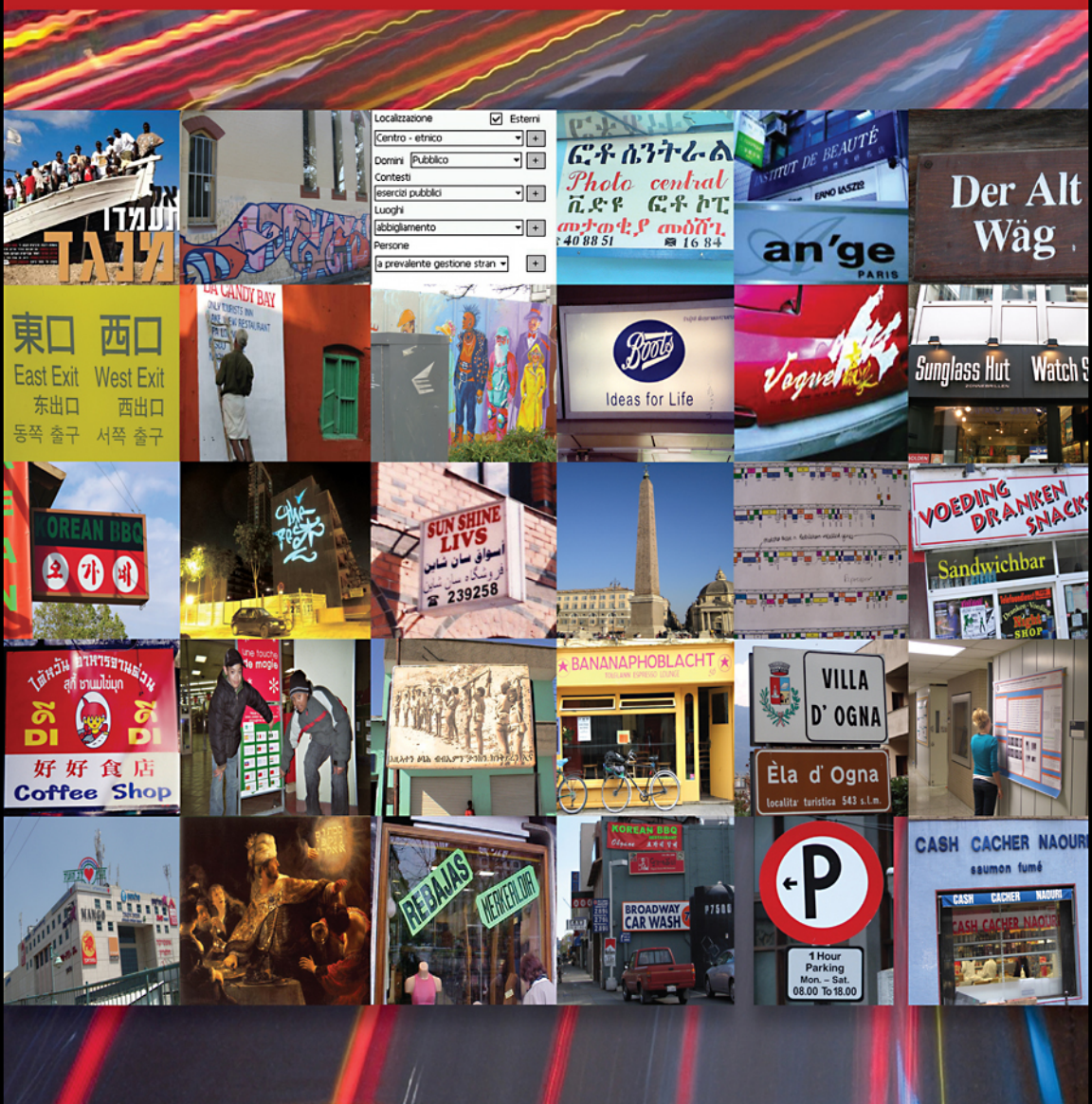


Linguistic Landscape

Expanding the Scenery



Edited by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

“Linguistic Landscape charts new territory by expanding the methodological, theoretical, and empirical boundaries of the field. It is essential reading for all interested in this rapidly growing area of research.”

Kendall King, Associate Professor of Linguistics, Georgetown University, USA

“This book is a substantial expansion of the framework for studies of ‘linguistic landscape’. Only a decade after its coinage, the term is becoming a major focus of sociolinguistics, attracting myriad theoretical and methodological approaches and revealing manifold practical and political implications. It is the wealth of aspects and contexts as well as the multitude of research perspectives which makes this volume extremely rewarding reading for the expert as well as the student or the language planning and policy practitioner.”

Ulrich Ammon, Professor of Sociolinguistics, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany

In this comprehensive and pioneering volume, language scholars from around the world examine the “linguistic landscape” from multiple perspectives—theoretical, methodological, and critical. Written by widely recognized experts, the articles in *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery* analyze linguistic landscapes in a range of international contexts. Dozens of photographs illustrate the use of language in the environment—the words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces. Suitable for graduate or advanced undergraduate students in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language policy studies, *Linguistic Landscape* is a vital contribution to a burgeoning field.

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*Edited by
Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter*

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CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------|
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | viii |
| Introduction ELANA SHOHAMY AND DURK GORTER | 1 |
| PART I | |
| Theoretical Perspectives | 11 |
| 1 Linguistic Landscaping and the Seed of the Public Sphere FLORIAN COULMAS | 13 |
| 2 Prolegomena to a Sociolinguistic Theory of Public Signage BERNARD SPOLSKY | 25 |
| 3 A Sociological Approach to the Study of Linguistic Landscapes ELIEZER BEN-RAFAEL | 40 |
| 4 Language Economy and Linguistic Landscape JASONE CENOZ AND DURK GORTER | 55 |
| 5 A Framework for the Linguistic Analysis of Linguistic Landscapes THOM HUEBNER | 70 |
| 6 Language Ecology and Linguistic Landscape Analysis FRANCIS M. HULT | 88 |

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| PART II | |
| Methodological Issues | 105 |
| 7 Authorship in the Linguistic Landscape: A Multimodal-Performative View | 107 |
| DAVID MALINOWSKI | |
| 8 A Mapping Technique and the Linguistic Landscape | 126 |
| MONICA BARNI AND CARLA BAGNA | |
| 9 What's in a Name? Classification of Proper Names by Language | 141 |
| LOULOU EDELMAN | |
| PART III | |
| Language Policy Issues | 155 |
| 10 Rules and Regulations in Linguistic Landscaping: A Comparative Perspective | 157 |
| PETER BACKHAUS | |
| 11 State Ideology and Linguistic Landscape: A Comparative Analysis of (Post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia | 173 |
| MARIÁN SLOBODA | |
| 12 Language Ideology and Linguistic Landscape: Language Policy and Globalization in a Regional Capital of Ethiopia | 189 |
| ELIZABETH LANZA AND HIRUT WOLDEMARIAM | |
| 13 Local Policy Modeling the Linguistic Landscape | 206 |
| SILVIA DAL NEGRO | |
| PART IV | |
| Identity and Awareness | 219 |
| 14 Languages on Display: Indexical Signs, Identities and the Linguistic Landscape of Taipei | 221 |
| MELISSA L. CURTIN | |

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|------------|
| 15 Constructing National Identity in Mixed Cities in Israel: Arabic on Signs in the Public Space of Upper Nazareth | 238 |
| NIRA TRUMPER-HECHT | |
| 16 Linguistic Landscape and Language Awareness | 253 |
| DIANE DAGENAIS, DANIELE MOORE, CÉCILE SABATIER, PATRICIA LAMARRE AND FRANÇOISE ARMAND | |
| 17 Tourism and Representation in the Irish Linguistic Landscape | 270 |
| JEFFREY KALLEN | |
| PART V | |
| Extensions and the Way Forward | 285 |
| 18 Science and the Linguistic Landscape: A Genre Analysis of Representational Wall Space in a Microbiology Laboratory | 287 |
| DAVID I. HANAUER | |
| 19 Linguistic Landscapes and the Transgressive Semiotics of Graffiti | 302 |
| ALASTAIR PENNYCOOK | |
| 20 Linguistic Landscape as an Ecological Arena: Modalities, Meanings, Negotiations, Education | 313 |
| ELANA SHOHAMY AND SHOSHI WAKSMAN | |
| <i>Notes on Contributors</i> | 332 |
| <i>Index</i> | 340 |

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INTRODUCTION

Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter

It is the attention to language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces, that is the center of attention in this rapidly growing area referred to as *linguistic landscape* (LL). While language is used by people, spoken and heard, it is also represented and displayed; at times for functional reasons, at others for symbolic purposes. Language in spaces and places is calling for the attention of researchers and scholars who attempt to study and interpret its meaning, messages, purposes and contexts. Such language, that can be found everywhere, is closely related to people as they are the ones producing it and who choose the ways to represent and display it in diverse spaces. People are the ones who hang the signs, display posters, design advertisements, write instructions and create websites. It is also people who read, attend, decipher and interpret these language displays, or at times, choose to overlook, ignore or erase them.

LL touches various fields and attracts scholars from a variety of different and tangent disciplines: from linguistics to geography, education, sociology, politics, environmental studies, semiotics, communication, architecture, urban planning, literacy, applied linguists, and economics; they are interested in understanding the deeper meanings and messages conveyed in language in places and spaces. LL items (whatever ways they are defined) offer rich and stimulating texts on multiple levels—single words with deep meanings and shared knowledge, colorful images, sounds and moving objects and infinite creative representations. These displays shape the ecology in local, global and transnational contexts and in multiple languages. The fast emerging virtual spaces, the internet and cyber spaces introduce a whole new dimension of these displays, open to all everywhere and anywhere, without the need to physically be present, whatever “physical presence” means in the current era. Technology is therefore playing a major role in the growing attention to representations in public spaces given the variety of facilities for documentation feasible nowadays with digital cameras and devices, widely available and accessible.

Within this widespread availability and attention to language in the various spaces, many questions arise: What is LL really? Does it refer to language

only or to additional things which are present around us: images, sounds, buildings, clothes or even people? Can these even be separated from one another? What is public and what is private, in this day and age? How are signs, and people, and languages connected? What role does LL play in policy-making and what effects does it have on *de facto* language practices? What kind of reality does LL create and shape? What motivates people to display language? How do people value LL? What messages are being delivered to passers-by? Which types of language(s) are being created in the public space? How do images and all other representations interact? How different is the spoken/heard language than the “represented” variety? How do readers and passers-by interpret LL? What are the applications of LL to education, to learning, to societies? What role should people take about the language displayed in public spaces? How can LL be interpreted within existing theories or perhaps create new ones of linguistic ecology, and space? And finally, what does the study of LL in its many perspectives add to our understanding of language, society and people? Once the box of language in spaces has opened, endless opportunities for its use are available as infinite ways of “seeing” come forth.

These types of questions are being addressed in emerging research, publications, a growing number of journal articles, several colloquia held in conferences as well as a conference held in Tel Aviv devoted exclusively to LL, where many of the chapters of this book were presented. Thus, new energy has been introduced into the domain of LL since the seminal work of Landry and Bourhis (1997) who drew our attention to language in the public space as a major indication of language attitudes and where the term “Linguistic Landscape” was used. They showed us how LL is a most important indicator capable of providing relevant information about societies, vitality and the inter-relationship of groups, especially in linguistic contested regions. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) drew our attention to language in the Old city of Jerusalem where LL items were used within sociolinguistic and historical dimensions for studying communities and neighborhoods. Whether the study of LL as a separate domain offers a new and unique area of study and a different way of understanding phenomena is still an open and challenging question. As of now it offers a new object of attention, observation, analyses and interpretation with a special focus on the ecology and its linguistic manifestations.

For those working in this area, the language that can be found in cities, indoor markets and outdoor shopping centers, shops, schools, offices of government and big corporations, moving buses, campuses, beaches and the cyber space are important data that need to be studied; it is the absence of languages in some of these places that is of further interest especially in areas which are politically and socially contested. Researchers in this domain assume that language in the environment is not arbitrary and random in the same way that researchers in language learning do not view the phenomenon

as random; rather there is a goal to understand the system, the messages it delivers or could deliver, about societies, people, the economy, policy, class, identities, multilingualism, multimodalities, forms of representation and additional phenomena.

In the earlier work in LL, we noted that the public space offered new and exciting ideas, it showed us that examining language in public space provides different information about multilingualism, it showed us that it often defies formal and explicit policies, that new words are continuously being invented in public spaces, hybrids and fusions of local and global varieties and constantly create new ones to communicate with passers-by. We learned 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. We realized that the choice of languages is motivated by stereotypes of readers, of what policy-makers think of them as they construct people as *lingua persona*. We started looking at “bottom-up” and “top-down”, those which are posted by private people, i.e. shop keepers versus those introduced by governments and big corporations. We discovered new ways of manipulating language as different patterns emerged and interact. By observing the language in space, especially in the cyber space we discovered that a linguistic revolution is taking place, one that includes “talking back” to set linguistic procedures allowing mixtures of languages, new linguistic rules, new spellings, new syntax, inventions of words combined with additional representations, those of sounds and images, and all displayed publicly.

Ample theories have been developed on language use by people, how they acquire it, what type of language emerges but not very much attention has been given to the effect of language displayed in public texts as sources for language learning. At the same time, it is very clear that little children start noticing signs in the public space at a very early age. Immigrants or tourists coming to new places are drawn to signs as the primary encounters with new cultures in new places, trying to make sense of places, what they mean and which messages they convey. They try to connect these to signs, to the languages they are familiar with and thus interpret new environments. For many the public space is their first encounter with a new place. Ideologues and politicians tend to see the public space as the arena to exercise influence and deliver messages and corporations see the public space as a domain for marketing and advertising with huge financial interests at stake. LL therefore offers a rich domain of “real life”, authentic language in very dynamic and energetic uses.

This is in essence the main focus of this very book. It put its emphasis on “expanding the scenery” of LL beyond the initial writings, of introducing broader and more diverse views of LL, raising ample questions, providing some answers and initial hypotheses based on actual research and data. It observes LL from broad theoretical and methodological perspectives to help

us understand the phenomena in the context of multiple theories and in various locations in a dynamic and changing world. It provides us with new and advanced methodologic approaches to better document and understand the public space; it contextualizes the public space within issues of identity and language policy of nations, political and social conflicts. It posits that LL is a broader concept than documentation of signs; it incorporates multimodal theories to include also sounds, images, and graffiti. It claims that LL is not a neutral phenomenon but needs to be contextualized in a contested sphere of the “free” space that “belongs to all”; it thus carries with it major responsibilities as to its meanings, shapes and forms. Finally, it argues that LL has a major role to take in activism in the domains of education and critical thinking. The authors of this volume attempt to address many of these issues, to uncover and discover expanded dimensions of LL, in terms of theory, research, documentation, and applications; from issues of history, personal and group identities to domains of language policy and education; some authors are critical of current definitions of LL and wish to broaden its definitions incorporating multi-modalities and apply LL to education, learning, critical thinking and political activism. This book therefore is an attempt to take LL further, to gain a deeper understanding by examining its relationships to and connections with a variety of tangent fields, in a number of ways.

In more specific terms, each of the chapters puts forward the following points:

In **Part I** the first set of chapters introduce LL within multiple *Theoretical Perspectives*. It includes six chapters with different theoretical approaches to the study of the LL, be it historical, sociological, economic, ecological or more focally sociolinguistic.

The opening chapter by Coulmas informs us about the functions that written words displayed publicly conveyed in an historical perspective. He shows that linguistic landscaping is as old as writing. The beginning of writing, he argues, coincided with urbanization, which is the origin of the public sphere, a concept he relates to the work of Habermas. He looks at five famous ancient inscriptions. The oldest inscription is the Codex Hammurabi from Babylon; the others are the Rosetta Stone, the Behistun trilingual inscription, the Menetekel-parsin, the calligraphy on the Taj Mahal and the obelisks from Egypt. All these landmarks are related to issues of readership and are a defining feature of city life.

Spolsky starts out, in his contribution, with a critical summary of earlier studies of public signage, thus clarifying some conceptual issues as he discusses the problem of the state of literacy in the various languages, which can explain why a language is written (or not) in the LL. He goes on to examine the problem of agency: the process by which signs are produced. He continues to propose a theory of language choice for the study of signs that fits with his own theory of language management.

The sociological approach taken by Ben-Rafael comes from applying existing theories to LL. For him, language facts are “social facts” which can be related to general social phenomena. Similar to Coulmas he focuses on the concept of public sphere. LL constitutes the decorum of the public space, together with the architecture and the passers-by. The formation of the LL is a structuration process based on different sociological principles: the presentation of self as introduced by Goffman; the good reasons perspective involving calculation of alternatives as theorized by Boudon; the principle of collective identity, and finally, the perspective of power relations as presented by Bourdieu, along with Lefebvre’s view of LL as a *décor* of spaces.

Cenoz and Gorter bring an economic perspective to LL. They point out how the LL can be connected to theories of linguistic diversity and to the economy of language research as an emerging field. They propose the use of the Contingent Valuation Method, a procedure that has been applied previously in the study of environmental economics. Applying this method to LL research and theory can determine its economic value by focusing on non-market values. Their attempt is an approximation that can be further developed and changed as it is applied to other areas in the study of multilingualism and language diversity.

Huebner, in his chapter, contextualizes LL within theories of sociolinguistics as manifested by the SPEAKING model of Hymes in order to discuss the problem of the unit of analysis of a sign in terms of “genre,” a concept that is also used later by Hanauer. He then focuses on the immediate context of a sign, the authors of the sign and the passers-by as well as “place.” Huebner concludes that LL research has to pay attention to the linguistic forms in their context because of the motivations and reactions of those who are affected by them.

In his contribution, Hult contextualizes LL within the theory of the ecology of language. This is another theoretical approach, of which he discusses the core principles. Aspects of multilingualism are mapped through individual language choices in their social environment. LL analysis and nexus analysis (as proposed by Scollon and Scollon) can be used in conjunction to serve ecological research about multilingualism. He illustrates the use of these methodologies by applying them to data collected in a larger study on multilingualism and language policy in the city of Malmö in Sweden.

These chapters are clearly just a beginning of an attempt of a number of scholars to explore and relate LL to a variety of theories. Given that it falls in the midst of a number of disciplines it therefore calls for multiple theories.

In **Part II** different *Methodological Issues* are addressed. The field of LL is expanded further by examining the diverse methodologies researchers in the field use both to collect as well as to analyze LL data.

Malinowski, in his contribution, introduces theories and methods of multimodality as appropriate for this type of research when he examines the

issue of authorship. He poses questions about who are the people that put up the signs and what motivates them to choose specific language? His focus is on the symbolic and political significance of a particular linguistic code's appearance with other codes in bilingual signs. He uses data collected among Korean American business owners in Oakland, California to discuss it as a general phenomenon in the light of theories of performativity and multimodality. It is clear from this chapter that the author of signs appear as a complex, dispersed entity who is only somewhat in control of the meanings that are read from his or her written "utterances".

Barni and Bagna teach us about a comprehensive and unique method of documentation and mapping using a sophisticated computer program borrowed from the field of geography. They provide a detailed description of a research tool, entitled *MapGeoLing*, they used in a study of LL in different cities and regions of Italy as well as for the study of "Italianisms" in 21 different countries. The software has the built-in possibility of adding different codes to the picture about the text genre, the domain of use and the context, as well as the linguistic features of the text of the signs.

In the final section of Part II, Edelman focuses on ways of classification of LL data. She discusses the issue of proper names by analyzing the LL of shopping streets of different neighborhoods in the city of Amsterdam. She shows that proper names constitute a substantial part of the items in the LL. Further, she also calls attention to the way names are taken into account in the analysis makes a difference in terms of different levels of multilingualism.

The connection of LL with language policy is a natural one, given that LL refers to language in public spaces, open, exposed and shared by all. Thus, **Part III** contains four chapters that revolve around how *Language Policy Issues* affect the LL. The chapters by Backhaus, Sloboda, Lanza and Woldemariam, and Dal Negro expand LL in that direction by demonstrating the inter-relationships of language policy and LL by focusing on a number of case studies about Canada, Japan, Belarus, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Ethiopia, and Italy, seeing how the two fields are related.

In his contribution, Backhaus provides a contrasting analysis of rules and regulations taken by the government of the province of Quebec, Canada regarding the use of French in comparison to the city authorities of Tokyo, Japan regarding the use of English and other foreign languages. These two cases can be considered to be in two opposite poles in the broad spectrum of LL policies that exist worldwide. He reveals that though linguistic landscaping in Tokyo and Quebec represent different contexts, they are very similar in form. The hypothesis that can be drawn is that rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping commonly address both status and corpus planning issues.

In the next chapter, Sloboda points out the dialectical relationship between LL and state ideology in a comparative analysis of Belarus, Czech Republic,

and Slovakia; countries which have recently undergone substantial transformations. He focuses on the ways in which the state ideology mobilizes landscape objects, the development of LL corridors and genres, individual genre features, simultaneous layering in (co-)signs, the authors of state ideology, orthopraxy versus transgressivity, and orthodoxy versus resistance. He shows how the state takes the role of a mediator between the local and the global. Thus the openness in the state ideology as opposed to inward looking has significant consequences for a country's LL.

Lanza and Woldemariam in the following chapter also address issues of language ideology and LL. They study the LL in the regional capital of Mekele in Ethiopia, where three languages are in use: Tigrinya, the official regional language; Amharic, the national working language, and English. The challenge in analyzing the LL of an area in the light of language ideology is to understand the interplay between the language user's choices as a result of his/her conditioned view of the world through *habitus* or as a result of a rational actor's calculations as Tigrinya, Amharic, and English compete in the public space. The display of certain languages and the lack of others provide a clear ideological message as to the value, relevance and priority of the languages.

Dal Negro in her contribution studies the LL from a narrower language policy perspective which she applies to the rural context of three small mountain villages in the North of Italy. The sociolinguistic context and the local language policy have an influence on the way Italian, German and the local dialect varieties of German, are used in the LL. In the province of South Tyrol the language policy dictates the use of (standard) German, which leads to the occurrence of many bilingual German-Italian signs. However, in the German speech islands outside South Tyrol, the local dialect is used more often to reflect traditions and "uniqueness."

The four chapters in **Part IV** of the book deal in different ways with aspects of *Identity and Awareness*. Data and research on LL is further expanded by viewing it as language that is representing individual, collective, and national identities.

Curtin, in her chapter, explores this dimension along the lines of collective national identity. She focuses on the relationship between identity and properties of indexicality of language scripts in the public space of Taipei, the capital of a rapidly changing Taiwan. There are intense public discussions regarding ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political, and (trans)national identities which are evidenced in competing systems of Romanization of Chinese in official signage. Additionally, as Taipei becomes increasingly internationalized, certain areas of the LL exhibit displays of several non-Chinese languages. Former group identities are being challenged and new ones are unfolding; throughout this process, notions of "Chinese-ness" versus "Taiwanese-ness" are being interrogated as to their political, historical, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, socioeconomic, and even geographic import. Thus, the LL is *experienced* as an important part of the fluid processes of identification.

In the next chapter Trumper-Hecht shows us how contested LL can be in areas of strong political conflicts and controversy, such as a mixed town of Jews and Arabs in Israel. She centers her discussion on the LL of the mixed city of Upper Nazareth, Israel. She analyzes the legal battles for the representation of Arabic on public signs and on private signs in the city's mall. Her case shows how through language, as represented in LL, Jews and Arabs construct their respective national identities and define the national identity of the public space they share. From the analysis of the LL emerges a pattern of a non-dialogical relationship between groups of Jews of Arabs, living together but very much separately. In that case, the presence of LL in the public space is a source of dispute as groups view it as recognition of the existence of the collective identity.

The contribution by Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, and Armand outlines a study where elementary school students document their contacts with a variety of languages in their communities. These authors expand the scenery of LL studies by going into educational settings. They describe how the children co-construct representations of languages, language speakers and language learning through language awareness activities. The study suggests that attending to the LL in language awareness activities provides a promising avenue for teaching about language diversity and literacy practices from a critical perspective. They show that LL is a powerful educational tool in the socially and politically loaded area of Quebec as well as in diverse Vancouver. Children can study LL in public space to gain further understanding of the sociopolitical context where they live.

In his chapter, Kallen expands LL by showing how it is used as a method for attracting tourists and exposition of the national identity of Ireland. He takes tourism as a point of departure for an analysis of LL as a mode of discourse. He considers signage from a pragmatic perspective as a speech act. The tourist will perceive the signs as addressee, as audience or as eavesdropper. Signs that are placed in anticipation of tourists are placed to fulfill the needs of authentic experience, to feel secure, to break away from normal routine or to create a memory of travel. These concepts are applied in "an Irish walkabout" of the LL of four urban areas in the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland.

The last section of the book expands the notion of LL by proposing to broaden the field far beyond its current genres and sample of "signs" in public space. **Part V** is about *Extensions and the Way Forward* for LL research. The chapters propose to go beyond the signs in streets, into laboratory and into graffiti as signs from a specific sub-culture. The book ends with new challenges for LL studies from a perspective of multimodality, multilingualism and activism, expanding LL to everything in the public space, including people.

For Hanauer, LL consists of language posted in various places of a microbiology laboratory. It is an educational context because the laboratory is

part of a project where high school and undergraduate students are integrated in the process of learning microbiological inquiry. Wall space is used for two specific functions: first, facilitating a flow of knowledge throughout the laboratory and second, enhancing the procedural aspects of conducting scientific inquiry.

He uses genre analysis and multimodalities analyses to show how this type of LL can promote scientific and educational aims of learning, reflecting collective knowledge and its dissemination.

LL is further expanded by Pennycook who focuses on graffiti and how it is interpreted as part of a transgressive semiotics in a global world flow. By using graffiti, a hybrid form of text and picture, he raises significant questions about why some signs have more importance than others; how and why signs are made; how they are read and interpreted; and how different linguistic resources are used. Graffiti is not only illegal (in most cases), it also is about production; about learning skills; about style and identity; as well as different ways of claiming space. He suggests a more dynamic account of space, text and their interaction, thus landscaping and languaging become interactive and energetic processes.

In the last chapter, Shohamy and Waksman provide a radically broader view of LL that includes all that exists in the public space, even people; they then show how these types of LL can be used as multilingual and multimodal analyses and applied for contestation, education and activism. Their initial question is “What can be considered LL?” They argue for an inclusive view of LL as *all* texts situated in a changing public space. Thus they go beyond “written” texts of signs and include verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings. They incorporate various theories of multimodalities and multilingualism, discourse analysis and genres to interpret these types of LL texts. They claim that public space is not neutral but rather a negotiated and contested arena; as such they argue for the use of LL as an educational tool for language learning and for interpreting political and social issues, especially in contested societies. They analyze one specific LL site, the *Haapala*, in Tel Aviv, Israel using multimodal/multilingual methods pointing to the different LL sources of meaning. The *Haapala* LL site could be used as a resource for in-depth learning about cultural and historical meanings, and lead to activism. The site demonstrates the unlimited boundaries of the field of LL studies over time and spaces.

These are the expansions introduced into the field of LL in this book. In spite of its expansion incorporating a variety of other fields, documenting LL in many locations and giving it multiple interpretations, the feeling among researchers working in this area is that the work has only just begun. As the ecology is becoming a domain that linguists are beginning to incorporate into their fields of study, as it is beginning to be viewed as an integral component of what is meant by applied linguistics in a multilingual and multimodal world, as technology is becoming so much more accessible

for collecting and analyzing data, this area of research is obtaining more attention and focus; it is sure to be getting more attention in the years to come with many of questions still open, in need for further data, theories and useful implications and applications of languages, in its different forms, in spaces and places of different shapes.

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Part I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING AND THE SEED OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Florian Coulmas

Introduction

Linguistic landscaping is as old as writing. For all we know, writing was communicative rather than private from its inception (Harris 1986; Coulmas 2003), and some of its earliest functions are bound to public display. Property marks, brands and border stones, for example, speak to all members of a relevant community. Monumental inscriptions, too, appear early in all literate cultures. In the modern sense of the word, ancient civilizations were not (fully) literate, because in antiquity the art of writing was confined to a scholarly elite rather than being a basic qualification for full participation in society (Goody 1987). Yet, even when writing was a specialized skill and literacy restricted, the exhibition of visible language marked a fundamental change in the human habitat. It changed the way people saw the world, it changed their worldview, it changed their attitude towards and awareness of language, and in many ways it changed the organization of society.

The origin of writing coincided with urbanization, that is, the emergence of complex forms of social organization in cities and economic activity that produces a surplus beyond subsistence (Falkenstein 1954). That was not coincidental; rather one stimulated the other. The first text put on view in open space was the seed of the public sphere, defined by Habermas (1991: 176) as a virtual or imaginary community “made up of private people gathered together as a public and articulating the needs of society with the state.” Of course, early writing did not yet constitute the public sphere which Habermas sees emerging only in the eighteenth century in the wake of more widespread literacy, a higher degree of individual autonomy, rule of law, a press, and generally a higher quality of participation by members of society. But it was the seed of the public sphere which was in the making for many centuries. Although writing was not the sole cause of the features just mentioned, it is hard to imagine their coming into existence without writing. For writing both individualizes and socializes. On the one hand, it forces each member

of the citizen body to recognize the written word to appeal individually to him or her, and on the other, it creates a community of those it appeals to. At the same time, writing by dissociating the word from its speaker creates abstract authorship, that is, authority helping officialdom to constitute itself and solidify its power.

Writing is the origin of the public sphere in yet another sense. In antiquity, both social and grammatological factors made literacy an arena of specialists. On the one hand, lack of economic resources did not allow freeing a large segment of the population from labor for schooling. And on the other hand, the involved nature of early writing systems also stood in the way of mass literacy. Yet, even under these circumstances, writing on open display holds the potential of its acquisition by the uninitiated. It is a genie let out of the bottle. In the long run it cannot be controlled, although it can take a long time for the masses to appropriate it. Writing embodies the dialectics of power and resistance. A potent tool to secure institutional authority, it can also be turned against the powers that be and challenge authority. If linguistic landscape is to be established as a legitimate field of sociolinguistic inquiry, this two-fold potential of writing in public places has to be dealt with.

As a modern research domain, linguistic landscape (LL) is the study of writing on display in the public sphere. While the public sphere in Habermas' sense does not necessarily refer to an identifiable space, it presupposes an urbanized society. By the same token, LL research is typically focussed on *urban* environments. Linguistic *landscape* is really linguistic *cityscape*, especially in multilingual settings. All pioneering studies are about cities: Brussels (Tulp 1978), Montreal (Landry and Bourhis 1997), Jerusalem (Spolsky and Cooper 1991), Paris and Dakar (Calvet 1994), among others.¹ Significantly, it was in cities that writing evolved and unfolded its full potential, because complex forms of co-existence and interaction require forms of expression and communication freed from the limitations that come with the volatility of speech.

Sociolinguistics, too, is the study of language in urbanized settings, its proper object being the multidimensional distribution of languages and varieties in the city, as opposed to the regional distribution of varieties of language investigated in traditional dialectology. Linguistic landscape is a fertile field of sociolinguistic investigation, both in the narrow sense of seeking correlations and co-variation of language use and social class, and in the wider sense of unveiling the nexus between language and other social attributes such as religion, ethnicity, nationality and race. Thus, it is on cities that LL research must be focussed. Let us consider then some prominent landmarks of former times.

Elements of the Linguistic Landscape

First, a word would be useful about what we look at. What are the elements of the linguistic landscape? Various answers have been proposed. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) identify “public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” as the elements that form the LL. Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 71) take as their unit of analysis any establishment that displays language signs, while Backhaus (2006: 56) focuses on “any piece of written text within a definable frame.” All of these methodological decisions are selective and well-founded. The study of the historical LL cannot be so selective, since it must make do with what is left, that is, inscriptions that have survived from the past. Who produced them? Where were they set up? What were their functions? These are three heuristic questions to guide our inspection of some landmarks.

The Codex Hammurabi

One of the treasures of the Louvre in Paris is a stela of black diorite that is 3,700 years old (Color Figure 1.1). It is inscribed with the Codex Hammurabi in the Old Babylonian language in cuneiform script. Hammurabi, the king in whose name it was issued ca. 1700 BCE, ruled from 1728 to 1685 BCE over the world’s first metropolis, Babylon. The set of laws the Code encompasses is one of his most remarkable legacies. Although not the oldest codified law, the Codex Hammurabi is the earliest known example of an entire body of law made public by a ruler to his people. It was an outstanding part of Babylon’s rich linguistic landscape. The shining black stone monument stands 8 feet tall showing on its upper half an image of the king praying in front of Sharmash, the divine guarantor of the law. The lower part bears the inscription of the 282 Articles of Law, chiselled into the stone in exquisitely clear writing.

Turning to our first question: Who produced it? The Codex Hammurabi marks the high point rather than the beginning of a literate culture. It was redacted on order of the king, written by scholars with a thorough knowledge of the litigious habitude and customs of the land, and cut in stone by highly skilled artisans. The masons were working in specialized fields, sculptors cutting the images and scribes incising the text. The stone slab that can be viewed in the Louvre today is a polished piece of work, an artefact that testifies to a high degree of division of labor typical of city life. Only a coordinated group of professionals each being in charge of a specific step in the process from conceptual planning through design and redaction to physical realization could produce it.

Where was the stela set up? The monument was intended to be reared in public view. The Codex Hammurabi was not discovered in Babylon, but in a

Persian city to which conquerors of a later period had carried it. But it can be concluded from other examples of laws inscribed on stelae that were excavated in Mesopotamian cities, that it was erected in a conspicuous place in front of the palace or temple in the city center where people would pass and assemble in large numbers. Wherever the exact location, it was placed in public view to be seen and read by anyone who could read. How large a part of the citizenry of Babylon was able to read we do not know, but it must have been sufficiently large to make the exercise worthwhile.

What functions did the Codex Hammurabi serve? The Code is a state law that regulates in clear and definite terms the organization of society. Without going into the specific legal norms, it can be said that by writing the laws on stone, they were made immutable and protected from arbitrary abuse. The stela functioned both as an exhortation to obey the law and as an assurance of justice that everyone can invoke. By being put on open display, the law was separated both from the norm-giver and from the judge. The inscribed stone became the law which was detached from justice and execution. The “letter of the law” thus acquired an authority in its own right. The stela literally embodied the law and with it the possibility of and call for justice. As a centerpiece of the metropolitan LL the Code is an early example of the objectification of law, and thus a first step of creating a public sphere. In addition to establishing a standard for behavior to be observed by all, it also provided one for the Babylonian language, exemplifying the close conceptual relationship between grammar and law.

Every piece of writing is polifunctional, but often one function predominates. The most noteworthy function of the Codex Hammurabi stela is regulatory and directive stipulating behavioral norms as well as the sanctions to enforce them. From other collections of laws from Mesopotamian cities, such as the codes of Ur-Nammu (ca.2050 BCE) and the codes of Lipit-Ishtar (ca.1890 BCE), we know that this function was associated with writing early on. What distinguishes the Codex Hammurabi is that it publicly displays the law in its entirety.

The Rosetta Stone

Another landmark of the LL of antiquity is the Rosetta Stone, discovered by François Xavier Bouchard, an officer of Napoleon’s Egyptian expedition corps, and, to his everlasting glory, successfully applied to the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs by François Champollion (Parkinson 1999) (Color Figure 1.2). Kept in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum, this most celebrated piece of ancient writing is a fragment of a large black stela inscribed with a priestly decree concerning the cult of King Ptolemy V Epiphanes, issued on 27 March 196 BCE. The city of Sais in the delta of the Nile is thought to be where the stela was originally set up. The place at the coast where it was found, called “Rosetta” by Europeans, did not exist in Ptolemaic Egypt.

Who produced the Rosetta Stone? Like the Hammurabi stela, the Rosetta Stone was created by skilled artisans on the basis of texts and designs provided by highly educated specialists. Again, it is not known how large a section of the population was literate, but it is evident that writing in public places was overwhelmingly important in Egypt and had been so for two millennia at the time the Rosetta Stone was inscribed. Those who redacted the text and incised it into the smoothed surface of the stone were highly regarded and suffered no want of anything. They were the architects of what was the most splendid LL of antiquity. In Egyptian cities, monumental inscriptions were everywhere. Many of the pillars, mural reliefs and sculptures that have come down to us have lost nothing of their grandeur and visual beauty. Their inscriptions are as clear and awe-inspiring as they were two or three millennia ago.

Where was the Rosetta Stone set up? The text on the Stone provides the answer to this question. It states that it was to be placed in a temple “besides the statue of the Dual King Ptolemy” worshipped there. “The stela was positioned against a wall in the outer area of a temple” (Parkinson 1999: 28). The text was clearly legible, although it required the reader to step in front of it the letters being quite small. The temple was the center of social life and the seat of power of the King-Pharaoh where people high and low came passing by constantly.

What functions did the Rosetta Stone serve? A large portion of ancient Egyptian records are connected with cult. Temple walls and pillars are covered with magnificent hieroglyphic inscriptions as are tombs, statues and other edifices. Royal decrees commanding reverence were common. They were meant for eternity, stone being a virtually indestructible surface (Assmann 1991). These monumental inscriptions exhibit very little change in style over a period of more than two millennia from the time they first appeared until the Egyptian tradition was discontinued. The Rosetta Stone dates from the late period of Egyptian civilization which was subject to contact with and intrusion of other mighty empires, notably the Achaemenid Persians and Macedonian Greeks. It was created in times as unsettled as those in which it was unearthed by French soldiers.

The Ptolemaic dynasty was Macedonian. Alexandria, a cultural center of the ancient world, was a multilingual Greek city attracting merchants, scholars, and artists from around the Mediterranean. Greek was the official language of the court and government, while Egyptian was used in the temples, the strongholds of tradition. Easing the tensions between ruler and ruled was a challenge for the administration. The decade preceding the coronation of Ptolemy V was marked by unrest and rebellions motivated partly by resentment against Greek rule. The decree on the Rosetta Stone bears witness to these tensions. It describes Ptolemy V, then just 13 years old, as restoring order and making Egypt perfect. This is in keeping with a traditional pattern of royal decrees, but a special feature was that it was given in

two languages and three scripts: Egyptian rendered in the formal hieroglyphic on top and the cursive demotic underneath, and Greek in the alphabet that had been in use since the seventh century BCE. The inscription on the stela in hieroglyphic as well as demotic has raised a number of questions, since the latter is a cursive derivative of the former (not unlike Japanese kana being derived from Chinese characters), but one effect is evident. As a result, Egyptian occupies twice as much space on the stela than Greek. What is more, the arrangement of hieroglyphic, demotic and Greek from top to bottom, suggests a meaningful order. In a culture permeated by symbolic meaning through a script that speaks to the eye with its stylized pictorial clarity like no other it would be careless not to recognize here an emblematic hierarchy and an expression of deference to the Egyptian traditional high culture. The life world of Ptolemaic Egypt was one in which individuals bore both a Greek and an Egyptian name praying to gods with Greek and Egyptian names and where distinct literary and religious traditions interacted in multiple ways.

The Rosetta Stone embodies many of the intricacies of language contact, language choice and linguistic hierarchy that form the substance of LL research. Why was it redacted in three scripts? Quirke speaks of “an intricate coalescence of three vital textual traditions” (Andrews and Quirke 1988: 10). Overlapping and competing cultural and linguistic spheres created the need to compose the decree three times in order to appeal to the relevant groups in their preferred scripts: “the traditional audience of Egyptian monuments, the gods and priests; the Egyptian-speaking literate populace; and the Greek administration” (Parkinson 1999: 30). The inscription itself acknowledges as much proclaiming that the decree should be inscribed “on a stela of hard stone in the script of god’s words, the script of documents, and the letters of the Aegeans.”

The Behistun Inscription

Many other bilingual inscriptions and some in more than two languages have been preserved since antiquity. The most colossal of all is the trilingual rock inscription of Darius I the Great (522–486), king of Persia (Color Figure 1.3). Unlike other inscriptions of the great literate cultures of antiquity, this one is located far from any metropolis on a rock along the old caravan route that connected Babylon and Ecbatana, the capital of the Media Empire (Hamadân in modern Iran). The Zargos Mountains are an isolated range that rises suddenly from a wide plane where at its foot a number of springs feed into a small pool used by travellers and military expeditions to water their animals. It was here that Darius chose to immortalize himself with an inscription some 100 meters off the ground, thus leaving behind one of the most remarkable examples of linguistic landscaping.

The famous Behistun inscription recounts how Darius was invested by

Ahuramazda, the great god of the Persians, with the power to oust the usurper Gaumâta and to rule over the empire. It records the king's military victories over insurgents in three languages, Old Persian, the written language most widely used in the realm, Babylonian, the august language of old, and Elamite, the language used to administer the Achaemenid Empire. At the time, these were the three languages that counted in this part of the world. The message proclaiming the glory of Darius thus had universal appeal, although, astonishingly, it cannot be read from below and never could, the cuneiform signs being much too small to be made out by the unarmored eye.

This raises the question of the addressee. Who was supposed to read the story of Darius the Great? The huge inscription containing tens of thousands of signs chiselled meticulously into the polished rock took years to complete. It was begun while Darius was still fighting the insurgents, and the original design had to be modified as he added victory to victory (520–519 BCE). When the monumental labor was done, the narrow ridge on which the artisans stood engraving the rock was cut away, making it almost impossible to come close enough to the text to read it. (In 1835, Sir Henry Rawlinson, a British officer charged with training the Iranian army, risked his life to scale the cliff and copy the Old Persian inscription, the lowest part of the monument, the other two being out of his reach.) While the text cannot be read, the monument can well be seen from down below because the three inscriptions are illustrated by huge bas-relief figures that could impress the many travellers passing by. The relief shows a winged picture of Ahuramazda floating above a group of men, King Darius, his servants, and representatives of subjugated peoples standing in front of him in fetters. By making the inscription inaccessible, Darius made sure that his claim to greatness before mortals and gods would be preserved forever and could not be tampered with. The three languages of the inscription testify not so much to a multilingual community life, as to the all-inclusive appeal of its message and the vastness of the lands Darius had brought under his control. Meant as they were for eternity, the inscriptions of Behistun long outlasted the peoples and their gods who could read them but continue to speak of them even today.

In the literate ancient world, bilingualism was not uncommon. In the Roman Empire it was pervasive, as illustrated by Donati (2002). In the event, inscriptions were meant to be read, and it was the target audience that determined whether an inscription was redacted in one, two or several languages. Indian epigraphy too is replete with multilingual inscriptions (Salomon 1998). And in the Sino-centric world monumental inscriptions in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, and other languages are found in many places. However, multilingualism is only rarely a topic explicitly addressed in these inscriptions. For this, the Rosetta Stone is the prime example. Public recognition of domain-specific linguistic diversity is thus what most distinguishes it.

Menetekel

Let us return now to the claim made above that writing openly displayed is “a genie let out of the bottle.” As we have seen, establishing authority and law, securing respect for cult and symbolically acknowledging relevant groups and the order of society were important functions of written signs in the LL of antiquity. They all testify to the effectiveness of writing as an instrument of control. The power-supportive function of writing is most conspicuous because these texts were hewn in stone in prominent places with much effort and diligence. They catch the eye as the legacy of high cultures of gods and priests and kings. However, evidence of the lowlier reaches of culture that co-existed with them, if less dazzling, have also been preserved in written records. The subversive potential of writing to undermine authority was recognized as soon as literacy had caught on as a learnable skill. Graffiti, the writing on the wall, is its most eloquent testimony. By whom, where, to what end? With regard to our three questions, graffiti is distinctly different from other elements of the linguistic landscape.

The proverbial “writing on the wall” refers to the Biblical story of King Belshazzar of Babylon who on the occasion of an extravagant feast was confronted with mysterious writing on the wall of the palace, *Mene-tekel-parsin*, an Aramaic phrase interpreted by a sage as a warning that the king’s days were numbered and his empire would break-up (Daniel 5:25) (Color Figure 1.4). A text by an unknown author scratched, etched, incised, and nowadays sprayed on a wall that challenges the authority—that is the essence of graffiti. A message that would be dangerous perhaps or embarrassing to express in the company of others is left as a trace for all to see, a warning, a call to arms, an exaltation, a slur. Graffiti speaks to us about subculture, resistance, sacrilege, profanity, contributing its share to establishing a public sphere.

All of the applications we associate with it today were present in antiquity: humor, slander, obscenity, lust, political passion, disclosure, accusation. The excavation of Pompeii, for example, has brought to light a wealth of wall-writing ranging from the rather modern sounding *pecunia non olet* “money doesn’t stink” and *lucrum gaudium* “profit is happiness” to bragging about sexual prowess, praise and insult, to election advertisements. Yet another function of graffiti is as a statement of the author’s existence, which seems to satisfy a universal impulse. A famous example is the graffiti scratched by Greek mercenaries on the left leg of the colossal statue of Ramses II (1278–1213). It was written many centuries after Ramses’ death, but the exact date and author of the inscription are a matter of speculation, as is typical of graffiti writers who want to get their message out without being held responsible for it. The same potential that writing offers to kings determined to immortalize their heroic deeds in grand inscriptions it holds for tramps with nothing to announce but that they “were here.” Writing is a tool of the public sphere helping to shape it and allowing its users to take part in it.

The Taj Mahal

Remembering, honoring and committing to eternity people and events is a capacity writing shares with images which, like letters, characters and hieroglyphs appeal to the eye and our sense of beauty. Calligraphy is a potential of writing that flows out of its visual realization put into practice to a greater or lesser extent in any literate culture. Its exceptionally high level of development in Arabic literacy is a response to the image prohibition of Islam. The “holy scrip(ture)” is to be understood literally. Every Arabic letter is divine. Countless buildings throughout the Islamic world are adorned with calligraphic inscriptions, homage to God and the art of writing. One of the most stupendous examples is the Taj Mahal, built 1633–1653 in memory of Arjumand Bano Begum, wife of Shah Jahan, as a tribute to love the world would never forget (Color Figure 1.5). The most skilled architects, inlay craftsmen, masons and calligraphers created this incomparable mausoleum overlooking the Yamuna River in the city of Agra.

The inscriptions were selected and composed to form an epitaphic program by calligrapher Amanat Khan on order of Shah Jahan. Interlaced with vining floral designs, they cover large parts of the walls, arches and friezes of the building. Where the inscriptions are placed in elevated places and in arches the letters are deliberately distorted to correct the perceived distortion from the beholder’s point of view. Most of the texts are Qur’anic surahs including entire chapters that are read out as part of the Islamic funeral ceremony. The writing is in black lettering in the *thuluth* script in a style brought to its highest refinement by Persian calligraphers. The inscriptions are testimony of eternal love and the profoundest sense of loss as well as the consolation sought and found in Islam, exhibiting the humanity of Islam and its overwhelming importance in Mughal India. The texts could be read by the literate elite, its beauty admired by those unversed in the art of writing. It has been suggested that the form and location of the building was meant to match the message of the texts and that the mausoleum is an allegorical representation of the Throne of Allah above the Garden of Paradise on the Day of Judgment.

Whether or not this interpretation is valid is none of our concern. It is mentioned here only to highlight the conceptual interaction between message, inscription and inscribed surface as an important aspect of linguistic landscaping. It is in the nature of calligraphy that it oscillates between the esthetic and the informative. In the case of Islamic calligraphy, the former often supersedes the latter. The highly stylized inscriptions on such monuments as the seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the eleventh-century Qut’b Minar in Delhi, or the seventeenth-century Masjid-I Shah in Isfahan are legible only to specialists with extensive knowledge of Classical Arabic. Their location above eye-level does not facilitate the task of reading them. The information contained in the inscription is not easily accessible.

