of theatre hosting the Batsheva dance group</td>
<td>Educational center – on the grass in front of Carnegie Mellon University</td>
<td>Working class residential area – protest moved from residential area to a local hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6 Results

The results of this study are presented by research question. The issues to be dealt with are the types of multimodal representational genre present at a political demonstration, the political role of each of the genres and differences in usage between the three demonstrations investigated in this study.

6.1 What types of multimodal representational genres are used in demonstrations?

A basic contribution of this study is the development of a taxonomy of multimodal representational genres that are part of the transitory linguistic landscape at a political demonstration. The process of identifying and classifying these genres addressed all the representational forms that were intentionally brought into the physical area of the demonstration so as to convey a public message. This strategy of identifying the components of a transitory linguistic landscape meant that visual aspects usually ignored such as clothing or painted vehicles were included as functional genres of a political demonstration. A brief synopsis of each of the classified genre of a transitory linguistic landscape at a political demonstration is presented below:

Handheld Signs – Official, Professional Printing/Private, Handmade Production:
One of the most obvious aspects of the linguistic landscape of a political demonstration is the presence of handheld signs. These signs are small enough that a single person can hold them but also large enough so that they can be held up for others to see. The signs can be of two types differentiated in relation to the way they were made and who made them. Official, professionally printed signs were handed out by some demonstration organizers and offered to demonstration participants. This meant that many demonstrators held the same sign with exactly the same message. These signs were professionally printed in mass quantities. Private, handmade signs were made by writing or drawing on the sign. This meant that each sign (or at least a limited number of similar signs) had a unique message different from that of other demonstrators.

Banners – Official, Professional Printing/Private, Handmade Production: Another highly visible aspect of a linguistic landscape of a demonstration is the presence of large banners. These banners were several meters long and high and were very visible from a distance. The banners could be attached to poles and carried by several people which allowed the banners to move with the demonstration; or the banners could be attached to fixed structures usually behind the demonstrators so that it functioned as a backdrop to the demonstration. As with handheld signs the banners were of two types: official professionally printed signs and private handmade signs. In this data set, the official, professionally printed banners mirrored messages found on the official professionally printed handheld signs using the same colors, font and message content. The private, handmade banners consisted of cloth
Signed Painted Vehicles: As part of one of the demonstrations a bus was professionally painted with coordinated messages, colors and logos. The bus with its fully painted siding functioned as a very large moving sign whilst driving and when parked close to the demonstration functioned as a large banner that was a backdrop to the demonstrators.

Bumper Stickers and Car Signs: A variation on the usage of vehicles as moving signs consisted of placing handheld signs in car windows and using bumper stickers. These signs and bumper stickers covered relatively small areas of the car but still allowed messages to be presented on moving vehicles and when parked as a trail leading to the demonstration site. As with other handheld signs, these could be professionally produced or privately made. The bumper stickers were all professionally made and printed but covered a range of political messages and were far less coordinated with the specific demonstration they appeared in. Part of the reasons for this was the bumper stickers present on the cars had been attached over a long period so that some stickers obviously were several years old and dealt with other political or social issues.

Signed Clothing: An interesting aspect of the linguistic landscape of a political demonstration was the use of clothing as a representational form. This involved an intentional usage of specific clothing and the preparation of clothing so that it fulfilled an informational function. There were two different types of signed clothing. Some participants at the political demonstrations linguistically and visually marked their clothing with written messages designating an affiliation or political message. Thus, like the moving vehicles, writing and signage on clothing allowed a person to become a walking billboard. Examples of this included people wearing clearly marked union t-shirts or hooded sweat shirts with printed slogans. A different aspect of signed clothing involved the wearing of particular clothes that have assigned meanings. For example, anarchists can be recognized through their usage of all black clothing including a face mask or a supporter of Palestinian rights may wear a Kaffiyeh – a well known symbol of Palestinian solidarity consisting of a black and white neck scarf. These costumes signify an affiliation to specific social groups.

Leaflets: As part of the political demonstration, activists and organizers handed out to passers-by and other participants leaflets outlining the reasons and aims of the demonstration. These leaflets were printed on colorful paper (yellow, purple, green, blue) and were very visible in the hands of demonstrators as they handed them out. As with other aspects of the transitory linguistic landscape, the leaflets were taken away when the demonstration was over.

Flags: Another visual aspect of demonstrations involved the use of flags. A flag is a symbolic cloth draped on a pole and was used as part of the signage found at political demonstrations. The flags seen in the current study were large and were carried by a single person. Two different types of flag were used: national flags
6.2 What are the political functions of these genres?

The aim of all political discourse is to influence public opinion and if possible change international, national or local policy, modify the legal system or influence budgetary decisions. In other words, political discourse within a democracy is designed to persuade, sway and modify the public’s understanding and beliefs concerning a particular issue and thus put pressure on national and local government institutions to change their actions. In this sense, all the genres outlined in the previous section are part of a transitory linguistic landscape designed through all of its components to influence public opinion. But there are interesting differences between these genres in the specific political role that they play in the linguistic landscape and the outcomes of their presence. The aim of this section is to explore the functions of individual genre and what they can contribute to political discourse. In the next section, the specific ways in which the collections of these genres at particular demonstrations will be analyzed.

Handheld Signs – Official, Professional Printing/Private, Handmade Production:
From an informational perspective, handheld signs provide a message that it is assumed underpins and explains the presence of the person holding the sign at the demonstration. For the observer, the handheld sign explains the act of demonstrating at that particular place and time. As analyzed above handheld signs were of two types – professional printed and privately made and there were significant differences between them in relation to their political function. In the current study, the professionally made signs consisted of a limited number of specific messages obviously written and designed by a professional advertising agency. These signs were handed out by the organizers and thus created a situation in which multiple people held exactly the same sign. Thus the same message was repeated across a large group of people suggesting that they all shared the same aim and belief expressed through the holding of the same sign. Of course, this might not actually be the case, but as a political discursive act, a large group holding the same signs signifies solidarity and unity around a particular message. Conversely, handmade signs with political messages made by individual participants represented quite directly the beliefs and understandings of the person who made and is holding the sign. In the current study, the content of the handmade sign was different from sign to sign but revolved around some shared interest of the demonstration. As a political discursive act, these handmade signs with their differences suggested a group of very engaged individuals who were dedicated to the concern around which the demonstration was organized.

Banners – Official, Professional Printing/Private, Handmade Production: Banners because of their size fulfill an important informational role at a political demon-
stration. As with the handheld signs, banners provide a message that explains the reason for the demonstration. The banner with its large lettering and dominating physical presence functions as a form of ‘title’ for the demonstration. It provides the central message of the organizers of the demonstration. In the current study, there were two types of banners. The officially printed banners complemented and imitated the messages found in the professionally made handheld signs further enhancing the sense of a single message. The privately made banners presented what the organizers felt was the main message and aim of the demonstration but this did not necessarily echo what was on the handmade signs. Thus, there was a diversity of positions beyond the main message of the organizers on the central banner.

Signed Painted Vehicles: From an informational perspective, the signed vehicle (a painted bus) functions in the same way as the professionally made banner in that it propagates the central message of the demonstration. A painted bus has a looming physical presence and once parked becomes a backdrop to the demonstration, like the banner it provides a title for the demonstration. Of course a painted vehicle also moves so that it can provide dramatic effects like driving up to the demonstration. In the current study, the signed bus had a message that was coordinated with the handheld sign and banners thus furthering the idea of a shared, unified message.

Bumper Stickers and Car Signs: Bumper stickers and car signs had two different functions in relation to political discourse. Car signs could fulfill an informational function similar to those of handheld signs. In this sense they provided an explanation of why someone had come to the demonstration and the aims of demonstrating. These signs could be the same as the professionally made signs in which case they once again added to a sense of solidarity and unity of message or they could be handmade in which case they reflected an individual’s understanding of the reasons they came to a demonstration. The bumper stickers fulfilled a very different role in that they tended to express affiliation with political group or individual. Messages such as Obama/Biden 2008 do not provide a political message directly but do show political affiliation with the Democratic Party. Some bumper stickers did provide political or social messages on a range of issues.

Signed Clothing: The political function of signed clothing was to signify affiliation with a specific group or idea. Thus, rather than propagating a particular informational message, clothing showed that the person in the demonstration explicitly identified with a particular group. So the wearing of Kaffiyeh at a pro-Palestinian demonstration signified affiliation with the Palestinian people and cause. Similarly, the wearing of T-shirts with the logo and name of a specific workers union fulfilled the function of showing affiliation with a union and the presence of the union at that demonstration.

Leaflets: Leaflets at a political demonstration fulfill a very important informational role. On the one hand they provide detailed information on the aims of the demonstration and information that is relevant for understanding why a demonstration is necessary. The handheld signs and banners provide only limited space to ex-
press the real aims of the demonstration. Leaflets with their two sided format offer the option of providing much more information than a short slogan. The second function of the leaflet is to direct passers-by and other participants to relevant websites and the organization’s contact information. These websites provide even more detailed information on the aims of the organization(s) that conducted the demonstration, other similar activities, and additional options for political participation. Thus the leaflet fulfills an outreach role that attempts to explain the organization’s activities and entice new members to join and be active.

*Flags:* The political function of flags as part of a political demonstration was to signify affiliation with particular political groups and ideas. Thus usage of a national flag at a particular demonstration meant identification with that national entity or the presence of well recognized symbol (such as a peace sign) showed identification with that idea.

6.3 Are there differences among the demonstrations in relation to the type and function of these genres?

In the previous section the political functions of each genre was explained. In this section the role of these genres at specific demonstrations will be discussed. The aim is to explicate the ways in which specific representational genres fulfilled the aims of particular political demonstrations. The analysis addresses the presence of multiple genres in the transitory linguistic landscape. Table 2 presents an overview of the genres that were employed in the different demonstrations. As can be seen in Table 2, the demonstrations differed in relation to what genres they utilized.

Table 2 Usage of Representational Genres at Three Demonstrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GAZA DEMONSTRATION</th>
<th>HEALTH CARE DEMONSTRATION</th>
<th>G-20 A ANARCHIST DEMONSTRATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Handheld Signs:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes – majority</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes - minority</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banners:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes – majority</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes – minority</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signed Vehicles</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes – a bus</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bumper Stickers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Car signs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linguistically</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked clothing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costume</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaflets</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flags</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gaza Demonstration: The Gaza demonstration was held in front of a well known theatre in downtown Pittsburgh on the night of a performance by an Israeli dance company (see Figure 1). The Israeli dance company’s tour in the US was held at the same time as the on-going operations of Israeli forces in Gaza. The demonstration in front of the theatre was legal but had specific guidelines attached to it. Protesters were not allowed to stand or sit but rather were required to be constantly moving. Thus the demonstrators walked in a circle right in front of the entrance to the theatre as people arrived to see the dance performance. To get into the theatre you had to walk pass the demonstrators. The overall aim of the demonstration was to foreground Israel’s military action in Gaza and interject this within public discourse in Pittsburgh and more broadly the US. Specifically the aim was to change public opinion about Israel and the nature of the Gaza conflict. Several of the handheld signs interacted with the broader discursive position propagated by Israel and to a certain extent supported by the US government of the time, that Gaza was a terrorist outpost and that Israel was the victim of Gaza’s aggression. The handheld signs attempted to reverse these roles and situate Gaza as the victim and Israel as the aggressor. The demonstration also aimed to problematize the normalcy of Israeli life and activities. Thus the demonstration tried to disrupt the dance company’s performance by highlighting the violence in Gaza. An additional aim of the demonstration was to express (and elicit, if possible) anger about Israel’s actions in Gaza and generate sympathy for the plight of Palestinians.

Several linguistic landscape methods were used to achieve these aims. First and foremost the site and time of the demonstration was a significant aspect of this act of political discourse. The staging of the demonstration in front of the theatre before
and during the performance of the Israeli dance theatre created contestation between the desire for normalcy of the Israeli dance company and its audience and the desire to interject the Gaza conflict into the event. The usage of costume (mainly wearing the Kaffiyeh) and the presence of Palestinian flags in front of the theatre under the heading of the name of the Israeli dance company showed affiliation and sympathy for the plight of Gaza and at the same time temporarily transformed the meaning of the performance from another artistic performance into a political act. Privately made handheld signs were used to further explain the reasons for the demonstration. One sign read “Don’t dance on Gaza’s grave” an explicit reference to the meaning assigned to this demonstration. The dancers continuing life as normal through their performance was reconstructed as an insult to the Palestinian’s suffering through Israeli violence in Gaza and yet another sign of Israeli indifference at the suffering of the Palestinians. Finally leaflets handed out to passersby and people coming to the Israeli dance company’s show, provided more detailed information on a range of acts of aggression by Israel in relation to the Palestinians and provided website and other contact information.

The Health Care Demonstration: The health care demonstration was held in the period just before the new health care bill promoted by President Obama was passed in the House of Representatives or the Senate (see Figure 2). During this period there was intense political discussion and action in the US against this healthcare bill. A large part of the argument promoted by those who objected to the proposed bill was that popular support was against any changes to healthcare. Accordingly, as a political act the President’s election team organized a series of demonstrations in support of the healthcare bill designed to counter the argument that there was no support for
change. Specifically, the demonstration studied in this paper was one of many demonstrations across the US all designed to demonstrate that there was numerical, national support for the changes to healthcare in the US.

To achieve this aim linguistic landscape methods were used to construct a picture of unity and solidarity in support of healthcare at the demonstration. The demonstration and all the aspects of the linguistic landscape were carefully coordinated to present a central message of support for President Obama’s healthcare proposal. Handheld signs that were professionally printed were given to each participant as they arrived. The handheld signs had a limited set of messages that were directly coordinated with the message on the signed vehicle (the bus) and with the large banners that were present. The role of the demonstrator was as an extra on a movie set. You needed to stand there and hold the sign that was given to you so that there were physical bodies there offering support to the overall message of the demonstration. Signs of affiliation with national and political bodies showed support of particular bodies such as unions of the new healthcare provisions of affiliation with specific political parties like the democrats. Finally leaflets were handed out with specific details of the proposed healthcare bill in point form. On these leaflets there was also some attempt to contradict opposition to the healthcare bill.

The G-20 Anarchist Demonstration: The G-20 anarchist demonstration was held in working class neighborhood of Pittsburgh during the hosting of the G-20 meeting in that city (see Figure 3). The demonstration was coordinated by several anarchist groups and the place of meeting was sent via a range of cell phone interactions, word-of-mouth and websites. The aim of the demonstration was to protest the presence of the G-20 in Pittsburgh and to express resistance to a range of issues including capitalist policies, capitalism, economic exploitation, police corruption and brutality, the inhuman treatment of animals, China’s policy in Tibet and the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Participants in the demonstration also expressed support for peace, paying jobs and animal rights. Thus the demonstration covered a wide range of issues and was far more diverse in its aims than either of the other demonstrations studied in this paper. The demonstration started when a large crowd of over a thousand protesters converged on a wide street and started walking down the street. There was a heavy police presence and as the demonstration did not have a legal license, after about 15 minutes a loudspeaker announced that the demonstrators must disperse or be arrested. Quickly the demonstrations broke into several marching groups going down different side streets.

In achieving its aims this demonstration used a range of linguistic landscape methods. Banners and a wide range of privately made, handheld signs expressed specific messages against the range of issues that disturbed the participants. These messages were clearly not coordinated but shared a mutual sense of protest against the excesses of 21st century capitalist and social behavior. Thus one could see signs that objected to banking policies next to signs on fair pay, police corruption and animal rights. While the impetus was the presence of the G-20 in Pittsburgh, individuals
and groups at the demonstration protested against a much wider set of issues than just global financial policy. An additional aspect of the linguistic landscape was the use of costume. Many of the demonstrators wore the accepted uniform of the anarchists consisting of all black clothing with covered heads and faces. One or two protesters were dressed as seals covered in blood to exemplify what was being done to these animals in Canada an issue of animal rights. Flags designating support for peace or the anarchist movement were also present.

7 Transitory Linguistic Landscapes as Political Discourse

This study investigated the role of transitory linguistic landscapes as political discourse. In all three demonstrations, methods of linguistic landscape construction were used to temporarily reconstruct the meaning of a site in light of the political aims of the organizers. As a basic operational principle, transitory linguistic landscapes as political discourse aim to create new ways of understanding specific places so as to further their own political messages. The interaction with the existing meanings at a site can be supportive as in the case of positioning a demonstration in support of healthcare in front of one of a well-known private university or contrastive as in the case of the demonstration against Israeli actions in Gaza held in front of a theatre hosting a performance of an Israeli dance company.

In recasting the meaning of a site in political terms a range of representational genre are used. The current study reveals three core functions for these representational genres in the political transitory linguistic landscape: as dramatic interjections into public discourse; providers of information; and as statements of affiliation and
identification. The most basic function of the transitory linguistic landscape as political discourse is to make the demonstration visible within the public arena. This is the act of dramatic interjection. Suddenly at a place that is well known and may fulfill a completely different function a demonstration takes place and directly interjects political messages into public consciousness. The signage of various types marks the place in very specific terms for the short period that the demonstration takes place. The construction of transitory linguistic landscape that is noticed is the basic condition for a demonstration to take place and be successful.

The transitory linguistic landscape also fulfills informational functions. As seen in the analyses above, a range of messages from very short slogans as found on banners or handheld signs to much lengthier explanations found on handed out leaflets are part of the transitory linguistic landscape. While the function of dramatic interjection of the transitory linguistic landscape makes the public aware that some group of people is concerned about something, the signage attempts to make clear what the issues are by providing information. Banners, handheld signs, painted vehicles and leaflets all attempt to explain the reasons for the demonstration and provide the public with relevant information from the demonstrators perspective. The attempt is to interact with the public directly, through media outlets and in relation to public discursive positions.

The third function of representational genres in the transitory linguistic landscape is to mark affiliation and identification with particular groups or ideas. Through signage of different types the orientation of the demonstration and its supporters is expressed. Marked affiliation and identification provides physical evidence at the site of the demonstration of support for particular social groups. Furthermore, clearly marked affiliation at a demonstration is a referencing system which defines specific people as members of a much larger group. This visual reference bolsters the assumed numbers of supporters for the political position promoted by the demonstration. Marked affiliation also fulfills a cognitive role in that it provides a context for understanding the aims of the demonstration beyond the presented slogans.

On a deeper personal level, the act of physically attending a demonstration shows a degree of concern and dedication for a particular cause. The process of marked identification by an individual with a specific group through marked clothing, flag waving or other forms of signage, further enhances this perception of a dedication, empathy and support. This show of allegiance has a role to play as part of political discourse in that without dedicated followers and supporters the political movement does not actually exist. On a very basic level, presence at a demonstration and marked personal identification with a group or a cause is the physical manifestation of political discourse at a given site as well as a message concerning dedicated support for a group and position.

The functions of dramatic interjection, provision of information and marked affiliation and identification work together in the transitory linguistic landscape as political discourse. Dramatic interjection through the construction of a transitory lin-
guistic landscape marks space in a particular way and directs attention to the demonstration. Marked affiliation and identification show that there is actual support for the aims of the demonstration and provide a general orientation towards the particular meanings of this demonstration. Through signage the transitory linguistic landscape provides specific messages about the reasons for the demonstration and what the central issues and understandings are. Leaflets handed out to passersby, provide more detailed information on the political agenda and policies that are being promoted, negated and supported by this demonstration as well as offering additional ways to get information or become an activist.

Together, these functions of the transitory linguistic landscape attempt to influence political discourse by making people aware of concerns, by providing particular interpretations and understandings of events and by showing that there are concerned individuals who actually support this cause. In a democracy, the political demonstration is an important tool to allow political positions to enter into public discourse. As seen in this paper, the political demonstration functions through the construction of a transitory linguistic landscape. This paper has tried to examine how this form of linguistic landscape works as political discourse.

Bibliography


Linguistic Landscape – The Seeing and Writing of Art

Summary

Spaces of the linguistic landscape are multiple and multi-faceted. As a product, linguistic landscape alludes to ideas and perceptions that give rise to a space, define it, and are defined by it. In terms of its production, LL offers a dialectical approach for analysis, challenging simplistic definitions of it as a specified dimension of space and location.

This chapter tells the story of producing a linguistic landscape, an outcome of people’s minds and perceptions. It focuses on how LL is constructed in a given space and by given practices. Based on the process of producing an artwork for the Shankill Wall in Belfast, Northern Ireland, the chapter examines how language and art offer a key to spatial practices, negotiating elements of top-down and bottom-up relationships and visual communication. By combining reality and imagination with theory and practice, it presents a defined linguistic landscape, a work that involves practices of art, language and community. The chapter illustrates Lefebvre’s thesis about the production of space, examining the formation of the relationship between the creator and her/his creation to emphasize the temporality of a concrete linguistic landscape versus its conceptual derivation.

Résumé

Les espaces du paysage linguistique sont multiples et présentent diverses facettes. En tant que produit, le paysage linguistique se rapporte aux idées et aux perceptions qui font surgir un espace et qui le définissent aussi bien qu’elles sont définies par lui. En tant que production, le paysage linguistique offre à l’analyse une approche dialectique qui remet en question les définitions simplistes selon lesquelles il ne consiste qu’en une dimension déterminée de l’espace et de l’emplacement.

Ce chapitre fait le récit de la production d’un paysage linguistique, résultat des pensées et des perceptions des gens. Il s’intéresse à la manière dont le paysage linguistique se construit dans un espace donné et par des pratiques données. S’appuyant sur le processus de production d’une œuvre d’art pour le Mur de Shankill à Belfast, en Irlande du Nord, il examine comment le langage et l’art offrent une clé pour comprendre les pratiques spatiales et ce, par la négociation des éléments de relations descendantes et ascendantes et de communication visuelle. En combinant la réalité et l’imagination avec la théorie et la pratique, ce chapitre présente un paysage linguistique particulier, une œuvre qui implique les pratiques de l’art, le langage et la communauté. Il illustre la thèse de Lefebvre sur la production de l’espace en examinant la forma-
1 Introduction

Spaces of the linguistic landscape are multiple and multi-faceted. Painted, carved on walls, placarded and written on signs, visual, audible – ‘visibility and salience’ (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25), permanent or temporary, conspicuous or concealed, linguistic landscapes reveal spaces and embody them. Artistically and linguistically, linguistic landscape alludes to ideas and perceptions that give rise to a space, define it, and are defined by it. Whether static or dynamic, the linguistic landscape is a human-social function, offering a dialectical approach for analyzing assorted modes of interaction.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how concepts and perceptions both construct and are constructed, interacting through art and language in specific linguistic landscapes (LL). Moving between and through these poles, the chapter illustrates Lefebvre’s (1991) thesis about the production of space – what conceals the fact that social space is a social product? Interpreting both his question and the possible answers, suggesting that they are illusions of transparency on one hand, and of opacity on the other, the chapter enquires about the relationships between these two, modifying them into acts and perceptions. Methodologically, unlike most studies of LL, this chapter does not focus on the product but on the production process, and more precisely, on the conceptual production itself.

2 “If Walls could Talk”: Creating a Linguistic Landscape (I)

Early in 2009, a group of artists was invited by the Arts and Tourism Unit of the Greater Shankill Partnership to participate in the project “If Walls Could Talk” – painting the Shankill wall (known as “the Peace Wall”) in Belfast, Northern Ireland. The basic idea of the project was to turn a section of that wall into ‘an outdoor art gallery’ (as stated in an accompanying publication). One of the authors of this paper, John Johnston, together with his colleague Dee Craig, was among the artists. However, walls are not art galleries. If they were, they would be deluding us, creating an illusion and conceptualizing a non-existent reality. The two artists decided to link their work to the Shankill local community, and to integrate people’s beliefs, narratives and ideologies into their creation; to ensure that the content and imagery remained relevant to the Shankill community. They also decided to reflect local issues in a global context, extending their premise to other places in a world confronted with realities of conflict, places which are now integrated in their painting, carved on the wall – Israel, Palestine, Nicosia, Baghdad, Berlin (see Fig 1). However, Northern
Ireland and Palestine-Israel, as both conflicting and complementary elements, are the focal point of the work. This chapter discusses how linguistic landscape is constructed in people’s minds to reflect the genuine agendas of others. Based on the artists’ workshops in Northern Ireland, and in Israel and Palestine, the chapter examines how language offers a key to spatial practices in art, and to society’s spaces and narratives. Thus, by combining reality and imagination with theory and practice, it presents a defined linguistic landscape, a work that involves spatial practices of art, language and community.

![Figure 1 Art, language and community, 2004, Johnston and Craig](image)

3 Broadening the Scope: Visuality – Literacy, Language, Rhetoric, Semiotics, Images

Theoretically, this chapter derives from the field of visual communication (VC). Generally speaking, visual communication theories explore how people see and perceive, and how VC occurs (Kenney 2005). Moriarty and Barbatsis (2005) list 12 major VC theories, among them visual literacy, visual rhetoric, and semiotics, all of which are relevant to our discussion and are common to LL and VC alike.
Visual literacy is usually defined as the ability to ‘read’, understand, interpret, negotiate, and make meaning from information presented as images (Sinatra 1986; Schapiro 1996; Stokes 2002; Kress/Van Leeuwen 2009). It is based on the notion that pictures can be read and that meaning can be communicated through that reading. In LL, every sign becomes an image, and a composition of various images ultimately coheres into a “new”, unified image – as we shall see in the project of the artwork on the wall in Belfast, which is discussed herein.

A glance at current theories about visual rhetoric – the study of visual imagery within the discipline of rhetoric (Foss 2005) is helpful for analysing the concept of LL and how it is constructed. All visual communications involve both images and human activity – usually the interaction between them. What is relevant to the artwork in Belfast and to how LL has been constructed there is that, although visual rhetoric, like all communication, is a system of signs, not every visual object, not every image – is visual rhetoric (ibid.). What makes it rhetoric depends on three elements: the image must be symbolic; it must involve human interaction; and it must be presented for the purpose of communication with a specific audience (Foss, 2005: 144). All three elements are integral to the Shankill Wall project; all three are indications of human acts, interactions and relationships, and therefore are matters of mind, convenience and perception – as is rhetoric.

Semiotics is central to the understanding of visual language (Evans 1999; Saint-Martin 1990; Kress/Van Leeuwen 2009), and the term “semiotic landscape” has been referred to in several studies (Scollon/Scollon 2003; Kress/Van Leeuwen, 2006; Backhous 2007; Barni/Bagna 2009; Jaworski/Thurlow 2010). For the purposes of this chapter, we refer to the study of semiotics as developed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century by Ferdinand de Saussure (1959/1993) and Charles Pierce (1965). Basically, semiotics is the study of signs and symbols, of graphic representations of signs, and of the relationships between signifier and signified as conceptual (de Saussure) – as is their interpretation (Pierce). The relationship formed between an image and how that image is perceived, or between a product and how it is represented are components of what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) called “visual interaction”. Following Jaworski/Thurlow (2010), it can be suggested that that linguistic landscape conducts a kind of dialogue with semiotics as a prime resource until it becomes a semiotic landscape in itself. Jaworski/Thurlow (2010) recognize the dimension at which the study of landscape has been developed as interdisciplinary. They argue that landscape is “a broader concept pertaining to how we view and interpret space” (p. 3); based on cognitive and emotional aspects of the individual, the history and the socio-political situation of the community and the environment.

References to types of visuality, e.g. visual image or visual design (Graddol 2009), visual interaction and image act (Kress/Van Leeuwen, 2009) have become part of the general discourse on visuality and visual language, all of them implying a confluence of act and motion. Schapiro (1996) distinguishes between the act of
reading (a text or a picture) and the act of viewing (a picture), arguing that a different activity occurs in each case. This can be related to the understanding that acts of reconstruction and interpretation of a text, image, or event are both cognitive (Stokes 2002) and social active modes. Stokes (2002) links visual literacy with visual language, suggesting that visual language affirms Aristotle’s statement that without image(s), thinking is impossible. As Stokes argues, “the use and interpretation of image is a specific language, in the sense that images are used to communicate messages that must be decoded in order to have meaning” (p. 2).

Giving meaning either to an image or a word is an act of communication (emphasis here on “act”), an active approach by the producer of a verbal or visual language to the addressee. This is common to visual literacy, language literacy, and visual language; and this, on the Shankill Wall, represents the “If Walls Could Talk” conceptual method.

4 Northern Ireland, the Shankill Wall and the Palestinian-Israeli Connection

In June 1969 civil violence exploded in the streets of Northern Ireland. During the next forty years over 3600 people died and almost 30,000 were injured. Like most modern conflicts the vast majority of victims were innocent civilians – killed while trying to engage in normal life or deliberately targeted due to their religious beliefs or political affiliations. The terror served to further divide an already divided society – a division engendered by imperial conquest, and based on religion, class, loss and gain.

The Shankill Wall, located in North-Western Belfast, is one of more than forty “peace walls” or “peace lines” in the Belfast district, which were built following the bloody clashes of 1969 to separate Catholics living on one side of the wall (Folls Road) and Protestants on the other on Shankill Road. The Shankill Wall was thus a battlefront for more than 40 years.

On Good Friday, April 10th 1998, after almost two years of intense political negotiation, a settlement was reached. The wall acquired a new role.

Over the years, struggles for justice and liberty worldwide, including the Middle East, became identified with the Northern Ireland conflict. Generally speaking, the Catholic community in Northern Ireland identify with the Palestinian struggle for their rights, whereas the Protestant community has traditionally identified with Israel and Jewish history. The Belfast walls in general and the Shankill wall in particular have become a kind of linguistic-landscape memorial of world conflict (Fig. 2).
So how is LL constructed? Of what materials is it made? Who defines the LL, and where? What motivated the actual practices in the case of the Shankill artwork?

The LL which is at the heart of this chapter is both the production and the reproduction (Lefebvre 1992) of two locations, each comprising two communities, and two sets of occurrences and procedures: these are (i) the Israeli/Palestinian community and (ii) the Catholic/Protestant community in Belfast. The connections between the two, between the various stories, histories, ideas and values, form a body of images and symbols that are the basis of the artwork (Fig 1).

**Practice I** – To prepare for the project, the artists interviewed members of the Shankill community, and travelled to Israel and Palestine, where they conducted workshops with parents, children and teachers of bilingual – Arabic-Hebrew – schools. Their intention was to find out how people living in conflict conceptualize both their own images and language, and those of “the others” in order to represent them in their art. The outcome of those workshops and interviews i.e. the creation of a symbolic language through visual art and language practices in Belfast and the Middle East are at the core of this chapter and can be seen on the Shankill Wall today (Fig 1).

In one of the workshops conducted by the artists in Israel, the staff and parents from one of the bi-national and bilingual – Arabic-Hebrew – frameworks were asked
to draw symbols of Palestine (and Palestinians) and Israel (and Israelis). The participants were divided into two mixed groups of Palestinians and Israelis, and were placed in two separate rooms. Each group worked for itself, and could not hear or see what was going on in the other room. One mixed group represented the Palestinians, the other represented the Israelis. Each group discussed the symbols (images) and language (words) according to the ‘definition’ of their group, and created a composite picture. The result was astonishing – both groups had produced almost identical symbols (Fig. 3).

The two drawings are composed of what can be identified as universal symbols and images (eye, tear, dove, etc.). They are not just for the eyes and minds of the people of the Middle East. Although visual literacy, like language literacy, is culturally specific, there are universal symbols or visual images that are understood globally (Stokes 2002). The paintings in our case are very similar, both representing agony and a modicum of hope. There are hardly any religious or national symbols. The tree predominates, not just as a symbol, but also as the focus of the “message” transmitted by each group. Evidently the power of similarity is stronger than that of difference. The salient motives of the two drawings (Fig. 3), the trees have become central to the artwork on Shankill (Fig. 1). The distant communities’ symbols produced by the workshop participants touched the others in the alliance – the artists, and have encountered the second conceptual actor – the Shankill community.
Practice II – Back in their studios, the artists engaged with Milton’s “Paradise Lost”, written in 1667 (IV: 513-24):

All (by and large, happiness) is not theirs it seems:
One fatal tree there stands of knowledge called,
Forbidden them to taste. Knowledge forbidden?
Suspicious, reasonless, Why should their Lord
Envy them that? Can it be sin to know,
Can it be death? And do they only stand
By ignorance, is that their happy state,
The proof of their obedience and their faith?
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
With more desire to know.

Milton’s image of the Garden of Eden, his tree of knowledge, has been united with the trees of Palestine and Israel to become the central visual motif of the Shankill project in Belfast (Fig. 1). Trees depicted in a political-educational workshop in the Middle East to symbolise recognition embody the artists’ narratives and ideas about knowledge and perceptions. As the artists declared (in the accompanying publication: If Walls Could Talk), the trees represent the communities on each side of the wall, standing on different ground, but nourished by the same soil. The new product thus integrates a complexity of materials and resources – of time, location, perceptions and actions. Rhetorically, it is a conjunction of three vital elements – symbolism, interaction and communication (Foss 2005). The rhetorical dimension of the Middle Eastern trees matches Milton’s spirit, and could be easily adapted by the artists for their own creations. A multi-faceted encounter of ideas thus occurred in the studio, influenced by time and geography.

It is not just the image or images but also the language (words) as symbols that comprise the new artwork (Milton’s “knowledge” is a case in point). For the artists “knowledge” challenged the focus of their work and the rationale for its creation – the wall. “Knowledge forbidden?” The wall is a symbol of that: what does it hide? And what does the painting itself conceal? The reality presented in the artwork (Fig. 1) misleads us by concealment. Deciphering it (Lefebvre 1991) occurs through conceptual encounter – in Israel and Palestine, in Northern Ireland, and with people’s narratives, illustrations and poems. This is evidenced in the workshop illustrations (Fig. 3), and in the artists’ productions in the studio.

Practice III – The foreground images derive from archival sources that are pictorial and traditional, and connect the present day of the Shankill community with their history and the histories of other peoples. The maps, for example (Fig.1), relate places to people and demarcate territories of one community or another. The virtual landscape is simultaneously a concrete space and a landscape. Significant historic figures are included in the piece, and a statement by and image of Sir Edward Car-
son represent the political influence the Shankill has had on the evolution of Northern Ireland. For the artists, the most important symbolic reference is the one of “opportunity for change” – a pure text (linguistic landscape) merged with words in Arabic, English and Hebrew, and symbols (visual language). The words and symbols are local, universal, and timeless. The communities on each side of the wall are represented by the two trees. The same trees represent the Palestinian and Israeli communities. Thus, what we see reflects the power of knowledge, an outcome of people’s ideas and perceptions. All these symbols and layers together comprise an artwork that is a composite visual statement.

The artwork as LL on the Shankill Wall introduces us not just to two (or even four) different communities but also to two kinds of producers or actors, two leading roles, namely those of the two artists and of the workshop participants. In considering how linguistic landscape is constructed, we recruit words (in whatever language) and images alike, employing them to depict historical narratives, political ideas, the concepts of the participants themselves, and how they perceive “the others”. The visual medium embodies the consciousness; the perceptions shape the visual; together they shape and are shaped by the space.

6 The Wall Again: Producing Space

What conceals the fact that social space is a social product? Lefebvre (1991) suggests that the practicum of the space includes:

…production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion...
(p. 33).

The Shankill artwork is a social product. Dialectically and simultaneously it exhibits and conceals its self/own space (Lefebvre 1991):

…it propounds and presupposes it… it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From an analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (p. 38).

Does the artwork tell and teach us something about Belfast? About the Israeli Palestinian conflict? To some extent, it does; but more than the conflict per se, it tells us about people’s narratives and perceptions. That is what the semiotic landscape on the Shankill Wall in Belfast is about.

A score and more of distinctive symbolic references, words and images embodying security, separation, perception, reality, fear, trust and belief, together build a narrative that transforms the artwork into a strong visual statement. It creates its
own symbolic language that resonates with both the Shankill community and contemporary visual art. This is a bilateral socio-political production in space.

This multi-modal space is compounded of the actual-tangible space of Shankill wall, the social space of the local community (which is, itself, multi-lateral in terms of geographical location and historical, political or educational space), the conceptual space, and even the artists’ studio spaces. Each space can be analyzed individually to reveal the “spatial practice of a society through deciphering it” (ibid.). The artwork, as a whole, does this for us, step by step. It is not just achieved by the visual production. It is, rather, the dialectical process based on perceptions and concepts that has created the product.

Our focus is thus on the conceptual space, which gives rise to a kind of conceptual-changeable relationship between realities, images, and people, each of these parameters modifying and/or verifying its role in different modes. This is not an illusion, as Lefebvre insists, but the outcome of people’s perceptions. It does not conceal (not even if the wall falls down). It is as clear, as open, as manifest as a banner, and it is evident in the Shankill Wall.

7 Top-Down vs. Bottom-Up: Challenging a Dichotomy

Top-down and bottom-up are widely prevalent terms in social studies and language theory, and thus also with linguistic landscape. In social studies, these terms relate to questions such as “who decides (and leads), who sets the place? Is it the power of the regime (top-down) or the individual, the non-organized person, who (bottom-up), sets in motion visible and salient mechanisms and practices?” In regard to language, the terms refer to text analysis and processing reading – holistic looking at texts (idea, content) which is conducive to consideration of smaller units (sentences and words). Using top-down and bottom-up in regard to linguistic landscape, Backhaus (2007) suggests that they merge in LL and contribute to how we understand and analyse it.

Top-down (TD) and bottom-up (BU) are not static dimensions, nor are they discrete. They change position from one dimension to another. Sometimes BU mutates into TD. Sometimes, TD is appropriated by individuals (e.g. graffiti). So how does it all work? Let us consider it in light of the artwork on the Shankill Wall.

The Shankill artwork was a top-down initiative. It was the “Shankill Partnership” of Belfast (TD) that approached the artists to produce an artwork. The wall itself is a political top-down element both conceptually and physically. However, over the years, like other walls worldwide, the Shankill Wall has been used by people (bottom-up) to make their own statements, sometimes against the wall itself. At some juncture the monument and the written and/or visual texts amalgamated into a single artefact that, conceptually, practically and methodologically, challenges the conven-
tional dichotomy of top-down and bottom-up. Recruiting the artists, then, meant replacing a bottom-up voice with a top-down approach.

Theoretically, it should be simple to identify the producers of the Shankill’s artwork as either BU or TD. Practically, it is not that simple. Figure 4 shows an artist preparing a space which, until that instant, had served as a top-down monument (i.e. wall) with bottom-up elements (graffiti) in order to construct an alternative combination of top-down and bottom-up symbols and images. The previous dynamic is now changed by the bottom-up intervention, which is preparing to re-occupy the space and control it.

Top-down and bottom-up thus become a matter of continuity. Dialectically, this might challenge their dichotomy. The artists’ new LL will cover the bottom-up views expressed in graffiti and paintings in order to exhibit their own top-down/bottom-up syntheses deriving from workshops with various social groups. The new product calls for a new interaction – a visual one. The surface that invites writing (Barthes 1975/2007) disappears. A new bottom-up statement is created. It conceals the political dimension (wall, separation), but is now controlled by authorities as a top-down element until dismantled (as in Berlin) by bottom-up acts.

Figure 4 Changing the linguistic landscape

So what can we learn from the artwork in Belfast about the production of space, about the production of linguistic landscapes? Who produces that space? What is revealed, what is concealed? Does it reflect reality, or reflect on it? Artistic knowledge is not needed for understanding the message (and answering these questions), nor do
we need to analyze it as it would be analyzed traditionally in art studies, or to dis-
cuss its place in the history of murals or graffiti. It does, however, require historical
knowledge and a socio-political approach to the space.

8 Walls – Doubts and Considerations

The wall: visible and salient, concrete, symbolic. In places of conflict such as Israel,
Palestine, or Northern Ireland – the concept of “wall” is crucial to the under-
standing and consideration of what people think and perceive: walls are iconic landmarks.

The actuality of the wall as a tangible aspect of linguistic-semiotic landscape, and
the production of artwork by professional artists has given rise to questions about
images and symbols, language and representation, perception and recognition; about
temporality, top-down and bottom-up relationships; about production of spaces, and
about the linguistic landscape as a representation of a reality. What, then, is the real-
ity? What would happen if the Shankill Wall fell down? Would the LL disappear?
What is the relationship between the producer of a linguistic landscape, the product
itself, and its audience?

Building the Shankill wall was a top-down act that quickly mutated into a bot-
tom-up action of expression, a static/dynamic demonstration of what, in the jargon,
are known as “graffiti”. Thus, long before commencing the 2009 project, the
Shankill wall was recognized by local communities and visitors as a convenient
blackboard for expressing ideas, views and ex-
xperiences. Considering the title – “If
walls could talk” – it, the wall, had already spoken: the Shankill wall was covered
with bottom-up expressions by all kinds of voices, as graffiti usually are.

In “The pleasure of the text”, Barthes (1975/2007) defines the surface of a wall as
a most inviting place on which to write. There is no urban wall, he claims, without
graffiti. The wall is a platform for writing, indeed, invites one to write on it; and it is
the wall, according to Barthes, on which modern writing happens. If this is the case,
the question is not just what is written or painted on walls, but why or how people
write.