Yet, these monuments undeniably are elements of the LL, as are others where the discrepancy between “what is in the text” and “what speaks to the eye” is even more evident.

Displacement

This is true especially of inscribed monuments that have been displaced as, for instance, the Codex Hammurabi stela mentioned above. As booty, souvenirs, folkloristic emblems, and other eye catchers displaced monuments or replicas thereof, are popular elements of linguistic landscaping. A conspicuous genre are obelisks. Originating in Pharaonic Egypt, these monuments found many admirers. Already in antiquity, some of these massive monoliths were transported to other countries. Today, 13 of 30 original large obelisks form an integral part of the LL of the eternal city, Rome, some were brought there as plunder, for example the obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, which Octavianus took home after he had conquered Egypt in 31 CE (Color Figure 1.6). Others were made to order, such as the one of Piazza Navona, which was made at Aswan to commemorate the accession of Emperor Domitianus in 81 CE. The durability of writing in stone is exemplified most impressively by another displaced landmark, the obelisk placed in the center of Paris on the Place de la Concorde. Dating from Ramses II of the nineteenth Dynasty, 1304–1237 BCE, it was transported from Luxor to the French capital in the nineteenth century. No Parisian can read it, but its symbolic significance is great. Given that as the result of a lost battle, not by the Egyptians, but by the French against the British, the Rosetta Stone is kept in London, it is no trifle to remind the world that Egyptian letters were rescued from oblivion by the French.

Many obelisks and other inscribed monuments have travelled to become a de-contextualized and then re-contextualized element of a LL far removed from their places of origin. Again, these grandiose examples illustrate a more general aspect of linguistic landscaping waiting to be studied systematically, that is, linguistic signs hailing from another place and another time. Because of the cultural, linguistic and temporal distance, the information content of many of these signs has receded into the background giving way to a symbolic message.

Discussion

Various lessons can be drawn from the landmarks inspected above. In antiquity as today, linguistic signs openly displayed were meant to be read. In very general terms, this means that LL research must take issue with the questions of “who is able to read this sign” and “who reads it.” Every inscription conveys a message about itself that refers to the language in which it is redacted: “There is someone out there who reads language X.”

Next, the readership of any sign openly displayed is targeted by the writer who may or may not be officially authorized to do so. Government decrees, on one hand, and spontaneous scribble, on the other, vie for space and influence, both constituting indispensable elements of the public sphere. A LL is a cultural scene, formed by interested agents whose motivations and intentions pertaining to information contents, language choice and symbolic significance, to the extent they can be inferred, must be reckoned with in the analysis. Many of the frame conditions of this undertaking spring from the nature of writing, others derive from the writing surface, stone, paper, electronic screens, etc. Much separates giant TV screens and running message displays by means of light emitting diodes from stone stelae and rock inscriptions, but an essential function has stayed the same: Landmarks of the city are to be read, which was and is a defining feature of city life.

Note

- 1 See Backhaus (2006) for a thorough up-to-date review of linguistic landscape research; see also Gorter (2006).

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PROLEGOMENA TO A SOCIOLINGUISTIC THEORY OF PUBLIC SIGNAGE

Bernard Spolsky

What is the Field?

Over the past 30 years, a number of scholars have been excited to discover the riches revealed by a casual or systematic investigation of urban public verbal signs. Awkwardly but attractively labeled “linguistic landscape” (LL), the study of public multilingual signage is developing into sub-field of sociolinguistics and of language policy. One of the main topics of interest is the choice of language in public signs in bilingual or multilingual urban space, which is why “cityscape” might be preferable to “landscape.”¹

Whatever we call it, is linguistic landscape a phenomenon calling for a theory, or simply a collection of somewhat disparate methodologies for studying the nature of public written signs? In the latter case, the most we can expect are definitions: What is a sign? What is a countable sign? What are the borders? What is a significant location? What constitutes the borders of the geographical unit within which we can count signs? If public signage does not deserve a theory of its own, the answers to these questions may well come from another relevant field, like semiotics. But if we believe that public signage does in fact constitute a subfield, what is it a subfield of?

A number of answers suggest themselves. My own earlier inclination was to consider public signage as evidence of the sociolinguistic ecology of a geographically determined multilingual (or rather, multiliterate) speech community, a neighborhood whose boundaries might be defined demographically. In the Old City study (Spolsky and Cooper 1991), we selected the walled section of Jerusalem, noting its division into distinct neighborhoods on the one hand and its vital links with sections of the city outside the walls. In his study of Tokyo, Backhaus (2007) sampled streets close to metro stations in the center of the city. In a comparison of Dakar and Paris, Calvet (1990) presented a theoretical framework for comparing the graphic environment of the two cities. Clearly, the study of public signage provides a fine method

for studying an important aspect of the sociolinguistic ecology of a city. Huebner (2006) demonstrated this with his study of Bangkok, showing the shift from Chinese to English and the growing influence of English. In a comparison of public signs in a street in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in Friesland with a street in Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) captured the effect of the differing official policies on the place of the minority language and the independent diffusion of English.

Thinking how much more difficult it is to try to gather evidence of similar trends in the spoken language, whether by informal street observation or interviews of a sample or a questionnaire, one can see the attractiveness of the approach. This methodological advantage alone justifies the technique. But the development of a theory has been slow, in spite of the growing body of descriptive research. In this chapter, I want to recapitulate briefly the history of the method, lay out some problems, propose a tentative theory, and apply it in particular to one kind of sign.

Early Studies of Public Signage

The term “linguistic landscape”² appears to have been first used by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in a paper reporting on the perceptions of Francophone high school students of public signs in Canadian provinces. It was applied by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) to their study of signs in various Israeli communities, in which signs were observed and counted (rather than experienced as in Landry and Bourhis); their work showed the differences between Arab areas and non-Arab areas, as well as the effect of Hebrew hegemony and globalizing English in both.

But the study of public signage has a longer history. Among the early studies in presumably monolingual areas, Masai (1972) looked at Tokyo and noted in the 1970s a presence of English. Tulp (1978) studied officially bilingual Brussels, showing the predominance of French.³ Also in the 1970s, Rosenbaum and colleagues (1977) included counts of the relative number of English and Hebrew signs in a Jerusalem street, finding a higher proportion of English language or Romanized script signs than might be expected from the language spoken on the street. They also found a pattern: grocery stores and government offices used Hebrew mainly, but tourist stores and private offices used Romanized script, suggesting a public tolerance for foreign languages alongside government support of Hebrew hegemony.

My own interest dates from 1979: it became the basis of a chapter in the description of the languages of the Old City of Jerusalem that Cooper (who had worked with Fishman) and I published (Spolsky and Cooper 1983, 1991). Three signs first piqued my curiosity. One was a sign above a stall in the market which read (only in English): “Names made in English, Hebrew or Arabic.” The sign raised the intriguing question: who were these English readers who would want names written in other languages? And why wasn’t

the offer made to Hebrew and Arabic passers-by? The second were a pair of street signs on opposite sides of a narrow pedestrian alley around the corner from where we were living. Each sign consisted of nine tiles, and was written in three languages. The Hebrew and Arabic were identical on both sides of the street, but on one side, the English read "Ha-Malakh Rd" (Color Figure 2.1) and on the other "El-Malak Rd" (Color Figure 2.2).

In the first of these, the English was transliteration of the Hebrew, and in the second, a transliteration of the Arabic.⁴ Closer examination reveals another major difference: the first sign consists of nine tiles with a single frame, the texts each written over three tiles.

In the second sign, the lower six tiles, with Arabic and transliteration, also had a frame which separated them from the top three tiles with Hebrew, which had been added later. Putting this in historical context, the explanation seemed to be an original street sign in Arabic and English prepared during the period of Jordanian occupation of the Old City of Jerusalem (1948–1967). When the Jordanian Arab Legion conquered the Old City, all Jews living there were expelled, and no Jews were permitted to visit the holy sites for 20 years. Arabic street signs were put up,⁵ with English added for tourists. In 1967, the Old City came under Israeli rule, and was opened up again to the three major religions. A Hebrew line was added to existing Jordanian bilingual signs. New signs recognized not just a trilingual situation, but also, by placing the Hebrew on top, Israeli rule and Hebrew dominance. This interpretation was supported when we found the Jaffa Gate sign put up before 1948, during the period of the British Mandate, where English was the first language, followed by Arabic and Hebrew (Color Figure 2.3).

Subsequently, we used this technique for studies of vernacular literacy in various parts of the world, in a comparison of Navajo reluctance to adopt vernacular literacy while accepting literacy in English, with the Polynesian rapid acceptance of vernacular literacy (Spolsky and Holm 1971, 1973). In New Zealand and in Tonga (Spolsky et al. 1983a), within a few months of contact with Christian missionaries in the early nineteenth century, many local people were reading and soon writing in their own language; among the Navajo, vernacular literacy was limited to the choices of non-Navajo missionaries and schools systems.

In Tonga, we found not just the weekly newspaper but also small hand-written signs in shops and kiosks in Tongan; in the Navajo Nation, the only public written use of the Navajo language seemed to be in signs put up by the Anglo owners and managers of a supermarket (Color Figure 2.4) or in a few schools committed to bilingualism. The public signs in both these cases reflected the local literacy environment: Tonga was bilingual and biliterate—the local newspaper appeared in both languages, while the Navajo Nation at that time was orally bilingual (with most private and public oral events—home language use, Tribal Council meetings, local radio, tribal courts in Navajo) but its literacy was almost entirely in English (school language,

minutes of Tribal Council meetings, Tribal newspaper, court records). We found a different pattern in bilingual Paraguay (Engelbrecht and Ortiz 1983). Spanish was dominant for literacy functions, just as it was for schooling, for government, and for the city. However, there was symbolic use of Guarani—the spoken language of the countryside, of informal conversations everywhere, and of Paraguayan identity—in shop signs and in printed song lyrics. Public signage then provided a rich field for studying the ecology of multiliterate societies.

Paysage Linguistique

There had then been a good number of studies when Landry and Bourhis (1997) set off a new burst of enthusiasm and introduced their currently popular term. Their interest was not in observing actual signs, but rather in the perception of the *paysage linguistique*, as they called it, by Francophone Grades 11 and 12 students in Quebec and in other parts of Canada. Their goal was first to establish whether the factor they labeled linguistic landscape constituted an independent variable, and second to assess its relationship to other vitality beliefs, ethnolinguistic identity, and language behavior. They hoped thus to establish the significance of language laws regulating public signage to influence language beliefs.⁶

They derived the concept from earlier studies of language planning in Belgium (Verdoodt 1979) and Québec (Corbeil 1980). They recognized two basic functions for public signs: informational and symbolic. They also distinguished between private and government signs. This is similar to the distinction between “top-down” and “bottom-up” signs in Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), but it misses a third possibility: both private and government signs can be government regulated, while government signs can be under more or less local control, as we found looking at the Post Office and Police signs in the Old City (Spolsky and Cooper 1991).

For Landry and Bourhis (1997), LL was a construct based on answers to questionnaires about contact with government prepared road and street signs, private signs including names on stores, publicity inside stores, and advertising sent by mail. These were then compared with other questionnaire answers such as interpersonal contacts, linguistic environment of the school, and instructional policy. A fifth set of questions asked about the proportion of Francophones in the family network and the extent of contact with them. Their LL factor (which perhaps should be labeled perception of linguistic landscape⁷) emerged as a separate factor and was significant related to vitality beliefs, as became clear in a later paper (Bourhis and Landry 2002), which traces some aspects of the political struggle involved in the legislation controlling public signage in Québec.

In another attempt to establish a taxonomy, Reh (2004), after a study of a Ugandan town, has proposed that there are three distinct types of

arrangement of multilingual information: signs where all the information is given in both languages; signs where there is partial or overlapping translation; and signs where different information is given in each language. In Tokyo, Backhaus (2007) found that official signs tended to give the same information in both languages, suggesting that they were intended for monolingual readers of the two languages. This was not the case with non-official signs, half of which contained different information in the two languages, suggesting that their audience was assumed to be multilingual. In the official signs, Japanese was the most prominent or largest language on the sign; in non-official signs, this was true in only 60 percent of the cases.

With the growing interest in the concept of public signage, there have appeared a number of interesting articles and reports of studies scattered in various journals and collections, including a recent special issue of *The International Journal of Multilingualism* (Gorter 2006a), but only recently has there been an attempt to define the field, to investigate its methodologies, and to develop a theory.

Public Signage and the State of Literacy— A First Problem

It may well be that limiting our interest to sociolinguistic aspects and to verbal signs in multilingual areas is a mistake: perhaps what we should be doing is fitting this into the general study of signs, defined as Semiotics, of which this is a sub-field, or into a study of literacy. In a study of literacy, we need to include not just signs but also other items: books, letters, receipts, tickets, etc., where the choice of language is significant. Similarly, in a semiotic study of signs, we would want to deal also with non-verbal signs, such as the semi-standardized international travel and warning symbols, which might be summarily treated as another possible language choice. But I will limit myself here to the fruitful field of the choice of language for public signage in multiliterate areas.

I start with some methodological problems, and turn first to the definition of scope. Public signs have, as Landry and Bourhis (1997) noted, two major functions: to communicate, whether information “Habad Street” or instruction “No parking” or persuasion “Buy British,” “Vote for Bush” or to express a symbolic function, to declare ownership “Presidential Palace,” “First Methodist Church” or to mark linguistic dominance (to express power). In a multiliterate community, the second function may be added to the first by choice of language. Thus, writing a street sign in Hebrew or Arabic or English in Jerusalem and the order of the languages used⁸ was a reflection of the political situation.

But there is a more basic consideration that is often ignored, and this is the actual state of literacy in the various languages involved. I tried to capture this with what I called the first necessary condition for language choice

in signs (see below), “write a sign in a language you know how to write.” The absence of signs in a language may well be simply a result of the fact that a language is unwritten, so that our Navajo observations and the studies of Israeli public signs are strongly influenced by the state of literacy in the various languages. Literacy for the Navajo was, I have suggested (Spolsky et al. 1983b; Spolsky and Holm 1971), considered an alien phenomenon suitable for alien purposes (school, religion, government) and appropriately expressed in the introduced language, English. Among the Polynesians, on the other hand, literacy was quickly indigenized and adapted to existing functions, and so accepted in the vernacular.

There are some other things explained by the state of literacy. One is the set of spelling mistakes that occur in signs when someone tries to write in a language he or she does not know (menus are a major target—and the peculiarities of Japanese usages of English).

A second is the density of public and private literacy within a community. In the Old City, one may compare the evidence of literacy in religious institutions. In a mosque, there are elegant wall inscriptions in artistic Arabic script, but otherwise the space is largely untouched by literacy. In the harem in the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, the ban on depicting human and animal forms means that these inscriptions are the main decoration; inscribed quotations from the *Qur'an* also assert the Islamic conquest of the Hagia Sophia, once the largest Christian church in the world (Color Figure 2.5).

In a church, there may be images and icons (in non-Protestant churches, with hymnals stacked at the back; in a Protestant church, hymnals and bibles may be on the pews). In a synagogue, tables are likely to be covered with piles of books and there will be bookcases proclaiming the central significance of the printed word. Obviously, the denser the literacy, the more likely there are to be signs. This distinction perhaps should lead us to classify public spaces (even before we ask about language choice) by the density of signage in general (compare Times Square or a Tokyo street scene to a Venetian square or an African village) and then to the comparative density of verbal and non-verbal signs. It is this underlying contrast that raises serious questions about statistical counts, if they are interpreted not as evidence of literacy but of language power. The absence of Arabic signs in villages in Israel reflects the fact that vernacular Arabic is not written and that villages are less likely to have signs than cities. Thus, numerical counts need to be treated very cautiously.

Agency in Public Signage—A Second Problem

There is an equally fundamental factor often ignored in our studies, which attempt to define the meaning of signs without recognizing the process by which a sign is produced. One approach is the “top-down, bottom-up” sign

distinction, but this is simply a *post-hoc* guess. I suggest we consider a sign as the result of a process with several participants—let us call them the initiator or owner of the sign, the sign-maker, and the reader.⁹ But there is also a significant fourth party, the implied “top” in the “top-down” model, and this is a language management authority, whether a national or local government or perhaps religious or ethnic authority, which sets a specific policy on language choice. The best example is Loi 101 in Quebec, which required that the largest letters in public signs must be in French (Bourhis and Landry 2002); another is the Tokyo municipal policy on the use of English in street signs (Backhaus 2005 and in this volume). In Malaysia, the Minister of Culture, Arts and Heritage, Rais Yatim, was reported as stating that fines of up to 1,000 ringgit (US\$290) could be imposed for billboards and posters that display “mutated forms” of Bahasa Meleyu—this was aimed specifically at the mixture of English called “Manglish.”¹⁰

This brings me to the greatest weakness in much of the work in this area (including I admit my own studies). We base our work usually on observation, counting and (nowadays thanks to small digital cameras) photographing actual finished signs, but we seldom look at the process by which a particular sign was produced. In the study on the Navajo Reservation, we did ask about the initiation of each Navajo sign, and Backhaus (this volume) has details of Tokyo municipal policy. Most of us however look only at results and then offer our interpretations of why the sign-maker chose a specific language (but see Malinowski, in this volume).

Was it government policy or the sign-maker’s interpretation that led to the language choice in the Old City? We see evidence of the absence of high level policy in the changes in two official signs in the Old City in Jerusalem in 1980; the Police Station dropped Arabic from its largest sign in the same year that the Post Office opposite added it. What we need are more studies that will trace the decision back to the sign initiator, failing which we are risking speculation based on our own prejudices.

Another complicating factor is the location of the initiator. With globalization, many signs in cities are international advertisements sometimes modified and localized but often simply reproductions of ones used worldwide (see Color Figure 2.6). These international signs cannot be lumped together with the use of an international language such as English within a local sign in Germany or Japan (where they constitute a special language of their own) or the equivalent use of a French or German word in an English advertisement. It is important to distinguish local from global signs—the existence rather than the language of the latter is what is most likely to be relevant. Of course, locally modified global signs (*Coca-Cola* advertisement in Hebrew or Arabic letters that imitate the appearance of the English original) show a willingness to accommodate to the reader while maintaining the cachet of the foreign or international origin. In studying public signage, then, as in other studies of language management, it is critically important

to identify the agents—the initiator, the owner, and the sign-maker, and the other significant participants—the intended readership, and any authority (local or regional or national government) that sets rules for signs.¹¹

Counting Signs—A Third Problem

Backhaus (2007) in his study of Tokyo tackles two major issues in the counting of signs. Attracted by the seeming objectivity of quantitative studies in the social sciences, it is not unreasonable to want to count signs and classify them by language and function. The first problem, as Backhaus makes clear, is deciding what to count. Some are easy: street names (although our interpretation of the signs of the Old City of Jerusalem was held up until we realized that some were really two signs placed one on top of the other), advertising posters, graffiti are commonly framed and so countable—but how do you deal with the multilingualism of some shop signs or the complexity of many signs in a single shop window? One needs to make *ad hoc* decisions about boundaries, raising problems for the reliability of counts.

A second critical issue also discussed by Backhaus is the equally challenging problem of determining where to carry out an investigation. Downtown areas vary in their preferred languages (how else do you recognize Chinatown in an American city?), so that incautious selection of streets to be observed can lead to biased and misleading results. The normal tendency is to choose areas with many signs, but how to choose in a city with so many neighborhoods and streets? In Fishman's Jerusalem studies, the street selected was the main shopping street downtown; in our study of the Old City, we followed mainly the main pedestrian arteries. Backhaus selected streets in the middle of Tokyo close to important subway stations. But clearly, other choices could have produced different results; I recently walked around the Lower East Side of New York, where the former Yiddish signs have almost disappeared and been replaced by Spanish and Chinese.

These methodological problems need to be recognized in any attempt at counting signs.

Towards a Theory

The study of verbal signs in public space has, over the past 40 years, proved its worth as a tool exploring and characterizing the multiliterate ecology of cities. Handicapped by lack of agreement on a title, no clear consensus has yet developed on methodology or theory. Looked at as a sub-field of language policy, it provides a complementary view to that normally provided in analyses of spoken language use. Because of the quite different distributions of spoken and written language, and because it is easier to identify and count the language of signs than of conversations, it risks misinterpretation, recording the state of literacy rather than the status of

spoken varieties. Not being easily open to the recognition of “problems,” with the initiator and the sign-maker out of contact with the sign-reader (or potential reader), a sign does not provide the feedback or monitoring that checks communicative effectiveness and encourages organized language management. Public signage does however, as a growing number of studies are showing, provide a valuable way to study language choice.

But public signage does fit into a theory of language management that takes into account the existence of independent domains (Spolsky 2007). Public linguistic space can be considered a distinct domain (Fishman 1972), with its own participants, location, and normal topics. Within the domain, I would hope to account for the choice of language in public signage with a model similar to that used for language policy in general—a description of actual practice, an attempt to infer beliefs, and research into specific management decisions. The main participants are sign-owners and the sign-makers they employ and expected readers; an additional significant participant is a government (or activist group) which attempts to control the contents, form and language of public signs. The common location is inside a city; outside the city, we find a limited class of direction signs and place names, and the roadside billboards often assumed to ruin the landscape. Apart from the informative content of the sign, the choice of language reflects a symbolic value of some or all of the participants.

In Spolsky and Cooper (1991), we proposed to capture the choice of languages by proposing three relevant conditions (Jackendoff 1983). The first condition, a necessary one, is to write a sign in a language you know. As discussed earlier, this rule explains why signs are not written in languages without a writing system and accounts for the spelling errors common in signs written in foreign languages. The second rule captures the communicative goal: it is a typical and graded condition and might be named the “presumed reader’s condition”: prefer to write a sign in a language which can be read by the people you expect to read it. In a monolingual or monoliterate region, signs will be in the dominant language, but if there are foreign visitors (tourists for instance) or a literate minority whose language is recognized, bilingual signs may be common. Some signs may be intended only for foreigners and in their language. The third rule accounts for language choice on signs that assert ownership; it is also a typical condition, which we called the “symbolic value condition”: prefer to write a sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified. This accounts for the order of languages on multilingual signs and for the prevalence of monolingual signs (e.g., in German or Turkish or Classical Arabic) on commemorative or building plaques. These three conditions, I believe, will be the major part of a theory of language choice in public signage.

It is important to point out that all three conditions may apply to any sign. The first is a necessary condition, and applies to all signs. The second two are typicality conditions, and are graded: both may apply to a single

sign, but the weighting will determine which has the main influence on the outcome. Where it is the presumed reader's condition that is most important, one would expect the sign to be in the language most people can read. When the Israeli court held that Arabic should be added to street and road signs in a number of mixed towns (Jews and Arabs), its ruling specifically applied to areas where there were many speakers of Arabic. Occasionally, the "symbolic value condition" may prevail: the building names in the Old City of Jerusalem engraved in Turkish, German, Armenian, or Greek seem intended only to proclaim ownership. In multilingual signs, one has the option, as I described earlier, of using the order of the languages to signal symbolic value while maintaining the choice of language to meet communicative needs.

These three conditions then vary from sign to sign. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) set out a tentative taxonomy of the signs we had observed in the Old City. We distinguished eight major types,¹² which I list with sub-categories when relevant: (1) Street signs, (2) advertising signs, (3) warning notices and prohibitions, (4) building names, (5) informative signs (directions, hours of opening), (6) commemorative plaques, (7) objects (postbox, police call box), (8) graffiti. There is a relationship between this taxonomy and the two major functions of signs: information and symbolic assertion, with building signs and commemorative plaques on the symbolic end and warning notices and informative signs on the informative end. Street and road signs have been the focus of language activism in many countries, and are a major contribution to the perception of *paysage linguistique*. They are salient, widespread, and usually under the direct control of a political body which may be open to influence. The campaigns for including Welsh and Maori on road signs in Wales and New Zealand, or for adding Arabic to signs in Israel, are excellent examples.

Advertising

In the rest of this chapter, I want to look at one well-studied type of sign, the advertisement, which demonstrates the fine interplay of the second two conditions.¹³ Advertisements are presumably informative, so one would expect the second condition, "choose the language of your presumed or desired reader," to be most relevant. However, the common choice of a language with certain associations (e.g., French for perfumes, Italian for foodstuffs) clearly derives from the third or symbolic condition.

I make an initial distinction between advertisements under the control of the company or firm owning or producing the sign (including decisions in the case of international firms that affect national affiliates) and those influenced or governed (as nowadays in Québec and France and elsewhere) by national policies and laws. With this provision, we need to distinguish further between signs and advertisements inside the workplace, and those on

the outside (especially on the building or shop front), and those physically separated (public posters for example).

In principle, one would expect the normal result of a communicative goal would be a policy to advertise in the language of potential clients and customers. But this is not so. It was, for example a news item when at the end of March 2005 the large American retailer, Wal-Mart, announced a new advertising campaign in the USA that would present television, print, and radio advertisements in Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese, as though the speakers of these languages had just arrived. In the same month, the US National Association of Realtors announced that it was starting its first-ever Spanish-language television advertisements. Realtors having suddenly become aware that about 2 million Spanish-speakers will be buying homes in the next five years, their advertisements will present the advantages of using a realtor in Spanish!

Studying the communicative function, Grin (1994) developed a model to predict advertising choices in a bilingual or multilingual society. The model showed the relation of sales to different language groups as the function of the level of advertising in each language, the language attitudes, the incomes, and an advertising response function. Indifference to language and the public can produce a monolingual commercial environment, and strong resistance among minority groups to the dominant language hegemony can increase the profitability of bilingual advertising.

In India, Ladousa (2002) studied private school advertisements in the north Indian town, Banaras, where the main local language is Bhojpurī, but the medium of instruction in schools is either Hindi or English. School advertising in the city uses various combinations of Hindi and English and various mixtures of the two writing systems, Devanagari and Roman. As a general rule, English-medium schools tend to advertise in English, using Romanized script, and Hindi-medium schools tend to advertise in Hindi using Devanagari script.

In China, Zhang (2001) found that TV commercials used strategies similar to Chinese newspaper advertisements and while there was some evidence of American influence, mixing of English was rare. American companies seemed generally to nativize the advertisements. In contrast, Kelly-Holmes (1998) believes that Western media and marketing professionals are teaching eastern European citizens “the language of the market, its processes and rituals, how to interpret advertising, the symbolism of consumption, and how to participate in the process of consumption.”

Many studies of multilingual advertisements have looked at the symbolic function of using a language other than the unmarked local language in an advertisement. Kelly-Holmes (2000) argues that foreign languages are used in European advertising not for their communicative function, but for their symbolic value. She believes that “it is unimportant whether the advertisee understands the foreign words in an advertisement so long as it calls up the

cultural stereotypes of the country with which the language is associated.” Support for this is provided by Piller (2001) who collected a corpus of 600 commercials broadcast on German television in February 1999 and more than 400 print advertisements that appeared in two national German newspapers during a two-week period at the end of 1999. She found that more than two-thirds of the commercials included a language other than German. The main foreign language was English (70 percent of the foreign language commercials) but there were also examples in French (8 percent) and Italian (6 percent). The foreign items were not just words but phrases and discourse phenomena. There was no difference in the use of English slogans between German companies and international ones.

Most earlier studies had simply looked at the borrowing of individual lexical items as evidence of foreign influence, but Haarmann (1989) showed how Japanese advertisements used foreign languages to associate the product with stereotypes about speakers of the foreign language. Very commonly in Japan, product names were in a foreign language. Takashi (1990) believes that loan words are used in Japanese to make the product seem more modern and sophisticated: they are generally targeted at younger audiences. Hyde (2002) argued that the English in mixed language signs in Japan were intended for Japanese speakers and not for tourists.

A large number of studies trace the spread of English into advertisements throughout the world. Griffin (2001) noted that English is commonly used in shop signs and billboards in Sofia. Griffin (2004) described the amount of English in Rome on storefronts, in shop windows, outside commercial and public buildings, in billboards and other street advertisements, and as graffiti. Schlick (2002) lists English words used in shop windows in Austria, Italy, and Slovenia. Stewart and Fawcett (2004) notice non-Portuguese words in shop signs in small towns in north-western Portugal—the most common example that they quote was “snack bar.” Friedrich (2002) analyzes the motivations for the incorporation of English into advertising and brand names in Brazil. Rajagopalan (2002) describes the backlash of linguistic chauvinism to the increasing use of English in advertisements and elsewhere in Brazil.

It is not unreasonable to speculate that the mixture of languages is a result of growing globalization: contact with foreign languages has meant that other languages are more likely to be understood, and even if not understood, to carry symbolic associations that can be exploited by the sign-maker. National language management agencies and language activists may object, and may be empowered by laws like Loi 101 in Quebec to try to correct the trend, but the symbolic value of foreign languages adds too much to advertisement for the growing wave to be stopped.

Conclusion

The study of public signage is a growing field, in which this present volume is an important step. The popularity of the field owes much to the concept of linguistic landscape, and many studies have used these techniques to provide valuable pictures of multiliterate cities. Although there are theoretical problems with studies that count signs and interpretation of the results must be careful, they do provide a way of studying some aspects of the socio-linguistic ecology of public spaces. A start has been made on building a theoretical model that accounts for the choice of languages in public signage.

Notes

- 1 Gorter (2006b: 1–2) discusses various meanings of the word “landscape” and uses of the term “linguistic landscape” but concludes with the definition from Landry and Bourhis (1997). He does however accept the alternative “linguistic cityscape.”
- 2 Landscape is of course a translation of “paysage” (Bourhis and Landry 2002).
- 3 Nearly 20 years later, Wenzel (1996) found an increasing presence of English in Brussels.
- 4 To be more precise, the word “Road” is a translation into English, and the other word is transliteration into what might be more precisely called the Latin or Romanized alphabet, called in Hebrew *loazit*.
- 5 Significantly, the Arabic script was modern, compared with the decorative calligraphy in earlier inscriptions, reflecting the fact that the Jordanian government had started a literacy campaign.
- 6 Leclerc (1994) lists laws regulating public signage in 30 countries and regional states.
- 7 It is labeled in an official bibliography as “La perception du paysage linguistique.”
- 8 When the Israeli electric company took over the supply of electricity from the Arabic company to the Old City, the “Danger” signs switched the order of languages, with Hebrew moving to the top (Spolsky and Cooper 1991).
- 9 There is also the agency which leases space for public signs, whether the walls of city buildings or of the telephone boxes in New York, most now without working phones, but all with leased advertisements.
- 10 *The Hindu*, June 10, 2007.
- 11 Another significant participant in some signs is the objector, who tries to erase or modify a public sign.
- 12 We mentioned also a second possible taxonomy, based on the physical form of the sign, e.g., painted on a tile or metal, engraved on stone.
- 13 Advertisements in Japan written in a variety of English that no native speaker of English can understand, is presumably a case of applying the symbolic condition in circumstances where the first necessary condition, proficiency in the language is not met.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

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The Notion of Linguistic Landscape

This chapter focuses on the theoretical importance of the study of linguistic landscapes from the viewpoint of the social sciences. The notion of “linguistic landscape” (LL) refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space, i.e. inscriptions—LL items—that may refer to any written sign one finds outside private homes, from road signs to private names to names of streets, shops or schools. The study of LL focuses on analyzing these items according to the languages utilized, their relative saliency, syntactical or semantic aspects. From sociology-of-language premise, language facts that landmark the public space are to be seen as social facts the variations of which should relate to more general social phenomena. It is under this light that the sociological study of LLs is to focus on the articulation of linguistic symbols in the public space, and the forces at work in their molding.

The notion of *public space* draws from the earlier concept of public sphere, a concept that Habermas (1989) is most strongly associated with. Habermas has offered different formulations of this notion. At first, he saw the public sphere as a buffer in modern societies between the state and private life, where civil society crystallizes as a driving force of the wider public (Habermas 1989). To this area belong coffee houses, public libraries, the press, charities, associations of all kinds, etc. As an outgrowth of the culture of the Enlightenment, this area tended however, to be absorbed by capitalism and commercialization following the consolidation of bourgeois society, and later, present-day mass society. Hence, in the late 1980s, Habermas (see in Delanty 2007) altered his approach to emphasize the importance of cosmopolitization of the public sphere as a consequence of globalization.

This public sphere may be viewed from different angles but when it comes to LL analysis, we focus on its territorial-geographical dimension using, in this respect, the term of “public space.” More precisely, in our mind, public

space includes every space in the community or the society that is not private propriety, such as streets, parks or public institutions. In practice, however, when one speaks of public space, one is inclined to think especially of geographical areas generally designated as “centers,” which may consist of only one definite set of streets and one or two squares, in small localities, and of several large areas in metropolitan cities. A center, we propose, is where one sees “the crowd” when most people are not at work (see also Eder 2005; Kögler 2005). It is in this sense of “central areas” that we use here the term public space. While governmental bodies, factories and storehouses may prefer locations in specialized areas outside the center, it is in the central area that one finds civil society organizations, some premises of public agencies, municipal buildings, theaters, movie houses and above all, shopping centers (see Ngo-Viet 2002). As a whole, to the passers-by, LL carries emblematic significance for the very fact that it constitutes the decorum of the public space. In this sense, LL can be referred to as *symbolic construction of the public space* as it is the languages it speaks out and the symbols which it evinces that serve as the landmarks of this space where “things happen” in society (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

Each of the institutions or organizations—public, political, social, cultural or commercial—that participate in the LL is announced to passers-by by a variety of non-linguistic signs and, mainly, by LL items. In LL, some participants are more visible than others. Hence, in the context of today’s predominance of a cosmopolitan consumption culture, businesses make up the overwhelming majority of the foci of activity in large urban areas and the vast majority of LL items in these areas are icons of commercial establishments and firms. This, however, does by no means imply unity and monotony of LL as a whole.

It is actually our contention that LL is an area of investigation all the more important considering that it is the public space where the dynamics of major aspects of social life are asserted, either directly or indirectly. Hence, the study of LLs should allow for confronting basic theoretical questions stemming from the social sciences in general and sociology in particular. Two pioneering works brought attention to this area of research. Spolsky and Cooper (1991) focused in the early 1990s on Jerusalem’s LL, to elaborate on sociolinguistic changes. They gave special attention to street names and their evolving over the years. Their research led them to point out to the impact of political regimes in the shaping of East Jerusalem’s LL (see also Spolsky in this volume). Later on, Landry and Bourhis (1997) turned to an akin issue and investigated the role of LL in language maintenance and ethnolinguistic vitality in Canada. Both studies insisted on LLs functioning as an informational marker on the one hand, and a marker of collective identity, on the other. Indeed, these studies were central in paving the way for the elaboration of this new field of sociolinguistics. Though, as with any pioneering work which opens up new discussions, they also invite further

considerations and elaborations of aspects that were neglected or ignored. For example, the Landry and Bourhis approach does not pay much attention to the role of sociopolitical factors in the shaping of LL. The Cooper and Spolsky approach turns more clearly toward the political context of processes of change, but does not elaborate on the fact that LL is given shape simultaneously by different actors who may be moved by contradictory motivations and perceptions. Moreover, both approaches provide a limited grasp of the significance of LL in the social sciences and do not delve into aspects that such research may shed light on.

The present chapter seeks to respond to these reflections by contributing to the widening of the scope of the discussion of the LL. More specifically, sociological considerations are suggested here because they emphasize the importance of this area of study for the understanding of social reality in theoretical terms.

LL as a Gestalt

LL, we have seen, constitutes the decorum of the public space. As such, it carries socio-symbolic importance as society's markers and emblems. Together with the architecture and the flows of passers-by, LL is a major ingredient of the picture perceived by both residents and visitors of a given locality describing its "personality" and distinguishing it from other places. It is from this combination of elements—architectural aspects, the density and general characteristics of passers-by and the overall set-up of LL items—that the place is remembered to visitors and perceived to locals in their images of the town or city. Among the three elements that make up this urban landscape, however, LL is in fact the only element that is shaped and at will re-shaped by actual actors.

The architecture of a place, indeed, is widely determined by actions accumulated over decades, if not centuries, under the influence of natural conditions, culture and external circumstances (Rondanini 1981). Only in rare circumstances is a city or a community entirely re-built. This generally takes place only after a catastrophe that destroyed the place, as for example in post-World War II Warsaw or Berlin. Much less usual, some quarters may be re-built, but when they are, they will not be easily transformed again for decades. On the other hand, the character of a given population and the extent to which it is used to walk around in shopping centers and areas of theaters and cafés widely fluctuate according to the climate, life habits and culture. Hence, the only aspect of the urban landscape to be under the direct and instant influence of social actors is LL. In large urban areas, new LL items sprout incessantly with the inauguration of new institutions and shops, with the launching of new technological gadgets or changes in stores' window displays. Old LL items disappear just as rapidly, with for example the bankruptcy of businesses, the closing of a

church or a school, the displacement of a police station or renewals of stores.

This dynamism jumps to the eye and is palpable in central areas of large cities which have become the landmarks of modern life and globalization. Here we want to focus on the LL of these places that, at first glance, is disorienting by its density and variety and offers thereby an acute challenge to the analyst. In this dynamism, countless actors participate whose motivations and horizons are most often unpredictable (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Personal preferences and inclinations, external fashions and new styles locally designed all influence choices of LL designers in their selection of sizes, colors, phrasings and wordings. These designers act as different actors to one another as they are independent shopkeepers, public relation officers, marketing experts, officials in public administrations, school masters, individual professionals, and many others. Nothing warrants the congruence of these actors' tastes and considerations though altogether and without any preliminary consultation, each of them contributes to create this overall picture of the place most often perceived by passers-by as a "forest" of signs.

Interestingly enough, however, even where chaos is overwhelming i.e. exemplifying randomness and unpredictability, passers-by generally come to crystallize a general landscape-like picture of the space. In the very manner that visitors capture a sharply diversified natural landscape as one picture. However, in the case of LL, it is spoken of a phenomenon embedded in, and wholly belonging to, social reality, and for this very reason one cannot but ask for the explanation of its standing, in appearance at least, outside the regularities that one observes in "usual" social realities.

And indeed, LL typically qualifies for Durkheim's (1964/1895) definition of a "social fact," e.g., a reality pertaining to, and marking, social life independently, *a priori*, from individual will. This condition, obviously, applies to LL items which appear to passers-by as "given" markers of environments and spaces. The disorder reigning in this landscape, different languages, humorous interjections, incoherent slogans, a jumble of colors and writings, is taken for granted and viewed as one whole usually entitled "the center," "the shopping area" or "downtown." In this sense, and despite its disparity, LL is definitely a *gestalt* (Breidbach and Jost 2006).

By *gestalt* (configuration in German), one means observations of different phenomena understood as elements of one structured setting. This notion which stems from studies on visual perception, also stipulates that the organized pattern made of those different objects is more than the sum of its individual constitutive elements and illustrates properties of its own. When considering LL items from this angle, we may say that, like for other relevant cases, the *gestalt* effect draws from the items appearing "together" (*ensemble*, in French) which as such tends to be seen as "one whole" (*un ensemble*).

In the case of LL, moreover, this gestalt is set on, and decorates with signs and words, given spaces where countless spotlights call for the attention of the “crowd.” In other words, where (numberless) actors speak to mass audiences. In this sense LL as a gestalt functions as decorum and like any decorum, in theaters or in engineered public manifestations, may also be seen as a mechanism of sublimation aiming, as such, at the valorization and over-valorization of what LL items stand for and symbolize. Not all items equally participate in this aspect of LL. For example, a post-office or a university generally design their signs mainly in ways that might succinctly inform passers-by of their presence (Color Figure 3.1). Though, even here, the signs may “say something” to the public about what the office they designate is able to offer, tending in some way to valorize it. This degree of sublimation is not comparable, however, with what is often the rule with LL items referring to directly competing services and goods. They may then express overstated, if not inflated, properties to indulge in thoroughly imaginary descriptions and narratives, which illustrates, in its own way, the manufacturing of what Weber designated as charisma (Bendix 1960; Bono and Ilies 2006). More broadly and at its limit, this LL, when seen as one whole, i.e. as a *gestalt*, constructs the “magic” of this “world” of goods and services, a kind of a “wonderland,” where the charisma probably fades away only when it tiresomely repeats itself from place to place and loses its unpredictability (Color Figure 3.2).

The Structuration of LL

Against the backdrop of the discussion thus far, it seems obvious that LL is not only a scene of actions embedded in the dynamics of social life but also a distinct one, meaning that it is characterized by a degree of autonomy *vis-à-vis* other kinds of social activities. From this conclusion, it follows that LL formation may be viewed as a structuration process of its own. Looking at LL from this standpoint, a number of rationales may be suggested that could offer a grid of theoretically significant structuration principles challenging the impression of chaos that LL often leaves on the unwarned observer.

One major principle consists, in our eyes, in the highly and densely competitive environment that LL refers to. Individual, corporate and public actors, who all participate in the formation of LL, are bound to use LL items to attract the attention of potential clients. This, they may hope to achieve, only by dissociating themselves from and setting themselves as much as possible in contrast with each other. Even when attached to different services or goods which are not in direct competition, in the intense urban “forest” of LL items in central large urban areas, everyone quite unavoidably struggles against everyone else over the public’s attention. These struggles are both about the consideration of people *a priori* interested in given services

or goods and of others who might be persuaded to be interested but possibly look for other services or goods, if at all. This, in itself, contradicts the view of LL as just a sparse collection of “things.” Rather, it strengthens LL’s character as one setting where actors cannot but refer to each other. Though, in contradiction with other cases, the name of the game is not to just fit into a common framework, but to set itself apart within the common space.

From this angle, we are led to look at LL through the Goffmanian principle (Goffman 1963, 1981) of “presentation of self” as a principle of structuration. Goffman analyzed social life from the viewpoint of how actors aim at desired goals by articulating their appearance and presenting to “others” advantageous images of themselves. LL clearly responds to this condition as LL items compete with each other over seduction, attempting to incite passers-by into behaviors that they would normally not want to do, or hesitate to do. Obviously, the more dense and numerous LL items in a given space, the harsher this competition among them, even for mere visibility, and the stronger their tendency to choose unexpected devices to imprint their mark on the space. This presentation of self as it works in this kind of environment, we suggest, is the first key to understand LL’s frequent becoming an unordered setting of sundry signs. It is in this sense that presentation of self comes to constitute a major, possibly *the* major, structuring principle of LL as one whole, encouraging actors to strive for “their difference.” This principle which remains meaningless if it does not assume the oneness of LL, fuels, on the other hand, disorder among LL items. It forwards chaos but on behalf of its assessing that all participants refer to a same public.

An additional and distinct structuration principle of LL, which we may see as no less “ineluctable” in modern and cosmopolitan urban areas consists of the *good-reasons* principle. Actors, indeed, compete, we have said, over the attention of the same crowd, and this fact, we want now to pursue, cannot but impose some restrictions on the diversity which it encourages. Actors who aspire to influence the same people are also bound, in view of asserting their influence to respect their sensibility, their values, propensities and tastes. In our consumerist-cultural context, numerous actors may be similarly induced to emphasize orientations toward comfort, luxury or prestige known as widely consensual in the public, and, for the same reason, also make use of the same or similar fashionable cultural codes (color preferences, names of popular stars or else). Hence, the fact of addressing the same people by actors should account for tendencies to convergence in the designing of LL items, concomitant with their propensity to set themselves in contrast with each other.

Behind this convergence, there is the fact that LL items are necessarily bound in this kind of setting to present their services or goods as responding “rationally” to the public’s needs and desires and the latter perceives them as such. In a modern setting which is moved by instrumental considerations and by value orientations that emphasize the “outcome” of actions,

LL items, in order to be successful, must “play on” and anticipate clients’ cost-and-benefit considerations. Given the far-reaching pervasiveness of the commercial character of the public space, such anticipations have an utmost part in LL structuration. An aspect that turns the investigator’s theoretical reflexions toward methodological individualism in the works of James Coleman (Coleman and Fararo 1992), Raymond Boudon (1990, 2003, 2007) or in others which focus on areas of activity where actors are primarily preoccupied with their own tangible interests. In this vein, and following Boudon in particular, social behavior is widely determined by “good reasons” involving calculation and the reckoning of alternatives. In the case of LL, we should expect accordingly that actors aspiring to “sell something” to potential clients, would be engaged in foreseeing the latter’s motivations and rational contemplations. In the backdrop of present-day multidirectional global flows of goods and services (Ben-Rafael 1996), actors might take profit of the diversity and complexity of commercial opportunities which blur the clarity of what is more “reasonable” and what is less so, and play at setting themselves as “guides” to confused clients. Those two principles of structuration, presentation-of-self and good-reasons, are, actually, necessarily constitutive of LL, at least in the central urban areas of our contemporary world dominated as they are by consumerist and “capitalistic” values.

One may, however, still speak of two additional LL structuration principles that we encounter nowadays in nearly every large urban area—namely, “collective-identity” and “power-relations.” The principle of collective-identity takes all its importance against the background of the tendency of many a society, in this present-day era of globalization, to illustrate forms of multiculturalism. In such environments, LL items (by means of emblematic writings or open wordings) may indeed be designed to also assert—among other interests—their actors’ particularistic identities, i.e. “who they are” in front of “who they are not,” exhibiting thereby *a priori* commitment to a given group within the general public. At first glance, this collective-identity principle may be seen as a different formulation from the presentation-of-self principle. A closer look, however, shows that while these are two outspoken principles attached to the identity of actors, their orientations are diametrically opposed. The presentation-of-self principle, as mentioned, evinces actor’s *uniqueness* on behalf of which he or she calls for passers-by’s attention, insisting on “what I have or am and others don’t or aren’t.” The collective-identity principle emphasizes to whom the actor belongs and wishes to attract potential clients on the basis of common fellowship or *likeness*. Food stores, for instance, which display “Kosher” or “Hallal,” set unambiguously who are *their* customers (Color Figure 3.3).

This collective-identity principle is of special sociological interest in multicultural societies as it signals particularisms—regional, ethnic or religious—differing from the all-societal identity which may play significant roles in

social life. It actually responds to the preoccupations of researchers who investigate the contemporary importance of sociocultural communities, their aspiration to assert themselves on the public scene, and their use of linguistic markers related to strategies of social inclusion and exclusion (Calhoun 1997; Hutchinson and Smith 1996; Ben-Rafael 2002; see also Abrams and Hogg 1990). Hence, the study of the prints of the collective-identity principle in LL should be revealing of the vitality of such societal cleavages. More generally, the more a setting qualifies for its definition as multicultural (i.e., being tolerant of sociocultural differences and their institutionalization), the more LL should allow room for items to express particular identities—in addition to, or on account of, the room left to symbols of overall-society solidarity.

Yet, when tackling such issues for the sociologist arises another inescapable question, i.e. the question of power-relations which might also account for certain aspects of the LL. Power-relations wherever they emerge as factors of regulation of social and political reality refer to the extent to which given actors are able to impose patterns of behaviors on others—even against their will (see Weber's formulation in Bendix 1960). This structuration principle of power-relations may come about through the stronger party's imposition on weaker actors of a given language, or kinds of wordings or styles, thereby limiting the weaker in their use of linguistic resources of their own.

In democratic settings, the impact of power-relations is often restricted by liberal regulations warranting inalienable rights of expression leaving space for LL items indicative of minority's velleities. However, even here, powerful actors may be willing to oppose such articulations *de facto* if not *de jure* by political pressures at the local or national levels. Moreover, one may also speak of power-relations wherever the hegemony of a dominant culture diffuses and controls what is "nice" and "decent," and what is not. Hence, a most blatant example of this kind of hegemony power consists, in nearly every contemporary nation-state, in the imposition of the national language in LL items, sometimes even, as the only language allowed on them. Yet, while a privileged status for the national language is but rarely challenged by LL actors, things stand differently when one speaks of second or third languages. The more the power-relations principle plays a role in LL structuration, the more this aspect might be the object of confrontations, which would only confirm Bourdieu's (1983, 1993) view of social reality as interconnected fields structured by power differentiation, and we would add, wars of words.

These four structuration principles which we associate with the study of LL, are not evenly universal: we see presentation-of-self and good-reasons as endemic to any present-day central urban area, while the extent to which collective-identity and power-relations do influence LL remains an empirical question, even though we may expect them to be of quite general significance.

Pursuing from here, we want also to contend that each principle may also be seen as illustrating different orientations and foci of attention:

- 1 From the “presentation of self” perspective, one may speak of a systemic whole where participants are divided by aspiration to contrast themselves from others. The basic focus of this principle is on LL items *relation to actors*, the description they want to offer of them, and what they stand for.
- 2 From a “good-reasons” perspective, LL items should “speak” to the public and focus on actors’ anticipated rational attitudes, in the very sense that rationality expectedly means to them. Hence, the basic focus and orientation of this principle is on LL items’ *relation to clients* and the perceptions of their motives which they reveal.
- 3 From the collective identity perspective, this principle’s focus is on the eventuality that LL items convey meanings in terms of *identity markers*. It testifies for the special ties binding given actors with specific segments of the public.
- 4 In a context of sociocultural pluralism, and from a “Bourdieuward” perspective, the power-relation structuration principle focuses on the differential uses of linguistic resources in LL which carry prints of *dependence* relations that may exist between groups of actors.

Hence, we have here, in final analysis, a system which focuses on the relation of LL items to actors, of LL items and to the public in general, of groups of LL actors to segments of the public, and of groups of LL actors among themselves. While from these principles stem different, nay even divergent, requests from LL items, they are unable to exclude each other as they project themselves on different aspects of LL. These four principles do not necessarily share the same weight in the design of any specific LL item, and the investigation of LL should reveal what principle prevails over others. In contemporary urban areas, it may be concluded that LL actors’ characteristic *problématiques* revolves around the questions of what principles to emphasize and what principles to underrate in LL items.

All in all, the set of principles singled out here substantiates how sociological theory may be able to contribute to the investigation of LL gestalts as a specific field of research. It might guide investigations by encouraging researchers to focus systematically on specific contexts and circumstances, inquiring about, and elaborating on, LL society relations.

Flows of Linguistic Landscape Items

This kind of investigation, when it turns to specific LL items, confronts soon the fact that these items can be distinguished not only according to their formation themselves but also by the sources they stem from. We

mean that LL refers to a space where one finds not only numberless actors but also numerous kinds of services or goods that, as such, may appeal differently to diverse parts of the public and for which structuration principles may bear different significance.

We discuss this aspect of LL in terms of flows of LL items, and one first relevant factor that can be discerned right away concerns the distinction of at least two different flows of LL items (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). One flow originates from public bodies of different levels—governmental, municipal, public/organizational or associative—that produce signs and LL texts to designate agencies or diffuse information directly depending on those bodies. We may term these items as “top-down” insofar as they start off from foci of public authority to reach “common citizens.” A second flow of LL items qualifies for the notion “bottom-up” and consists of LL items that are produced and presented by countless actors who—as individuals or corporate bodies—generally sprout from the public and address it on behalf of what they offer.

Sociologically speaking, the main difference between these categories of LL items, and the importance at all of the distinction between them, resides in the fact that while both categories make up LL *together*, top-down and bottom-up items are designed by different kinds of actors. Top-down items are designed by experts appointed by functionaries and are committed to serve official policies and the “dominant culture,” that is, the culture represented by the authorities. Bottom-up items are designed much more freely by autonomous actors. In this, the distinction between those categories already carries a question of major sociological interest. It, indeed, asks how far do directives originating from the top of society’s hierarchies, specifying policies deriving from the dominant culture—are congruent with courses of action taking place in the LL and stalking “from below.” One may ask if insisting here on the notion of “from below” makes much sense in an era where huge international corporations seem able to overpower any directive “from above.” One, of course, may expect that the power of individual shops to impose LL items at their liking is not comparable to corporations. Though, independently from any other consideration, we also know that in some countries, legislation is armed with sufficient sanctions to intervene and dictate regulations. All in all, this kind of questions is essentially empirical and should be answered by LL analysis. The answer should throw light on the issue of the relevance of power-relations as a structuration principle of LL and on the extent that bottom-up actors are effectively dependent on top-down directives. This in turn should be explicative of the extent that the collective-identity principle is respected by the top-down flow and is also given autonomy of expression in bottom-up items. On the other hand, the presentation-of-self and good-reasons principles should be of greater importance in bottom-up items than in top-down ones as the latter mostly refer to monopolistic services and need less to identify themselves nor to be preoccupied by competition.

Beyond this broad all-encompassing distinction between top-down and bottom-up flows of LL items, we may pursue and see subdivisions of these flows that are not less relevant to the question of which structuration principles operate where. Without delving too far in this issue, let us emphasize that while some LL items refer to locally produced services or goods, others single out prestigious products by international firms. Clearly, this distinction might be of impact on which structuration principle tends to be more emphasized than others: the presentation-of-self is probably closer to the more cosmopolitan product, and good-reasons to the local. Moreover, some business LL items (such as supermarkets) as well as top-down items in general (post offices, police stations or schools) target particularly people who reside in the area while other LL items—shops of fashion textile or delicatessen—are more oriented toward a less strictly local public of customers. Furthermore, and partly related to the former differentiation, some LL items refer to services or goods that are of daily consumption or use, while others to services or goods that are more enduring. It seems that the more LL refers to food or restaurants the LL items of which target mostly to local clients and their recurrent needs, the more some sociocultural clues might appear in such items, as contemporary ethnicity finds its primary expression in culture-determined diets. On the other hand, the more it is spoken of LL items referring to fashion products, and mainly durable and expensive ones, the more presentation-of-self is to play a prevailing part in their designing. In this latter respect, it has to be emphasized that tokens in the LL that might reflect some attachment to particularisms may serve less as a collective-identity marker than as a marker of prestige regarding the specific branch of actors—see the case of “Italian” restaurants using Italian tokens as markers, fashion stores using French or jeans stores using American symbols.

In this way, the consideration of flows and sub-flows of LL items contribute complementary aspects to the analysis of the structuration of LL and the roles its structuration principles in its molding. Though, this discussion does by no means exhaust the aspects to investigate. Additional pertinent variables may invite the questioning of the relevance of the various structuring principles. We can think here, for instance, of the sizes of businesses or agencies, and thus the volume of clientele which they expect, or the seniority and rootedness of actors in the specific LL investigated. Moreover, one cannot ignore either the eventual specialization of sub-spaces—like the “street of restaurants,” the quarter of jewelry, the area of furniture, the neighborhood of municipal buildings or the hotels’ region. These spatial specializations might be characterized by practices of their own concerning our four structuring principles.

The Theoretical Edge

These reflections do not constitute a full-fledged theory of LL as they do not present any expectations regarding how far and in what manner the four structuring principles impact on LL and its various flows. There is here no *a priori* assumption regarding which of those four principles prevail in what circumstances, nor is there any assumption regarding the precise possibilities of their intermingling. Moreover, these reflections take for granted that all four principles are compatible with each other and do, by no means, exclude each other.

All in all, we propose here a theoretical approach from which can be drawn both general and empirically researchable hypotheses directly deriving from the very definitions of our structuration principles. These principles, indeed, suggest that they might carry special significance in given characteristic circumstances regarding one or the other flow or some sub-flows. To illustrate this point, one may say that as far as the bottom-up flow is concerned, and especially its more prestigious sub-flows, the presentation-of-self principle is expected to gain in saliency where competition increases. In the same circumstances, one may also expect the good-reasons principle to grow in importance. The collective-identity principle should be expressed with more vigor—both in the top-down flow in general and in the sub-flows of LL items of daily and local services or goods where multiculturalism is taken for granted. It would be absent, at least from the top-down flow, where the power-relation principle is bound to the absence or subordination of expressions of particularisms in LL items attached to minority groups. On the other hand, LL items associated with a minority may rather be more asserted in top-down items which express, from a stand of superiority, public bodies' readiness to show tolerance for the minority group, than in bottom-up flow wherever the latter plays a restricted commercial role—both among actors and in the public at large. Furthermore, the Bourdieusard hypothesis should be more relevant especially in bottom-up LL items where acute conflictual feelings nourish the minority's resolution—including minority-group LL actors—to underrate linguistic symbols tied up to the dominant culture at the benefit of its own. On the other hand, and this relates to the good-reasons perspective, some patterns might still be utilized in bottom-up items to safeguard instrumental communication additionally to the emphasis on minority's symbols and the ignorance of all-societal ones. We think here, for instance, of the use of neutral symbols in a context where the use of a dominant language is opposed against the background of political dissent. An illustration of this is provided by the role of English in both Flemish and Francophone areas in Belgium where the uses of French and Dutch, respectively, are barred by a conflictual system of official regional monolingualism (Color Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Another example is provided in Eastern Jerusalem where Hebrew is ignored

in bottom-up LL items at the profit of English appearing together with Arabic (Color Figure 3.6)

Yet, it remains that beyond such very general hypotheses, our theoretical approach is mainly aimed at guiding sociological investigation of LL and its focusing on its systematic aspects and developments. It then should allow us to point out patterns representing different ways in which people, groups, associations, institutions, and governmental agencies cope with the game of symbols within this complex space made of what Lefebvre (1991) called “spatial practice.” It is under this light that this approach should permit the challenge of “deciphering” that *gestalt* which we call *linguistic landscape*. This space, we have said, carries emblematic meanings as the decorum of public life and it is in this sense that LL through the designing of its LL items finds all its importance as the symbolic construction of this public space. A space which is not only “chaotic” but, in its own way, also “accountable.”

Hypotheses deriving from our approach and referring to specific circumstances, we want to further remark, are relevant to both quantitative and qualitative research. In a quantitative-statistical perspective, what matters is the distribution of signs, uses of languages, categories of designs and texts that may unveil the relative impact of the different structuring principles. The differentiation of top-down and bottom-up items may then answer the question of the extent to which the norms and value-orientations standing behind LL items originating in the ruling spheres reflect similar or contradictory tendencies of the flow of items originating from autonomous actors. Subsequent specifications of sub-flows open then the way to the consideration of specific branches and additional subdivisions.

The impacts of our four structuration principles may further be followed through the replication of the investigation in locations of different demographic composition, by class, ethnicity or the like. In a similar vein but with other research instruments, our sociological hypotheses may also guide qualitative LL research. Content analyses of selected LL items pertaining to the different flows and the various sub-flows should reveal the values they set forward, the ways potential clients are perceived by LL designers, patterns of presentation-of-self used by actors, how coercion or its refusal may be practiced in LL items, and above all, the kind of reasoning that one finds behind tactics and strategies of getting “close” to the public.

More generally, the sociological analysis of LL offers the opportunity of outlining how well-known principles of social life mold together a specific social scene of major importance. What happens here cannot be entirely foreign to what happens on other scenes, and in this respect, LL is but one more example of the making of social reality under diverse, uncoordinated and possibly incongruent structuration principles. In this, LL illustrates processes expressing “at the surface” the working of what Levi-Strauss (1958, 1977, 1978) would call “deep structures” and which he elaborates on by emphasizing their conveying contradictory options. A perspective that,

actually, inspires our own which aspires to delve into LL beyond its appearance as a jungle of jumbled items, and grasp the intermingling of those structuring principles that makes of LL a system. This approach which focuses on the potential variations of LL configurations, wishes but to account for LL's constituting, after all, a quite "ordered—and not so unusual—disorder."

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LANGUAGE ECONOMY AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter

Introduction

Language in its written form speaks to us from numerous signs in the public space. In residential areas we may just find street signs, texts on mailboxes or nameplates, but in commercial streets there is an abundance of signs. Many of those signs are put there with economic considerations in mind (Color Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The signs may inform us about the location of a store or the kinds of products that can be bought at that location. Many are advertisements which contain a message that try to convince us to buy a certain product. According to the American Signmakers Association, a good sign for a business is plainly worth a lot of money (Claus 2002). In this contribution we are going to look at the economic side of the environmental print that makes up the linguistic landscape (LL).

Signs have an economic cost because they have to be made of some material by somebody. Of course, there is a huge difference in cost between a handwritten note stuck on the wall asking for a room to let and a huge commercial billboard with rotating texts or a large video screen. Signs can produce an economic benefit, which may be difficult to establish in precise terms, but when a restaurant attracts more customers because of a new sign, the added income could be attributed to the new sign. Claus (2002: 4–7) makes clear that the direct economic value of a sign, which can also be understood as the market value of a sign, can be measured by the number of exposures (how many people are reached by the message), by the market value of the location of the business and by the revenues generated by the sign because many customers stop by when they see the sign. Thus, signs have an important economic dimension in selling products, but also in other ways as will be shown below.

In the first section of this chapter, we will focus on the most prominent topics in the study of LL that is related to an economic perspective. The following section will summarize the relationship between language and the economy as an emerging field of research. Then we will explain the contingent valuation method from environmental economics as a way to assess

economic value. Our central section is a proposal that can apply this method to LL research in order to determine its economic value by focusing on non-market values. This method implies a further expansion of LL research.

The Study of the Linguistic Landscape

The study of the LL in its own right is a relatively recent development, although there is a tradition in semiotics to study the function and meaning of signs more generally. Research on the LL has grown substantially over the last few years. An influential study of the LL was carried out by Landry and Bourhis (1997) who provided a definition of LL that has been used by a large number of researchers (see, e.g., Backhaus, Curtin, Dal Negro, Huebner, Lanza and Woldemariam, in this volume). Landry and Bourhis distinguished between the informative and the symbolic functions of language signs. The informative function indicates the borders of the territory of a linguistic group. The signs of the territory show that a specific language or languages are available for communication, e.g., to sell products. On the other hand, the symbolic function refers to the value and status of the languages, as perceived by the members of a language group in comparison to other languages. The values given to languages will be of concern to us for our economic approach. Bourhis and Landry are of the opinion that LL can be an important factor in language policy. In this paper we add the notion that LL is also important in economic processes.

Studies conducted in different parts of the world have not paid much attention to the importance of the LL in the economic domain. However, the topics discussed in many recent papers on LL, such as the production and consumption of goods, can also be considered as economic issues. Some of the possibilities in the study of the LL as related to economics will be discussed here; first we will summarize some of the most prominent findings in the study of the LL in the light of such an economic approach.

Some state and regional authorities have included in their language policy rules about the languages to be used on signage. Regulations related to the LL go side by side with a language policy for the use of languages in education, the media, social and economic life or other domains. The use of different languages in signs in bilingual and multilingual countries or regions can be of great symbolic importance. These raise issues of which language to use for place names, especially in linguistic loaded conflict areas (Gorter 1997; Hicks 2002). Thus, painting over of signs which have the “wrong” names has been popular among language activists in many minority regions of Europe. It clearly informs passersby about the struggles over language rights and about legitimate use of language in public spaces (see also Pennycook, this volume). Governmental language policy is usually directed mainly at official signs but it can also affect commercial signs and thus is bound to have economic consequences. A famous case is “Bill 101” in

Québec (Bourhis and Landry 2002; see also Backhaus, this volume). The bill required, among other things, that advertising must be done in French alone relating specifically to commercial signs that are required to be displayed in French. At the time it was feared that companies might leave the areas as a consequence of imposing the law. Yet, these measures have been relaxed and English is now acceptable in signs provided that French is given priority. Another example is in Catalonia where there is a legal obligation to display at least some presence of the Catalan language on all public and private signs. The use of different languages in the sign also reflects the power, status and economic importance of the different languages. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) found that a relatively strong language policy in the case of Basque had a measurable effect on the LL as compared to Frisian where no such effect was found. Basque on its own or in combination with other languages appeared in over 50 percent of the signs while Frisian only appeared in 5 percent of the signs even though the percentage of speakers who are fluent in Frisian is higher than those fluent in Basque. The effect of language policy to promote the use of Basque in language signs is reflected in both public and private (commercial) signs.

All around the world, signs which are multilingual tend to include English as one of the languages, not just in the capital cities but also in provincial towns (Schlick 2003). One of the causes for the spread of English is globalization, a process usually defined in economic terms of markets, production and consumption. By using English businesses aim at increasing their sales and thus its presence is motivated by economic reasons. The use of English also raises issues of identity and power and thus can have consequences for the balance between the different languages in multilingual situations (see Pennycook 1994; Ammon et al. 1994; Fishman et al. 1996; Phillipson 2003). For example, English spoken in India has its own characteristics that identify its speakers with the upper layers of society (Dhondge 2002). At the same time, the use of English is associated with values such as international orientation, modernity, success, sophistication or fun (see Piller 2001, 2003).

The omnipresence of English in LLs is one of the most obvious markers of the process of globalization. Many studies of LL have provided evidence for this. For example, Ben Rafael et al. (2006) reported on patterns of the LL in Jewish, Palestinian Israeli and non-Israeli Palestinian settings in Israel. They found that between 25 and 75 percent of the items analyzed in their study were in English, depending on the specific area. The main languages used in these settings were Hebrew, Arabic and English but there were also other languages, such as Russian. Huebner (2006) conducted a similar study with regards to areas in the city-center of Bangkok. While in Thailand it is obligatory by law to use at least Thai, still English is prominent on many signs. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in their study comparing the two cities of Donostia-San Sebastian in the Basque Country (Spain) and Ljouwert-Leeuwarden in

Friesland (The Netherlands), found that English was present in 28 percent of the signs in Donostia-San Sebastian and 37 percent of the signs in Ljouwert-Leeuwarden. These data indicate that the spread of English is a substantial part of the economic dimension of the LL.

The studies mentioned so far have focused on multilingualism *per se* but could also be related to an economic dimension. Other economic factors, including immigration and tourism or the revitalization of minority languages have influenced the development of multilingualism and multiculturalism at the beginning of the twenty-first century in many Western countries. Ethnic, sociocultural, religious and commercial diversity contribute to linguistic diversity. When studying the signs, we can see that they reflect somehow cultural and linguistic diversity. In fact, the language signs can be an indicator of the languages used in a specific setting.

Language and Economics

The relationship between language and economics is an emergent field of research. In several publications Grin (1990, 1996, 2007) has provided an overview of research on the economics of language. A brief summary will be given here.

Economics can prove useful for linguistic studies in two ways: (1) it can offer a better understanding of language-related processes and (2) it can be useful for language policy studies. The field of language economics, although arose in the 1960s, is still young and underdeveloped. Language processes are affected by economic processes and vice versa. Grin mentions as key issues of the field, the benefits and costs of intergroup communication, differences in participation on the labor market, inequality based on language, the provision of language-specific goods, language use in the marketplace, the role of language in economic development and the economic advantages and disadvantages of different policies for language-teaching.

For Grin (1996, 2007) the economics of language is part of the paradigm of mainstream economics and the approach uses the concepts and tools of economics in the study of linguistic variables. The focus is on relationships between linguistic and economic variables. He summarizes the development of the economics of language in three periods. The oldest studies looked at language as an ethnic attribute (e.g., mother tongue), which may have an effect on the person's socioeconomic status (particularly earnings). Such studies were carried out in the USA and Canada. The second generation of studies looked at language as human capital and as linked to economics of education, thus language skills are interpreted as a source of economic advantage. The third generation considers both dimensions jointly and is looking at language as medium of trade. These studies were conducted mainly in North America and language was found to be an explanatory factor of the economic variables (e.g., language determines labor income). In

Europe in the late 1980s, there was some interest in the reverse relationship of economic variables as explanatory factors of linguistic variables (e.g., effect of earnings on language use, or on language maintenance). Other studies looked at the role of economics as a tool for evaluating language policy, in particular in terms of costs and benefits. One intriguing dimension of languages, which sets them apart from most other “commodities” in an economic sense, is that when more people use a language, it becomes more useful to other people. This has an effect on the attractiveness of particular languages.

Grin (2007: 274–278) mentions four main directions of current economy of language research. Those are studies about (1) language and labor income (linguistic attributes can influence earnings), (2) language dynamics (which is related to language maintenance and language shift), (3) language and economic activity (mainly descriptive work on the role of language in production, consumption and exchange), and (4) the economics of language policy (the question of linguistic diversity). The latter establishes links with other branches of economics; its closest “cousin” is environmental economics that compares the linguistic environment with the natural environment. The aim is to identify the main sources of benefits and costs of various policy alternatives from the perspective of individuals and of society. It is precisely this relationship with environmental economics in which we are interested to propose a way forward to study the added value of multilingualism in the LL. Before we can go into that we will explain the economic valuation method.

Economic Valuation

In environmental economics, the concept of total economic value is used to assess environmental benefits. Organizations such as the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), the World Bank and some governmental agencies assess the economic value of environmental resources. Why is it interesting to do that? There are different reasons. It can be interesting for a government to estimate the costs and benefits of specific policies related to the environment. Monetary assessments can help to do this in order to compare the advantages and disadvantages of different options to make investments. Assessing the economic value also becomes important in cases of natural resource damage and different approaches can be taken when estimating the economic loss caused by such damage.

An interesting case to illustrate natural resource damage is the oil spill caused by the large oil tanker the *Exxon Valdez*, one of the worst environmental catastrophes in history. The oil spill took place in the Gulf of Alaska in 1989. The estimation of the damage for the *Exxon Valdez* included for the first time “non-market values” related to the damage caused in the environment.

Some goods and services are traded in markets and their value can be directly observed. This type of good has a market value and an example in this context would be the value of the fish that could not be caught because of the oil spill. Some other goods and services cannot be bought or sold directly. They are non-market goods or services. An example of this would be the damage to some birds or fish species and also the impossibility of enjoying a beautiful view of the coast after the disaster took place. The total economic value includes both market and non-market values of a specific environmental benefit. In the case of the *Exxon Valdez*, as it is the case in other disasters caused by oil tankers, the market values were included in the total estimation of damages: clean-up costs, lost fishing revenue and payments to fishermen. The *Exxon Valdez* also caused very important ecological damage mainly affecting birds and fish. This ecological damage does not have a market value but in this case, it was considered part of the economic loss. In fact, as Nunes and De Blaeij (2005) point out, the inclusion of non-market value costs was a benchmark in natural resource damage assessments.

The non-market values can be clarified further. We will need this in order to apply this economic approach to the study of the LL. Non-market values can include use values and non-use values. The use value of a good or service is the value that the active use of the good has for individuals or for a society. For example swimming or recreational fishing produce some benefits which do not have a market value although they are also associated with market use values such as the travel cost or the cost of fishing equipments. Other environmental benefits, such as the existence of a high number of species in a specific coastal area can be a non-use value if individuals are not carrying out any activity related to these species but only enjoying the fact that they exist. An individual may even be willing to pay not only for use values but also for non-use values.

The use values and non-use values can be classified further. Although other classifications can be found, we will follow the example of marine quality given by Nunes and De Blaeij (2005). Use values can be direct or indirect and non-use values can have a bequest and existence value (see Table 4.1). Direct use values include going to the beach, swimming, sailing but also fishing and human health (prevention of health problems because of good marine quality). In all these cases, there is a direct use of goods or activities and a market value does exist in the case of non-recreational fishing. Indirect use values include the ecological functioning of the marine ecosystem so as to protect the marine living resources diversity. Two types of non-use values can be distinguished. Bequest values refer to legacy benefits so that future generations may benefit from marine living resources. The other type of non-use value, existence value, refers to the knowledge that marine living resources are not extinct. It refers to the intrinsic value of the marine ecosystem, including biodiversity, the value people place simply on knowing that these resources exist even if they never visit it.

Table 4.1 Non-market values of marine quality (adapted from Nunes and De Blaeij 2005)

| | <i>Examples</i> |
|---|---|
| Use values | |
| Direct use values: direct use of the marine living resources | Going to the beach, swimming, sailing Non-recreational fishing Human health (prevention of allergies) |
| Indirect use values: ecological functioning of the marine ecosystem | Balancing the chemical composition of the water |
| Non-use values | |
| Bequest value: legacy for future generations | To know that marine living resources will be there for the future |
| Existence value: Knowledge that a specific good exists | To get satisfaction from the fact that marine living resources are there even if we don't use them |

The type of taxonomy used by Nunes and De Blaeij (2005) is widely used in environmental economics but it has some problems because of the overlap of the different categories and has received some criticism (see, e.g., Weikard 2002; Hein et al. 2006). Other researchers add as one more category the “option value,” either as use or non-use value. The option value refers to the probability of using a specific good or service in the future.

The main idea of valuation methods including non-use values is that if we only look at the market value of an environmental good, the cost of conserving this good may be smaller than the benefit we get from its existence. In many cases the non-market benefit may be as important and justify the cost because people value other aspects of the good or service which do not have a market value. In these cases only when the non-market value is included, then the benefit is greater than the cost in a “cost-benefit” analysis.

Several methods have been used to measure “use” and “non-use” values in evaluating the total economic value: these methods are referred to as “hedonic pricing,” “travel cost,” “conjoint choice,” “contingent valuation,” etc. In this chapter we focus on the contingent valuation method (CVM) which is the most frequently used valuation method. It is a stated preference method that uses surveys. The CVM is based on the idea that people have preferences for environmental goods and can express these preferences in monetary units. It uses constructed market scenarios so as to elicit individual responses when individuals are asked whether they would be willing to pay a specific amount of money in return for a proposed environmental change or benefit. One of the strengths of the CVM is that it can measure use and non-use values and can therefore be used as a way to estimate the total monetary value of a good or service and not only its market value. CVM has

some limitations and has been criticized because many people are not able to assess the implications of changes in ecosystems (see also Desvousges et al. 1993; and Diamond and Hausman 1994). Furthermore, there may be some problems when approaching the value of collective goods as if they were private goods. Although the CVM is criticized by some economists it is widely used and it has spread after the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill when it was used for the first time to assess the non-use value of the damages.

Economic Valuation, Multilingualism and Landscape

In this section we will explore the possibility of using economic valuation methods and in particular the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) for the study of the LL. As we have already noted the valuation of use and non-use benefits is common in environmental economics when studying biodiversity. Our first point in this section is to see if biodiversity has something in common with linguistic diversity. Then we will explore the possibility of carrying out an economic valuation of linguistic diversity in the LL.

Nowadays there are between 5,000 and 7,000 languages in the world. According to *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005), there are 2,269 languages in Asia, 2,092 in Africa, 1,310 in the Pacific, 1,002 in the Americas and 239 in Europe. This is a total of 6,912 languages. The *Ethnologue* data further indicate that 40 percent of the world's population uses one of the most common eight languages as their first language. These languages are Mandarin, Hindi, Spanish, English, Bengali, Portuguese, Arabic, and Russian. In contrast, most languages are spoken by less than 2 percent of the world's population and some of these only by a few hundred or even a handful of people. As there are almost 7,000 languages in the world and just fewer than 200 independent states, this implies that multilingualism is a common phenomenon and linguistic diversity does greatly differ per country.

Greenberg had devised different measurements of linguistic diversity for countries in the 1950s. He started with a simple index relating to the chance that two random members of a community speak the same language. He then further took into account the factors of linguistic distance and of "polylingualism" (because a speaker may command two or more languages). Greenberg (1971: 70) also realizes that "measurements of language diversity may . . . show significant correlations with economic levels." This type of quantitative measure of linguistic diversity is seldom used in current research. A linguistic diversity index must take into account several factors such as the unit of analysis or the probability of finding speakers. The index should be zero when there is homogeneity and should not have a maximum value. Factors to consider are the number of languages, the spread of languages and the distance between languages; in other words the richness, evenness and distance (Van Parijs 2006). Several other indices for linguistic diversity

could be constructed based on economic theories, as has been shown for bio-ecological diversity by Maignan et al. (2003), where similar dimensions of diversity such as number, size and distinctiveness are considered.

Taking into account that a large number of languages are considered weak, a parallelism has been drawn between linguistic diversity and biodiversity. In both cases, some of the species are at risk and need specific protection. Crystal (2000) highlights two of the arguments used to support biodiversity for their applicability to linguistic diversity:

- 1 The whole concept of ecosystem is based on networks of relationships and “damage to any one of the elements in an ecosystem can result in unforeseen consequences for the system as a whole” (Crystal 2000: 33).
- 2 Diversity is necessary for evolution and the strongest ecosystems are those which are more diverse.

The disappearance of a species is a great loss for the world but the death of a language is also a significant loss because languages imply a loss of inherited knowledge. Cultures are transmitted through languages and languages also reflect the history of the people who have used them. As Krauss argues linguistic diversity is not less important than ecological diversity:

Surely just as the extinction of any animal species diminishes our world, so does the extinction of any language. Surely we linguists know, and the general public can sense, that any language is a supreme achievement of a uniquely human collective genius, as divine and endless a mystery as a living organism. Should we mourn the loss of Eyak or Ubykh any less than the loss of the panda or California condor?

(Krauss 1992: 8)

Similar views have been discussed by Maffi (2000) who refers to biocultural diversity as the link and interdependence between the various manifestations of the diversity of life: biodiversity, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity.

A well known analogy between linguistic and ecological diversity is the “language garden analogy” proposed by Garcia (in Baker and Prys Jones 1998: 205). According to Garcia it would be dull and boring to travel around the world and see that all gardens are of the same one-color flower. The variety of flowers of different shapes, sizes and colors makes our visual and aesthetic experience rich and enjoyable. Linguistic diversity also makes the world more interesting and colorful but as in the case of flowers it makes the garden more difficult to tend. Some flowers (and some languages) spread quickly and others need extra care and protection. Language diversity requires planning and care and involves some actions such as: (1) Adding flowers to the garden: Learning other languages can be an enriching experience;

(2) Protecting rare flowers: Protecting languages at risk through legislation and education; (3) Nurturing flowers in danger of extinction: Intervention may be necessary and may imply positive economic discrimination; (4) Controlling flowers that spread quickly and naturally: Spread can be allowed if it does not kill other languages.

As we have already seen there are many languages “at risk” in the world nowadays because of their limited number of speakers. Krauss (1992) estimates that 50 percent of languages could die in the next 100 years and that in the long term, 90 percent of the world languages could disappear. The demographic factor is crucial when looking at the vitality of a language but the vitality of a language is a complex construct which is also related to other factors (Giles et al. 1977).

We have already drawn a parallelism between biodiversity and linguistic diversity.

Moreover, linguistic diversity is also closely linked to cultural diversity as indicated in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001), and the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005) (see Matsuura 2007).

We will now examine the possibility of defining use and non-use values in the study of the LL. The LL can reflect multilingualism and linguistic diversity. Adopting an economic approach for the study of linguistic diversity in the LL has a number of advantages: (1) The LL is highly visible by all citizens. Other areas such as linguistic diversity in education are also very interesting but restricted to those citizens who are involved in the educational system either as students, parents, teachers or policy-makers; (2) the LL combines the public and the private sectors and can give a better view of both sectors in society by comparing their differences; (3) the LL can be regulated to a certain extent by the authorities who can potentially formulate regulations about the language(s) to be used; (4) the LL is in many cases linked to an economic value as in the case of commercial advertising.

In theory, it could be possible to estimate the total economic value of linguistic diversity in the LL of a specific city or area by applying the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) similar to earlier studies on biodiversity. There are many interesting questions to explore when evaluating diversity: How do people feel about linguistic diversity in the linguistic landscape? Are languages “at risk” important as compared with the conservation of species “at risk”? Are people willing to pay for linguistic diversity? Is it possible to estimate the total economic value of languages or of a specific language? Are citizens willing to pay for the use of more languages in the linguistic landscape?

There are different possibilities for applying CVM to the study of the LL but in this chapter we are going to focus on a very specific aspect—the use of linguistic diversity understood as the maximum number of languages to be included in language signs. Its parallel would be to protect as many species as

possible in a specific area in the case of ecological studies. We will refer to the use of weak languages in the landscape which would be parallel to protecting endangered species, that is, specific species which are at risk. The first step will be to make an attempt to define the use and non-use values of linguistic diversity within the LL. There are some difficulties to carry out this adaptation: The first is that even though there is a tradition for comparing biodiversity and linguistic diversity and there is also research on language and economics it is still difficult to think about the market and non-market value of languages. Another problem is the possible overlap of the different types of values which is already a problem in environmental studies (see, e.g., Weikard 2002; Hein et al. 2006). In fact, when it comes to specific examples the borderline between use and non-use values is not always clear. In spite of these problems it can be very helpful to attempt to fully capture the total value of linguistic diversity. Table 4.2 explores this possibility.

The use values of linguistic diversity in the LL are the values attached to the use of the language signs. These use values can be direct or indirect. Direct use values have an exchange value that could be reflected in the

Table 4.2 Non-market values of linguistic diversity within the linguistic landscape

| | <i>Examples</i> |
|--|---|
| Use values | |
| Direct use values: direct use of the languages to convey meaning and to communicate | Understanding the meaning of the signs because they are in a language we understand: names of streets, shops, services Practicing the languages citizens know |
| Indirect use values: indirect use of linguistic diversity, including costs avoided (more marketing for tourism, specific guides, more work on integration) | More possibilities to attract tourism because the environment is "friendly" and the signs are understood More possibilities to work towards integration of different minorities and to avoid conflict Giving an image of a modern, cosmopolitan, multicultural city |
| Non-use values | |
| Bequest value: value of the languages in the linguistic landscape left for future generations | When languages are in the landscape, citizens, particularly speakers of minorities feel that their language may survive and be used by future generations |
| Existence value: intrinsic value of linguistic diversity the value people place simply on knowing that linguistic diversity exists even if they do not understand the languages. | Speakers of different languages enjoy the existence of these languages because they identify with them |

market even though the estimation of this value may be difficult. In the case of the LL signs have a direct use to convey information. This is the communicative function of language. We can use the signs to know the name of the street, information about products in shops, regulations about traffic, etc. As citizens, we are using these signs in a direct way if we are able to understand the language(s) on the sign. These languages can be our dominant language or other languages we have learned and we can practice. If there were no language signs or if these signs were in a language citizens would not understand, other means of conveying information or translation would be necessary and they would have a market cost.

Linguistic diversity in the LL can also have indirect use values. Indirect use values in ecological studies do not have an explicit market value and include costs avoided by having the ecosystem available. We have identified three indirect use values in the case of linguistic diversity in the language landscape. The diversity of languages on the signs can be good for tourists and can solve communication problems and avoid their costs (e.g., publishing guides in different languages, offering interpretation). The indirect value can also apply to the sustainability of the languages used in the city or area and the integration of different groups of speakers. Potentially, this could avoid some costs caused by the marginalization of some groups. Another indirect value can be the image of being in a modern, cosmopolitan, multicultural city or area. This could avoid some additional costs in the marketing of the city or reinforce this marketing.

Non-use values are attached to a “good,” independent of its use. They fall into two categories: bequest values and existential values. Bequest values refer to the benefits from ensuring that the languages in the LL will be preserved for future generations. If somebody’s language or many languages are included in language signs they are less likely to be lost. The existence value reflects benefits from knowing that a certain language exists, in our case that it exists in the LL. The language may not be necessary for communication because we understand other languages in the signs but there is reward in the fact that a specific language is also included. People who speak minority languages could consider the existence value of their language higher than other speakers.

When analyzing the total economic value of biodiversity the optional value is sometimes included as a use value or as a non-use value. The optional value refers to the potential of a good to be available in the future. We consider that in the case of linguistic diversity in the LL this idea is already included in the bequest value and in the indirect use value.

Conclusion

The study of LL has taken different approaches and has focused on different areas of interest such as multilingualism, the spread of English, the differences

between public and private signs and language policy. In this chapter, we take a different approach to the study of the LL by applying one of the methods used in the economic study of biodiversity. This approach does not go against other approaches taken so far, but it is an additional contribution to understanding the nature of language signs. It is perfectly compatible with the study of the different areas we have just mentioned and we believe that the study of the LL can benefit from a multidisciplinary approach. According to UNESCO, languages are indeed essential to the identity of groups and individuals and to their peaceful co-existence. “They constitute a strategic factor of progress towards sustainable development and a harmonious relationship between the global and the local context” (Matsuura 2007).

The economic approach focuses on the market and non-market value of the LL. The market value can be measured as Claus (2002) does by looking at the number of exposures, the value of the location and the revenues of language signs in the LL. The measurement of the non-market value can be made by looking at the use and non-use value of the language signs. This chapter is a first attempt to define the non-market value of the LL. The definitions given in this chapter for direct, indirect, bequest and existence values need to be developed and new possibilities should be explored. These possibilities regarding the perception of use and non-use values could arise by conducting focus group discussions and interviews with those who have decided to use specific signs such as representatives of the city council, business owners and those who can see these signs such as tourists and local people. Another possibility for future research is to ask different groups of people about their willingness to pay for the use of specific languages in the LL or for maintaining and promoting linguistic diversity.

In this chapter, we have tried to adapt an economic model to the study of the linguistic landscape by focusing on the linguistic diversity of the landscape. This attempt is just an approximation that can be further developed, changed, revised and refined when conducting further research on linguistic landscape, and applied to other areas in the study of multilingualism and language diversity.

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A FRAMEWORK FOR THE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

Thom Huebner

Introduction

In recent years, a spate of academic papers has explored the linguistic landscapes (LLs) of a number of urban areas around the world following the definition in Landry and Bourhis (1997):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government building combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

At a conceptual level, Landry and Bourhis provide a compelling construct, documenting a visual record of the identities, values, and relationships within a given territory, region, or urban area. At the operational level, however, the definition requires some clarification and narrowing of the concept. Laur (2006), for example, points to “the challenges posed by the sampling of empirical data, the complex task of defining a unit of analysis and subsequently devising categorization and coding schemes of the signs studied.”

The current chapter focuses on problems of selection, classification, and linguistic analyses of artifacts found in LLs. To address these issues, it examines artifacts found in LLs from the perspective of ethnography of communication (Hymes 1972). While genre is the starting point for the discussion, the chapter also addresses other components of Hymes’ framework for the interaction of language and social life. In the process, it draws on the work of Scollon and Scollon (2003) on geosemiotics,¹ on the literature on multilingual advertising (Piller 2003) and on the grammar of design (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998).

The SPEAKING Mnemonic

Whether the study of LLs represents “a new approach to multilingualism,”² or simply an often overlooked source of data for the analysis of language in society, including multilingualism, social stratification and positioning, and language contact and change, it must “encompass the multiple relations between linguistic means and social meaning” (Hymes 1972: 31). Hymes’ model of communication recognizes “some sixteen or seventeen components,” any or all of which may be necessary to arrive at an adequate description of a communicative act, conveniently encompassed in the mnemonic SPEAKING (S = setting or scene; P = participants; E = ends or goals; A = act sequences; K = key; I = instrumentalities; N = norms; G = genre).

Linguistic Landscapes and their Genres

In his introduction to the recent volume dedicated to the study of LLs, Gorter (2006: 3) observes, “One may say that the linguistic landscape refers to linguistic objects that mark the public space. But the question is what constitutes such an object or sign?” In this regard, researchers of LL have been somewhat inconsistent. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 10), following Landry and Bourhis closely, included in their study “street signs, commercial signs, billboards, signs on national and municipal institutes, trade names, and personal study plates or public notices.” But this is not a list of mutually exclusive categories. Trade names appear on billboards, and billboards are a type of commercial sign. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) consider an entire store front as a single token. In cases in which a sign is not a part of the storefront, the signs themselves are tokens. Cenoz and Gorter analyze these tokens in terms of, among other variables, their “type.” For storefronts, this means the type of store (e.g., clothing, books, food). Among the non-storefronts coded in their study are “graffiti, commercial and noncommercial posters” (Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 71). To their credit, they recognize “a degree of arbitrariness” in the codification process. In my own chapter in that volume, I look at “signs” without a clear delineation of what is included in that term. Backhaus (2006: 55) does define a “sign” as: “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame”, although he recognizes some of the potential problems with that definition as well, in particular that “[t]he underlying definition is rather broad, including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards” (Backhaus 2006: 55).

The lack of an agreed upon, or even clearly identified, unit of analysis is problematic for a number of reasons. First, the resulting analyses afford equal weight to a 3×6 inch sign reading “pull” adjacent to the handle of a shop door, to a 2×5 foot banner hanging from a light pole advertising a movie, and to a 20×40 foot sign proclaiming the name, telephone number

and products of the shop itself (Color Figure 5.1). Second, it provides no principled way to take into account the variety of possible intended audiences for items found in a given LL. In the example given here, the banners are clearly intended for an audience that is at best a sub-set of the intended audience of the shop sign. Finally, it makes comparative statements across various studies virtually impossible. By identifying and describing the genres found among the various artifacts within a given LL these problems can be avoided.

A genre is a class of communicative events identified by both its traditionally recognized form and its common functions (Hymes 1972: 65). Swales identifies a number of defining features that constitute a genre, among them a shared set of communicative purposes and constraints on allowable contributions in terms of content, positioning, and form. He also notes that exemplars of a genre may vary in their prototypicality. Finally, he points out that a discourse community's "nomenclature" for a genre is an important source of insight (Swales 1990: 45–58). Bex (1993: 719) asserts that "Genre theory predicts that (linguistic) texts which are intended to perform similar functions will contain similar linguistic elements". Indeed, he goes so far as to claim that ". . . it is by virtue of belonging to a genre that texts enter into a recognizable social discourse and identify the context for their interpretation" (Bex 1993: 719). It is for this reason that speech communities often have labels for the genres they use.

Attention to the labels assigned to genres is central to an understanding of the social meanings created by their use. Most LL studies have followed the list provided by Landry and Bourhis of linguistic artifacts with some minor variations. Few, however, have looked at the variation found among various genres found in the LL (see, e.g., Lock 2003). None to my knowledge have taken into consideration the types of artifacts found based on nomenclature assigned to them by the communities in which they are found. This is one possible direction for future LL research.

Setting and Scene

In conducting LL research the choice of sampling domain is driven by the purpose of the study. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) and Huebner (2006) select neighborhoods to reflect the diversity and variation of the communities they describe. Backhaus (2006: 54) looks at the areas surrounding the stops on a Tokyo train line to provide a single, "multilayered picture of the centre, including business and shopping districts, as well as less busy sites such as parks and residential areas." Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compare language use patterns of the central shopping districts of two provincial European cities.

But within a given domain, few studies consider the immediate context of an artifact of LL. The nature and content of a sign, for example, is affected by its placement *vis-à-vis* its readers. In a detailed study of the environmental

print in and around Hong Kong's Municipal Railway system, Lock (2003) distinguishes between two kinds of advertisements, those on the platforms and those inside the car. Because of their orientation to the reader, the two types of ads take different forms. Since the platform ads are intended to be visible to crowds of people as they move past them quickly and are sometimes partially obscured by those crowds, they are in "large, standard-size light boxes on the walls of the [subway] tunnel opposite the platforms" and are designed "for maximum immediate impact typically with little or no linguistic text and large, eye-catching images" (Lock 2003: 197). The ads inside the cars, by contrast, are "in standard size panels with thin black borders on the inside walls of the carriage above the seats or the doors" of the subway carriage. Furthermore, "[t]hey often have much more linguistic text than the platform ads and rely much less on eye-catching images" (Lock 2003: 197).

This difference in orientation to the audience has implications not only for aspects of the message forms such as amount of text and images used but also on the type of language found in the text. In his study of advertisements on the Hong Kong Mass Transit Railway, Lock (2003: 197) distinguishes between ads and "another genre of texts—*notices*, i.e., the signs issued by the MTR authority to provide information necessary for safe and efficient journeys [inform] and to notify passengers of expected behavior [regulate]." He found that:

Related to the difference in placement is the fact that while the notices generally depend on their immediate (situational) context for their interpretation, the interpretation of the ads is generally independent of their immediate context. Thus, in the notices, people and things represented linguistically and visually are features of the trains or the platforms (e.g., seats, doors, the gap between the platform and the train) or passengers. The notices also contain large numbers of exophoric deixis to features of the train or the platform, either linguistic, e.g. mind the gap, let's keep the train clean), or visual (e.g. arrows indicating the location of exits). In the ads, however, the immediate context of the MTR platforms and trains is neither represented nor pointed to.

One might expect to find similar variation among, for example, billboards placed on the top floors of buildings and plaques on structures officially designated as of historical significance, due to the temporal and spatial orientation of the artifact to the audience. This has yet to be explored.

Participants

Participants in LLs include both agents and audience. Much of the LL literature focuses on agency, distinguishing between top-down and bottom-up signs, “. . . 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 utilized by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). This dichotomy appears useful until it is applied to real data. From a language policy perspective, inherent in that metaphor is an underlying assumption that government agencies impose policy on those below, while private corporations somehow represent the *vox populi*. In globalized markets, multinational entities like KFC (i.e. Kentucky Fried Chicken) or Seven-Eleven often exert more pervasive and lasting influence on language choice and language use than government policy. Furthermore, the distinction itself is socially situated. A sign posted in the elevator of a high-rise office building by the building management company may be viewed as top-down from the perspective of the tenants, but as bottom-up from the perspective of a national government. In fact, artifacts in the LL produced by government and by multinationals may differ significantly in form from each other and from those artifacts produced by a locally-owned business, which in turn may differ from that of a hand-written notice of a missing pet. And certainly the prototypical “bottom-up” form of urban literary artifact, namely graffiti, takes on a form different from all of the above. It is my contention that the distinction between “top-down” versus “bottom-up” fails to capture the notion of agency and how it impacts language forms in the LL.

The other participant in LL is the audience. Each token in a LL embodies the characteristics that are perceived by the agent to be responsible for its presence as either reflective of or required of its audience. This has long been recognized in the research on advertising. Goddard notes that “. . . advertising texts are seen as potentially involving complex notions of audience, where readers have to work hard to decode messages and understand different address relationships” (Goddard 2001: 8). The forms that language takes in the LL is influenced in part by the agents’ perceptions of the intended audience, as is demonstrated in Huebner (2006). Thus, the language of the banner in Color Figure 5.2 limits accessibility of the message to a select audience who both reads Thai and has a high level of English proficiency. Backhaus’ (this volume) comparison of LL legislation in Quebec and Tokyo illustrates how differences in intended audience (a primarily domestic group in the former; small children and foreigners in the latter), shape legislation and consequently the language of the LL itself.

Ends: Commonality of Function

The artifacts found in the LL serve a number of distinct purposes. Billboards share the same purpose as Toolan's (1988) commercial press ads, namely the promotion of a product, service, or event. Street signs, the physical objects that label thoroughfares, do not share this persuasive function but instead function primarily to identify a place by name. Placards permanently attached to buildings and monuments share this function, but additionally are intended to inform the viewer/reader of the significance of the objects to which they are attached. Regulatory signs, unlike advertisements, street signs and placards, have as their primary function to regulate actions, movements, or behavior in the public realm. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 147, 161) see graffiti as examples of "transgressive discourse," aiming at challenging social authority and commonly held expectations.

Certainly, artifacts of the LL often perform multiple functions. Kelly-Holmes (2005: 8) points out that advertising has multiple functions:

- To express feelings and emotions (the expressive function)
- To offer advice and recommendations or to persuade (the directive or vocative function)
- To inform, to report, to describe or to assert (the informational function)
- To create, maintain and finish contact between addresser and addressee, e.g., small talk (the interactional or phatic function)
- To communicate meaning through a code which could not otherwise be communicated (the poetic function).

Notices of public street cleaning both inform when the service is provided and regulate parking prohibition. Signs identifying the names and nature of business establishments are most often meant both to identify the business for passers-by and to entice them to enter. Finally, the construction, maintenance, and strengthening of identities and entities such as the nation-state is a function that cannot be ignored in the linguistic analysis of LLs.