Afterword

This chapter portrays the production of a linguistic landscape, an outcome of peo-
ple’s minds and perceptions. It focuses on how LL is constructed in a given space
and by given practices. But some questions, about theory and practice alike, still
echo: What was the actual role of the “If walls could talk” project? Was it about
erasing bottom-up ideas (texts), painted and written over and against top-down pol-
icy (a wall), and replacing them with yet another top-down production i.e. of the
artists? It should be remembered that these were artists who asked to absorb their
ideas about walls and states of conflict from (bottom-up) communities living near walls. It seems that Lefebvre’s question – what conceals the fact that social space is a social product? – receives its answer in the Shankill art project: it is not concealed if it is about political encounters of acts and ideas.

Dialectical encounters and establishment of sets of relationships occur when producing LL – between art and language or language and semiotics (Jaworski/Thurlow 2010), between a place and its text, and the text and its surface (Barthes 1975/2007), between text and context, time and space, and space and the product. At Shankill, all these encounters and relationships act in a broader socio-political and geographical context (Jaworski/Thurlow 2010).

The artwork in Belfast comprises images and words, words as images, constructed by concepts, ideas, narratives. The locus and its setting, i.e. the wall and the participants, are essential factors for understanding the rest of the plot. The legend at the base of the artwork quotes Sir Edward Carson’s words from 1914: “Only a fool would fight if there is a chance for accommodation”. Around this idea a whole picture has been created; one that conceptualizes the artists’ view and other people’s perceptions as a visual political statement, the static, solid monument standing in marked contrast to the dynamic frailty of text and painting – indeed a most powerful composite.

To conclude, and in response to Lefebvre – reality presented in art is, by definition, an illusion. When the illusion reflects the reality – what happens to the reality? Does it change? The relationship between the illusion of the reality and the reality of the illusion seems rather fragile; if an artwork represents reality as the artist perceives it – does it become a reality in itself? Is this actual reality only in its author’s mind? If so, it is no illusion, but a real reality. It is, like what is seen and read as a linguistic landscape, the seeing and writing of art.

References

Religious Wars in the Linguistic Landscape of an African Capital

Summary

This chapter addresses the linguistic landscape in an openly manifested tension between different Christian religions in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia: the traditional and established Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a significant marker of national identity, and Protestant religious communities first introduced to the country in more recent times through foreign missionaries. The linguistic landscape data encompass various banners, posters, stickers and by extension other mediated discourses. The linguistic landscape serves as a platform for evangelization, contestations and debates, commodification and ultimately globalization. The religious linguistic landscape in Addis Ababa is a nexus for several discourses touching on politics, national identity, modernity and inevitably power.

Résumé

Ce chapitre examine dans le paysage linguistique de la capitale de l'Ethiopie, Addis Ababa, la tension ouvertement exprimée entre les différentes religions chrétiennes : l'église traditionnelle orthodoxe, bien implantée dans le pays, marqueur significatif de l'identité nationale, et les communautés protestantes introduites dans le pays à une époque plus récente par des missionnaires étrangers. Les données du paysage linguistique incluent différentes banderoles, des affiches, des autocollants et par extension d'autres formes d'expression médiatique. Le paysage linguistique sert de plate-forme pour l'évangélisation, pour des contestations et des débats, pour la marchandisation de la religion et finalement la mondialisation. Le paysage linguistique religieux à Addis Ababa est un nexus de différents discours qui abordent la politique, l'identité nationale, la modernité et inévitablement les questions de pouvoir.

I Introduction

Research on linguistic landscapes (LL) emerged as a means of addressing the issue of language vitality in multilingual settings, as represented through the use of written language on signs in the public sphere (Landry/Bourrhis 1997). The breadth of this research today, however, has expanded, addressing various dimensions of dis-
course in the public arena (Shohamy/Gorter 2008, Ben-Rafael/Shohamy et al. 2010), including for example, evidence of conflict and of implicit and explicit mechanisms that determine de facto language policies (Shohamy 2006, Lado 2011). This chapter addresses the LL as observed in the capital of an African country in an openly manifested conflict between different denominations of Christianity through the use of banners, posters, and stickers, and often in conjunction with other mediated discourses. In the religious domain, language or rather language choice has played a role historically although this role is not as marked today. Nonetheless, the LL in what we here metaphorically call “religious wars” is a nexus for several discourses that touch on national identity, modernity, politics, and inevitably power. The LL in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, bears witness to the tension between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a significant marker of national identity, and Protestant religious communities, first introduced to Ethiopia through foreign missionaries in more recent times.

The LL serves as a platform for religious groups to contest, interact and debate points of differences, resulting in tension, with the inherent goal of such interaction indubitably being to attract potential converts and/or to reinforce the faith of the members of the individual churches. This focus on the LL with regards to the discourse of religion adds a new dimension to an emerging field of inquiry that examines the impact of globalization on religion and language (Mooney 2010). Leeman and Modan (2009, 332) have called for attention to the importance of taking “a contextualized, historicized and spatialized perspective on linguistic landscape”. Thus, in the following, we will first provide an overview over language, discourse and religion in the age of globalization. Then we outline our methodological approach, and subsequently, we present a general background on the role of religion and ideology in the relational dynamics of Ethiopian society, an overview that requires an historical perspective. In this regard, we will investigate the ways in which the LL in Addis Ababa serves as a platform for globalization, evangelization, commodification, contestation and debate among the various religious groups. In conclusion, we will discuss the implications of the findings and point to further fruitful areas of research on the LL in the religious domain.

2 Language, Discourse and Religion in the Era of Globalization

The field of linguistics and religion has been given an increasing amount of attention in the literature (cf. Joseph 2004, Pennycook/Makoni 2005, Omoniyi/Fishman 2006, Mooney 2010, David/McLellan 2011). However, as Mooney (2010, 323) notes, “…it is only in other disciplines that there has been an explicit engagement with globalization” in treating religion. In his work on the sociolinguistics of globalization, Blommaert (2010, 5) describes the two paradigms of modern sociolinguistics: the one established as the “sociolinguistics of distribution” with an emphasis on lan-
Religious Wars in the Linguistic Landscape of an African Capital

Language resources in a more or less stable space, while the other can be called “a sociolinguistics of mobility”. The latter “focuses not on language-in-place but on language-in-motion, with various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another” (Blommaert 2010, 5). Blommaert argues for spatiotemporal frames that can be described as “scales” with language being organized on various, layered scale levels with an emphasis on resources, “language resources deployed in real sociocultural, historical and political contexts” (ibid.). Moreover, access to scales as well as control of scales is unevenly distributed and thus inevitably a matter of power and inequality, and this involves scales of particular language use including multimodal and multilingual literacy skills. This approach to language and globalization is in line with research that addresses the commodification of language in more recent times (Heller 2010). The notion of language as symbolic capital is not new (Bourdieu 1977), and language is yet another dimension of material capital in the social marketplace. Heller (2010) points out particular areas in which language is tied to late capitalism, including tourism, marketing and advertising, language teaching, translation and call centers. As Heller (2010, 102) points out,

Language … is not a reflection of the social order but is part of what makes it happen; in that sense, we cannot abstract away from the value attached to linguistic forms and practices or from their links to all kinds of social activities and to the circulation of resources of all kinds that social order mediates.

Access to multimodal and multilingual literacy skills operates as an underlying assumption in much of the evangelization that occurs today in the times of globalization, as will be presented below. Religious commodification has intensified through globalization particularly in the form of mediated Christianity and multi-media products and platforms for evangelization (Thomas 2009). As with language religion becomes a commodity on the market with evangelization taking on the form of advertising. How the LL interacts with and complements online and offline religious commodities in the age of globalization has not been addressed in the literature. The LL analysed in this chapter attests to mobility in both temporal and spatial terms, as will be discussed below, as it is the nexus of several discourses that imply power.

3 Methodology

The data that form the basis of this analysis come from the LL in downtown Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. The LLs of religious groups have become increasingly visible in the streets of the city in the form of banners and posters, as well as stickers and posters displayed on taxis, minibuses and cars driving by, in shops, and even in offices and on the university campus. Moreover, T-shirts, caps and even traditional dresses also serve as platforms for carrying religious messages of different sorts. The more stationary signs occur in prominent places where they are assured to
be noted as they are meant for everyone. As Scollon and Scollon (2003) pointed out, the emplacement of signs and their contexts of production contribute to their meaning. Pictures were taken of various examples of this LL and form part of a corpus of LL data of Ethiopia (Lanza and Woldemariam 2008). Most of the examples from Addis are indeed of a LL on the move, and hence ephemeral, rendering a quantitative analysis moot. Therefore, the analysis we present in this chapter is qualitative and is grounded in long-term ethnographic observation. Moreover, as illustrated below, the LL data is complemented with other textual data found on the internet.

A relevant approach to studying the LL is through a nexus analysis (Scollon 2001, Scollon and Scollon 2004). Hult (2010, 10) in his application of nexus analysis to the study of language policy refers to nexus analysis as,

\[ \text{a meta-methodology in the sense that it sets forth a systematic approach to integrating methodological tools from the well-established traditions of interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, and critical discourse analysis in order to account for relationships between individual social actions and circulating discourses across dimensions of social context.} \]

Social action is at the core of a nexus analysis, its starting point, and as social actions are carried out through certain cultural tools or means, we refer to mediated action. Once the core social action is identified, for example, the LL in this case, the analysis proceeds to navigating the various discourses that mediate the social actions. As Pietikäinen/Lane et al. (2011, 4) state,

\[ \text{The historical perspective of a nexus analysis is crucial: people, objects and meditational means are seen as having a history and projecting a future (…) and therefore cannot be analysed without reference to the past.} \]

In the LL to be presented here, the social action is at the nexus of various discourses historically anchored that touch on politics, identity, modernity, and inescapably power. Moreover, it projects a future in its relationship with other modalities, access to which assumes multimodal and multilingual literacy skills.

4 Background

In order to understand the significance of the LL in focus in this chapter within an historical perspective, there is a need to contextualize it geographically, culturally and religiously.
4.1 The Ethiopian context

Ethiopia, located in the Horn of Africa, is a country that boasts of a rich cultural heritage and that managed to maintain its integrity by avoiding colonialism during the famous Scramble for Africa (Marcus 2002). With a population of approximately 80 million, the country is multilingual, multiethnic and culturally pluralistic (Levine 2000; for an overview of languages in Ethiopia, see Crass/Meyer 2008; Lewis 2009).

In Ethiopia, Amharic, referred to as the national working language, has been the dominant language in the country, not only in the Amharic-speaking areas but also as a lingua franca in the country. However, Ethiopia is a conglomeration of various peoples, each claiming a particular language (Levine 2000), with four major language families being represented in the country, including the Semitic Amhara. With the new language policy from the 1990s emanating from ethnic federalism, regional languages have taken over many of the functions that were previously accorded to Amharic, including education at the primary and secondary level (Lanza/Woldemariam 2008). Nonetheless Amharic is still the national language and is used as a lingua franca by all peoples of various origins who have adopted it as their own language, regardless of their ethnic background. This practice is encouraged by a range of opportunities, including trade, urbanization, labour migration, displacement and other forms of migration, education and literacy, and perhaps most significantly, by the high proportion of intermarriages between members of different ethnic or linguistic groups. English is a de facto second language in the country in higher spheres of interest including tertiary education, and it enjoys high prestige as the language indexing modernity (Lanza/Woldemariam 2008).

4.2 The religious profile of Ethiopia

According to the 2007 census in Ethiopia (the most recent), various religions are practiced in the country and the profile is the following: Orthodox Christianity 40.5%, Islam 35.4%, Protestantism 19.6%, and Roman Catholicism 0.8%. The remainder includes Jehovah's Witnesses, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), as well as animists, and other practitioners of traditional indigenous religions. In western Gondar of the Amhara region, there are minor concentrations of Ethiopian Jews (so-called Falashas, although they refer to themselves as Beta Isra’el “House of Israel”) and those who claim that their ancestors were forced to convert from Judaism to Ethiopian Orthodoxy. There are supposedly very few atheists, though statistical data on that are unavailable. Interestingly, though the Muslim population accounts for a relatively large percentage of the total Ethiopian population, nationalist Orthodox Ethiopians in fact tend to regard the Muslim community as a minority.
The Ethiopian Orthodox Church (EOC), also referred to as the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, was established as early as the 4th century, appearing as the largest Christian denomination in the country. Historically, the Church is linked to the Coptic Church in Egypt. As the Church spread to then Abyssinia, the Bible was translated into Ge'ez, which was the language of the people at the time and is still used today as the Church’s liturgical language, although it is no longer a living language. The EOC was the first to plant Christianity on the African continent south of Egypt for more than twelve centuries before any European missionary could venture into the region (Pankhurst 2001, Ancel and Ficquet 2007, Tamrat 2009). It also managed to withstand the wave of Islamization that swept the African continent.

Religion has played a decisive role in Ethiopian history throughout the centuries. Orthodox Christianity was seen as the most profound expression of the national existence of traditional Ethiopia, and there were close links between dogma, politics and mission. The role of religion and ideology in the relational dynamics of Ethiopian society is of particular importance. The EOC was significant in securing a theological legitimization of the Empire, and ultimately legitimizing the Amhara claim to political power. The national epic Kebre Nagast (‘The Glory of the Kings’) conceives of church and state as one organism, without a clear separation between the religious and the secular. Claiming that Ethiopians were a chosen people whose duty it was to pursue a policy of spreading the faith gave divine sanction to national expansionism (Eide 2000). The Orthodox conversion meant inclusion in a supra-tribal polity under the Emperor.

Currently, Christian Evangelical and Pentecostal Protestantism are the fastest growing religions in the country. The Government requires that religious groups be registered, and religious institutions, like nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), are registered with the Ministry of Justice and must renew their registration every year. A large number of foreign missionary groups operate in the country. Protestant organizations generally operate under the umbrella of the Evangelical Church Fellowship of Ethiopia, including such churches as the Baptist Bible Fellowship, the New Covenant Baptist Church, the Baptist Evangelical Association, Mekane Yesus Church (associated with the Lutheran Church), Kale Hiwot Church, Hiwot Berhan Church, Genet Church (associated with the Finnish Mission), Lutheran Church of Ethiopia, Emnet Christos, Full Gospel Church, and Messerete Kristos (associated with the Mennonite Mission). There is indeed a diversity of Protestant churches, many of which have strong links outside Ethiopia. Since the introduction of foreign missionaries, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church has found it difficult to accept the Protestant churches in Ethiopia, as presented in the following section.

4.3 The Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church vs. other Christian Churches

From early on, Ethiopian regimes strongly protested against foreign missionaries coming to the country to ‘Christianize Christians’, as the Ethiopian King Yohannes
IV is claimed to have said in the late 1800s (Chapple 1998, 53), commenting further “Are there no pagans to be converted?”. A similar perspective is shared by scholars of Ethiopian history, such as Chapple (1998, 57) who states:

In my view … British and other European Protestantism had nothing it could really offer to Ethiopian Orthodoxy. This is not because the Orthodox Church was perfect – no Church ever has been. But European Protestantism was too alien in its nature from Ethiopian Christianity for any fruitful religious contact. Ethiopian Orthodox perceives Protestantism as the incomprehensible emanation of an alien culture.

During Haile Selassie I’s regime (1930 – 1974), Orthodox Christianity was the state religion and hence church and state were closely interdependent. As a result, missionaries found it difficult to make their way into Ethiopia. Seeing Ethiopia as an Orthodox realm of influence, both theologically and politically, the EOC patriarch was opposed to any evangelical mission or alternative church organization. However, the activity of the evangelical churches was eventually permitted and only because of Haile Selassie I’s ambition to modernize the country. Even then, conditions were set on the missionaries not to direct their activities towards converting Ethiopian nationals from their own form of Christianity, but rather to concentrate on non-Christian elements of the population.

Emperor Haile Selassie strove for political centralization during his rule, and initiated a policy of Amharization: striving to make Amharic the national language. Amharic had a stronghold in the Abyssinian highlands where the EOC had its base. Missionaries were forbidden to enter these strongholds of the EOC, but they were allowed in non-Amhara areas inhabited by Muslims or those practising other traditional religions. Missionaries were, furthermore, required to teach in Amharic, but they did do Bible translations into local languages, much to the discontent of the central government.

During the Marxist-Leninist Derg regime that overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974, the situation was even more discouraging for religious groups. In August 1974, the separation of state and church was announced and the equality of all religions declared. The Patriarch, with the full backing of the Synod of the EOC, opposed the new Constitution in a memorandum. This, however, made no impact on the political decision-makers, and thus, the 1600-year symbiosis between church and state came to an end, weakening the political, cultural and economic supremacy of the EOC. During the period of the Derg, the new ideology of the Ethiopian state introduced the criticism of religion (Eide 2000).

After the downfall of the Derg regime and with the new Constitution of 1995 in place, people have been assured freedom of religion. The Government generally respects this right in practice and considers it a crime to incite one religion against another. The Government has interpreted the constitutional provision for separation of religion and state to mean that religious instruction is not to be permitted in schools, whether public or private. Both Christian and Muslim holidays are recognized as of-
ficial holidays, and a two-hour lunch break on Fridays is given to allow Muslims to go to the mosque for prayer.1

Generally, there is an amicable relationship among followers of the various religions in Ethiopia; however, the tension between the EOC Christians and Protestants is quite transparent. Consequently, debates, arguments, counter arguments, discussions mainly focusing on distinctive features of the religions have become visible in print and also find expression verbally not just in formal contexts held in churches and public squares but also in interactions taking place in streets and bus stations. The LL is part of this practice and hence bears witness to the tension between the EOC and Protestant Churches.

5 The Discourse of Religion in the LL of Addis Ababa

In recent times, it has become more and more common to come across various types of texts posted by different religious groups in the main roads of Addis Ababa. With the objective of gaining an overview of the situation in the LL of Addis Ababa, we collected a database of representative pictures of over 100 different texts. The texts appeared in the form of signs on windows, banners, and billboards. Also included in the pictures taken were stickers and posters containing different religious messages, attached to the windows of moving vehicles. Many minibuses, taxis and buses used in the city displayed one or more texts taped to their windows. These texts were placed in prominent places on the vehicle so as to assure to be noted, as the messages were meant for everyone. As these vehicles run a busy schedule throughout the city, the religious messages are expected to reach a large audience within a short period of time. Some taxi drivers claimed to do such a mission because they feel it was an important contribution to the well-being of their religion and their church. There were also taxi drivers who thought that placing these messages on their vehicle might facilitate business or increase the driver’s safety against accidents.

The language used most often in the LL of Addis Ababa is Amharic; however, there are examples of English, and in a few cases Ge’ez, the classical Semitic language used in the EOC. The use of English is encountered on signs or stickers posted by Protestant groups. This may be due to the fact that the Protestant groups in Ethiopia are affiliated with churches abroad where English is used. The texts encountered in the LL of Addis Ababa are essentially monolingual, and distinctive in their presentation is the common use of other semiotic resources such as symbols, signs and pictures, particularly in posters, that serve important indexical markers for

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the EOC or the Protestant groups. An example is the image of Mary in Figure 1 in a poster stuck on a back window of a bus. The veneration given to Mary provides a major distinction between the religious practices of the EOC and Protestant groups.

Figure 1: Poster on a bus announcing a prayer service for the EOC, with image of Mary in upper right corner.

Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) emphasize the need to analyse how written discourse interacts with other discursive modalities, including visual images and other media. For example, the EOC often employs various ornate Orthodox crosses, while the Protestant churches use images of a very simple wooden cross. In Figure 1 we see pictures of individuals in traditional religious EOC clothing, a common feature of EOC posters. In Protestant posters, however, individuals are presented in modern dress, with men in suits, and thus a contrast between tradition and modernity. Interestingly enough, the EOC, which is a strong bastion of tradition, has in more recent times, and purportedly as a reaction to Protestant evangelization, begun to use effectively other modern media for evangelization. We will return to this below.

As noted above, there has been an association of language with religion throughout the history of Ethiopia with Amharic (and Ge’ez) associated with the EOC. Religion, in this case the EOC, has also been linked to national identity. National flags are flown or set up as banners for the celebration of Timket (the Epiphany), an important feast in the EOC liturgical calendar. The EOC traditionally considered other religions and faiths as not patriotic enough and referred to them as mete, which means ‘newcomers’ or ‘non-autochthonous’. The highly influential Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus (EECMY), the largest Lutheran church in Africa, was originally forbidden to use “Ethiopian” in its name and was hence accorded periph-
eral status within Ethiopian society. This is no longer the case and one prominently placed poster for the Mekane Yesus Church proclaimed “Ethiopia for Jesus”. A prevalent ideology among Orthodox Christians in the country presents Protestants as lacking a true Christian identity mainly because they do not venerate Mary, the mother of Jesus. Figure 2 displays a frequently observed message in this regard, in which veneration of Mary is extolled.

Figure 2: Sticker on car (in Amharic):
“All those (i.e. Protestants) who looked down on you (i.e. Mary) will eventually bow down to your feet.”

Other car stickers in Amharic state: “The world will not be saved without the mediation of the Mother of God” and “Virgin, you are my language with God”. Yet another sticker states in English: “Jesus is the ONLY way to Heaven”. Such messages index reference to either the EOC or Protestant groups through their stance towards Mary. As one reads various stationary and mobile texts with such messages in the busy streets of Addis Ababa, a distinct debate can be perceived. This perception has, moreover, been further supported through informal interviews with Ethiopian residents in Addis Ababa. The fact that banners are often superimposed one in front of the other adds to the impression of a contestation in proclaiming religious messages, as we witnessed in a series of banners that called for prayer and evangelization. One such very strategically placed banner from a Protestant church states in Amharic “For Ethiopia, the Bible soldiers should come!”. Such a message attests to the negotiation of identity associated with religion and how the Protestant church attempts to contest the underlying discourse of religion and identity associated with the EOC.
In sum, the LL in Addis Ababa attests to the religious tensions between the EOC and Protestant churches, whose membership is on the rise in Ethiopia. The “religious wars” in the LL, furthermore, find expression through other media, as discussed below.

6 “Selling God / Saving Souls”

The above title of Thomas’ (2009) article addresses the issue of religious commodification in the times of globalization and how particularly Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal groups use multi-media products and platforms for evangelization. Thomas notes (p. 63),

As mainstream religions in the 21st century find themselves confronted by a variety of internal and external pressures – falling membership, denominationalism, the growth of sects, schismatic breakaway groups, radicalized religion – the impossibility of maintaining centralized forms of religion has become more than just an academic concern.

In Ethiopia, the use of different multi-media products such as cassettes, CDs and DVDs, have been introduced by Protestant groups for evangelization, yet even the conservative EOC has taken on the challenge such a platform presents. It is possible to find CDs and DVDs entirely dedicated to counter arguments to a message promoted by another church. For example, a DVD was released by the EOC containing a response to an earlier message of criticism transmitted by a Protestant pastor, a video originally broadcast on the national television network ETV.2 This audiovisual message is also found on YouTube, a highly used platform for evangelization by both the Protestant churches in Ethiopia and the EOC.

The Protestant churches, which have been in the fore in the use of modern multimedia approaches, have thus become a challenge to the traditional EOC. In recent times, the EOC has been trying to catch up with modern media and communication, and as a result we can find the EOC adapting technology and embracing networking as a means of transcending the limitations of place and space. In Figure 3, we see how an advertisement employs images associated with modernity in promoting the commodification of religion. Note, however, the white robe of the priest, which is a traditional garb of the priests of Orthodox churches in Ethiopia.

This phenomenon of religious commodification is actually something that is relatively new in the EOC, and is clearly a reaction to the active “selling” of the Protestant churches. Many signs advertise multimedia religious products, for example, an advertisement on a VCD and DVD that contain worship songs, testimonies and preaching, posted on a fence by a Protestant church. The poster was in Amharic, but discernible in the text was “Live Gospel” in English. These multi-media platforms clearly complement the debate in the public sphere in the LL. Hence the study of the LL needs to be contextualized with other platforms for evangelization. Likewise, the commodification of religion through multi-media products should be investigated in conjunction with the LL as serving the same function – to attract potential converts and/or to reinforce the faith of the members of the individual churches.

As noted above, the religious LL of Addis Ababa includes semiotic resources such as visual images, logos, symbols, crosses and even flags. In fact, the semiotic landscape can be conceived of as an extension of the other media such as the internet, where both prominent Protestant churches in Ethiopia such as the Mekane Yesus, as well as the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, have their own websites. Interestingly enough, the homepage of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church’s website (http://www.ethiopianorthodox.org/) is in Amharic yet several language options are given including English, French, German, and a page under construction for what is referred to as “Oriental”. The homepage of the Mekane Yesus Church (http://www.eecmy.org/), on the other hand, is in English and there are no other language op-
tions. The electronic media for religious messages are mainly administered by Ethiopian Diaspora groups living abroad. On YouTube, unlike the situation in the streets and on the vehicles in Addis Ababa, we encountered messages posted by Orthodox Christian churches transmitted only in English. Similar to the situation in the LL of Addis Ababa, the contents of most messages posted on the internet focus on the disputable points and arguments that distinguish the EOC from Protestant Christian churches. For instance, at the time this research was compiled, we came upon a series of YouTube messages entitled the Orthodox answers to protestant confusion (http://www.YouTube.com).

Helland (2002) makes the distinction between “religion-online” and “online-religion”. The former is a controlled environment aimed at a limited and specific participation while online-religion offers an interactive religious platform for the web surfer through which one may “do” religion. Both types of online experiences are offered by both churches and the internet may become, as pointed out by Henderson (2000), a metaphor, or even a new mode of presence of the divine.

7 Discussion and Conclusion

The public sphere is often used as a stage to exercise influence by political forces, business organizations, and other large-scale socio-economic forces. As presented in this chapter, the public sphere through its LL can also be an arena for religious groups to exercise influence, attempt to convert new members, and maintain their followers through invitations to prayer meetings and other religious gatherings. The LL of Addis Ababa is an open arena for communication and indirect contestation and there is ample evidence of contests, debates and argumentative discourse in the “religious wars” between the traditional EOC and the Protestant churches. In general, there is a focus on the distinctiveness of each religion rather than on the commonalities, and an asserted effort to negotiate an Ethiopian identity competing with the EOC that had a long historical standing. As noted above, the starting point of a nexus analysis is social action. As Pietikäinen/Lane et al. 2011, 6) point out in their study of “frozen actions in the Arctic linguistic landscape”:

Thus, even though the LL may seem static when observed, in reality any LL is a dynamic process because it has been shaped and continues to be formed and altered through social action.

This is also the case for the LL in Addis Ababa as it encompasses a dynamic process of debate and interaction, also with other media, within an historical context. In order to fully understand the present-day contentions in the LL of Addis Ababa, one

3 The description of the respective religion’s webpage is in accordance with its appearance when it was accessed on August 30, 2011.
needs an understanding of socio-cultural parameters surrounding religion in Ethiopia.

The LL in Addis Ababa is a platform for evangelization, contestation, and commodification all drawn into the web of globalization in which the local is linked to the global. Pennycook (2010, 4) emphasizes how the ways we think about the local should not only be about embeddedness in time and place but rather in relational terms: “The local is always defined in relation to something else regional, national, global, universal, modern, new from elsewhere”. The religious LL in Addis Ababa is a suitable example of “a sociolinguistics of mobility” (Blommaert 2010, 5) through which we witness language and indeed discourse in motion. Not only is there physical motion through, for example, the ambulant LL, as demonstrated in this chapter, with stickers and posters glued on vehicle windows, but also across time as we witness the anchoring onto discourses of tradition, identity and modernity. Hence there is spatio-temporal motion. Yet, we are left to speculate about the individual in this deployment of “religious wars”, who after all is the targeted audience, an important social actor. The EOC has had a traditional following not only in the large cities, but also at the countryside where literacy rates are low. One may ask whether such public textual display of religion in fact encourages literacy. The ongoing religious debates increasingly presuppose access to multimodal and multilingual literacy skills. Future research should be directed at the reception and perception by these Christian followers of the “religious wars” in the LL. This chapter has focused on Christian churches; however, more recently there is evidence of a Muslim reaction to this public display and a recent engagement in the LL for proselytising.

The religious LL in Addis Ababa serves as a nexus for several discourses touching on politics and anchored onto an historical ideology of church and state, national identity, and inevitably power. Following the new Constitution that commands a clear separation of state and religion and the right for everyone to practice his/her religion, many Protestant religious groups have found a fertile ground not only to flourish in the country but also to contest with the Orthodox Church. The consequence of the new Constitution, which ensures religious freedom, also involves a weakening of the power of the EOC, a bastion of Ethiopian society and culture, and more recent times witness how the EOC attempts to renegotiate its status by adopting means for evangelization initiated by Protestant groups.

The analysis in this chapter argues for the need to examine language embedded in other semiotic resources, and the importance of taking “a contextualized, historicized and spatialized perspective on linguistic landscape” (Leeman/Modan, 2009, 332) in examining its place in the nexus of various discourses. Future studies will hopefully address the role of the LL in the discourse of religion in the light of the impact of globalization on religion and language.
References


LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES
AND LANGUAGING
PHILIP SEARGEANT

Between Script and Language: The ambiguous ascription of ‘English’ in the Linguistic Landscape

Summary

This chapter examines the relationship between choice of linguistic code and choice of script in the composition of signs within the linguistic landscape. It investigates the consequences of considering script choice as part of a given ‘language’, both in terms of the semiotic work performed by the sign (i.e. how it operates as a communicative act in a particular social context), and in terms of the conceptualisation of language by different communities. Drawing on examples of ‘English’ language signs from a variety of contexts, the chapter addresses the questions of what counts as ‘English’ in the linguistic landscape of diverse world contexts, what role script choice plays in the interpretation of this issue, and what the cultural consequences of ambiguities relating to this are for an understanding of the nature of English and English usage around the world.

Résumé

Ce chapitre examine la relation entre le choix de code linguistique et le choix d’écriture dans la composition des affichages présents dans le paysage linguistique. Il examine les conséquences d’un choix d’écriture envisagé comme faisant partie d’une ‘langue’ donnée, à la fois en termes de travail sémiotique accompli par l’affichage (c’est-à-dire comment il opère en tant qu’acte de communication dans un contexte social particulier) et en termes de conceptualisation du langage par différentes communautés. Faisant appel à des exemples d’affichages en langue anglaise tirés de contextes variés, le chapitre pose les questions suivantes: que peut-on considérer comme de l’anglais dans le paysage linguistique présent dans différents endroits dans le monde, quel rôle jouent les choix de script dans l’interprétation de ces écrits et quelles sont les conséquences culturelles des ambiguïtés relatives à ces questions pour une compréhension de la nature de la langue anglaise et de son utilisation dans le monde.

I Introduction: The Materiality of the Sign

The focus of this chapter is the relationship between choice of linguistic code and choice of script in the composition of signs in the linguistic landscape; the question
it addresses is what semiotic significance this relationship has for the way that signs are interpreted. The significance accorded to the materiality of the sign has traditionally been an issue which divides work done in theoretical linguistics from that in more socially-oriented studies of language. While research in theoretical linguistics has predominantly followed a line that can be summed up by Saussure’s contention that “the actual mode of inscription is irrelevant, because it does not affect the [linguistic] system… Whether I write in black or white, in incised characters or in relief, with a pen or a chisel – none of that is of any importance for the meaning” ([1916] 1983, p. 118), research which explicitly examines language in its social context has always considered the material nature of the sign (that is, ‘the actual mode of inscription’ or, for the spoken word, the mode and manner of articulation) an intrinsic aspect of human communication. Far from being of ‘no importance for the meaning’, material aspects of an utterance – be they accent, tone of voice, volume; or mode of expression, colour, size, etc. – are viewed in socially-oriented linguistics as a vital element in any real-life linguistic exchange. Voloshinov, for example, assembled his own theory of language only a decade after Saussure around the contention that “Signs are particular, material things” ([1921] 1986, p. 10), and saw this materiality as key to the social meaning with which language is imbued. The discipline of sociolinguistics has also in great part developed from studies which examine the way that variations in mode and manner of expression are related to, and thus expressive of, dynamics in the social environs in which the language is being used. Foundational sociolinguistic work by Labov (1966), for example, focused on pronunciation variables and how these were of semiotic significance in terms of the performance of acts of socially-oriented identity. And while much of the work that explores this aspect of language initially focused on speech, more recent work – especially that which comes under the heading of multimodal research – has broadened the field of examination to look at the semiotic work achieved by the choice and combination of modes that are drawn upon in acts of writing. Van Leeuwen (2006), for example, has investigated the semiotics of typography, examining the way the composition of fonts in terms of shape, width, height and spacing conveys meaning. In all such research, the material nature of the sign is shown to have a semiotic significance which works in combination with the purely ‘linguistic’ content of an utterance.

In this chapter I will explore a particular issue related to the materiality of the sign: that of the relationship between writing-script and linguistic code (or ‘language’). I will examine this with reference to examples from the linguistic landscape in which the language in which a sign is written is in some sense at odds with (or is being modified by) the choice of script in which it has been rendered. The purpose of this investigation is twofold. Firstly, the intention is to explore the semiotic work that script choice plays in the linguistic landscape, especially in instances where it would appear that the use of a script is purposefully alluding to the cultural associations of a different code. Secondly, the intention is to examine what part script
choice plays in the conceptualisation of different named languages, and what the
semiotic and political consequences are of considering script choice as part of a
given ‘language’. As I aim to show, these two questions are in fact closely inter-
twined, as the meaning of a sign can, in many situations, depend on the way the lan-
guage it is written in is conceptualised.

2 Concepts of English

In examining these issues, I will focus upon the case of English in the linguistic
landscape of globalised contexts. This choice is motivated by the fact that the global
spread of English and English-related forms has led to a plethora of instances in
which the mixture of script, verbal content, and interpretive context is such that a
straightforward ascription of which ‘language’ a sign is in can often be elusive. The
case of global English thus lends itself well to this particular investigation, while
also currently being the site for much theoretical debate about the very concept of
discrete ‘languages’ and about whether socially-oriented linguistics is misguided to
take the assumption of the existence of different, named languages as its axiomatic
starting point (e.g. Pennycook, 2007; Seargeant/Tagg, forthcoming). Here also the
issue of how languages are conceptualised is central, and so elements of this debate
can inform the discussion of the script/code relationship. Given this context, there-
fore, we can reformulate the question at the heart of the chapter, and ask, with refer-
ence to the types of language display illustrated in the examples I will be analysing:
Is this really English? and, What are the consequences of categorising these utter-
ances as being in one language rather than another?

The question of what counts as ‘English’ is often used as an introductory device
in textbooks on English Language Studies for the purpose of prompting student re-
flexion on the variety and diversity of language behaviour in English-speaking
communities (e.g. Swann, 2007). Its associations with this context may suggest that,
 despite its useful pedagogic function, it is of rather simplistic theoretical significance
for more in-depth study of the nature of language use in society. The fact that many
popular studies which take this as a prompt are predominantly descriptive in their
ambition, and catalogue a range of the more bizarre instances of English usage (for
example, the ‘scrambled’ usages of ‘Chinglish’ or ‘Engrish’) without any great
probing of the significance and consequence of the nature of this usage (e.g. Croker,
2007; Radtke, 2007), compounds this impression. Yet the question does have a more
serious and profound weight, and is one which can relate to a range of political,
methodological, and semiotic issues. With regard to the politics of language, for ex-
ample, the issue of what counts as English for different people in different contexts
manifests itself in the way that people regulate and respond to the language, either
informally or in institutional contexts. And as regulation of the language is, in effect,
regulation of language users, social practices which use a particular concept of English as their fulcrum or instrument are going to be explicitly political exercises.

The methodological consequences of the question relate to the metalinguistic conceptual vocabulary used to code and analyse linguistic data. The issue of what counts as English in this context involves differentiating between English and non-English, and thus evaluating (or constructing) the relationship between English and other languages. This is, in essence, a language-ideological process (Seargeant, 2009), and is one which has been much critiqued in recent metatheoretical discussions of the adequacy of traditional sociolinguistic methodologies (e.g. Blommaert, 2010). Much recent work on bilingual mixing, for example, has suggested that the metalinguistic vocabulary available to linguists for describing the complex semiotic strategies employed by people living in multilingual contexts is restricted by an ideology of discrete, and usually monolithic, languages and thus alternative conceptual terminology is needed to allow for more nuanced analysis (see, for example, Canagarajah, 2006; Jørgensen, 2008; García, 2009; Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010).

Finally, the semiotic consequences of the question of what counts as English relate to the connotations that adhere to the idea of the language in different contexts. Work on the symbolic cultural meaning ascribed to English in diverse cultural contexts points to the way that this meaning is in part a product of local cultural politics, and that certain instances of the display of the language in the linguistic landscape (for example, in t-shirt designs or advertising slogans) draw almost exclusively on these symbolic connotations, with the verbal content (and its ideational meaning) being of negligible importance (e.g. Seargeant, 2009).

All three of these consequences of the conceptualisation of language are pertinent for the role that the script/code relationship plays in the interpretation of signs in the linguistic landscape. And it is the contention of this chapter that both the functional intention and the pragmatic interpretation of signs relies on beliefs about the code (as an ideological construct) and its material expression (including the script it is written in), and this thus operates as an important aspect of the ‘meaning’ of any sign in the linguistic landscape, and is an issue which deserves theoretical analysis.

3 Script versus Language

To illustrate the often complex relationship between script and code, and to investigate the semiotic work performed by this aspect of the material nature of the sign, let us begin by examining a range of examples. These are taken from a variety of locations, both physical and virtual (i.e. Internet-based), and include visual language displays of various types. Unlike much work on the linguistic landscape, the intention here is not to map the language practices observable in a particular locale (e.g. Huebner, 2006), or to investigate the policy intentions of particular linguistic communities (e.g. Backhaus, 2009), but instead to theorise an aspect of the nature of
language display in the public domain. As such, the conception of the linguistic landscape being used is a very general one, and includes any instance of visual display where the readership is an open or public rather than private one. The selection criteria for the data were similarly eclectic, but adequate for identifying representative examples of the semiotic phenomena I wish to examine. For each of the signs chosen I will initially describe their content and context, before moving in the next section to an analysis of how they operate as semiotic artefacts. For each example, the initial question I wish to pose is simply whether the sign is in English or not. Using this question as a prompt, we can then attempt to unpack the way the script/code relationship relates to beliefs about the nature, value and connotations of different languages.

Figure 1: Xu Bing, Square Word Calligraphy: ‘Art for the People’ (2002), ink on paper. (Reproduced from Xu Bing, 2004, p. 338)

The first example, illustrated in Figure 1, is from a series of artworks entitled 'Introduction to Square-Word Calligraphy' by the American-based Chinese artist Xu Bing. The appearance here is of a text written in Chinese – or at least, this is how I would suggest it looks to a non-Chinese reader. In fact, the text is written in English. Within the Chinese-character-like format, Xu has spelt out the English words ‘Art for the people’ using shapes which approximate to the Roman alphabet. For example, the middle ‘character’ is composed of a shape which approximates to the letter T in the middle, with an H and E on either side of this. The work was part of an exhibition in 1997 to mark the return of Hong Kong to China, and the relationship between English-language culture and Chinese culture is thus a central theme. Although Hong Kong was the original location in which the work was displayed, it has since been shown in exhibitions in over thirty places around the world (Xu Bing, 2006).
The second example is an advert for a festival of Asian culture held in Leeds in the UK (Figure 2 top). This is very clearly in English (and the context for the advert as a whole is exclusively English), yet is partially written in a script which resembles Hindi, thus symbolically representing the festival’s thematic identity. This sort of semiotic strategy is quite common in branding or advertising contexts. Typographers refer to these as ‘mimicry’ or ‘simulation’ typefaces, where the intention is to create a font which is graphically similar to a different writing system, while still retaining the underlying shape and structure of the Roman alphabet. Figure 2 middle, for example, is a typeface created for the Roman alphabet which is meant to resemble Thai, and the purpose behind its design is to address an English-reading audience about a topic related in some respect to Thailand. As with the Leeds Asian Festival, there is little ambiguity about which language the messages here are written in, but the English is rendered with the visual equivalent of a foreign accent.

1 www.leedsasianfestival.co.uk/ (accessed 4 October 2010). I am grateful to Beth Erling for providing this example.
2 www.weygandt.de/aw_siam/ (accessed 4 October 2010).
3 I am grateful to Barbara Mayor for suggesting this interpretation.
The next example (Figure 3 left) illustrates what appears to be a similar phenomenon, but one which does in fact have certain noticeable differences. This is an advert for the cosmetics company Lancôme. The advert is used in identical form on the company’s English-language and French-language websites. There are two points of interest here: the first is the name of the brand itself; the second, the nature of the language use in the strap line. The issue of which language brand names – especially those related to multinational companies – belong to is a complex one (cf. Edelman, 2009; Tufi and Blackwood, 2010). In this case, the use of the diacritic (the circumflex above the ‘o’) indexes association with the French language, at least in so far as the Roman alphabet as used by English does not contain this grapheme. The use of the circumflex is then repeated on two words in the strap line, thus further indexing Frenchness, although neither of these words are part of the French lexicon. One of the words (‘Biometric’) would, but for the circumflex, be English; the other (‘Diagnôs’) is a further brand term, coined on a Greek root which has provided for both an English (‘diagnose’/’diagnostic’) and French (‘diagnostic’) word. This text thus uses resources from the script traditionally used to write French, but arranges them in a manner and context which has distinct Anglophone traces. And the issue of whether the advert as a whole is in ‘English’ or ‘French’ is, therefore, difficult to determine.