Act Sequences: Commonality of Form

In addition to a common purpose, members of a genre share a common form. With respect to LLs, this refers to both the placement of linguistic material in relation to other linguistic and non-linguistic material and to the kinds of acts that constitute the linguistic material.

Spatial Organization

Within a given sign, certain elements may be more prominent or salient than others. Signs contain visual images, written language, or both. Because

meaning is produced through all aspects of the visual artifact, it is difficult to analyze the linguistic content in isolation from other features contributing to the visual whole. Goddard (2001: 13) notes that “. . . readers do not simply read images in isolation from the verbal text that accompanies them; nor do they read the verbal text without reference to accompanying images.”

Kress and Van Leeuwen’s seminal work on the grammar of visual design provides a starting point for the analysis of meaning created by physical positioning of text. They postulate “three signifying systems, all serving to structure the text, to bring the various elements of the page (e.g., photographs, headlines, blocks of text) together into a coherent and meaningful whole” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998: 188). These include salience, framing, and information value. Salience is determined on the basis of visual cues. For images, these include size, sharpness of focus or amount of detail or texture shown, tonal contrast, color contrasts, placement in the visual field, perspective, as well as any cultural symbolism associated with the image. For written text using a Roman alphabet, these include font type, font style, foregrounding, color, sharpness of definition, and upper versus lower case. Framing devices such as frame lines and borders between elements can disconnect elements from each other and connect those elements with the frame. Connective vectors and repetition of shapes or colors can also function to connect elements in a sign and therefore enhance salience.

Of the three signifying systems that structure the text, information value is most clearly linguistic in that it concerns the pragmatic distinction between given and new, as well as the distinctions between ideal and real, and central and ancillary. Kress and Van Leeuwen propose a visual grammar that distinguishes between center versus periphery, left versus right, and top versus bottom, as diagrammed by the triptych in Figure 5.1.

They maintain that the placement of elements within this triptych contribute to the value and meaning of the element. They posit that “when a layout opposes left and right, . . . the elements on the left are presented as Given, and the elements on the right as New” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998: 189). Similarly, “when a layout polarizes top and bottom, placing different perhaps contrasting elements in the upper and lower sections of the page, the elements placed at the top are presented as the Ideal and those placed at the bottom as the Real” (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1998: 193). The third dimension along which visual composition may be structured is that of Centre and Margin, a composition structure they speculate is more frequently used among Asian designers than Western ones. In this type of layout, elements placed in the Centre constitute the nucleus of the information, while those elements that flank it on the Margins are presented as ancillary information. While they apply this analysis to Western newspaper layouts, they maintain that these principles apply to a variety of visual media in Western cultures. How they apply or may vary across cultures, particularly within cultures with right to left orthographic systems is an empirical

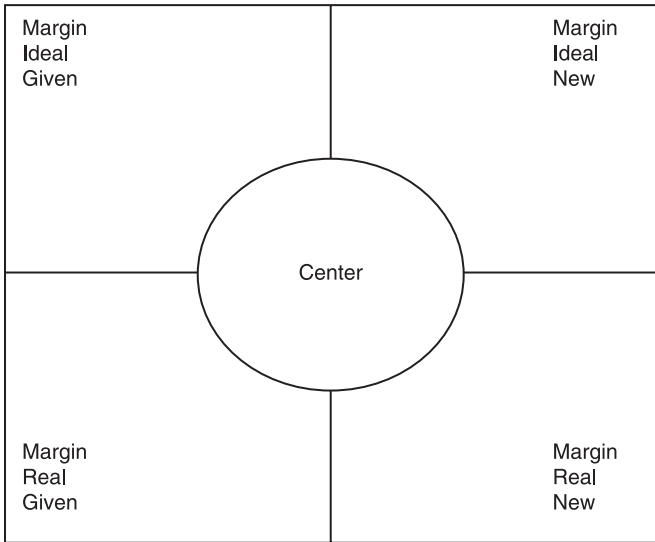


Figure 5.1 Kress and Van Leeuwen's triptych representing the dimensions of visual space.

question. Color Figure 5.3, *Di Di Coffee Shop* illustrates how these principles might apply to the genre of shop signs, but their relevance for other genres in other cultures and for multilingual texts is also yet to be explored.

Act Sets

Analyses of the sequencing of “speech act sets” (Olshtain and Cohen 1988) has proven fruitful in the area of cross-cultural pragmatics (Boxer 2002). Schmidt et al. (1996: 288) employ a similar approach in their cross linguistic analysis of televisions commercials in the USA, Japan, China, and Korea, in which they distinguish between “head acts” and “supporting moves.” A prototypical sequence of speech acts has long been shown to structure commercial press advertisements (e.g., Leech 1966; Vestergaard and Schröder 1985; Toolan 1988; Gieszinger 2000). Toolan (1988), for example, argues that these ads are typically structured to include a number of easily distinguishable components (Figure 5.2).

The illustration and headline are most eye-catching and draw the reader's attention to the body copy, which in turn contains the “message” of the ad. The signature line is the name of the product model, brand or sponsoring company, followed by its advertising slogan (e.g., “Don't leave home without it”), and the standing details, or contact information. The verbal elements usually appear in the vertical sequence illustrated above. The ad may also

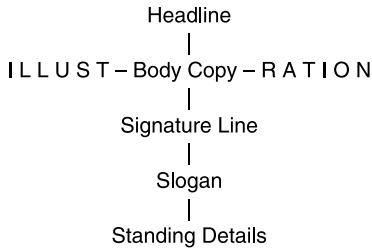


Figure 5.2 Components of commercial print advertisements (Toolan 1988: 55).

include a logo. Bhatia (1987: 35) finds this sequence of acts present in Hindi ads as well but notes that in Hindi advertising, “language mixing is the rule rather than the exception.” His study reveals that product naming was overwhelmingly done in English, headlines were in English, Sanskrit or Persian, depending on the product, but body copy and signature lines tended to be in Hindi. Variations on this pattern can be seen in the billboards from Bangkok in Color Figures 5.4 and 5.5. Malinowski’s (2003) analysis of regulatory street signs describes them as containing a prohibition, a possible consequence, and the authority responsible for enforcing the prohibition. The sequence of act sets among various genres across language communities has not been explored with respect to LLs.

In multilingual contexts, the same sequence of acts may be presented in both/all languages or not. Reh (2004) provides a taxonomy of types of multilingual information arrangement. It includes: (1) duplicating, in which all of the information is presented in both languages; (2) fragmentary and (3) overlapping, in which some but not all of the information contained in one language is also contained in the other(s); and (4) complementary, in which two or more languages convey completely different content. The language of Color Figure 5.2 is an example of overlapping information arrangement in that the title of the seminar being advertised is in both languages, the degree and website address are in English, and the rest is only in Thai. The language of Color Figure 5.6 is duplicating. The sign contains verbal play in both languages on the fact that the shop is in an elevated train station. The Thai print reads [khanǝm thai loy fáa] (dessert-thai-float-sky, “Thai sweets floating in the sky”).

Backhaus (2006) applies this classification to the analysis of multilingual signs in Tokyo and finds a striking difference between official and non-official signs, the former providing mutual translations (97.3 percent are of types 1–3), while among the latter over half are of type 4. A similar distinction is found in the environmental print in the Hong Kong railway system. Notices are strictly duplicating, with the same message in both languages, while ads will convey at least some information in one language (usually Chinese) that is not translated into the other language (Lock 2003: 198).

These findings suggest a possible fruitful future direction for research on LLs, namely the analysis of act sequences and language choice.

Key

In the public domain, key (or tone, manner or spirit in which an act is done; Hymes 1972: 43) is established through amount of text, degree of explicitness of the message and choice of code. In the realm of advertising, a distinction is often made between hard sell and soft sell, the former exhorting potential customers to “buy now,” “do it today,” or “come this weekend,” and the latter asking to “remember the name”, “ask your family” or “plan to visit” sometime in the future (Wright et al. 1983: 266). Hard-sell ads involve more dense repetition, particularly of the brand name, more direct statements about the merit of product or service, and/or direct appeals and exhortations to buy than soft sell ads. Grammatical correlates of hard-sell advertisements include the use of proper names and anaphoric pronouns. One possible criterion for determining the degree to which a given ad may be hard- or soft-sell is the amount of inferential work that viewers have to perform in order to understand the advertisements: “. . . the more inferencing to be done, the more indirect, and hence soft sell, the advertisement is likely to be” (Short and Wenzhong 1997: 495).

Simpson (2001: 590) makes a similar distinction between two principal copywriting gambits (Bernstein 1974), namely reason versus tickle ads. Reason ads are those which suggest a motive or reason for purchase. They make a simple and direct appeal to fact. Grammatical correlates of reason ads are conditional, causal and purposive conjunctive adjuncts (e.g., “If . . . then,” “when . . .,” “So,” “then,” “because”; “that’s why . . .,” “In order to,” “so that you can . . .”), fore-grounded phonological structures, and lexical repetition. Simpson claims that reason ads do not require complex inferencing strategies. Tickle ads, on the other hand, are those that appeal to humor, emotion and mood. They tend to be less direct and involve more inferencing.

Toolan (1997: 58–62) makes a three-way distinction between rhapsodic, no-frills and minimalist ads. Rhapsodic ads display an abundance of adjectives, use of alliteration, repetition of keywords, and exotic vocabulary. No-frills ads are those without the characteristics of rhapsodic ads. Finally, minimalist ads contain the barest amount of written text. In his analysis of print found on the Hong Kong mass transit railway, Lock (2003) suggests that a sense of identity may be conveyed through the selection of code used. Thus for an international sense, English is used, though minimal information is conveyed in that language. To convey a local variety of Cantonese, called MIX (Gibson 1979), conveys an appeal to a sense of Local Hong Kong identity. To convey a sense of “Chineseness,” a variety of Chinese is used which does not display the explicitly local features of Cantonese or MIX.

Finally, Malinowski's (2003: 38–41) study of regulatory signs distinguishes between two discourses of authority. The discourse of reason specifies the desired action and the social consequences of performing or not performing that action. The discourse of threat cites legal codes as the principle rationale for the reader's performance of a certain action. These two discourses do not necessarily exist independently and may in fact be found in close proximity to one another or even within the space of the same sign.

Instrumentalities: Register and Code

Hymes includes in "instrumentalities" not only channel (oral, written, telegraphic, etc.), but also code (language or dialect) and register or varieties. Of these, LL research has concerned itself least with channel, despite the fact that video billboards, television advertising on public transportation, loud speakers fixed to the front of buildings, etc., are also a part of many LLs. Similarly, register has received little attention, though research on the language of advertising suggests it would be a rich vein to mine.

Register

Agha (2004: 24) defines register as "a linguistic repertoire that is associated, cultural-internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices." For LLs, this includes choice of lexicon, orthography, and syntax. In newspaper advertising "small ads" ("want ads" in the USA) rely on the reader's inferencing abilities rather than on finite clauses or explicit cohesive devices, perhaps because of space limitations (Bex 1993). For media ads, Myers (1994: 47) calls the command or imperative:

the generic sentence type for the ad . . . Advertisers use commands, not because telling you to do something really makes you do what they say, but because it will create a personal effect, a sense of one person talking to another.

Questions, too "imply a direct address to the reader—they require someone to answer . . . they [also] contain presuppositions that are almost impossible to discard if one interprets the text" (Myers 1994: 49). Meyers observes that unlike other forms of discourse, ads rarely contain mitigating devices like politeness words or qualifications. He explains, "In our culture we cut out the politeness devices if we are asking somebody to do something that benefits the hearer, not the speaker" (Myers 1994: 48). Other syntactic devices commonly found in ads include parallel structures, ellipsis and substitution and incomplete sentences.

At the lexical level, Myers notes that pronouns set up relationships between the reader and the hypothetical speaker/author: second person can

carry powerful “assumptions about gender, class and nation” (Myers 1994: 79), third person pronouns establish a body of shared knowledge between reader and speaker/author (Myers 1994: 85). Rush (1998) points out that noun phrases used in commercial print advertising exhibit unique register features. They operate as independent clauses in all areas of an ad (headline, body copy, signature line, slogan, standing details), and contain complex pre-modifying structures made up of noun phrases (e.g., cup-at-a-time drip coffee-maker), adjectival phrases (e.g., new, ready-to-spread Pillsbury Frosting Supreme), prepositional phrases (e.g., around-the-clock cavity protection), adverbial phrases (e.g., for now-and-forever loveliness), and verbal phrases (e.g., the wiped-clean wall covering). Finally, noun phrases of print ads share unique word order features in that there is a “tendency to place the product or trade name first or in early position in lengthy designations” (Rush 1998: 165). Examples include *Gillette Sensor for Women refillable razor* and *New Purina Dog Chow™ Brand Dog Food Senior Formula*.

The language of billboards shares many of the register characteristics of print ads. Public notices of the kind found on the Hong Kong railway system, on the other hand, display very different register characteristics, for example the use of deictic terms (Lock 2003). Register characteristics of other genres in the LL and how they differ cross-linguistically are topics yet to be explored.

Code

Analysis of LLs in multilingual contexts is by its nature concerned with code selection. In the section on *Act Sets* in this chapter, four possibilities were presented with respect to the distribution of languages in multilingual signs. The sign in Color Figure 5.6 not only displays a duplicating arrangement of information, it also displays a clear separation of languages: The first line contains Thai script, lexicon, and syntax; the second contains English script, lexicon, and syntax. Unfortunately, however, not all multilingual signs are so straight forward as the Reh/Backhaus taxonomy suggests. In contexts in which different languages use different orthographies, the situation is somewhat more complex.

In Color Figure 5.7, the first line, “Lynx” is in English, as is the message that the business takes credit cards. But the crucial information as to the nature of the business and the equivalent of standing details (telephone) are in Thai script. At first glance, this might be an example of the complementary pattern of multilingual signage. But a closer look reveals that the contents of the Thai script ([kɔp sentər lɪŋ], “Golf Center Lynx”) are a combination of English lexicon³ and both English (golf + center = modifier + head) and Thai (golf center + lynx = head + modifier) syntax. The image on the sign reinforces the fact that the Thai script is a play on the English homophones *lynx* and *links*.

Two more examples, minimal pairs in a sense, can be found in Color Figure 5.8 and 5.9. Both are written in Thai script, and both contain Thai vocabulary, albeit borrowed from English. In Color Figure 5.8 ([ta biuti], “Ta’s Beauty”), the syntax retains the English word order of “modifier + head.” The sign in Color Figure 5.9, by way of contrast, reads [biuti aen] “Ann’s Beauty,” where the script and syntax (head + modifier) are both Thai.

Theoretically, language mixed signs could involve any combination of script, lexicon, and syntax in either Language A or Language B. But in fact, data presented in Huebner 2006 suggest that not all possible combinations are possible. With the exception of proper names, there were no instances of Thai lexicon or syntax rendered in English/Roman orthography. This non-reciprocal relationship is a function of access and inequity. English script signs are intended for both foreigners and a class of educated Thais with high literacy in both Thai and English. But relatively few foreigners speak Thai with any proficiency, so there is no need to include Thai lexicon or syntax in English script in multilingual Thai/English signs. Translation is the preferred strategy. Because most Thais are literate in Thai and the vast majority of foreigners are not, Thai script is intended virtually solely for Thai audiences. Inclusion of English lexicon and/or syntax adds a cosmopolitan flair to the message that is not available in a sign using only Thai script, lexicon, and syntax.⁴ Thai script signs containing English lexicon and/or syntax are, then, directed to a general, rather than select, Thai audience.

The use of English lexicon and syntax with Thai script can be seen at all levels of linguistic analysis. At the syntactic level, it has been shown that branching direction (modifier-head word order) is affected. At the lexical level, use of English lexicon with Thai script both reflects and reinforces lexical borrowing. The use of English also influences the use of Thai at both the phonological and the orthographic levels. The sign in Color Figure 5.10 reflects the influence of English on Thai at all of these levels. It reads “K. L. Fashion House” [ke el fæʃân haws]. The influence of English at the lexical and syntactic levels is obvious. What is less obvious is the influence English has at both the orthographic and phonological levels. Thai orthography uses no spaces between words, nor does it use punctuation such as periods for abbreviations (or for that matter, to delineate syntactic units). Here we see both spaces and periods. At the phonological level, in Thai there is no syllable final [l] sound. Words written with the Thai equivalent of “l,” namely the consonant [lɔ̌ liŋ], would be pronounced as syllable final [ŋ]. In this case, however, most Thais recognizing [ɛl] as an English, or at least foreign, sequence will pronounce it as [ɛw]. Similarly, Thai has no voiceless alveo-palatal fricative [ʃ], and the symbol used to transliterate that sound in the word “fashion” would be pronounced as a voiceless palatal affricate. So Thais traditionally pronounce that word as [fæʃân]. Increasingly, however, Thais with some knowledge of English will pronounce words spelt with that syllable as [ʃ], even words of Thai origin, such as the word for “elephant.”

Similarly, Thai has no final [s], and all words spelled with the Thai equivalent of [s] in syllable final position would be pronounced with a final [t]. In words recognized as having an English origin, however, final [t] is giving way to either final glottal stop or to [s].

Both the code switching and code mixing found in LLs deserve more detailed investigation than has been the case to date, and promise to pose unique challenges for linguistic analyses of language contact and change and evolving notions of speech community, communicative competence and linguistic identity.

Norms and Regulations

Among “norms,” Hymes identifies both norms of interaction and norms of interpretation. These norms are multidimensional and are very much interrelated. Within a given setting, different participants may apply different, even opposing norms to the same genre. Norms of interaction include “specific behaviors and properties that attach to speaking” (Hymes 1972: 44), or in the case of LLS, specific behaviors and properties that attach to the written production of language. Norms of interaction may differ across social class, age, ethnicity, or speech communities (Morgan 2004). Much of the effort in LL research has been to identify and understand what these norms are. Norms of interaction codified in the form of national or local policy regulations dictate language use within LLs. Municipal, provincial, and national laws vary with respect to the degree they regulate the language found in the public space. Backhaus’ (this volume) comparative study of Quebec and Tokyo illustrates how two municipalities with overriding language policy restrictions differ with respect to their outcomes. In both cities, regulations dictate the physical characteristics of bilingual signs in the public domain with regard to the prominence of the two languages. In Bangkok, a public ordinance imposes a heavier tax on commercial signs that contain no Thai, often times resulting in signs entirely in languages other than Thai, except for one line of small Thai print in the corner. In the USA and elsewhere, zoning and building codes regulating the size and materials of signs and the costs associated with them affect codes that appear in the public space.

Norms of interpretation include specific meanings that are ascribed to behavior and properties. They implicate the system of beliefs of a community. These too may vary across communities, as Smith (2007) documents. In Silicon Valley, they may be viewed as a constitutional right and good business sense by some and as exclusionary by others. These competing norms of interpretation have led to debates and grass roots movements on both sides of the issue in linguistically diverse communities as Santa Clara County, California and Queens, New York, resulting in language legislation.

Understanding the norms of interpretation of inhabitants of a given LL requires the researcher to move beyond the quantification of linguistic artifacts and to collect qualitative data from those inhabitants. That is the challenge of the current state of LL research.

Conclusions

As a barometer of the relationship between language and society, LLs have drawn increasing attention within the research community and among the general public alike. While still nascent, that research will take multiple directions. As it evolves, it will of necessity require both a more nuanced examination of the linguistic forms that artifacts take, their relationships to the contexts in which they appear, and the motivations and reactions of those who are responsible for them or affected by them. To that end, this chapter has attempted to outline a possible framework for their linguistic analysis.

Notes

- 1 Scollon and Scollon (2003) define geosemiotics as the study of the meaning systems by which language is located in the material world, and identify four broad systems of social semiotics—the interactional order, visual semiotics, place semiotics, and the systems of text.
- 2 See Gorter 2006.
- 3 This raises the question of what constitutes linguistic borrowing versus code switching, and whether or not Thais consider lexical items like “golf center” English or Thai. In these examples, however, I would consider “beauty” assimilated into the Thai lexicon, since it conforms to Thai phonological constraints and involves semantic shift to mean “beauty salon.”
- 4 This use of code for symbolic rather than referential functions has long been reported in much of the literature on multilingual advertising (e.g., Bhatia 1992; Cheshire and Moser 1994; Haarmann 1984, 1989; Hermerén 1999; Jhally 1990; Kamwangmalu 1992; LaDousa 2002; MacGregor 2003; Masavisut et al. 1987; Piller 2001; Ross 1997; Schlick 2003; Takashi 1990, 1992; Tanaka 1994; Wei 1998, etc.). Kelly-Holmes (2005: 19–20) calls this symbolic use of language “fetishism.”

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LANGUAGE ECOLOGY AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS

Francis M. Hult

Introduction

The ecology of language as a concept has existed for quite some time (e.g., Trim 1959; Voegelin and Voegelin 1964; Haugen 1972), becoming diverse in its intellectual trajectory (e.g., Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001) and somewhat controversial in nature (e.g., Edwards 2002; Pennycook 2004). Nonetheless, the ecology of language has emerged as a useful conceptual orientation in that it brings together the micro- and macro-level streams of sociolinguistic research that are necessary to fully grasp all aspects of the social mechanisms involved in multilingualism (e.g., Hornberger 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas 2002). Still, the full potential of the ecology of language in this regard has yet to be realized.

A useful step in the on-going development of an ecological approach is to examine the kinds of data collection, methodologies and analysis that best serve its aims. The ecology of language approach calls upon researchers to pay attention to several dimensions of multilingualism at the same time: relationships among languages, among social contexts for languages, and among speakers of languages (Hornberger 2002; Hornberger and Hult 2008: 282). Attending to all of these dimensions simultaneously requires the application of methods that are rigorous while also permitting a certain degree of creativity and flexibility. Bearing this in mind, I argue that the union of two emerging methodologies for researching language in society, linguistic landscape analysis (e.g., Gorter 2006) and nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004), are well suited for the aims of an ecological approach to studying multilingualism. Moreover, it will become clear that these two methodologies are, indeed, quite complementary such that nexus analysis may also be a useful tool for the on-going development of linguistic landscape analysis.

The chapter begins with a review of the core principles of the ecology of language as an orientation to multilingualism. This is followed by a discussion of linguistic landscape analysis and nexus analysis, in which the nature

of each methodology is examined along with the specific ways in which they may be applied effectively in concert. Finally, using data collected from a larger study of multilingualism and language policy in Sweden, the joint use of these methodologies is illustrated by a case study of two neighborhoods in a linguistically diverse city.

Ecology of Language

Although the concept can be traced to earlier work by other scholars (see discussions by Hornberger 2002; Van Lier 2000), Haugen advanced the ecology of language as an umbrella under which collaboration between linguists and other scholars in the social sciences could take place in order to address the full range of issues inherent in multilingualism (Haugen 1972: 328–239). More recently, Haugen's idea has been taken up, sometimes under the moniker of *ecolinguistics*, by a wide range of (sub)fields allied with linguistics that are concerned with relationships between language and the (social) environment, including discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology, and educational linguistics (Fill and Mühlhäusler 2001: 1). Central to Haugen's (1972: 325) view of the ecology of language is a two-fold focus on individual and societal dimensions of multilingualism: How do languages interact in the minds of speakers? How do languages interact in the societies where they are used? In light of this two-fold focus, Calvet (1999) explains that it is useful to analyze multilingualism in terms of the nested levels of social organization in which it is contextualized. The worldwide system of languages, which he likens to an *ecosphere*, is comprised of nested lower systems, or linguistic *ecosystems*, within which the functions of specific languages may be thought of as *niches* (Calvet 1999: 35). How a particular linguistic ecosystem is constructed or modified, in turn, Calvet holds, may be due to a confluence of factors at various levels: individual language choices, migration, language policies, education, and media, among others (1999: 61).

In this way, researchers employing an ecolinguistic orientation seek to map aspects of multilingualism by tracing how the specific language choices of individuals construct and are constructed by the social environment as it takes shape across nested ecosystems, or levels of scale (viz. social group \Leftrightarrow community/neighborhood \Leftrightarrow region \Leftrightarrow country \Leftrightarrow supranational unit), which as a whole comprise the worldwide linguistic *ecosphere*. As such, the “analytical emphasis is four-fold: on relationships among languages, on relationships among social contexts of language, on relationships among individual speakers and their languages, and on inter-relationships among these three dimensions” (Hornberger and Hult 2008: 282). These emphases on the dynamic, multi-faceted nature of language in society makes the ecology of language useful as a holistic orientation to critical thinking about multilingualism that call upon researchers to consider the inter-play of socio-linguistic, political, and historical forces at work in multilingualism (Garner

2004: 36–38; Hornberger and Hult 2008: 282; Mühlhäusler 1996; Van Lier 2004: 165–192).

Although useful as a conceptual orientation, the ecology of language cannot be considered “a method.” Researchers engaging in ecolinguistic work must synthesize methodological tools for gathering and analyzing the socially contextualized data needed to investigate the multidimensional issues that the orientation calls forth. It is in this vein, I suggest, that linguistic landscape analysis can be used in concert with nexus analysis in the service of ecological research about multilingualism.

Linguistic Landscape Analysis and Nexus Analysis

Linguistic landscape (LL) analysis and nexus analysis each contribute something methodologically useful to the ecology of language. Linguistic landscape analysis, with its emphasis on visually situated language in public spaces, serves as a tool for investigating certain niches of specific languages in the linguistic ecosystems Calvet (1999) describes. Nexus analysis, an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to studying ways in which discourses operate as cycles across space and time, focuses on relationships between language use and the social actions of the individuals that inhabit these ecosystems and construct linguistic landscapes. Together, linguistic landscape analysis and nexus analysis provide concrete methodologies for investigating the dual individual and societal nature of multilingualism that form part of Haugen’s original formulation of language ecology. Moreover, as I will show, nexus analysis complements linguistic landscape analysis by providing a systematic way of interpreting data about the distribution of languages in public spaces.

Linguistic Landscape Analysis

The basic premise of linguistic landscape analysis is that visual language use in public spaces represents observable manifestations of circulating ideas about multilingualism (Shohamy 2006: 110). As Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 8) explain, the linguistic landscape “constitutes the very scene—made of streets, corners, circuses, parks, buildings—where society’s public life takes place. As such, this carries crucial sociosymbolic importance as it actually identifies—and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities, and regions.” Methodologically, linguistic landscape analysis relies on photography and visual analysis. As a relatively new tradition of research, the precise practices of linguistic landscape analysis are still being developed (see Gorter 2006). The core data gathering method is to engage in photography that thoroughly documents defined social spaces. These may include very specific geographical locations like train stations and their immediate surroundings (Backhaus 2006), specific neighborhoods (Huebner 2006), or a range of localities (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Generally, researchers, or teams

of researchers, conduct comprehensive photography of all visual language use in the social spaces selected for investigation.

Much of the work in linguistic landscape analysis thus far has tended to focus on quantitative analysis of visual signs, or linguistic objects, in terms of categories such as “the presence of specific languages, the order of appearance, size of letters, etc.” (Shohamy 2006: 115; cf. Gorter 2006). It is through the analysis of these kinds of data that linguistic landscape analysis serves the needs of an ecological approach to the study of multilingualism by providing a window into the niches of specific languages in a linguistic ecosystem.

The presence or absence of languages in public space communicates “symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance, and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others” (Shohamy 2006: 110). In this way, circulating sociopolitical discourses about multilingualism are concretely observable in how languages are deployed visually in constituting the linguistic landscape. By interpreting quantitative data, researchers can begin to draw implications about societal issues related to the niches of specific languages, including ethnic/social conflicts and solidarity expressed through language choices, power dynamics of official and unofficial signage, and hidden agendas represented by disparities between language policies and realities of daily language use (Backhaus 2006: 52–54; Shohamy 2006: 110–133).

Though not without problems (see Spolsky, this volume), the linguistic landscape studies that have been conducted to date, such as those included in the present volume, demonstrate that this sort of work has been fruitful. At the same time, as linguistic landscape analysis continues to mature as a sociolinguistic methodology, it may be useful to seek out systematic ways to make interpretations about the distribution of languages in public space. Accordingly, I suggest that linguistic landscape analysis is usefully employed in conjunction with nexus analysis. Moreover, as I will show, this combination of methods suits the needs of language ecology as an orientation to multilingualism especially well.

Linguistic Landscape Analysis in Conjunction with Nexus Analysis

Nexus analysis brings together a long tradition of methods for the study of discourse in society in order to formulate a methodological approach to investigating discourse cycles that operate within and across different scales of social organization. Recognizing the need for a clearly articulated methodology that reconciles the investigation of individual and societal language use, and building on their earlier work (e.g., Scollon 2001; Scollon and Scollon 2003), Scollon and Scollon (2004) synthesize traditions of research in the ethnography of communication, interactional sociolinguistics, and critical discourse analysis in order to construct nexus analysis. In bringing these together, Scollon and Scollon demonstrate that a researcher can engage

in data collection and interpretation that focuses simultaneously on how discourses are socially contextualized across space and time, on how discourses operate moment by moment in social interaction, and on how sociopolitical factors shape and are shaped by language use.

The central objective of nexus analysis, then, is to examine the mutually constitutive nature of discourse and society, which is manifested in the dynamic interplay between individual actions and forms of social organization (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 8–9). In order to elucidate this relationship, one must think about discourse as language-in-action, how people do things through discourse (Blommaert 2005: 2; Scollon and Scollon 2004: 4–5). Accordingly, Scollon and Scollon (2004: 21) place social action at the heart of nexus analysis and emphasize the discursive processes, or discourse cycles, that mediate a given social action. A social action, Scollon and Scollon write, “. . . is any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network, also called a mediated action . . . any action is inherently social . . . [it] is carried out via material and symbolic mediational means (cultural or psychological tools) . . .” (2004: 11–12). A linguistic landscape, in turn, is constructed through a collection of social actions committed by “LL-actors,” “who concretely participate in the shaping of LL by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 27).

Every individual social action, writing a word on a sign for example, is mediated by material means such as a pen or a computer as well as symbolic means such as beliefs about writing or signage or even about the code of language itself (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 12, 28–29). Social actions are not mediated by a single circulating discourse. They are, rather, nexus points for a multitude of discourses, each with its own cycle (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 19–20). Social actions, then, are contact points where multiple discourse cycles meet and become intertwined. As Scollon and Scollon (2004: 11–15, 20–23) explain, there are three major cycles of discourse that come together in a social action: discourses in place, the interaction order, and the historical body. Discourses in place refer to the wider circulating ideas that shape people’s actions. The interaction order reflects norms of social behavior around communication. The historical body attends to the ideas that are embodied in the social practices of individuals.

Discourses in Place

Discourses in place represent the discourse cycles that circulate in society on varying timescales:

All social action is accomplished at some real, material place in the world . . . All places in the world are complex aggregates (or nexus) of many discourses which circulate through them. Some of these

circulate on slow time scales like the aging of the built or architectural environment of a shopping mall . . . Some of these discourses circulate more rapidly like the conversational topics among three friends walking through the same shopping mall.

(Scollon and Scollon 2004: 14)

Any single social action, such as the fabrication or display of a linguistic object in a storefront, may be mediated by numerous discourses in place. These discourses may be expressed in a variety of venues: on television, in newspapers, in policy documents, in topics of interpersonal discussion, and even in the linguistic landscape itself. Understanding the role of discourses in place is important for linguistic landscape analysis because the visual objects in the linguistic landscape represent the solidification of certain discourses that may precipitate social actions which, in turn, either reify or modify existing discourses (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2004: 27). As Shohamy explains, “. . . the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes *de facto* language policy and practice” (2006: 110). The public space, she continues, “serves as a tool in the hands of different groups for the transmission of messages as to the place of different languages in . . . geographical and political entities and for influencing and creating *de facto* language realities” (Shohamy 2006: 111). Accordingly, the interpretation of quantitative data about the distribution of languages in a geographic area would be facilitated by also collecting and analyzing data from sources that reveal the circulating discourses in place. From an ecological standpoint, examining a linguistic landscape in terms of discourses in place illuminates the societal dimension of Haugen’s two-fold focus on multilingualism.

The Interaction Order

Since all human actions are inherently social, one must also consider the discourses that mediate social interaction itself—in the case linguistic landscape analysis, the act of producing and/or displaying a linguistic object as well as its potential interpretation by those who view it. Scollon and Scollon (2004: 13), borrowing from Erving Goffman, refer to these discourses as the “interaction order.” Depending on the context of the social action, any number of discourses may be relevant to this element as well; for example, people will interact differently depending on who they are interacting with or whether they are acting alone or as a group.

Discourses that govern the interaction order of a linguistic landscape might include social conventions about language use on signs, language choices based on who the intended audience of linguistic objects might be, the genre of a sign (e.g., a nameplate, banner ad, or warning), *de jure* and *de facto* lan-

guage policies that govern language use in public spaces, expectations about official *versus* unofficial signs, among many other possibilities. Ben-Rafael et al. note that LL-actors “do not necessarily act harmoniously, nay even coherently but, on the other hand, whatever the resulting chaotic character of LL, the picture that . . . it comes to compose and which is familiar reality to many is most often perceived by passers-by as one structured place” (2006: 8). It is the discourses associated with the interaction order that provide this semblance of structure. As such, actively seeking out the discourses that govern linguistic objects *qua* social interaction would provide further depth to the interpretation of linguistic landscape data. With respect to the four-fold analytical emphasis of language ecology described earlier, the examination of the linguistic landscape in relation to the interaction order addresses “relationships among individual speakers and their languages.”

The Historical Body

Social actions are also mediated by the internalized habits of the social actor. Scollon and Scollon (2004: 13), drawing on work by the philosopher Nishida, refer to the discourse cycle associated with these internalized habits as the “historical body.” This represents the sum total of an individual’s personal experience. Scollon and Scollon (2004: 13) point out its similarity to Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, although they prefer the term “historical body” because it emphasizes internalized discourses within individual social actors rather than collectives. Historical body cycles might include personal beliefs as well as routinized material or symbolic practices. Individuals may respond very differently to the same social circumstances depending on the nature of their historical body. Two separate individuals, for example, may interpret a linguistic object in rather different ways. Likewise, two similar linguistic objects may be produced and/or displayed by two separate individuals for different reasons.

Linguistic landscape analysis is concerned with how a specific public space is symbolically constructed “by a large variety of actors such as public institutions, associations, firms, individuals, that stem from most diverse strata and milieus” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 8). Although the focus of linguistic landscape research has tended to be on the objects produced by these actors, it may also be useful to focus on what takes place behind the scenes, what makes an individual choose to create or interpret a linguistic object in a certain way. Admittedly, this may be one of the most challenging dimensions of nexus analysis to incorporate with linguistic landscape analysis since it would involve a great deal of individual contact with the multitude of people involved in the construction of a particular public space. Nonetheless, it may also prove to be an especially illuminating perspective since there is surely a story behind every object in any linguistic landscape. The historical body cycle would also contribute to an understanding of the individual

dimension of Haugen's two-fold focus on multilingualism in language ecology.

In all, nexus analysis provides a coherent framework for how linguistic objects *qua* products of social actions can be linked to wider circulating discourses. In this way, the union of linguistic landscape analysis and nexus analysis opens new possibilities for making discursive connections between the actions of individuals who inhabit a particular multilingual social space and the societies of which they form part, thereby serving the aims of an ecological approach.

In the next section, I turn to an illustration of this union. Using data collected as part of a larger study about language policy and multilingualism in Sweden (Hult 2007), I show how quantitative data about linguistic distribution can further be illuminated by examining them in light of the interaction order.

Ecological Linguistic Landscape Analysis: A Swedish Case

Malmö, a city in the southern Skåne region of Sweden, is a rich multi-cultural and multilingual context. The third largest city in the country, it is home to a sizable and growing number of recent immigrants. The number of foreign-born inhabitants was 26 percent of the city's population in 2006 (City of Malmö 2006). These foreign-born inhabitants come from several continents: Europe (61 percent), Asia (28 percent), Africa (4 percent), South America (4 percent), North America (1 percent), and Oceania (0.27 percent) (City of Malmö 2006). The data drawn upon here were collected in the commercial areas of two different neighborhoods that are illustrative of this demographic diversity.

The first neighborhood, Centrum, is the dominant commercial and entertainment district of the city. The heart of the neighborhood is a long pedestrian shopping area, referred to as *Gågatan*, which includes major retailers, restaurants, bars, theatres, and cinemas. It is a primary tourism destination in the city as well as a space where local inhabitants of all ages and backgrounds congregate for shopping and entertainment. Accordingly, *Gågatan* is an ideal location for investigating how language use interacts with dominant commercial and entertainment activities.

The second illustrative neighborhood is known as *Södra Innerstaden* (Inner-city South). This neighborhood is noteworthy because it is the most diverse in terms of national origin. Some 31 percent of the people living in this neighborhood are foreign-born, and they come from 140 different countries (City of Malmö 2004). The heart of this neighborhood, which is contiguous with Centrum, is a shopping square known as *Möllevången*. Unlike the pedestrian shopping street in Centrum, *Möllevången* is characterized by shops and restaurants that specialize in a variety of ethnic minor-

ity foods, household goods, and discount products. This area, then, is an ideal setting in which to examine how language use takes shape in a space that reflects cultural diversity resulting from immigration.

Following other work in linguistic landscape analysis (e.g., Backhaus 2006; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), I took comprehensive photography of public signage on Gågatan and in Möllevången. Using a 32 mm Canon Sure Shot BF camera with no zoom, I obtained images that approximated what would be visible at street level with the naked eye. Data analysis centered on storefronts. They represent what Ben-Rafael et al. refer to as “bottom-up flows of LL elements,” which is to say “those utilised by individual, associative or corporate actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits” (2006: 10).

Linguistic Landscape Findings

Photography of storefronts ($n = 220$) on Gågatan and Mollevången yielded the results in Table 6.1 (See Appendix 6.1 for a full listing of specific languages). It is important to note that the data presented here are specific to these two locations and are not meant to be representative of either the city of Malmö or the country of Sweden as a whole. These data are meant only to be illustrative of aspects of multilingualism in Malmö and the discussion that follows should be interpreted accordingly.

The distribution of Swedish, English, and minority languages across the two spaces are suggestive of the niches of these languages. Figure 6.1 shows their distribution.

Both settings converge with respect to the use of Swedish. Swedish appears on 83 percent of storefronts on Gågatan and 87 percent of storefronts in Möllevången. As shown in Table 6.1, both areas include mono-

Table 6.1 Languages on storefronts by number and percentage.

| Language* combinations on storefronts | Number of storefronts in each location (%) | |
|---|--|-------------|
| | Gågatan | Möllevången |
| Swedish only | 93 (60%) | 28 (43%) |
| English only | 25 (16%) | 7 (11%) |
| Swedish and English | 30 (19%) | 4 (6%) |
| Swedish and minority language | 2 (1%) | 19 (29%) |
| English and minority language | 0 | 1 (2%) |
| Swedish, English, and minority language | 5 (3%) | 6 (9%) |
| Total | 155 (100%) | 65 (100%) |

* The term “minority language” is used here to refer to languages other than English and the majority language Swedish. It is worth noting that English may also be considered a minority language in Sweden, as used by immigrants whose first language is English, for example. Since the focus of the original study was the relationship between English and other languages, English is treated separately.

lingual Swedish signs. There is a slight divergence in the use of English, which can be seen on 38 percent of storefronts on Gågatan but on 28 percent of signs in Möllevången. A further divergence is clear in Table 6.1, which shows that there are fewer monolingual English storefronts in Möllevången than on Gågatan. Gågatan also exhibits a greater number of Swedish-English bilingual signs. The two neighborhoods differ vastly in the use of minority languages. These appear on 40 percent of storefronts in Möllevången but only on 4 percent of storefronts on Gågatan. Where Gågatan has a high proportion of Swedish-English bilingual signs, Möllevången has a high proportion of Swedish-minority language bilingual signs. Only one example of an English-minority language bilingual sign was observed in Möllevången.

Superficially, the distribution of languages in these two settings is what one might expect. In a neighborhood with a great deal of ethnic diversity and markets featuring ethnic minority foods, it is not surprising to see minority languages strongly featured on the linguistic landscape. The heavy use of minority languages in Möllevången serves to construct this neighborhood as an ethnic minority community. Likewise, in a neighborhood that features national and international retail stores catering to tourists as well as people from throughout the city, one might expect to see a high proportion of both Swedish and English. The heavy use of these two languages on Gågatan serves to construct this neighborhood as a site of national and international commerce. The strong presence of Swedish in both settings is indicative of its place as the *de facto* national language of Sweden so it is not surprising that it is featured prominently either.

Looking below the surface, using the lens of nexus analysis, further

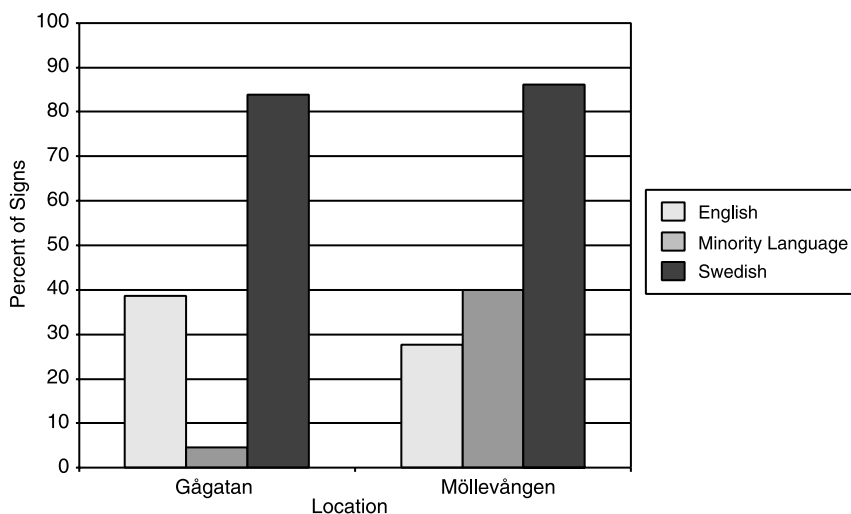


Figure 6.1 Distribution of languages on storefronts.

interpretation of the linguistic distribution reveals additional intricacies about relationships among languages within and between the two settings. Specifically, let us examine how English is situated in the linguistic ecosystem *vis-à-vis* Swedish and minority languages. For the sake of space, this illustration will focus only on the interaction order as it relates to the choice of different languages on storefronts (cf. Hult 2007: 205–247).

Using Nexus Analysis: The Interaction Order

Linguistic landscape analysis in and of itself might be said to produce a snapshot of the proverbial forest. Elements of nexus analysis can be used in order to see the trees that make up that forest by putting into perspective the circulating discourses that mediate the actions of LL-actors. After one year of conducting ethnographic field observations in the two linguistic landscape contexts and subsequently scrutinizing the photographic data set, it became apparent that the languages present in the linguistic landscape were used in functionally distinct ways. Overall, I found, the interaction order seems to reflect elements of code-switching. Although code-switching is most often associated with spoken language, it is relevant to written language use as well (Sridhar 1996: 56). Different functional uses of the languages in the linguistic landscape can be read as signs of beliefs about those languages. This becomes perceptible when language choices are examined in terms of situational and metaphorical code-switching.

Situational code-switching reflects instrumental communicative choices based on, for example, who interlocutors are and what the setting is (Blom and Gumperz 1986: 424; Sridhar 1996: 56). Metaphorical code-switching reflects stylistic choices that are meant to evoke a certain idea or abstract concept that is associated with a given language (Blom and Gumperz 1986: 425; Sridhar 1996: 56). In a basic sense, situational code-switching can be said to be *governed by* the situation whereas metaphorical code-switching contributes to *shaping* the situation (Bell 1997: 247).

This functional distinction within the interaction order provides insight into the linguistic landscape because it provides tangible evidence of beliefs about language use that govern code choices. If English is perceived as an instrumental language of wider communication for tourists, for example, one would expect to find a high degree of situational English use on Gågatan. If minority languages are primarily perceived as markers of community identity, one might expect to find a high degree of metaphorical use of these languages in Möllevången. If Swedish is perceived as the main language of transaction in general, one might expect to see high degrees of situational Swedish use in both settings.

In order to examine code-switching, unique individual utterance on storefronts were isolated from the photographic data set. Schifffrin's definition of utterances was employed here, with an emphasis on the written form: "units

of language production (whether spoken or written) that are inherently contextualized" (Schiffrin 1994: 41). Only linguistic objects visible from a street vantage point were considered, not small signs visible only in close proximity to a store. Identical utterances that were repeatedly used on a storefront, such as a store's name or the word "sale," were counted only once. This amounted to an average of 1.26 unique utterances per storefront on Gågatan and 2.09 unique utterances per storefront in Möllevången. Some stores, of course, were more verbally rich than others. The results are shown in Table 6.2.

When Swedish is used, it is in a situational manner in both settings. Swedish seems to serve a basic communicative function rather than a symbolic one. Moreover, the relatively high proportion of Swedish seems to indicate that its niche in the linguistic ecosystem is as a common denominator language, a reflection of its dominant status. The ways in which minority languages are used on Gågatan is what one might anticipate, considering the limited presence they have there. When used, they most often serve a metaphorical function, generally to indicate a notion of foreignness. Indeed, the few instances of metaphorical minority language use were generally on restaurants that specialize in ethnic minority food. The scant situational uses appeared on currency exchange offices, with the exception of one restaurant which used minority languages in an extensive manner. The patterns of minority language use in Möllevången are noteworthy for what they may suggest about bilingualism. Minority languages appeared on storefronts rarely in a metaphorical manner. Nearly all tokens of minority language use appeared to be situational (21.32 percent of utterances).

In Color Figure 6.1, for example, the English word "sunshine," morphologically expressed as two lexical items, is used as the store's name. English appears to be used metaphorically, as it communicates nothing specific about what is sold at the store. It is not evident from the context alone exactly what is metaphorically indexed by the use of the word sunshine in

Table 6.2 Types of code-switching on Gågatan and in Möllevången by number and percentage.

| <i>Type of code-switching</i> | <i>Number of utterances (%)</i> | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| | <i>Gågatan</i> | <i>Möllevången</i> |
| Situational Swedish | 132 (67.35%) | 81 (59.56%) |
| Metaphorical Swedish | — | — |
| Situational English | 14 (7.14%) | 5 (3.68%) |
| Metaphorical English | 41 (20.99%) | 18 (13.24%) |
| Situational minority language | 3 (1.53%) | 29 (21.32%) |
| Metaphorical minority language | 6 (3.06%) | 3 (2.21%) |
| Total | 196 (100%) | 136 (100%) |

the store's name, though it is probably something the particular LL actor who commissioned this sign wished to associate with English. Swedish appears situationally in the word "livs," which means roughly foodstuffs. Thus the instrumental function of communicating what the store actually sells is done using Swedish. Below these words, Arabic and then Persian are used in tandem to communicate both the name of the store and what it sells to shoppers who speak those languages.

This kind of usage on signs might suggest that minority languages are not perceived foremost as community indexicals but as languages of transaction within the community, at least with respect to the linguistic landscape. Of course, the prominent use of minority languages in certain social situations can itself be said to represent an in-group phenomenon (Zentella 1996: 84–85). One must be cautious about drawing firm conclusions from this data alone. Still, the strong situational use of minority languages in Möllevången, together with the situational use of Swedish, seems to be an indication that Swedish-minority language bilingualism is quite valued in this community. In comparison, as reflected in Table 6.1, English appears on storefronts almost as prominently on Gågatan (38 percent) as do minority languages in Möllevången (40 percent). This suggests that English may be as valued in the dominant community as are minority languages in the ethnic minority community, as far as the linguistic landscape is concerned.

The patterns of English use are also noteworthy since they point to some potential implications for further critical research. The general folk belief about English, and the belief most strongly held in *de jure* language policies, is that English serves primarily as a language of wider communication in Sweden (Hult 2007: 154–204). It is a functional language for reaching those who do not speak Swedish or for obtaining information produced by those who do not speak Swedish. While use of English in this way has been empirically demonstrated in the domains of media and higher education (Falk 2001), the present data about the interaction order in these two Malmö communities show that English in everyday life on the street appears to serve different functions.

While there were instances of situational English use in both settings (7.14 percent and 3.68 percent of utterances on Gågatan and in Möllevången, respectively), they were few in comparison to the metaphorical use of English.

This would suggest that English in the linguistic landscapes of these two areas is not used primarily as a *lingua franca* to communicate with those who do not speak Swedish (e.g., tourists or recent immigrants). Rather, it seems that it serves more of a symbolic purpose such as indexing values associated with globalization, as in Color Figure 6.2. This indicates a need, as Philipson (2006) argues, for researchers to look beyond English as a *lingua franca* when attempting to understand the position of English in European settings. English may be linked with, *inter alia*, discourses of the world economy (as a *lingua economica*), discourses of the cultural values of English-

speaking countries (as a *lingua cultura*), and discourses of popular culture (as a *lingua emotiva*) (Phillipson 2006: 80).

Conclusion

The ecology of language draws attention to the complexity of multilingualism, calling for researchers to focus on the dynamic relationships among all of the individual and societal issues that are part and parcel of linguistic diversity. Since it is a challenge to do empirical justice to such complexity, it is important for researchers with an ecological orientation to employ methods that facilitate this kind of research. The emerging methodologies of linguistic landscape analysis and nexus analysis seem promising in this regard. Not only does each of them demonstrate properties that are compatible with an ecological approach, the two also appear quite complementary. The Swedish case presented in this chapter demonstrates how the application of ideas from nexus analysis permit one to interpret data from a linguistic landscape in greater depth than can be extrapolated from only the quantitative distribution of languages. When used together, these two forms of analysis provide a more complete picture of public language use than either might produce alone. As more researchers begin to use nexus analysis together with linguistic landscape analysis, we are likely to see mutual benefit to both.

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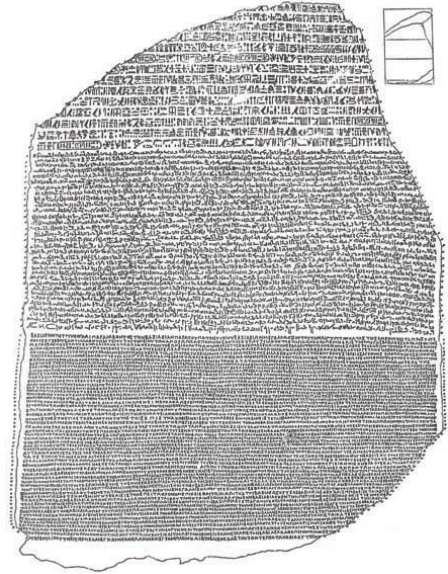
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APPENDIX 6.1 LANGUAGES ON STOREFRONTS

| | <i>Storefronts in each location by language combination</i> | |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| | <i>Gågatan (n = 155)</i> | <i>Möllevången (n = 65)</i> |
| Chinese and English | 0 | 1 |
| English only | 25 | 7 |
| Swedish only | 93 | 28 |
| Swedish and Arabic | 0 | 9 |
| Swedish and Chinese | 0 | 2 |
| Swedish and English | 30 | 4 |
| Swedish and French | 0 | 1 |
| Swedish and Japanese | 1 | 0 |
| Swedish and Thai | 0 | 2 |
| Swedish and Vietnamese | 0 | 1 |
| Swedish, Arabic, and English | 0 | 3 |
| Swedish, Arabic, and Persian | 0 | 3 |
| Swedish, Chinese, and English | 0 | 1 |
| Swedish, Chinese, and Japanese | 1 | 0 |
| Swedish, Chinese, and Vietnamese | 0 | 1 |
| Swedish, English, and Danish | 1 | 0 |
| Swedish, English, and Japanese | 1 | 0 |
| Swedish, English, and Persian | 0 | 1 |
| Swedish, English, German, and Italian | 1 | 1 |
| Swedish, Arabic, Chinese, English, German, and Italian | 1 | 0 |
| Swedish and Multiple Languages | 1 | 0 |



Color Figure 1.1: Codex Hammurabi



Color Figure 1.2: Rosetta Stone



Color Figure 1.3: Rock inscription of Behistun



Color Figure 1.4: Menetekel



Color Figure 1.5: Taj Mahal



Color Figure 1.6: Obelisk on the Piazza del Popolo, brought to Rome from Egypt 31 CE by Octavianus



Color Figure 2.1: Ha-Malakh. The Israeli version of the street sign in Color Figure 2.2



Color Figure 2.2: El-Malak. A street sign from the period of the Jordanian occupation of Jerusalem to which a line has been added in Hebrew after 1968



Color Figure 2.3: Jaffa Gate. A sign from the British Mandate period



Color Figure 2.4: Fed Mart. Navajo translation added to a supermarket sign



Color Figure 2.5: Hagia Sophia, a Byzantine church in Istanbul converted into a mosque by the addition of Koranic verses (now a museum)



Color Figure 2.6: KFC global sign in a village near Shanghai



Color Figure 3.1: University sign: Dutch



Color Figure 3.2: Times Square



Color Figure 3.3: A kosher shop in Paris



Color Figure 3.4: Dutch English sign in Belgium



Color Figure 3.5: French English sign in Belgium



Color Figure 3.6: Arab English sign in East Jerusalem



Color Figure 4.1: Shop sale in Basque and Spanish



Color Figure 4.2: Multilingualism sold in France



Color Figure 5.1: Typical Bangkok side street



Color Figure 5.2: Banner in the elevated train station announcing a Chulalongkorn University MBA Seminar



Color Figure 5.3: Shop sign – DiDi Coffee Shop



Color Figure 5.4: Billboard – Thanachart Bank



Color Figure 5.5: Billboard – Boots drug store



Color Figure 5.6: Shop sign – Sky Thai Desserts



Color Figure 5.7: Shop sign – Lynx Golf Center



Color Figure 5.8: Shop sign – Ta's Beauty Salon



Color Figure 5.9: Shop sign – Ann's Beauty Salon



Color Figure 5.10: Shop sign – K. L. Fashion House



Color Figure 6.1: Sunshine Market in Möllevången



Color Figure 6.2: Symbolic use of English



Color Figure 7.1: The side of the Ohgane Restaurant building, Broadway, Oakland, California. The white Korean letters on the top banner read, “Ohgane Galbi” (Ohgane Beef Ribs), as do the large black letters on the plastic sign below it (March 3, 2005)



Color Figure 7.2:
Boa Gifts store front,
Telegraph Avenue,
Oakland (April 30,
2005)

Color Figure 7.3: Jong Ga House,
Grand Avenue, Oakland. The
smaller Korean letters read
“Hanguk Jeontong Yori Jeonmun”
(Specializing in Traditional Korean
Cuisine) and the larger letters read
“Jong Ga Jib” (April 30, 2005)



Color Figure 7.4: Koreana Plaza,
Telegraph Avenue, Oakland. The
blue hangul letters are a
transliteration of the market's
name, “Koriana Peullaja”
(October 14, 2004)

Color Figure 7.5: A sign visible
from the street at Ohgane
Restaurant, Broadway, Oakland.
The three hangul syllable clusters
read “Ohgane.” (오 = “o”; 가 =
“ga”; 네 = “ne”) (March 3, 2005)



Color Figure 7.6: Sahn Maru restaurant,
Telegraph Avenue, Oakland. The
hangul spells out the restaurant's name
(April 29, 2005)

The screenshot shows the ArcPad application window. The title bar is blue with the text "Dati Foto" and buttons for "OK" and "X". The form contains the following elements:

- A text field with the value "Ril. Carla Bagna" and a date field with the value "07/04/2005".
- A "Foto" label followed by a button with three dots and a text field containing "DSCN1223".
- A "Macchina Fotografica" label followed by a dropdown menu showing "Nikon".
- A "Note" label followed by a large empty text area.
- A checked checkbox labeled "Monolingua" followed by a button with three dots and the text "Foto Accessorie".
- A "Genere Testuale" label followed by a dropdown menu showing "Insegna".

At the bottom of the screen, there is a taskbar with the ArcPad icon, the text "ArcPad", a keyboard icon, a volume icon, and a clock showing "10.51".

Dati Foto OK X

Carla Bagna 07/04/2005

Localizzazione ☒ Esterni

Centro - etnico +

Domini Pubblico +

Contesti

esercizi pubblici +

Luoghi

abbigliamento +

Persone

a prevalente gestione stran +

ArcPad DATA 10.1

Color Figures 8.1 and 8.2: MapGeoling data entry forms

Color Figure 8.3: Sheet to be filled for database

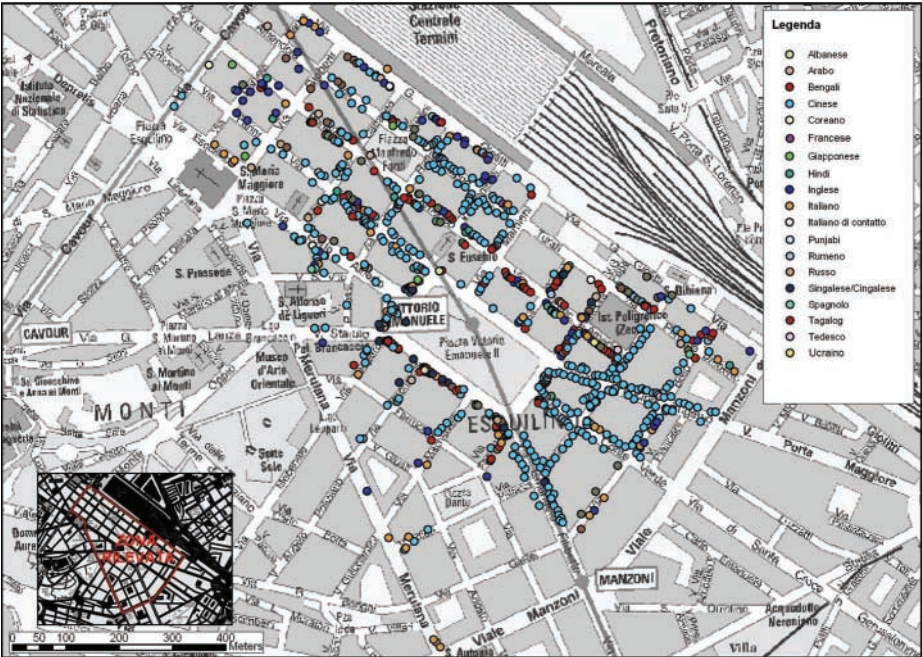
Entità Geo-Linguistiche

Info Entità Geo-Ling Info Parole Foto

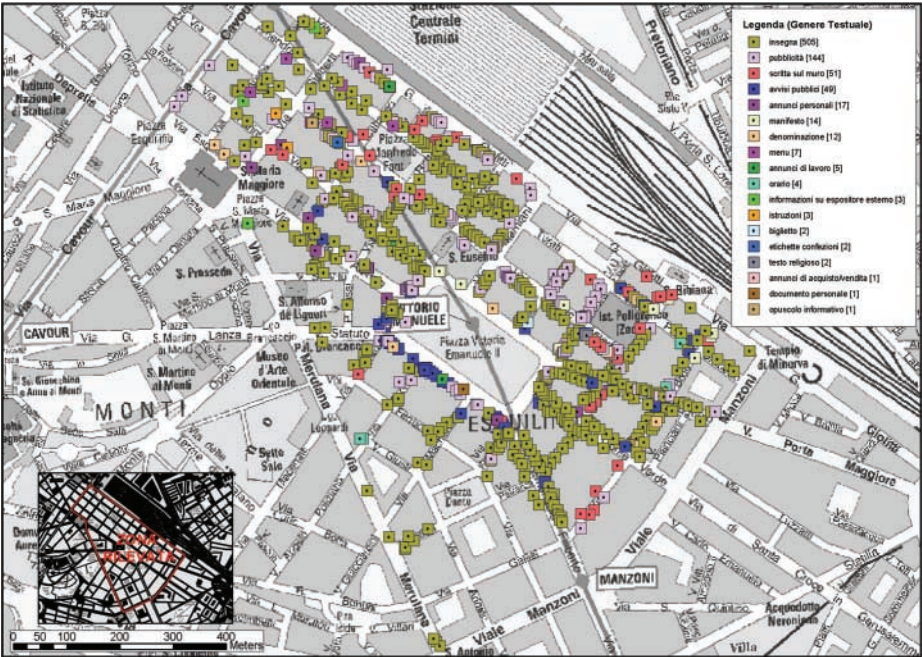
DSCN1191
DSCN1192
DSCN1198
DSCN1200
DSCN1202
DSCN1203
DSCN1204
DSCN1205
DSCN1208
DSCN1211
DSCN1212
DSCN1215
DSCN1219
DSCN1221
DSCN1223
DSCN1224
DSCN1225
DSCN1227
DSCN1228
DSCN1230
DSCN1232

Numero Entità Geo-Linguistiche caricate: 823

Nuovo Salva Chiudi



Color Figure 8.5: Map with distribution of each language



Color Figure 8.6: Map with distribution of each textual genre



Color Figures 9.1 and 9.2: Different Heartbrand logos (Algida and Kibon)



Color Figure 9.3: Logo of canal cruise company "Lovers"

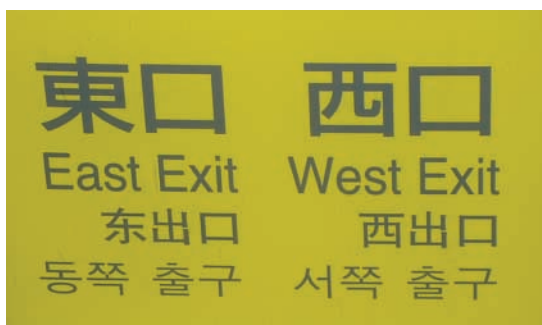


Color Figure 9.4: Shop sign with a French name

Color Figure 9.5: Shop sign with English names



Color Figure 10.1: Sign of a Jewish shop in Montreal



Color Figure 10.2: Japanese–English–Chinese–Korean station sign in Tokyo



Color Figure 11.1: Victory Square (Minsk, November 2006)



Color Figure 11.2: “Always by your side”: an advertisement for the police (Minsk, March 2005)

Color Figure 11.3: The government’s covert political advertisement (Minsk, March 2006)



Color Figure 11.4: McDonald’s restaurant on Lenin Street (Minsk, April 2005)



Color Figure 11.5: Place-name road sign in Slovak and Hungarian (Slovakia, November 2006)



Color Figure 11.6: Place-name road sign in Italian and German (Italy, April 2007)



Color Figure 11.7: Political opposition sticker in a city park (Minsk, November 2006)



Color Figure 12.1: English, Tigrinya and transliteration:
transliteration: "Photo central";
English: Photo central;
transliteration: "Video photo copy";
Tigrinya: "ID card laminating"



Color Figure 12.2: Tigrinya only. Sign reads: "We will replace these by tanks and BMs (a type of gun)"



Color Figure 12.3:
Tigrinya and English



Color Figure 12.4:
Amharic and English



Color Figure 12.5:
A tailor shop. Tigrinya and English



Color Figure 12.6: Amharic and English.
English counterpart in abbreviated form



Color Figure 12.7: A tea shop in Mekele



Color Figure 12.8:
A coffee shop right off
the main street of the
shopping district



Color Figure 13.1: South Tyrol: German–Italian bilingual sign



Color Figure 13.2: Lombardy: Italian–Dialect bilingual sign



Color Figure 13.3: South Tyrol: monolingual German sign for tourists



Color Figure 13.4: Formazza: Italian–German bilingual inscription on the front of the municipal hall



Color Figure 13.5: Formazza: Walser German only path direction



Color Figure 13.6: South Tyrol: Bavarian inscription on a private country house



Color Figure 13.7: Formazza: Italian only sign advertising a handcraft shop



Color Figure 14.1: Traditional Mandarin characters dominate the LL



Color Figure 14.2: “Loyalty-Filial Piety Road” in traditional characters and early tongyong (Taipei Times, 2000)



Color Figure 14.3: International businesses in Taipei



Color Figure 14.4: Display English on a scooter reading: “Vogue. All I have: giving you the best function”



Color Figure 14.5: Display English as creative language play



Color Figure 14.6: Display French and “European” on two shop signs



Color Figure 14.7: Display Japanese with hiragana (in orange), romaji (in red) (top sign) and katakana (in white) (bottom sign)



Color Figure 14.8: Clash of Romanizations: Hanyu, Tongyong, and Wade-Giles Pinyin



Color Figure 15.1: Lev Ha'ir mall



Color Figure 15.2: Stairs in Nazareth



Color Figure 15.3: Street signs



Color Figure 16.1: Students at the library



Color Figure 16.2: Students during initial outing



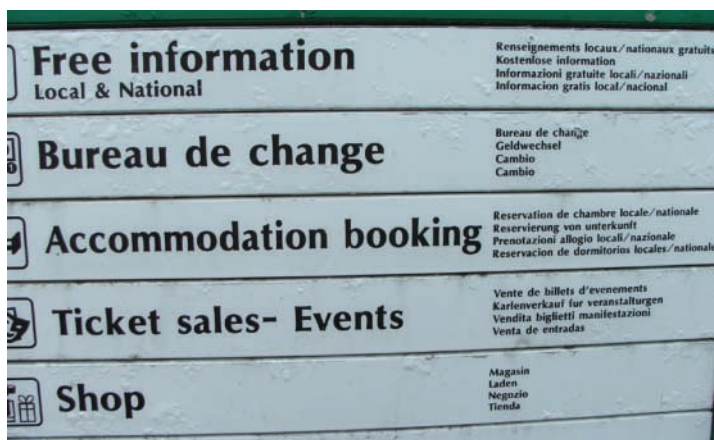
Color Figure 16.3: Students noting non-official aspects of writing on litter



Color Figure 16.4: Perception of the city through a mural



Color Figure 17.1:
Newry tourist office



Color Figure 17.2:
Bangor tourist office



Color Figure 17.3: Galway pub



Color Figure 17.4: Bangor pub and restaurant



Color Figure 17.5:
Galway shop front



Color Figure 17.6: Prohibition of
public drinking, Bangor



Color Figure 17.7:
Ballinasloe
parking sign



Color Figure 17.8:
Galway
parking sign



Color Figure 17.9: Advertisement for Galway music session



Color Figure 17.11: Athrú human resources, Galway



Color Figure 17.10: Espresso lounge, Galway



Color Figure 17.12: Galway various messages, various codes



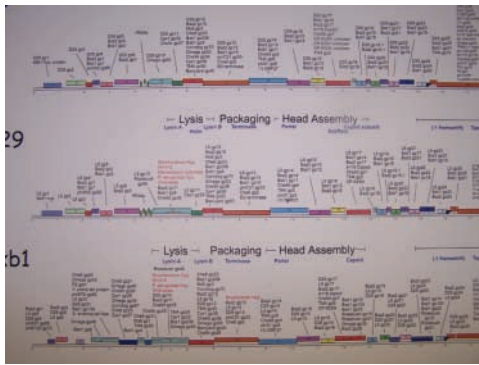
Color Figure 18.1:
A photograph of the
“wet” laboratory with
sticky notes, data tables
and warning signs



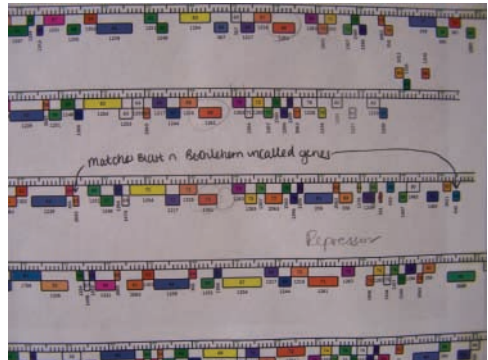
Color Figure 18.2:
Office space with
blackboard and
genome maps



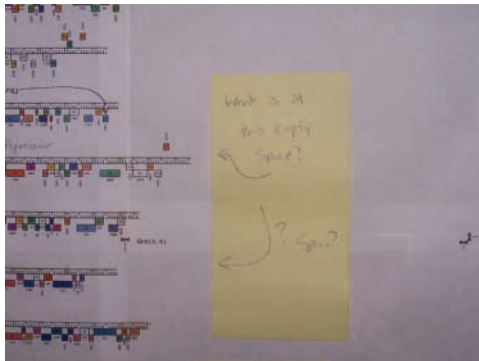
Color Figure 18.3:
A student closely
observing a conference
poster in the laboratory
corridor



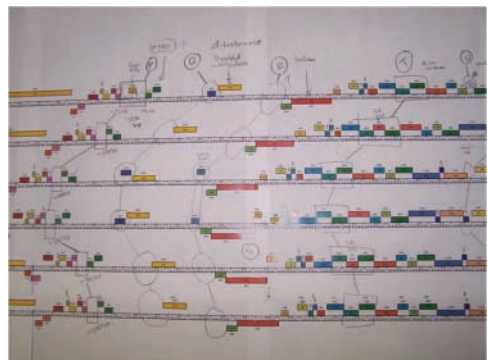
Color Figure 18.4: An example of a three (partial) genome maps for different bacteriophage found in the laboratory corridor



Color Figure 18.5: An example of anonymous writing on a genome map specifying bacteriophage genome similarities



Color Figure 18.6: An example of anonymous writing on a genome map using sticky notes to point out a problem in the annotation of the gene



Color Figure 18.7: An example of writing on several genome maps to mark areas of gene similarity



Color Figure 19.1: The back of St Luke's church



Color Figure 19.2: Mystery:
"In the beginning was the word"



Color Figure 19.3: Mystery:
"And the word became flesh"



Color Figure 19.4: Typical hip-hop graffiti, Sydney



Color Figure 19.5: Da Candy Bay, Cochin, India



Color Figure 20.1: Fertile Grounds Cafe, Berkeley



Color Figure 20.2: Laser graffiti in Barcelona

Source: <http://www.boingboing.net/2007/06/09/index.html>



Color Figure 20.3: The haapala site – the eastern boat



Color Figure 20.4: Hora dancing



Color Figure 20.5: Baby in a cradle on the boat en route to Palestine



Color Figure 20.6a: Visitors at the site



Color Figure 20.6b: Visitors using the deck as a playground



Color Figure 20.6c: People use the site as a path on their way to the seashore



Color Figure 20.7: The site surrounded by global icons



Color Figure 20.8a: Original picture of haapala boat



Color Figure 20.8b: Using the haapala icon in a current context

Source: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/activestills/1365300916/in/set-72157600731120579>

Part II

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

AUTHORSHIP IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

A Multimodal-Performative View

David Malinowski

Introduction

This chapter draws on empirical findings to explore the notion of linguistic landscape (LL) authorship as a partial response to a persistent question in the LL literature: namely, what is the symbolic and political significance of a particular linguistic code's appearance with other codes in bilingual signs? Taking its insights primarily from interviews, participant observation, and joint visual analysis with Korean American business owners in one neighborhood of Oakland, California, the chapter reflects in an immediate sense, the debates about public multilingualism in the USA; despite the rarity of explicitly encoded legal restrictions on the content of business and other signs, there have been attempts to outlaw non-English signage (Andrew 1997). More immediately, the motivation for this chapter was to investigate contradictions that emerged in the debate in 2004 about the purported formation of a "Koreatown" on a street in Oakland. While the media read into the growing presence of individual shop signs containing the Korean script *hangul* a territorial desire to carve out a separate "ethnic district," local community organizations and several shop owners themselves expressed reservations about the wisdom of claiming a singular identity for what is in fact an ethnically and linguistically diverse area (e.g., see Tae-su Jeong, "Han-in Sangkweon 'Dada Ikseon—Gwayu Bulgeup' Nonjaeng" [Debate over Korean Commercial Power: "The More, The Better" or "Too Much is as Bad as Too Little?]. *Korea Times San Francisco Edition*, March 23, 2005).

To the extent that public discourse concerning the languages, iconic symbols, and other communicative elements of *any* LL implicates certain individuals and groups who make their lives within its buildings, the insights gained through this study will hopefully contribute to a discussion of LL authorship as a general phenomenon as well. In the pages that follow,

interview data from twelve Oakland businesses are interpreted first in the light of theories of performativity, with central focus on Judith Butler's notion of the *excitability* of speech as it applies to the written language of signs. They are then discussed with reference to an emerging body of literature on multimodality in discourse and communication, in the style of Gunther Kress, Rick Iedema and others who build upon the Hallidayan tradition of social semiotics. What emerges from the juxtaposition of these two approaches is a view of the author of signs as a complex, dispersed entity who is only somewhat in control of the meanings that are read from his or her written "utterances."

In taking this stance, my desire is not to claim that individual shop owners do not control the design and production of the plastic, metal, or neon identifiers in front of their businesses. Rather, it is to draw attention to the complex and agentive ways in which the street/landscape itself—a heterogeneous site of seemingly fixed texts that is both the object of, and background to, unceasing and diverse human activity—produces meaning. Here I echo the sentiment of the scholar of visual art, media, and literature W. J. T. Mitchell, who remarked, "Landscape, we suggest, doesn't merely signify or symbolize power relations; it is an instrument of cultural power, perhaps even an agent of power that is (or frequently represents itself as) independent of human intentions" (Mitchell 2002: 1).

Authorship in the Linguistic Landscape Literature

"Authorship" is not a notion that has been directly addressed in this new sociolinguistics subfield that has treated the language on signs as an independent variable mediating social relations (e.g., Landry and Bourhis 1997). Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 9), in their study of the social forces driving code choice in Israel and East Jerusalem, speak in terms of linguistic landscape *actors*, or "[those] who concretely participate in the shaping of LL by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies." More often, the domain of human agency behind the linguistic landscape remains unnamed, with authorial intent couched between two more visible dichotomies: (1) the semiotic reading of the *dominance* of one linguistic code over another on bilingual signs, and (2) the distinction between government or officially authored "*top-down*" and private or individual "*bottom-up*" signs.

Scollon and Scollon (2003), drawing upon Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), note that the preference for one code, or dominance of one code over another, can often be read from its position relative to the non-dominant code. They explain, "The preferred code is on top, on the left, or in the center and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or on the margins" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 120), and cite the presence of legal restrictions to this

end in Hong Kong and Quebec. Simultaneously, Scollon and Scollon, Backhaus (2005: 137) and others note the importance of the relative sizes of the two linguistic codes. In this scheme, when the spatial positioning of the two (or more) codes is complex, ambiguous, or even in “simple” left-right/top-bottom divisions, the visibly larger letters would be read as dominant. In fact, existing language laws such as Quebec’s “Bill 101” requiring French on all public signage, appear to give preference for the size consideration over position: the law requires French lettering to be “markedly prominent,” at least twice the size of those of any other language (see DeNeen L. Brown, “Quebec law on French signs make some people gag: ‘Tongue troopers’ protect culture, supporters say,” *The Washington Post*, April 8, 2001).

The determination of what the “dominance” of one code actually *means*, however, is subject to a further, or simultaneous, reading of the sign’s source. Gorter (2006), in his introduction to the *International Journal of Multilingualism* special issue on LL, notes that almost all writing on this topic assumes a fundamental difference in choice of code and other sign elements by the producers of “top-down” signs (governments and public agencies) and the non-official interests that make signs from the “bottom-up.” Remarking that choices such as which code to place in the “dominant” position vary significantly between top-down and bottom-up authors, he writes, “The main difference between these two wide categories of LL elements resides in the fact that the former are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies” (Gorter 2006: 10). This sense is echoed by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 26; italics added), who claim, “LL analysis focuses at the same time on the simultaneous actions of institutions and *autonomous actors* which together give shape to the linguistics of the public space.”

Given this distinction between “top-down” and “bottom-up,” a certain uniformity in authorial intent might be read into the code choice conventions employed by *all* privately-owned business entities. Yet consideration of urban “semiotic aggregates” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 175–176) containing bilingual signs, including the side of one of the Oakland interview sites for this project visible in Color Figure 7.1, might give us pause for reflection. Do the authors of the “Ohgane” and the “Broadway Car Wash” signs—the first representing a unique, individually-owned restaurant, and the second a gasoline station owned by a multinational oil corporation—act “autonomously” in the same ways? Do they exercise the same kinds of control over the meanings that we read from the signs? How should we theorize the Union 76 authors’ decisions to create a monolingual English sign, and the Ohgane Restaurant authors’ use of both English-dominant and Korean-dominant signs, all on the same building wall?

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 9), in attempting to read “the drives and forces that stand behind” the molding of the linguistic landscape in Israel and “point out the LL-actors’ behaviours and choices,” present three views of linguistic

landscape authorship as social action. Drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's notion of social fields as "interconnected, yet possibly more or less autonomous, fields of social facts structured by unequal power relations between categories of participants" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 9). They posit that the relation of dominant and non-dominant codes in the LL "should be explainable in terms of power relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). At the same time, they invoke the ideas of Erving Goffman in claiming that social action involves the presentation of self, such that community identity markers should "imprint themselves quite strongly on LL" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). Finally, they argue that social action, including code choice in the LL, is impacted by Raymond Boudon's theory of "good reasons." That is, in addition to the two above considerations, they hypothesize that "attractiveness and expected influence on clients should govern LL choices" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10). Their study of the complex patterns of code representation visible in different Israeli cities and East Jerusalem is nuanced and does indeed support the idea that all three of these dynamics may together constitute the "general processes flowing through the social setting" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 9). Yet, the precise mechanisms by which these three theories of social action work together—and potentially militate against one another—remain to be addressed.

The issue of discerning authorial intent from connotative meaning has also arisen implicitly in terms of what Scollon and Scollon (2003) call the "symbolic" versus "indexical" meaning of signs. Comparing the use of highly stylized French words in Roman script on a cafe sign in Hong Kong with the use of simplified rather than traditional Chinese characters in mainland China, they write, "the actual language used—English, Chinese, French, etc.—can either index the community within which it is being used or it can symbolize something about the product or business which has nothing to do with the place in which it is located" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 119). In this analysis, the use of simplified Chinese characters on a sign in mainland China, where simplified characters have been in popular use for decades, would *index* a standard social practice, and thus, presumably, lie beyond the domain of intentional design by an individual actor. In contrast, the "symbolic" use of French to lend an exotic air to the product or establishment of the Hong Kong cafe would be seen as an *intentional* manipulation by the cafe owner or designer of the sign.

This distinction, while analytically useful, leads to a major difficulty when the presence of two or more codes on the same sign gives rise to multiple interpretations about who might have meant what in designing the sign: Backhaus (2007) points out the apparent contradiction in his major study of the LL in Tokyo where, he finds, the intentional use of English to symbolize something "ideal or metaphorical" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 133) simultaneously "indexes common language preference patterns within Japanese society" (Backhaus 2007: 142).

He explains:

It needs to be reemphasized that indexicality is a quality which applies to all signs in relating them to the circumstances of their emplacement. Thus, on a higher level, symbolic language use has indexical properties as well. It indexes a preference for foreign language use by the non-foreign population, which is a point of special relevance with regard to the worldwide spread of English signs.

(Backhaus 2007: 58)

However, in Backhaus' meticulously researched study as in others that read the linguistic landscape for evidence of multilingualism on the societal level, the complexities of authorial positioning amidst multiple and simultaneous processes of signification remain necessarily unexplored. Indeed, while a human biological capacity to interpret the same signs variously as icons, indexes, and symbols has been demonstrated (Deacon 1997), the same multi-layered symbolic indeterminacy is not understood to characterize the *intentionality* of social actors as they produce signs. Backhaus, for example, remarks on the absence of Japanese writing on the signs in an "ethnic Korean" district of Tokyo: "we can interpret most of the Korean signs in Shin-Okubo as a means of taking possession—of 'marking the territory' by the Korean-speaking population" (Backhaus 2007: 88). Similar claims regarding the Korean population in Oakland's Telegraph Avenue neighborhood were mentioned at the outset of the chapter. It is to the Telegraph Avenue business owners' own characterizations of local meaning-making practices that we now turn.

Methodological Notes

The findings about LL authorship that form the basis of this chapter are the product of four months of interviews, participant observation, photograph and media analysis, and interpretive walking/driving tours. With the assistance of a native Korean-speaking university student, the author interviewed eleven business owners in the Oakland/Berkeley area near San Francisco, California, and one in Irvine (near Los Angeles) in Spring 2005. In all cases except one, the participants were individuals who had emigrated from Korea and lived in the USA between 3 and 30 years. Interviews were conducted in a narrative fashion and included topics such as business history, the significance of the business name, staff and clientele demographics, publicity practices, and—central to the purposes of this project—the nature and extent of the owners' involvement in creating their shop signs. When feasible, a portion of each interview was conducted on the sidewalk outside the place of business while jointly interpreting the signs' various elements in context. A total of 14 hours of interviews,

approximately 80 percent in Korean and 20 percent in English, were recorded and transcribed for analysis.

The majority of the interviews took place in shops between 23rd Street and 51st Street in Oakland's Uptown and Temescal districts, north of downtown and located on or near the Telegraph Avenue corridor joining downtown Oakland and Berkeley. This area has been the site of a growing concentration of Korean commercial and cultural activity since the late 1980s (see Chuck Squatriglia, "Oakland's got Seoul: Koreatown emerges as hub of Asian culture and downtown's rebirth," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 13, 2002) and it is here that the Korean language in Oakland's linguistic landscape makes its presence felt. In a 4.5-mile walking survey from one end of Telegraph to the other, in which I recorded the location, number, and relative prominence of non-English text on business, church, and other privately-commissioned signs, approximately 12 percent (44 out of a total of 365) were found to contain Korean *hangul* letters. This number is almost twice as large as the number of signs (28) containing all other non-English languages combined, and is almost 10 times as high as the number for any other individual language: there were 5 signs each containing Chinese and French (each representing 1.5 percent of the total number of signs on Telegraph); 4 containing Amharic; 3 each with Arabic, Spanish, and Italian; 4 in Japanese (2 with Japanese orthography and 2 with Romanized letters); 2 with Spanish; and 1 each containing Thai and Portuguese.

In particular, the Korean signs were noted for the relative prominence of their *hangul* lettering. More so than the other languages on this street, the Korean lettering on Telegraph Avenue signs tends to be written at least as large as the English, and to be positioned on top or to the left of the English text. The signs themselves tend to be large or positioned such that they are easily visible from the street. Korean signs were also the only signs containing a non-Latin script that appeared without English text or Romanization: 10 such signs (comprising about one-quarter of all Korean signs, and 3 percent of all signs on Telegraph Avenue) were visible on stores between 23rd and 51st Streets. In particular, 41 out of 205 signs (20 percent) in these 28 street blocks contained Korean, 20 of them clearly more prominently displayed than English.

In order to test assumptions of authorial control over prototypically "bottom-up" signs, over twenty individually or family-owned, geographically proximal businesses were identified as candidate sites. In the end, the owners of six restaurants (five serving Korean food and one Japanese), two grocery stores, one gift shop, one comic book store, one video store, and one sign-making company agreed to participate, as indicated in the two left columns of the following table.

In each of the three sections that follow, I combine presentation of research findings with theoretical discussion, drawing illustrative examples from one or two research sites in each case. The discussion here is

Table 7.1 Businesses interviewed and owners' involvement in sign design

| Business name | Business type | Dynamics of current owners' involvement in sign design | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | | Ownership transfer, no change to sign | Ownership transfer, some changes to sign | Emphasis on others' control of design | Emphasis on own control of design |
| Ohgane Restaurant (Color Figure 7.5) | Restaurant | | | ✓ | |
| Jong Ga House (Color Figure 7.3) | Restaurant | ✓ | | | |
| Seoul Gom Tang | Restaurant | | ✓ | | |
| Sahn Maru (Color Figure 7.6) | Restaurant | | | | ✓ |
| Sai Sai | Restaurant | | | ✓ | |
| Sahn Cafe | Restaurant/ bar | | | ✓ | |
| Eugene Market | Grocery store | | ✓ | | |
| Koreana Plaza (Color Figure 7.4) | Grocery store | | | | ✓ |
| Boa Gifts (Color Figure 7.2) | Gift shop | | | ✓ | |
| Koryo Manhwa | Comic book store | | | ✓ | |
| Campus Video | Video store | | | | |
| Cyber Cafe | Internet cafe | ✓ | | | |

necessarily brief, intended to raise questions rather than provide definitive answers. For a more extended discussion, see Malinowski (2007).

Authorship between Constative and Performative Meaning: The Case of Boa Gifts

In light of outsiders' concern with what is *meant* by the inclusion of this or that language in the linguistic landscape of a given location, one of my main research goals in conducting interviews with the "local actors" of Telegraph Avenue businesses was to determine how they described their own choice of code. However, this question was somewhat premature: in fact, many of the current business owners had played relatively little or no role in designing their shop signs (see Table 7.1). One-third (four people) had purchased their businesses from others and either continued to use the existing signs on the

buildings without making any changes, or had modified or added to the existing signs. All of the other eight participants said that they had chosen the name for their business, but of these eight, four indicated that local sign companies had played significant roles in deciding language position, script size, layout, images, colors, and in at least one case, language choice. Aspects of these findings will be discussed in more detail below, but in a provisional sense we might surmise that the notion of “bottom-up” control is significantly more complex than is often assumed. In part for these reasons, questions that asked the business owners *why* each language had been chosen to appear on the sign were often met with what seemed at the time like vague answers. In particular, regarding the inclusion of English, over half of the business owners who had designed their own signs explained their choice with the self-evident fact that, “This is America” (“Miguk inikka,” “Miguk ddang inikka,” etc.).

However, these same owners, when articulating *the role played* by the two scripts, tended to identify at minimum a dual function. In the case of *hangul* a common configuration of roles was (a) to help Korean-reading passersby identify the shop, and (b) to create a sense of affinity through the use of the familiar script. An extended interview with the owner of a small gift shop, Boa Gifts (Color Figure 7.2), illustrates the second of these functions. The store had been open for 11 months at the time of the interview, although the owner had managed another shop with similar products (cosmetics, accessories, bathroom and personal effects) in a nearby location for 19 years. At the following point in the two-hour interview, she and I had been joined by her sister (S), who also owns her own business.¹

DM: A lot of [local Japanese and Thai businesses] write their names just in English. So what would you say to someone who asks why there's not just English on a place like this, on the BOA sign?

S: Didn't you write it, the Korean, for people like, like the old folks around here who can't read English?

Owner: Noo . . .

DM: Umm, so Korean . . .

Owner: Korean is . . . [1] You know, even for the people who can speak English really well, if you put Korean up in the sign, they feel a close connection with the shop, right away, since there's Korean. When you go by . . . like if you're in Korea, right, and you pass by someone on the street who's from America, who speaks English well, and their face looks just like someone from America, do you feel some connection, or not? When you're in a foreign country?

DM: Yes, sure.

Owner: When you're in America, and you're passing by and you see Korean right there, you think, “Oh, there's some Korean.” You already feel some connection with the place.

In this segment, the owner did not pick up on my question comparing her language conventions with those of other types of businesses. Immediately after, she stated that “of course” *hangul* is used on local signs to offer a sense of connection to potential clients. In this way, she (and other participants in the study) seemed to be abiding by social conventions for code choice in her shop signs *while* simultaneously maintaining awareness of how these codes positively influenced her clientele.

One theoretical explanation for the co-presence of conventionality and intention may be found by making an analogy between the authoring of shop signs and the performance of *speech acts*. Here I draw both from the notion of the speech act as articulated by the philosopher of language John Austin (1962, 1979), and the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s critique of Austin (e.g., Bourdieu 1991). In Austin’s notion of performativity, utterances such as “I promise” or “I’m warning you” are understood not just to describe actions being taken, but in fact *are* the actions themselves. In fact, Austin argues, this performative aspect of language is not limited to a certain class of possible utterances; *all* speech is performative (Austin 1979: 249), carrying with it an illocutionary force underwritten by the speaker’s sincerity of intention.

In the LL work, we might view the design and emplacement of a bilingual sign with a specific linguistic and visual message in the manner of a speech act—subject to success or failure to elicit a response (rather than the “truth” of the message delivered in multiple codes) based on the fulfillment of a number of “felicity conditions” that might include the legibility of the sign’s text, the congruity between the sign’s content and the type of goods or services offered by the business, emplacement in an environment with similar signs, the proximity of an audience familiar with the linguistic and visual conventions employed on the sign, etc. The inclusion of Korean in the BOA Gifts sign above would thus seem *intentional*: the purple neon locution BOA Gifts was in fact designed to create an affective response among Korean-reading viewers.

In response to Austin’s language-centered views, however, Bourdieu is quick to point out that the felicity conditions that give performative power to the speech act are *not* aspects of the utterance or related somehow to qualities intrinsic to the speaker. Instead, he asserts, “illocutionary acts as described by Austin are acts of institution that cannot be sanctioned unless they have, in some way, the whole social order behind them” (Bourdieu 1991: 74). Thus, the Telegraph Avenue business owners’ frequent response that “of course” Korean is in the sign and that English appears in signs as well “because this is America” would appear to indicate convention rather than choice, the presence of larger social forces that manifest in the use of a certain code or combinations of code in street signs.

Bourdieu’s frequent critique of Austin does not so much deny the existence of a speaker/writer/signer’s intention to act through her words; rather

it relativizes the importance of any individual's intent in the face of larger social forces that prefigure the success or failure of an utterance. Taken together, these perspectives on speech acts allow us to posit tentatively a notion of linguistic landscape authorship that is mutually constituted by individual intention *and* social convention. Whether we see performative power as located in primarily in words or residing in social institutions, there should be little reason to doubt that the individual, at some level, is still *aware* of the power of her words to realize their intended effect.

Excitable Signs? Excesses of Meaning in the Linguistic Landscape

Interviews conducted for this project cast doubt upon even this last assumption. During the interviews it became abundantly clear that the business owners understood the Korean and English words on their signs to be speaking to multiple audiences: at minimum, the English words were directed toward English-dominant readers, while the Korean words were targeted at Korean-dominant readers. Additionally, the owners acknowledged that the English words on the signs might *also* be meant for Korean-dominant readers: the owner of one restaurant said that the English "Grand Opening" on the building's rooftop banners was meant to be read by "both Koreans and Americans," while another business owner noted the popularity of short English phrases on signs in Korea, saying that "Koreans all know how to read nouns in English." Meanwhile, the Telegraph Avenue business owners acknowledged that Korean *hangul* letters might at least be recognized as Korean by members of the public who do not read the language (this view was found at Boa Gifts, Ohgane Restaurant, Jong Ga House, and Sahn Maru).

However, I was more struck to find that in half of the cases studied (six businesses), the owners said they did *not* fully control, did not claim responsibility for, or were not even aware of the meanings that many readers took from their signs. The owner of an internet cafe, for example, expressed a keen awareness of the ways in which the language of *others'* signs speaks to specific audiences: in discussing the shops on Telegraph Avenue and in the mini-mall of Korean stores where her business was located, she explained to me that signs with *hangul* "are for Koreans"; the signs of sushi restaurants, written (at least partially in English) are "for foreigners," whereas the Korean language signs of other restaurants with food that is less popular in the mainstream USA, like the black sauce noodle dish *jjajangmyeon*, are "for Koreans." However, when I asked her about the language(s) displayed on her own shop sign, she remarked that she had been talking specifically about restaurants, that in fact she was not sure whether Korean appeared on her sign, and that we would have to go outside and look.

At Jong Ga House restaurant (Color Figure 7.3), the (second and current)

owner told me she took pride in teaching customers the meaning of her restaurant's name, which translates literally as "The House of the Eldest Son" (a term designed to evoke images of traditional family gatherings with bountiful food). However, she said that she was frequently asked by both Korean and English-reading customers if the sign referred to her—that is, if *she* was Mrs. Jong—a misunderstanding that arose, she told me, perhaps because "Jong" is a Korean surname and "Ga" can mean "family", and perhaps because the main shop sign is "homophonic" (Backhaus 2007: 91), with the Korean name made directly available to a broader audience through transliteration into the Latin alphabet. At Boa Gifts, another business displaying this type of sign, the owner of explained that the two *hangul* syllables: "보" (*bo*) and "아" (*a*) can be read as the familiar imperative form of the verb "to look." She said that she intended the name as an invocation to passersby to notice her store, one that would be easy to pronounce and easily visible in both languages. However, after being asked repeatedly by Korean-speaking customers if her store carried accessories and clothing worn by a popular Korean singer also named "Boa," she realized that many viewers might associate the *hangul* letters, and perhaps even the English transliteration "BOA," with something quite different than she had intended.

These examples, while numerous, may appear rather inconsequential; however, their potential severity was underlined by the story of a costly identity crisis underway at the most popular Korean-owned supermarket in the region, a business widely acknowledged by the participants in this study as a center of the local Korean community. I expected that Koreana Plaza (Color Figure 7.4), with over 25 employees and its own in-house graphic designer, would exert a great deal of control over the store name and code choice in its signs. Indeed, the management had kept the previous owners' name "Pusan Plaza" (referring to the second-largest city in south Korea) since they assumed ownership in 1997. But after an aggressive marketing campaign to the general public and a new store opening 90 miles away in Sacramento, the owners decided they should, they said, "upgrade the name" at a cost of approximately \$35,000 in legal and material expenses. In 2003 the store management held a naming contest, soliciting entries from its customer's in-store and through several local Korean media venues. Interestingly, the change of name also occasioned a change in relative size of the *hangul* and Latin scripts on the signage; however, this design decision was *not* part of the popular vote. The winning entry (the name "Koreana Plaza") was selected over other candidates such as "Oriental market," "Pionari" (meaning "blooming flowers"), and "SaeRoma" (New Rome) in part because, the owner explained, it resonated with a convention among Korean businesses such as Asiana Airlines to add the suffix "-na" to nouns for stylistic purposes.

At the time of the interview, the external signage, television and newspaper

advertisements, and business cards had all been changed to reflect the name change. However, after more than a year of relatively little shift in overall sales and customer demographics, the owner indicated that the name “Koreana” had not lived up to its promise:

Owner: So I thought if we named it “Koreana,” Americans would realize it’s about Kore-a, but . . . [2] For Americans . . . they don’t know what “Koreana” is.

DM: Ah.

Owner: Koreans, they understand that, that “Oh, they added a ‘na.’” But Americans, they don’t know. [1]. They think it’s a *separate* word, separate vocabulary. [1] *Biggest* mistake. [2] So, I’m gonna have to change the name to “Korea Plaza.” Eventually I’m gonna have to.

As of the writing of this chapter, the market’s previous name, Pusan Plaza, is said to remain the favorite among the Korean clientele, and this is the name that continues to be displayed most prominently in the aisles inside the store.

The emergence of unexpected meanings in these narrations suggests that signs in the linguistic landscape—especially the largest storefront signs that carry the most weight as the symbolic “face” of the business—might mean more, or mean differently, than the individuals recognized as authors could have intended. In particular, extending the parallel between the authoring of signs and the performance of speech acts, they suggest that the notion of the “excitability” of speech may apply to the “utterances” of the LL as well. In the beginning of her book-length exploration of the nature of the force behind hate speech, Judith Butler explains that speech is excitable in that it “is always in some ways out of our control” (Butler 1997: 15). As she develops this idea, she criticizes both Austin and Bourdieu for being overly deterministic in their arguments for a closed set of linguistic (in Austin’s case) or social (in Bourdieu’s) conditions that predetermine the success or failure of an utterance to accomplish what it purports to do. In Butler’s view, speakers are involved in a transformative process whenever they give voice, intentionally or not, to words that bear histories and point to futures that surpass the scene of the utterance. Critically, the outcome of this process is, because of the unique context of utterance and embodied production of language, uncertain.