Figure 3: Lancôme advert; and ‘Brüno’ poster

4 www.lancome.co.uk/_en/_gb/about/brand2007/services/ and www2.lancome.com/_int/_fr/brand/services/index (accessed 4 October 2010). I am grateful to Dominique Bergamasco for discussion around the analysis of this text.
The final example (Figure 2 bottom) illustrates a slightly different phenomenon again. This is the transliteration of English into a completely different script. The photo shows the hoarding of a flower shop in Kuwait. The name of the shop, ‘FLY Flowers’, is written in both the Roman and Arabic alphabets. As a combination of two English words there is not a great deal to remark upon about the use of the Roman script here. The Arabic version, however, is a simple transliteration of the English (slightly phonetically modified to fit with Arabic phonology), and is perhaps noticeable for the fact that neither of the words are loans within the Arabic lexicon – so Arabic-only readers are able to interpret the sign phonetically but not semantically. Transliteration here can thus operate as a means of assisting non-English readers with the pronunciation of the English name; though in addition, the two versions of the name may also target different readerships in what is a decidedly multilingual community.

The common thread throughout these different examples is that while they are all, in a sense, ‘English’, they also all complicate the notion of which language a text is written in. In each case there is a disjunction between the language (and culture) normally associated with the script they are using or mimicking, and the language they are written in. So in the first example, the script resembles Chinese, but the ‘language’ is English. Or at least, the text is composed of a collection of Roman letters which spell out English words (and thus, semantically at least, it is English). The traditional pattern of combination for these letters which occurs in English – i.e., the way they are consecutively and linearly arranged on a page with word breaks marked by a space – is not adhered to here, and thus the text is breaking standard syntagmatic rules of English orthography. One thus has to do some reassembling of the constituent parts to make it adhere to the standard patterns that constitute English.

The Leeds Asian Festival text is perhaps more straightforward. Syntactically, lexically and compositionally it is English. There are three words – all in standard orthography, all arranged to follow the conventional reading path (from left to right and top to bottom). Yet it purposefully indexes another ‘language’ by means of the shape of the script it employs for one of the words – and its overall meaning relies on this referencing.

The Lancôme advert is a little more ambiguous in terms of ascription of language. Many of the words, such as ‘service’ and ‘expert’, could be either English or French in their written form. Others (‘Diagnôs’, ‘Biômetric’) are neither one nor the other, but are easily comprehensible by readers of both languages. The appearance of the diacritic indexes French, but is used on words (e.g. ‘Biômetric’) which are not traditionally-codified parts of the French lexicon. The word ‘make-up’ is, ostensibly, English – but could be considered a recent loanword into French. Patterns of syntax

5 I am grateful to Barbara Mayor for providing this example. Photography courtesy of Hossein Zand.
are likewise confused: ‘Biometric make-up’, for example, with the adjective preceding the noun, is an English rather than French construction.

Finally, the transliteration example renders English forms in an entirely non-traditional script, thus combining the symbolic value of one language with the functional properties of another.

In each of the examples, then, the result is a semiotic act whose meaning, by dint of the material nature of the text (i.e., the script or font it is written in, combined with the context in which it is situated), is not solely a product of the grammatico-semantically encoded message of the words. That is to say, the meaning is more than the combination of the words on the sign; it is also a product of the form they take. Furthermore, each is an instance of a written text where there is a disjuncture between the cultural associations of script and code; and this disjuncture in some way enhances, extends or modifies the semantic content of the utterance. In the next section I will theorise in greater detail the semiotic processes involved in the way these signs operate, and consider how these processes relate to complexified notions of which language they are in.

4 The Semiotics of the Script/Code Relationship

Let us begin by considering the process by which these various examples are likely to be understood by their readers. To do this, a useful set of distinctions is that made by Larry Smith (1992) in his analysis of what it means to have knowledge of a language. He distinguishes between three different levels of knowledge: 1) ‘intelligibility’, which refers to the ability simply to recognise an expression as being in a particular language; 2) ‘comprehensibility’, which refers to knowing the meaning of the expression; and 3) ‘interpretability’, which refers to knowing what the expression actually signifies in a particular cultural context. Levels 2 and 3 broadly correspond to the distinction sometimes made in the philosophy of language between ‘sentence meaning’ and ‘speaker meaning’ (Searle, 1979), the former being the generalised literal meaning of a sentence, the latter the way a speech act is used to convey actual meaning in historically- and context-specific situations. These two levels of meaning – and the distinction between them – have been the focus of much theorising. For example, communicative competence is the ability to ‘interpret’ (in Smith’s terminology) utterances so that they operate as successful aspects of a communicative interaction. The category of ‘intelligibility’ – whereby someone is

6 The importance of the reader’s interpretation of a sign for an understanding of how it functions semiotically within a given context suggests that an ethnographic approach to the research of this issue is likely to prove productive. This chapter is not meant as a substitute for such an approach, but rather as a complement to it, with the intention being to theorise the issues involved in interpretation. It is hoped that such theorisation can then be used to assist in the analysis of ethnographically-oriented research data.
able to recognise a word or phrase as being in one language rather than another but cannot infer semantic or pragmatic meaning from its use – has attracted less theoretical attention, yet is important for the present discussion.

In the Xu Bing case, for example, a non-Chinese reader is likely to perceive this as Chinese – i.e., it is ‘intelligible’ to such a reader as being a text in Chinese – but not be able to ‘comprehend’ or ‘interpret’ it. The irony here, of course, is that it is not actually Chinese at all: while the text appears to be composed of Chinese ideograms, it is in fact Roman letters. Yet the issue of perception is key here. As Xu Bing himself writes:

Square Word Calligraphy exists on the borderline between two completely different cultures. To viewers from these two cultures, the characters present equal points of familiarity and of strangeness. A Chinese person recognizes the characters as familiar faces but cannot figure out exactly who they are. To a Westerner, they first appear as mysterious glyphs from Asian culture, yet ultimately they can be read and understood... This total disconnection between outer appearance and inner substance places people in a kind of shifting cultural position, an uncertain transitional state. (cited in Xu Bing, 2004, pp. 338-339)

What Xu Bing further draws attention to in this quote is that perception depends on the background knowledge of the reader. ‘Familiarity’ or ‘strangeness’ are observer-dependent categories and will be determined by the linguistic repertoire that a reader brings to the encounter with a text. The addressivity of a sign (i.e. the way the linguistic practices of the intended audience influence the composition of the utterance) often results in language choice being determined according to the (politically) dominant language in a given speech community (Shohamy, 2006) – so, for example, a public sign in an area inhabited by a predominantly French-speaking community is likely to be composed in French. And in multilingual contexts, choice of code – and the familiarity or strangeness it has for the reader – can be a means of including or excluding different sections of the population. In the case of this work of art, Xu Bing’s intention is to subvert such assumptions about addressivity, and to make his text both familiar and strange at the same time to both a Chinese- and English-reading audience.7

Why then does our imaginary non-Chinese reader perceive the text as Chinese when it is not? The answer is because the written form is indexical of the way ‘Chinese’ is often written: there is a correspondence in visual form between the Xu Bing works and the generic patterns found in Chinese ideographic writing.

In the case of Xu Bing’s works, the correspondence of form is artfully and painstakingly rendered (Xu Bing, 2006). Yet this type of indexicality can also be produced by a very few basic features which mark the writing as in some sense ‘foreign’. Often these are features that become stereotypically associated with a given

7 Another artist who has similarly played on cross-cultural interpretations of the same text is Ujino Muneteru in his ‘Japan Series’ (see Seargeant, 2009, pp. 83-4 for discussion).
language, particularly if they not found in the local language. For example, Figure 3 right shows the English-language poster for the 2009 film ‘Brüno’, a mock documentary about the fashion industry which stars the imaginary Austrian reporter Brüno Gehard. In this text, a Germanic quality is indexed by the arbitrary and unnecessary use of an umlaut on both the character’s name and the English word ‘July’. In this particular case, the use of the umlaut operates as such a crude index of a stereotypical German quality (its use on the English ‘July’ especially is not, I would suggest, intended to be read as a subtle simulation of German), that one could say it is mocking the indexical meaning. It is certainly meant to be humorous (the film itself is a satire), with the generation of this humour relying on the reader not mistaking it for ‘real’ German, yet at the same time understanding that it is intended to mimic German.8

The Lancôme example is slightly different. As noted above, both the text as a whole, and individual lexical items within it, cannot neatly be categorised as being in one specific language rather than another: the phrase ‘Lancôme service’ could conceivably be either French or English (the ‘English’ being a French proper name modifying an English noun); while the three bullet points can be understood by English-only readers, yet at the same time the use of the diacritic indexes the French language – and thus imparts a ‘Frenchness’ to the text, at least from the point of view of a non-Francophone reader.

The use of the neologism ‘Diagnôs’ in this example is similar in function to what in advertising is referred to as ‘sensational spelling’, especially where this purposefully connotes a foreign language. Famous examples of this include the American company Häagen-Dazs, whose name is an invention supposedly meant to look Scandinavian to American consumers (Leclerc/Schmitt et al., 1994). ‘Foreign branding’ strategies such as these rely on the cultural associations made by the reader with particular languages (Leclerc/Schmitt et al., 1994). In other words, the correlation between a particular feature of the script and a given language depends for its interpretation on the viewer and the beliefs and concepts they have about that language. For example, in the context of Japan, for many people the Roman alphabet is indexical of ‘English’. It need not matter what is written in the alphabet, the very use of it is viewed as an example of English. This is probably due to the fact that English is by far the most prominent Western language – and thus the most prominent language written in the Roman script – displayed in the country. For certain people, therefore, any language use in the Roman alphabet is accorded the status of English. For example, in a previous study (Seargeant, 2011), when asked about the presence of English in the linguistic landscape of contemporary Japan, one infor-

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8 A reading of this sort, which both interprets the indexical features and evaluates them, relies on background knowledge of the context in which the sign operates. In this case, the film and the character it portrays are both expressly ironic, and an acquaintance with this as the general generic framework creates communicative expectations which guide the way the poster and other paraphernalia related to the film are read.
mant talked of “brands written in English such as ‘Bvlgari’ and ‘Chanel’”, while another listed ‘Chanel’, ‘Cartier’, and ‘Dior’. In both these responses, brands of international renown with names written in the Roman alphabet are identified as instances of ‘English’ usage, despite these being products that are originally of French or Italian origin and that, for a native English-speaker, would arguably still carry these connotations.

In summary, then, with respect to the script/code relationship, the form of a written utterance is indexical of other another ‘language’ in so far as the script or a feature of the script is regularly or stereotypically associated with another language. We need to add one further stage to the process, however, and that is that the language which is being indexed is itself often metonymically standing in for the culture with which it is most associated. So, for example, a text written in the Roman alphabet in Japan may index English, which in turn is associated with American culture, which in turn is associated with, perhaps, ‘modernity’. To spell the process out in incremental steps, therefore, we can say that a script indexes another language, as that language is ideologically understood as part of a particular culture (e.g. French = France). This ‘culture’, though, is the culture as it is understood in the context in which the sign is situated, and is therefore likely to be stereotypical in some sense. It is not, therefore, as simple as saying, for example, that a particular text is in ‘English’ but made to look like ‘Hindi’. It is made to look like ‘Hindi’ in so far as Hindi is associated with a particular culture as that culture is (partially or stereotypically) understood in the context in which the sign is situated, and that culture is associated with certain values or ideas of relevance to the subject the sign is referring to. And it is in this way that the ideological construct of different languages (and the cultural symbolism they have) is thus key for the meaning here – but it is ‘languages’ as these are ideologically understood by the readership in the environment in which the linguistic landscape is situated.

5 Conclusion

The phenomenon illustrated in this chapter relies on conceptualisations of discrete named languages (‘French’, ‘Thai’, ‘English’) and the associations these have with specific projected cultural identities; but at the same time it complicates just such a conceptualisation in the way that the semiotic work performed by these signs is a result of ambiguities between different codes and of the ‘mixed’ nature of the lan-

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9 I am using the term culture here to refer to what Bauman (1999, 13) calls the ‘differential concept of culture’, which is ‘employed to account for the apparent differences between communities of people (temporally, ecologically, or socially discriminated)’. Popular or mainstream representations of a foreign culture (e.g. French culture from the perspective of the British media) can often reduce it to a few salient details, which are seen as representative of this difference.
guage actually used. In each of the examples, the meaning of the sign is in part shaped by the mixing of English verbal content with a script associated with or simulating another language; and in each example, this meaning is likely to be the result of the way that either the English or the other language is associated by the community in which the sign is located with certain cultural values. It is in this way that the meaning of a sign can depend on the way the language it is written in is conceptualised, and that these meanings are a product of local beliefs about ‘foreign’ languages. What is evident is that the materiality of these signs, along with the context in which they are displayed, has a significant bearing on their interpretation, and that their meaning is not limited to what is grammatically and semantically encoded in their verbal content, but is a product of code, script, actualisation, and the reader’s cultural beliefs about the presence of different languages in the world.

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Clins d’œil bilingues dans le paysage linguistique de Montréal et Bruxelles: Analyse et illustration de mécanismes parallèles

1 Introduction

Montréal et Bruxelles sont des villes marquées par la présence historique de deux communautés linguistiques principales. Cependant, ces deux villes fonctionnent à l’intérieur de structures législatives avec des approches très différentes face à la légi-
slation concernant le paysage linguistique. Ainsi, si Montréal fonctionne avec une législation très circonscrite concernant les affichages commerciaux et officiels dépendants de la province de Québec, Bruxelles a opté pour une politique de « laisser-faire » au niveau commercial et privé, mais extrêmement régulée au niveau des affichages et dénominations d’institutions officielles. Ces contraintes légales semblent toutefois avoir suscité, dans les deux contextes, l’émergence de formes linguistiques d’affichages qui contournent les lois en utilisant des jeux de mots ou formes bilingues. Ces « clins d’œil bilingues » (Lamarre, à paraître) apparaissent surtout dans les enseignes commerciales à Montréal et trouvent dans quelques enseignes publiques officielles à Bruxelles d’incontestables équivalents. Nous proposons qu’il ne s’agit pas ici de simples formes stylistiques bi- ou multilingues, et que ces « clins d’œil bilingues » trouvent leur pertinence et leur portée dans le contexte légal qu’ils défient, souvent avec humour.

Dans cette contribution, nous proposons une analyse comparative de « clins d’œil bilingues » dans les paysages linguistiques de Montréal et Bruxelles. Nous proposons également une analyse de ces formes multilingues (qui en deviennent parfois idiosyncratiques) et décrivons comment ces clins d’œil s’insèrent dans la dynamique sous-jacente de ces deux paysages linguistiques dans leurs contextes respectifs.

2 Le contexte montréalais et bruxellois

2.1 Le cadre général

Montréal et Bruxelles sont à l’échelle mondiale des villes de taille dite moyenne et partagent également la présence de deux communautés historiques qui structure les rapports de force au niveau politique et législatif. Il s’agit pour Montréal d’une population francophone et d’une anglophone et pour Bruxelles d’une population francophone et d’une néerlandophone. En outre, les deux villes accueillent une large présence de communautés d’immigrés plus ou moins récentes, mais aussi à la présence de migrants dits à col blanc, liée à l’installation de multinationales et à Bruxelles également d’instances internationales comme les diverses institutions européennes ou l’OTAN. À un contexte communautaire historique, ancré dans une réalité très locale, vient donc s’ajouter une dynamique internationale et multilingue qui remet en question les dominances linguistiques. Ainsi, si Montréal, ville officiellement francophone avec une minorité anglophone reconnue est devenue depuis la Révolution tranquille des années 1960 une ville beaucoup plus francophone (Levine 1997), l’anglais y reste extrêmement présent par pragmatisme (respect de la communauté anglophone, langue de communication pour le commerce et le tourisme). On y constate en effet, une dynamique de bilinguisme français-anglais croissante, indépendamment de la langue d’origine du locuteur (français, anglais ou autre). Le bilinguisme (et même le multilinguisme) est donc devenu pour les jeunes montréa-
lais une évidence. Ils jonglent avec le français et l’anglais selon les situations, les endroits dans la ville ou la commodité, la complémentarité et les enjeux à un moment donné des diverses langues dans leur répertoire (Lamarre/Lamarre 2009). À Bruxelles, ville officiellement bilingue français-néerlandais, c’est le français qui domine nettement face à une population néerlandophone, devenue très minoritaire au fil du vingtième siècle (Janssens 2007), mais dont les droits et la représentation politique sont garantis. À côté de langues d’immigration, l’anglais y joue un rôle de plus en plus important, comme langue de commerce et de relations internationales d’une part (Mettewie/Van Mensel 2010) et comme langue moderne et attrayante, mais aussi « neutre » au niveau communautaire/linguistique, comme en témoignent de nombreuses publicités en anglais, d’autre part.

Dans ce cadre, les paysages linguistiques, dans les deux villes, traduisent des jeux communautaires/collectifs. À Montréal, le paysage ou « visage » linguistique, est devenu depuis les années 1960 un des « champs de bataille » où se joue le statut du français par rapport à l’anglais. À Bruxelles, malgré un cadre législatif plus souple, le paysage linguistique officiel révèle les rapports de force entre francophones et néerlandophones dans la capitale.

2.2 Les législations linguistiques en matière de paysages linguistiques


À Bruxelles, les noms géographiques sont tous affichés en deux langues (Place des martyrs-Martelarenplein), jusqu’à l’absurde parfois (cf. stations de métro Me-

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1 Pour l’historique de ce conflit et de ses retombées, voir Bourhis/Landry (2002).
2 Pour une discussion plus approfondie, voir Lamarre (à paraître).
rode-Merode ou Diamant-Diamant). De même, toute la signalisation ou toute autre forme de communication de la part d’institutions publiques ou d’institutions ou sociétés financées par de l’argent public se doit d’être dans les deux langues officielles de la région, avec même une alternance des langues prévue chaque année. Les panneaux de circulation sont également bilingues, mais par souci d’efficacité, ils sont surtout iconiques. Par contre, les enseignes commerciales, étant considérées comme faisant partie du domaine privé, échappent, elles, à toute législation de type linguistique – contrairement à Montréal où celles-ci se trouvent législativement dans une zone grise entre le public et le privé. Ceci implique que le paysage linguistique bruxellois est très loin d’être à dominante francophone, mais se caractérise par une grande diversité de langues qui se mélangent et se superposent ou encore s’alternent dans des formules bilingues français-néerlandais. Il existe néanmoins une Commission permanente de Contrôle linguistique à laquelle on peut adresser des plaintes lorsqu’on observe des irrégularités de la part d’institutions publiques. Cette commission mène alors une enquête, suite à laquelle elle peut condamner une situation et faire des recommandations, qui ne sont pas pour autant contraignantes, comme on le verra par la suite.

Ce sont ces contextes de réglementations linguistiques de l’espace public à Montréal et à Bruxelles qui ont suscité l’émergence de ce que Lamarre (à paraître) nomme des « clins d’œil bilingues » ou « bilingual winks » en anglais. À Montréal, on les retrouve dès lors dans de multiples enseignes commerciales, tandis qu’à Bruxelles, il s’agit de la dénomination de quelques institutions culturelles ou services publics. Malgré cette différence, tant la structuration de ces clins d’œil bilingues, que la stratégie qu’ils révèlent face aux contraintes légales, sont comparables.

3 Que sont des « clins d’œil bilingues » dans le paysage linguistique ?

Par « clin d’œil bilingue », Lamarre entend une enseigne dont la forme linguistique manipule consciemment des éléments linguistiques provenant de différentes langues, afin de contourner la législation linguistique en vigueur. Ceci va engendrer tantôt des formes monolingues, bilingues ou multilingues, tantôt des formes hybrides devenues idiosyncratiques, mais qui, toutes, nécessitent des compétences linguistiques (souvent bi- ou multilingues) pour être décodées et une sensibilité contextuelle pour être lues comme un élément contournant la loi. C’est en effet cet aspect contestataire envers les réglementations linguistiques, qu’il répond à des préoccupations pragmatiques, humoristiques ou identitaires, qui différencie ces clins


4 Pour une définition et une contextualisation plus théoriques de ces « bilingual winks », nous faisons référence à l’article de Lamarre (à paraître, in International Journal of the Sociology of Language).
d’œil bilingues de formes créatives bilingues présentes dans d’autres contextes, mais où l’enjeu politique et communautaire est absent. Ces jeux de mots ne sont donc des « clins d’œil bilingues » que si auteur et lector de l’enseigne se font à travers elle, un clin d’œil de complicité face à un message sous-entendu de détournement créatif et/ou humoristique de la législation. Ainsi, nous ne considérons pas comme un clin d’œil bilingue, COIF1rst, le nom d’une boutique de coiffure à Strasbourg, mélangant le français et l’anglais, car dans cette ville à la frontière entre la France et l’Allemagne, cette forme bilingue ne représente pas d’enjeu politique ni de contestation linguistique face à des contraintes légales. Par contre, le magasin de chaussures CHOUCHOU à Montréal est un clin d’œil bilingue par sa forme Franco-anglaise (chouchou / shoe, shoe) et le contexte dans lequel il est émis et lu.

Au niveau de la forme, un « clin d’œil bilingue » est un terme qui s’applique à des enseignes dans un paysage linguistique comme défini plus haut, qui regroupe plusieurs types de formes et stratégies linguistiques jouant tantôt sur l’orthographe, ou la polysémie, tantôt sur des jeux de mots basés sur des formes phonétiques et/ou bilingues, que nous tenterons d’illustrer ici.

En effet, notre analyse comparative portera sur (a) les stratégies linguistiques utilisées pour élaborer une enseigne « clin d’œil » dans les deux contextes, (b) les motifs à la base de ces manipulations linguistiques et (c) les réactions, souvent politiques et identitaires, voir racisantes, que ces « clins d’œil bilingues » ont engendré à Bruxelles, alors qu’à Montréal, ces enseignes semblent passer inaperçues.

4 Analyse des « clins d’œil bilingues » à Montréal et Bruxelles

4.1 Les données

Pour Montréal, le corpus est composé de photographies d’enseignes commerciales présentant un « clin d’œil ». La collecte des données s’est faite dans différents quartiers de la ville et comprend une trentaine d’enseignes de différents types mais toutes commerciales. Pour Bruxelles, le corpus de base est bien plus réduit, puisqu’il se limite aux noms de deux institutions culturelles fédérales (BOZAR et CINEMATEK) et d’un point de vente de la compagnie des transports publics de Bruxelles (BOOTIK). Cependant, pour Bruxelles, nous avons pu réunir des documents concernant les motivations et les réactions à ces formes idiosyncratiques. Il s’agit d’interpellations parlementaires, des dossiers de la Commission de contrôle linguistique, d’articles de presse et de réactions disponibles sur la toile (octobre 2008 – mars 2010). À Bruxelles, il existe également des enseignes commerciales comparables aux clins d’œil de Montréal (EXKI par exemple), mais comme celles-ci ne font pas l’objet de restrictions légales, nous ne les prenons pas en compte dans ce texte.
4.2 Stratégies pour élaborer une enseigne « clin d’œil »

Pour créer une enseigne « clin d’œil » les auteurs, tant à Montréal qu’à Bruxelles, utilisent un éventail de techniques permettant de contourner les contraintes légales.

Une première technique consiste dans la manipulation d’éléments orthographiques (ou plutôt phonographiques) du type MASKARAD. Une deuxième technique relève d’un jeu fort habile de double lecture possible d’une enseigne, qui au départ est en une seule langue, comme CHOUCOU, le magasin de chaussures à Montréal. La troisième technique réside dans le mélange de deux (voir plusieurs) langues afin qu’elles soient interchangeables ou complémentaires, comme l’illustre respectivement les enseignes T&Biscuits ou Planètehair. Une dernière technique combine les techniques précédentes, comme dans le magasin de potages et de soups, appelé SOUPSON. L’élément commun à toutes ces techniques réside dans le double jeu linguistique des formes créées, en empruntant à différents niveaux (orthographique, phonétique, polysémique et « plurisémique ») des éléments appartenant aux différentes langues. Dans la tentative de catégorisation qui suit, nous tenterons d’illustrer plus en détail ces manipulations et comment elles se promènent, avec une certaine agilité, sur le fil de la légalité. La catégorisation préliminaire que nous proposons s’articule d’une part autour de stratégies d’ambiguïté (camouflage d’une possible dominance linguistique d’un mot/nom existant) et d’autre part autour de stratégies de complémentarité (création un mot/nom/phrase en associant des mots issus des langues en question). Il va de soi que ces catégories ne sont pas hermétiques et que certaines enseignes juxtaposent les stratégies.

4.2.1 Stratégies d’ambiguïté

Le premier type de stratégie consiste à choisir un mot existant dans les deux langues (français/anglais ou français/néerlandais) et à camoufler une quelconque appartenance linguistique en introduisant des signes orthographiques étrangers, en omettant des lettres ou encore en introduisant des éléments phonétiques dans la forme écrite. C’est le cas à Montréal pour les enseignes telles MASKARAD, MOSAÏK, KLINIK et à Bruxelles, du musée du cinéma portant le nom de CINEMATEK (au lieu de cinémathèque et cinematheek) et du point de vente des transports publics BOOTIK (au lieu de boutique ou boetiek), qui lui introduit même une orthographe rappelant l’anglais avec le double « oo ». Souvent les éléments manipulés sont d’ailleurs mis en valeur graphiquement en jouant sur la disposition du caractère (le dernier k dans KLINIK est en miroir du premier), sa taille, les couleurs ou le dessin (le K dans MOSAÏK est plus grand, multicolore et hachuré). Ces manipulations engendrent des formes phonographiques et/ou idiosyncratiques, qui tout en restant reconnaissables,

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5 Lamarre (à paraître) entend par « plurisémique », un mot ayant un sens dans plusieurs langues en même temps.
n’appartiennent ni à une langue, ni à l’autre et pourtant aux deux à la fois. Cette technique permet une lecture double des enseignes, qui échappent ainsi à toute classification linguistique et donc à la réglementation linguistique en matière d’affichage.

Une deuxième stratégie basée sur l’ambiguïté est celle que l’on retrouve dans des enseignes montréalaises du type U&I, NIU, SHÜ et NÜSPACE. Ces formes ont en commun qu’elles tentent d’échapper à toute classification linguistique – donc ainsi aux contraintes linguistiques imposées à Montréal – puisqu’il s’agit de formes idiosyncratisques qu’on ne peut rattacher, à première vue, ni au français, ni à l’anglais, ni à aucune langue germanique. Comme dans le premier type de stratégie, les auteurs ont remplacé des éléments phonétiques par des signes orthographiques non conventionnels. Pour décoder ce clin d’œil, il faut ici toutefois disposer de compétences au moins en anglais afin de pouvoir lire U&I, comme « you and I » (toi et moi) et associer prononciation française et anglaise pour lire NIU comme « new ». L’utilisation du tréma est purement une technique de camouflage, car, en allemand, le « ü » ne se prononce pas « ou », mais bien « u ». Il s’agit donc ici d’une manipulation orthographique, car derrière la forme idiosyncratisique SHÜ ne se cache rien d’autre que la forme anglaise « shoe », faisant référence aux articles vendus dans le magasin. On trouve une confirmation de cette technique esthétique de camouflage dans l’enseigne NÜSPACE (new space), qui pousse plus loin l’ambiguïté et l’utilisation hyper tendance de ce caractère en annonçant sous ses heures d’ouverture que nous sommes BIENVENÜ. Ceci implique deux lectures du graphème « ü » sur la même vitrine, permettant à leur auteur, par ce jeu d’ambiguïté en plusieurs langues, de ne pas enfreindre la législation linguistique, tout en prenant plaisir à jouer avec les langues.

Cette introduction d’éléments orthographiques étrangers et/ou phonographiques est cependant également utilisée dans des enseignes monolinguales, comme celle du glacier BO-BEC ou de l’atelier de confection SIZO, tout en n’étant pas des clins d’œil bilingues, comme nous les avons définis. Il est toutefois intéressant de noter l’utilisation répétée, dans cette technique, du k, du z, du o et du tréma, qui rappelle le langage des textos ou sms et sur lequel nous reviendrons plus loin.

Le troisième type de stratégie visant à créer une ambiguïté consiste à camoufler l’appartenance linguistique en choisissant des éléments lexicaux communs, sans les changer (contrairement à la première stratégie), mais en les juxtaposant. C’est le cas à Montréal des enseignes LMNOP ou OLIVE/OLIVES. En effet, ces formes interchangeables peuvent être lues en français et ne transgressent donc aucunement la législation, mais aussi en anglais et même, pour ceux qui ont les compétences linguistiques et l’œil pour le jeu, lu dans les deux langues. Cette multiplicité de lectures possibles est donc clairement un clin d’œil créatif et humoristique de la part de l’auteur à l’intention d’un lecteur averti et bilingue. L’enseigne T/BISCUITS (voir photo) est une belle illustration de la combinaison des deux techniques de camouflage de l’appartenance linguistique créant une ambiguïté, puisque l’utilisation phonographique du t majuscule remplaçant « thé » ou « tea » permet le jeu de mots bi-
lingue avec biscuits et devient donc également un clin d’œil bilingue particulièremen

ment rusé. Enfin, il reste sans doute le meilleur exemple d’ambiguïté bilingue, qu’est l’enseigne CHOUCHOU d’un magasin de chaussures, qui date de la période de l’unilinguisme francophone obligatoire sur les enseignes commerciales. Dans ce cas, le nom est entièrement en français, signifiant « la personne préférée », et donc parfaitement en règle avec la législation, mais est un clin d’œil très habile puisqu’il se prononce comme le substantif pour chaussure en anglais « shoe ». L’adresse plus récente www.chouchoushoes.com, affichée de façon visible sur la vitrine, met en évidence la ruse linguistique de l’auteur et son clin d’œil à l’intention du lecteur bi

lingue et averti.

Exemples de clins d’œil bilingues à Montréal et à Bruxelles
4.2.2 Stratégies de complémentarité

Dans cette catégorie de clins d’œil bilingues, que nous n’avons pour le moment trouvée qu’à Montréal, l’élément commun aux différentes stratégies est la combinaison complémentaire d’éléments lexicaux issus des deux langues, avec ou sans manipulations orthographiques. Si on note ici différents degrés de mélanges des langues, il est dans tous les cas question de formes de stratégies qui insèrent, combinent ou alternent les mots en français et en anglais. Toutefois, certaines formes de combinaison échappent à la définition d’un clin d’œil bilingue, car ils font plus référence à un « parler québécois » marqué par des emprunts de l’anglais, comme par exemple, les enseignes du type CÔTÉ KID ou ROCK MOI, et de façon encore plus évidente encore dans la boutique de mode TRÈS HOT COUTURE ou de l’annonce de festivals avec le slogan L’ÉTÉ SERA SHOW.

La stratégie de complémentarité recherchée devient apparente dans des enseignes qui associent un mot en français à un mot en anglais afin de créer un nouveau mot à consonance française et/ou anglaise. C’est le cas des coiffeurs LUCIF’HAIR (Lucifer) et PLANÉTÉHAIR (planétaire ou « planet hair »), de BIJOU TREE (bijouterie ou arbre à bijoux), d’IMAGE IN (imagine en français et en anglais) ou encore du magasin de bicyclettes CYCLE LOGIC (psychologie en anglais, dont la prononciation élide le « p » et remplace le premier « o » par un e muet). L’enseigne SOUP BLIME (sublime) de l’établissement de petite restauration avec des potages « faits maison » intègre non seulement une combinaison d’éléments anglais et français, mais aussi un élément phonétique et une manipulation orthographique avec l’élision du e final de soupe. Il en est de même pour l’enseigne SOUPSON (soupçon en français et « soup’s on » en anglais, équivalent à « la soupe est prête »), où l’on vend évidemment soups et potages. C’est également le cas du magasin d’alimentation pour animaux, qui porte le nom de PAWTISSERIE avec un logo, où figure une patte d’animal (paw), qui explicite encore le clin d’œil bilingue (voir photo). Notons cependant que certaines de ces enseignes sont plus facilement lisibles par des lecteurs francophones, d’autres par des lecteurs anglophones et les enseignes les plus habiles et discrètes par des lecteurs bilingues et sensibles à ces « clins d’œil ».

Toutes ces stratégies visent à créer des formes hybrides, respectant la dominance du français et donc les contraintes légales, mais en jouant en même temps sur les deux tableaux linguistiques. Il en résulte des formes bilingues créatives et humoristiques avec cette connotation supplémentaire d’impertinence face à la loi et de complicité entre auteurs et lecteurs disposant de compétences bilingues, et conscients du contexte linguistique montréalais.

4.2.3 Quand le Palais des Beaux-Arts devient BOZAR

Le clin d’œil bilingue le plus intéressant à Bruxelles est sans conteste la forme idiosyncratique BOZAR. Il s’agit du nouveau nom ou plutôt logo, de la vénérable insti-
tution culturelle, située au cœur de la ville, dans le magnifique ensemble architectu-
ral moderniste d’Horta, qu’est le Palais des Beaux-Arts, appelé également Paleis
voor Schone Kunsten en néerlandais. Afin de contourner la législation imposant aux
institutions ou sociétés financées par de l’argent public fédéral (au minimum) un bi-
linguisme français/néerlandais dans toute forme de communication avec le public, y
compris leur dénomination, le Palais des Beaux-Arts a opté en 2003, pour des ques-
tions principalement de marketing, de changer son nom en BOZAR. Cette forme est
une transcription phonographique du nom en français, incluant des éléments ortho-
graphiques propres au néerlandais (le « o », le « z » de la liaison et la terminaison en
« r » au lieu de « rts »). Il ne s’agit donc pas d’une traduction ou d’une forme dou-
ble, mais d’une forme hybride alliant prononciation d’une langue et orthographie de
l’autre. Ce clin d’œil bilingue s’avère un coup de maître commercial et figure sur
tous les supports de communication du Palais des Beaux-Arts, des tickets et pro-
grammes papiers ou digitaux (voir www.bozar.be), aux vitrines ou aux drapeaux
multicoles surplombant l’édifice (voir photo) et cela indépendamment de la langue
du reste de la communication (en français, néerlandais ou anglais). Il s’agit ici d’une
stratégie à la fois d’ambiguïté dans l’appartenance linguistique et de complémenta-
rité.

Cependant, l’apparition de BOZAR dans le paysage linguistique à Bruxelles a eu
l’effet d’une bombe. Loin d’apprécier l’esprit et l’ironie de ce clin d’œil bilingue,
une partie du public, tant francophone que néerlandophone, a réagi vertement, dépo-
sant entre autres une plainte auprès de la Commission permanente de Contrôle lin-
guistique, obligeant ainsi la direction du Palais à se justifier. Si cet épisode est révé-
lateur des tensions entre communautés linguistiques et de l’importance d’éléments
symboliques telles les enseignes dans le paysage linguistique, il permet aussi aux
chercheurs d’avoir accès aux intentions des auteurs et aux réactions de certains lec-
teurs, que nous analysons dans les paragraphes suivants.

4.3 Motifs et réactions face aux « clins d’œil bilingues »

Pour Montréal, nous n’avons pour l’instant pas d’information sur les motivations des
auteurs des enseignes clin d’œil. Par contre, il est surprenant de constater que ces
enseignes ne semblent pas, à première vue, avoir attiré l’attention des autorités ou du
public montréalais, ni suscité d’irritation particulière. Ceci est d’autant plus remar-
quable, lorsqu’on se rappelle les confrontations féroces entre les années 1970 et
1990 à propos des lois sur l’affichage. C’est alors que les clauses originales de la loi
101, obligeant l’affichage commercial unilingue en français, ont été modifiées suite
da décision des cours judiciaires supérieures. Dès lors, nous avons l’impression
qu’à ce jour soit les clins d’œil bilingues passent inaperçus à Montréal, soit, et c’est
plus probable, que l’absence de commentaires à propos de ces enseignes relève
de volonté de ne plus raviver les conflits arrêtés par un compromis en 1993.
Pour Bruxelles en revanche, les vague de protestations provoquées par l’apparition des signes BOZAR (2003), mais également de BOOTIK (2005) et de CINEMATEK (2009), fournissent un matériel à la fois diversifié (voir 4.1), riche de contenu et très illustratif des stratégies des auteurs et des réactions des lecteurs. Ainsi, dans le dossier de plainte auprès de la Commission permanente de Contrôle linguistique (CpCl), le directeur général du Palais des Beaux-Arts décrit le terme BOZAR, comme un « terme fictif » n’ayant « aucun sens dans aucune des langues qui nous sont connues » (CpCl, 12-09-2008). La conservatrice du musée du cinéma explique dans la presse que le nom de CINEMATEK « n’est pas un jeu malhabile de lettres [...] Cinematek tente de réconcilier nos noms francophone et néerlandophone »[6]. Le directeur du BOZAR explique également le choix de ce sigle en insistant sur :

[...] le désir et la nécessité d’un rayonnement international et d’un positionnement dans le paysage muséal international qui ont amené le Palais des Beaux Arts à se doter d’un sigle et d’un style maison en marge de toute polémique linguistique et de nature à faciliter la communication avec les personnes s’exprimant dans d’autres langues, que notre capitale reçoit et héberge (CpCl, 12-09-2008 ;1-2).

Le directeur note également l’avantage que la brièveté du terme BOZAR représente pour « la communication digitale et le marketing en ligne ». C’est le même souci d’efficacité au niveau de la communication et de la commercialisation, qui, selon le Ministre en charge de la mobilité à Bruxelles, a poussé la société des transports publics bruxellois à choisir un logo comme BOOTIK pour leurs points de vente dans la ville. Le ministre indique que c’est une « démarche de publicité commerciale » (CpCl, 12-09-2008) dont le caractère multilingue « répond aux contraintes linguistiques d’une région bilingue et même multilingue. Ils rappellent le langage simplifié et phonétique utilisé par les jeunes dans les sms. » (Compte rendu parlementaire 23-11-2005). Le ministre ajoutera que l’intention était de trouver des noms « sexy » et « attrayants » (voir Pillier 2001 sur le multilinguisme dans la publicité) et non de vouloir angliciser ou néerlandiser Bruxelles. Dans les deux cas présents, il s’agit clairement de démarches qui, à des fins commerciales, contournent l’obligation légale de dénominations bilingues en créant des sigles hybrides n’appartenant plus ni au français, ni au néerlandais.

Si ces stratégies sont à la fois des clins d’œil bilingues et d’habiles choix commerciaux, ils n’ont pas moins été décriés par le public, trouvant ces sigles soit trop français, soit trop flamands (néerlandais). Tant BOZAR que BOOTIK ont fait l’objet de plaintes et dans les deux cas la Commission permanente de Contrôle linguistique a estimé que les plaintes étaient fondées. Dans le cas de BOZAR, elle estime que le logo ne traite pas « les deux langues sur pied de stricte égalité » et dans

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le cas de BOOTIK, elle considère que les termes retenus ne peuvent renvoyer « trop explicitement – par exemple par leur graphie – à la langue soit française, soit néerlandaise pour, de ce fait, passer outre au principe imposé par les LLC (lois sur l’emploi des langues, n.d.a.) » (CPCL, 12-09-2008). BOZAR est donc une appellation trop francophone, BOOTIK une appellation trop flamande, comme le relayeront les journaux francophones et néerlandophones. Les conclusions de la Commission permanente de Contrôle linguistique n’étant pas contraignantes, ces clins d’œil bilangues restent néanmoins présents dans le paysage bruxellois.


Côté néerlandophone, on déplore que les mots soient « violés à des fins politiques »12 et que le néerlandais soit traité avec si peu d’égard, certains lançant l’appel « Flamands, n’acceptez plus cela ! »13.

11 http://liguewallonem.bruxelles.skynetblogs.be/tag/1/Bootik (consulté le 29-03-2010)
12 Toutes les citations en néerlandais ont été traduites par les auteurs.
Ces réactions hautement politiques et identitaires, voir racistes dans le cas du retour des « k », sont révélatrices de la perception qu’a une partie du public des relations de pouvoir entre communautés linguistiques et des enjeux politiques et symboliques de la présence, dans le paysage linguistique, des langues des deux communautés, rejetant souvent de manière radicale ces formes hybrides. Toutefois, certains internautes, souvent néerlandophones, regrettent le manque de tolérance, ne comprennent pas cette tempête dans un verre d’eau ou n’y voient que des réactions communautaires « ridicules » dans une société qu’ils considèrent comme multiculturelle. Par ailleurs, ces clins d’œil bilingues à Bruxelles ont également été une source d’humour, comme en témoigne l’article publié le 1er avril 2009 (!) dans le quotidien francophone, La Libre Belgique. Il tourne en dérision le tumulte occasionné par ces formes hybrides et propose de remplacer, entre autres, la double dénomination (législation oblige) d’« Orchestre National de Belgique/Nationaal Orkest van België » par « pompompompoooom » en écho à la cinquième symphonie de Beethoven...