It is through an understanding of meaning-in-excess as produced through *embodied signification* that a parallel can be drawn between speech acts and the sort of multimodal texts that populate the linguistic landscape. Butler, arguing that speech acts are at the same time bodily acts, explains how meanings emerging from any speech situation *both* exceed the intent of the speaker *and* do more than mechanically reproduce social structures:

[T]he simultaneity of the production and delivery of the expression communicates not merely what is said, but the bearing of the body as the rhetorical instrument of expression. This makes plain the incongruous interrelatedness of body and speech . . . the excess in speech that must be read along with, and often against, the propositional content of what is said.

(Butler 1997: 152)

In Butler's view, however, it is the fact of *speech* as embodied action that creates room for transformative, performative meanings that escape the speaker's control. Writing, she argues, does not abide by the same conventions:

That speech is not the same as writing seems clear, not because the body is present in speech in a way that it is not in writing, but because the oblique relation of the body to speech is itself performed by the utterance, deflected yet carried by the performance itself.

(Butler 1997: 152)

However, in light of the *materiality* of all writing, and in particular, the diversity of fonts, sizes, colors, textures, surfaces of inscription, spatial configurations, and other traits of the signs in public space, this distinction appears less tenable than she suggests. Asserted in Butler-esque terms: if to ignore the oblique relation of the speaking body to the words it speaks is to deny the potential for a realm of meaning-emergence beyond the domain of the speaking subject's ability to "fix" meaning, then to deny the non-spoken sign a similar potential to mean beyond control is to suggest that the multiple codes and modes on a single sign convey messages in parallel without interacting dynamically with one another.

Authorship between Modes: Multimodal Excess and the Case of Sahn Maru

In a recent volume attempting to "re-materialize" the field of cultural geography, Liggett (2007) identifies the "excess of fact" as a defining characteristic of urban encounters, a fact that both enables and results from dialogic interaction in place. Similarly, the complex interaction of communicative modes in the linguistic landscape of signs, billboards, and public notices has been noted by those such as Huebner, who reports difficulty in determining the prominence of one linguistic code over another in bi- or multilingual signs on the streets of Bangkok. This difficulty arises because the placement of text and size "can be offset by other features, notably colour, images and amount of text" (Huebner 2006: 35–36).

Indeed, even “simple” signs, such as those in front of Oakland’s Ohgane Restaurant (Color Figure 7.5) and Sahn Maru restaurant (Color Figure 7.6), taken from the data for this project, seem open to interpretation along multiple paths at once. With respect to Ohgane, for example, while the owner focused in our interview on the power of the calligraphic *hangul* font to connote a sense of class and nostalgia, one South Korean viewer in an online discussion forum remarked that the *combination* of the font and the deep red color reminded him of North Korean noodle shops he had seen in his youth, while another, a beginning learner of Korean, compared the sign to that of Sahn Maru and wondered if the heavy use of red was typical of “Korean restaurants in general.”

Observations of this sort, frequent in the data for this study and in need of extensive corroboration in future research, suggest that linguistic, visual, spatial, and other communicative modes present in the linguistic landscape might interact in complex ways to produce multiple meanings. This finding echoes that of a growing body of literature in modern-day media studies, cultural anthropology, language and literacy acquisition, and other venues that suggests that *all* communication needs to be understood as *multimodal* (e.g., Finnegan 2002; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; Lemke 1998). Gunther Kress (e.g., 2003) in particular, following in the tradition of Hallidayan social semiotics, is well-known for his assertion that each communicative mode follows its own logic and offers distinct affordances to meaning-makers. In his introduction with Carey Jewitt to their edited volume *Multimodal literacy*, Kress and Jewitt explain:

If, as these chapters show, there are always many modes involved in an event of communication (say, speech, gesture, posture, maybe images) then all of these modes together will be representing significant meanings of the overall message. The meaning of the message is distributed across all of these, not necessarily evenly. In short, different aspects of meaning are carried in different ways by each mode.

(Jewitt and Kress 2003: 3)

At the surface level, one goal of this chapter is to assert the theoretical relevance of this claim for the LL, with the separate elements and conventions employed on each sign potentially the work of sign designers, builders, and legislators of sign code, all potentially located in different times and places. The co-owner of Oakland’s Sahn Maru restaurant explained that he and his partner carried out many of these roles at once: they chose the curvy *hangul* font for his sign because it was “not too boxed in or contained” and the font’s red color because “it gives the sense of power, of warmth.” And while we were standing below the sign, looking at the mini-mall of Korean businesses across the street, the Japanese restaurant next door, and the many

other monolingual English shop signs in view, he explained the symbolic distinction he was aiming for with the various elements in his shop sign:

Owner: So basically the [circular red, blue, and yellow] *Taeguk* pattern stands for Korea. The words “Korean BBQ” also stand for Korea. “BBQ” stands for a restaurant. “BBQ” stands for traditional Korean foods, like chicken and *bulgogi*. They’ll recognize that it’s a restaurant if they see that. So there are several things that I put there in the space of a small sign, there’s English, Korean, and the meaning “restaurant”, and the *Taeguk* pattern as a symbol. Other places have other things, but I thought this would be good for us to represent what’s Korean.

This quote appears to be a perfect illustration of Jewitt and Kress’ “distribution” of a singular meaning across separate modes. What remains problematic for our understanding of authorship, however, are the degrees and locations of control wielded by the designers of multimodal texts such as this one. Kress, for one, implies that multimodal design is a matter of choice among available options in order to express a designer’s (prior) communicative intent “. . . *representation* is always ‘engaged’, it is never neutral: that which is represented in the sign, or in sign complexes, realises the interests, the perspectives, the positions and values, of those who make signs” (Kress 2002: 44). Others, such as Lemke (1998), recognize a “multiplicative effect,” whereby a text’s meaning is amplified by the mere fact of different modes interacting with each other. Still others demonstrate how historically specific processes and power relations are in fact embedded and naturalized in the communicative logic of the present. Citing Bruno Latour’s (1992) semiotic history of mundane objects, and implicitly echoing Judith Butler’s notion of the “condensed historicity” in words, the organizational semiotician Rick Iedema notes that “essentially multi-semiotic practices and constructs, like written text or architectural design, are often perceived from a common-sense point of view in quite simplified terms” (Iedema 2003: 40).

In the LL, this appears to be particularly true for the dual meaning-making potential of the written word. Lemke (1998, 1999) has shown that the semantic representational (typological) function of semiotic material is often treated independently and prior to its imagistic (topological) meaning, when in fact both operate simultaneously. In my own data, this practice was borne out in the words of business owners who discussed the importance of the semantic message of the words on a sign—even with respect to an audience that could not read them. In particular, the hidden boundary between typological and topological meaning as it relates to authorial intent, a topic with ramifications for our understanding of the relationship between “indexical” and “symbolic” meaning, emerged as I continued my interview with the owner of Sahn Maru, looking up at his sign.

As we discussed his effort to teach the meaning of the restaurant name (“Mountain Ridge”) to the English-speaking public, he pointed to the inclusion of both Korean and English in the sign:

Owner: People who can’t read Korean, when they see the *Taeguk* mark and the English that says “Korean restaurant,” they can figure out that that’s Korean. That’s the Korean language. So it teaches them Korean, they can learn Korean. And the same for people who don’t know English, like the elderly Korean population. They might figure out that it’s a Korean restaurant from the *Taeguk* mark. But they wouldn’t be able to recognize that this is Sahn Maru if there were no *hangul*.

Here the owner’s awareness of the division of representational roles between image and text is crucial: the circular *Taeguk* symbol bears the greatest weight in performing an iconic Korean identity, while the words appear to be more valued for their content. The sense of the denotational value of language as opposed to images seemed to remain even when I asked about the placement of the Korean name above the English name. In his response, the owner expressed a vague sense that that this code preference helped to convey a sense of Korean identity:

Owner: I don’t know. I don’t know what other people think about that, but for Sahn Maru, it’s a Korean restaurant, and it worked out to have it like this, with Korean on the top and English on the bottom.

In this passage, the position of Korean above English appears to key the meaning “Korean-owned”—an indexical relationship that the owner was aware of, but which he does not seem here to have *intended* to bring about. Indeed, the alignment of the owner’s authorial intent with the typological, denotational value of language continued as long as we continued to discuss the role of the communicative modes in separation. It was only when the *relationship* between the pictorial and linguistic modes present on the sign was called into question that the designer’s relationship to the imagistic, performative power of the *hangul* letters came into being:

DM: This’ll be the last question about the sign . . . with Korean on top and English on the bottom . . .

Owner: Right, it’s been like that since the very beginning.

DM: If it were the other way around how would [the meaning] be different?

Owner: Well, if you wanted to switch them then the *Taeguk* pattern would switch positions. The English and the *Taeguk* pattern would be on

the same line. That's not the way it should be. If you want this to symbolize "Korea," it has to be matched with the Korean letters.

This expression of volition in the form of a commonsense fact (the subject is elided in the original Korean expression "*Hanguk eul natanaeryeomyeon*," "if (you) want to express ('Korea')") is remarkable in that it suggests that the culturally iconic *Taeguk* symbol may relate to the sign's letters *as image*, and not necessarily (or also) to their denoted content *as language*. Whereas only the English text explicitly identifies the restaurant as "Korean," the sign's pictorial icon belongs with the Korean *letter-forms* and not with the English *words*.

Conclusion

The comments of Sahn Maru's owner illustrate an aspect of linguistic landscape authorship that appears to have been produced in dialog between human interlocutors, a changing social setting, the various communicative modes present in the linguistic landscape of street and shop signs, and the interrelationships therein. Clearly, the owner of Sahn Maru and the other individuals interviewed for this project maintained a sense of the importance of Korean *hangul* in both identifying the particular name and nature of the business (constatively, in Austinian terms) and establishing (performing) an affective relationship with their prospective clientele. But findings from this admittedly provisional study might also make us reconsider the essentially *political* nature of interpreting social significances of the linguistic code on shop signs. As insinuated in the quote by Mitchell (2002) at the outset of this chapter, any readings of territorial or other far-reaching symbolic intent from code choice and positioning on signs may result as much from the *agency of landscape* as they do from the intent of any individual or group of people. This was the point that John (the other interviewer) and I took from the protestations of a grocery store owner as we persisted in asking him about the choice of code inside and outside his store, positioning him as the chooser:

Owner: But a place like this is a little . . . right now . . . [2] So we're talking like I'm "Korean" . . .

DM: Yes.

Owner: And this is a "Korean" . . . market, and that's why this kind of topic is coming up. [2] So the owner is Korean and it's a Korean market but, like I said before, like with the idea of being "international," this is in America, where the Korean community is together with the American community. I don't think it's right to talk about it as if it's all about being Korean-this and Korean-that.

We may feel dissatisfied with the implications of these findings for our understanding of authorship in the linguistic landscape: that seemingly intentional meanings can in fact remain hidden to the writers of signs, arising instead from larger historical processes that have become sedimented into practices of literacy and technologies of design. At the very least, this chapter has endeavored to demonstrate that we ought to draw a distinction between the multifaceted and distributed process of “linguistic landscape authorship” and individual “linguistic landscape actors.” Yet I hope that it also points toward ethnographically-informed and multimodal analysis of the linguistic landscape as an, at least partial, resolution to the tangle between “symbolic” and “indexical” meanings identified by Scollon and Scollon (2003), Backhaus (2007) and others, as well as the tension underlying Ben-Rafael et al.’s (2006) composite explanation of linguistic landscape actors’ “behaviours and choices.” In concluding, I join these authors and those in this book in calling for a greater commitment by linguistic landscape scholars to situate and contextualize our studies in the lives of those who read, write, and conduct their lives amongst the signs of our field.

Note

- 1 All transcripts that appear in this chapter, except that of my interview with the owner of Koreana Plaza, have been translated from Korean. “DM” is the interviewer in all transcripts. Numbers in brackets [1], [2] indicate seconds of silence.

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A MAPPING TECHNIQUE AND THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

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Objectives

The linguistic landscaping approach to mapping and measuring multilingualism, observing traces of languages within the social communication space, is enjoying growing interest. More and more research has been carried out in a range of contexts around the world, with a particular regard to urban spaces (see Backhaus 2006 for a review). This edited volume provides evidence both of the growing interest for this field, and of the need to define its subject matter and its boundaries, in terms of theoretical models and methodological approaches. It reflects a need to take linguistic landscape (LL) research beyond occasional description and documentation, to progress toward the theoretical and methodological definition of the subject and to analyze critical perspectives. As Gorter (2006) pointed out, the objective and the theoretical framework of the various investigations and studies carried out were not always identical, nor was the methodology for surveying and analysing data collected. There are questions that remain to be answered regarding various aspects of the approach: from observation and sampling methods to data analysis and classification procedures, to ensure the comparability of the different data.

In this perspective, the present chapter seeks to contribute to the definition of the methodological paradigm. The methodology we present was developed at the Centre of Excellence for Research Permanent Linguistic Observatory of the Italian Language among Foreigners and of Immigrant Languages at the Università per Stranieri di Siena. Its main aim is to map linguistic diversity in multicultural contexts. The importance of this type of documentation goes beyond the domain of theory and information, because it can have consequences on the sociocultural development of territories where different languages and cultures coexist. Take, for example, local government or education authorities, which are confronted with constantly increasing numbers of children from immigrant families. Based on the information provided, the authorities will be able to plan interventions in

their area and seek to develop language skills both in Italian and in the children's L1 (Italian Ministry for Education 2007).

Linguistic Landscaping as a Layer in Mapping and Measuring Linguistic Diversity

The observation of the LL is one of the approaches used at the Centre to monitor the linguistic situation of Italian. The purpose of the research is to describe changes in the linguistic space due to contact between the Italian language and old (regional) and new (immigrant) minority languages (Barni 2006). Its objective is to reconstruct interactions between languages and to describe the results of language contact in the linguistic space by surveying the new uses of languages from a broad range of observation points. The underlying assumption is that a language, in its identity as a "contact language," defines and opens new conceptual spaces, and creates new forms, even at the cost of knowingly losing a part of its own purity (De Mauro 2002; Vedovelli 2005). Useful to this perspective is the creation of investigation tools capable of eliciting the visibility and use of languages within a territory. The tools will enable us to analyze the conditions and ways in which one or more languages can become visible and be used within a space to which they do not traditionally belong, and how languages and cultures are recreated through contact.

The complexity of the research topic led the Centre to construct a methodological model based on multidimensional approaches. Its main features are theoretical and methodological innovation on the one hand, and its attentiveness and readiness to capture changes in the linguistic situation on the other. The research necessarily moves in various directions; on one hand, the languages of migrant groups are observed and analyzed: the observation parameters indicate levels of language maintenance or loss in their uses by their speakers, their capacity to exert pressure on the local linguistic repertoire and finally to create new forms deriving from the contact. On the other hand, the attitudes and behavior of both the local community (in terms of the pressure it exerts on migrant groups and on new languages) and of the migrants themselves towards Italian (a language that is necessary for mutual comprehension, and a symbolic tool for integration) are also taken in consideration.

The Centre's research comprises a multidisciplinary approach which is similar to demolinguistic and geolinguistic research. In fact, over the last three decades, *demolinguistics* has become an international "crossroads" for demographers and sociolinguists, while *geolinguistics* stands as a nodal point between geographers and sociolinguists (Lachapelle and Henripin 1980; De Vries 1990; Van der Merwe 1989, 2008; Barni and Extra 2008). Our approach, while taking into account the contribution of the language sciences, also makes use of the tools and techniques of other disciplines,

including sociology, statistics, geography and information technology, which work together to produce an integrated analytical perspective on a complex subject matter. In addition, it also uses innovative elicitation tools.

For this reason the results of the research are pertinent to a number of linguistic disciplines (sociolinguistics, linguistic ecology, language teaching) in which the data about of languages are analyzed according to their effects and possible interpretations, and not solely through quantitative and qualitative data. The relationship with the territory is thus not only one of support or of surroundings, a simple panorama in which the languages can be seen, but also as a factor in the construction of the meaning of these languages. The underlying idea is to obtain a large set of data from which an all-round, comprehensive portrayal of the linguistic space can be derived for a given location. This kind of mapping entails constant monitoring of sociolinguistic dynamics, and thus needs to rely on methods suitable for acquiring wide-scale, quality data, using “triangulated” data collection, i.e., from different points of view, including the use of new instrumentation, capable of collecting and analysing large amounts of data economically. By linking the “triangulated data,” the mapping makes it possible to portray the new profiles of the linguistic contact make-ups in various contexts (Barni 2006). Linguistic landscaping is therefore one of the methodologies adopted as it focuses on the public use of languages. Its aim is to create digital maps of a territory which present the distribution of languages through social communication texts such as signs, graffiti, posters, public notices, advertisements.

Linguistic Landscaping: Context and Functions

According to the definition given by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25), the presence of languages in a given territory can be described by observing their traces within the social communication space. Thus we can refer to the network of messages and texts produced in the public contexts of inhabited areas: cities and towns and, within them, streets, squares, etc. In this type of context the predominant text types are commercial signs and advertising posters, billboards, announcements, personal messages, graffiti, restaurant menus and many other types of messages. The definition that we adopt here serves to delimit a field of linguistic and communicative uses in which the issuer of the message may be considered as a social subject (e.g., a firm in the case of publicity for a product), but in which the public is an indistinct portion of society, or at most, selected according to the objective of the message.

Although, as Gorter (2006) observes, the presence of languages around us is often neglected, and we do not pay much attention to the “linguistic landscape,” it is a vast and pervasive domain of communication, to which the mass of speakers are constantly exposed, and which can therefore amplify

an individual communicative occurrence of a linguistic expression. The speakers and audience understand and process the message, and integrate it into their own semiotic, linguistic and semantic space. The authors of the message are aware of this when they choose to use a specific language (or several languages) in the contexts of social communication.

For this reason, the confirmation of the LL can be assumed to be a contributing factor in describing the presence of languages and the linguistic uses characteristic of a given territory, and in explaining the reasons why such languages are used.

Following the conclusions given by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), we believe that the hypotheses offered by sociological theories on social action, often cited in explaining language uses in the social domain, “do not exclude each other and are fully compatible with what we found in different linguistic landscape sites” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 24). A number of factors intermingle in a complex way in the structuring of urban linguistic landscapes. These include: language communities’ presentation of themselves and their identity within a territory through the use of their own language (Goffman 1963, 1981); the power relations between languages and language communities dictated by sociopolitical forces (Bourdieu 1983, 1993) and the deliberate choices of those who issue the message, using signs that exert a strong attraction for users and customers, so-called “good reasons” (Boudon 1990). The public social communication context activates a “launch” effect for linguistic signs in the conscious mind and linguistic usage of the mass of speakers and of individuals. However, we also need to consider the fact that its occurrence is the fruit of forces that may be linguistic (e.g., prestige models that are drawn upon, or *realia* for which there is no alternative name), but are due above all to social and cultural dynamics, arising from contact, tension and friction between semiotic, cultural, social, economic and productive systems.

Bearing in mind the complex background theory and the new and complex nature of the subject, our investigation created and tried out innovative methods and instruments for data collection and analyses, which were designed to take into account the many variables that contribute to the structuring of linguistic landscapes, and which we will explain below.

Methodology Applied

The discussion so far has highlighted the extent to which linguistic landscape research can provide useful data for the analysis of relations between languages in a given area, on the use of minority and prestige languages, the pressure from the languages of new groups in an area and the presence of contact varieties. The data collected may be interpreted in different ways according to the approach taken (linguistic, sociological or political). It then follows that the methodology is more effective if it can record a broad range

of information, so as to allow for various types of analysis, and thus to make the results easy to compare. This will ensure a balance between the huge subject area under investigation (the semiotic universe) and the demands of field-research in this sector.

These considerations led us to develop methods and instruments which would be both economical and powerful, combining at least two tried-and-tested linguistic data collection models developed by the Centre in Siena (Bagna and Barni 2006). As we mentioned before, the research projects that we have carried out fall within a range of lines of research. These research lines seek, on the one hand, to find, gather and analyze the characteristics of the new plurilingualism seen in the Italian linguistic space by surveying the linguistic traces of languages other than Italian, and on the other hand, to monitor the presence of Italian in public social communication abroad (Barni and Vedovelli 2004). The link between these two aspects of research has facilitated the development of an effective and convenient methodology for the purposes of data collection, be it for research into the features of a single language, or for several languages. The linguistic landscape approach has also enabled us to try out instruments that take advantage of new technologies, which have proved to be economical, flexible and adaptable to the different objectives of analysis. In this way, the methods developed to look into the plurilingualism of a territory (in terms of foreign languages, immigrant languages present within a given area, and contact dynamics between different groups) can be viewed alongside the analysis of a specific language or linguistic minority within a city or region, or the signs of a language capable of achieving dominance, be that for reasons of prestige, fashion, symbolic value, or semiotic surplus conveyed. Thus, what distinguishes the methodology presented here is that it allows us to collect and compare the various linguistic traces belonging to different types of texts, and at the same time construct large corpora and even sub-corpora (following procedures to select and filter the material collected) designed to highlight characteristics such as specific language(s) or type of texts.

“Static” Visibility and Vitality: Georeferencing Languages

The methodology used aims to detect the so-called “static” visibility and vitality of languages, by surveying the presence of “static” signs. “Static” refers here exclusively to the fact that the elements surveyed are static, i.e., various forms of written text; the term does not indicate any sense of a lack of dynamism in the contact between languages. The “static” dimension also includes writing on motor vehicles, etc., since these are static traces, although, being physically mobile, they can penetrate and spread around an area more.

All the data collected are georeferenced implying that it is linked not only to the place of collection, using a general classification (city, neighborhood, school, etc.), but also to a precise location identified by geographical

co-ordinates. Specific software for georeferencing objects in a given territory is combined with data-processing software especially designed for the linguistic analysis of traces detected (MapGeoLing 1.0.1). We should note here that we were unable to use solutions such as open-source software (*Google-Earth*, *Google-Maps*), although they are available on the market at very little cost. There were two reasons for this: we needed to (1) collect and analyze the broadest possible range of linguistic data and (2) examine and cross-analyze the data collected. We therefore had to use maps for each area surveyed, so that they could be processed using ArcGis. This choice involved initial costs, in order to be able to ensure numerous survey operations including software licenses, computerized maps, and designing the interface. Thus, the application of innovative technologies in the linguistic research field offers guarantees of quicker working times and a broader range of material gathered, in ways not found in other fields of linguistics. This is true both at the time of surveying, as we shall see (hand-held devices, GPS satellite systems, digital cameras, video-cameras and micro-recorders, digital maps), and during classification and analysis of the data collected.

Georeferencing also means that data can be analyzed both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, because it allows us to compare different portions of the data and the territory “surveyed” in one homogeneous survey campaign. Diachronically, because data gathered in a single location at different times can be superimposed in order to create maps that show any changes and highlight the dynamics of language contact in terms of levels or degrees of visibility and rootedness (Bagna and Barni 2006). Georeferentiality and the combination of synchronous and diachronous surveying are among the strengths of the model developed, which can gather linguistic traces at their most ephemeral (synchronic—think, for example, of a menu of the day, which changes daily), but at the same time allows for the stratification of traces (repeated data collection at regular intervals over a period of time).

Data Collection and Initial Classification of Linguistic Traces

The objective of the “static” dimension is to produce linguistic maps in a digital format, i.e., depictions of a specific local situation on geolinguistic maps that highlight the “static” intensity of presence of languages in the social space. The creation of these maps entails three phases:

- 1 Field data collection, i.e., surveying linguistic traces using digital cameras
- 2 An initial classification of traces using a handheld computer that contains a map of the district where the trace was observed, and linking the photograph to the map (each geographical point marked on the map corresponds to a single linguistic trace)
- 3 Downloading, processing and analysis of the data.

Two researchers are involved in field data collection, one with a digital camera, the other with a handheld computer. Once a text has been gathered ("captured") in a photograph, it is linked to a point on the map, in the precise location where the text was observed. There follows a description of the sheets and of the individual records contained in MapGeoLing 1.0.1, used for the classification of the photographs, and of the texts they recorded.

On the first sheet (Color Figure 8.1), each photograph, associated with a precise geographical location, is classified unequivocally using a progressive number to identify the observation and the actual *photo*, the type of *camera* (*macchina fotografica*) used, the name of the *researcher* and the *date* of the survey. It then specifies whether the text observed is *monolingual*, i.e., written in a single language, or if it contains several different languages. This points to the social function of the text observed: from closure to openness towards other linguistic communities. A text written in a single language makes it immediately clear that it is intended solely for those belonging to that specific linguistic community (the only ones for whom the text is comprehensible) or that the language has the prestige and power to stand alone, without the support of other languages (e.g., English in computer shops or an Italianism in an elegant street in a large city). The fact that a text is written in two, or even more languages, indicates an intention to make it comprehensible to people belonging to different linguistic communities. There is also a blank space in which the researcher can enter any *notes* and comments while doing the survey. Notes may provide information allowing for more accurate analysis of the data, or details that cannot be entered elsewhere on the sheet (the type of product sold, etc., where this information is considered relevant). Again, while surveying, on the first and second sheet (Color Figures 8.1 and 8.2) an initial analysis is made of the text shown in the photograph, considered as a whole, in order to identify its semiotic and textual functions. Each text is classified according to the *textual genre* to which it belongs, the *external position* (*esterni*), the *location* (*localizzazione*), the *domain* (*dominio*), the *context* (*contesto*) and the *places* (*luoghi*).

By *textual genre* (*genere testuale*), we mean a class of texts that are similar in form and composition, and also in terms of their content and/or the situations in which they are produced. These types identify the function of the text in the communicative landscape. Textual genre may include, for example, signs, menus, leaflets, posters, advertisements, announcements, rules and regulations, etc. The geodatabase sheet contains a list of textual genres that one might expect to come across in a given social space. This list is not closed, and it is always possible to add new textual genres.

With the *external position* indicator, the semiotic function of the text is given according to its position and degree of visibility. The semiotic function of the text differs if it is situated in an outdoor, open area, and thus potentially visible to and usable by a broad range of people, compared with

an indoor, closed place, where it is intended to be read only by a limited and clearly defined group of people: those frequenting that specific place. In the latter case the *external* option is not ticked.

We have defined *location* as the social space where the observation is made. The classification of spaces investigated includes central or peripheral urban areas, industrial areas, commercial areas, and rural areas. Urban and suburban areas are further divided into “elegant” residential areas and ethnic neighborhoods. This indicator shows the degree of distribution of a language over the territory, as it can also spread outside the space where one might expect to observe it (e.g., an ethnic neighborhood).

Domains are defined as “the contextualized spheres of communication” (Cooper 1967; Clyne 1997: 308), i.e., the spheres of activity and areas of specific interest into which social life can be divided. Some of the domains which were identified include public, educational, work-related. This classification may be arbitrary, since the number of possible domains is indefinite and a given context may belong to more than one domain, but it is still useful for the purposes of research and subsequent linguistic analysis. It enables us to establish in which of these domains we most frequently find the texts displayed in a language other than the local one. At the time of classification of a text into a specific domain, three interacting factors must first be considered: who produced the text, for whom it was produced, and what is its intended function. For example, if a photo is taken in a bar of a list of drinks containing lexical units in a language indicating that immigrant groups frequent it, this text is classified as being in the “public” domain, because it is designed for people considered as the users of a service, to inform them of what they can order there. Whereas a job announcement in Arabic, for example, inside the same bar, would not be classified as “public” domain, but rather as “work-related,” because it is intended for a specific category of readers, considered in their capacity as potential workers.

Contexts are defined as the subcategories of each domain, and are considered as centers of interest around which communicative interaction develops. For each domain, there is a potentially open list of contexts. For example, subcategories of the public domain include catering, hospitality, health, public administration, public services, etc.; subcategories of the educational domain include schooling, i.e., the education system in all its levels, from crèches to universities, lifelong education, i.e., courses for adults, etc. The subcategories of each context are defined as *places*, understood as specific spheres in which communication takes place. Catering places, for example, include bars, kiosks, fast-food diners, restaurants, etc. These lists are also potentially open.

Finally, where possible, information is included regarding the *people* (*persone*) present, which is (primarily) a commercial concern with mixed staff, prevalently local staff, or prevalently foreign staff. This information is useful in order to identify the type of interactions that we may expect to find in the

context being surveyed. Thus, based on this classification, which is made at the same time the photograph is taken, the overall characteristics of the text are identified, mainly providing indications of its semiotic function.

Semiotic Analysis

Having captured the linguistic traces and made an initial classification in the field, the third phase is the actual linguistic analysis of the text. This analysis takes place when the collected data are transferred to the more powerful desktop computer station, where there are other sheets to be filled (Color Figures 8.3 and 8.4).

The data gathered in the first phase converge in each sheet: the alphanumeric *ID*, which is identical to the photo number, so that the link between the image and the analysis sheet remains active; and the *entry number*, corresponding to the progressive number assigned automatically to the sheet by the program. The photo is then placed in time and space (the *date* of observation and the *location*), and the *state* and *city* in which the photo was taken are added.

The overall characteristics of the text are then viewed. They mainly provide indications of its semiotic function: the *text genre*, *contexts* and *places*, and the *author* (*mittente* in Color Figure 8.3). Generally speaking, linguistic landscape studies are limited to these two macro-types of author, respectively using the denominations *top-down* (TD) and *bottom-up* (BU) (Shohamy 2006: 111), to identify the “orientation” of the text. However, we feel that a broader classification needs to be developed, in order to take into account a series of intermediate levels. We could hypothesize a continuum, for example, between a poster produced by a public body announcing a selection contest, a poster by the association of Albanians in Italy inviting people to reflect upon the reform of the immigration law, and a hand-written poster advertising an Albanian party.

Macro-Linguistic Analysis

The next step is the linguistic macro-description of the text, identifying the language or languages present and the communicative functions assumed by them, which can vary, for example, according to the place in which the text was observed. If the observation was made in an ethnic quarter, where the presence of a certain linguistic community is due to social factors such as immigration, a written text in a single language makes it immediately clear that this is a deliberate use of the public communication space by that community. This linguistic use assumes a symbolic value, linked with the recognition of one’s own identity. If, on the other hand, a monolingual text is found in places that cannot be explained by this social function, other reasons need to be found for its use. As we have mentioned, we can hypo-

thesize that it derives from values typically associated with a language and culture, its prestige, strength, and capacity to convey a specific meaning. The author of the text knows that the language used not only conveys primary information content, but can also single-handedly evoke images of a different world and attract potential readers, and thus identifies potential audience of clients/buyers/interested people. These means of conveying meaning have been studied above all with regards to the presence of English in the urban linguistic panorama, where its use often has no other justification than the prestige of the language itself, associated with specific contexts of use (Ross 1997; Shohamy 2006).

Closely tied to the above field is that of *relevance*, which indicates which language, at first glance, is most visible, that to which the author intended to ascribe greatest semiotic importance, perhaps through means such as the size and style of lettering used in the sign.

The next step is to enter an indication of *dominance*, which refers to the semantically dominant language in a text, the one intended to most fully convey meaning, even within a plurilingual text. The presence of languages, their various combinations and modalities within a text, load the language or languages found in it with different symbolic values and functions. Where possible, in the field *function of other languages*, an indication is given of the role of the accessory languages relative to the dominant language. They may perform an *explanatory function*, such as in the case of a translation of the occurrence into local languages, an *informative function*, when their purpose is to provide additional information on products being marketed, or a *grammatical function*, in cases where they serve to adapt the words of the dominant language to their own grammatical structure.

Micro-Linguistic Analysis

The methodology described allows the user, at the analysis stage, to proceed from macro-levels of data processing to a more refined level of micro-linguistic analysis, if this is necessary or required by the research objectives. So as we look into the potential of this instrument for micro-linguistic analysis, we should emphasize that the example and model provided here has mainly been used to survey Italianisms in public social communication in various urban contexts (Bagna et al. in press).

For micro-linguistic analysis, the entire *occurrence* observed needs to be entered and analyzed: the program automatically enters the occurrences seen in the text into a sub-screen. They are classified according to the language to which they belong, and transliterated if they are in alphabets other than the Latin one. For each occurrence, the user can specify whether the lexical unit is simple (*house*), compound (*fashion house*) etc. A source of reference for this type of analysis can be found in the dictionaries of the various languages observed (e.g. the *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso*—

GRADIT, De Mauro 2000 for Italian). Indications can be entered regarding the *grammatical qualification* of the occurrence as found in the text, whether the occurrence is seen in its standard form or is an adaptation or neologism and, if possible, regarding its *field of reference*—the sphere of application of knowledge and human activity. The latter enables us to measure the relationship between the value and original field of reference of a word and the context, identifying any discrepancies.

Another field specifies the number of times the occurrence in question is found in the text: this makes it possible to create a list of frequency of forms observed. Structural analysis fields appear for each lexical unit. These fields do not necessarily have to be filled, depending on the occurrence observed and the type of analysis to be performed. It is also possible that the classification of lexical units adopted, based on their structural characteristics, may not be suitable for all languages (the classification in Color Figure 8.3 follows that used in GRADIT, De Mauro 2000; see also De Mauro 2005). Each occurrence is traced back to its *lemma*, and for each occurrence and lemma, the specifications made are: *grammatical qualification* (noun, verb, adverb, noun phrase, adverbial phrase etc.), *gender* (masculine, feminine or neutral, or other categories found in the language in question), and *number* (singular, plural, dual, etc.). For each lexical unit it is also possible to indicate a *marca d'uso* [*“usage classification”*] in its language of origin, to specify whether a word is part of the “basic vocabulary” of the language and is marked as fundamental usage; whether it is a word used with very high frequency, high frequency or high availability; whether it belongs to the common language, or to a prevalently or exclusively technical, specialist or literary style; whether its use is dialect-based, regional or obsolete (for a definition of the concept of *marca d'uso*, see De Mauro 2000, 2003, 2005). In this way we can establish whether any of the lemmas identified are treated as loanwords in dictionaries of the language spoken in the country where the text was observed.

Data Analysis

The fields making up the MapGeoLing 1.0.1 screen allow for the multi-level analysis of the textual occurrence observed, and also offer the possibility to cross-analyze the different dimensions, be they in reference to the macro or the micro-analysis of the text. Each field in the geodatabase is indexed, and can thus become a key for reading or research in the general corpus. The results may be represented either statistically or cartographically, linking the occurrence to the space in which it was observed. Using a statistical analysis model, we can then obtain a list of the most frequent lemmas, taking the results of micro-linguistic analysis on the content of the traces observed, subdivided by language. In the example (Table 8.1), we can see a list of the twenty most common Italian lemmas in urban linguistic landscapes around

Table 8.1 The twenty most common Italian lemmas

| | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|---------|
| pizza | espresso | trattoria | latte |
| il | cappuccino | bello | panino |
| ristorante | italiano | da | piccolo |
| pizzeria | caffè | goccia | cucina |
| pasta | di | casa | saldo |

the world, from a corpus of Italianisms collected in 21 countries worldwide (Bagna et al. in press).

In addition to the number of occurrences of a language or the word frequency list for a given language, the various other parameters can be used and cross-referenced on a macro- and micro-linguistic level.

In terms of mapping, we can obtain an elaboration of the dominant languages within a given territory, and thus the dynamics behind their positioning and interweaving there. Based on the indication of the dominant language in textual occurrences observed, it is possible to represent the weight and distribution of each language on the map of the territory under investigation (in Color Figure 8.5, the Esquilino neighborhood in Rome).

Alternatively, the same textual occurrences may be represented on the basis of “textual genre.” Using the information regarding the textual genre of the linguistic trace, we can view the distribution on the map, and thus see which types exhibit the greatest linguistic diversity. It is also possible to “cross” parameters, e.g., crossing the data for “textual genre” with that for “dominant language” (see Color Figure 8.6).

Conclusions

The method of investigation described here is not limited to the observation of texts containing exoticisms or traces of linguistic minorities, but analyzes them within a broader network of data. It can contribute to providing a wealth of information on the state of diffusion of a language through the analysis of the social environment as a place of contact between languages. Analysing exoticisms or traces of other minority languages in the social context in which they are found can help us understand the modalities and degrees of distribution of a language. It can also help us to appreciate whether they are actually traces of a language representing a specific culture, social sphere or economic/productive domain, or whether they simply indicate the presence of a group of immigrants who have entered the local society. For example, the lexical unit *couscous*, seen in many menus, may not be a sign of the presence of a group of North African immigrants and the rootedness of Arabic as a language possessed by the group, but rather an indicator of the influence exerted internationally by a specific sector of Arab culture: its cuisine. The result obtained by applying this methodology

and model of analysis leads to a deepened knowledge of the territory showing the visibility of languages, achieved through their written dimension. This is a static dimension of their presence. Whilst subject to possible changes that may occur quite suddenly, signs, posters, menus or graffiti permanently, or at least in the middle-term, define the relations between languages and the communities that speak them in a given area. And the fact that in a given area, where certain groups live, there are no “static” and visible traces of their presence, indicates a “void,” which is also a sign of the linguistic dynamics of the territory.

Thus, while including some critical factors (a high capacity for planning, and handling of several types of software, large research groups for the rapid analysis of data, etc.), the methodology presented is multimodal and powerful. Not only can it mix with and adapt to the purposes of investigation of different dimensions (research on one or more languages) and levels (semiotic, macro- and micro-linguistic) it also makes it possible to detect the different dynamics that linguistic traces create within a territory. Using the methodology described, we can identify and analyze Bourdieu’s (1983, 1993) power relations, but also the will to propose a specific linguistic identity in the perspective of self-affirmation through language (Goffman 1963, 1981), or simply market strategies. We can discern Boudon’s (1990) good reasons, but also the pressures exerted by the area itself and by the weight of the linguistic communities that traditionally live there. For any “static” manifestation in a language other than the official language or languages of the area surveyed, we can take into account a range of factors that may explain the motivations that drive a group to become visible or a language to be used through written traces. The interweaving of these factors can be observed individually or analyzed according to the combinations selected within the data processing procedures. It thus provides an accurate description of the degree of multilingualism found in a given territory. But, to our minds, we should not lose sight of the fact that the linguistic landscape is just one part of the whole universe of the vitality of contact and language use.

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WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Classification of Proper Names by Language

Loulou Edelman

Introduction

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the use of advertisements in industrialized countries dramatically increased due to mass production, growing consumer purchasing power and new printing techniques. In the same century, brand names had become a feature of the advertisement. Names such as *Coca-Cola*, *Ford*, *Kellogg* and *Kodak* were given an advertising boost in the 1920s (Crystal 2004).

Today, advertising is becoming increasingly multilingual as a result of globalization, with a preponderance of English. Advertisements generally contain one or more of the following elements: headline, illustration, body copy (main text), slogan, product name, and standing details (e.g., address of the firm). The product name is the element that is most frequently in a foreign language (Piller 2003). This may also hold for signs in the public space.

Typically, in linguistic landscape (LL) research, multilingual situations are analyzed on the basis of the languages used on signs. In many quantitative studies of the linguistic landscape, signs are coded according to the languages that appear on them in order to establish the distribution of languages (e.g. Backhaus 2006; Barni 2006; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz and Gorter 2006; El-Yasin and Mahadin 1996; Huebner 2006; Schlick 2003). This means that the researcher has to determine for all of the linguistic elements occurring on the signs in which language(s) they are written. In other words, all of the elements are classified by language. Signs often contain proper names, the coding of which is not always straightforward. This chapter deals with this methodological problem focusing on the question: How should proper names be classified by language?

The chapter will begin with a brief review of the literature on the function of using particular languages and the role of proper names in advertising and the linguistic landscape. Then attention will be paid to the classification of proper names in the linguistic landscape like brand names and shop

names. This will be accompanied by a case study that will demonstrate the impact of proper names on the linguistic landscape. At the end of the chapter, conclusions are drawn from the issues raised in order to answer the central question.

The Use of Languages in Advertising and the Linguistic Landscape

A part of the linguistic landscape is formed by shop signs, such as posters on which products are advertised and signs displaying the name of a shop. Shop signs, sometimes called “shop-front advertisements” (see, e.g., Schlick 2003), are similar to advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Both advertisements and shop signs are used to promote a product, the main difference being that advertisements are published in the press or broadcast over the air while shop signs are displayed in the public space. Although this chapter primarily focuses on the LL, previous findings of other researchers based on advertisements are also discussed in order to arrive at general conclusions.

The main function of shop signs, and therefore of any linguistic material occurring on them, is to persuade customers to buy the products or services available at the stores displaying these signs. Even if a sign just seems to be informative, its purpose is persuasion through communicating information as it tries to influence the customer’s behavior (El-Yasin and Mahadin 1996). How does the use of particular languages in advertising and the LL contribute to persuading customers?

According to Haarmann (1986: 109) “[l]anguage is the most immediate element of ethnic identity for ordinary people.” Through the use of particular languages in advertisements or on shop signs, products are associated with the corresponding groups of speakers. The languages used may or may not reflect the languages spoken by the speech community for which an advertisement or shop sign is meant. Haarmann (1986) notes that the use of English and other foreign languages in the Japanese mass media does not reflect the everyday language use of the Japanese speech community, which is largely monolingual. He calls this phenomenon “impersonal multilingualism.” This use of foreign languages often is not intended as a means of verbal communication but rather to appeal to people’s emotions. Foreign languages in Japanese fashion magazines “serve to stimulate the reader’s feelings and to create a pleasant mood of ‘cosmopolitanism’ ” (Haarmann 1986: 110).

Impersonal multilingualism also plays a role in a study of German print advertisements as described by Piller (2001). In her corpus the language of the slogans is English in 45 percent of all cases, while the body copy and the factual information (standing details) are mostly in German. According to Piller, this shows that the advertisement producers doubt the English proficiency of the audience, and it implies that they use English largely for its connotational value. Even if the audience does not understand the

denotational message of the English part, their stereotypes about English-speaking persons will be activated and transferred to the product.

A study of the German marketing agency Endmark (2006) indeed shows that German consumers often do not understand slogans in English. In the study 1,072 people between the ages of 14 and 49 were asked to translate twelve slogans. The slogan understood best was *Feel the difference* from a Ford advertisement: 55 percent of the respondents gave correct translations. The slogan translated correctly by the least people was *Life by Gorgeous* from Jaguar XK. The translation intended by the advertisers was “Leben auf prächtig/hinreißend.” Only 8 percent of the respondents gave correct translations while some others thought the slogan meant “Leben in Georgien” [Life in Georgia]. This study indicates that these English slogans in Germany do not transmit much factual information but may be used in order to appeal to emotions.

Gerritsen et al. (2000) found similar results with Dutch subjects. They investigated the comprehension of English in commercials on Dutch television among 30 Dutch men and 30 Dutch women, who were evenly distributed across two age groups (15–18 and 50–57) and three levels of secondary education (low, middle, and high). The subjects were asked to give the meaning of the English fragments of six commercials that were partly or completely in English. Only 36 percent of the subjects appeared to be able to give a rough indication of the meaning (according to the researchers) of the English used.

Advertisers may use particular languages for two reasons: first, to make the contents understood, i.e., the denotation of the message; and second, as the studies discussed in this section show, to appeal to emotions through the connotation of languages. The fact that advertisers use languages that are hardly understood by the audience may show that, in order to persuade customers, they sometimes attach more importance to the connotation than to the denotation of their advertising.

Proper Names in Advertising and Linguistic Landscape

Texts in advertisements and in the LL often contain proper names. Proper names (also called “proper nouns”) are a semantic category of nouns. While common nouns distinguish one sort of being or thing from the other sorts, proper names distinguish individuals from each other; they identify someone or something. Proper names are especially found in reference to people, animals, geographical units, ships, airplanes, buildings, celestial bodies, periods of time, organizations and institutions (Haeseryn et al. 1997). Proper names that are widely found in the linguistic landscape include shop names, brand and product names and the names of residents. In languages that are written in the Latin alphabet, proper names are usually written with an initial capital letter. In this section the role that proper names play in advertising

and in the linguistic landscape is investigated on the basis of a short literature review.

Piller (2000: 267) observes: “The brand name is arguably the most central linguistic item of an ad—it is what it is all about.” She investigated a sample of 658 advertising spots that were broadcast on German television. In 34 percent of the advertisements, only the brand name was in a language other than German, while the remainder of the ad used German. Moreover, in another 6 percent of the advertisements the brand name, setting and/or song were in another language.

What is the purpose behind the use of foreign names? Salih and El-Yasin (1994, in El-Yasin and Mahadin 1996) interviewed customers concerning their attitudes toward names in foreign languages. Although El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996) do not mention this, these customers are probably speakers of Arabic. When asked which of two clothes shops—one with an English name, the other with an Arabic name—they thought was more expensive, 73 percent of the interviewees thought the shop with the English name would be more expensive compared to 3 percent for the shop with the Arabic name. In answering a later question, 83 percent of the customers thought better quality clothes are more expensive while no one said the opposite. From the answers to both questions the researchers concluded that a large majority of customers associate foreign names with good quality products. El-Yasin and Mahadin (1996: 415) argue, “It is this association between what is foreign and what is good quality that businesses utilize by choosing a foreign name, or using foreign words in promoting their goods and services. They hope that a foreign sign will create this association in the customers’ minds and that the customers thus will be attracted to their shops.” Thus, the language of proper names may contribute to persuading customers to buy.

Proper names are particularly suitable for impersonal multilingualism. They do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information but are used in order to appeal to emotions. In other words, the connotation is more important than the denotation. Schlick (2003) came across the shop names *& AND* and *after* in the Italian city Trieste. *And* and *after* are function words, which have little or no lexical meaning. She remarks that “In the cases above, the language itself, English as the international language of trendiness, seems to carry enough additional meaning that shop-owners consider even function words appropriate as shop names” (Schlick 2003: 6). Thus, an important function of proper names is to convey a feeling. The shop names *& AND* and *after* do not have much lexical meaning, but they appeal to the customers’ emotions because they are English.

Classification of Proper Names by Language

As argued above, the brand name plays a central role in advertisements and the language of proper names is often used to give a product or a shop a

foreign flavor. At the same time, these elements are difficult to analyze in terms of the language in which they are written. After all, languages have no clear-cut borders: due to genetic relatedness and language contact, many names “belong” to more than one language. Proper names seem to be more readily borrowed or adopted from another language than common nouns.

The American sports brand *Nike*, for example, was named after the Greek goddess of victory. Does this imply that *Nike* is a Greek name or does this name become part of any language in which it is used? To put it more generally, how should proper names be classified by language? The answer to this question has important implications for the coding of signs. Since the scope of the issue goes beyond linguistic landscape research, the classification of proper names is considered in a general way in this section.

Evidence in favor of the view that names are part of specific languages rather than any language is the fact that names can be adapted to different contexts. In some countries, like China, Poland and Surinam, it is common for people to “translate” their first names when they introduce themselves to foreigners. They replace their names either by a cognate in another language, for example Dutch *Pieter* for the Polish name *Piotr*, or even by an unrelated name in another language.

The names of monarchs, popes, and non-contemporary authors as well as place-names are commonly translated. Foreign names for geographic proper names are called exonyms. Fourment-Berni Canani (1994) discusses the (im)possibility of translating proper names. He gives the examples of the place-names *Venice* and *London*. The Italian city *Venezia* has been renamed *Venice* in English and *Venise* in French. A city in the American state California is also called *Venice*, but this name is not changed into *Venezia* in Italian and *Venise* in French. Similarly, the English city *London* has been renamed *Londres* in French and *Londra* in Italian. However, the Canadian city called *London* is not translated into French and Italian in this way. Thus, as Fourment-Berni Canani concludes, a place-name can be translated if the place, as a unique referent, has already been renamed in the target language.