5 Conclusions

La comparaison des « clins d’œil bilingues » à Montréal et Bruxelles a permis de mettre en lumière des mécanismes parallèles tant au niveau de la définition du concept, qu’au niveau des stratégies linguistiques utilisées pour la création de ces formes linguistiques particulières. Ces clins d’œil bilingues dans le paysage linguistique se différencient de jeux de mots bi- ou multilingues par l’élément de contestation du contexte légal qui impose des contraintes linguistiques dans l’affichage. À Montréal, le contexte légal implique que les clins d’œil bilingues peuvent, en théorie, se trouver tant sur des enseignes commerciales que publiques. Par contre, empiriquement, ces clins d’œil ont uniquement été repérés sur des enseignes commerciales. Tandis qu’à Bruxelles, la législation ne concerne que les sigles d’institutions ou de sociétés publiques et c’est donc uniquement à ce niveau-là que nous pouvons trouver des clins d’œil bilingues.

Comme nous avons pu le voir, ce détournement des contraintes est, de la part des auteurs de ces enseignes, un exercice subtil de stratégies de manipulations linguistiques ou d’ambiguïté, jouant sur le fil de la légalité, tout en utilisant humour et ironie. Par contre, ces enseignes hybrides ne peuvent être décodées comme des clins d’œil bilingues que s’il y a une connivence entre l’auteur et le lecteur averti du contexte sociopolitique et disposant des compétences linguistiques nécessaires. Dans l’ana-


lyse présente, nous avons identifié principalement deux types de stratégies dans la manipulation et l’utilisation des langues : la stratégie d’ambiguïté et celle de complémentarité. Ces stratégies ne sont pas exclusives et se déclinent à travers un large éventail de techniques, qui dans certains cas se juxtaposent, pour créer des formes bilingues et/ou idiosyncratiques, témoignant tant de créativité que souvent d’humour. Ce sont essentiellement des jeux de mots habiles qui se jouent des limites entre les langues.

L’analyse comparative permet également de souligner à Montréal, un silence presque surprenant face à ces clins d’œil subtils et rusés qui semblent passer inaperçus ou restent du moins sans commentaire, et ce malgré plusieurs décennies de confrontation autour du « visage linguistique » de la ville. Cette possible acceptation des clins d’œil bilingues serait-elle donc une conséquence d’une bataille qui a été livrée et a mené à la redéfinition de l’utilisation des langues dans le domaine commercial et qu’on ne souhaite pas raviver ?

À l’inverse, ces clins d’œil bilingues ont suscité à Bruxelles une tempête de protestations, frôlant le racisme. Appréciant rarement la créativité de ces clins d’œil, les réactions, parfois virulentes, sont surtout révélatrices des clivages identitaires associés à l’appartenance d’un groupe linguistique et du poids d’éléments symboliques comme enjeu politique, que sont la présence ou non des langues dans le paysage linguistique. Cette présence symbolique d’enseignes, dont l’appartenance linguistique est brouillée et dont les auteurs sont des institutions fédérales ou publiques bruxelloises, irrite et engendre des discours lourds d’idéologie linguistique et communautaire. De plus, dans ces réactions, il est intéressant de noter un tissage entre des discours sur la norme linguistique et des discours sur le maintien des frontières ethnoculturelles et linguistiques, ironiquement dans un contexte où compétences bilingues et multilingues sont de plus en plus répandues. Les quelques réactions plus positives et humoristiques relevées dans les analyses nous font, par contre, penser que le public bruxellois ne condamne peut-être pas aussi radicalement ces clins d’œil bilingues que les réactions dans la presse et les blogs ne le suggèrent. Par contre, cette analyse comparative met nettement en évidence le poids de la dimension symbolique de l’affichage dans des villes historiquement partagées par deux communautés linguistiques.


À l’avenir, nous souhaitons pousser cette analyse plus loin en explorant d’une part, les domaines en jeu dans les deux contextes (l’un clairement public avec des enseignes fédérales et l’autre se situant entre le public et le privé avec les enseignes commerciales) et d’autre part, la perception et l’acceptation des clins d’œil à travers le regard (croisé) des auteurs et des lecteurs à Bruxelles et à Montréal.
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Summary

This chapter presents the results of a research project carried out by the Centre for Excellence – Permanent Linguistic Observatory for Foreigners’ Italian and Immigrant Languages in Italy – of the Università per Stranieri di Siena (Italy), investigating the presence within global linguistic landscapes of brands and menus generally connected with Italian. This is a relatively new and controversial area within LL studies, and this chapter aims to demonstrate the relevance of this area of research to LL studies more generally. It also presents the analysis of the data collected, with the aim of verifying three aspects:

- The level of visibility of brands and menus within semiotic and linguistic landscapes;
- The level of interaction of linguistic samples relating to Italian, containing Italianisms or pseudo-Italianisms, with other languages present that have different functions;
- The reasons that might explain this level of visibility and interaction with other languages, which we see as deriving from spheres that go beyond the boundaries of LLs, and touch upon economics, marketing, semiotics and foreign-language learning.

Résumé

Ce chapitre a pour but de présenter les résultats d’une recherche réalisée par le Centre d’Excellence – Observatoire linguistique permanent de l’italien pour étrangers et des langues de l’immigration en Italie – situé à l’Université pour Étrangers de Sienne. Il a pour objet l’analyse dans les paysages linguistiques du monde entier des noms de marques et des menus qui ‘parlent’ italien. Le thème de l’étude est relativement nouveau et controversé dans les études sur le paysage linguistique: ce chapitre veut démontrer l’importance de ces dimensions dans ce domaine d’études. Seront donc aussi présentés les résultats d’une base de données recueillies pour vérifier trois hypothèses concernant:

- le niveau de visibilité des noms de marque et des menus dans les paysages sémiotiques et linguistiques;
- le niveau d’interaction entre les exemples italiens, contenant des mots italiens ou des pseudo-italianismes, avec les autres langues utilisées pour vérifier les différentes fonctions à l’œuvre dans ces messages
- les raisons de ces niveaux de visibilité et d’interaction de l’italien avec les autres langues, qui peuvent être interprétées comme se situant aux frontières des études sur le paysage lin-
guistique et qui concernent aussi les domaines de l’économie, du marketing, de la sémiotique et de l’apprentissage des langues étrangères.

1 Italian Brand Names and Menus

We have grown used to open and varied scenery in linguistic landscape studies (Gorter 2006; Shohamy/Gorter 2009), and on a positive note, we can expect it to become increasingly so. However, when we come to look at brand names and menus, the horizons seem to narrow. Regarding brand names, with the exception of Edelman (2009) and a handful of other studies with a sociolinguistic slant or an interest in the etymology of the proper names often chosen for brands (Salih/El-Yasin 1994), attention to these signs currently appears limited, despite their quantitatively significant presence within the urban linguistic landscape¹. One explanation for this might perhaps lie in the fact that brand names are often based on proper names, an “object” that, at least from Wittgenstein onwards, has created various difficulties for those studying languages, their meanings and their relationship with the world (Scollon/Scollon, 2003; Voltolini 2003). Furthermore, rather than being treated as signs, semiotic traces of a linguistic landscape, brand names are seen solely as tools of a globalised market, which produces, publicises and sells goods without considering their meaning, perhaps unaware of the deep ties between the destiny of economies and that of languages (Baker/Eversley 2000; De Mauro 2003; Danesi 2006). The same can be said for menus, and food and drink labels: although they respond to precise marketing and packaging choices, they represent the first semiotic instrument in which a language, in our case Italian, meets other languages and codes for conveying flavours and expectations to a reader/addressee/taster/client². It is above all by virtue of this analogy that we have chosen to analyse brand names and menus together. These linguistic signs can certainly be ascribed to different categories of text, but they nonetheless share meaning-construction mechanisms. It is extremely complex both to quantify and define the denotative and connotative forces

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¹ Echoing the definition of the American Marketing Association (www.marketingpower. com), we should specify that by brand names we mean that part of a brand that can be written or spoken. It includes words, accompanied by letters and/or numbers.

² For obvious reasons, our approach to the study of brands and menus stands apart from the more generally economic one that enjoys particular favour in the marketing world (Jaffe/Nebenzahl, 2008; Minestrioni, 2010). Nonetheless, our intention is to strive to place our research within an interdisciplinary context, in which language is the core element of individual identity and of collective cultural, social, political and economic identities.
of these mechanisms, and to establish what results may derive from the constant interaction of these forces³.

With this in mind, like Bagna/Barni (2007) our research is based on a theoretical model that interprets the presence of Italian around the world or its contact with other languages within the global linguistic market (Calvet 2002; De Mauro/Vedovelli/Barni/Miraglia 2002) and within the new global linguistic order (Crystal 1997; Maurais/Morris 2003). This model is part of a more generally semiotic vision in which, in order to explain the presence of Italian for foreigners, we need to consider the sense values ascribed to Italian language and culture. As we shall see, Italianisms and pseudo-Italianisms within brand names and menus bear witness to the prevalence of positive traits, linked to the perception of aspects of Italianess such as quality of life, well-being, dynamism and creativity. This last trait in particular appears to open doors to new meanings for foreigners, who absorb Italian language into their own communicative structures. We are even more deeply striking, however, by the creative relationship that foreigners have with Italian, which they see as a language that can be re-elaborated, adapted to suit their needs, and taken as a source of models for the formation of meaning⁴. Thus, contact between Italian and other languages becomes another area of intensification of creative processes – one of the fundamental semiotic traits of language: the presence of Italian becomes the sign of a semiotic effort to recreate meaning, an attempt to regain possession of meanings that would otherwise be lost or remain unformed. So this is another reason why we have chosen to deal with brand names and menu items together. In the course of this chapter, we will see that these names and words have a quantitatively significant presence in the lexical repertoires of beginner learners of Italian L2, and in their linguistic imagination. Our hypothesis is that there may be a direct link between the visibility of brand names and menus containing Italianisms and pseudo-Italianisms and the activation, increase and support of motivation for foreigners to learn Italian. In this chapter we will barely touch upon this hypothesis, but it has already been verified in a number of contexts, and we feel confident that it could contribute to expanding and enriching the LL study scenario in an interdisciplinary outlook.

³ A propos of proper names used in brands, Edelman (2009: 152) has already noted that their connotation is often held to be more important than their denotation, giving a fairly explicit invitation to review this approach.

⁴ For the concept of ‘linguistic creativity’, see De Mauro (1982, 2002), who views human verbal language as animated not just by a Chomskyan, rule-governed creativity, but by the possibility of activating the semiotic mechanisms of constituting meaning, all the while violating the normal rules of the code, or changing them through the very act of communicating. For applications of this idea to the situation of Italian in use among foreigners, see Vedovelli (2003).
2 Data Collection Methodology and Problems

Data were collected between 2002 and 2010 using instruments and methodologies already in use within the Centre for Excellence – *Permanent Linguistic Observatory for Foreigners’ Italian and Immigrant Languages in Italy* of the University for Foreigners of Siena (Barni/Bagna 2008), and belong to a wider corpus of Italianisms collected for research into the presence of Italian in social public communication in the LLs of various cities worldwide. During the 2009 Siena LL Workshop we focused on shop signage, but the significant number of brand names and menus led to our current reflections on their role.

The method of data collection consisted in field observations (fieldwork) and, where possible, i.e. for brands, it was integrated with the use of Google Maps – Street view.

Data collection was carried out in full awareness of the problems posed in terms of linguistic classification by menus and (above all) brand names (Edelman 2009; Blackwood/Tufi 2010): what criteria should be adopted to classify menus or brands as belonging to a given language – in this case, Italian? The criterion chosen was that regardless of whether linked to brands or restaurants owned or managed by Italians, samples collected, or parts thereof, should be linguistically classifiable as one of two forms. These are Italianisms, i.e., Italian expressions, phrases and sentences inserted into an LL outside Italy, and pseudo-Italianisms, terms produced using Italian word-formation models, with a creative outcome. For example, the use of different suffixes (including -*issimo* and -*ino*) are an example of a continuous recreation based on models (or pseudo-models) of Italian (or contact Italian), often constantly mingling with the languages of non-Italian linguistic spaces. In these cases, Italian is no longer just the language of the Italians, but is re-created to form new words, often with a contribution from local languages, and always with the aim of evoking traits of Italianness.

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5 For this aspect, see Vedovelli (2005), who analyses the word *freddoccino*, an exemplary pseudo-Italianism created by a foreign company as the name of a new drink (a cold capuccino, as yet not marketed in Italy, but widespread abroad). This creation is the fruit of a deliberate choice: instead of using a contamination between a term taken from the local language (in this case, German) and an element recognised as being Italian, but generally felt and understood to be an internationalism (*cappuccino*), it opts for an invented word to convey the morphological and lexical traits in the new name that must render the exotic language of origin as clearly as possible (ibid.: 591).
3 Brands: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis

Our corpus is made up of 152 brands, all of them registered. They were collected in 15 countries: China, Cyprus, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Japan, Lithuania, Morocco, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA.

Most were found within signs for clothing shops, although a good number were connected to the catering trade (bars and restaurants).

The most important and well-known Italian brands, seen and recognized in every major world city, are represented: Gucci (41st in the 2008 ranking of brands – www.interbrands.com), Prada (87), Armani (89), Emporio Armani, Bottega Veneta, Ermenegildo Zegna, Fornarina, Fratelli Rossetti, Furla, Pancaldi, Patrizia Pepe, to name but the most common. There are also less well-known Italian brands, created both in Italy (Stefano Ricci, Claudio Ferrici, Ravazzolo) and abroad, but linked with immigrant Italian families (Sbarro, from the surname of the family that opened a delicatessen in Brooklyn in 1956, has now become the name of a fast food chain with over 1,000 restaurants in 30 US states; Caffè Alba is a popular chain of coffee bars in and around London, created by a family of Italian origin).

Analysis of Italian brands leads us to focus attention first and foremost on their visibility. The brands analysed have quite a high level of visibility within the linguistic and semiotic landscapes considered. Interaction between the following factors appears to be a determining factor:

- their numerical quantity, certainly far greater than what was collected in our research;
- the fact they appear on shop signs, and are therefore immediately present and freely usable for linguistic actors within that given linguistic space;
- the fact that in the majority of signs they appear in isolation, without any other languages to explain or complement the information. It is interesting that this also happens in contexts where the dominant language in public and social communication is very distant from Italian, both in terms of type of language and because they function through a different writing system, as in the case of Japan. This does not mean that Italian brands do not interact with other languages found in the same context (as in the case of Chiffino Shoes, Milani – Boutique Children's Wear), but rather, that interaction almost always means Italian being more relevant (more visible) and more common (dominant). For example, in numerous cases the semantics of an Italian brand name were explained through the use of another Italian word, as is the case for the previously mentioned chain Sbarro, whose name is accompanied by the Italian words pizza, pasta, cappuccino, to indicate that they serve Italian foods;
- the fact that they are found in the most famous shopping streets of the cities mapped, as well as in less central areas not traditionally given over to shopping. It should be said that these areas are not necessarily the same ones where the de-
scendents of Italian emigrants live or have lived, which, incidentally, have been linguistically transformed by the new migrations of different origins (see the case of the Little Italies of the main North American cities). They are equally identifiable in cities and countries (such as Cyprus and its capital Nicosia) where the phenomenon of Italian emigration is all but non-existent.

In the analysis performed, the visibility of Italian brands appears to be closely related to their capacity to attract sense-building mechanisms associated with positive values. These mechanisms prove to be crucial for creation and use in the same contexts as other brands containing one or more Italianisms and/or pseudo-Italianisms, in a mechanism that has to do with language and the vast universe of communication, rather than with marketing (Danesi, 2006). In our corpus this would appear to be the case for a series of brands from the clothing sector (Ecco; Vero Moda; Scandalò by Fellini; Senso; San Marina) and, above all, for brands from the catering trade, where the presence of Italian, perhaps more than in other contexts, has an evocative force and represents an impulse towards creative, and even interlinguistic, solutions (DelArte; Bellissimo; Don Donna; Cappuccino animale; Biancaffè). But there is certainly no lack of cases where the presence of Italian brand names would lead us to hypothesise what we might call a system of activation of Italian language and Italianisms, including many in contexts of use other than fashion and catering. This confirms the hypothesis, already verified elsewhere (Vedovelli, Machetti 2006, 191), that the Italian language and its words not only indicate realia that cannot be expressed otherwise, but also convey meanings relevant to the dynamics of communication, convey semantic traits in a form not present in the language of the country, and communicate images of values more generally associated with the Italian language and culture, which are no longer limited to the contexts of fashion and food.

From another point of view, the power of these sense-building mechanisms seems so great as to lead us to consider Italian brands not only as potential creators of economic value (which implies the necessity for a reading of the brands parallel to that offered by that most traditionalist of interdisciplinarities, marketing), but also as potential activators of Italian learning. The Italian of brands is to all intents and purposes an identifying language in which non-Italian can determine their own identity dialectically in a recreation of values, starting from the evocations that linguistic signs are capable of eliciting (Vedovelli 2005, 603, our translation).

Thus the Italian of brands activates linguistic competence. That the visibility of Italian brands in these cities is obvious and, above all, able to influence at least people’s motivations for learning Italian, if not progress in learning, has been demonstrated by research carried out by the Siena Centre for Excellence. The most recent researches, carried out in Argentina (Gallicchio, unpubl.), Cyprus (Bagna/Machetti,
LL and (Italian) Menus and Brand Names 223

forth.), Spain (Sammartino, unpubl.) and Japan (Bagna, 2009), show how the Italian lexical knowledge of those deciding to follow Italian courses contains a massive presence of words coming from brands and, as we shall examine in further detail below, menus. In these research projects, given the level of competence of the informants, a bilingual questionnaire was administered, and the first ten Italian words known by participants were brand names (Armani, Cavalli, Dolce/Gabbana, Gucci) and words from menus, which included not only *pasta, pizza, cappuccino, mozzarella*, but also a broader range of pseudo-Italianisms associated with the sphere of Italian cuisine. Several students explicitly declared that they have decided either to start studying Italian or to improve their competence in Italian language because of its visibility in their own cities; in fact the use of the language in particular fields of public and social communication has built a positive perception of the language itself ("Italian is a beautiful language!"; "It's the language of fashion and of good cuisine"; "it sounds like a song"). The presence of Italian language within local linguistic landscapes was sometimes exploited in order to create Italian language learning projects and programs, as shown in different Italian classes in Argentina and in Japan, where Italianisms and pseudo-Italianisms have already been an object of study and moreover the opportunity for students to develop their linguistic-communicative competence.

4 Menus

The treatment of menus within the LL of a given place calls for a focus different from that used with shop signage, posters, etc. (Landry/Bourhis, 1997). Although menus containing Italianisms represent/evoke a cultural/linguistic tradition that can be easily identified (thanks in part to the presence of *realia* such as *pizza, mozzarella* and *cappuccino* throughout the world), we hold that they should be treated with an autonomous model of analysis within the LL. Menus in fact represent a text genre that traditionally welcomes exoticisms (think of the French-derived lexicon once found in the menus of the European courts, which is still very present in culinary circles), and in which exoticisms can have different roles to play: technical cooking terms; evocation of a dish from another culture (often the case with Italian); terms in local cooking no longer considered exotic and/or prestige. Italianisms add another specific trait to this list of functions: their presence in foreign contexts strongly characterized as Italian (Italian restaurants in the various Little Italies) or in autoch-

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6 The Italian Cultural Institute of Tokyo, in 2010, inspired by the research of the Centre for Excellence, promoted a photo contest for Japanese students of Italian, which purpose was to collect examples of Italianisms that were going to be used in teaching activities afterwards.
thonous local contexts with a great deal of interaction with the (dominant) languages most present.

We may therefore hypothesize two scales of visibility for menus in LLs:

- one for the collocation of the menu,
- one for the choice of languages and their interaction within the menu.

The first criterion can include two menu types:

- menus shown outside (on stands or inside restaurant windows),
- the printed menu in the customer’s hands.

These subdivisions suggest a line of approach for our analysis: on the one hand we have the text, the ‘menu’; on the other, the ‘reader’, the ‘user’ (but also the ‘customer’) of that menu. For the ‘reader’ the menu’s visibility in an LL activates self-learning methods, accepting pronunciations and spellings that evoke positive aspects of a given language/culture, even when these are not fully correct and suitable for what is being imagined (e.g., mozzarella for mozzarella, and the use of mozzarella to indicate a generic cheese). There is therefore a mixture of linguistic aspects, aspects having to do with language contact and learning, and interlinguistic and imagined phenomena connected to a given culinary tradition. The choice of whether to approach these texts is sometimes thought out; sometimes (in the case of the most widespread Italianisms), it is necessary (forced), insofar as it concerns terms now commonly used in many foreign lexicons.

Faced with this complexity, as for brands, so also for menus, our analysis is both qualitative and quantitative.

Our corpus is made up of 205 menus, 31 of which are printed menus from restaurant tables and 174 mostly from external stands, either on the street or at restaurant entrances. Menus were collected between 2002 and 2010 from 21 countries (Brazil, Canada, China, Cyprus, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, Japan, Jordan, Greece, the UK, Ireland, Lithuania, Morocco, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia and the USA).

In contrast with what we found for brands, in the case of menus, a significant role was played by Italian in contact with local languages or languages used within that type of text, although menus have less visual impact than brands. Brands, like signs, impose themselves on a space and on citizens/readers, whereas menus, whilst present in the linguistic landscape, may be viewed as invisible until a potential client is attracted to or chooses that specific place to dine. Thus there are two intersecting levels of visibility: that defined by the sign and, subsequently, that of the menu, which represents the second approach to text with Italianisms. Hence, menus also feature traits indicating precise linguistic choices, but with a quantitatively greater contribution of texts than signs, and with diversified linguistic uses.
4.1 Linguistic make-up

Only in 5 cases were menus monolingual Italian, while 142 were texts which included Italian alongside the local language and English. In 50 menus Italian was no longer an exoticism: only words fully integrated into the dictionary, like *espresso/cappuccino/pizza/pasta/panini*, were to be found (see also Stammerjohann et al., 2008). Finally, in 8 cases – 8 menus from Russia – Italianisms were transliterated into Cyrillic, and the texts thus only appeared to be monolingual.

4.2 Functions of the languages used

The local language has an explanatory function in 71 menus (description of the dish, ingredients, how it is cooked), as well as adding a translation in another 13 cases. In 17 menus, however, the local language is only used for translation. In the remaining 99 cases the presence of Italian words is not accompanied by any additional information in another language. These are words that we may hypothesize to have entered into use in that language or to be recognizable by people going to that restaurant.

The best-known language (the local language or vehicular English) is used as support alongside the name of the dish in Italian, with the function of helping the potential customer/reader in their choice of dish. In this case, we may posit a potential and implicit didactic function.
4.3 Relevant and dominant languages

Italian is the relevant language (i.e., the most visible, the one given the greatest emphasis) in 69 menus, while English comes in second place with 45 menus. Italian has a relevance equal to that of the other languages present in 45 menus.

English is the dominant language (quantitatively most present) in 68 menus, also for touristic reasons as international language; in 58 menus there is parity between Italian and other languages; Italian dominates in 21 menus. This detail, which only partly derives from the fact that more menus were collected in English-speaking countries, confirms the presence of Italian as the second most visible language in urban linguistic landscapes. The presence of Italian connotes urban centres (tourist and shopping areas etc.), where there is a greater mobility of subjects, readers, users and customers. When Italian is present, it also interacts a great deal with English, the language of international communication.

4.4 Linguistic phenomena

Menus are more closely bound by the limits necessary in a text designed to help in the choice of a dish, in comparison with the analysis of Italianisms found in shop signage. This differs from the coffee sector (dealt with in Vedovelli 2005), where linguistic creativity also becomes creativity in the result/product. However much the naming of dishes may be full of details, we did not find creativity of a level to produce a series of new products. For example the structures ‘pasta al/pasta con’ are respected.

If we compare menus with a limited sample of food products found in supermarkets in the same country, some similarities come to light (e.g. the use of explanations in other languages), along with a greater freedom in product naming. Labels have the same role to play as shop signage, whereas menus, although highly visible, seem more linked to standard textual structures.

The linguistic phenomena encountered are to be placed along the axes of greater/lesser correctness and linguistic creativity. In particular, we found phenomena of morphosyntactic adaptation (30 cases), phenomena linked to contact Italian (41 cases), contact Italian adaptation and phenomena (15 cases), pseudo-Italianisms (15 cases), cases of total transliteration into another language (Russian, 8 cases).
5 Concluding reflections

The debate over the role of brands in LLs would certainly appear to be both wide-ranging and still open, with positions ranging from a drive towards the creation of a model of linguistic classification in the context of use, in which individual subjects and collective perceptions are the determining factor, to the belief (as we have tried to demonstrate) that the impact of certain brands is independent of the degree of awareness of who created them or manages them, or of their context of use. In the same way, the role of Italian foods also moves between the poles of an internationalisation whereby the terminology of Italian cuisine has become an integral part of many languages, and the exhibition, visibility and manipulation of those terms make them recognisable as Italian/pseudo-Italian language.

The interpretation of the linguistic samples collected (brand names and menus), proposed above, is thus based on the idea that the connection between these samples and Italian is neither arbitrary nor linked to the logic of “one nation – one language”, a reasoning that would suggest a monolithic situation closed to contributions from other languages (a reasoning still embraced by marketing). Instead, we see it as a connection based on the following considerations:
- the position and therefore visibility of Italian in global social and public communication, in which Italian is second only to English. This makes it not only a language of identity but also a contact language, a starting point for evoking the symbolic values linked with food and drink, fashion, culture, and Italian-made products generally;
- Italian’s potential as a language that, as much as others if not more, activates linguistic creation mechanisms in contact situations, evoking an Italianness that can condition how the individual views things within a logic of collective perception;
- the connection with language learning. The Italian visible in urban LLs potentially activates learning. As has been underlined, many foreigners’ first Italian vocabulary – for all that it might contain errors and/or new pseudo-Italian creations – is found in brands and menus.

The analysis carried out brings us to one of the fundamental LL themes: language impact. For example, is the level of visibility of a menu full of Italianisms less than that of a shop sign (accompanied by a window full of visible products) when we consider that the menu too (if not already accompanied by images) creates expectations regarding food that is, or soon will be, visible?

Let us conclude by leaving this question open. We have, however, tried through our analysis of brand names and menus to see what the consequences are (including at LL level) when the degree of visibility of a text changes according to its form, and to its destined use. The text still ‘imposes’ upon the customer/addressee (especially in the case of menus), as he or she has to enter a restaurant; it also requires an effort towards a functional understanding of what is written, at least at the level of final satisfaction (‘I understand the menu, and so I choose the food I want’).

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“READING” THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS
How Literate, Low-Literate and Non-Literate Readers Read the Linguistic Landscape in a Gambian Village

Summary

In this chapter we explore how visual messages in the public space of a Gambian village community are received and interpreted by people with various levels of literacy competency. We photographed all landmark linguistic landscape items (a total of 23 multimodal signs) on the main road that runs through the village and conducted ‘photo-stimulated’ interviews with twenty literate, low-literate and non-literate villagers. The participants’ responses were ordered on a continuum of ways of interpretation, from ‘perfect alphabetic reading’ to ‘no interpretation at all’, with intermediate categories of ‘reading images’ and ‘recognition through the background on the photo’. Our research suggests that personal literacy competency is a matter of degree and that there is a range of interpretive practices that people with various competencies draw on in order to make sense of the linguistic landscape surrounding them.

Résumé

Dans ce chapitre nous explorons comment les messages visuels dans l'espace public sont reçus et interprétés par des personnes ayant divers niveaux d'alphabétisation. Tous les éléments importants du paysage linguistique repérés sur la route qui traverse le village ont été photographiés (un total de 23 signes multimodaux). Puis, des entretiens « stimulés par les photos » ont été menés avec vingt villageois lettrés, peu lettrés et non lettrés. Les réponses des participants ont été classées selon la façon dont les signes ont été interprétés, de « lire parfaitement » à « aucune interprétation », avec des catégories intermédiaires de « lecture des images » et de « reconnaissance grâce à l’arrière-plan sur la photo ». En conclusion, nous observons que la dichotomie analphabètes/alphabètes ne permet pas de saisir la complexité de la répartition des stratégies de lecture dont se servent les personnes ayant divers niveaux d’alphabétisation pour saisir le sens du paysage linguistique les entourant.

I Introduction

In their seminal work Reading Images, Kress/Van Leeuwen (1996) observe that under the influence of new technological affordances, literacy is becoming increasingly
visual in its uses of multiple semiotic modes in a range of genres including advertisements, websites, school textbooks, instruction manuals, newspapers as well as the linguistic landscape (see also Iedema 2003; Kress 2003). This creates new demands as well as opportunities for consumers or ‘readers’ of such texts. It is, for instance, no longer sufficient to be able to ‘read’ in a narrow sense (i.e., to be able to decode the scripted symbols of written language) to be literate. One equally has to be able to ‘read images’ to be literate in a visual world. By the same token, those who have not learned to decode the scripted symbols of written language can draw on the less exclusive interpretive practices of reading images to understand and to participate in a world that is saturated with literacy. Although Kress/Van Leeuwen (1996) confine their discussion and conclusions to the Western world, only to suggest comparisons with non-Western cultural environments for future research, we propose to take some of their ideas to a small West African village and explore how visual messages in the public space are being read by literate, low-literate and non-literate villagers alike.

2 Sociolinguistic Context

2.1 The Gambia

The West African country The Gambia (with definite article and capital ‘T’ according to common usage) has an estimated population of 1.7 million and a land surface of 10,380 square kilometers, which makes it the smallest but also one of the most densely populated countries of mainland Africa. The Gambia, surrounded by Senegal, has an elongated shape that follows the river by the same name some 470 kilometers from the continental savanna to the Atlantic Ocean. Socio-economically, it is ranked as 168th country (of 182) in the Human Development Index (UNDP 2009), which means that it is considered to be among the poorest countries in the world.

In common with many sub-Saharan African countries there is a strong urban-rural divide that dominates the geography and economy of the country. The most urbanised area is located in the Kombo districts in the west on the south bank, comprising of the capital city of Banjul and towns such as of Serrekunda, Kanifing, Bakau and Brikama. Urban Kombo accommodates the largest proportion of the Gambian population, the largest number of schools per head, most of the industry and the best access to modern life facilities such as tap water and electricity. Most of the country’s tourism activity, embassies and international organisations are also concentrated here. Country-wide the rural areas are dominated by agricultural land which is predominantly used for cultivating groundnuts for export, and rice, fruit and vegetables for domestic consumption.

As a former British colony, English occupies a prominent position in Gambian public life. It is the language of parliament, higher courts of law, the written media,
tourism industry, and of the eight o’clock news on TV. It is also the de facto medium of instruction in schools from nursery to university level. It is not, however, the language most heard in minibuses, on markets, on school playgrounds, in people’s compounds, or in the rice fields. These more informal domains are occupied by The Gambia’s nine or so local languages: the Atlantic languages Wolof, Fula, Serer, Jola and Manjago, the Mande languages Mandinka, Bambara and Serahule, and the English-based creole Aku. While no statistics are available for language use, the decennial census provides the following figures for ethnic groups: Mandinka 36%, Fula 22%, Wolof 15%, Jola 11%, Serahule 3%, Serer 2%, Manjago 2%, Bambara 1%, Aku <1% (figures of 2003, GBoS 2007).

Within this ethnolinguistic diversity, there are two local languages that stand out as lingua franca: Mandinka and Wolof. In somewhat oversimplified terms, Mandinka is most widely spoken as a first and second language in the rural areas up-country, and Wolof assumes the role of vehicular language in the greater Banjul and Serrekunda area in the west of the country. Arabic occupies an important position in public life as well, in particular for conversational greeting and praying, as well as for religious education. For a more elaborate discussion of the language situation in Gambian society, see Juffermans/McGlynn (2009).

It should be obvious that multilingualism is the rule here as almost every Gambian typically makes use of multiple languages on a daily basis, however orally. In contrast to the linguistic diversity in the range of spoken media of communication, the linguistic landscape is surprisingly monolingual, with English as default language for literacy in the public space, in urban and rural areas alike.

2.2 A modern, multiethnic village

The site where we conducted our research is a modern, multiethnic village in southwest Gambia that is situated at approximately sixty kilometres or two hours traveling by public transport from urban Kombo.

The village is referred to here as a modern village because people have lived there for only three to four generations and because it was built around the structures of the modern (colonial and postcolonial) state. That is to say that it was built on both sides of the main road, connecting towns and villages on the south bank of The Gambia. The village stretches out along this road as well as a secondary road going to a riverine village further north. To the south there is only farmland and bush before the border with the Casamance region of southern Senegal. The east-west axis is important as well: people orient to the east when they pray and head west when they travel to the city.

The village is referred to as a multiethnic village because no ethnic group formed an absolute majority, even though the village is located in the Foni area that is historically dominated by Jolas, which means that the alkaloship (local political leadership) of the village remains in the lineage of its Jola founders. In a survey of mul-
tilingualism carried out by the first author and a colleague in July-August 2005 among 248 villagers of all ages, 33 percent responded by saying that they were Jola, 31.5 percent Mandinka, 17.5 percent Fula, nine percent Manjago and 6.5 percent Wolof. Further, 10.5 percent of interviewees declared that they had been born into an ethnically mixed marriage, and 8.5 percent reported that they were married to someone from a different ethnic group.

With regard to the linguistic resources available to this rural population, there are the local languages of the above and other ethnic groups, but also world languages such as English, French and Arabic, as well as Portuguese Creole. There was a clear lingua franca in the village, as revealed in the high number (95 percent) of respondents who declared to be speakers of Mandinka. As is the case for The Gambia as a whole, multilingualism is also the rule in this village, as Jola and Wolof were said to be spoken by more than half of the questioned population (59 and 57 percent respectively), and Fula by over a third (35 percent). English was claimed to be understood by 43 percent, Arabic by 14 percent and French by 9 percent.

For written communication English is the default language of literacy, although only a small number of villagers can read. English is the medium of instruction at all levels in the district school, even though informal spoken use of local languages in the classroom is widely practiced and de facto tolerated (cf. McGlynn/Martin 2009). As an alternative for the mainstream public school system, there is also an Arabic-medium Islamic madrassa boarding school at some distance where some children of the village are being sent to. A small number of children is not sent to school but kept at home to assist their parents with farming and other domestic chores. Elderly people in the village typically have not had any formal education and are illiterate and unable to speak English.

3 Investigating Sociolinguistic Village Life and the Public Space

3.1 Fieldwork

As part of a larger ethnographic study investigating into language and literacy practices in Gambian society (Juffermans 2010), we embarked on a joint fieldwork trip in June-July 2008, which was a first visit for the second author and one in a series for the first author. We stayed in separate host families to participate in and observe village life. This experience was contrasted with simultaneous fieldwork in the urban area where we also stayed in different host families.

Guided by members of our host families, we made a tour around the village visiting shops, the clinic, two NGOs and the nursery school and were introduced to various families across the village. As strangers or guests (luntangolu), we spent many hours sitting under a mango tree along the road chatting and drinking attaya (strong Chinese green tea). We both made efforts to learn Mandinka in order to en-
able us to communicate with the non-English speaking members of our host families. Our primary behaviour as fieldworkers can basically be described as (deep) ‘hanging out’ (Geertz 1998) – talking, drinking, eating and sleeping in the village in order to experience and understand local life as much as possible. As we were interested in sociolinguistic life and as our companions or informants were equally interested in our lives and habits, much time was spent on discussing issues of language, literacy, culture, education, religion, but also travel, migration and globalisation. By and large, villagers were very collaborative in talking to us and helping us with our research, e.g., in the form of providing translation and interpretation when and where needed.

3.2 A corpus of linguistic landscape items

It was decided that we would focus our research on the linguistic landscape of the village. Linguistic landscape research had so far focused mainly on cities and urban places across the industrialised world (see Gorter 2006; Shohamy/Gorter 2009; and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael/Barni 2010; Coulmas 2009:14 is most outspoken in claiming that ‘linguistic landscape is really cityscape’) and so we were interested in exploring the linguistic landscape in a rural African setting. Linguistic landscape research had thus far also mainly focused on the landscape as a container of literacy products and not on the events and practices of people as users of these spaces (for critique, see e.g., Pennycook 2009; Garvin 2010 is an exception). In our study, we were therefore interested in involving the reading practices and experiences of people living in the landscape.

As a first step we compiled a corpus of linguistic landscape items. We photographed all landmark items on the highway running through the village. Mainly roadside billboards were photographed because they were most salient in the village and were visible for everyone. Moreover, the village’s billboards could be photographed comprehensively as there were only a very small number of them. The photographed signs included wooden and steel painted billboards put up by non-local actors, but also charcoal and painted graffiti on houses (e.g., telephone numbers and welcome messages). Also a flag and the printed clothes of the village’s al-kalo were included in our small, but comprehensive corpus of linguistic landscape items. In all, over a distance of six kilometres along the main road, 23 signs were photographed. The photographs were printed on A5-format in black-white in urban Kombo and brought back to the village to be used in interviews with local users of the linguistic landscape. Only nineteen of these signs were selected to be used in the interviews, as some billboards were very similar to each other.

When looking for multilingualism in the corpus, we find that the local Gambian languages spoken in the village are not (or only very marginally) represented in the linguistic landscape. English is by far the dominant visible language in the public
space of the village. Besides English, however, also the local language Mandinka and the global languages Arabic and Chinese are represented in our corpus.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 give examples of billboards we photographed. Figure 1 is a billboard of the national mobile telephone company Gamcel. This is an example of a billboard that is in English only, but makes productive use of visual resources to construct its meaning. The letter ‘l’ in Gamcel, for instance, depicts an antenna which visually suggests mobile telecommunication. The brand name is further recognisable by its use of a typical typeface and colour scheme. We hypothesised that even if one is not able to read the word Gamcel (i.e., to decode the graphic symbols of the roman alphabet) one would still be able to recognise and understand the sign as a whole as a Gamcel sign.

Figure 1

Figure 2 is the billboard of SMILE Irrigation Technologies. It is placed at the entrance of a community garden where an association of women does farm work. In the centre of the board a short written text in a large font gives the name, function and address of the garden. The images to the left and right of the text show what technologies are used in the garden, subtitled in English language in angular comic book balloons.

Figure 2
Figure 3 shows the billboard of Taiwan Technical Mission, an organisation that provides technical support for the irrigation garden. It is a multilingual sign consisting of parallel English and Chinese text in traditional characters. Besides the text, the Gambian and Taiwanese flags are comradely depicted on top of the billboard.
3.3 Participant villagers

As a second step we started selecting participants for ‘photo-stimulated’ interviews. Twenty participants with various levels of literacy competency were invited to participate in the interviews. As a first question, they were asked if they were literate. On the basis of their answers (and further consultation with our research assistant and casual observation) they were divided in three groups: a group of four high-literates (who responded that they could read ‘very well’ – group HL), a group of seven low-literates (who responded that they could read only a little – group LL), and a group of nine non-literates (who responded negatively to the question if they could read – group NL).

We have followed Skar (1994: 261) in the use of the term non-literate as opposed to illiterate since the latter has a negative connotation (‘failed communication in a medium not mastered’) whereas the former emphasises orality as an alternative means of communication.

The classic sociolinguistic variables of sex, age and level of education of participants were noted and taken along in our analysis. Our twenty participants consisted of fourteen men and six women ranging in age between 14 and 85, including thirteen under the age of 30. Eight of our participants were high-educated (HE), six low-educated (LE) and also six formally non-educated (NE). Some of the high-educated participants were not permanent residents of the village but lived a part of the year or a part of the week in urban Kombo where their work or school was located. Most participants who are low or non-educated were described as farmer under occupation on their ID cards and were permanent village residents.

‘High-educated’ for our purposes here means that the participant has graduated from or is still attending mainstream English senior secondary school (grade 10-12) or a similar level of education at the madrassa school system. Low-educated means that the participant had only had a few years of education, until upper basic school (grade 6-9) as a maximum. ‘Non-educated’ means that the participant has had (practically) no formal education. To distinguish between mainstream English medium education and the Arabic medium Islamic alternative, the level of education has been specified with the abbreviations ‘Eng’ and ‘Ar’ in Table 2 below, where the other variables can also be found for every individual participant.

3.4 Photo-stimulated interviews

The main part of our research project consisted of ‘photo-stimulated interviews’. Each participant was asked individually for every sign: ‘What does it tell you?’ and ‘How do you know/see that?’ Interviews were done in English or, with an interpreter, in Mandinka. The various answers were tape-recorded and/or written down as literally as possible. Besides the answers, other relevant observations were also noted.
Table 1: Responses for the Taiwan Technical Mission sign (Figure 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>WOI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Almameh (HL)</td>
<td>He reads the English text aloud. Audio recording: ‘This also is a joint project between the republic of The Gambia and Taiwan. Cooperation between these two countries to venture in agriculture. In Ndemban.’</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdoulie (HL)</td>
<td>He reads the English text aloud. Audio recording: ‘Taiwan Embassy is a co-funder in this project. A collaboration of Taiwan and The Gambia.’</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarjo (HL)</td>
<td>He reads the English text on the billboard aloud. Audio recording: ‘It is two countries, it is Taiwan and Gambia. Taiwan, they are helping Gambia, agriculture, particularly in this gardening. Found in rural areas here. This is Taiwanese writing, maybe this has the same meaning as this.’</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abubacar (HL)</td>
<td>He says it is about cooperation between Taiwan and The Gambia. He also reads the English text aloud.</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyima (LL)</td>
<td>She recognises the flags. She cannot read the Chinese script.</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba (LL)</td>
<td>It takes time to read the English text. He reads: ‘Occupation: department of state for agriculture’.</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamin (LL)</td>
<td>He recognises the flags of The Gambia and China. He hesitates about the Chinese flag.</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatou (LL)</td>
<td>‘Gambian flag. garden.’</td>
<td>(6/8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanta (LL)</td>
<td>‘Flag of The Gambia.’</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sainey (LL)</td>
<td>He only reads the word ‘Gambia’..</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahya (LL)</td>
<td>‘Taiwanese and Gambian flag.’ He reads: ‘Taiwan and Gambia’, this takes some time.</td>
<td>(3/6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mero (NL)</td>
<td>She doesn’t know what the billboard is about.</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamin (NL)</td>
<td>‘They work there from Besse. Banana farm, limono, mandarine, fruits and plants. Also plants.’</td>
<td>(8/9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirah (NL)</td>
<td>She doesn’t know what the billboard is about.</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malang (NL)</td>
<td>‘Gambian and Chinese flag.’</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismaela (NL)</td>
<td>‘Gambian flag.’</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famara (NL)</td>
<td>‘Flag of The Gambia and Senegal.’</td>
<td>(6/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdoulie (NL)</td>
<td>‘Flag here’ and she points at the flag of The Gambia.</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuyeh (NL)</td>
<td>‘Flag of The Gambia.’</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isatou (NL)</td>
<td>She doesn’t know what the billboard is about.</td>
<td>(12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers in third column correspond to different ways of interpretation (WOI) on multimodal continuum: (1) perfect reading; (2) minor hesitations; (3) spelling words; (4) reading numbers only; (5) recognising ‘word pictures’; (6) reading images or logos; (7) recognition through text design; (8) recognition of sign as a whole; (9) recognition through background; (10) guessing; (11) prompted response; (12) no interpretation at all. Participants are divided in three categories of literacy: high-, low- and non-literate.
As an example, Table 1 gives the responses of all twenty participants for one sign, the billboard of Taiwan Technical Mission as reproduced in Figure 3. The first column gives the first names of the participants as well as the group they were divided into (literate, low-literate, non-literate). The second column gives the (summarised) responses for every participant. The third column gives the ‘ways of interpretation’ (WOI), i.e., the strategies used to read the signs, as explained in paragraph 4.1.

4 Ways of Interpretation

4.1 A multimodal continuum

When the individual responses for every billboard are analysed and presented in a structured way, twelve different strategies of interpretation can be distinguished. Thus, an overview appears of the way public signs are being read, namely: (1) perfect alphabetic reading (i.e., reading in its narrow sense of decoding the scripted symbols of written language); (2) reading with minor hesitations; (3) spelling words; (4) reading numbers only; (5) recognising ‘word pictures’; (6) reading images (or pictograms, logos, etc.); (7) recognising a text’s design; (8) recognising the sign as a whole; (9) recognising the sign through the background of the photo; (10) guessing; (11) no interpretation (prompted response); (12) no interpretation at all.

Table 2 shows the different ways of interpretation used by our twenty participants. The vertical axis gives the names of the participants together with their estimated level of literacy (as defined in groups of HL, LL and NL) and the social variables of sex, age and their determined level of education, as described in paragraph 3.3. The horizontal axis plots the twelve above-described ways of interpretation. The numbers in the table indicate how often each subject makes use of a particular way of interpretation. The most frequent ways of interpretation per participant have been marked in bold and form a diagonal line from the top-left to the bottom-right corner.

There is a small group (scattered in the top-left of Table 2) of fairly confident readers that encounter no significant problems in decoding alphabetically scripted language. A relatively large group (scattered in the centre of Table 2) interprets on the basis of images, logos and design and the sign as a whole without being confident readers in the narrow sense of the word. There is an equally large group (scattered in the bottom-right corner of the table) that generally did not come at any significant interpretation. Another small group can be distinguished that only read numbers and/or frequently used words such as local place names.

From the data in Table 2 it becomes clear that other elements than written texts should be taken into account when studying reading practices. Other semiotic modalities play an important role in interpretation as well. The table shows a multimodal continuum of actual reading practices or ways of interpretation. It thus becomes
clear that a dichotomy between being literate and illiterate is not descriptively ade-
quate for the distribution of reading skills in the village.

Table 2: Ways of interpretation and social variables for each participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOI</th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
<th>(10)</th>
<th>(11)</th>
<th>(12)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Almameh (HL) m, 26, HE-Eng</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdoulie (HL) m, 28, HE-Eng</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarjo (HL) m, 23, HE-Eng</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abubacar (HL) m, 17, HE-Eng</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyima (LL) f, 17, HE-Eng</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba (LL) m, 23, HE-Ar</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahya (LL) m, 15, LE-Eng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatou (LL) f, 25, LE-Eng</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamin (LL) m, 29, LE-Ar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanta (LL) f, 14, LE-Eng</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sainey (LL) m, 15, LE-Ar</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malang (NL) m, 42, HE-Ar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fana (NL) m, 27, LE-Ar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
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Ways of interpretation horizontally: from (1) perfect reading to (12) no interpretation, as in Ta-
ble 1. Names and social variables vertically: male/female; age; level and medium of education
(high/low/non-educated; English/Arabic). Frequency of used WOIs indicated per participant in
absolute numbers.
4.2 Reading across generations

Looking for the relationships between the ways of interpretation and the social variables sex, level of education and age in Table 2, roughly three groups can be distinguished. The first group is the group of confident readers and consists especially of high-educated young men (below the age of thirty). The second group used predominantly the various ways of interpretation in the middle of our continuum and consists of low-educated men and women of various ages. They interpreted on the basis of images, logos and design. Although they acquired basic reading skills in school, they do not greatly draw on these school-acquired skills in their ways of interpretation. The third group consists mainly of elderly men and women who received no formal education at all. They often could not give any interpretation, despite the availability of images or symbols on billboards.

Age and the level of education are important factors in the way the multisemiotic signs are being interpreted. This factor appears to determine largely if alphabetic decoding and/or more creative visual reading strategies are involved in their interpretative practices. As the level of education correlates with the variables of sex and age, a relationship is thus established between these three variables and their reading practices or ways of interpretation.

4.3 Symbolic and functional literacy

The data in Table 2 can be supplemented with some observations. First, there was virtually no comprehension by any of our participants of written text in a language other than English, neither in the local language Mandinka, nor in the global languages Arabic and Chinese. These languages seem to have a largely symbolic function, as they are connected to identity – the national or cultural identity of the Chinese (Taiwanese) NGO sponsoring the vegetable garden (Figure 3) and the religious identity of the Islamic association of West Africa supporting Islamic education (not reproduced here). Although none of our participants could read the Arabic text in the signboard of an Islamic school, almost all of them recognised the script as being Arabic and acknowledged its association with Islam. An illustration of this symbolic value of the Arabic script can be given by the answer of a low-literate participant interpreting the billboard: ‘Islamic school and Islamic writing’.

A second observation concerns the local valuation of literacy and illiteracy. Some participants expressed no shame at not being able to read. One of them said during the interview that he did not consider it a problem that he could not read. There appeared not to be any social stigma regarding illiteracy. Another participant advanced that he had ‘no time to read’ and that others helped him with writing when needed. This way, non-literate still have access to literacy and can function nonetheless in a world that is saturated with literacy. It appears that collaborative literacy is an im-
How Literate, Low-Literate and Non-Literate Readers Read the Linguistic Landscape

important part of the informal economy of the village community (cf. Juffermans 2011).

5 Conclusion

This small experimental ethnographic study aimed to shed light on the way literate, low-literate and non-literate people read the linguistic landscape. In the village, literacy is very unevenly distributed among men and women, younger and elderly persons, and by and large corresponds with education. In our introduction, we raised the possibility that visual literacy creates new demands as well as opportunities for readers of such public texts. As Kress/Van Leeuwen (2001) argued, reading involves much more than interpreting written text only. All semiotic modalities, like images, size, colour, layout, emplacement, materiality, etc. are involved in reading in a wider sense.

We wondered to what extent non- and low-literates could draw on visual ways of interpretation (e.g., reading images, recognising a text design) to understand multimodal texts in their environment. It turned out that there are a number of persons unable to make much sense of the signs presented to them (or of the task we presented them). These were, however, predominantly elderly persons. Our research also indicated that there is a very large grey zone between them and the perfect readers. This large category of low-literate readers as we have termed them in the title of this chapter draws on a variety of visual interpretative strategies to read the signs in their local linguistic landscape. They extract information mainly from extra-textual elements that are widely available in the public texts in their environment. Thus, a dichotomy between literates and non-literates, as often posited in population statistics, is descriptively inadequate to address the complexity of literacy as a local, situated practice. Rather, there seems to be a multi-semiotic continuum of reading practices and ways to interpret public texts that is variously available to readers. Low-literate readers who have difficulties decoding the scripted symbols of written language can and do indeed draw on more holistic semiotic interpretive practices (including ‘reading images’) to make sense of the literate world they live in.

Acknowledgement

We would like to thank Dorina Veldhuis and Jeanne Kurvers for comments and feedback on an earlier draft of this paper. We also wish to acknowledge the support of a student travel grant of the International Office and a departmental travel grant (both at Tilburg University) to carry out our field research.
Bibliography


ANDY HANCOCK

Capturing the Linguistic Landscape of Edinburgh:
A pedagogical tool to investigate student teachers’ understandings of cultural and linguistic diversity

Summary

This chapter investigates how student teachers respond to the linguistic landscape (LL) in the city of Edinburgh. It describes how students at the beginning of their Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programme took part in a ‘camera safari’ to engage in thinking about the multilingual communities that schools serve. The resulting corpus of photographic data captured by the students is drawn on to illustrate the range of LL in the city whilst the students’ notes are analysed to gain insights into their varied perceptions of linguistic and cultural diversity. The study reveals that the student teachers interpreted LL from a variety of understandings which can be characterised as avoidance, acceptance and awareness. Finally, a critical examination is given of the use of LL as a pedagogical tool in teacher education and its effectiveness in contributing to student teachers’ awareness of multilingual settings.

Résumé

Ce chapitre examine comment les enseignants en formation réagissent au paysage linguistique (LL Linguistic Landscape) dans la ville d’Édimbourg. Il décrit comment les étudiants au début de leur formation initiale (ITE Initial Teacher Education) ont pris part à un ‘safari photo’ pour s’engager dans une réflexion sur les communautés multilingues que leurs écoles desservent. L’ensemble des données photographiques capturées par les étudiants est utilisé pour illustrer l’éventail des LLs dans la ville et les observations des enseignants en formation sont analysées afin de mieux comprendre leurs perceptions variées de la diversité linguistique et culturelle. L’étude révèle que les futurs enseignants ont interprété les LLs à partir d’une variété de perceptions que l’on peut désigner comme l’évitement, l’acceptation et la sensibilisation. Enfin, une analyse critique est proposée de l’utilisation des LLs comme outil pédagogique dans la formation des enseignants et sur son efficacité quant à la sensibilisation au multilinguisme sociétal.

1 Introduction

According to the most recent statistics available in Scotland (HMie, 2009) the number of children and young people who spoke languages other than English at home...
rose by thirty percent from the previous year. Furthermore, these school children and young people spoke one hundred and thirty seven different languages. It is therefore, imperative that teacher education takes the initiative and adequately prepares trainee teachers for the rapidly changing nature of multilingual classrooms.

A number of researchers have effectively shown how the study of linguistic landscapes (LL) is a powerful indicator of diversity in contemporary urban settings around the globe including Tokyo (Backhaus, 2007), Rome (Barni, 2008), Malmö (Hult, 2009) and Madrid in this book. As Cenoz and Gorter (2006, 68) state:

The linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context because people process the visual information that comes to them, and the language in which signs are written can certainly influence their perception of the status of the different languages and even effect their own linguistic behaviour.

It may be argued, therefore, that the construct of LL has in its favour an important educational function. That is, the tangible evidence of the multiliterate ecology of cities informs the readers of signs about the range, status and vitality of languages whilst at the same time LL has the potential to influence the readers’ views of multilingual settings. Although LL is proving to be a rapidly expanding mode of inquiry few studies have focused on this key educational role.

The pioneering work of Landry and Bourhis (1997) on LL did consider the perceptions of Francophone high school students of public signs in Québec. In the same vein, Dagenais et al. (2009) document how ten and eleven year-old elementary school children studied the LL in Vancouver and Montreal and used this photographic evidence as a basis for exploring language awareness activities and teaching critical literacy. The study presented in this chapter also has education as its theme but it deviates from the aforementioned work, as the research is not positioned in a city etched by the historical presence of two principle linguistic communities. Rather it attempts to shed light on how predominantly monolingual participants respond to LL in order to give them fresh insights into multilingual school contexts. Central to this pedagogy is a commitment to empower students to critically reflect on their values and beliefs and in some cases confront the misperceptions and stereotypical understandings of monolingual school communities. In this way using LL as a pedagogical tool does not just involve gaining knowledge of writing systems other than English but the very act of investigating LL can potentially alter students’ worldviews and the school environment in which they will teach.

The significance of Edinburgh as a site for exploring LL is reflected in the choice of the city for a pilot investigation into the feasibility and value of a national study, ‘Mapping the Languages of Scotland’. The ‘Mapping the Languages of Edinburgh’ research surveyed students starting their secondary education (eleven to twelve year-olds) and discovered a plurilingual population far greater than generally believed (McPake, 2002). Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland, is located on the east coast and is the country's second largest city, after Glasgow, with a population of just un-
der half a million. Edinburgh is a magnet for job seekers\(^1\), especially recent arrivals from Poland, as well as a leading tourist destination. The city was awarded the status of UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1995 and attracts thirteen million overseas visitors every year. Every August the city hosts the Edinburgh International Festival which claims to be the biggest arts and cultural gathering in the world and the *Hogmanay* (Scots for ‘the last day of the year’) celebration sees visitors from across the globe flock to the city. All of these factors give Edinburgh a cosmopolitan vibrancy and an ideal location for investigating LL.

The chapter begins with an overview of multilingual Scotland both past and present which helps shape student teachers’ perceptions of linguistic diversity. The next section explains the rationale for the ‘linguistic landscape’ exercise conducted by a cohort of postgraduate students. This is followed by a description of the range of digital photographs captured by the students to highlight the range, characteristics and functions of the environmental print on display in Edinburgh. The students’ varied views of diversity are then analysed into three general responses to the LL task in terms of avoidance, acceptance and awareness. The concluding section critically reflects on the exploration of LL as a pedagogical tool as well as its effectiveness as a means of contributing to student teachers’ understandings of multilingual settings.

2.1 Multilingual Scotland

Scotland has a rich multiliterate history and the earliest indication of visible written language survives in a small number of inscriptions in a script known as Pictish (Joseph, 2004). Additionally, evidence of the runic alphabet from the third century, also carved in stone, have been discovered in the far north islands of Orkney and Shetland and illuminate the Scandinavian background of the islands’ language and cultural history.

Gaelic is one of Scotland’s oldest languages. It arrived in the west of Scotland as a result of incursions of Irish settlers in the fifth and sixth centuries and for short period in the eleventh century became the language of the Crown and of Government. However, it was not until the seventeenth century that Scottish Gaelic distanced itself linguistically from Irish Gaelic by establishing a spelling system different from the Irish one. An illustration of the multilingual nature of Scotland is in the late medieval period where in the Highlands and Western Isles the use of vernacular Gaelic, classical Gaelic, Scots and Latin were in evidence.

Scots, a Germanic language in origin, made inroads into southern Scotland from northern England in the seventh century. Scots has a rich literary past and it came close to becoming the ‘national’ language in the early sixteenth century when it was

\(^1\) In 2004-05 the City of Edinburgh absorbed more than a quarter of all migrants coming to Scotland (Orchard et al., 2007).
the language of education and commerce as it gradually replaced Latin as the language of official documentation. Despite being a language often heard in the home Scots suffers from its linguistic closeness to English and without a standardised spelling system it is often viewed by educationalists as a fragmented range of dialects (Judge, 2008). However there have been a number of school based initiatives by committed teachers to raise the status of the language and research has demonstrated that children, in particular boys, show a marked improvement in both literacy and confidence following the introduction of Scots lessons (Lucas, 2009).

The linguistic makeup of Scotland has traditionally been characterised by large settled communities of citizens originally from commonwealth countries such as Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Hong Kong. Given the tendency for these communities to establish small businesses either as shopkeepers or in the food catering industry their presence is frequently visible on shop fronts in the High streets across the country. The expansion of the European Union in 2004 brought a substantial, and largely unexpected, arrival of migrant workers to Scotland, especially from Poland, who contribute to the country’s economy (Orchard et al., 2007) and these new migrants are beginning to make their mark on the cityscape.

A further diversification of languages spoken by children attending Scottish schools is due to changes in immigration and asylum policies which provided the legal basis for large numbers of asylum seeking families to be dispersed to Scotland (Candappa et al., 2007). Most of these asylum seeker families originate from a range of countries experiencing war, conflict and persecution such as Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq. The nature of these new patterns of migration to Scotland over the last decade are characterised by the notion of ‘super-diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007). Such a condition is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new and scattered, multiple-origin, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified migrants.

Gaelic has benefitted more than Scots from measures outlined by the European Union to target Regional Languages for promotion and action (Extra and Barni, 2008). In 2001, the Scottish Government announced plans to erect bilingual signage along many of the trunk roads in the Scottish Highlands and The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 gives public bodies the responsibility to promote the language and consequently bilingual signs have been increasingly more visible in all parts of the country including non-traditional Gaelic speaking areas such as Edinburgh. However, emotionally charged public arguments and graffiti action raise fundamental questions about the regulations governing the languages to be used on this ‘top-down’ signage. Controversies include the toponymy and spelling conventions of place names and the visual impact of differentiated colours, sizes and order of two linguistic codes all of which can signify to the reader the dominance of one language over the other (Hicks, 2002). This is not dissimilar to debates in locations across the globe where the legality and status of languages is contested such as the Sámi area of Norway (Puzey, 2007).
Boð na Gàidhlig, with support from the Scottish Government, has contributed to the revitalization of the Gaelic language and this is no more apparent than in education which has experienced a steady expansion in the number of children, over the last thirty years being instructed in Gaelic in schools. Unfortunately, the research which expounds the intellectual benefits of this type of bilingual programme (O’Hanlon et al., 2010) is frequently ignored within political and public discourses and there are currently no plans to extend this type of provision to other minority languages in Scotland.

With the exception of Urdu and Chinese (taught as modern foreign languages in some secondary schools) there are presently very few opportunities available within mainstream schools in Scotland for speakers of minority languages to develop their first language skills. This policy context and coercive relations of power, means Scotland is not currently in a favourable position to capitalise on its linguistic resources (McPake, 2006). In fact, the status of community languages is frequently at the discretion of shifting political and economic ideologies rather than a concern for social justice. For example, China’s re-emerging position of strength within global trading systems has seen increased funding to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland. This is not unlike the promotion of Japanese in schools in the 1990s to support the expansion of teaching of Chinese in Scotland.

Spolsky (2009a) has pointed to the symbiotic relationship between LL, state language policy and the use of languages in education. Since the onset of devolution in 1999 the question of a national language policy has gained political attention on a number of occasions but it was not until 2007 that a draft document ‘A Strategy for Scotland’s Languages’ was circulated for public comment. Regrettably, the Strategy contains the following pejorative statement ‘We do not bear the same responsibility for the development of other world languages which are used by communities with their roots now in Scotland’. This is a far cry from the comprehensive and coherent language policy for Scotland advocated by Lo Bianco (2008) which aims to be inclusive and shaped by guiding principles that support the maintenance and development of languages other than English. Since 2009 there has been a shift in political power to the Scottish Nationalist Party but at the time of writing, there are still no plans to resurrect the Strategy and revisit the policy neglect given to community languages.

This brief sketch of multilingual Scotland and the place of languages in education highlights two conflicting actions at work. On the one hand, at a state level, language policy and provision has taken place in an ad hoc fashion and dominant discourses reflect mainly the interests of English monolingualism. Whilst on the other hand, at a local level, the impact of globalization and current migration flows has had an effect on the visibility of the multiliterate ecology of cityscapes such as Edinburgh. How students in teacher-education coalesce and make sense of these two contradictory forces is the subject of the final part of this chapter. In the meantime
the next section describes a pedagogical approach that attempts to raise students awareness of cultural and linguistic diversity through the exploration of LL.

2.2 Linguistic landscape as a pedagogical tool

As students embark on their ITE programme at the University of Edinburgh their view of the world is influenced by a ‘language habitus’. That is a system of dispositions, and subliminal ways of thinking and behaving, that human agents internalise over time as a result of their submersion in particular socio-cultural environments and sets of social relationships (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This means student teachers may articulate monolingual discourses as they prepare for their classroom practice rather than testing the validity of these fashionable hegemonic ideologies (Hancock, 2011). Yet this denial of societal multilingualism ignores the very real situations created by global migration patterns reflected in the linguistic landscapes on display in contemporary urban settings. It has therefore become paramount that ITE intervenes and finds space to inform prospective teachers about the existence of language diversity as part of a wider social justice agenda for educational institutions (Cajkler/Hall, 2008).

In fact preparation for teaching in Scotland requires the students to work towards a nationally agreed set of standards during their programme of study which specifies a range of professional knowledge, understanding and values necessary for qualification. Within these standards it states that student teachers will: ‘demonstrate an understanding of principles of equality of opportunity and social justice and of the need for anti-discriminatory practices’ and ‘demonstrate the ability to respond appropriately to gender, social, cultural, religious and linguistic differences among pupils’.

However, in reality an overcrowded ITE curriculum means issues of diversity frequently remain at the fringes of teaching and learning (Arshad, 2009). Furthermore, the role played by ITE is even more crucial as the trainee teachers enrolled on ITE programmes at Scottish Universities (in common with the majority of practicing teachers) are most often white, middle class, monolingual and (in primary schools) female. This demographic continues to remain unrepresentative of the communities that schools serve.

In order to expose pre-service teachers to the realities of the multilingual school contexts in which they will be working it was decided that at the very beginning of the programme students should take part in an open-ended ‘community day’ task. The students were organized into groups and randomly allocated a different school neighbourhood of Edinburgh to investigate a series of themes including linguistic and cultural diversity. The role of the university tutor was to provide only initial

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2 Ninety-two per cent of teachers in Primary schools are female and only one point one per cent of teachers are from non-white minority ethnic groups.
guidance. That is the students were instructed to take digital photographs of the use of languages other than English in its written form on display in public spaces and that this evidence may include public and private signs, shop fronts, notices and advertising. Some illustrations of LL including monolingual, bilingual or multilingual signs were shown to the students as a stimulus.

The employment of LL as a pedagogical tool overhauls the traditional instructional lecture-type model where theoretical understandings and content knowledge are communicated in an abstract and idealized form to compliant students. In its place the ‘camera safari’ arouses students’ curiosity and presents a challenging task by actively getting students to grapple with learning about real world situations.

The chaotic nature of LL means ‘understandings’ and appreciations of LL are clearly not necessarily unanimous and very different meanings may be attributed to signs (Ben-Rafael et al., 2010). In this way opportunities are provided for students to be involved in new ways of thinking and questioning. Subsequently, they have to take responsibility for their own collective decisions about the type of photographic data to collect and engage in discussions about what the signs mean. This fits neatly with the philosophy of co-constructivist learning inspired by the seminal work of Vygotsky (1962). Namely, through collaborative enquiry our understandings of the world are shared with others and consequently new understandings are generated.

The photographs of LL taken by the students were used to inform a group presentation as part of a Problem-based Learning (PBL) task (Bond/Feetti 1997) centred around designing a nursery school and responding to the diverse needs of the community it serves. The students’ notes accompanying the presentation were scrutinized and this analysis is reported in the following section.

2.3 Students’ photographs and categories of LL

In this study the concept of LL is employed as an awareness raising technique in order to prepare student teachers for the reality of multilingual schools. The intention here is not to quantify the corpus of photographs recorded by the students during the ‘camera safari’. Several researchers within the field have provided systematic and comprehensive classifications of visual semiotics in multi-dimensional spaces such as Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) but authors like Spolsky (2009b) have stressed the arbitrary nature of LL and identified the methodological challenges and unreliability of such counts. The reluctance to use statistics in this study is not just because the students operated with full autonomy of action but also because they were asked to document a social world that is capricious in nature. Furthermore, each group was sent to a different school environment that moulds them so that they act and react in different ways. That is the notion that nothing is predetermined but individuals and groups make their own conscious and spontaneous decisions about what photographs to take and why. Given the unpredictable manner of the exercise the focus is subsequently on the range, characteristics and
functions of the written signs photographed by the participants in order to highlight the presence of settled minority communities and the use of their languages on display in the public sphere.

Using Ben-Rafael et al.’s (2006) categories of LL items there are some ‘top-down’ influences at work including public information and religious institutions. A photograph of a Community Health Centre sign was translated in four different languages (Urdu, Arabic, Chinese and Punjabi), in order to direct visitors to a number of departments such as Psychiatry and Chiropody. This is an illustration of what Reh (2004) refers to as ‘duplicating’ where the languages contain complete mutual translations of each other. Other photographs of this type include two notices in shop windows for a TELEPHONE HELPLINE3 and SAHELIYA4. Both of these multilingual vertical arrangements cover six languages and are intended to communicate important information across a spread of minority groups. But as can be deduced (from the footnote) what the ‘authors’ consider to be their target minority groups in Edinburgh differ to some extent.

A number of photographs were also taken of a range of scripts associated with sites of worship. These include Punjabi at the Sikh Temple or Gurdwara; a Ukrainian notice in front of the Ukrainian Catholic Church; a plaque in Arabic outside the Central Mosque and Islamic Centre and a Roman Catholic Church with a ‘Welcome’ poster containing over fifty different scripts which aims to convey a message of inclusivity. For more detailed insights into visual data in and around faith settings see Ruby/Choudhury (2010).

The vast majority of signs in the sample taken by the students are nonofficial signs. This demonstrates that the LL of Edinburgh is determined more by the inhabitants than the authorities. These are signs produced by individual social actors for commercial purposes ‘who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits’ (Ben Rafael et al., 2006, 10). As English is the historical and main official language of the country it was therefore not surprising that the students did not find any evidence of some ‘top-down’ categories identified by (Scollon and Scollon, 2003, 181) such regulatory discourses (parking) and infrastructural discourses (street names) in languages other than English.

Given the recent new patterns of migration it is not unexpected that the students discovered evidence of written Polish distributed across the city. These noticeable LL items cover a vast array of commercial outlets such as supermarkets, cafés and delicatessens (POLSKIE DELIKATESY) advertising food with a Polish flavour (POLSKIE SMAK) such as SCHABOWY ( schnitzel), BIGOS (cabbage stew) and GOTABKI (stuffed cabbage leaves). Also amongst the photographs was a plurality of enterprises with privately designed signs offering a variety of services such as

3 Translated into Kurdish, Farsi, Turkish, Arabic, Swahili and Urdu,
4 An ethnic minority women’s support group. Scripts are Hindi, Punjabi, Chinese, Bengali, Arabic and Urdu.
mobile phones, hairdressing, financial services, legal and professional services and travel agencies. One salient sign clearly stated POLAK WSZKOCJI (Polish person in Scotland). All these prominent visual messages are clearly directed at the expanding Polish speaking community in Edinburgh who also stand to gain economically from selling their goods and services. However, the languages of the other countries who joined the European Union in 2004, whose migrant workers live in Edinburgh (such as Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania), were noticeably absent from the sample of photographs.

Chinese is another language clearly in existence in many streets of the capital especially visible on Restaurant and Takeaway signage. The distinctiveness of the Chinese orthography serves a dual function here. First, a socio-cultural function as a strong symbolic marker of Chinese identity and secondly, as an advertising function with the objective of attracting customers who will probably not be able to decode Chinese but who may appreciate the aesthetics of Chinese calligraphy and its interwoven relationship with Chinese culture and cuisine. What may be also less evident to the clients is the Chinese cultural tradition of naming their businesses using lexical items that signify ‘good luck’ in order to bring prosperity to the owners and guarantee commercial success. For example, the restaurant (Figure 1) called Hall of Treasures.

However, categorizing the LL as just ‘Chinese’ is over simplistic and does not reflect diversity within diversity as represented in the photographs taken by the students in terms of character types, visual layout and script mixing. What is often neglected is that there are two types of characters: traditional characters still in use in Hong Kong and markers of the Cantonese and Hakka speaking community and sim-
plified characters used in Mainland China which signify Putonghua speakers in Edinburgh. The visual data also highlights the differences in directionality within Chinese orthography and the possibility of writing text from left to right or right to left in the horizontal lines text mode or in vertical columns. Drawing on illustrations from Hong Kong, Scollon/Scollon (2003) discuss the challenge of this indexability within geosemiotics and knowing how to read a sign in Chinese. Transliterations such as HING SING SUPERMARKET and XIANGBALA HOTPOT frequently accompany the Chinese script in signs (albeit these may not always be a direct translation). The motivation here is to support an audience of readers of English, as unlike pinyin used in Mainland China and Singapore, there is no official standardized phonetic script that exists in Hong Kong. For more in depth discussion about the various facets of Chinese signage refer to Curtin (2009).

Although the students were directed to LL items using written language other than English there were a number of instances where photographs were taken of signage in English as the message suggested cultural diversity to the photographer such as a sign on the door of a Driving School stating POLISH AND ASIAN DRIVERS AVAILABLE. Other illustrations within this genre include ORIGINAL INDIAN BEAUTY THERAPY, MAHKKAH STORE: SUPPLIERS OF FRESH HALAL MEAT, ASLAM JEWELLERS and the bicultural identities of the accountants and tax consultants ‘Ahmad and Nabi McMullan’. A poster advertising a multicultural football tournament, as part of the Scottish anti-racist campaign, ‘Show Racism the Red Card’, is also included in this classification of LL.

Although the presence of English, as the principle means of communication and the language of power, remains predominant on the LL of Scotland, the photographic data presented in this section is just a taste of the photographs collected by the students. It indicates a remarkable assortment of scripts and a vast array of LL categories and functions which defines Edinburgh’s multilingual cityscape. The process of the ‘camera safari’ brings to the fore the various ways in which students receive and act upon the LL they observe on display in the school neighbourhood. These individual and group perspectives are influenced by students’ past experiences and socio-cultural framework, as well as their understanding of the purpose of the task. The student responses will be the focus of the next section.

2.4 Student teachers’ response to LL

A number of authors have considered how social actors react to diversity in educational contexts (Steel, 1998, Nieto, 2010) producing categories such as silence, denial, resistance, tolerance, acceptance, solidarity and affirmation. There are of course inherent dangers in the quest to put labels on social reality, as according to Nieto (2010, 248) ‘we run the risk that it will be viewed as static and arbitrary, rather than as messy, complex, and contradictory, which we know it to be’. In addition, the literature does not always address how educators can progress from one stage to an-
other. That said, such a theoretical model can be useful because it helps make concrete situations more comprehensible. This section of the chapter draws on the aforementioned literature and for the sake of clarity and conciseness it analyses the students’ discourses into three levels of response to the LL task: avoidance, acceptance and awareness. Each of these terms is elaborated on below.

The first level of response ‘avoidance’ is defined as a kind of blindness to linguistic and cultural diversity even though there was evidence to the contrary. An illustration of this type of situation is one group who took a photograph of a café with chairs on the pavement and had this to say:

This photo demonstrates the multi-cultural aspect of the community, specifically the ‘cafe-culture’ that mirrors a European style. This may mean many children grow up with this kind of experience.

But what the students failed to acknowledge was the name of the shop ‘Konditorei/Feinbäckerei’ (Figure 2) which specializes in German pastries and cakes and the German sign on the window ‘Qualität aus Meisterhand’.
Similarly, another group restricted their observation to a sign on a public house which said ‘Children Welcome’ and noted:

Although we never noticed a diverse, multi-cultural community we did see many of the local restaurants welcoming children. This promotes a sense of family values and encourages adults and children to go out and engage in quality dialogue together.

Of interest the submission from this group also included a photograph of a notice board inside a supermarket which contained information about staff including Omar, Pricilla and Reddy and whose photographs was clearly indicative of the diverse nature of the workforce. This was despite the fact that they claimed not to have noticed a ‘diverse community’.

Another group also failed to understand the nature of the exercise and the concept of LL as reflected in the following comment:

We think it is German but not sure if this is what we should be looking for.

With further questioning it was discovered that the group failed to correctly recognize the Polish sign FRYZJER (Hairdresser) (Figure 3). Not only was this group unsure of what counted as LL but they were also unprepared and unwilling to research further in order to increase their knowledge of writing systems other than English.

The examples cited above cover a number of complex issues of misinformation or resistance around aspects of linguistic diversity. It may be argued that when investigating the LL phenomenon some students’ inherited prejudices and distortions prevents them from seeing what needs to be seen (Glendinning, 2008) as they cannot
stand outside their culturally produced and socially constructed lived experiences. The challenge here for ITE is how to engage with these students in re-looking at the world and reflective thinking.

The second type of response to emerge from the LL exercise was ‘acceptance.’ This is defined as a situation in which diversity is acknowledged and respected. For a number of students the linguistic diversity discovered in the community was conceptualised as an ‘opportunity’ with the potential to allow educators to explore citizenship education issues as these responses suggest:

Multi-cultural Scotland is truly a reality. From the affluence of migrant doctors to the tradesmen of Eastern Europe. All these new ‘Scots’ form vital cogs in our modern society and should offer us as educators new opportunities to explore our global community.

Diversity is opportunity! It is a theme, which can be explored and embraced as a tool in developing a child’s citizenship, compassion and social skills.

From the LL task a number of students emphasized incorporating the children’s linguistic capital into the curriculum in order to support the children’s learning and strengthen their self-concept and identities. Typical contributions on this theme were as follows:

We provide our children with a dual language library in which they are able to sign out books to bring home and read with their families. This endeavour also serves to include the children’s parents in their learning process.

Our nursery ensures that it caters to a wide variety of children by offering multiple writing systems as tools to learn and present knowledge.

Our school is aware of different languages in the community which in turn values personal experiences and affirms the children’s sense of self and the value of their culture.

Moreover, an argument advanced by a few of the students was that by building on the linguistic and cultural diversity children bring to school it can be exploited as a learning resource for the benefit for both monolingual and bilingual children. Some of the responses in this vein include:

The children we meet bring with them a variety of linguistic resources and it is our job as teachers to unpack and distribute these among their peers for the benefit of the individual, community and society.

Local communities are an important resource for learning in schools and offer a context within which authentic language and cultural issues can be explored by other children.

Whilst these sentiments are to be commended there were a number of comments made by students that hinted that children’s diversity was perceived as romantic or exotic. For instance, as the following views reveal:
On special days the children will enjoy food from around the world, they will learn words in the different languages, and they will be exposed to different songs and stories from around the world.
In our nursery we celebrate cultural celebrations such as Easter, Christmas and Saint Patrick’s day.

Despite good intentions there is a need to move beyond an ideology where tokenistic gestures towards multiculturalism (such as celebrating festivals or ‘ethnic’ food tasting) only reinforce difference and racist attitudes by producing ‘cultural strangers’ rather than developing strategies to counter the structural and attitudinal barriers inherent within institutions and in broader society (Gorski, 2008).

The final category of analysis is ‘awareness’ defined as evidence of students engaging in a process of reflexivity as a consequence of the LL exercise. This involves a critical ‘self-awareness’ of their values and belief structures as the following quotes suggest:

We were required to see things from a different perspective, ignoring any preconceived ideas we may have had as a result of our own upbringing so our skills of empathy have developed too.
This made us think far deeper than we would have done otherwise about our surroundings in the context of the school and its value and place in the community. This was an eye opening experience that really made us think of what the community means to each of us as individuals and as a whole team.
It is interesting to look in a different way at a place I thought I knew well

Lastly, there were several examples of incidental learning as a consequence of the LL exercise. An interesting illustration of this occurred when a group of students were taking a photograph of a board with Arabic script at the side of a café. It led to a social exchange as described by one student:

When we took the photo an African man asked us if we were learning Arabic. He told us what it said.

This type of unplanned social interaction can result in changed attitudes and begins to raise awareness of issues surrounding the complex nature of authorship of LL (Malinowski, 2009).
Two students in particular became enthused by the LL exercise and took the initiative to engage further with the project. One took additional photographs of LL around her home neighbourhood on a mobile phone whilst another took photographs of a range multilingual signs in her daughter’s nursery. Interestingly, both these students had prior knowledge of diversity, one having worked in Turkey as an ESOL teacher the other living in a multilingual area of London. This brings into the open a potential methodological limitation of the study as changing perspectives maybe dif-
Conclusions

This study has shown that by drawing student’s attention to LL in the city of Edinburgh it can heighten their awareness of linguistic diversity in the communities that schools serve. Furthermore, the design of the ‘camera safari’ task opens up a pedagogical technique where knowledge about diversity is not presented as fixed but the unpredictable nature of LL invites unique personal and multiple responses.

An evaluation of the project highlights several potential avenues for improving the effectiveness of this pedagogical pathway. That is, there is a need to move beyond just mapping diversity and introduce mechanisms to support the reading and examination of signs at all stages of the process. For many of the students their pre-understandings of the world and situatedness in a predominantly monolingual education system means they may not be linguistically informed enough to make sense of the subtleties of LL nor to engage in the exercise on an ideological level. One solution is to prepare students in advance by supplying them with a route map to follow which signposts examples of LL to be photographed alongside questions for discussion before being cast adrift into their own school catchment areas. Another solution is to provide opportunities for students to engage in closer critical interrogation of signs to gain further understandings of the power relationships between languages and literacies within society. Activities outlined by Dagenais et al. (2009) can be drawn on such as getting students to categorise photographs and then describe the categories. According to Dagenais et al. (2009, 265) this type of discussion shifts participants ‘attention from a horizontal axis for interpreting language (taking pictures of the material world of signage) to a vertical one (considering the symbolic meaning communicated in these signs)

It is the responsibility of ITE to prepare new teachers for a future which will feature ever-increasing globalization and inter cultural encounters. Though still in its tentative stages, this study is one of several new initiatives currently embedded within the ITE programme to address diversity issues (Hancock, 2011). If, as the findings above suggest, that students’ understandings of cultural and linguistic diversity can alter as a result of employing LL as a learning task, then further research is required to investigate if students’ shifting perspectives have an impact on their future behaviour and progressive pedagogical practice in schools in terms of a supportive classroom environment, working with and valuing difference and connectedness to the children’s lives outside school (Lingard/Mills 2007, 239).
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Learning to Read the World, Learning to Look at the Linguistic Landscape: A study in the first years of formal education

Summary

Global landscapes are facing new and dramatic challenges related to their sustainability in all socio-cultural and environmental spheres. It is therefore of utter importance to understand the consequences of our attitudes towards diversity and to develop linguistic, cultural and scientific competences in education. In this context, we present an exploratory study describing different strategies for language awareness in a primary school context, focusing on different ways to read the world, decoding its linguistic, cultural and biological landscapes.

Résumé

Les paysages du monde actuel subissent de fortes menaces en ce qui concerne leur développement durable, soit au niveau physique, soit au niveau social et culturel. Il est urgent de comprendre les conséquences de nos attitudes face à la diversité et de développer, dans le champ éducatif, des compétences, linguistiques, culturelles et scientifiques, capables de permettre d’autres comportements. Dans ce sens, nous présentons dans ce texte une étude exploratoire à l’école primaire, avec différentes stratégies didactiques d’éveil aux langues et aux cultures, tout en essayant de développer une compétence de lecture du monde notamment de ses paysages linguistiques, culturels et biologiques.