That names can be context-specific is also illustrated by the fact that some international brands operate under different names in different countries. Unilever’s ice cream brand, the so-called Heartbrand, is an example of this. Heartbrand products are sold in more than 40 countries. The brand is known as *Algida* (Italy), *Kibon* (Brazil), *Langnese* (Germany), *Ola* (the Netherlands), *Streets* (Australia), *Wall’s* (UK and most parts of Asia), etc. This is a result of its creation from a large number of local businesses with established names. The logos of the Heartbrand contain different names, but they share the same heart (Color Figures 9.1 and 9.2).

Although these examples show that names can be part of specific languages or cultures, there are also arguments in favor of the view that names are part of any language in which they are used. In an article on language identification for library catalogues, Bade (2006: 193) writes: “Proper names

present special problems not only for theories of language but also for indexing and language identification, whether performed by human or mechanical agents.” He illustrates these problems with the book title *Zheng He*, which is the name of a famous Chinese naval officer, written in Roman script. The multilingual book contains four essays in German, three in French and one in English. Although the name *Zheng He* is originally Chinese, it appears as German, French and English in these essays. Bade (2006: 198) reasons:

When we write *Zheng He* in what language and script are we writing? . . . The answer can only be that it is not in “a language” at all, but is in Chinese, English, French and German to be read and understood in whichever language(s) the reader understands. Yet the question, for most readers, is completely irrelevant. *Zheng He* is *Zheng He* in whatever language.

In other words, proper names can be part of any language, depending on the context in which they occur. In the book Bade discusses, the name *Zheng He* has been left unchanged, whether it occurs in a German, French or English context. Thus, *Zheng He* remains recognizable as an originally Chinese name and keeps its foreign flavor. Put differently, *Zheng He* is in any context a *Chinese proper name*, but not necessarily a *proper name in Chinese*, depending on the linguistic context.

Crystal (2003) poses a question similar to the issues raised here, namely if proper names are part of the lexicon. Although proper names are usually not counted as true vocabulary, he argues, there is a sense in which they *are* part of the learning of a language. French speakers learning English have to learn to replace *Londres* by *London*. They also have to learn the pronunciation and grammar of proper names. Some names are part of the idiomatic history of a language community and some have taken on an additional meaning. Some proper names, often having a language-specific form, are felt to belong to a language (e.g., the English *Christmas*, *January*, *the Moon*) whereas others are felt to be independent of any language (e.g. *Alpha Centauri*, *Diplodocus*, *Helen Keller*). Crystal concludes that proper names are on the boundary of the lexicon.

So far, in much LL research (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Cenoz and Gorter 2006; El-Yasin and Mahadin 1996; Huebner 2006; Schlick 2003) proper names are not considered a problem for language classification. Implicitly, they seem to be treated in the same way as any other word appearing on the signs. Schlick (2003) lists the texts on the shop signs she investigated and the way they have been coded. The fact that names such as *MARKS & SPENCER* have been coded as English, *ADOLFO DOMINGUEZ* as Spanish and *Parfumerie Douglas* as German and English shows that Schlick has chosen to assign proper names to their original language.

When analyzing LLs in the Japanese capital Tokyo, Backhaus (2007) did not identify a language other than Japanese in the case of names of companies or brands unless they contained information about the nature of the business, e.g., *Resona Bank* and *Starbuck's Coffee*.

Sjöblom (in press) investigated the language of a few thousand company names in Finland. She regarded some parts of the names as “neutral,” i.e., they could be any language or many languages. This applied to three different kinds of elements: (1) abbreviations and numbers, (2) proper names within company names, and (3) international words, such as *casino*, *design* and *kebab*. Sjöblom did characterize other parts as belonging to a particular language.

In their—methodologically very transparent—chapter on the use of English in job advertisements in a Dutch newspaper, Korzilius et al. (2006: 174) also make their classification of proper names explicit:

An English proper name was not analyzed as an English word (unless it was used in a completely English job ad), because in the case of names there is usually no choice between a Dutch and an English variant, since the name of a person o[r] an organization is usually ‘a given’. However, if the name of an organization or a department contained meaningful English words, these were counted as English words, since in these cases the use of English is a matter of choice.

For example, “‘Johnson & Johnson’ was not considered to contain any English words. ‘t for Telecom’ was considered to contain two English words: ‘for’ and ‘Telecom’ ” (Korzilius et al. 2006: 174). To put it differently, Korzilius et al. (2006) do not classify a company name that derives from other English names (*Johnson & Johnson*) as English while they do classify a company name that has been composed of English common nouns (*t for Telecom*) as English. Words that are not analyzed as English, for example *Johnson & Johnson*, are considered to be Dutch by the authors.

To what extent are names that derive from other names indeed a given? If the family name *Johnson* had had a negative connotation, the company might not have been named after its founders but could have been given another name. In that sense, the use of English in the company name *Johnson & Johnson* can actually be seen as a matter of choice for the founders. Moreover, the distinction between names that “do” and “do not” contain meaningful English words seems quite subjective. All in all, the methodology developed by Korzilius et al. (2006) does not seem to be a satisfactory solution to the problem of the classification of proper names.

Inevitably, the coding of texts is not completely objective as it depends on the knowledge of the researcher. Bade (2006) gives an example of this. One of the subtitles of the above-mentioned book about Zheng He is *Images &*

Perceptions. Due to the ampersand, this title may be interpreted either as English (“Images and Perceptions”) or as French (“Images et Perceptions”). The interpretation depends on which language(s) the indexer knows.

Entrepreneurs sometimes play with these double interpretations. A Dutch boat company that organizes canal cruises in Amsterdam and Utrecht is called *Lovers*, a Dutch family name, which probably means “messenger” (Brouwer 2000–2007). Foreign tourists, who typically take these canal cruises, are likely to interpret this name as the English common noun “lovers.” The company reinforces this interpretation, probably because of its romantic connotation, with a heart in its logo (Color Figure 9.3). Actually, the ambiguity only exists in the written form of the word as the Dutch and the English reading differ in pronunciation: Dutch /lo:vərs/ versus English /lʌvə(r)z/. When phoning the company, one is welcomed by the answering machine in Dutch and in English. In both languages, the name of the company is pronounced in the Dutch way.

The examples given in this section show that it is difficult to give a decisive answer to the question how proper names should be classified by language.

Case Study in Amsterdam

To show how the presence of proper names affects the diversity in the LL, two different analyses of approximately 200 signs from Amsterdam’s main shopping street are presented. Amsterdam is the national capital and the biggest city of the Netherlands with more than 743,000 inhabitants (O+S Amsterdam 2007). The population consists of various ethnic groups: 52 percent is Dutch and the others are immigrants from the former Dutch colony Surinam (9 percent), Morocco (9 percent), Turkey (5 percent), etc. Every year, millions of tourists visit Amsterdam. The largest groups are from Great Britain and the USA (O+S Amsterdam 2006). This stream of foreign tourists and the process of globalization promote the use of English in the center of Amsterdam.

Dutch is the only official language in the Netherlands, apart from the province of Friesland, where Frisian also has official status. Some 87 percent of the Dutch claim to be able to participate in a conversation in English. Of this group, 90 percent consider their skills to be good or very good (Eurobarometer 2006). However, their actual competence may not be all that good as Van Onna and Jansen (2006) found that Dutch employees systematically overestimate their own proficiency in English according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Council of Europe 2000).

Kalverstraat is the main shopping street in the center of Amsterdam. As a survey area, a section of this street was chosen, namely the section adjacent to Dam square, a popular tourist attraction. A total of fourteen shops are included in the sample: six clothes shops, two shoe shops, a pharmacy, and

individual shops selling cosmetics, sunglasses and watches, mobile phones, gifts and art. Pictures were taken of all the signs in the survey area in March 2005. In accordance with Backhaus (2006: 55), a sign was considered to be "... any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame ... including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards." The data collection comprises a total of 203 signs. To be able to compare the results of different analyses, these signs were coded twice according to a number of variables, including the language(s) used on the sign. In the first analysis (analysis A), proper names were left out of consideration under the assumption that they cannot be ascribed to a specific language. After all, as Bade (2006) argues, names like *Zheng He* are not in a language at all; *Zheng He* is *Zheng He* in any language the reader understands. In the second analysis (analysis B), proper names were treated as other words.

Color Figure 9.4 displays a picture of a shop sign in Kalverstraat that reads *Yves Rocher*. On the sign, this name stands on its own, and thus it can be seen as decontextualized. Because of its shape and perhaps its origin, many would perceive it as a French name. However, this depends on the reader's knowledge of languages. A reader who has little or no knowledge of the French language may categorize the name differently. A Dutch inhabitant of Amsterdam might just as well perceive it as Dutch and pronounce it accordingly; a British tourist could perceive it as English. In the analyses these possible classifications are left aside. According to analysis A, this sign is left out of consideration as it only contains a proper name. According to analysis B, it is considered a monolingual French sign.

Color Figure 9.5 shows a picture of a shop sign displaying the names *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station*. These names do not stand on their own: the sign also contains the Dutch words *zonnebrillen* ("sunglasses") and *horloges* (a loan word from French meaning "watches"). In analysis A, it is regarded as a monolingual Dutch sign as the proper names are left out of consideration. In analysis B, it is a bilingual English–Dutch sign.

The cosmetics brand *Yves Rocher* was named after the French entrepreneur who founded it. Thus, the brand and shop name *Yves Rocher* derives from another proper name, viz. the name of a person. The shop names *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station*, on the other hand, have been composed of common nouns. Therefore, labeling *Yves Rocher* French may be more controversial than labeling *Sunglass Hut* and *Watch Station* English. If these names occurred in mainly Dutch job advertisements, Korzilius et al. (2006) would not count *Yves Rocher* as French words, but as Dutch, since in their view, this name is a given. They would classify *Sunglass* and *Watch* as English, since these are meaningful English words, and *Hut* and *Station* as Dutch, because these words also appear in the Dutch dictionary (Van Meurs, pers comm).

Figure 9.1 combines the results of analyses A and B into one diagram. Note that a sign containing both Dutch and English, like the sign in Color Figure 9.5, is represented in both bars. And if a sign contains two other languages,

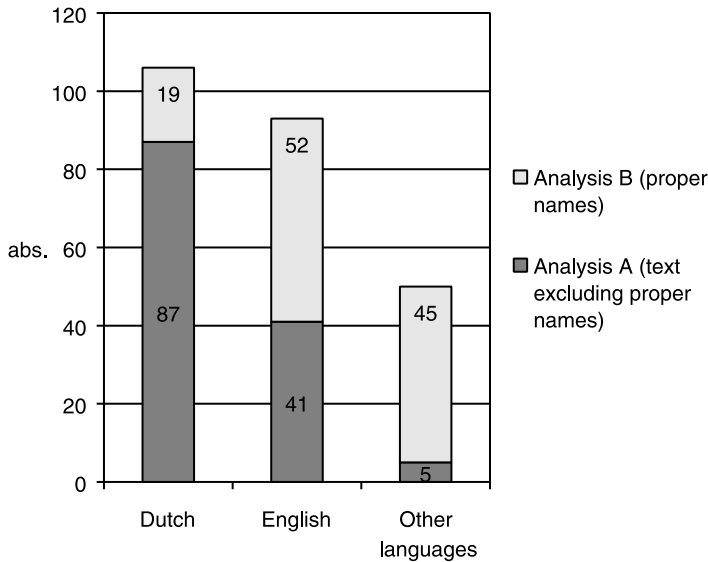


Figure 9.1 Distribution of languages on signs in Kalverstraat.

these are both counted in the “Other languages” bar. Therefore, the numbers in the bars add up to more than 203, the total number of signs. The lower parts of the bars show the number of occurrences of particular languages on a sign if proper names are excluded from the analysis. The upper parts show the number of occurrences that are added to this if proper names are included in the analysis. The first bar, for instance, demonstrates that 87 monolingual or multilingual signs contain Dutch text excluding proper names. A total of 106 signs (87+19) contain Dutch text if proper names are included in the analysis; 19 signs contain one or more proper names in Dutch but no other Dutch text.

In both analyses, Dutch and English play the most important roles in the linguistic landscape. However, if proper names are included, the proportion of English and other languages is much larger than if they are excluded. Thus, including and excluding proper names result in very different outcomes. The label “other languages” comprises German, Chinese, French and Japanese in analysis A (five occurrences), while in analysis B (50 occurrences) Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hawaiian, Maa and Polish are added. If proper names are excluded from the analysis, 80 of the signs (39 percent) are left aside as they contain no text but proper names. Examples of proper names in Kalverstraat are given below. The use of upper and lower case reflects the original typography.

De Tuinen
van DALEN

(Dutch, shop name)
 (Dutch, family name of resident)

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| IZZY BIZZY | (English, shop name) |
| Orange | (English, brand name) |
| PUR DÉSIR de MIMOSA | (French, product name) |

And the following are examples of other text in Kalverstraat:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Fietsen worden verwijderd</i> | (Dutch, “Bicycles will be removed”) |
| KUNSTHANDEL | (Dutch, “art shop”) |
| AUTHORIZED DEALER | (English) |
| NEW collection | (English) |
| <i>Skulptur in Bronze</i> | (German, “sculpture in bronze”) |

Of course proper names and other text are often combined, for instance:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Gezond Voordeel bij De Tuinen</i> | (Dutch, “healthy profit at De Tuinen”) |
|--------------------------------------|--|

It can be concluded that proper names contribute greatly to the multilingual appearance of the linguistic landscape.

Discussion

The central question of this chapter is: How should proper names be classified by language? In the above sections, arguments have been presented in favor of and against the view that proper names should be assigned to their language of origin. First, the function of using particular languages was discussed as well as the role of proper names in advertising and linguistic landscape. After that the classification of proper names by language was considered, and finally a case study was presented of proper names in Amsterdam’s main shopping street.

Since the nineteenth century, the brand name has featured in advertisements (Crystal 2004). In multilingual advertising, the product name is the element that is most frequent in a foreign language (Piller 2003). Advertisers use particular languages in advertisements or shop signs to associate products or services with the corresponding social groups. As proper names such as shop names and brand names do not have the purpose of transmitting factual information, they can easily be written in a language that is not used or fully understood by the audience. Haarmann (1986) calls this phenomenon “impersonal multilingualism.”

The classification of proper names is not always straightforward. A name can be perceived as written in a particular language, or in any language. Whether a researcher decides to consider a name to belong to a specific language or not has important implications for the coding of signs in linguistic landscape research. As the presented case study shows, both

decisions lead to different results. In a sample of more than 200 signs from Amsterdam's main shopping street, 80 consist of one or more names. By comparing the results of different analyses, it was found that proper names contribute greatly to the multilingual character of the linguistic landscape. If proper names are included, the proportion of English and other languages in the sample is much larger than if they are excluded.

Proper names in the linguistic landscape are frequently displayed in a foreign language. Often the connotation of proper names seems to be more important than their denotation. The passer-by will not easily overlook these proper names because of the prominent place they have in the linguistic landscape. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) observe that the LL is perceived by passers-by as a gestalt of physical objects like shops, post-offices, and kiosks, which are marked by written words. The authors argue that although the linguistic landscape is shaped by a large variety of actors such as public institutions, associations, firms, and individuals that do not necessarily act coherently, the chaotic picture that it comes to compose is perceived as one structured space. A researcher who does not code proper names as foreign languages gets an incomplete picture of the LL's multilingual character. Moreover, the possibility of the translation of names, however limited, shows that names can sometimes be part of specific languages. Many other linguistic landscape researchers, although they do not account for that choice, did assign proper names to their language of origin.

An argument against assigning proper names to their original language is the observation that proper names can be part of any language, depending on the context in which they occur. Korzilius et al. (2006) distinguish between names that "do" or "do not" contain meaningful words, under the assumption that the latter are usually a given rather than a matter of choice. Yet, it seems that both types of names can actually be matters of choice, and the distinction between names that "do" and those that "do not" contain meaningful words seems quite subjective.

Another, albeit provisional, solution to the problem of classification of proper names may be to assign every name to its original language and code for every sign whether it consists of (1) proper name(s), (2) other text, or (3) both. This approach makes it possible to consider the different types of sign separately. Coding the names according to the language of the context would mean loss of interesting information because of the special role that names play in the LL. At the same time, this provisional approach can be used to answer a question regarding the languages used to appeal to people's emotions.

If you exclude proper names, you may get a more accurate reflection of the languages that are spoken in an area than if you do take them into account. In fact, for Kalverstraat shopping street neither of the analyses produced a reflection of the languages spoken in Amsterdam since many immigrant languages are not present in this central shopping street.

The interest in linguistic landscapes among scholars from various disciplines is on the rise. In order to conduct meaningful comparisons of results from different researchers and to be able to replicate linguistic landscape research in another social context, it is important that authors describe the applied methodology explicitly and in great detail. Developing a uniform methodology for this type of research would certainly be worthwhile; yet, it appears, based on this chapter that it is difficult to arrive at an unequivocal solution. There are many ways to classify proper names by language and which way is the most suitable depends on the purpose of the research.

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Part III

LANGUAGE POLICY ISSUES

RULES AND REGULATIONS IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING

A Comparative Perspective

Peter Backhaus

Introduction

According to Article 19 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This right includes the "freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." While it is generally agreed that freedom of speech is one of the most fundamental human rights, the degree to which this privilege may become subject to legal restrictions is a highly controversial issue that differs largely throughout different cultures and political systems. One linguistic domain where such restrictions are particularly prominent is language on signs. The nature of these restrictions and how they influence the shaping of the linguistic landscape (LL) in a given place is the subject matter of this chapter.

As a comprehensive overview by Leclerc (1989) has shown, rules and regulations concerning language on signs vary widely from total absence or some non-committal provisions to a painstaking catalogue of paragraphs about what may, must, and must not be displayed in public space. Examining language laws in a total of 77 sovereign and 104 regional states, one of Leclerc's study's main conclusions is that linguistic landscape legislation is a highly complex matter and there are no unified practices that could be identified worldwide.

This chapter discusses two case studies in contexts that strongly differ with regard to their geographical, political, and linguistic characteristics. In a way, these two cases can be considered two opposite poles in the broad spectrum of LL policies that exist worldwide. The overall aim is to work out some of the basic differences between the two, as well as what, on a more general level, they have in common.

The first case study focuses on the LL legislation in the Canadian province

of Quebec. As will be shown, the language laws that were enacted since the early 1970s have been designed in order to promote the visibility of French in public space and, in large part, to exclude all other languages. This is in stark contrast to the situation in the second case, that of the city of Tokyo. Here, rather than proscribing the use of languages other than Japanese, the administrative agencies since the early 1990s have been eager to promote the appearance of foreign languages on public signs. The two cases will be compared with each other and examined on the basis of the status and corpus planning framework. The closing section summarizes the main findings and draws some general conclusions.

Linguistic Landscape Regulations in Quebec

The Canadian province of Quebec has a population of over 7 million people, the majority of whom speak French as their first language. According to official statistics, these so-called “Francophones” make up around 82 percent of Quebec’s total population. Another 8 percent are native speakers of English, or “Anglophones.” The rest of Quebec’s population speaks a language other than French or English as their first language. This group is referred to in Canada as Allophones (Institut de la statistique Québec 2003).

Francophones then are a majority in Quebec but a minority within English-dominated Canada as well as in North-America as a whole. In order to safeguard and promote the vitality of the French language in Quebec, a variety of language laws have been issued by the provincial government since the late 1960s and the beginning of what is usually referred to as Quebec’s Quiet Revolution. In these laws, regulations concerning the LL and the promotion of the province’s distinctive “French face” have played an important role (e.g., Barbaud 1998; Bourhis and Landry 2002; Daoust 1990). They will be looked at in more detail in this section.

Official Language Act (Bill 22, 1974)

The Official Language Act (*Loi sur la langue officielle*), formally designated as Bill 22, was passed by the Quebec government in 1974. It contained a total of 123 Articles dealing with language usage in areas as diverse as legislation and administration, business, work, and education. Article 1 proclaims that “French is the official language of the province of Québec.” Concerning linguistic landscape issues the following direction is given (Bill 22, 1974):

Art. 35. Public signs must be drawn up in French or in both French and another language, except within certain limits provided by regulation. This section also applies to all advertisements in writing, in particular bill-boards and electric signs.

Though Bill 22 was not the first language law of Quebec, it provided the first explicit regulations on the linguistic landscape. By making French obligatory on public signs, Article 35 aims to enhance the overall visibility of French in public space. This provision must be understood as a reaction to growing complaints by the Francophone majority about the predominance of English in Quebec's linguistic landscape.

Attitudes towards Bill 22 were unfavourable on both sides of the language divide. Many Francophones argued that the law did not go far enough in order to protect their language, whereas the Anglophones complained that the new regulations clearly were an infringement on their right to freedom of speech. The political turmoil resulting from the enactment of Bill 22 is generally considered a key factor in the defeat of the Liberal Government in the provincial elections of 1976. This brought about the withdrawal of the Official Language Act in the following year (Levine 1990: 98–109).

The Charter of the French Language (Bill 101, 1977)

In 1977, the first legislative act of the newly elected *Parti québécois* government was the adoption of Bill 101, better known as *The Charter of the French Language* (*Charte de la langue française*). It can be considered a follow-up law to the Official Language Act, but compared with its predecessor it was much larger in scope. A total of 214 Articles provided regulations on virtually every facet of language use in public life, including legislation and the courts, civil administration, health and social services, instruction, work, commerce and business.

A huge number of Articles directly concerned linguistic landscape issues. These included the following (Bill 101, 1977):

Art. 22. The civil administration shall use only French in signs and posters, except where reasons of public health or safety require use of another language as well.

Art. 29. Only the official language shall be used on traffic signs. The French inscriptions may be complemented or replaced by symbols or pictographs.

Art. 58. Except as may be provided under this act or the regulations of the *Office de la langue française*, signs and posters and commercial advertising shall be solely in the official language.

As can be seen, Bill 101 explicitly addressed language use on signs in civil administration (Article 22), traffic signs (Article 29), and commercial signs (Article 58). The most important change in comparison to the Official Language Act of 1974 was that in most cases, these signs must be written exclusively in the official language, French. In other words, *The Charter of*

the *French Language* did not merely prescribe the use of French, but went one step further in prohibiting the use of all other languages, including, and most notably, English.

There are a few exceptions to this French-only principle. They include “messages of a religious, political, ideological or humanitarian nature” (Article 59) and “signs concerning cultural activities by a given ethnic group” (Article 61), among others (see Color Figure 10.1). All in all, however, the linguistic landscape regulations provided by *The Charter of the French Language* have an unmistakably monolingual orientation. Of further relevance with regard to the linguistic landscape is the foundation of a *Commission de toponymie* (Article 122), whose aim is to standardize, publicize, and “officialize” place names and other official geographical nomenclature of Quebec (Article 125). This terminology is obligatory also “in traffic signs, in public signs and posters” (Article 128).

The passing of Bill 101 on August 26, 1977, prompted an outcry in Quebec’s Anglophone community and throughout the English-speaking rest of Canada. Owners of private businesses in particular felt offended by being prohibited to use a language other than French on their signs, and many of them took their cases to court. After a 1988 ruling by the Supreme Court of Canada holding that the proscription of languages other than French on commercial signs did not comply with the Canadian constitution, the Charter was slightly modified. Bill 178, called Act to Amend the Charter of the French Language (*Loi modifiant la Charte de la langue française*) revised Article 58 by permitting signs in languages other than French inside shops (Bill 178, 1988). However, the new law could only be passed by invoking the “notwithstanding clause” to override the federal constitution (Edwards 1994: 26–41; Levine 1990: 133–138).

Act to Amend the Charter of the French Language (Bill 86, 1993)

Constitutionality was only regained in 1993 with the passing of another Act to Amend the Charter of the French Language. It contained some small but significant modifications with regard to the regulations on the linguistic landscape. The revised Article 58 permitted the use of another language in addition to French, on condition that the latter was “markedly predominant”. The passage in question is as follows (Bill 86, 1993):

Art. 58. Public signs and posters and commercial advertising must be in French. They may also be both in French and in another language provided that French is markedly predominant.

The law of 1993 was accompanied by various additional regulations including a Regulation Defining the Scope of the Expression “Markedly Predominant” for the Purposes of the Charter of the French Language (1993). Four

Articles outline in detail how the term “markedly predominant” has to be understood. Article 2, for instance, contains the following directions:

Art. 2. Where texts both in French and in another language appear on the same sign or poster, the text in French is deemed to have a much greater visual impact if the following conditions are met:

- (1) the space allotted to the text in French is at least twice as large as the space allotted to the text in the other language;
- (2) the characters used in the text in French are at least twice as large as those used in the text in the other language; and
- (3) the other characteristics of the sign or poster do not have the effect of reducing the visual impact of the text in French.

It is plain from this that the strategies to be applied in order to make French the language “markedly predominant” on signs are not subject to the good intention of the sign writers but are determined in detail by law.

In summary, it can be concluded that LL regulations in Quebec since the early 1970s have been considerably far-reaching. The starting point was the Official Language Act of 1974, which made French compulsory on public signs. The earliest version of the Charter of the French Language that followed in 1977 went so far as to practically ban the use of other languages on most types of signs. Since 1988, these regulations have been slightly modified, particularly with regard to commercial signs. The great number of meticulous regulations and the vim and vigour with which they have been both criticized and defended testify to the centrality of LL issues in environments of linguistic conflict. The situation in the second case study is of a somewhat different nature.

Linguistic Landscape Regulations in Tokyo

Tokyo has a population of over 12.6 million people, 3.1 percent of whom according to official statistics are non-Japanese nationals. This ratio, though almost twice the national average of 1.7 percent, is considerably low compared with most other world cities. Over 80 percent of Tokyo’s foreign residents come from Asian countries, mainly China and the Korean peninsula (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2006). Given the relatively low share of foreign population, Japan’s self-image as a country of linguistic homogeneity has traditionally been very pronounced (Goebel Noguchi 2001).

Well into the 1980s, Japan’s LL was by and large monolingual both in language (Japanese) and in script (Sino-Japanese Kanji characters and the two indigenous Kana syllabaries Hiragana and Katakana). According to Leclerc’s (1989: 240–241) account of the situation, there were some occasional

bilingual (Japanese–English) signs in larger train and metro stations, but these were few and far between. In addition, English and some other Western languages were at times included on commercial signs in order to create a sense of foreignness and exoticism (e.g., Masai 1983). Though public awareness of the constant influx of foreign, particularly English, vocabulary has been high, to the present day no language laws exist to regulate its use on signs or in any other domains of public communication.

When in the late 1980s, the term “internationalization” gained wider currency in Japanese public discourse, one of the issues discussed was how to adapt the linguistic landscape to the increasing number of foreign residents, businessmen, and tourists. There was a growing awareness that it was no longer sufficient to provide information on issues as important as street and place names, public transport matters, and public rules and manners in Japanese only. This led to some thorough changes in the linguistic landscape policies throughout all administrative levels, and Tokyo as the national capital was at the forefront of this development. Since the early 1990s, a variety of specified documents about language on signs have been issued by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), the local administrations, and the national government. Some of these will be reviewed next.

Tokyo Manual about Official Signs (1991)

An early document of sign writing is the *Tokyo Manual about Official Signs* (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991; henceforth *TMG Sign Manual*). Issued in 1990, it gave the following basic guidelines about language use on signs by the Metropolitan Government (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 16):

In order to keep up with internationalization, we make it a principle to use Japanese together with English.

To make place names, etc., easily understandable to small children and foreigners who can read Hiragana, we further make it a principle to add Hiragana to Japanese-English information about names.

The *TMG Sign Manual* thus officially endorsed the provision of bilingual signs in Tokyo. The expression “Japanese together with English” (*waei heiki*) as used here referred to both transliterations of Japanese proper nouns (mainly place names) into the Roman alphabet and translations of Japanese common nouns (“street,” “station,” “bridge,” etc.) into English. In cases where common nouns were part of conventionalized expressions, the regulations held that the common noun part should be transliterated first and then be attached in translation in brackets (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 17).

It was further specified that transliterations should be based on the Hepburn system, one of two co-existing sets of Japanese Romanization rules. The *TMG Sign Manual* further determined that long vowels should not be marked by diacritics (e.g., “Yurakucho” rather than “Yūrakuchō”) and that syllabic /n/ was to be consistently represented as <n> and not altered into <m> when preceding <m>, , or <p> (e.g., “Shinbashi” rather than “Shimbashi”).

The second guideline cited stipulated that names written in Sino-Japanese characters (Kanji) should be supplemented by *Hiragana*, one of the two Japanese phonemic alphabets. This type of reading aid is a frequently adopted strategy in Japanese texts from primary school textbooks to newspaper articles. It is commonly referred to as *Furigana*.

The *TMG Sign Manual* also dealt with the visual arrangement of bilingual information on public signs. Discussing issues such as size, colors, and fonts, it determined that “the size of the English text should be half that of the corresponding Japanese text” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 36). This was to indicate that English fulfilled only supplementary functions. The same impression is given by the order of the languages on the model signs included in the *TMG Sign Manual*, where the Japanese text always precedes the English text (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 1991: 43, 45).

In summary, the *TMG Sign Manual* of 1991 was an important first step towards Japanese-English bilingualism on public signs, but it was careful to assure the predominant role of Japanese in the city’s linguistic landscape. As will be seen below, most of the guidelines issued subsequently adopted some of the points made in this early document.

Shinagawa Ward Basic Manual about Street Signs (1994)

A substantial part of the responsibility for erecting public signs in Tokyo is held by the city’s lower administrative levels, the wards, cities, and towns. Similar guidelines as established by the Metropolitan Government were developed on these levels as well. One example is the *Shinagawa Ward Basic Manual about Street Signs* (Shinagawa Ward 1994; henceforth *Shinagawa Sign Manual*), which was issued 1994.

The *Shinagawa Sign Manual* was strongly influenced by the *TMG Sign Manual* of 1991. It stipulated in an almost identical diction that “in order to keep up with internationalization, we make it a principle to use Japanese together with English.” Questions of transliteration and translation were discussed in similar ways as in the *TMG Sign Manual*, too. Accordingly, common nouns were to be translated, whereas proper nouns should be transliterated on the basis of the Hepburn system. However, in disaccord with the principles of the Metropolitan Government, the *Shinagawa Sign Manual* specified that common nouns should never be supplemented by an additional transliteration (Shinagawa Ward 1994: 208–211). The *Shinagawa*

Sign Manual also contained directions on font size. Like in the *TMQ Sign Manual*, a text in English or Romanized Japanese is to cover half the amount of space assigned to its Japanese counterpart. The guideline reads as follows (Shinagawa Ward 1994: 32):

For the English text, half the size of the Japanese text is considered standard. Rather than strict factual half-size, it is important that the size as it is visually perceived is felt to be half that of the Japanese size.

Japanese predominance was similarly expressed through the order of the languages. The manual provided that the English version should be given below the Japanese version, either line by line or as whole text. If the size of the sign needed to be kept small, the two languages could be given in one line, but with the Japanese version left of the English version (Shinagawa Ward 1994: 32). All in all, it can be seen that most of the regulations established by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in 1991 at this point had been adopted on the ward level, too.

Sign System Guidebook for Public Transport Passenger Facilities (2002)

A politically important momentum for the design of public spaces in Japan was the enactment of the Transport Accessibility Improvement Law in November 2000. In response to the new law, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, issued a *Sign System Guidebook for Public Transport Passenger Facilities* (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 2002; henceforth *Sign System Guidebook*) that discusses the role of signs in promoting barrier-free public transport.

The *Sign System Guidebook* emphasized that “. . . nowadays that there is widespread international traffic throughout the country, it stands to reason to provide supplementations in English, the most common international language, on all Japanese signs in railway stations.” Romanization principles and the distinction between transliteration and translation were basically the same as in the documents previously discussed. Again the Hepburn system was recommended for transliteration, but the *Sign System Guidebook* deviated from the former regulations by the Metropolitan Government in specifying that long vowels are to be diacritically marked with a macron (“Yūrakuchō”) and that syllabic /n/ should be represented as <m> when preceding <m>, , or <p> (“Shimbashi”) (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 2002: 17–18).

A novel aspect that had not been dealt with in administrative documents to this point was the recommendation to also use languages other than English where this was considered necessary. This is the first official deviation from

the Japanese–English bilingualism that had been common in linguistic landscaping so far (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport 2002: 16):

Depending on the profile of an area's visitors, it is desirable that languages other than Japanese and English should be used.

Guide for Making City Writing Easy to Understand Also to Foreigners (2003)

The guidelines developed by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport left their imprints on the sign writing policies by the Metropolitan Government. Thus, in 2003, they published the *Guide for Making City Writing Easy to Understand Also to Foreigners* (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2003; henceforth *TMG Sign Guide*), which repeatedly makes reference to points discussed in the ministry's *Sign System Guidebook*.

The *TMG Sign Guide* concentrated on signs for pedestrians. Directions about language use in these signs were as follows (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2003: 9):

(1) Romanized text (English)

In principle, all Japanese writing is given together with Romanized text (English).

Japanese proper nouns are given in the Roman alphabet, common nouns are given in English. An interlinear order with Japanese writing above and the Romanized text below is desirable so that the correspondence between Japanese and the foreign language is understood.

(2) Romanized text (English) + a number of other languages

In view of the number of registered foreign residents and foreign travellers in Tokyo, four languages are used preferentially: Japanese, English, Chinese (short-type characters), and Korean . . .

(3) Furigana

Mainly thinking of foreigners who are living in Tokyo as target group, annotating Kanji with Furigana will have an effect, too.

Most of the points had been dealt with already in the *TMG Sign Manual* back in 1991: use of English and the Roman alphabet; transliteration and translation strategies based on the distinction between proper and common nouns; visual preference of Japanese; and use of Furigana annotations. A point essentially distinguishing the 2003 *TMG Sign Guide* from previous documents is the promotion of two foreign languages other than English on

public signs: Chinese and Korean, the languages of Tokyo's two largest linguistic minority groups. It was also emphasized that these principles should be applied not just to official signs but to signs by the private sector as well (Tokyo Metropolitan Government 2003: 1).

In summary, linguistic landscaping by administrative agencies in Tokyo throughout the last decades has had an increasingly multilingual orientation. It started in the early 1990s with a focus on Japanese–English signs, which, as empirical research shows, have now become a common sight throughout the city (Backhaus 2007). More recently, language planners in Tokyo have started to draw up regulations providing that Chinese and Korean should be used alongside Japanese and English (see Color Figure 10.2). Though official regulations contain some restrictive elements with regard to the size and order of foreign languages, it can be concluded that linguistic landscaping by the Metropolitan Government throughout the last decades has had considerably pluralistic traits.

Discussion

Comparing the situations in Quebec and Tokyo, it is obvious that there is a great deal of differences between the two cases. To start with, we are dealing with two different political systems. Quebec as a province of federal Canada obviously has much greater political autonomy than Tokyo, a metropolitan prefecture within a rigidly centralized state bureaucracy. This explains why the linguistic landscape directions issued by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport were adopted by the Metropolitan Government so quickly. On the contrary, it is hardly conceivable for local administrations in Japan to issue linguistic landscape regulations in disagreement with national law, let alone the country's constitution. In Quebec, as we have seen, this was legally possible and, at times, actually practiced. This difference is clearly due to the different political systems the two places are part of.

Another basic difference that should not go unmentioned in this context is the legal status of the directions. Linguistic landscape regulations in Tokyo in most cases take the shape of administrative recommendations and guidelines that are not legally binding and only concern the domain of official signs. Their actual impact on the linguistic landscape must be considered much weaker than in the case of Quebec, where we are dealing with laws initiated by the provincial government. The contents of these laws are legally binding for everyone intending to post signs on Quebec territory, including private actors, and legal action may be taken in the case of contravention.

More than the political background, however, it is the linguistic ecology that accounts for the differences between Quebec's and Tokyo's linguistic landscape policies. In the case of Quebec, we have a bilingual situation with a French majority continually struggling to protect their language against the power of English, which is a minority language in Quebec but the

predominant language in the rest of Canada and North America. The fact that Quebec is a small French enclave surrounded by English-speaking territory has been conceived of by speakers of French as an incessant threat to the survival of their language in this part of the world.

This is of relevance with regard to the management of the LL. As Landry and Bourhis have shown in their seminal paper of 1997, the visibility of a language in public space has some bearing on the perceived linguistic vitality of that language. The authors conclude their paper by emphasizing that “language planners as well as language activists can ill afford to ignore the issue of the linguistic landscape” (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 46). It is exactly against this backdrop that the controversial catalogue of rules and regulations on Quebec’s linguistic landscape has to be understood. The province’s “French face” is more than just a symbolic way of expressing the demographic and political power of the French-speaking population; it is directly related to its ethnolinguistic vitality and hence, in the long run, its very survival in Quebec.

That the situation we find in Japan is fundamentally different is due to the fact that the linguistic ecology is different. Japan is still by and large a monolingual country, not only ideologically but also in practice. Most of the 1.7 percent share of the non-Japanese nationals come from Asian neighbor countries and have been living in Japan for two generations or more. For many of them Japanese is their dominant language. Though linguistic heterogeneity in Japan is no doubt on the rise (Coulmas and Heinrich 2005), the role of the Japanese language as the one language of Japan is for the most part uncontested.

It is due to this absence of a direct threat to the national language that government agencies on various administrative levels have found it easy to promote rather than ban the use of languages other than Japanese on public signs in Tokyo. Since the status of Japanese is relatively secure, LL policies can afford to be generous. Paradoxically then, it appears that a monolingual environment like Tokyo favors multilingual signs, whereas a linguistically much more heterogeneous environment like Quebec is anxious to enforce and preserve a monolingual landscape. These tendencies, which have also been observed by Leclerc (1989: 13), are clearly reflected in the rules and regulations on language on signs in the two places.

A last point concerning the linguistic differences between the Japanese and the Canadian case is script contact. In Tokyo, making sense of the messages in the LL is not merely a question of understanding the language, but one of being able to read it as well. People without sufficient knowledge of the complex Japanese writing system in this environment become all but illiterate. This can be regarded as one of the chief motivations for the Romanization of the city’s LL. In Quebec as an environment where, irrespective of the language chosen, the Roman alphabet prevails, this is not an issue at all.

Despite the great number of fundamental differences, however, it cannot be ignored that the two environments have much in common, too. This becomes salient when we analyze the linguistic landscape regulations of Quebec and Tokyo with regard to status and corpus planning. This well-known terminology coined by Kloss (1969) basically distinguishes between those language planning actions regulating the use of a language (status) and those that aim to fix or modify its form (corpus). Though the two types of activities are interrelated and not always clearly distinguishable, we can identify elements of each of them both in Quebec and in Tokyo.

Starting with the status planning elements, language planners in Quebec have established some very precise regulations on the use and non-use of a given language on public signs. In a first step, they made French obligatory in the Official Language Act of 1974. *The Charter of the French Language* that was enacted three years later not only reaffirmed this prescription of French but also prohibited the use of any other language on most types of signs. It also determined in detail what domains were excluded from the French-only principle, for instance matters concerning health, public safety, and cultural or religious activities. Another status planning element was addressed in the 1993 Regulation Defining the Scope of the Expression “Markedly Predominant” for the Purposes of the Charter of the French Language, which contained a variety of provisions intended to assure the visual predominance of French on signs prepared in a bilingual format.

Status planning elements in linguistic landscaping in Tokyo address similar points. First of all, there are regulations concerning the use of foreign languages. When the Metropolitan Government in the early 1990s adopted the general principle of using “Japanese together with English,” they officially sanctioned and promoted the visibility of English in public space. Since the beginning of the new century, this policy has been extended to include Chinese and Korean, the languages of Tokyo’s two largest minority groups. The domains in which these languages are to be used are basically restricted to official signs, though adoption of the new principles in the private sector is recommended. Comparable with Quebec is the emphasis throughout most regulations that Japanese should be visually predominant over the other languages used, particularly English.

Though in both environments the status planning elements appear to prevail, LL policies in the two places also address some issues which are of concern in the domain of corpus planning. In Quebec, this has been a highly important issue since the 1970s (Daoust 1991). Particularly critical with regard to the province’s LL was the foundation of the *Commission de toponymie* as provided by *The Charter of the French Language*. One of the commission’s tasks has been to establish standards and rules for the spelling of place names and other geographical nomenclature, which are obligatory for use on public signs. Rather than the use of French in Quebec’s LL in general, these policies address the question of how it should be used.

Similar observations can be made in the case of Tokyo. In order to enhance the intelligibility of Japanese texts on public signs to people with non-Japanese backgrounds, linguistic landscape regulations since the early 1990s have recommended the use of *Furigana* supplementations. Another problem concerning corpus planning issues is the representation of Japanese toponyms in the Roman alphabet. Language planners have endorsed a mixed strategy according to which proper nouns are transliterated and common nouns are translated. Since this is a very complex matter, the regulations on this point have not been consistent on all administrative levels. The same holds for the orthographic rules of Romanizing Japanese. Though it is generally agreed that the Hepburn system should be used, problems such as the representation of long vowels and syllabic /n/ remain to be solved.

All in all, it can be said that, analyzed from a status and corpus planning perspective, LL policies in Quebec and Tokyo have more in common than one might initially expect. Table 10.1 provides an overview of the points just discussed.

Table 10.1 Corpus and status planning elements in linguistic landscaping in Quebec and Tokyo

| | <i>Quebec</i> | <i>Tokyo</i> |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Status planning | Regulations on use (French obligatory) and non-use (English, other languages) Domains where use of other languages is permitted (health, public safety, cultural activities, etc.) Regulations on visibility: French to be “markedly predominant” (text and font size, etc.) | Regulations on use (Japanese, English; Chinese, Korean) Domains: mainly official signs, but application by the private sector recommended Regulations on visibility: Japanese more prominent than English (font size, order) |
| Corpus planning | Determination of rules and standards for place names and other geographical terminology by the <i>Commission de toponymie</i> , obligatory on public signs | <i>Furigana</i> supplementations on Kanji characters Rules for transliteration and translation of Japanese toponyms Orthographic rules for Romanizing Japanese terms (Hepburn system) |

Conclusion

The two case studies reported in this chapter exemplify the great variety of existing rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping. It has been shown that there are a number of striking differences between Tokyo and Quebec, which have to be attributed to the different political systems, the legal status of the regulations concerned, and most of all, to the linguistic ecologies of the two places. What distinguishes the two situations most is the fact that language planning activities in Quebec have been chiefly concerned with the promotion of French and the legal restriction of all other languages, whereas linguistic landscaping in Tokyo, in recent years, has explicitly encouraged the use of languages other than Japanese.

All differences notwithstanding, both cases can be coherently analyzed with regard to those elements concerning the status of the languages involved and those that aim to modify their corpus. This reveals that though linguistic landscaping in Tokyo and Quebec is different in content, it is very similar in form. The hypothesis that can be drawn from this is that rules and regulations in linguistic landscaping commonly address both status and corpus planning issues. Identifying both types of elements in differing environments and thus making them comparable to each other would appear to be a promising starting point for future research into LL and language policy and planning.

On the whole, this chapter testifies to the importance of language planning activities for the visibility of a language in public space. It demonstrates that the formation of the linguistic landscape is no natural development, but one that is consciously shaped and controlled by official rules and regulations.

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STATE IDEOLOGY AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

A Comparative Analysis of (Post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia

Marián Sloboda

We like very much to conceive of the ideological creation as an internal matter of comprehending, understanding, penetrating, and do not see that, in reality, it is wholly developed for the outside—for the eye, for the ear, for the hands, that it is not inside us, but among us.

(Medvedev 1928: 17)

The goal of this chapter is to discuss the dialectical relationship between linguistic landscape (LL) and state ideology, provide concepts for researching this relationship, and demonstrate them in a comparative analysis of Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia, countries which have recently undergone substantial political and socioeconomic transformation.

Materialization and Ideology

Probably the longest double-track bridge of reinforced concrete in Europe spans the Vltava River in Prague. It bears the name “Braník Bridge” in maps but local people call it the “Bridge of Intelligentsia.” Its construction started in 1950, soon after the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia seized power in the country and started to build the new, communist society. According to one version of the story, the Party directed a group of well-educated people, “intelligentsia,” to do manual, physical work on the construction of a robust and spectacular bridge as part of the first five-year plan. In this story, the Bridge of Intelligentsia, as a sign, figures as a “place” or “topos of memory,” which fixes the memory of the forced

labour of intelligentsia at the time of “building socialism.” The bridge certainly fixes memory not only of this but, rather in the plural, is a “topos of aggregated and gathered memories” (Grygar 2006). It contributes to the maintenance and strengthening of those memories by virtue of the mere fact that it physically stands. One of the “memories” is the discursive history found on websites, in tourist guides and in everyday narratives retold here, which connects the bridge with the communist rulers’ ideology. Thus, the example of the Bridge of Intelligentsia shows that a physical landscape object, through functioning as a topos of memories, can also function as a *topos of ideology*.

There are many definitions of ideology (cf. Eagleton 1991). With respect to researching the LL, its materialistic conception can be useful. We shall follow Voloshinov (1929) in that ideology is a *quality* of the sign, that the sign is ideolog-*ical*. And vice versa, there is no ideological creation outside signs, hence outside materiality—ideology is, so to speak, “among us” (Medvedev 1928: 17). According to Voloshinov (1929) signs always have a material quality, they just differ in the degree of materialisation. Signs can emerge from the consciousness, where they are less contoured and go to the outside world, where their shape is more pronounced. From the outside world, they can return to the consciousness, etc. When this recycling and constant re-arising of signs discontinues, material form ceases to exist as a sign. At the same time, signs constantly modify themselves under the influence of other signs (Voloshinov 1929: 33–52). In this line, we shall conceive of ideology as a process of recycling a large number of signs such that they mutually index each other. Together they form an “order of indexicality—a stratified pattern of social meanings . . . to which people orient when communicating” (Blommaert 2005: 253)—a large “topology of memories” in a landscape (Grygar 2006), and provide a situationally sufficient explanation of how “things” were, are and/or should be, thereby stimulating future action. We shall deal with those “things” that relate to the functioning of society, although there can be ecological, economical, linguistic and other ideologies distinguished, or ideology understood as comprising all these relations together.

Voloshinov (1929: 21) considers the “word” (verbal discourse) to be an “ideological phenomenon par excellence,” because its characteristics make it the subtlest, most flexible and absorbent sign which sensitively responds to social change. This concerns especially the spoken word. Such a word, however, is ephemeral, it disappears with vanishing acoustic waves and it can be easily interrupted. Signs in a semiotic (including linguistic) landscape can be removed as well. Ideological changes accompanying the fall of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe were also realized through the removal of ideological topology: statues of Lenin, obelisks with the hammer and sickle, agitprop banners, etc. With some objects, however, their total removal was not possible due to the degree of their materialisation,

nor was it even necessary: streets, bridges, metro stations, the construction of which entered the communist ideology like in the Belarusian capital Minsk (Klinaŭ 2006), were not destroyed, but simply re-indexed—renamed. Yet the replacement of plaques, reworking of maps, and other related activities require financial, material as well as human resources. That is why LL is much more stable and durable than the spoken word. The higher degree of LL’s materialisation lends the following specific qualities to ideology:

- Ideology is more controllable in LL than in the spoken word.
- LL’s high degree of materialisation enables (requires of) its designers to be more future-oriented in its creation and management, i.e. LL underscores the ideology’s orientation to future action.
- Signs in LL can better maintain the inherent attribute of ideology that Althusser (1971: 160) calls “interpellation.” Namely, ideology “interpellates” (“transforms,” “recognizes,” “recruits”) individuals as its subjects.