1 This exploratory study was presented during the Project Linguas e Educação: construir e partilhar a formação (PTDC/CED/68813/2006 / FCOMP-01-0124-FEDER-007106) as an example of the éveil aux langues approach. It prompted a proposal for a PhD project by Mariana Ribeiro Clemente entitled “Linguistic landscapes and education for sustainable development – a study in the first years of formal education”, which is now financed by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia and co-financed by FCE – European Social Fund (SFRH/BD/70135/2010). This study is being developed in the Department of Education, CIDTFF/LALE and LEDUC (University of Aveiro, Portugal). Our thanks to Sandie Mourão for the text revision.
1 Introduction

Both the 20th century and the beginning of this century have been strongly influenced by globalized contexts and techno-scientific development. Western society lives in a highly computerized and technologically developed world. Science brings us renewed and surprising achievements everyday. The problems faced by citizens in today's world are solved quickly in order to fulfill active citizenship requirements. For this reason it is of ever greater importance that the nature and implications of these problems are completely understood. In this sense, and from an educational point of view, preparing young people to live fully in society during the first years of formal education cannot circumscribe the development of technique-based competences only, such as reading, writing and counting. It is for these reasons that education faces new challenges resulting from the adversities, conflicts, surprises and assets that emerge from the local-global social organization and from our progress as mankind.

Education is responsible for preparing students, as early as possible, to act in a world where diversities meet easily and often, contributing to a world that is both peaceful and sustainable. (This is a desirable scenario where information and knowledge do not perpetuate as before and without signs of an unreachable utopia). To accomplish this, it is crucial to develop and improve critical thinking skills, and understand and answer planetary life sphere questions that include personal, professional and relational/affective aspects (Vieira/Tenreiro-Veira 2005). These critical thinking skills are vital to (re)design – or “negotiate” (Shohamy/Waksman 2009) – other possible and positive landscapes. In this context linguistic landscape (LL) can become and be used “as a powerful tool to educational contexts for development of critical thinking and activism” (Shohamy/Waksman 2009, 326).

Following these ideas, this text aims at presenting the results of the project “Learning to read the world, learning to look at the linguistic landscape: a study in the first years of formal education” developed in a Portuguese primary school, in the central coast area, with a class of twenty students, all aged six years old. The purpose was to study how to teach children to “read the world” using a particular approach of language ecology through LL: to discover, search, get to know and value endangered languages, their functions and meanings as well as how important they are to their speakers and to all of us. Reading of the world enables students to “decode” understanding and respect for diversity in linguistic, cultural and biological landscapes, thus improving a wide variety of literacy competences (such as linguistic, scientific, technological, artistic, environmental, etc.) all supported by an interdisciplinary attitude towards curriculum management. Through this project, we intended to increase knowledge of endangered languages and cultures, to promote the discovery of hidden and distant LLs. In this framework, we look at the LL with its visible and “invisible”, near and far texts. As reinforced by Shohamy/Waksman (2009, 313, 328) LL may be considered “tips of iceberg’ to a deeper and more com-
plex meaning, which are embedded in histories, cultural relations, politics and humanistic inter-relations”: LL is “what is seen, what is heard, what is spoken, what is thought”.

This concept of LL involves a plural approach to education in order to accomplish a holistic reading of the world, thus fostering the development of complex literacy competences.

In the following text we will introduce the “Learning to read the world, learning to look at the linguistic landscape: a study in the first years of formal education” project by presenting the theoretical framework that guided our exploratory study. We will then reveal the key educational purposes and context of the implementation, followed by the classroom activities. Finally, we will discuss some results; followed by some provisional conclusions, which we hope will lead to further projects.

2 Learning to Read the World – The Very Beginning

For these parts I could draw a route on the map or set a date for the landing. At times all I need is a brief glimpse, an opening in the midst of an incongruous landscape, a glint of light in the fog, the dialogue of two passersby meeting in the crowd, and I think that, setting out from there, I will put together, piece by piece, the perfect city, made of fragments mixed with the rest, of instants separated by intervals, of signals one sends out, not knowing who receives them. (Calvino 1974, 164)

As we read Calvino (1974) and his (poetic) journey across “le città invisibili”, we realize that, surprisingly, the landscapes we know (or with which we are acquainted) are incongruent, some subtle, others not, that enrich those (cultural) fragments mixed together and in which we float, building lives and knowledge.

As far as cultural fragments are concerned, it is important to recognize cultural diversity as a factor in development of all places and all citizens, a factor that:

widens the range of options open to everyone; it is one of the roots of development, understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence (Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, article 3, UNESCO, 2002).

UNESCO’s Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2002) describes culture not as an “unchanging heritage but as a process guaranteeing the survival of humanity” (Matsuura in UNESCO, 2002), which is constantly developing and reconfiguring, just as the LL and other landscapes are. At this point, we highlight the correlation between cultural, linguistic and biological and diversity change and development. According to Maffi (2001) this correlation is not occasional and it is of utter importance to reflect on these intersections and interdependences in an education for a more sustainable world. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, 83) states that, “linguistic and
cultural diversity on the one hand and biodiversity on the other hand are correlated: where one type is high, the other is too, and vice versa”. Underlining this, are the rich facts that emerged from Maffi’s research where she noticed that there were “remarkable overlaps between global mappings of the world’s areas of biological mega-diversity and areas of high linguistic diversity, and likewise a correlation between low-diversity cultural systems and low biodiversity”, particularly on islands, and in tropical and sub-tropical areas where endemic languages and species co-exist (Maffi/Harmon/Nichols 2000). This means that language extinction, classified by Harrison (2007) as the erosion of the human knowledge base, is also comprised of cultural fading, since many of these languages exist in oral form only and are neither written down nor recorded. If these languages disappear altogether the (traditional/ ecological) knowledge they include will also be lost. One important aspect to underline here is that this traditional knowledge is relevant to the development of scientific knowledge: “Most of the world’s languages have never been written down anywhere or scientifically described. We do not even know what exactly we stand to lose – for science, for humanity, for posterity – when languages die” (Harrison 2007, 3).

The main focus of the present text is to describe how we illuminated and unveiled distant places with endemic species, both linguistic and biological, as mentioned above, “d’autres langues se donnent à voir et à entendre et constituent une sorte de paysage linguistique” (Bulot 2007, 32) and brought them closer to the reality of the children who participated in this project.

The appearance of distant, unknown languages to the children’s city and their school, although recreated through an educational approach, can be compared to the influx of languages from migration, which equally changes and (re)shapes the city. The city and its LL are derived from both narratives and thoughts, created from the far and the near, the “invisible” and the visible. Therefore, one may say that the “mise en mots” illustrated by Calvet’s work is a LL component:

l’espace n’est pas une donnée mais une construction sociale, que l’action humaine a une dimension spatiale, que d’une part « la géographie sociale est sensible à la désignation, à la mise en mots de l’espace » et que d’autre part « les discours sur la ville modifient la perception du réel urbain » ou que « les discours sur la ville finissent par devenir la ville ».
(Calvet 2005, 16)

In this context, one may infer that landscapes are built and reshaped while diversity goes from high to low and vice-versa. For instance, in urban landscapes migration and the presence of multiple cultures contribute to the design of these spaces (we recognize that this does not mean that they are equally displayed in this public space – we will not discuss this matter in this chapter – but they are gradually shaping the cityscapes): architecture and product design, museum collections, international exhibitions, thematic botanical gardens, advertising and other city elements.
Mitchel (1991) and Harner (2001) cited by Roca/Oliveira (2005, 2) argue that landscapes also contribute to an identity development and, for that reason, can also be understood as the means through which one constructs the identity of a place and it is, therefore, a representation (an ideal that makes sense) and a material existence (the reality of living conditions). Dagenais et al. (in Shohamy/Gorter 2009, 255) have suggested that “constructing representations of the linguistic landscape involves a process of interpretation and discursive negotiation in this sense it is relevant to use the term “linguistic landscaping” (Itagi/Singh 2002) to reinforce the dimension of (linguistic) landscape development.

Being able to read, understand and critically question the different landscapes that surround us and their changes through time means, imperatively, that we have to conceive literacy in a particularly complex sense. Clearly, to practice and accomplish this perspective involves an interdisciplinary and truly holistic educational approach early on in official schooling.

Literacy is a theme discussed in several organizations and research reports. We highlight The United Nations’ action plan entitled the “United Nation Decade for Literacy: Education for All” (2003-2012), which clearly states the importance of this subject:

Literacy is crucial to the acquisition, by every child, youth and adult, of essential life skills that enable them to address the challenges they can face in life and represents an essential step in basic education, which is an indispensable means for effective participation in the societies and economics of the twenty-first century (United Nations 2002, 2).

As landscape and culture, and the competences that their understanding involves, the concept of literacy also changes. Its dimensions, due to a transformation of social, economic and cultural needs, are widened, expanding upon the initial set of reading, writing and counting skills. It develops and is permeable to the demands and transformations within society. In this day and age, “the range of activities encompassed by the concept of literacy has expanded and continues to expand enormously” (Brockmeier/Olson 2009, 4-5).

It seems relevant, at this moment, to remember that the understanding of LL is related to intercultural and multilingual education, demanding educational approaches that consider a language awareness approach, one that enhances the construction of a diverse linguistic and cultural heritage (Hawkins 1999; Candelier, 2003).

Can interculturality be a state resulting from the combination of landscape knowledge and understanding competences that we mention throughout this text? As Starkey (2002, 29) claims, “citizens in a democracy need intercultural skills for living in communities where cultural diversity is the norm. They need critical awareness to understand the world around them and challenge injustice, complacency, social exclusion and unwarranted discrimination”.
The management of this diversity and the ability to maintain and to value it is one of the great challenges that globalization and education in the 21st century faces. Indeed, education faces new and stimulating challenges. Here we emphasize the curricular approaches, development of competences and didactic activities that consider the awareness of biodiversity, where animal, plant and human beings are included (Clemente, Vieira/Martins 2010). These subjects are related to the planetary problems we are facing today, such as growing social and environmental disorders (such as the decline of biodiversity), poverty, refugees, conflicts, population growth, urbanization (urban footprints)/desertification, energy and climate change impacts, and economic issues (corporate responsibility, (ethical-) consumerism and fair trade amongst others). It is improbable that education will not include these topics in its debate and praxis and it is also improbable that these issues will not have an impact on the LL. For instance, migratory movements due to climate change contribute to urbanization sprawl, modifying the LL, the cities, or fair trade product packages/websites and the languages in which they are written (is there a “fair” LL?), amongst other things.

Having presented the theoretical framework that guided our study we will now introduce the main educational purposes and context of the study “Learning to read the world, learning to look at the linguistic landscape: a study in the first years of formal education.”

2.1 Educational purposes and context of the exploratory project

The “Learning to read the world, learning to look at the linguistic landscape: a study in the first years of formal education” exploratory study was centered on one specific research question: how can we teach children to read the world through linguistic landscapes in the first year of Portuguese primary education? This world reading, as we conceived it, includes the development of knowledge about the global landscape, the texts and designs in linguistic, scientific, artistic and technological domains, which are all interrelated and mutually beneficial to one another.

The main educational purposes of this project were to make children aware of linguistic diversity and of local/global phenomena and many aspects that interfere with and shape linguistic, social and biological landscapes, in order to:

i. Promote a holistic education through complex literacy development;
ii. Value the mother tongue and other languages;
iii. Be aware of the correlation between linguistic and biological diversity;

The first author of this text was the main researcher who developed and implemented the activities here presented, validated by both co-authors, during a six-month course, “Early Education of Foreign Languages” (EEFL) part of the 4th year of a degree in Primary School Education (teacher training) 2008/2009.
iv. Be aware of the impact of human action on linguistic and biological landscapes and the subsequent changes in world landscapes.

The specific literacies present in Scheme 1, provide a framework for activities, and include a language awareness profile and allow for the life-long development of competences. These competences need to be fostered at school, thus facilitating their development in non-school contexts.

Because we recognize the possibility (and need) for the development of competences – with consequent integration of previous knowledge to the new, up-dated one – we consider the term continuum of competences more suitable.

![Scheme 1: Literacies, competences and world reading](image)

Using a holistic approach of these many competences, the purpose is to turn students into more skillful world readers, understanding the world globally and in a non-fragmented way, improving it and respecting all its diversity, based on the interaction between complex literacy and the competences continuum described above. To accomplish this objective we emphasize the textual essence of LL as an important instrument to develop such complex literacy.

This project was implemented in a Portuguese primary school, in a grade 1 class (6 years old) with 20 children (8 girls and 12 boys) over eight lessons. It was a significantly heterogeneous class: only three students read fluently, three students attended speech therapy classes and two students were diagnosed with Autistic Spectrum Disorder.
2.2 The lessons

The eight lessons occurred in two phases: the first from 9th to 12th March 2009 (4 lessons); the second from 25th to 28th March 2009 (4 lessons). Each lesson lasted 4.5 hours per day with a total of eight days of study implementation.

This was a qualitative action research study with overlapping cycles of research following the “Lewinian spiral”: 1. action planning; 2. taking action and piloting/observing of new practices; 3. evaluating/reflecting the outcomes; merging in all these stages with the collection and analysis of data and the generation of knowledge (Somekh, 2008; Kemmis/McTaggart cited by Noffke, 1997).

The following table contains a synthesis of the activities we developed.

Table 1: Synthesis of the activities developed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“My languages”</th>
<th>Early linguistic biography; “umbrella planet” observation and discussion.</th>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>“Colours of the wind” – multilingual song</td>
<td>Watching the Pocahontas’ videoclip on an interactive board in different languages (Portuguese, French, Spanish, German, Polish and Mandarin) + debate about American indians and (British) colonization issues.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>“Kallawaya and the plants”</td>
<td>Exploring the story “Searching for the lost words” (reading with Bolivian music); constructing a mountain (with soil and natural plants); exploring the meaning of the Andino saying “Para tener buena salud hay que darle de comer a la montaña”.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>“Chulyn e Sami – the two reindeers travel”</td>
<td>Story reading; days of the week in Sami and Portuguese; introducing climate change and possible solutions; watching the video “leaning to speak Sami” retrieved from <a href="http://video.helsinki.fi/Media-arkisto/inarin_saamelaiset.html">http://video.helsinki.fi/Media-arkisto/inarin_saamelaiset.html</a>.</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>“Tanii and the coloured numbers”</td>
<td>Counting numbers until 10; building a recycling bin.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>“Inuk and the warmth”</td>
<td>Exploring the story “Snow Owl, where have you gone?”: the ice animals and species in extinction.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>“My languages”</td>
<td>Final linguistic biography; Comparing the initial “umbrella planet” with the final one.</td>
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These activities were based on the discovery of endangered languages – Powhatan, Cuzco, Sami, Inuktitut e Apatani – from places where environmental problems are a reality, such as deforestation, the impacts of global warming (melting of the ice caps, rising of the sea level and biodiversity loss). We used the “umbrella planet” metaphor, protector of languages and representative of the planet and its landscapes, which was continually updated, with new animal/plants and “discovered” languages, as the eight lessons progressed. It is important to mention that at the end of each class, children completed an individual self-monitoring sheet, in which they coloured and described what they had learned; indicated what they liked the most and completed a table where they registered their opinion of these activities.

Figure 1: “The umbrella planet”

2.3 Data analyses and outcomes

All the data gathered from the eight lessons was analyzed and categorized. This included students' worksheets; texts; drawings; end-of-lesson self-monitoring sheets and oral participation (all the lessons were video-recorded) as well as field notes made by the main researcher.
The following table summarizes the categories of analysis, taking into consideration the research question: “how can we teach children to read the world through LL in the first year of Portuguese primary education?”

Table 2: Categories of analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 1: Communication competences – plurilingual and intercultural communication competences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) social-affective management</td>
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<td>2) linguistic-comunicative repertoire management</td>
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<td>3) knowledge of the World (literacies) management</td>
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Category 2: Critical Thinking skills

Skills on evaluation, analysis and correlation

The language awareness essence of this project, related to LL awareness and to the development of several competences that lead to a critical world reading, required the creation of a supplementary dimension beyond the dimension of plurilingual and intercultural competences – a category which we named “knowledge of the world (specific literacies) management”. This category represents an important milestone in the understanding and evaluation of this project, as it allowed us to analyze the global aspects, inter-relating the multiple themes (language and LL awareness, biological and linguistic sustainability and specific literacies) that underlined it.

In this way, we were able to connect the declarative knowledge of the world – representative of the different knowledge areas – socio-cultural knowledge and intercultural awareness.

The first and second sub-categories in Category 1, social affective and linguistic management, include, in the same order, students' attitudes, motivations, values, beliefs and cognitive styles as well as language awareness.

Within critical thinking, in addition to the plurilingual and intercultural competences dimension and competences of evaluation, we found a category that enables
us to frame and understand the evolution of the reasoning process, which included analysis, connection, reflection and discursive skill used by the students before we explored the themes. This type of thinking, according to Litecky (1992), can be described as a mental effort that allows us to give meaning to our world, a concern that is considered one of the project’s main goals.

Due to the limited space of this text, we shall begin with a focus on the answers to two different questions within the linguistic biography of four students (S1, S2, S3, S4). We will then present some student dialogue sequences (including other students: S5, S6 and S7) that reveal different theme contents.

The selection of these students is due to the fact that they have varied school performances: S1 and S2 did not attend speech therapy, S3 and S4 did.

The data presented here is taken from the first and final linguistic biography. We start with a brief description of the meaning of these activities according to the categories:

a) Linguistic biography – aims to observe children’s representations and conceptions about languages, their contacts with LL and language diversity (linguistic and social-affective competences).

b) Lesson dialogues – aim to foster children’s critical thinking skills through storytelling and questioning; to analyze children’s skills in comparing and relating different subjects and problems, explaining, evaluating and problem solving (knowledge of the world competence).

2.3.1 The linguistic biography carried out during the first class and on the 8th class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Languages stated to be known on 9th March 2009</th>
<th>Languages stated to be known on 26th March 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English, Spanish, German, Powhatan, Cuzco, Sami, Apatani and Inuktitut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>English and French</td>
<td>Portuguese, English, Powhatan, Cuzco, Sami, Apatani and Inuktitut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Portuguese, French, Powhatan, Cuzco, Sami, Apatani and Inuktitut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>English and Portuguese</td>
<td>Portuguese, English, Spanish and sign language</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we may see, the number of named languages referred to by the students initially is between one or two, and English is always present. At the end of the project the number of languages they state they “know” is greater, from four to eight different
languages. Children also identified languages that they had surely never heard of before.

As we can see, S4 mentions three languages not included in the project – English, Spanish and sign language – a fact that may reveal that this student paid more attention to the LL present in his daily life and in his family/city, through television, shopping centers and outdoor advertising. We confirm the same situation with S1, who mentions Spanish and German, and S3, who mentions French.

Table 4: Answers to the question: “What is a language”?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Language concept in 9th March 2009</th>
<th>Language concept in 20th March 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>“For example, imagine that you were in an English class. That is a language.”</td>
<td>“It is an element that allows and helps to communicate.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>“The ways we speak.”</td>
<td>“It is an important thing to speak, so that we can communicate in different ways.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>“English.”</td>
<td>“Helps me talk with others.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>“It is to talk.”</td>
<td>“What helps us to communicate.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can observe here an improvement in representations of the concept of language, as well as an improvement of oral and written competences and vocabulary enrichment. These children became more conscious about the function of language and its characteristics, such as diversity that may also bring people together to communicate.

2.3.2 Analysis of class dialogues during 5th and 6th classes

The dialogues we now present emerged after the activities developed between the 3rd and the 6th lessons. These activities included storytelling (“Searching for the lost words”; Chulyn and Sami – the two reindeers travel; “Snow Owl, where have you gone?”) and resulting debates around the narratives, where the researcher tried to delve deeper into the fictional and non-fictional contents present in the stories with the students.

(S1) – So the snow owl can go to the North Pole and South. If it remains here, as there is no snow it might die.
(S7) – If we keep on polluting, we’ll destroy the ozone layer even more.
(S2) – And the languages too.
(Teacher/researcher) – Why do you say that?
(S2) – The lands where these people live won’t have any ice. Then they have to move to another land. Then they see that those new people speak a different language from their own, and those people want to force them to speak the new language and not their own.

(Teacher/researcher) – Let’s think about some measures to protect languages!

(S1) – Let’s tell men not to force people to speak other languages and abandon theirs.

(S5) – People change their home places (because of the pollution) and languages disappear.

(S6) – The pollution affects the animals and us, and languages too.

(S2) – If we pollute, those that don’t pollute will die.

(S7) – We must keep a record of the languages. This way there is always someone researching about them and we keep on learning languages and they will not disappear.

(S7) – If there’s a language that is almost disappearing we should keep a record of it and use it to speak to other people. Then, these people will try to discover the language that we’ve spoken and keep on talking, telling each other. Doing this means the language will never disappear.

(S7) – Someone must write them (languages) down so they don’t disappear. Writing is already enough and gives it to other person, a younger person.

Throughout this dialogue it is possible to verify critical thinking skills structures and knowledge of the world and management of learning repertoires. This small, although rich, dialogue contains the entire range of themes and connections explored in our project: students referred to climate change, the effect of human presence in nature and its relation with the presence/visibility of languages or language loss in the natural environment, aspects of biodiversity, measures to give visibility and value to minority/endangered languages, reasons why languages disappear more quickly. Indeed, students recognized the need to preserve these languages suggesting ways to do this, considering causes that led to their loss. When it comes to the LL, students show some concern about the visibility of languages through their oral and written forms and attribute the power of raising and shaping this landscape to human beings. This LL critical awareness is crucial to developing competences that enable world reading.

2.3.3 Comparison between the linguistic biography carried out in first class and in final class

Using the metaphor of space, the main goal of this activity was to obtain from the students a visual representation of the place occupied by languages and about the particularities of this presence.

As we can see in the example on the left, from the first lesson, the colored areas are fewer than in the final linguistic biography worksheet, on the right. This increase in the visual representation of the space occupied by languages also occurred in the linguistic biographies of eight other students. These students demonstrated a growing evolution of language “representations and concepts”. Students came to understand that we are surrounded by languages, each fulfilling distinct roles, each with a
different status, which is extremely important when we are developing a critical LL awareness.

Figure 2: Painting from S3 – on the left, the place occupied by languages in the first biography; on the right, the place occupied by languages in the final linguistic biography.

After analyzing all the data gathered, we can draw the following conclusions:

Table 5: Data analysis and categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evidences</th>
<th>Categories and dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The students identify and write down a greater number of languages, many of which are endangered.</td>
<td>• knowledge of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The language concept definition improves significantly.</td>
<td>• linguistic and communicative repertoires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The number of students that cannot define the language concept decreases from 9/20 to 1/20.</td>
<td>• learning repertoires • linguistic and communicative repertoires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a real improvement of language representations.</td>
<td>• social-affective dimension • knowledge of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing the ability to relate different concepts/issues: environmental, technological, social and linguistic.</td>
<td>• critical thinking • knowledge of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fostering the awareness of language maintenance measures; language rights.</td>
<td>• knowledge of the world • social-affective dimension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Developing thinking abilities: evaluation, connection and argumentation.

- critical thinking

The oral speech improved significantly through the development of arguing competences and the enrichment of vocabulary.

- critical thinking
  - linguistic and communicative repertoires

A conclusion that one may take from this data is that world reading through LLs includes these categories and dimensions identified in the table above. To fully understand our world, students can start from understanding LLs and learn how to build bridges from these landscapes to other domains of knowledge required in their lives and as citizens of the world.

### 3 Concluding Remarks

We read pictures, cities, landscapes, and decipher texts of cultures, lives, and minds. (Brockmeier/Olson 2009, 4)

The data gathered shows that children achieved, to varying degrees, the initial objectives of the study: they developed an ability that allows them to recognize and read the LL, to begin observing the world in all its complexity and diversity, understanding the interactions between natural phenomena and human activity and the relation between sustainability and language extinction. We observed the evolution of argumentative and associative components in their oral skills, prompted by thinking skills, mainly through critical thinking. In addition, children acquired instruments, which are useful to help them continue learning to read the world through its landscapes. These conclusions were taken from not only the eight lessons from which we gathered data but also from the lessons that followed the project.

In an attempt to answer the research question: “how can we teach children to read the world through LL in the first year of Portuguese primary education?” we can say that the project “Learning to read the world, learning to look at the linguistic landscape: a study in the first years of formal education” contributed to the development of strategies and materials that may foster the comprehension of the diversity of the world and its problems, to develop complex literacy competences in grade 1 students and to include the following aspects:

i. linguistic cultural enrichment;
ii. awareness of language and the LL;
iii. change and improvement of language representations;
iv. understanding of the correlation between linguistic and biological diversity and environmental problems;
v. acknowledgment of landscapes in their biological, human and social features
(with linguistic and cultural landscapes enabling students to reach and understand other landscapes and to develop several competences).

We claimed at the beginning of this text that technique-based competences are not enough for today's students/citizens, although they are the basis and support. In answer to current debates, it is necessary that students are able to communicate and critically interpret the information received from different sources (those multimodal discourses described by Kress/Van Leeuwen, 2001) and in different languages. It is necessary to read, to evaluate and reflect consciously and critically about the information that is displayed in public spaces, locally and globally. Thus, as Halpern (1996) and Hare (1999) cited by Tenreiro-Vieira (2004, 229) claim, it becomes urgent, from as early as the first years of schooling, to develop communicative skills and to foster thinking skills that allow students to make rational decisions.

When we prepare lessons starting from LL reading and involving environmental and planetary subjects, such as the extinction of species and languages and/or LLs, we aim to change attitudes and behavior. As a result values become constituents of the educational development process.

Subsequent to the development of this project, the premises that are implied in the growing awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity, and education for a complex literacy might be continued with proposals that reveal the tensions between linguistic, cultural and biological landscapes. We reflect, mainly, on potential strategies and approaches to work on LLs from the first years of schooling. We emphasize the results of activities and strategies such as: comparing linguistic biographies, storytelling (that prompt the creation of new narratives to include the themes explored), and the use of technology and art to bring distant worlds and unknown LLs closer to the children's own realities.

This study, due to its context of development and implementation, has some limitations. It would have been interesting to observe long-term effects over a complete school year (from September to June) or expand the project to become included or articulated with projects involving several classes and classes from grade 1 (6 year old) to grade 4 (9-10 year old).

Finally, it is of utter importance to continue developing new projects, in which linguistic, biological and cultural landscapes become mutually connected through curriculum concepts, in so doing fostering complex literacy competences to accomplish a complex goal – to enable children to read the world in a holistic way through LLs.
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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND THE MAPPING OF MULTILINGUALISM (CONTINUED)
Summary

This chapter explores the Linguistic Landscape of six medium-size towns in the Baltic States with regard to languages of tourism and to the role of English and Russian as linguae francae. A quantitative analysis of signs and of tourism web sites shows that, next to the state languages, English is the most dominant language. Yet, interviews reveal that underneath the surface, Russian still stands strong. Therefore, possible claims that English might take over the role of the main lingua franca in the Baltic States cannot be maintained. English has a strong position for attracting international tourists, but only alongside Russian which remains important both as a language of international communication and for local needs.

Résumé

Ce chapitre explore le paysage linguistique de six villes de taille moyenne dans les États Baltes, en particulier le langage touristique et le rôle de l’anglais et du russe comme linguae francae. Une analyse quantitative des affichages et des sites web touristiques montre qu’à côté des langues nationales, l’anglais est la langue dominante. Cependant, des entretiens révèlent malgré tout que le Russe est toujours très présent. Par conséquent, l’idée que l’anglais pourrait supplanter la lingua franca majoritaire dans les États Baltes ne peut pas être défendue. L’anglais occupe une place importante pour attirer les touristes étrangers, mais seulement à côté du russe qui reste une langue de communication importante aux niveaux local et global.

1 Introduction

This chapter reports on Linguistic Landscape research in the Baltic States. Its main aim is to analyse language practices and attitudes in six medium-size towns: Druski-
ninkai and Alytus in Lithuania, Rēzekne and Ventspils in Latvia, and Narva and Pärnu in Estonia. The towns were chosen on the grounds of being close to international borders and/or by their focus on tourism.

The investigation was guided by the following questions: How does the LL reflect the societal transformation from the Soviet world to an orientation towards Western Europe? To which degree is English gaining influence as a lingua franca, and how does its position relate to Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian as the State languages and to Russian as the lingua franca of the Soviet realm and the first language of still a considerable number of residents? How do tourism and the proximity of international borders influence the LL?

In the following, we will first give a short overview of multilingualism in the Baltic States. After an introduction to the theoretical background of this chapter, we will then provide an analysis of quantitative LL data, of relevant tourism web sites, and of interviews conducted in the six towns.

2 Multilingualism in the Baltic States

The Baltic States have in the past 20 years gone through heavy societal transformation, from (geographically and culturally) the most Western Republics of the Soviet Union to being among the easternmost EU member states. This transition has been affecting all levels of society – the political system, administration, the economy, ideologies and attitudes of the population. Today, this process is not over – there are still areas with conflicting ideologies and attitudes, and views on the Soviet Union and the presence of the Russian language are still hot potatoes in society.

The status of languages has therefore been regularly a reason of political debates and occasionally of unrest. In particular, this affects the transition from Russian as the Soviet lingua franca to a focus on the three “titular” languages Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian respectively, which during 50 years of Soviet occupation had become second-class languages. The proportion of the population with Russian as their L1 had increased heavily due to the in-migration of workers. Therefore, the situation was characterised by asymmetrical bilingualism: Whereas almost the entire population knew Russian, Russian L1-speakers hardly knew Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian. High-level domains in society were dominated by Russian. The proportion of Russian-speaking inhabitants was highest in Latvia (34% of the population in 1989), slightly lower in Estonia (30%), and considerably lower in Lithuania (9%, Hogan-Brun et al. 2008, 67).

Since the 1990s, the three governments’ language policies have aimed at a reversal of this societal language shift. Today, the titular languages are dominant, but since most Soviet-time migrants have stayed in the Baltic States, Russian continues to be a strong language in all parts of society except public bodies. Language acquisition policies have, for the Russian-speaking population, aimed at ensuring compe-
tence in the titular languages, whereas English is today the first foreign language taught in schools. In addition, there has been a certain re-awakening of regional languages (Võru in Estonia, Latgalian in Latvia, Zemaitian in Lithuania). Language legislation requires that the titular languages be exclusively used in signage by public bodies, whereas on private signs they may be sided by any other language if these are not more dominant than the titular language.

Figure 1: The towns in which the research was conducted

There has been relatively little research on the LL in the Baltic States so far. Besides our own activities (e.g. Lazdina/Marten 2009, Pošeiko 2009 and 2010, Marten 2010 and 2012), there are only a few studies such as Muth (2012) on Vilnius or Brown (2012) on Võru, none of which has included all three countries. The towns chosen in our project (cf. Figure 1) are, in the standards of the Baltic States, medium-sized
towns and regional centres. Four towns (in particular Druskininkai and Narva, to a lesser degree Rēzekne and Alytus) are closely located next to international borders (with Russia, Belarus and Poland respectively), whereas Ventspils and Pärnu are coastal towns. One town in each country (Pärnu, Ventspils, Druskininkai) focuses explicitly on tourism – Druskininkai and Pärnu are two also internationally reknown spa resorts. At the same time, Narva is an exception among our research areas in that it has a large majority of Russian-speakers – both as a result of its historical location on the border between Russian- and Western-oriented political entities, but also because of Soviet-time migration.

Table 1: Ethnicities in the towns under investigation. Information from the towns’ web sites and the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Titular nation</th>
<th>Russians</th>
<th>Poles</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Tourism</th>
<th>Border</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rēzekne (Latvia, 2010)</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>35 000</td>
<td>minor role</td>
<td>Russia ca. 70 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventspils (Latvia, 2010)</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43 000</td>
<td>one focus of economic development</td>
<td>Baltic Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pärnu (Estonia, 2008)</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43 000</td>
<td>traditional tourism resort</td>
<td>Baltic Sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narva (Estonia, 2008)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66 000</td>
<td>one focus of economic development</td>
<td>Town border is border with Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alytus (Lithuania, 2006)</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>67 500</td>
<td>minor role</td>
<td>Poland ca. 55 km; Belarus ca. 65 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druskininkai (Lithuania, 2006)</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>17 000</td>
<td>traditional tourism resort</td>
<td>Belarus ca. 10 km; Poland ca. 30 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows the main ethnicities in the towns. Rēzekne and Ventspils have the most balanced composition of the titular population and Russians. Pärnu and Druskininkai are similar in their dominance of the titular nation, with sizeable minorities (Russian and Polish), whereas Alytus and Narva are the most monoethnic towns – with Alytus being Lithuanian- and Narva Russian-dominant.
Between Old and New Killer Languages?

3 Linguae Francae and the Role of LL for Tourism

English and Russian as Linguae Francae

In the scientific discussions on linguae francae and global language hierarchies, the analysis of English as a global language has been one of the most prominent debates of the past decades. Part of this discussion is the question whether English is “taking over” as the sole world language. The paradigm developed by Kachru since the 1980s looks at English as a language present almost everywhere, but with largely differing functions. Where English is an everyday language of many people, authors speak of the “inner” (English as L1) and “outer” (English mostly as L2) circles. In contrast, many other countries belong to what has been labelled the “extended” or “expanding” circle. The Baltic States are part of the expanding circle, but one might argue that they have gained this position only throughout the past 20 years, since the role of English in the Soviet Union was clearly limited. Crystal (2003, 28) writes that “most of the states of the former Soviet Union” belong to those parts of the world where “English has still a very limited presence”, although he calls the former Soviet Union “a particular growth area” (Crystal 2003, 113).

This rather neutrally descriptive paradigm of English stands in sharp contrast to authors like, most prominently, Robert Phillipson, who has labelled English a “killer language” by arguing that English is slowly taking over fundamental roles of other languages. This “diffusion of English” paradigm goes hand in hand with a spread of the ideology of global capitalism which is carried by English to the detriment of local cultures and languages and multilingualism (Phillipson 2009, 20-21).

The role of Russian in the global language scale has been characterised by being one of a handful of “super-central languages” in contrast to English as the only “hyper-central language” (cf. Calvet 2006, 61). Crystal (2003, 4) lists Russian among those second-rank languages which “have also developed a considerable official use”. In the Baltic States, Russian has been abandoned as a compulsory language, and it has therefore since about 1990 lost “many of its supercentral functions in the former Soviet Empire. English took over these linking tasks almost everywhere” (de Swaan 2001, 13). Yet, as Mikhalchenko/Trushkova (2001, 281) note, “the actual language competence of people changes quite slowly” and “Russian continues to maintain its high functional use and power”. They argue that Russian might on ex-Soviet Union territory “either become a lingua franca or a widespread foreign language”. Outside the ex-Soviet Union, however, the role of Russian is limited to the Russian diaspora and to a very limited role as a foreign language in higher education, media and business – thereby not reaching in any way the role of English (ibid, p. 283). In total, the authors see that “Russian has real opportunities of being an important regional language” (ibid., p. 288). Although it is the 7th strongest language in the world in terms of native speakers, the limitation to Russia and its neighbours hinders Russian from being a true world language.
When transferring the 3-circle-model from English to Russian, we might argue that the Baltic States during Soviet times belonged to a Russian “outer circle” (with a tendency more to the “inner” than to the “extended” side). There was a large number of L1 speakers, but it dominated in particular as a wide-spread L2 and a language of interethnic communication. In our context, it is therefore of interest whether the multilingual situation in the Baltic States is currently moving from an imbalance between the State languages with Russian to an imbalance between the State languages and English, and what the position of Russian and English is when contrasted to each other.

Languages of tourism

The second theoretical issue in our chapter is the role of the LL in tourism. Tourism has been explored from an LL perspective by e.g. Thurlow/Jaworski (2010) regarding the semiotics of luxury tourism. Of more relevance for us is the role of languages for tourism as described by Kallen (2009, 271): for tourists, languages signify foreignness, being away from home, exotic places, pleasure or adventure. Kallen (2009, 275) anticipates 4 types of perceptions of tourists with regard to the LL: 1. a wish to get an authentic experience; 2. a need for security (i.e. not missing important information because of language barriers); 3. breaking away from normal routines; and 4. engaging in a journey of transformation – in order to create “special” memories.

We will therefore explore which role the LL plays in tourism in the Baltic States and how tourist services and language practices relate to each other. Also here, it is of interest to analyse if English is taking over the roles of Russian, and to see which role other international languages play. In the following, we are therefore focusing on LL items connected to tourism – in hotels, tourist information centres (TICs) or museums.

4 Quantitative Data from the 6 Towns

In our research, we documented all signs in the six town centres (i.e. the main shopping and administrative streets following Cenoz/Gorter 2006). In total, we found 23 languages. Table 2 summarises the first languages on the signs. It indicates how the titular languages dominate, followed by English, and with some distance, by Russian.

As Table 3 indicates, there is a remarkable difference in the percentage of multilingual signs in all towns. Narva, the town with the highest proportion of Russian L1 speakers, has the highest proportion of multilingual signs (42.4%). The three most dedicated tourist towns, Ventspils, Pärnu and Druskininkai, range between 35.9% and 30.3% multilingual signs. The lowest number of multilingual signs is found in
Alytus (16.6%), which is not surprising given its lack of tourism orientation and the largely monoethnic population, but also in Rēzekne (25.4%) with its almost equal composition of ethnic Latvians and Russians, and the additional component of Latgalian (cf. also Marten 2010 and 2012 on Rēzekne).

Table 2: Total numbers of first languages on signs in the six towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Amount of signs</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latvian</td>
<td>1326</td>
<td>27.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>1016</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latgalian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear (i.e. unreadable, code-mixing or other reasons why a clear assignment was not possible)</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4833</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Mono- and multilingual signs in the Baltic States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Monolingual signs</th>
<th>Multilingual signs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Narva</td>
<td>57.6%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Druskininkai</td>
<td>64.1%</td>
<td>35.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pärnu</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ventspils</td>
<td>69.7%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rēzekne</td>
<td>74.6%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alytus</td>
<td>83.4%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For getting more insight into languages in tourism, we separately investigated signs related to TICs, information stands, billboards, hotels, cultural centres and museums. Table 4 shows the numbers of monolingual and multilingual signs in the tourism sector: What is remarkable is the high number of multilingual signs in contrast to the much lower number of multilingual signs in the total data base: of the 415 tourism-related signs, 215 (51.8%) are monolingual and 200 (48.2%) are multilingual. 180 (or 83.7%) of the monolingual signs are in the titular languages. A few, however, are
in Russian (6.5%) or English (9.3%) – thereby a remarkable 16.3% of the monolingual tourism signs break legal regulations.

Table 4: Monolingual and multilingual signs in the tourism sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of languages on a sign</th>
<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 language</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 languages</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 languages</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 languages</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 gives an overview of the languages found on these tourism-related signs.

Table 5: Languages on signs in the tourism sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Titular languages</th>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>Swedish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rezekne</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62 (93.4%)</td>
<td>12 (18.2%)</td>
<td>14 (21.2%)</td>
<td>2 (3.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventspils</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33 (94.3%)</td>
<td>7 (20.0%)</td>
<td>15 (42.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (2.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alytus</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50 (94.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17 (32.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Druskininkai</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>136 (94.4%)</td>
<td>33 (23.1%)</td>
<td>62 (43.1%)</td>
<td>3 (2.1%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parniu</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21 (91.3%)</td>
<td>5 (21.7%)</td>
<td>14 (60.9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narva</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>72 (75.0%)</td>
<td>61 (63.5%)</td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>2 (3.2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (1.0%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ</td>
<td>415</td>
<td>374 (89.7%)</td>
<td>183 (43.1%)</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The titular languages dominate also on the touristic signs: they are present on more than 90% of them. The exception is again Narva, where Estonian is present on only 75% of the signs, and also only in Narva is English (42.7%) not stronger than Russian (63.5%). In Alytus, Russian was not found at all; of the other towns, Russian is less present in Druskininkai (9%) but shows a fairly similar level in Rezekne, Ventspils and Parniu (18.2% to 21.7%). English is weakest in Rezekne (21.2%) and Alytus (32.1%), stronger in Druskininkai (43.1%), Ventspils (42.9%) and Narva, with Parniu at the top with 60.9%, where the town’s focus on tourism seems to play a major role. In Narva there are even some monolingual Russian signs related to tourism, but signs without the titular language occasionally also exist elsewhere.
Other languages are rare on touristic signs. The strongest presence was found in Druskininkai, where the proximity of Poland can be felt in a few situations. Whereas there is some presence of German, French, Swedish and Finnish in Narva, there is interestingly no Finnish, Swedish or German in Pärnu. Belarusian or Ukrainian were not found at all, not even in Druskininkai, in spite of its reputation as a spa in the entire ex-Soviet Union, and the fact that the Belarusian state owns a hotel and a sanatorium there (which operates in Russian, but also has information in Lithuanian). Regional languages (Latgalian) do not feature at all. There are also no signs in Estonian/Latvian/Lithuanian outside the titular states – Russian and English are taken as granted in communication with the Baltic neighbours. In total, Lithuania is the country with the least presence of Russian in tourism. Estonia is the country where Russian is strongest – in particular in Narva, whereas Pärnu is more on one level with the Latvian towns under investigation. At the same time, Estonia is also the country with the highest appearance of English.

The specific results from the LL in the tourism sector thereby confirm the analysis of the entire data base, albeit with some modifications. The titular languages dominate, English is stronger than Russian, and other languages hardly appear. The only exception is Narva where Russian and Estonian are by far more balanced. German and French as classical languages of tourism play only minor roles, whereas other languages are directed by local needs – Polish appears only in Druskininkai, and the only instances of Swedish and Finnish were found in Estonia.
5 Tourism Web Sites

Our next step was to compare the LL data from the streets to data from virtual space, i.e. touristic web sites. The aim of this comparison was to gain broader insight into which languages are considered to be important by actors in tourism. Also this part of our research was driven by our interest in the question whether tourism is oriented rather to a post-Soviet or to a Western audience. The six official town web sites are all in the respective titular language, English and Russian; only Druskininkai theoretically offers pages in Polish and German, but they did not have any content at the time of investigation. The TIC sites show a more diverse picture: Besides the titular languages, English and Russian (in this order except for Ventspils and Druskininkai) are present everywhere, but in addition Narva’s site has pages in German, Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian, whereas in Pärnu the only additional language is Finnish. Both pages from Latvia have a German and a Lithuanian version. The Druskininkai tourism and business information centre provides its site also in Swedish and Polish, whereas the Alytus TIC offers information in Polish, German and French. The Estonian sites are thereby more oriented towards Scandinavia, whereas the Lithuanian sites offer Polish and the Latvian sites Lithuanian. Of major international languages, all except Pärnu have sites in German, whereas only Alytus offers a version in French.

As the next step, we investigated the web sites of all hotels with internet presence in the six towns. In Narva, the sites exist in Estonian, English, Finnish and Russian (Hotels Inger and Narva), and additionally in Swedish (Hotel King). The vast number of hotels in Pärnu show a diverse picture: Estonian, English and Finnish are omnipresent, but there are individual hotels without Russian (Hotel Emmi). Many hotels have sites in other languages, most often in German and Swedish, but also in Latvian (e.g. Hotel Willa Wesset). Interestingly, Hotel Koidula Park’s site opens at first in English before you may choose Estonian. In Ventspils, in addition to Latvian and English, Hotel Dzintaruja has versions in Lithuanian and Russian, Hotel Jūras brīze in Russian and German, Hotel Vilnis in Russian, whereas Olimpsīka centra Venstspils does not have additional languages. The two major hotels in Rēzekne have web sites in Latvian, English, Russian and German. The websites of the large number of hotels in Druskininkai are usually (but not always) in Lithuanian, English, Polish and Russian; German is less frequent. In Alytus, Hotel Park Conference Centre offers its web site in English, Lithuanian, German, Polish and Russian, Hotel Dzukija in Lithuanian, English, Russian and Polish, whereas Hotels Ode, Senas namas and Vaidila only use Lithuanian and English.
In total, the picture is thereby quite diverse: The orientation of Estonia to Scandina-
via becomes apparent, as does the presence of Polish in Lithuania, where the occa-
sional lack of Russian is remarkable. Whereas there is a certain presence of Lithua-
nian in Ventspils and of Latvian in Pärnu, there is no presence of Latvian or Esto-
nian in Lithuania. Among international langua-
ges, again, German is regularly pres-
ent, whereas French almost does not feature at all. The order of English and Russian
is interesting: English is most frequently offered as the second language (after the
 titular language), whereas Russian is usually offered only third, and sometimes even
further at the bottom of the list. In Lithuania, the order of Polish, Russian and Ger-
man varies.

6 Attitudes to Languages in the Tourism Sector

In order to identify attitudes and ideologies behind the language practices, we con-
ducted and recorded about 30 loosely pre-structured interviews with persons work-
ing in the tourism sector and with locals who were present at places of relevance for
tourists. The interviews were conducted in Russian, Latvian or English, depending on the interlocutors, and aimed at gaining insight into perceptions of languages on signs and into the language policies by hotels, museums or TICs.

Russian vs. English

When we inquired about Russian, most informants stressed the local rather than the international role. In this, respondents related Russian to the titular languages rather than to English. In Narva, we identified two types of attitudes towards Russian. Example 1 from an interview with a museum employee shows a prototypical negative attitude to Estonian. The informant stressed that locals (in particular the generation over 40-50) in places where Estonians are a local minority do not even understand information important for everyday life:

Example 1 “Now we have such a policy... You buy something and don’t know what it is... From the product affiches, people here can’t get information” (Narva, 2010).

Similarly, an informant in a church stressed that

Example 2 “Russian people they are Russian people, and anyway you can’t make them Estonian, it is senseless” (Narva, 2010).

Example 2 shows that some Russians look at requirements to know Estonian as a way of losing their ethnic identity. It is remarkable in this context that in particular in Narva we encountered many sceptical reactions to our research. Respondents in shops repeatedly (and without us inquiring about it) stressed that all official documents and the shop names are Estonian, and that customers may address the shop-keepers in that language. At individual occasions we were asked to document our identity as (non-Estonian) researchers; people were obviously afraid that we were under-cover language inspectors. Another example was a German-style pub which had a menu in several languages (Estonian, Russian, English), but ordering food or drinks in any language except Russian (Estonian, English, German) was impossible. Interesting in this respect is also the frequent practice of writing Russian with Latin fonts (“Ujut”, “Metšta”, “Чебурашка”) in Narva. Upon our enquiry, respondents stressed that they are trying to fulfill legal requirements by making the names look “less Russian”.
The alternative view is a more loyal, pragmatic attitude to the situation. Our informant in the museum in Narva explained that

Example 3 “We are citizens, we have passed [the language test], learned, we are not shy to speak this language [Estonian], but when you wish they [the Estonians] are also switching to Russian” (Narva, 2010).

A remarkable conclusion by one respondent in a shop in Narva was:

Example 4 “Estonian is the state language, but Russian is for communication” (Narva, 2010).

Whereas the examples from Narva document the role of Russian as a local language, an employee in the Druskininkai TIC emphasised the role of Russian also as a language of tourism and of international communication:

Example 5 Informant: “Mostly tourists come from countries around us: Latvia, Estonia, Russia, Kaliningrad, Poland. (…) Researcher: And from Belarus? I: Also from Belarus. R: And in which languages do tourists take information in your centre? I: I think the most popular language is Russian” (Druskininkai, 2010).

On the role of touristically relevant information in English on signs or in brochures, one respondent from Narva answered:
Example 6 “I think here in Narva should be more written signs, information in Russian. In English, no... We don’t have... Why English for us? We have to know and use our own languages” (Narva, 2010).

Similarly, our informant in the Druskininkai TIC answered with regard to visitors from neighbouring countries:

Example 7 Researcher: “And people from Latvia or Estonia they don’t complain that there is no information in Latvian or Estonian, just in English or Russian, or...? Informant: Mostly no. Most people know Russian. R: And people from Latvia mostly take it in Russian? I: Mostly, yes, in Russian, some, some take it in English” (Druskininkai, 2010).

The example from Hotel Laisves in Druskininkai confirmed the continuing role of Russian as a lingua franca:

Example 8 Researcher: “What languages do tourists use? Informant: Russian and Polish. English is not used often. English very rarely. Really there are few people who come and speak very good English. Only, let’s say, young Poles come who come and know English. But we speak Russian (with them) too” (Druskininkai, 2010).

Examples 7 and 8 show that English is not seen as the more “natural” language to be used in the tourism sector. Similarly, the receptionist of a hotel in Druskininkai explained why the hotel has a Lithuanian name:

Example 9 “It is usually in big cities where names are in English. But our town is small and we didn’t think that we have to do something in English. We just called it in our own language and that’s it” (Druskininkai, 2010).

Another example from a hotel in Druskininkai, however, showed that both Russian and English are needed as linguae francae. To the question if more signs on streets should be in Russian, the respondent answered that Russian is useful “because in Lithuania we have many Russians and many Poles come who also understand Russian, but of course English should be there too.” It is therefore less a question of either Russian or English, but more a perception of both languages being important today.

In order to get more insight into perceptions of English, we occasionally asked more provocative questions. This is an example from a butcher in Rēzekne:

Example 10 Researcher: “Why is there nothing written in English? Today it is en vogue to use English. Informant: No, we live in Latvia. In whatever country you are, everything is in the State language” (Rēzekne, 2010).
On the other hand, in a clothes shop with an English name in Rēzekne, the explanation was that “it is more interesting, it sounds more attractive”. We can conclude that English in less touristic situations has a certain prestige for some respondents, whereas others reject this role. In tourism, on the other hand, pragmatic attitudes prevail: English is seen as important, but to a lesser degree than Russian – which stands in contrast to the quantitative results. This conclusion is confirmed by our data from Alytus, where we found generally very little awareness of LL issues. Many unimaginative names of shops (e.g. “Shoes” for a shoe-shop, “At the park” for a café opposite a park) in Lithuanian showed that the LL reflects little orientation towards tourism or to languages as marketing instruments.

Neighbouring and regional languages

A second focus of our research was the role of regional and neighbouring languages. In contrast to the opinion expressed in example 8, another informant in a hotel in Druskininkai revealed a different perception of Polish visitors:

Example 11 Researcher: “And in which languages do tourists mostly speak with you? Informant: Of course in Lithuanian, in Russian, English and Polish. When Poles come they don’t speak any other language, only their own” (Druskininkai, 2010).

Similarly, the Rēzekne TIC stressed the importance of information in different languages, including neighbouring languages:

Example 12 “I think that those languages will also be used in the future – Latvian, Russian, English, German should be added and those of our neighbours, Estonian and Lithuanian. It is obvious that when you can give people material in their own language, this is one of the best marketing tools which you can have” (Rēzekne, 2010).

We then also inquired about regional languages. In an interview in the TIC in Druskininkai, we asked:

Example 13 Researcher: “What can you say about regional languages in Lithuania or dialects, about Žemaitian and others? Do they play any role in tourism? (…) Informant: Sometimes it is difficult to understand (…) the people from other parts of Lithuania if they speak fluently in a regional language. (…) R: Yes, but do you think if you put here some information in Žemaitian, which reaction would there be from people who are not from Žemaitia and from people who are from Žemaitia? What do you think? I: I think that variety is the same, they only pronounce differently endings, so… there are not a lot of differences” (Druskininkai, 2010).

This answer reflects that the TIC does not have any particular interest in using local linguistic traditions for touristic purposes. On the other hand, an interview in the TIC in Rēzekne highlighted the touristic potential of Latgalian:
Example 14 “The Latgalian language for people from Vidzeme or Kurzeme (other regions of Latvia) will be even more difficult than English or German. But they are interested in Latgalian in small portions. When they come they enjoy a lot if their hosts speak Latgalian, even if they often don’t understand a lot. But reading, they surely wouldn’t.”

“Tourists are looking for something interesting – but it has to be on a professional level. It can’t be the language just for the sake of the language, something has to come with it.”

“Foreigners appreciate Latgalian even more than Latvians, this is what we should understand. We should orient ourselves to foreign tourists.”

This opinion suggests that Latgalian is interesting for tourists, that they might like to listen to it or see a menu in Latgalian as part of an experience which makes their trip more exotic. Therefore, we conclude that Latgalian has a potential as an original, specific element which could attract tourists and also have a marketing value and thereby create additional income (through selling booklets, maps, souvenirs), yet within certain limits.

7 Conclusion

The results of our quantitative research show that the main language in the LL of the Baltic States, next to the titular languages, is English, except for Narva where Russian is more important. This view is confirmed by the quantitative investigation of tourism-related signs and web sites. Yet, our interviews reveal that this is a rather superficial view: Russian is by far more important than reflected in the LL. This applies to the needs of the local population, but also to tourism where Russian is still an important lingua franca. Comparatively monolingual environments exist in those places which do not focus on tourism, i.e. in Alytus and Rēzekne, whereas the use of Polish in Druskininkai reflects the proximity of the border with Poland. In Pärnu and Ventspils, there was more stress on English than elsewhere, whereas other international languages are rare.

In total, our research therefore enables us to assign 3 functions to English in the Linguistic Landscape of the Baltic States. First, it is used for names of shops, hotels, cafes etc, such as the club “Amber”, a shop “Office day”, or a “100% China restaurant”, sometimes also in forms of code-mixing as in the hotel “Grand Spa Lietuva”. Second, English is a language of practical information for tourists in shops, banks or booklets. Third, English is a language of conversation in touristic contexts. Yet, the preference of English is also a question of generation, it is used mostly by young people.

Russian, on the other hand, is a language of daily conversations of locals in Rēzekne or Narva, but also for touristic purposes in Druskininkai. The second function of Russian is to provide written information for local people, in particular in Narva, for instance the working hours of shops, service information or advertisements. A third function is its role alongside English as a tourist language in written information in hotels, spas etc.
Table 6: Functions of English and Russian in the Baltic States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Shop names etc. (written)</td>
<td>1. Local information (written)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Information: shops, banks, menus, booklets (written)</td>
<td>2. Tourist information (written)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tourist guides, mostly for young people (oral)</td>
<td>3. Daily conversations (oral)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore it can be argued that the Baltic States are to a certain degree in a transformation process from Russian to English, but this is very slow. In many situations, local needs and the needs of Russian as a neighbouring language are still more important. This applies even in the tourism sector. As it was stressed by one respondent in Rēzekne – many shops received English names in the beginning of 1990s, when people wanted to show their orientation to the West and avoid Russian.

Today, people think more pragmatically, and Russian is seen as a language to address both locals and tourists from the ex-Soviet Union. English and Russian have in common, however, that both have a potential to attract tourists and business customers. English is a means for orientation in more tourist-oriented towns, and at the same time seen as more neutral than Russian. Russian evokes more emotional reactions – as a language of Soviet occupation, or, by Russian speakers, as an every-day language which should be more widely present.

When looking at the 3-circle-model of English, the Baltic States are today full-fledged members of the expanding circle. The view of English as a “killer language” which destroys local linguistic traditions, however, is too strong. Russian, at the same time, keeps its outer-circle position as a lingua franca and as an L1 of parts of the population, even though it has moved more to the periphery in the past 20 years. Instead of seeing English as a threat, it is therefore legitimate to speak of English as a language alongside other languages: It has taken some lingua franca functions for a younger, Western-oriented audience, but hardly manages to get access to the core functions of Russian. At the same time, the titular languages are stable both on written signs and as oral languages for internal communication within each of the Baltic States.

When looking at the 4 roles of languages for tourists as identified by Kallen, we can first summarise that an authentic experience exists regarding the titular languages – they are so regularly present that visitors get a clear picture that they are the dominant languages in the Baltic States. Yet, the very moderate use of regional languages such as Latgalian shows that there is hardly any attempt to exploit the entire linguistic repertoire of the Baltic States for touristic purposes, even if our interviews revealed that there might a be a potential in doing so. Second, tourists are encouraged to use languages in which they feel secure. Regarding Russian, this is strongest in Narva, but even in Lithuania with its relatively small number of Russian speakers, Russian is regularly present for touristic purposes. Yet, it is also possible
to receive all tourist services in English. Third, the linguistic aspect of breaking away from normal routines can hardly be seen in the LL: Practicing other languages for the sake of the linguistic experience is possible, but not a focus of tourism in the Baltic States. Finally, the aspect of a “special” experience in which language is a major tool of creating memories is also not dominant. Quite the contrary – for tourists from the Baltic States and other post-socialist countries the linguistic experience can be neglected, although Western tourists might perceive their visit to the Baltic States from this exotic perspective. In total, however, it is pragmatism which characterises languages practices in the Baltic States – in the LL but even more so in oral communication. In this, English plays an important role today, but it has not “taken over” all functions formerly fulfilled by Russian.

References


**Web sites** (all accessed January 30, 2011)

Municipalities:

Narva: www.narva.ee
Pärnu: www.visitparnu.com
Rēzekne: www.rezekne.lv
Alytus: http://www.ams.lt/New/index.php?Lang=34&IItemId=27350
Ventspils: http://www.ventspils.lv/News/frontpage.htm?Lang=LV
Druskininkai: http://www.druskininkai.lt/index.php/lt/

TICs:

Narva: http://tourism.narva.ee
Ventspils: http://www.tourism.ventspils.lv/
Alytus: http://www.alytus-tourism.lt
Druskininkai: http://info.druskininkai.lt/
Rēzekne: http://www.rezekne.lv/index.php?id=89
Pärnu: http://www.visitparnu.com

Hotels:

Narva:
Inger: www.inger.ee
Narva: http://www.narvahotell.ee

Pärnu:
Emmi: http://www.emmi.ee
Koidula Park: http://www.koidulaparkhotell.ee

Ventspils:
Dzintarjūra: www.dzintarjura.lv
Jūras brīze: www.hoteljurasbrize.lv
Vilnis: www.hotelvilnis.lv
Olimpiskā centra: http://www.hotelocventspils.lv

Rēzekne:
Latgale: www.hotellatgale.lv
Druskininkai general hotel web site: http://www.hotel-druskininkai.lt/

Alytus:
Alytus Hotel Park Conference Centre and Residence: http://www.nemunaspark.lt/
Dzukija: http://www.hoteldzukija.lt
Ode: http://www.ode.lt/
Senas namas: http://www.senasnamas.lt/
Vaidila: http://www.vaidila.lt/


The Human and Linguistic Landscape of Madrid (Spain)

Summary

This is one of the first studies to apply the sociolinguistic theoretical framework known as the “linguistic landscape” (LL) to Madrid, the capital of Spain. Originally developed by Landry and Bourhis (1997), this approach is of great interest to the analysis of Madrid due to the recent multilingualism that has appeared in the city since the 1990s as a by-product of immigration. Against this backdrop, Castilian Spanish has, for the first time, come into simultaneous contact with several other languages and varieties of Spanish such as those of the Americas. This new situation can be seen in the LL of Madrid as documented in the series of photographs selected by the authors based on their representativeness of the public space of Madrid.

1 Introduction

The linguistic landscape (LL), a term coined under the theoretical framework of Landry/Bourhis (1997), Gorter (2006) and Shohamy/Gorter (2009), has until recently been a real issue only in those areas of Spain with two official languages, and especially in the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country and Catalonia.

For instance, Solé (1998), Leprêtre/Romani (2000) and Plataforma per la Llengua (2003) offer studies on the presence of Catalan in the street furniture1 of Barcelona

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1 Such as billboards, phone booths, illuminated public objects like those in tube exits, etc.
and other major Catalan cities. Similarly, Urrutia (1999) carries out an analysis of the legal norms regarding place names, road signs and bilingual signs in the Spanish Basque Country, where, like in other parts of Spain such as Galicia and the Euskera- or Catalan-speaking provinces, normalization of place names is a hugely polemical issue. However, these studies can only be part of what Spolsky (2009) calls “prolegomena to a sociolinguistic theory of public signage” – or even “parallels” to such a theory, for all these works were published either before 1997 or their authors do not even cite the seminal article by Landry/Bourhis (1997).

In these bilingual regions of Spain, only Cenoz/Gorter (2006) study the Basque Country following the approach established by Landry/Bourhis (1997). Their analysis examines the co-existence of Euskera and Spanish – but also English – in Donostia/San Sebastian, comparing this panorama with that seen in the Frisian-Dutch-English triad in Leeuwarden, the Netherlands. In Galicia, the only paper known to us on the subject is by Dunleavy entitled “A sign of the times: language contact in the Galician linguistic landscape” and presented at the Third International Linguistic Landscape Workshop held at the University of Strasbourg in 2010 (see this volume).

However, no studies of multilingualism based on the analysis of the LL have been published on post-1990s Madrid, a period when the human landscape of Spain underwent a major change (Pujol 2006), transforming the image of Madrid from a monolingual city into a cosmopolitan one. It was this very absence of research on the LL that led us to carry out this study of 3000 photos in which we explore the contact and co-existence of languages in Madrid, rooting our work in the demographic data on the immigrant population and their areas of concentration (see CAM 2009), this without disregarding the downtown area or other locations in the city. Therefore, our corpus comprises observation and analysis of the LL in those neighbourhoods with the greatest density of immigrant populations such as Tetuán (often referred to as “Little Caribbean”), Usera (with a heavy presence of Chinese and Latinos), Lavapiés and Vallecas. Also included is the main commercial street (Gran Vía) and the very centre of Madrid and Spain (Sol Square), as well as some loca-

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2 An initial result of our work is Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera (2011 and forthcoming). Notwithstanding, there is a poligenetical brief article by Muñoz Carrobles (2010), carried out with a non-systematic methodology, a scant bibliography (only Landry/Bourhis 1997 and Shohamy/Gorter 2009) and a subjective viewpoint, but at least the author also attributes the characteristics of the LL in Madrid to globalization, tourism and immigration, as we do.

3 To clarify, Sol Square is the starting point of the road network of Spain. Also, it is here where the so-called “km 0” is located, the New Year is rung using the clock in the Square (which acts like a Spanish version of New York City’s Times Square), and where the fight against the French in the 19th Century Independence War started. Therefore, the symbolic and national importance of the Square is extremely high: for instance, Sol was the place chosen in 2011 by the “15-M movement” as a campsite and to display the
tions such as the public transportation system and the airport. All of these were chosen because they provide a context for the negotiation of power relations between the different communities living within the changing ethnolinguistic milieu of the Spanish capital.4

2 Theoretical reflections on the typology of signs

Given the definition of sign by Backhaus (2007, 4, 66-67) as “a notice on public display that gives information or instruction in a written or symbolic form” and “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame”, an assertion which is probably embraced by other contributors to this volume, we considered his nine categories of analysis (Backhaus 2007, 64-143) to be quite suitable for an LL study such as ours, i.e., (1) languages contained, (2) combinations of languages, (3) official and non-official signs, (4) regularities in geographic distribution, (5) availability of translation or transliteration, (6) visual prominence, (7) visibility of a sign’s multilingual nature, (8) linguistic idiosyncrasies and (9) coexistence of older and newer signs.

Nevertheless, we also felt the need to address the classification of signs into official and non-official signs along with other similar taxonomies of signs such as the one described by Ben Rafael et al. (2006, 10), who distinguish between top-down flow and bottom-up flows of LL elements:

that is, between LL elements used and exhibited by institutional agencies which in one way or another act under the control of local or central policies, and those utilised by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits.

4 Landry/Bourhis (1997, 1, 28) in their ground-breaking article have already indicated how LL could mark the relative power of ethnolinguistic groups within a given territory. For other cases of immigrant languages with characteristics similar to Spain, see Barni/Bagna (2008b) for Italy and Garvin (2010) for Memphis, USA. It is also especially controversial in Israel (see for instance Ben-Rafael et al. 2006 and Trumper-Hecht 2010). For other indexes of relative power and status (and, therefore, struggle) in the relations between minority and majority groups, such as that seen in the English-French conflict in Canada, see Sachdev/Bourhis (1990).
Although for taxonomical reasons we will follow the distinction established by Backhaus (2007) between official and non-official signs, we would like to reflect upon what we call the three “Rs” of the LL:

a) The First R or Ruled LL: We think that the LL, both official and non-official, public or private, abides by laws which regulate and promote languages of possible use, so we do not believe the differentiation between top-down and bottom-up flows of LL elements to be of great importance, at least regarding the Spanish case. See Fig. 1.

b) The Second R or “Ruleable” LL: We would like to address the following questions: How far can these legal norms go without attacking freedom of expression? Can someone be stopped from using a language or some items of a language in the LL? Can someone be compelled to use a language in the LL? These questions arise in Madrid, with signs appearing only in Chinese such as the one in Fig. 2 (Xi Ban Ya Hua Shang Xie Hui, Hua Shang Bao ‘Association of Chinese Traders in Spain’, ‘Newspaper of Chinese Traders in Spain’), which can bewilder the Spanish population in the city, since most Spaniards lack the ability to make sense of a sign in a foreign language with non-Roman logographic writing.

c) The Third R or Rebel LL: Not only governments or business owners but also private individuals and even young people can have an impact on the LL of a city, since their actions thwart all attempts at regulation or rules of law. In this regard, prohibiting graffiti written in certain languages or with politically incorrect content is futile. LL studies have documented the manual alteration or correction of signs in territories with languages which are either relegated to minority status or which are immersed in language-based conflict, as seen in the photos collected by Millán (2010) depicting Catalonia. These images show the deleting, crossing-out or adding of both Catalan and Spanish, depending on the case. A good example is the graffiti in the example written in Arabic appearing in Fig. 3, which we found in the multicultural neighbourhood of Lavapiés, where a high number of immigrants from the Maghreb have settled. The graffiti reads “Khanzir” ‘pig’, a quite unusual word to be written in Arabic and which could serve here both as a mark of symbolic ownership of the neighbourhood by the immigrant population from Morocco and as an (im)personal insult or provocation aimed at the traditionally local people of the area (mainly older people but also single young professionals) who may eat pork.

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5 We would like to thank Consuelo Marco, Professor of Chinese at the Universidad Complutense of Madrid, for the transliteration and translation of the signs from Chinese.

6 We also need to thank Beatriz Soto, an expert on Arabic and Applied Linguistics in the School of Translation at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, for the transliteration and translation of the sign.

7 See also note 10.
Fig. 1. Spanish-English-Japanese tourist sign in downtown Madrid

Fig. 2. Sign in Chinese in the neighbourhood of Lavapiés

Fig. 3. Arab graffiti in Lavapiés: Jhanzir ‘pig’
Regarding the application of Ruled and “Ruleable” LL to Spain, one must consider the legacy of the Franco regime as a necessary component to the full understanding of contemporary politics of LL in Spain. The dictatorship can be broken down into two periods in terms of LL and tolerance of languages other than general Spanish (see Herreras 2006: 41-44). From 1938 until the 1940s the “other” Spanish languages (like Galician, Catalan or Basque) as well as all other languages except Spanish, including European languages such as English or French, were banned from the LL (Orden del Ministerio de la Gobernación de 16 de mayo de 1940 and Orden del Ministerio de Industria y Comercio de 20 de mayo de 1940).

From the 1950’s to 1975 a time of relatively increased tolerance, the use of foreign or regional names was finally allowed (Orden de 14 de noviembre 1958, art. 192 and Orden de 20 de junio de 1968, art. 18.2) and new cultural associations for the recovery of the other Spanish languages proliferate (as in the case of Basque language schools or ikastolas). This new social openness was the consequence of a new strategy in Franco’s regime to gain acknowledgement in the international arena in order to bring tourism to Spain and attract the level of foreign investment necessary for the development of the country. The General Education Law of 1970 represents the official acceptance of the other Spanish languages (referred to as ‘vernacular’), which citizens now have the option to study in kindergarten and in primary schools, although Spaniards had to wait five more years for the actual implementation of the law (Herreras 2006, 44).

At present, written Galician, Catalan and Basque are protected by Linguistic Policy Laws, but no comparable laws exist for Spanish. This unbalanced legal protection is comparable to the existence and influence of terminology agencies in that they exist and work for Catalan, Galician and Basque, but not for Spanish.

Here, we should recall the questions posed above regarding ruleable LL: should the use of Spanish be safeguarded in those signs written only in languages which are obscure to Spaniards, e.g. Chinese, so at least a translation into Spanish should be added? Although these signs are clearly addressed to the Chinese community in Madrid and no need is felt to translate them to Spanish, the use of Chinese without a Spanish translation constitutes a kind of communication barrier which is highly interdependent with the fostering of prejudices (usually negative), as Landecker (1951, 338) pointed out in his seminal article on types of integration.

This kind of opaque linguistic practice stands out as one of the factors which contribute to the image of the Chinese among the Spanish population “as a closed and somewhat mysterious community” (Nieto 2003, 215). By providing all signs

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8 To less-informed readers, the mere existence of the “Real Academia Española” (Royal Academy of Language) may be misleading, since this institution has no legal force and only operates as a curator of the language and not as a governing body: it only proposes, never enforces (see Fries 1989). Moreover, its interest is more focused on the international cohesion of the Spanish Language (the so-called “panhispanic” ideology, see Valle 2007) than on internal protection.
The existence or absence of a Spanish translation in this case or in any unilingual non-Spanish sign could be correlated with the heated “multicultural” or “integrationist” debate (as Schnapper 2007, 88-99 cleverly posits): a unilingual sign in Chinese is naturally understood and accepted in a multicultural setting, but at the same time the lack of a Spanish translation bears witness to a lesser “integration” that could increase if a translation were provided. To date, no laws have been passed in Madrid to make translation obligatory, as occurred in Rome in 2007 and in the city of Prato (Barni/Bagna 2008, 301; Barni/Bagna 2010, 9, 11).

3 Methodology

We adopted a contrastive methodological approach, carrying out a systematic analysis of photographs taken of multilingual fixed signs (Spanish side-by-side with some other language) or multi-dialect signs (Spanish from the Americas alongside Castilian Spanish, for instance), or those which contain any language other than Spanish. The photos were taken in several synchronic sessions in June 2009, November 2009, January 2010 and September 2010, thus providing some degree of diachronic data, although we mainly took the photos to represent a synchronic sample.

The data obtained with our digital cameras, both compact and reflex, was later studied with the help of a database program (Iphoto 09 – Apple) under the theoretical framework of both LL sociolinguistic theory and the latest Spanish studies on migration linguistics (see Calvo Pérez 2007, RILI 2007 and Lengua y Migración 2009).

9 We did not take into account moving signs or oral language, therefore following Backhaus (2007, 4, 10).

10 One example of the fast diachronic flow of LL, which we can call Moving LL or Dynamic LL, is graffiti, a practice which is forbidden in Madrid (Rebel LL). This prohibition explains why the graffiti “Los Ñetas valen vergas” (‘The ‘Ñetas’, a Latino gang, are great’; idiomatic Latin American Spanish: “vergas” ‘dicks’), which we photographed for the first time on 4/06/2009 on Guillermo de Osma St. (Delicias neighbourhood), was found by us on 29/01/2010 to have been deleted (though some traces of the previous writing remained) some months afterwards. It is not necessary to point out that this graffiti is used as a means of marking the area of influence and action of the gang. Regarding graffiti in LL, see Pennycook (2009).
4 Results

Our results show the presence of 35 languages in the public sphere of Madrid along with Castilian Spanish.\textsuperscript{11} We have classified the languages into three groups: “commonly seen”, “occasionally seen” and “seldom seen”, depending upon the number of signs with a given language and the diversity of the vocabulary and semantic fields contained within, both indicators of the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of different language groups.

The number of signs containing a language can be correlated with the demography of that language and the immigration community which speaks it, with demography being one of the three factors (the others being status and institutional support) of the ethnolinguistic vitality in the starting point articles by Giles/Bourhis/Taylor (1977) and Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal (1981).

Regarding semantic fields, it cannot be equally considered a case of “other” Spanish languages and some Western languages, which seldom appear in the names of banks, bars and restaurants, in comparison with languages like Chinese or Arabic and dialects like the American variations of Spanish, which show a wide variety of semantic fields which can be a clue to different and diverse linguistic domains, defined by Fishman (1972, 442) as “a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of a speech community”. This wide variety of domains for the use of a language is one of the key factors in Landweer’s (2000) work on indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality. Such domains can be also paired with the institutional factors of ethnolinguistic vitality already pointed out by Giles/Bourhis/Taylor (1977, 315-318) and Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal (1981, 146).

It appears that the more ethnolinguistic vitality of a language or speech variety seen in the LL city, the more likely it would be for that language or speech variety to endure in time.

Table 1 contains the languages appearing in all of the signs (both official and non-official), providing a graphic display of the 1205 signs found in the 3000-photo corpus.\textsuperscript{12} In the case of non-official signs, the vast amount of handwritten advertisements – a testament to the real vitality of a language – has greatly contributed to the increasing presence of some languages like Chinese. Furthermore, the repetition of the same sign in a shop (like brands in shop windows) has also been taken into

\textsuperscript{11} At this point we need to thank Yolanda Benito García and Javier García González for their touring of some areas of Madrid with immigrant populations (Vallecas and Tetuán); SP Kalita, Alexandru Negoescu, Elke Reuter, Alain Sultan, Natalya Tumchenok helped us to understand some languages, at times transliterating or translating, and Emma Peris Fenollera gave us valuable insight on improving the quality of the photos.

\textsuperscript{12} The difference between both numbers is due to the fact that many times we took photographs of some details in the framed signs.
Table 1: Absolute frequency of languages in the LL of Madrid
account, for these duplicate images increase the density of a given language in the LL of a city.

As the reader can easily tell from the table, the most frequent languages in our sample are Chinese\(^\text{13}\) and English. English is used in official signs (both bilingual Spanish/English and multilingual in combination with Spanish, English or Japanese, for instance) in public spaces such as airports, trains, the underground, taxis, street signs and sightseeing signs, telephone-booth signs, museum signs and signs for educational institutions. In non-official signs, English can appear alone or along with any other language (Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, etc.). English is also the language of omnipresent brands like Western Union and its use is fundamentally symbolic.

While Chinese is most often represented in the LL of Madrid as an immigrant language\(^\text{14}\), we were only able to find one official sign in which the language was used (a welcome message at the desk of the Autonomous Community of Madrid in the airport), far from the large presence of top-down signs in Prato, Italy (Barni/Bagna 2008, 302). However, it is easy to find Chinese in all types of non-official signs: not only Chinese restaurants and discount shops, but also supermarkets and food markets, clothing shops, costume jewellery stores, electronics shops, gyms, bars, hairdressers, legal services, estate agent’s, travel agencies, driving schools, bookstores, DVDs and music stores, call centres, chemist’s shops, associations and periodicals (newspapers and magazines). The whole amount of what we called “guest signs” (personal handwritten ads or printed posters, usually monolingual, affixed to walls and shop windows which act like hosts, though not always in a premeditated fashion, to these signs) constitutes 40% of all signs included in our sample. A person can live his entire life in Chinese with hardly any need to learn Spanish.

Other western European languages like French, German and Italian are secondary languages in tourism, so they have attained some limited visibility in official signs such as welcome messages in the airport, ticket machines in the underground and public parking, telephone booths, the cathedral and museums. The prestige of these languages is apparent in the brand names of businesses, banks and restaurants. Moreover, in the case of French, we found this language used as a means of communication among people from former French colonies, like in some signs addressed to the African population from Morocco or Senegal.

The situation of Arabic, another “immigrant language”, is in some aspects similar to that of Chinese: its official presence is scarce (just one road sign pointing to Algeciras, a town in the south of Spain through which travellers pass on their way to

\(^{13}\) Chinese is also the most frequent language in the contrastive LL of Seville, Spain (see Pons Rodríguez, 2011 and forthcoming).

\(^{14}\) “Immigrant languages […] are those of numerically larger, stable groups, with intentions of putting down roots within a local community” (Barni/Bagna 2008, 298).
the port serving Morocco), but its private or non-official use is quite significant. That is why it is no surprise to find Arabic not only in the old signs of Arab airlines on Gran Vía, but also increasingly in restaurants, teahouses, food markets (halal butchers and sweet stores), hairdressers, call centres, remittance services, one bank in the neighbourhood of Tetuán, even a chemist’s store in Lavapiés Square, and occasionally in street graffiti (as we have already seen).

Japanese is displayed in such official signs as the main street and sightseeing signs in downtown Madrid, acting as a kind of official welcome and recognition of the Japanese people, one of the main sources of tourism for Madrid and Spain as a whole. Nevertheless, as the Japanese population is not significant in Madrid, especially in comparison with their Chinese counterparts, the use of Japanese in private signs is not very widespread, with just a few commercial signs addressed to Japanese tourists and several signs advertising Japanese restaurants.

Besides these “commonly seen languages”, we also documented some others. Therefore, we have considered “occasionally seen” languages to be Latin, Galician, Catalan, Portuguese, Romanian, Hindi, Tagalog, Bengali, Guarani and Russian. To be more precise, Latin is used in a grandiloquent sense in the names of cinemas, theatres and hotels in downtown Madrid and probably in some other places of the world, with examples like Rex, Coliseum, Excelsior or Senator. Latin is also used in hybrids like Securitas Direct (a surveillance company) and Sportium (a chain of gambling establishments, a new trend in Spain which takes after a trend seen in England). Catalan and Galician are used only occasionally, except for bank names (La Caixa, Caixa de Catalunya, Caixa Laietana, Sabadell, Caixanova); Galician also appears in the name of Galician restaurants (quite common in Madrid) and in the road signs to La Coruña (the Galician place name “A Coruña” is the official term used throughout Spain) and Catalan in a couple of clothing shops. It is surprising that Portuguese, the language of a neighbouring country, is practically absent in Madrid and only appears in relation with Brazil and not with Portugal (bars and restaurants, remittance advertisement); the same is not the case in other cities of Spain like Seville, in which Portuguese from Portugal is easily found. 15

Romanian, another immigrant language, is also seen in remittance advertisement posters and in “guest signs” appearing in the form of personal handwritten adverts. We found Hindi in Roman script in the names and menus of Indian restaurants and some costume jewelry stores in Lavapiés. Devanagari script is used in lieu of Bengali in posters hung in the same neighbourhood, but Roman transcript is used for the names of call centres. Tagalog, one of the main native languages of the Philippines, 15

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15 In the case of Seville (see Pons Rodríguez, 2011 and forthcoming), Portuguese from Portugal is widely used in the monumental city centre in official tourist signs which display Spanish, English and Portuguese in the third place. This is due not only to the large flows of tourists in Seville from the neighbouring country but also to an official agreement between the mayor of the city in 2002 and the “Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa”. Therefore, Portuguese in Seville works like Japanese does in Madrid.
which was a Spanish colony until 1898, can be read in a food market in Tetuán, in
some advertisement posters for money remittance services for immigrants and in the
timetable of the services of the Kingdom Hall of the Jehovah’s Witnesses in the
neighbourhood of Tetuán.

Call centres (especially the posters in their windows) are usually a good source of
LL data in Madrid; the same is also the case for Guarani, which can also be seen in
the signs appearing in food markets offering typical products from Paraguay. Fi-
ally, Russian is mainly found as a language geared toward tourism (for instance as
one of the languages into which the official guide of the Prado Museum is trans-
lated), but it is also used in some commercial signs addressed to the Russian immi-
grant population.

In the section of “seldom seen” languages, almost hapax from a philological
viewpoint (i.e., found just once or almost once), we can include Basque, the only
non-Indo-European language of Spain, and a Romance language battling for recog-
nition in Spain like Asturian, and also Greek, Thai, Hawaiian, Slavic languages like
Bulgarian, Polish and Ukrainian, African languages like Wolof and Amharic, Middle
Eastern languages like Hebrew, Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian and Farsi, and Native
American languages like Aymara and Quechua.

The use of all these languages is more symbolical than informational, since it is
mostly associated with bars and restaurants, but also some shops, in order to attract
“the attention of potential clients” (Ben-Rafael 2009, 44) with the promise of an ex-
citing exotic experience, whilst in other cases these signs function as “identity mark-
ers” (Ben-Rafael 2009, 48) of regional origin or pride (Asturian), libertarian strug-
gles with which the use of Basque is linked in Spain or a multicultural tolerance ide-
ology like the case of Wolof, displayed in a multilingual greeting sign located in the
multiethnic area of Lavapiés, introduced by the Spanish imperative “Díselo” (‘Tell it
to them’) and along with Hebrew, Chinese, Bengali, Arabic, English and French
(Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera 2011, 81, 88).

Although not included in the above-mentioned account of languages, some spe-
cial credit must be given to other varieties of Spanish, especially Latin American
Spanish, due to their strong ethnolinguistic vitality which is surpassed only by Chi-
nese. This linguistic vitality can be seen in the diversity of lexical domains of Latin
American Spanish vocabulary displayed in the streets of Madrid: food (bakeries,
grocery stores, supermarkets, restaurants and bars), but also body care (hairdressers
dental clinics), clothing shops, international call centres and courier services,
travel agencies, banks, entertainment and cultural events (clubs, shows, festivals,
music concerts) and religious aspects (santería).

The importance given to these kinds of Spanish from the Americas is explained
by the fact that the biggest immigrant community in Madrid consists of people
coming from South America and the Caribbean (40.85% of the foreign population in
Madrid). This is a key feature in our data which we hope will be a contribution to
the theoretical framework of LL, for the internal variation of a particular language
has not been the focus of any LL scholarship until now. A parallel can be seen in the situation of Spanish in the USA as reported by Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 2009), to which we can add the visual dictionary of Spanish in Mexico made by Takagaki/Ueda/Ávila (1996), with pictures illustrating the definitions included therein.

Finally, we can find some more prolegomena studies of this kind of Latino LL in the later work done by the master of Spanish dialectology, Manuel Alvar (2000, 37), who carried out a traditional dialectology study of Spanish in the Dominican Republic (one of the main sources of Latino immigration in Madrid). As mentioned in the prologue to his book, an indicator of the presence of Dominican people in some neighbourhoods of New York is the signs in the surrounding shops.

5 Discussion

The LL of Madrid depicts the capital of Spain as a cosmopolitan city with a human and linguistic diversity comparable to some other metropolitan areas already studied from the LL point of view, such as Tokyo (Backhaus 2006, 2007), Bangkok (Huebner 2006) or Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), but also some other European capitals like Rome (Barni/Bagna, 2008, 2009). While embracing this international perspective, we cannot overlook the domestic point of view, since analysis of the coexistence of Spanish with the other non-official Spanish languages in a city reveals how a particular language that has co-official status in one part of the country survives in another area where it does not enjoy the same status. On this matter, we believe that we are faced with a clear de facto linguistic federalism, since the presence of the other Spanish languages is negligible (with the exception of road signs) and these receive a treatment within the LL of Madrid that is on par with that afforded to other western European languages like French or German, for Spanish coofficial languages mainly appear in the same kinds of businesses, i.e., banks and restaurants, whose use of a particular non-Spanish language is more symbolic or

16 Conducted at the same time and in coordination with our work is the LL study of Seville, Spain, by Pons Rodríguez (2011 and forthcoming).

17 According to the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (Article 3), “Castilian”, i.e. Spanish, is the official language of the whole country, but other Spanish languages can have the credit of a co-official language in those regions where they are spoken according to statutes of Autonomy or regional laws, which is actually the case for Catalan, Galician and Basque speaking regions. Nevertheless, some politicians and sociolinguists, especially coming from Catalonia, plead for a linguistic federalism de lege (see Boix 2006): following the Swiss example, each language should be primarily used in its region, but all languages should be learned in all the territory. By interpreting a de facto linguistic federalism as displayed in the LL of Madrid it is shown how Castilian or Spanish is the principal language of Madrid, but also the other Spanish languages are known and acknowledged, although in an unbalanced and unequal position.
connotative than informational or denotative, as a marker of good food (in the case of Galician or French) or trustworthy money handling (as it is conventionally thought in Spain of German and Catalan bankers).

It is also of note that our sample is highly representative of the LL reality of Madrid. Proof of this representativeness arises from the fact that, based in our field work and field notes in which we clearly associated photos to street numbers, we have been able to trace a series of distribution patterns for the languages within the urban geography by investigating different spots of the city, which could be easily displayed in several maps with the help of the tools presented by Barni/Bagna (2009). By doing this, our work is characterised by one of the factors (“regularities in geographic distribution”) that, according to Backhaus (2007), should be considered when studying LL. Thus we have found five recurrent patterns of distribution of the language signs in the urban geography:

5.1 Monopoly

Big commercial streets, like those that appear or could appear in the Spanish version of the famous board game, e.g. Gran Vía, Bravo Murillo or Marcelo Usera, contain signs in Spanish or international languages. The latter mainly have a connotative-symbolic use (the chic of English, for instance), but at times also have a denotative-informational function for tourists. This is actually the same kind of pattern found by Cenoz/Gorter (2006) in one of the central shopping streets of Donostia/San Sebastian and in ‘Nijstêd-Nieuwestad’ in the centre of Ljouwert-Leeuwarden, with both studies showcasing the local languages and also English.

On the other hand, back streets or side streets, with lower income levels (and more affordable rents for stores), show the “subtext” of immigrant languages or dialects, despite being just a block away from the main streets. This idea leads us to the next pattern.

5.2 Ghetto or “spider web”

In some neighbourhoods with a presence of immigrant populations which are framed or bisected by big thoroughfares and commercial streets, a great density of non-Spanish LL is found across several blocks, like a dense web and (social) network from which it would not be easy for the inhabitants living there to “escape” or in which outsiders may not be particularly welcome.18 A relevant example of this is

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18 A scene of certain unrest which took place during our field work in Lavapiés could be interpreted as an illustration of the creation of ghettos signaled by LL (and thus why LL could be related to degrees or kinds of integration): as we were taking photographs of different signs in Mesón de Paredes St. (right where we found the “Khanzi” sign, see fig. 3), we were invited, in a not so gentle manner, by a group of Arab teenagers to leave the neighbourhood, because “the neighbourhood was theirs”.

found on both sides of Bravo Murillo St. to the north of Cuatro Caminos square. Known as “Little Caribean”, this area is located in the neighbourhood of Tetuán. Within the limits of Usera, Chinatown is a neighbourhood that is crossed by Marcelo Usera St. and is shared with the Latino population. Lavapiés, with its rich historical tradition, is where many theatre pieces of local customs and manners by Ramón de la Cruz or Arniches are set, and is now a multiethnic and multilingual area swarming with people from Africa, both Arab and Subsaharian, from India or from China. Nearby, just one block away from Gran Via, visitors can find a concentration of Chinese businesses on the parallel street of Leganitos.

This ethnic and linguistic distribution is comparable to the presence of Korean in the area of Tokyo called Shin-Ōkubo, “a district well known for its long-established Korean community” (Backhaus 2007, 63), or the high proportion of Chinese on Ya-warat and Charoen Krung Roads in Bangkok (Hueber 2006, 43).

5.3 Progressive Immigrant LL

A gradual combination of patterns 1 and 2, the same street turns from a Spanish and western international LL (a Monopoly pattern) to an immigrant ghetto-like LL (e. g. Monte Igueldo St. in Vallecas).

5.4 Spotted LL

Scattered spots of immigrant LL can be seen all over the city, mainly in Chinese-run shops and small food markets. The alliance of immigrant communities is remarkable to see: Chinese shop-owners selling not only traditional Spanish food and Chinese food, but also products from Latin America or Arab couscous; small multiethnic food or fruit markets in Lavapiés and so forth. As these stores have a diversified clientele, their products (and signs and words) become widespread among Spanish and non-Spanish customers.

5.5 Silent or Silenced LL

No significant LL is displayed in the streets, despite known demographic presence of immigrants in an area. This could be due to manifold causes: in the case of silent LL, maybe there is not a large enough audience to be addressed in the language, the speakers of this language cannot afford stores and signs or do not think it necessary to display their language; silenced LL could be caused by authoritative measures (mainly legal), as was the case in other Spanish languages during Franco’s times (Castillo Lluch/Sáez Rivera 2011, 84), but the cause may be social pressure too, causing the use of a language in LL to be repressed.
6 Conclusion

To conclude, we would like to point out a number of possibilities for further research and critical interpretations. It could be of interest to explore the likely relationship of the distributional patterns of LL found in Madrid as indicators of the different kinds of language acculturation processes (such as those posited by Gugenberger 2007)\(^\text{19}\) and sociolinguistic integration (see Moreno Fernández 2009)\(^\text{20}\), all framed by political policies of integration vs. social processes of integration (see Schnapper 2007, with a thorough bibliography in many languages, and Bajo Santos 2007). We aim to pursue this potentially controversial interpretation in future research, as we cannot devote it the care and attention it deserves in this work. Furthermore, new studies must be carried out to verify whether these LL patterns are identical, similar or radically different in other cities within Spain or abroad, taking also into consideration their similarity or divergence regarding the manifold mapping of languages and language varieties in cities (see studies like Bulot 1999, in which one can see how rivers, neighbourhoods or old political frontiers shape the linguistic diversity of Rouen, Venice or Berlin).

Beyond the scope of this first analysis of the LL of Madrid, and a next natural research step, is (a) the comparison of this objective linguistic mapping of the LL of Madrid with the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of the languages found (for which the questionnaire by Bourhis/Giles/Rosenthal 1981 and the insights by Sachdev/Bourhis 1993 could be useful) and (b) the perception of the LL by the inhabitants, a recent trend in LL studies, whether using sociological procedures like street-administered surveys (Aisteran/Cenoz/Gorter 2010) and phone questionnaires (Trumper-Hecht 2010) or a postmodern ethnographic approach in “walking-tour” interviews (Garvin 2010).

This way it would be made clear how “visible” and controversial international-language signs are to all kinds of populations and how immigrant signs are regarded by the Spanish population and tourists (probably not really aware of this immigrant

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\(^{19}\) According to Gugenberger (2007, 22-24), there are four kinds of linguistic acculturation of immigrant populations, i.e., (1) integration (interest in knowing and speaking at least two languages: the one spoken by the immigrant and the language spoken in the host community), (2) assimilation (adopting the host language but forgetting one’s own), (3) separation (keeping one’s own language without great interest in learning or using the host language), (4) oscillation (very little interest in using or learning the host language without at the same time trying to keep one’s own language correct and alive).

\(^{20}\) Moreno Fernández (2009) establishes for the Spanish case what may be an overly linear model of sociolinguistic integration with increasing knowledge of the host language: survival integration > schooling-working integration > social integration > identity integration.
reality, if they keep to “monopoly” streets, as would be the case for tourists), but also by the diverse immigrant communities.  

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La cartographie du paysage linguistique comme outil d’analyse du plurilinguisme de l’espace urbain strasbourgeois

Résumé
Cette contribution vise à interroger la localisation spatiale des langues, (re)présentées sur les enseignes commerciales du centre ville strasbourgeois. L’étude de ces écrits urbains, considérés comme une matérialisation du plurilinguisme, apparaît comme une approche complémentaire aux travaux menés sur les contacts de langues dans l’espace alsacien (Huck et al., 2008). En proposant de cartographier le paysage linguistique, nous tenterons d’apporter des éléments d’appréciation sur la structuration de l’espace et sur la manière dont se dessinent et se définissent les territoires. Par ailleurs, dans la mesure où nous cherchons à diversifier les approches théoriques et méthodologiques, notre étude de terrain prend appui sur les travaux qui relèvent, d’une part, du Linguistic Landscape et, d’autre part, de la sociolinguistique urbaine, qui permet, plus particulièrement, de s’intéresser aux liens entre les faits socio-langagiers et la structuration de l’espace urbain.

Summary
The aim of this contribution is to analyse the spatial location of languages, which are displayed on shop front signs in the centre of the city of Strasbourg (France). The study of these urban writings will be considered as a form of materiality of multilingualism and our approach complements previous studies (Huck et al., 2008) of language contact in Alsace (France). We propose to map the Linguistic Landscape, and we provide some results regarding the way the urban space is structured through its linguistic signs. Moreover, based on our attempt to diversify our theoretical and methodological approach, we argue that this empirical study refers to both Linguistic Landscape studies and Urban Sociolinguistics studies.

1 Introduction
Si l’espace alsacien a donné lieu à de nombreux travaux qui relèvent de la géolinguistique dialectale ou, plus récemment, de la sociolinguistique des contacts (Huck et al., 2008), il n’en demeure pas moins que la ville de Strasbourg, en tant qu’espace
urbain, n’a guère été exploitée en tant qu’objet et, encore moins, en tant que terrain de recherche (Bogatto/Hélot, 2010).

Cette contribution vise principalement à interroger la localisation spatiale des langues en présence sur les écrits urbains non institutionnels du paysage de la ville de Strasbourg et, plus avant, à saisir en quoi ces localisations nous permettent d’apporter des éléments d’appréciation sur la structuration de cet espace. Les cadres épistémologiques, que nous fournissons d’une part, le Linguistic Landscape, et d’autre part, la sociolinguistique urbaine conduisent à focaliser l’attention sur la ville de Strasbourg, espace officiellement monolingue français, et, à travers les écrits non institutionnels, sur les contacts de langues dont les unes sont endogènes (français, dialectes, allemand) et les autres, exogènes (comme l’anglais, l’italien, l’espagnol etc.).

En nous appuyant sur un corpus constitué des enseignes commerciales du centre ville, nous cherchons, en premier lieu, à prendre en compte les formes d’intervention émanant d’acteurs sociaux « privés » (les commerçants). Les enseignes commerciales sont considérées comme des discours individuels, qui dans leur double face de production et de réception, répondent à des visées particulières (informatives et/ou symboliques) ; par ailleurs, cette recherche a pour objectif de mettre au jour la place, la distribution spatiale ainsi que les fonctions des variétés linguistiques lisibles dans la ville, de leurs divers enjeux (sociaux, culturels, économiques, identitaires...), de même que les rapports de force qu’elles révèlent ; enfin, il s’agira d’évaluer, à partir d’un même terrain/objet de recherche, les apports complémentaires de deux cadres théoriques et méthodologiques, à savoir la sociolinguistique urbaine et le Linguistic Landscape (Landry/Bourhis, 1997 : 25). Alors que la sociolinguistique urbaine (Calvet, 1994 ; Bulot dir., 1999 ; Bulot et Messaoudi, 2003 ; Bulot et Veschambre, 2006) s’attache, en particulier, à approcher qualitativement la mise en mots de la ville pour la mettre en lien avec la structuration spatiale, les études relevant du Linguistic Landscape, des premières (Rosenbaum et al., 1977) aux plus récentes (Gorter, 2006 ; Backhaus, 2007 ; Shohamy/Gorter, 2009), nous permettent, plus quantitativement, de disposer d’outils pour décrypter la complexité d’inscription des langues dans l’espace urbain. En d’autres termes, afin d’apporter des éléments d’appréciation sur la présence, les formes, fonctions, rapports de force ainsi que le caractère spatialement structurant des langues affichées, nous abordons notre espace en proposant une approche marquant la complémentarité de ces deux cadres.

En référence à la distinction opérée par Calvet (1998 : 6), notre terrain est envisagé de deux points de vue :

- d’un point de vue « vertical » qui conduit à considérer les rapports –quantitatifs et plus qualitatifs– des variétés linguistiques affichées,
- d’un point de vue « horizontal » qui vise à fournir des éléments d’appréciation sur la ou les structuration(s) de la ville.
2 Repères méthodologiques : espace et données

La ville de Strasbourg compte plus de 276000 habitants1 qui se répartissent, au sens administratif, dans quatorze quartiers, chacun ayant ses propres spécificités structurales, sociales, démographiques.

Dans la mesure où notre recherche porte sur les enseignes commerciales du quartier « centre » (il compte plus de 17000 habitants, soit 6,8% des Strasbourgeois), le choix, qui consiste à raisonner par quartier, mérite commentaire. Ce repère, arbitraire mais nécessaire, a constitué une entrée possible sur le terrain pour la collecte de nos données, d’autant que le quartier du centre est naturellement délimité par la rivière l’Ill. Pour autant, nous ne perdons pas de vue que la notion de « quartier », en tant que principe d’échantillonnage, révèle rapidement ses limites. Comme le soulignent Lévy et Lussault (2003, 758), il faut dépasser l’idée que le quartier représente une « fraction homogène clairement délimitable d’un espace urbain », qui renverrait à une portion de ville close, isolée, statique parce que – politiquement – délimitée et – géographiquement – délimitable.

Dans la mesure où Strasbourg est approchée, dans notre étude, exclusivement comme un espace d’écriture(s) et de lecture(s), afin de collecter les éléments matérialisant la mise en mots de l’espace, nous avons procédé au recueil photographique exhaustif des devantures commerciales de ce quartier (écrits non institutionnels) ; ce choix de l’exhaustivité est apparu comme une nécessité pour nos questions de recherche et axes d’analyse et ce, surtout en vue d’une approche quantitative. Pour le traitement et l’analyse de ces données, nous avons choisi d’adopter l’option méthodologique ressortant de nombreux travaux relevant du Linguistic Landscape qui conduit, à la suite de Cenoz et Gorter (2006 : 71), à retenir chaque commerce, dans sa globalité, comme une unité d’analyse2, mono- ou plurilingue, pouvant comporter un ou plusieurs signes, afin d’approcher les rapports de force, les combinaisons et la « hiérarchisation » des langues en présence. Au total, notre recherche s’appuie sur un corpus de 986 unités.

3 Le quartier « centre » : un espace éminemment plurilingue, avec quelle diversité linguistique ?

En référence aux travaux relevant du Linguistic Landscape, une première analyse nous permet de faire ressortir un certain nombre de résultats de nature quantitative qui sont susceptibles de nous renseigner sur les places et les rapports de force des

1 D’après les chiffres de l’INSEE : http://www.recensement.insee.fr/chiffresCles.action?codeMessage=5&plusieursReponses=true&zoneSearchField=STRASBOURG&codeZone=67482-COM&kifTheme=3&rechercher=Rechercher
2 « It was decided that in the case of shops and other businesses each establishment but not each sign was the unit of analysis » (Cenoz/Gorter, 2006 : 71).
différentes variétés linguistiques affichées sur les enseignes commerciales du centre ville.

Graphique 1

L’analyse des 986 unités révèle (graphique 1) un plurilinguisme que l’on peut qualifier de déséquilibré; bien que le français en tant que langue officielle, donc logiquement prédominant (environ 79%), soit, dans l’ordre d’importance, la première langue (re)présentée sur des unités mono- comme plurilingues, les enseignes rendent néanmoins, certes diversément, visibles d’autres variétés linguistiques endogènes (dialecte alsacien, 4% ; allemand, 1,1%) et exogènes (anglais, 13,6% ; italien, 2,4% etc.).

Graphique 2
Par ailleurs, une différence, nécessaire, se doit d’être effectuée entre écrits monolingues et plurilingues.

Si le français, langue logiquement majoritaire dans les enseignes monolingues, fait ressortir l’écart considérable avec les autres langues, il n’en reste pas moins remarquable que l’anglais occupe la seconde place dans l’ordre des langues qui se suffisent à elles-mêmes, et ce, majoritairement, dans un domaine d’activité bien précis, à savoir les commerces de prêt-à-porter. Outre ce binôme français/anglais, d’autres langues qui ont des valeurs et des fonctionnalités diverses (dialecte alsacien, italien, latin, espagnol et turc) ont une présence plus périphérique pour ne pas dire anecdotique. Il est, toutefois, intéressant de noter la faible présence du dialecte alsacien et surtout celle de l’allemand, qui a pourtant gardé une place importante comme langue de l’écrit jusque vers la fin des années 60, comme en témoigne le tirage de la presse régionale bilingue (français / allemand) qui reste encore supérieur à celui de la presse régionale monolingue (Huck et al., 2008). Concernant l’allemand, l’analyse des écrits institutionnels permet de faire le même constat : dans l’ensemble des inscriptions, l’allemand ne subsiste que sous forme de rares traces, indélébiles car gravées dans la pierre. Nous pouvons faire l’hypothèse qu’il existe une volonté politique et avant tout sociale – dans le cas des enseignes commerciales – de gommer les traces du passé allemand de l’Alsace et de marquer une forme de distanciation (linguistique et plus largement culturelle) avec l’allemand et l’Allemagne.

Les écrits plurilingues, quant à eux, renvoient aux unités où coexistent, à différents degrés, plusieurs variétés linguistiques ; nous avons particulièrement porté notre attention, d’une part, sur les langues en présence et, d’autre part, sur les combinaisons et sur l’ordre d’apparition des langues dans les unités plurilingues concernées.

Cet ensemble hétérogène d’unités, en raison de l’importance variable des langues utilisées permet d’établir une forme de hiérarchisation. Si l’on excepte les combinaisons de langues totalement inédites, les couples de langues les plus représentés sont anglais-français / français-anglais et, à moindre degré, dialecte-français / français-dialecte. Dans la mesure où les rapports varient du simple au double, l’international prend nettement le pas sur le local ou sur le régional puisque le dialecte ne trouve pas réellement sa place dans les écrits publics. En d’autres termes, tout se passe comme si l’alsacien, qui, dans les usages comme dans les représentations, est relié à l’oralité, ne se suffisait pas à lui-même : il reste en quelque sorte subordonné à une « langue toit » écrite qui est, en l’occurrence, le français.
Tableau 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Combinaisons et ordre d’apparition des variétés en présence3</th>
<th>Nombre d’occurrences (unités)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Combinaisons « inédites »</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+ESP+ANG+F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+ANG+F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+DIA+ALL</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT+ALL+F+IT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+ALL+ANG</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>IT+F+ANG</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESP+ANG+F</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANG+F+ALL+ANG</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples de langues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T+F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+T</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANG+F</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+CHI</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+ALL</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F+JAP</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAP+F</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANG+AR</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Le paysage linguistique comme facteur de structuration de l’espace:
des langues territorialisées ?

En prenant le parti de compléter ces premières tendances quantitatives, nous avons pris appui sur les travaux de la sociolinguistique urbaine, dans le but de montrer comment les langues affichées sur les écrits sont susceptibles de structurer l’espace urbain et de définir, circonscrire des sous-espaces particuliers. Pour ce faire, nous avons tenu compte de la localisation géographique et de la distribution spatiale de

3 F=français ; ESP=espagnol ; ANG=anglais ; T=turc ; DIA=dialecte ; IT=italien ; ALL=allemand ; LAT=latin ; CHI=chinois ; JAP=japonais ; AR=arabe
ces écrits (monolingues et plurilingues) et avons opté, à l’instar de la géolinguistique, pour une représentation cartographique des données. Nous cherchions à vérifier si ces différentes représentations cartographiques sont en mesure de servir de grille de lecture et d’interprétation de la structuration de la ville.

Il ressort de l’analyse cartographique que l’anglais – hormis quelques rares aires de concentration – a le pouvoir spatial le moins discriminant, en ce que sa diffusion ne permet pas de circonscrire des sous-espaces particuliers mais semble, plutôt, « atomiser » l’espace. Il est présent tant dans les secteurs touristiques que dans des secteurs plus commerciaux, de sorte que ses fonctions sont tant informatives (à l’attention des touristes) que plus symboliques, en véhiculant une image de modernité, de « prestige » sur les devantures de prêt-à-porter, de salon de coiffure ou encore d’instituts de beauté.

Figure 1: Projection spatiale de l’Anglais

A l’autre extrême, les localisations du dialecte (figure 2) et d’une certaine manière, celles de l’allemand permettent de mettre au jour des structurations internes du quartier du centre. Ces deux variétés, spatialement discriminantes, permettent de circonscrire un centre dans le « centre », qui se situe dans le secteur de la cathédrale et, partant, dans le centre historique qui attire le plus grand nombre de touristes.

Il ressort de la figure 1 que le « noyau dialectal » (centre historique et hyper centre dialectal) est entouré de deux aires résiduelles immédiatement contigües qui marquent la disparition progressive du dialecte et constituent, en quelque sorte, des aires de transition. L’absence quasi totale de l’alsacien dans la partie nord, aux confins du quartier allemand de Strasbourg, permet, d’une part, de tracer une fron-
tière au sein du quartier et, d’autre part, de spécifier un autre espace, qui marque une forme de rupture sous forme de frange spatiale.

Figure 2: projection spatiale du dialecte

Au final, la présence d’autres variétés, comme l’espagnol, qui contribuent au pluri-linguisme du centre strasbourgeois n’a pas de pouvoir spatial discriminant : elle est, bien davantage, liée au type de biens/services proposés par le commerce (restaurant, bars-cafés) et, partant, au hasard de leur implantation dans le centre.

5 Les références à un « ici » : éléments d’appréciation complémentaires à la structuration de l’espace du quartier « centre »

Selon Guillorel (1999, 71), « en nommant l’espace, on se l’approprie, finalement on produit du territoire ». Une approche plus linguistique, ayant notamment pour point de focalisation le niveau sémantique, permet d’apporter un éclairage et des éléments d’appréciation complémentaires.

Afin de saisir les procédés et les modes de fonctionnement de la mise en mots de l’espace, d’approcher les possibilités d’occuper l’espace urbain, de s’y inscrire et de l’énoncer, nous avons porté l’attention sur les valeurs référentielles des enseignes commerciales. Prenant appui sur les travaux de Lajarge/Moise (2005), nous avons focalisé l’analyse sur les enseignes qui renvoient à un « ici » d’ordre spatial. Les données collectées dans le quartier centre laissent apparaître que bon nombre de commerçants ont choisi, par le biais de l’enseigne, d’ancrer spatialement leur com-
merce dans des « ici », dont on peut faire l’hypothèse qu’ils spécifieraient, tout en le situant, le commerce, et/ou renverraient à un imaginaire valorisant.

Ces références à ces « ici » opèrent à différents niveaux : 1) Numéro de rue, 2) Rue, place, monument, 3) Quartier, 4) Ville de Strasbourg, 5) Région.

La référence à un « ici » renvoie majoritairement au nom d’une rue, d’une place ou d’un monument/édifice historique (50 occurrences). Il est remarquable que cette référence locative fonctionne en grande partie selon le même modèle, en l’occurrence une auto-désignation du commerce qui apparaît souvent sous forme, d’une part, d’un composé additionnel (Café Broglie, Optique Thomann où le référent locatif est précédé d’un terme spécifiant le type d’activité) et, d’autre part, d’un groupe nominal ayant un membre prépositionnel qui indique que A est inclus dans B (Pharmacie du Dôme, Aux merveilles de la cathédrale etc.).

Il est intéressant de noter que, contrairement à d’autres quartiers strasbourgeois (Épicerie de la Krutenau, Bazar de la Gare etc.), le nom du quartier (centre) n’est jamais affiché ; cet aspect semble alors, pour partie, révéler les limites de la notion-même de « quartier », à la fois en tant que principe d’échantillonnage et, plus socialement, en tant qu’espace vécu/perçu.

Par ailleurs, la projection spatiale de ces écrits vient apporter des éléments d’appréciation complémentaires à la structuration interne du quartier « centre » :

![Figure 3: référence aux “ici”](image1)

Ce repérage cartographique (figure 3) permet de dégager plusieurs aires de concentration qui tendent à valoriser diversement en les énonçant, certains lieux de ville particuliers comme les secteurs de la cathédrale, de la place Saint Thomas, de la Petite France, de la place Kléber, de la place Broglie, de la place Saint Etienne, ou encore de la rue du Dôme ; ils apparaissent, géographiquement, comme aires indépen-
dantes les unes des autres et semblent fonctionner de manière quasi « toponymique » en ce qu’elles constituent des entités de repérage, d’orientation dans/de l’espace.

Une fois encore, la forte concentration de ces écrits dans un secteur environnant la cathédrale permet de circonscrire un centre dans le centre, mais aussi des aires satellites (place Saint Thomas, Petite France, place Kléber, place Broglie, place Saint Etienne, rue du dôme) et des espaces de totale rupture.

6 Conclusion

Au total, afin de saisir la complexité et la spécificité de Strasbourg, l’étude de la présence des diverses variétés linguistiques sur les écrits non institutionnels du « centre » nous a permis, d’une part, de saisir les rapports de force entre ces variétés affichées qui permettent d’assigner à ce plurilinguisme des fonctions bien plus symboliques, plus informatives et économiques que culturelles ou, plus largement sociales et, d’autre part, de voir en quoi la répartition et la diffusion de ces affichages nous renseignent sur la structuration de ce quartier.

Ainsi, même si le « centre » cumule différentes caractéristiques (centre historique, touristique, commercial etc.), tout se passe comme si le secteur de cathédrale constituait le lieu, spatial et social, de référence avec des aires satellites plus ou moins stables, selon les angles d’attaque retenus.

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Ana Isabel Andrade is a Professor in the Department of Education at the University of Aveiro (Portugal), where she teaches subjects related to Language Didactics, and co-coordinates LALE – (Laboratory of Research and Training in Foreign Languages). She has been involved in several research and teacher education programmes in the areas of linguistic diversity, plurilingualism and intercomprehension. She has supervised several dissertations and theses in the field of language and teacher education.

Monica Barni is a full professor in Educational Linguistics at the Università per Stranieri, Siena. Her research deals mainly with issues of language policy in education, specifically in relation to immigrants, and in purilingual societies. Her publications focus in particular on the analysis of the impact of national and European language policies in educational contexts and of the conditions of plurilingualism and linguistic contact in Italy.

Carla Bagna is a Researcher in Foreign Language Teaching at the Università per Stranieri di Siena (University for Foreigners in Siena, Italy). She carries out research on language teaching, in particular L2 Italian, on immigrant languages in Italian society and schools, and on new methodologies for collecting and analysing data on their presence, diffusion, vitality and visibility, in order to study the contexts and conditions of plurilingualism and linguistic contact in Italy, and thus to suggest suitable measures to be taken in language education. She directs the Language Centre of the University for Foreigners in Siena.


François-Xavier Bogatto est doctorant et chargé de cours à l’Université de Strasbourg (France). Ses recherches, en sociolinguistique, ont principalement pour objet le paysage linguistique (Linguistic Landscape) de la ville de Strasbourg.

Arlette Bothorel-Witz est professeur émérite à l’Université de Strasbourg (Alsace, France). Ses recherches s’inscrivent principalement dans les champs de la dialectologie et de la sociolinguistique et ont pour thèmes le contact des langues et le plurilinguisme en Alsace (langue/pratiques/représentations) ainsi que les rapports entre langue et économie en région frontalière.

Mónica Castillo Lluch is Professor of Hispanic Linguistics at the University of Strasbourg and she focuses her research on several aspects of the morphosyntactic and semantical evolution of Spanish, as well as on different sociolinguistic issues in Spain, both from a synchronic and a diachronic point of view. Regarding the latter subject, in 2006 she co-edited with Johannes Kabatek from the University of Tübingen, Las lenguas de España. Política lingüística, sociología del lenguaje e ideología desde la Transición hasta la actualidad. (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main, Iberoamericana/Vervuert).

Jannet Coppoolse, BHS (Eindhoven), MA (Tilburg) is a professional occupational therapist in geriatric care and an intercultural communication specialist. She has done volunteer work in development projects in Ethiopia and Ghana and conducted ethnographic fieldwork in rural Gambia, for which she was awarded the second prize in the Tilburg University Master’s Thesis Prize 2010. She has co-authored a Dutch language handbook of clinical occupational therapy for paramedics. She is currently travelling in Europe and Asia.

Deirdre Dunlevy studied Language and Cultural Studies at University College Cork, Ireland. She worked as a language assistant at the University of A Coruña before completing her MPhil in Applied Linguistics in Trinity College Dublin where she focused on analysing the Linguistic Landscape of Galicia. She is currently
working in educational development and hopes to pursue a PhD in the field of language policy and linguistic landscape.

**Durk Gorter** is Ikerbasque research professor at the University of the Basque Country, Spain. He carries out research on multilingualism, European minority languages and linguistic landscapes and has published numerous books and articles on these themes. Earlier he was involved in sociolinguistic surveys of the Frisian language and comparative studies of minority languages in the Mercator-Education project in Ljouwert/Leeuwarden (The Netherlands). He has published numerous books and articles on these themes. Two recent publications are ‘Focus on Multilingualism: a Study of Trilingual Writing’, *The Modern Language Journal, 95*, (2011) 3, 356-369 (co-authored with Jasone Cenoz) and *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*. (Edited with Heiko F. Marten and Luk Van Mensel, 2012, Palgrave).

**David Ian Hanauer** is Professor of Applied Linguistics at Indiana University of Pennsylvania. His research focuses on the connections among authentic literacies and social functions in first and second languages. As a literacy researcher, he has investigated academic literacy across disciplines, scientific discourse, poetic discourse, and linguistic landscapes. His research has addressed the genre specific aspects of poetry reading and writing in L1 and L2, assessment in the sciences, the processes of scientific inquiry, scientific writing in L1 and L2, graffiti research and the cognitive aspects of literary education. Dr. Hanauer is the author of many books and scholarly articles and co-editor of the *Language Studies, Science and Engineering* book series with John Benjamins.

**Andy Hancock** is a lecturer in Primary Education at the Institute for Education, Teaching and Leadership at the University of Edinburgh. He is Director for the Masters programme in Additional Support for Learning (Bilingual Learners) and teaches courses in Languages and Literacies in the graduate and undergraduate Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes. His main research activities concern children’s biliteracy development in multilingual settings with a particular interest in the Chinese community in Scotland. Previously he has worked as a teacher in multilingual schools in England and Zimbabwe and as a Manager of a Bilingual Support Service providing support to children and young people acquiring English as an additional language.

**Christine Hélot** is professor of English at the University of Strasbourg (IUFM Alsace) France, and a researcher in the field of sociolinguistics and educational linguistics. She holds a PhD from Trinity College, Dublin and a Habilitation from the University of Strasbourg. She has published extensively in French and English on
bilingualism and plurilingualism in education, language policies in France, language awareness and intercultural education.

**Rudi Janssens** studied sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium). He is a lecturer at the faculty of Literature and Philosophy at the VUB and senior researcher at the Brussels Information, Documentation and Research Centre (Brio) where he is in charge of the language-sociological research segment. He mainly works on language use in multilingual and multicultural cities and the impact of language politics. He has already conducted several language surveys on language use, language shift and language and identity.

**John Johnston** is an artist educator from Northern Ireland who currently lives and works in London. He works with communities that explore the connections between education, power and identity. He questions the structures of power and how they foster division and mistrust in polarized societies. He is Director of the Research Centre for Arts and Learning, and Head of the PGCE teacher education programme in Art at Goldsmiths, University of London.

**Kasper Juffermans**, MA (Ghent), PhD (Tilburg) is a sociolinguist in the School of Humanities and the Babylon Center at Tilburg University and since October 2011 also in the Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Areas (LiMA) research cluster at the University of Hamburg. He wrote his dissertation on literacy and multilingualism (‘local languaging’) in The Gambia and is currently involved in two projects, one investigating Chinese-Dutch youth identity discourses in and beyond complementary schooling (with colleagues in Tilburg), the other investigating superdiversity and digital media (in Hamburg).

**Patricia Lamarre** est professeure titulaire à l’université de Montréal où elle enseigne des cours de sociolinguistique critique et dans le programme de formation de futurs enseignants de classe d’accueil pour immigrants. Elle est également coresponsable de l’axe Langues, identités et relations intergroupes du Centre d’Etudes Ethniques des Universités Montréalaises (CEETUM). Ses recherches en cours portent sur les pratiques langagières des jeunes montréalais dans leurs trajectoires quotidiennes urbaines (Montréal on the move), sur l’adaptation du secteur éducatif anglophone et en particulier son ajustement au statut du français et sur le bilinguisme et multilinguisme croissant au Québec.

**Elizabeth Lanza** is Professor of Linguistics at the Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo, Norway. Her main field of research is bilingualism/multilingualism and her work is sociolinguistically oriented. She has published on the linguistic landscape, language socialization of bilingual children, multilingualism in the family, and research methods. She currently leads a nationally
funded interdisciplinary project on language, culture and identity in migrant narratives.

Sanita Lazdiņa is an Associate Professor in Applied Linguistics at Rēzekne University College (Latvia). She obtained a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Latvia about Latvian as a second language. She was one of the editors and main authors of the report on the large-scale “Ethnolinguistic Survey of Eastern Latvia” (2006-2009) and is currently the leader of the project “Linguo-Cultural and Socio-Economic Aspects of Territorial Identity in the Development of the Region of Latgale” (2009-2012). From 2009-2010 she was a guest lecturer at University of Greifswald, Germany. She has researched and published extensively on languages in Latvia, in particular with regard to the regional language of Latgalian.

Georges Lüdi is Professor Emeritus for French Linguistics at Basel University and former Dean of the Faculty of Arts. His research interests include the linguistic aspects of migration, second language learning and communication in the workplace. He conducted several third party-financed research projects with a particular focus on the various forms of (emergent) multilingualism and language contact in Switzerland using both qualitative and quantitative methods. From 2006 – 2011, he acted as deputy coordinator of the European DYLAN project. He presides two private foundations working in the domain of language. He has chaired the Swiss Linguistic Society, served on the Executive Board of the AILA and been awarded the distinction of Officer in the Ordre national du Mérite by the French Government.

Sabrina Machetti is a Researcher in Foreign Language Teaching at the Università per Stranieri di Siena (University for Foreigners in Siena, Italy). She carries out research in the field of Italian L2 teaching, with a particular interest in the area of language assessment and in issues of a general semiotic nature that have a direct effect on the domain of linguistic and cultural mediation. She also takes a keen interest in the dynamics of diffusion of the Italian language within the bounds of global social and public communication, as well as the Italian language of wine.

Heiko F. Marten holds a PhD in English Linguistics from Freie Universität Berlin. He is currently a DAAD Lecturer of linguistics in the Department of German at Tallinn University, Estonia, and a researcher at Rēzekne University College, Latvia. His research includes issues of minority languages, language policy, Linguistic Landscapes and of motivation in language learning in various European settings, including the Baltic States, Germany, Scandinavia and the UK. His latest publications include his 2009 monograph “Languages and Parliaments” and the 2012 co-edited volume “Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape” (with Durk Gorter and Luk Van Mensel).
Filomena Martins is Professor in the Department of Education at the University of Aveiro (Portugal), where she teaches subjects related to Language Didactics, and particularly Early Teaching of Foreign Languages (ALC approach). She is also a supervisor of teaching practicum in Language Teaching and Primary Education degree courses. She has participated in several research projects in the fields of intercomprehension and linguistic diversity.

Laurence Mettewie est professeure de langue et linguistique néerlandaise à des étudiants francophones à l’université de Namur (FUNDP) en Belgique et membre du groupe de recherche sur le plurilinguisme Pluri-LL. Ses domaines de recherches s’articulent autour des rapports entre les deux principales communautés linguistiques du pays (francophones et néerlandophones) au niveau de l’apprentissage des langues (facteurs socio-psychologiques et relations intergroupes), de l’enseignement multilingue, des langues dans les entreprises bruxelloises, du discours sur l’autre communauté dans la presse ou encore du paysage linguistique dans les régions francophones et néerlandophones et plus récemment à Bruxelles.

Sandra Murinska is a PhD student at the University of Latvia (Riga) at the Department of Communication Studies and a researcher at Rēzekne University College (Latvia). Her PhD thesis is connected with local media, focusing on features of media development in the context of socio-political and cultural processes in the region of Latgale and on the role of newspapers in the creation of regional identity. Within LL studies, she focuses on commercial discourse, e.g. in spatial advertisements.

Solvita Pošeiko is a PhD student of Linguistics at the University of Latvia (Riga) and a researcher at Rēzekne University College (Latvia). Her scientific research interests focus on a comprehensive study of cityscapes (linguistic, semiotic, cultural landscapes) in Latvia and neighbouring states, on an analysis and interpretation of the role and meaning of language in shaping, sensing, and presenting individual and collective identities in various types of texts (interviews, questionnaires, blogs, language signs), and on interactive possibilities to learn languages and issues about language. Her PhD project deals with linguistic landscape research in the countries of the Baltic Sea Region.

Mariana Ribeiro Clemente has a degree in Primary School Education (2005-2009) and won the award for best finalist in 2009. She attended the curricular year of the Master in Didactics – Sciences for Kindergarten, Primary and Middle School teachers (2009-2010). Currently, she is a PhD student in Education at the University of Aveiro (Portugal). This study is being developed along with other studies at LALE (Opened Laboratory for Foreign Language Learning), LEDUC (Open Laboratory for Education in Sciences) at the department's research centre, CIDTFF.
Daniel M. Sáez Rivera has taught from 2003 to 2010 Hispanic Linguistics and Applied Linguistics in the School of Translation and Interpretation, Complutense University of Madrid, but since October 2010 he has been Assistant Professor in the Department of Spanish at the same University. His research focuses on several aspects of the morphosyntactic and pragmatical evolution of Spanish, History of Linguistics (especially the history of Spanish grammar and teaching methods of Spanish as a foreign language) and different issues of historical and present-day sociolinguistics, mainly language contact and interference.

Corinne A. Seals is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Linguistics at George-town University in Washington, DC. Her primary research involves issues of multilingual identity development and shift, particularly amongst people of Ukrainian background. She is also interested in issues of language and power, especially when they include minority communities, be it in language, gender, sexuality, or nationality. She has publications available or forthcoming in each of these areas. In 2011 she co-coordinated the Georgetown University Linguistic Landscape Symposium, the first linguistic landscapes conference in North America.

Philip Seargeant is Lecturer in Applied Linguistics in the Centre for Language and Communication, The Open University. He is author of The idea of English in Japan: ideology and the evolution of a global language (2009), and editor of English in Japan in the era of globalization (forthcoming). He has also published several articles in journals such as Language Policy, World Englishes, Language Sciences, and Language & Communication.

Elana Shohamy is a professor and chair of the language education program at the school of education, Tel Aviv University where she teaches and researches multiple issues related to multilingualism: linguistic landscape, language policy, testing and migration. She has recently edited two volumes on Linguistic landscape respectively with Durk Gorster (Routledge, 2009) and Eliezer Ben Raphael and Monica Barni (Multilingual Matters, 2010).


Aura Mor-Sommerfeld lectures and researches on issues of language, education and social studies in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Haifa. In previous years she headed the Programme for Bilingual Education at the University's Jewish-Arab Center. As an educational sociologist, she has writ-
ten and published on bilingual education from a socio-political viewpoint, especially in areas of conflict. For many years she has cooperated with Jewish-Israeli and Arab-Palestinians organizations to develop mutual relationships in a variety of disciplines, in particular in education.

Massimo Vedovelli is a full professor in Educational Linguistics at the University for Foreigners in Siena, where he has been Rector since 2004. He was Director of the Certification of Italian as a Foreign Language Centre (CILS) and Director of the Centre of Excellence for Research “Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian Language among Foreigners and of Immigrant Languages in Italy”. He has taught at the University of Calabria, Rome “La Sapienza”, Pavia. He is an honorary member of the AATI, American Association of Teachers of Italian.

Shoshi Waksman is a lecturer at the Levinsky College of Education and Kibbutzim College of Education. Her main interests are pedagogical, social and political aspects of literacy and specifically multimodal meaning construction in the context of Linguistic Landscape studies.

Hirut Woldemariam is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. Her focal area of research has been descriptive linguistics, historical-comparative linguistics, and sociolinguistics. Her research focuses on Omotic languages of Ethiopia and her research interest includes: language ideology and linguistic landscape in Ethiopia; The challenges of mother tongue education in Ethiopia; Participant Marking in Haro; Historical notes on numerals in Ometo: The obsolete quinary system; Some aspects of the phonology and morphology of Dawuro.
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