Before we proceed to the topic of *state* ideology, we shall note one more aspect of the relationship between LL and ideology in general.

Ideology Indexed and Performed

We will start with a story. Jaromír Kubias grew up in Czechoslovakia, but wanted to live in another country. When he was 16, he made an attempt to “reconnoitre” the Iron Curtain—an electric barbed-wire fence—but was caught by border guards. Since he was too young, he was not imprisoned, but was forbidden to travel abroad. After his wife managed to emigrate to Canada in 1963, Jaromír fell under secret police surveillance. Nevertheless, he decided to escape and with the help of his parents, he managed to get through Hungary to Yugoslavia. From a tourist camp near Trieste, Italy, Jaromír set out on his journey across the border to Italy. At one moment he thought he was lost:

So I was walking for a long time at night, sideways towards a road where I saw cars going, and in one place I saw an illuminated advertisement for Coca-Cola. And I said to myself: Mm, I have never seen that in Yugoslavia or a socialist country, this must be Italy already.

(Czech Television 2006)

For Jaromír, the billboard advertisement for Coca-Cola served as an index of a non-socialist country. Researchers can also view LL as an index: a “window” to the character of society (Huebner 2006). However, LL can be understood not only as a mere index of social relations but also as something that motivates our interaction with the environment. As Nebeský (1993: 89) put it:

Our use of the environment is influenced by the signs that we encounter within it; signs that lead us through the environment (a yellow footpath mark), signs that prevent us from waiting in vain as well as from questioning (*"Hrabal" sold out*), signs that give us hope when waiting (*I'll be back soon*), etc. It can be also influenced by an absence of signs that we would welcome or even count on in a given place.

People existentially need signs in space in order to know what they should (not) do. Thus they make them part of their social practices. Although Jaromír used the Coca-Cola billboard as an indicator of a non-socialist country, the billboard was primarily a part of the practice of commercial advertising. The Bridge of Intelligentsia was for the transport of goods across the river and not a reminder of the physical work of intelligentsia. That is, landscape objects as signs can index ideologies outside of the function for which they were created. Namely, signs have "double indexicality" in the sense that in addition to the discourses that produce them, there are different discourses for their interpretation (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 202).

Landscape signs can not only *index* ideology, but also *perform* it, so interaction with them can lead to the acquisition of particular ideological social practices by individuals. For example, as Jayyusi (2006) showed, the emergence of the landscape object and the related practice of the Qalandia military checkpoint on the road Ramallah–Jerusalem considerably modified local inhabitants' everyday life, and could lead to the emergence of new categorisations and identities which had not occurred in that area before.

Some landscape objects are *primarily* created for the purpose of indexing and performing ideology. The city square in Color Figure 11.1 is an example. It lies in Minsk, the capital of Belarus. On top of the roofs of the two buildings, there is a large red sign "The heroic deed of the people is immortal." In the middle, a 40-metre high obelisk can be seen with a five-pointed star, hammer and sickle, bas-reliefs of the Belarusian territory, soldiers and civilians. In front of it, there is a fire ("eternal flame") and soldiers aligned ("guard of honour"). The name of the square is indicated on plaques therein, "Victory Square." In addition, this semiotic complex is interlinked with a number of other signs that cannot be seen in the photograph—signs used in the spectacular events that take place there on "Independence Day" (the July 3rd, 1944 anniversary), the May 9th, 1945 "Great Victory" celebrations and parades, stories in the "Victory Square" television programme, the teaching of the subjects of "History of Belarus" and "The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People" in schools and universities, etc. In this multi-modal social practice visual, verbal and haptic signs¹ are interconnected. *The Discourse of Victory* is ideological because it offers the inhabitants of Belarus an integrated explanation of how things happened, and shapes their identity

“interpellating” them as heirs of the Great Victory in the Great Patriotic War (i.e., Soviets’ war against Nazi Germany), of which Victory Square is a topos of memory.

In the following sections, we shall deal in similar manner with how a LL participates in ideological social practices, be it “primarily” as Victory Square or “outside of function” as the Coca-Cola advertisement. We shall try to find out which modulations of a LL are part of those ideological social practices in which the state plays a role.

State Ideology

Goffman (1981) distinguished three “speaker” roles in text production: the “animator” (who animates, utters the text), the “author” (who formulates, composes the text), and the “principal” (who has the text infused with his/her ideas, beliefs, positions). “State ideology” will refer here to the last two roles of the state in ideological production. Who is the state which performs the two roles? According to Jellinek (1906) and a number of subsequent definitions, the basic components of the “state” concept include: (1) state territory, (2) state nation (or people), and (3) state power. For our purposes, the state is defined then as a corporation of functionally interlinked organizational units: state bodies (legislative, executive, judicial, and supervisory), special organizations/units (the army, police, intelligence service, penitentiary system, crisis and rescue teams), and state-owned establishments (state-owned educational, medical and other establishments). This corporation exercises “state power,” i.e., the original universal capacity to assert or enforce the general will, as expressed by legal order, within the state territory (Klíma et al. 2006: 189; Pavlíček et al. 1998: 67; cf. Jellinek 1906: 401–456). It becomes clear from this definition that the state ideology, performed by the human component of the state, the “state apparatus,” is also wedded to exercising state power.

The connection between the state ideology and semiotic landscape can be demonstrated again using the *Discourse of Victory*. Among its results, there are feelings of sadness which many Belarusians today have when it comes to the topic of war; the notorious expression “every fourth one,” which is also part of this discourse, recalls that every fourth inhabitant of Belarus died in the Great Patriotic War. Through the *Discourse of Victory*, the state apparatus has been “interpellating” the inhabitants as members of the nation of “heroic people” and transforming them to a sort of war veterans for decades, including even the post-War-born generations. In other words, the state uses the *Discourse of Victory*, including landscape objects as signs, to construct national identity (cf. Wodak et al. 1999: 26) and thus it creates a nation subjected to state power. The LL of Belarus contributes to this ideology not only with the large verbal sign on Victory Square, but also through billboards depicting policemen and soldiers with civilians, e.g., an image of a

policeman and old woman engaged in a chat, with the text saying, “Always by your side” (Color Figure 11.2); or an image of students sitting in a lecture room around a war veteran showing them something in a book as if he were handing his experience down to them (Color Figure 11.3). In presenting policemen and soldiers as amiable helpers, and “interpellating” inhabitants as veterans, the discourse creates solidarity with, and a trust in, the repressive state apparatus. Indeed, the Ministry of Education’s program for upbringing of children and youth lists “the development of respect for . . . the Armed Forces of the Republic of Belarus” among its priorities (Ministry of Education 2006: Measure 2). The president himself discursively constructs the citizens’ trust in police, e.g., in a letter addressed to the police but also published in a major newspaper:

Belarusian citizens have confidence in that they will always find help and support in you. That their rights and legal interests will be effectively protected by all the might of the state, force and power which was given to you by the people. To warrant this trust is your principal task.

(Lukashenko 2007)

Such ideology is not purposeless: it weakens solidarity of the subjected “interpellated” majority with the few who resist. It allows the police to interfere against the latter without the fear of larger public unrest, as the anti-governmental demonstrations of March 2006 and others showed.

State ideology can be not only practiced tacitly, but also explicitly described and metadiscursively named as “state ideology.” This is again the case in Belarus, where the “Fundamentals of the Belarusian State Ideology” is an obligatory course at universities. Notice boards in schools and universities display programmatic ideological addresses of the president, some of them overtly named “Ideological bulletin.” And according to the above mentioned educational program (Ministry of Education 2006: paragraph 3):

Upbringing towards respect for and devotion to the state, deep knowledge of the citizen’s constitutional duty, of the essence of the home and foreign policy of the Republic of Belarus, and as a result, the formation of adherence to the state ideology is the major goal of the educational work.

State ideology has even been codified in Belarus: state ideology textbooks have appeared (e.g., Kniazhev and Reshetnikov 2004), which are prescribed not only for schoolchildren, students and teachers, but also for employees of the “departments of ideological work” in state-owned organizations. State ideology is also explicitly formulated in president’s speeches, the press and on television. An immediate influence of such formulations on LL can

be exemplified by a case from November 2004 when, in his public address, the president reproached the mayor of Minsk:

So that Pavlov [the mayor] does not have those Frenchwomen with grimy faces [i.e. billboard advertisements for Omega watches with Cindy Crawford] hanging at every crossroads, even where the president drives, they have hung who knows what. Take photos of our girls and have them advertise the watches of our companies. And have the imported watches [i.e. foreign companies] to pay our girls. And start doing that immediately, tomorrow.

(http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/russian/news/newsid_4213000/4213873.stm)

The next day, the municipal authorities had the foreign company's advertisements removed. This event is clearly part of the Belarusian state ideology, being part of the government's discourses of the specific "Belarusian model of socioeconomic development," "patriotism" and dirigisme.

In other countries, e.g., the Czech Republic or Slovakia, state ideology is not mentioned at all nor formulated in this way. Although schoolchildren in the Czech Republic, for instance, are supposed to know how "to explain the advantages of the democratic way of government for the citizens everyday life" (Research Institute of Education 2005: 49), "state ideology" is not mentioned, nor it is stated that the "devotion to the state" and "adherence to the state ideology" should be formed. There is no discourse of victory in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, nor landscape objects like the Minsk Victory Square or billboards depicting police officers and soldiers. The way in which the LLs in these three countries differ with respect to their state ideologies will be dealt with subsequently.

The three selected European countries—Belarus, the Czech Republic and Slovakia—used to belong to the so-called "socialist bloc" and their LLs used to be very similar. However, after the fall of the communist regime, their development took different paths: Belarus (former part of the Soviet Union) returned to the earlier patterns of government and social life, whereas the Czech Republic and Slovakia (former Czechoslovakia) have undergone socioeconomic transformation and joined the European Union. Hence it can be interesting not only to compare the three countries' LLs synchronically but also in terms of their historical-ideological development.

In order to examine the dynamic relationship between state ideology and LL, a much wider data set than photos had to be used, which follows from the multimodal nature of ideology. The data include TV programmes, newspaper texts, Internet blogs, state administrative documents, publications pertaining to the LL objects analyzed as well as my own ethnographic experience in the three countries.

State Ideology and LL Regions, Patches and Corridors

A LL consists of units larger than individual signs. In landscape ecology, structurally and functionally homogeneous parts of the landscape that contrast with their environment are called *patches*. They include functionally defined city areas (e.g., residential, commercial, administrative, industrial), squares, villages, nature preserves, etc. Thin contrasting homogeneous strips are called *corridors*, and they include bridges, motorways, rivers, etc. Patches, corridors and sometimes also whole *regions* require—in order to be usable—the co-presence of certain sets of signs, and are optionally accompanied by some other sets (cf. the concept of “geosemiotic zones,” Scollon and Scollon 2003). For example, the LL of a motorway comprises road signs, informative-orientational signs, emergency signs, and optionally advertisement billboards (and possibly some other signs). In addition, signs are often connected in *co-signs*. A co-sign is a set of all the signs located in a given environment and oriented towards the fulfillment of the same author’s intention (Nebeský 1989), e.g., a set of directional signs to guide the driver to a particular city, the yellow color of pipelines to indicate gas flows, etc. Co-signs can extend to several regions or landscapes, especially when they follow corridors.

State Ideology and LL Regions

The emergence and existence of not only bridges, squares, co-signs or individual signs, but also whole LL regions can relate to state ideology. For example, state border regions, such as the regions formerly next to the Iron Curtain, are often afflicted by it.

State Ideology and LL Patches

Shopping zones are examples of LL patches that differ in Belarus and Czech Republic/Slovakia due to different state ideologies. In the Czech Republic and Slovakia, extensive complexes of large hypermarkets and roofed shopping galleries with shops owned usually by supranational companies started to appear several years after the end of communist socialism. An influx of foreign capital, the free market and the increase in inhabitants’ purchasing power as a result of the new ideology of the Czechoslovak state enabled the existence of such complexes, with their typical LL. In Belarus, the several shopping zones in suburban areas take the form of markets or bazaars with small private vendors’ stalls in the open air or in a few covered halls with their typical minimal and materially “provisional” LL. The presence of supranational companies including super-/hypermarket chains is apparently much smaller in Belarus. This is related to the Belarusian state ideology of the specific “Belarusian model of socially oriented market economy,”

i.e., centrally-planned economy, prevalent state property, the disadvantaging of private firms, restrictive conditions for foreign investments, etc.

State Ideology and LL Corridors

Road infrastructure can exemplify the relationship between state ideology and LL corridors. Today, the Czech D5 motorway links Prague, the capital, with the former “hostile” capitalist Germany. The motorway’s construction started in the 1970s, but towards the end of the communist socialism (1989), only a 29-km-long stretch by Prague was finished. Only “in the post-revolutionary period, extraordinary pressure began to be exerted to complete the western motorway. Thus, as early as 1995, the D5 motorway connected Prague with Pilsen and soon, in 1997, the section Pilsen–Germany was also opened” (Road and Motorway Directorate 2006). The development of the Czech (and Slovak) road infrastructure in the post-revolutionary period has been rapid in general, accelerated thanks to the EU fund support, because the new state ideology accentuated “opening the country” and the “return to Europe.” In Belarus, in contrast, road transport intensity and performance growth is smaller² and the state battles with low-effective financing system (Glambotskaya et al. 2007) due to its “own-way” economic and political ideology.

State Ideology and LL Genres

An analysis of state ideology in *individual* LL signs can begin with defining various “-isms,” e.g., political ones (cf. Heywood 1998), and continue in relating them to individual signs. We shall proceed, however, in the opposite direction, namely, from LL signs to the ideological social practice that these signs are part of. We shall focus on LL *genres*, i.e. relatively stabilized types of LL signs characterized by the following combination of features:

- communicative function
- placement
- size
- design (composition, typeface, colour, material, etc.)
- language style.

We shall deal not only with the issue of whether there are the same or country-specific genres in the three countries, but also with sign sets which share some of the features across the countries but vary in others. Each section will illustrate some phenomena of general interest.

Large Ideological and Commercial Signs

There are more large signs in Minsk similar to the “Heroic deed of the people is immortal” sign on Victory Square (Color Figure 11.1). A book with photos of Minsk (Anikin 1997) reveals that there used to be even more of such ideological signs in Soviet times. Noteworthy is the photograph of a large sign with a popular communist slogan based on the fact that the Russian word *mir* (*мир*) has two meanings: “peace” and “world.” The sign reads “Miru mir” (*Мирь мир*), meaning “Peace to the world” (Anikin 1997: 171). However, the text is not written in the Russian but in Belarusian Cyrillic despite the fact that the word *mir* (*мір*) in Belarusian has only the meaning of “peace,” while a different word is used for “world” (*свeм* [svet]). This is an extreme example of a sign in which the norm of ideological expression has overridden the norm of a language.

Large ideological signs interpretable only as communist (e.g., “Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union”) were removed with the end of communist socialism in Belarus. Re-interpretable signs, however, have been preserved and new ones installed, particularly those that became part of the current state ideology. For example, an approximately 3×50-m large sign “Flourish, native/dear Belarus” in the national colours and in Belarusian, which unlike the other official language (Russian), has nation-symbolic functions. The text is a slogan which the present ruling group uses in its discourse of “patriotism.”

In the Czechoslovak LL, this genre had existed before the fall of communist socialism. Large signs that can be seen in the Czech Republic and Slovakia today represent a different genre, the communicative function of which is commercial advertising. Large commercial signs do occur in Belarus as well, but to a significantly smaller extent. Similarly, commercial billboards are much less frequent in Belarus. On the other hand, billboards with *state social* advertisements and “advertisements” for the police, army and country—the latter of which are virtually absent from the Czech and Slovak LLs—abound in the Belarusian LL. In addition, the Belarusian state apparatus also produces large flower beds shaped into texts and pictograms that symbolize or index state institutions and companies. Thus, Belarus on the one hand and the Czech Republic and Slovakia on the other seem to be an example of countries that differ as regards the ways and extent to which the state (1) imprints itself in its country’s LL and (2) mobilizes landscape objects for its ideology.

Street Name Signs

The transition from the communist socialism to a Western-European type of democracy in Czechoslovakia was carried out through semiotic landscape, among others, specifically, through the renaming of streets and other

landscape objects. State ideology can concern, however, not only place names but also the design or language of a sign. In Soviet times, street name signs were in Russian in Minsk and remain in that language even today in many other Belarusian cities and towns. However, the director in charge of urban design at the Minsk City Hall stated that perception of the “national character” was desirable in Minsk (Звезда, 2006, no. 128–129). Street name signs in this city are therefore usually in Belarusian and, in some of the new signs, also the colours of today’s national flag are used. Interestingly, although the insistence on national particularities, such as the national language, contradicts the Soviet Marxist-Leninist ideology, the streets of Lenin, Marx, Communism, the Soviets, etc. remained the city’s main streets (cf. Color Figure 11.4). Hence the Minsk street name signs are an example of how, along with material culture, several ideologies enter in the material form together (Gottdiener 2003: 335). The physical realization of this street name co-sign as informational-orientational signs is part of material culture. The names of Marx, Lenin, etc. are part of one (communist) ideology and the national language and colours are part of another (“patriotic”) ideology. In a similar vein, Blommaert (2005) speaks of *simultaneous layering* of different indexicalities or contexts which originate in different historical periods (cf. also Voloshinov 1929). Color Figure 11.4 shows the McDonald’s restaurant at the corner of Lenin street in Minsk, which is an exemplary case of historical simultaneity of capitalism and communism—a combination totally unimaginable in Soviet times but possible in today’s Belarus.

Place-Name Road Signs

After the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, ethnic Hungarian representatives of southern Slovak villages and towns where Hungarians form a majority started to place road signs with Hungarian place-names. Convinced of the illegality of such signs, a deputy minister of the nationalist Slovak government ordered their removal. In response, municipal authorities had the Hungarian place-names put on the welcome signs instead. Sometimes, they placed a Hungarian place-name sign on the private lands of the first or last houses by the road. That is, they employed acceptable legal means for their goal, even though this was, in fact, an expression of their resistance to the nationalist state policy. This practice may be an example of what Blommaert (2005: 253f.) calls *orthopraxy*, “hegemonic appearances, practices that suggest the performance of a hegemony but are not necessarily directed by an ‘orthodoxy’, i.e., an acceptance of the performed ideology; doing ‘as if’ one subscribes to the hegemony.”

The disputes over bilingual signage calmed in 1994, when the Slovak parliament passed Law no. 191/1994 which regulates the placement of signs in ethnic minority languages. The law states, however, that such signs must have different design and be placed separately below the sign in the state

language, Slovak. The implementation is shown in Color Figure 11.5. There can be an economic reason for adding a new plaque (instead of replacing the old one). However, significantly smaller size, colour differentiation, and the positioning “below,” which creates symbolic hierarchy, seem to be motivated by the Slovak anxiety about Hungarian inhabitants’ possible disloyalty to the young Slovak state and the possibility of southern Slovakia’s secession. In contrast, bilingual place-name road signs in Friesland, Ireland, Scotland, South Tyrol and some other countries/regions—perhaps because there is no perceived need to emphasize hierarchy, or fears of the country’s disintegration—appear together on one plate with almost the same or a compromise solution to size and design (cf. Color Figure 11.6; also online at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilingual_sign).

Cautionary and Other Regulatory Notices

The presence of regulatory notices is much more visible in Minsk than in Prague or Bratislava (the Czech and Slovak capitals), which might be somehow related to the level of criminality. In any case, it has been in connection with the arrival of millions of tourists every year that various media have mentioned the presence of such signs in Prague. Regulatory signs, such as “Beware of pickpockets: better safe than sorry” in Prague public transport, are thus sometimes not only in the national language but also in English. High numbers of tourists influence other genres as well, esp. the proliferation and multilingualization of shop signs. The number of tourists in Minsk, in contrast, is many times lower,³ and regulatory notices seem to be exclusively in one of the two official languages (Russian or Belarusian). Furthermore, their contextualization is different—they focus on the overall behaviour, which is most likely related to the prominence of order and dirigisme in the Belarusian state ideology. For example, these notices are periodically (as if preventively) announced and displayed in buses, metro trains and stations: “Dear passengers! While standing by the edge of the platform, do not cross the safety line; be watchful when the train is approaching,” “Try to queue up along the platform uniformly,” “Be observant of each other,” “Hold on tightly to the handles,” and even advice to be careful with fire, although passengers do not smoke in public transport at all. Also, the visibility of police officers and soldiers is almost everywhere in Minsk. Regulatory notices in Prague and Bratislava do not reach such an extent. Thus, different state ideologies may bring about different systems of signs of behaviour regulation in public places.

Graffiti and Political Advertising

There are marked differences between the Czech/Slovak LLs and Belarusian LL with respect to graffiti. For example in Prague and Bratislava, graffiti is

almost omnipresent. Rich colourful graffiti occurs not only in Czech and Slovak cities, but also in the countryside. In Belarus, graffiti is rare, with simple “tags” and ordinary (non-artistic) sprayed texts predominating. To what extent this difference relates to the different state ideologies remains a question, since the development of the whole graffiti-using subculture in the three national communities is also at play. The difference seems to stem from the discourse of “order,” high regimentation of public space by the state, and high level of orthopraxy (ideology “animation”) on the part of the inhabitants of Belarus in contrast to the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Related to this is the fact that in Belarus, political opposition groups are marginalized, expressing their names or slogans in the LL predominantly on small stickers or in quickly sprayed texts on walls or columns. Color Figure 11.7 shows, for example, an oppositional sticker saying “For freedom” and “Jeans” (alluding to the “color revolutions” in Eastern Europe). Thus the majority of the political opposition’s imprints in the Belarusian LL fall into the category of transgressives, signs that “violate conventional semiotics of a place” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 217). In the Czech and Slovak LLs, it is announcements of the neo-Nazi, punk or other subcultures which often have this format; the political opposition can and does present itself in the same manner as the ruling group: on large posters and billboards.

Political advertising is *de jure* not regulated, i.e., not forbidden in Belarus, but *de facto*, overt non-transgressive political advertisements do not appear in the Belarusian LL, with the exception of a pre-election period. Nevertheless, covert political advertising does appear at other times. Posters depicting war veterans with students, happy young people, marching soldiers, etc. with the text “FOR Belarus,” “FOR stability,” etc. in national colours (see Color Figure 11.3) are quite frequent. Their number increased especially before referenda pertaining to presidential elections. Enlarged “FOR,” together with advice for filling in the ballots which was communicated on television and top-down in the workplace, suggested to the citizens-voters that they vote “for.” With regard to the formulations of the referendum questions and categorizations in media discourses, the “FOR” in the posters means “for the president.” At the same time, the “principal” or “author” of the posters is not displayed overtly—it is a covert political advertisement of the government.

In Voloshinov’s (1929) terms, opposition and resistance to the established “official ideology” emerges in the “life ideology” of everyday communication. The example of graffiti and political advertising illustrates how different state ideologies influence how the “life ideology” can or does mark the LL and how a political dialogue can(not) take place in the LL.

Conclusion

In this chapter, ideology is defined as an extensive semiotic process in which the LL is immersed. For an analysis of the ideology of which the state is “principal” and “author” we can focus on a number of particular topics. Those concerned here were the relations between the state ideology and (1) the ways in which it mobilizes landscape objects, (2) the development of LL regions, patches, corridors and genres, (3) individual genre features, (4) simultaneous layering in (co-)signs, (5) the principals, authors and animators of state ideology, (6) orthopraxy versus transgressivity, and (7) orthodoxy versus resistance.

As Blommaert (2005) reminds us in connection with discourse migrations, the state is a mediator between the local and the global. At the same time, the state usually possesses a universal capability of enforcement over its territory. Thus the position of *openness* in the state ideology—outwardly (trans-border exchange and cooperation) as well as inwardly (sociopolitical and economic regimentation)—has significant consequences for the character of a country’s LL. This became apparent with the comparison of the three countries Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia, as described in this chapter.

Notes

- 1 “Haptic” in the sense that one can touch or physically walk through them.
- 2 The data were provided by the Belarusian Road Department (<http://belavtodor.belhost.by>); Czech Road and Motorway Directorate (<http://www.rsd.cz>); “Czech Motorways” (<http://www.ceskedalnice.cz>); and Slovak Ministry of Transport, Posts and Telecommunication (http://www.telecom.gov.sk/externe/idic_en/index.html).
- 3 Information provided by the Belarusian Border Troops (<http://www.gkpv.gov.by/>) and statistical yearbooks of the Belarusian Ministry of Statistics and Analysis (<http://www.belstat.gov.by>); Czech Statistical Office (www.czso.cz); and Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic (www.statistics.sk).

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LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Language Policy and Globalization in a Regional Capital of Ethiopia

Elizabeth Lanza and Hirut Woldemariam

Introduction

This chapter addresses the issue of language ideology in light of “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region” (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 23), that is, through an area’s linguistic landscape. Language ideology refers to a set of shared attitudes and beliefs about language, underpinned by certain social/cultural values. The literature on ideology, as noted by Blommaert (2005: 158), is a “morass” of contradictions and controversies yet central to the notion is the issue of power. The specific literature on language ideology is vast and diverse (Woolard 1998); however, it all includes a view towards understanding language in a broader social, cultural or/and political frame. Irvine (1989: 255) presents language ideology as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” Hence it is not merely an individual’s perception of language use or attitudes towards their users, but is related to collective perceptions and cultural hegemonies (Gal 1998). Language ideology, moreover, is neither stable nor static. In fact it is potentially inconsistent and in opposition to other ideologies in general (Lanza and Svendsen, 2007). Woolard (1998: 3) calls language ideology “the mediating link between social forms and forms of talk” and hence also forms of language display, including the linguistic landscape (LL). Language ideology is, furthermore, closely linked to the notion of identity. What we think about language will be related to how we perceive ourselves and eventually how others perceive us.

Language ideologies serve to rationalize existing social structures and dominant linguistic practices, particularly through their institutionalization in official language policy. Language ideologies can thus be overt through

policy decisions, but they can also be covert. What is particularly interesting is the ideology of the people in light of the official language policy—how they position themselves to this policy and to multilingualism through their contribution to the LL. The impact of language policies can be examined in light of language practices since language users may enforce or revolt against official national or regional policy in their public displays. As Shohamy (2006) notes, the public space can be an arena for ideological battles.

The linguistic landscape to be presented in this chapter is of a regional capital in Ethiopia, a unique country in Africa. Although important work has been carried out on language ideology within an African context, most of this work concerns the use of a colonial language within a post-colonial society (Meeuwis 1999; Stroud 1999; Pennycook 2000; Mazrui 2004). Ethiopia, however, does not have a colonial past, despite the Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941 during the war. Nonetheless, the country is caught in the current wave of globalization pushed by informational technology, trade, and international relations, with the concomitant increased role of English as in most of the world, a situation relevant even in an outlying city like Mekele, the capital of the federal region of Tigray in the far north of Ethiopia. Mekele has developed significantly under the new government with the LL filled with printed information, both public and private, in three languages: Tigrinya, the official regional language; Amharic, the national working language and English. While many studies of LL focus on the linguistic presence and ethnolinguistic vitality of minority groups in a given area, the case of Mekele provides an interesting contrast. What is of interest is the linguistic presence of the regional majority group whose language Tigrinya has not been used for commercial and public purposes until recently, due to a new national language policy of ethnic federalism. Hence investigating the LL of the city can reveal ideological stances to the new language policy in particular and to languages generally. As Shohamy (2006: 110) quite pointedly states, "... the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes *de facto* language policy and practice."

In the following, we will first highlight the linguistic situation in Ethiopia at present and across time, since ideologies are always grounded in history. Indeed as Blommaert (2005: 159) notes, ideology "... stands for the 'cultural', ideational aspects of a particular social and political system, the 'grand narratives' characterising its existence, structure, and historical development."

This overview will form the backdrop for the study of the LL of Mekele. Subsequently, we will present our empirical study on the LL of a significant area in the town, discussing our results in light of language ideology, globalization and identity.

Language and History in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is located in the eastern part of Africa (Horn of Africa) bordering Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti, Kenya, and Eritrea. Inherently multilingual, multi-ethnic and culturally pluralistic, the country points to the purported use of 85 languages, divided among four different language families: the Semitic, Cushitic and Omotic families of the Afro-asiatic Phylum, and those belonging to the Nilo-Saharan Phylum (for an overview of languages in Ethiopia, see Gordon 2005). The Semitic languages are spoken in northern, central and eastern Ethiopia. The Semitic languages include *Amharic* and *Tigrinya*, as well as *Ge'ez*, the ancient language of Axum used in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church's liturgy. *Tigrinya* is, furthermore, the national language of Eritrea since its independence from Ethiopia in 1993. The Cushitic languages are mostly spoken in central, southern and eastern Ethiopia, while the Omotic languages are predominantly spoken between the lakes of the Southern Rift Valley and the Omo River. The Nilo-Saharan languages are largely spoken in the western part of the country along the border with Sudan.

Typically in multiethnic countries, a single language comes to dominate as the nation's written language. In Ethiopia, this language is Amharic, referred to as the national working language. However, Ethiopia is a conglomeration of various peoples, each claiming a particular language (Levine 2000). At

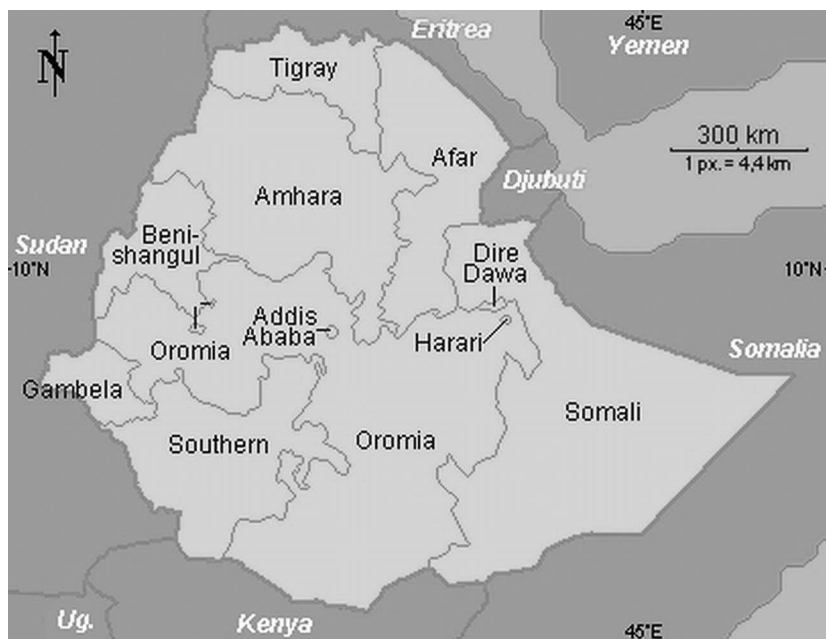


Figure 12.1 Map of Ethiopia.

present, Ethiopia's major ethnic groups are the Oromo, who speak a Cushitic language of the same name and who make up about 40 percent of Ethiopia's total population. The Semitic Amhara and Tigrayans comprise only 32 percent of the population; however, historically they have dominated the country politically. Moreover, the historical name of Ethiopia, *Abyssinia*, originally referred to the provinces of the Amhara and Tigrayans, and the term *habesha*, strictly speaking, refers to these Semitic-speaking peoples of Ethiopia, although the term is currently used for all Ethiopians. Despite the common Semitic background of the Amhara and the Tigrayans, their languages are mutually unintelligible. Ahmaric has diverged significantly from the other Semitic languages of Ethiopia due to the widespread contact with Cushitic and Omotic languages (Baye 2007: xvii–xix).

Both the Amhara and the Tigrayans are considered the historical bearer of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christian Church, an important cultural institution in the country, and of the monarchy of King Solomon. However, the Tigray region, as well as the rest of the country has historically been submitted to the hegemony of the Amhara and hence the Ahmaric language. Nonetheless ideologically, given that the ancient capital of the prestigious Axumite empire is located in Tigray, the Tigrinya speakers claim greater authenticity compared with the Amhara (Ficquet et al. 2007). Axum is, moreover, considered to be the holiest city in Ethiopia by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, with the basilica purportedly housing the Biblical Ark of the Covenant that contains tablets on which are inscribed the Ten Commandments. This heritage gives the Tigray people the basis for regional pride. Politically, the current government is headed by a Tigrayan who was elected by the parliament after the overthrow by the TPLF (Tigrayan People's Liberation Front) in 1991 of the dictatorship of Mengistu and the so-called *Derg*, a severe Marxist regime, supported by the former Soviet Union, that had ousted Emperor Haile Selassie I in 1974. This new government initiated a language policy that has had a significant impact on the country, as will be described below.

Ethiopia has its own script, which is unique to the country, used for a number of centuries especially to write Ethiopia's Semitic languages (cf. Abebe 2007). This script, referred to as *Fidel*, consists of 33 base forms, each of which is elaborated to denote seven characters, thus making a total of 231 characters that represent syllables and compounds rather than individual sounds. Fidel was derived from the script used for *Ge'ez*, the ancient liturgical language. Both Amharic and Tigrinya are written with Fidel, with certain forms peculiar only to Tigrinya in order to accommodate the phonological distinctions of this language, which includes pharyngeals. The Ethiopic script is noted as a Tigrean legacy (Levine 2000: 92) along with the epic Ethiopian narrative, the *Kibre Negest*.

Both Amharic and Tigrinya speakers, like the majority of Ethiopia's population, lived for centuries without literacy skills. Reading and writing

practices were left to members of the elites and those belonging to religious communities of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The language of learning was Ge'ez and it was limited to the *Bible* and other religious works. Subsequently, Amharic assumed the role of Ge'ez especially in non-religious domains. Amharic's dominant role until 1991 enabled the language to be the richest literary language in the country. Literacy in Tigrinya, on the other hand, is low with very little printed materials in Tigrinya. As noted above, Tigrinya is Eritrea's national language and since their independence from Ethiopia in 1993, the language has been developed with written material available, since prior to this date, Amharic was the dominant language. Tigrinya speakers in Ethiopia do not have access to this material as there is no political contact between the two countries and the borders are closed. Since the introduction of the new language policy in Ethiopia that allows Tigrinya to be used as an official language and as a medium of instruction in the primary schools, the language is being developed and literacy in the language has been relatively speaking increasing, especially among the young generation in Tigray. However, limited literacy and the limited availability of written materials still prohibit the people from being able to read in their own language.

English is the most widely spoken foreign language in Ethiopia. It is used as a *de facto* second language in Ethiopia, despite the fact that it is not a vestige of a colonial past. Laws are published in Amharic and English and public broadcasting is given in English as well, in addition to Amharic and other major regional languages, such as Tigrinya and Oromo. English is essential to the access of employment opportunities in different non-governmental and private organizations. Moreover, it serves as a medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education in Ethiopia and is considered highly useful. In recent years, the use of English has undergone an explosive growth with a great number of private English language schools being established. Moreover, private and community schools using English as a medium of instruction in primary education have become widespread. Finally, Arabic, Italian and French are also spoken by a small proportion of the population in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's Language Policy

Ethiopia's language policy has inevitably had an impact on language ideology in the country. Amharic, arguably the most advanced African language in Africa, has in fact been the official and national working language in Ethiopia since 1270. Until 1991, Amharic was not only the national language but also the medium of instruction in all primary schools. Since then, however, the new political structure of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has recognized the right of all peoples to develop their languages for primary education and other functions. Ethiopia's Federal Constitution guarantees

that persons belonging to various ethnic and linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture and use their own language. Various proclamations have been made to undertake the decentralization of decision-making between central and regional administrations. As a result, the regional administrations have been assigned to take formal and practical responsibilities for running their own affairs including language development. Accordingly, the country has been divided into nine administrative regions mainly based on ethnic affiliations. Each region has its own zones, which are divided ethnically and each has the right to choose its own language to be used as a medium of instruction in schools. So far, twenty-two languages have been involved in the school system in different regions and zones. With this policy, previously unwritten languages are now developing a written code where the choice of script, Latin or Fidel, is a highly sensitive issue.

Although language policy is clearly stated, actual practice or implementation is another issue. Spolsky (2004) differentiates between policy and practice in his proposed framework for language policy, identifying three inherent components: beliefs (ideology), practice and management. He notes that “. . . the real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in management” (Spolsky 2004: 222). Actual linguistic practices reveal the language ideology of the local people in light of national language policy. The LL thus provides an excellent means to study language ideology, how the people themselves evaluate languages and multilingualism. The LL becomes a manifestation of language ideology and practice (Shohamy 2006). Indeed it is “through discourse and other semiotic practices that ideologies are formulated, reproduced and reinforced” (Barker and Galasinski 2001: 65). The challenge in analyzing the LL of an area in light of language ideology is to understand the interplay between the language user’s choices as a result of his/her conditioned view of the world through *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) or as a result of a rational actor’s calculations (Elster 1989).

The Tigray Region, Mekele, and the Language Situation

Tigray Regional State of Ethiopia, with the current estimated population at 3.5 million, is the northernmost of the nine autonomous regions of federal Ethiopia. Tigray, which is mostly inhabited by people of Tigrayan origin, is bordered by the Afar region to the east, the Amhara region to the south, Sudan to the west, and Eritrea to the north. This federal region, with Mekele as the capital and administrative center, is generally composed of highlands, although there are other major towns and urban areas.

Mekele, founded in the nineteenth century as a capital city by Emperor Yohannes IV, is a point on a major axis of urbanization along the route from Ethiopia’s capital city, Addis Ababa, to Asmara in Eritrea, located 650 km

north of Addis Ababa (cf. Tamru 2007). Since its founding, Mekele has grown to be one of Ethiopia's principal economic centers with a large airport, university, and a large cement plant. The city has greatly flourished and expanded under the current government and a significant population growth has taken place making it the largest city in northern Ethiopia. According to the Central Statistical Agency in 2005, Mekele had an estimated total population of 169,207, and a high population density. Given its significant growth and thriving commercial interests in the region, Mekele presents an excellent point of departure for investigating the LL in light of language ideology.

Despite Tigrinya's dominance in Tigray, there are other minority languages spoken in the region, including Afar, Saho, Agew, Oromo and Kunama, all of which belong to other non-Semitic language families. According to the language policy of the region, Tigrinya serves as the official working language and the language of education, used as a medium of instruction from Grade 1–8. On the other hand, the role of Amharic in Tigray has been reduced. It is currently only introduced to students as a subject from Grade 3 onwards. Furthermore, the basic curriculum calls for English to be taught from the 1st grade. The priority of English, a non-Ethiopic language, before the introduction of the country's national working language projects an ideological stance towards the status of the two languages. Whether or not this is reflected in the LL of Mekele is an empirical question to be addressed.

Linguistic Landscape of Mekele

In the following, we present an overview and analysis of both public and private signs in the heart of downtown Mekele, an area highly dominated by merchants, whose signs provide a dense LL for analysis and an additional source of input to reveal the development of Tigrinya *vis-à-vis* Amharic in the public domain in Mekele. Moreover, the LL can also reveal the position of English in the public space. With regard to the written language in the public sphere, there is no official policy set so far.

Methodology

The data were collected in 2005 in the main shopping district, an area comprising two main streets both of which end up in a square: Godena Hakfen and Godena Selam, along with Bazaar Square and Romanat. This selection was based on our personal observations and our discussions with municipal workers in order to demarcate this important area of the city. Photographs of *all* tokens of environmental print found in the public domain including signs, names on buildings, advertisements, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings were collected by a locally trained field assistant. Hence, pictures of every visible sign on both sides of the streets and in the square were collected, a total of 376, and examined for languages

displayed, whether public or private, and the relative prominence of the languages displayed based on their placement on the signs. In other words, the linguistic landscape items were gathered and categorized according to the frequency of representation of specific languages in the public space and according to the visual presentation of languages in signs boards, polarized as top and bottom (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996). Furthermore, some interviews were carried out with randomly selected shop owners in order to investigate reasons concerning the choice of certain languages and linguistic items in the signs. The shop owner was asked about choices concerning the language used, the name given to the shop and what type of clientele visited them. Such a methodology can shed light on the influence of the speaker's *habitus* and his/her own individual rational choices (cf. Malinowski, this volume).

Results: Language Display and Language Distribution in Signs

The linguistic landscape in Tigray exhibits three main languages in monolingual and bilingual signs: Amharic, Tigrinya, and English, the *de facto* official second language in Ethiopia, as noted in Table 12.1 below. Hence the linguistic landscape in Mekele is influenced both by regionalization and globalization.

As can be seen in Table 12.1, the use of more than one language is very common and two main scripts are used: Fidel for both Tigrinya and Amharic, and the Latin script for English. In addition, transliterations of English expressions into Fidel were found in the public sphere, as noted in Color Figure 12.1.

Table 12.2 makes a distinction between the “top-down” and “bottom-up” forces in the LL, as defined in Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). Top-down LL items include those issued by national and public bureaucracies and include signs on public sites, public announcements and street names. Bottom-up items,

Table 12.1 Overview of the languages displayed in all of the signs

| <i>Language(s)</i> | <i>Number of signs</i> | <i>(%)</i> |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|------------|
| Amharic and English | 132 | 35.1 |
| Tigrinya and English | 115 | 30.6 |
| Tigrinya | 51 | 13.6 |
| English | 37 | 9.8 |
| Amharic | 31 | 8.2 |
| Amharic, Tigrinya and English | 5 | 1.3 |
| Amharic and Tigrinya | 3 | 0.8 |
| Tigrinya and Italian | 1 | 0.3 |
| Tigrinya, Arabic and English | 1 | 0.3 |
| Total | 376 | 100 |

Table 12.2 Distribution of languages according to top-down and bottom-up flows

| Language(s) | % Top-down | % Bottom-up |
|-------------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Tigrinya only | 59 (n = 13) | 10.7 (n = 38) |
| Amharic and English | 14 (n = 3) | 36.4 (n = 129) |
| Tigrinya and English | 27 (n = 6) | 30.7 (n = 109) |
| English only | – | 10.5 (n = 37) |
| Amharic only | – | 8.8 (n = 31) |
| Amharic, Tigrinya and English | – | 1.4 (n = 5) |
| Amharic and Tigrinya | – | 0.8 (n = 3) |
| Tigrinya and Italian | – | 0.3 (n = 1) |
| Tigrinya, Arabic and English | – | 0.3 (n = 1) |
| Total | 22 | 354 |

on the other hand, include those issued by individual social actors such as shop owners and companies, including names of shops, business signs and personal announcements.

As the area under investigation is mainly a shopping area, a dominance of bottom-up contexts is to be expected. Nonetheless the presence of some public language display is evident and quite interesting with Tigrinya the main language displayed, yet not the only one. Those including Amharic were used by national institutions like the telecommunication office, the city planning office, and a government bank. Signs using both Tigrinya and English include street signs, regional branches of national offices, and museum schedules.

Signs using exclusively Tigrinya often make a public service announcement such as warnings against HIV/AIDS. Interestingly, two of the Tigrinya-only signs are large billboard photos of Tigrayan soldiers depicted in the fight by the TPLF against the dictatorial Derg, signs which despite the passage of time still remain in the public space (see Color Figure 12.2).

As Shohamy (2006: 111) points out, “Governments, municipalities . . . all use the public space as an arena for conducting their battles for power, control, national identity, recognition and self-expression.” Billboards expressing regional identity such as these send ideological messages that function as *de facto* policies. The other billboard pictures a large group of the TPLF army and the caption reads “At the liberated area with a strong militia.” Hence both billboards project images of military power, enhancing regional identity, and the Tigrayans’ decisive role in the overthrow of a dictatorship.

Of the total of 376 signs, two involved another foreign language: Arabic used by a Muslim restaurant and Italian for an electronics shop (the owner had lived in Eritrea, which was an Italian colony). Significantly missing from the linguistic landscape in this important district of Mekele were the minority languages found in the region such as Irob, Kunama, and Agaw.

Irob (known as Saho in Eritrea) and Kunama are both written languages in Eritrea using the Latin script; however, access to literacy in these languages is not the case in Ethiopia. While Irob has considerable vitality in the border community, Kunama is in a state of endangerment in Ethiopia, as perceived by its own speakers (Woldemariam and Lanza forthcoming). Although not found in the linguistic landscape in Mekele, Agaw has a written representation using Latin script and employed in both written and spoken modes in the region of Amhara. Exclusion of these languages from the linguistic landscape in Mekele can convey the low status and value the minority languages have in the region for conducting public affairs. As Landry and Bourhis state (1997: 29), combined with other measures of exclusion such as the unavailability or banning of education in the minority language, “absence of the in-group language from the linguistic landscape can lead to group members devaluing the strength of their own language community, weaken their resolve to transmit the language to the next generation, and sap their collective will to survive as a distinct language group.”

As mentioned above, English is the most frequently found language in the field. Out of 376 signs, 290 make use of English either as a second or the only language. Grammatical as well as spelling errors were frequently noted in the signs employing the language. Following English, Tigrinya is used extensively in the linguistic landscape with 176 signs employing the language in both bilingual and monolingual signs. Hence Tigrinya, which became an official working language in the region with the introduction of the policy of ethnic federalism, has managed to assert itself in the linguistic landscape in a relatively speaking short period of time. Nonetheless, Amharic has somehow maintained a high position in this realm, and is included in a total of 171 signs. The difference between the number of signs involving Amharic and that of Tigrinya is very low; however, we may note that signs using Tigrinya exclusively are greater in number than those only using Amharic, as we see in Table 12.3. Interestingly, the majority of the Tigrinya-only signs are bottom-up, a phenomenon of the ethnic federalism policy. Unfortunately, we do not have data on whether the Amharic signs are vestiges from the pre-policy era or are new.

Table 12.3 Distribution of languages in monolingual signs

| Language | No. of signs | | Total | (%) |
|----------|--------------|--------|-------|-----|
| | Private | Public | | |
| Tigrinya | 38 | 13 | 51 | 43 |
| English | 37 | — | 37 | 31 |
| Amharic | 31 | — | 31 | 26 |
| Total | 106 | 13 | 119 | 100 |

Monolingual signs render a particular language salient. All of the monolingual top-down or public items use Tigrinya only while the private signs indicate a slight edge of Tigrinya and English respectively over Amharic. The predominance of Tigrinya on public signs relative to Amharic, the language dominant in the previous regimes, may reflect the relative power and status of the competing language groups since the introduction of the new language policy.

As mentioned above, the use of more than one language in a sign is very common. In fact 67 percent of all of the signs are bilingual. As we see in Table 12.4, the most favored combination of languages attested in the bilingual signs involves English in addition to either Amharic or Tigrinya. The use of the two Ethiopian languages juxtaposed, that is, Tigrinya and Amharic, was rare in the area. The use of trilingual signs was infrequent at only 2 percent.

From the bottom-up flows, Amharic-English linguistic landscape items are more dominant than Tigrinya-English in the area, as noted in Table 12.4. In contrast, however, in the top-down flows, Tigrinya-English presides.

The placement of the languages in the signs can also be interpreted as an indication of the importance of the languages generally in the public space in Mekele (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). In most of the bilingual signs, English always appears to take the bottom position, as we see in Color Figures 12.3 and 12.4, and noted in Table 12.5 below.

In general, Tigrinya is in competition with Amharic in the linguistic landscape. During our fieldwork, we also noted that the Tigrinya expressions in the signs often showed structural deviation from grammatical norms. Tigrinya and Amharic follow different word order patterns in their noun phrases and compounds. Noun phrases and compound nouns are left-headed in Tigrinya but right-headed in Amharic, this being one syntactic property distinguishing the two languages. Many native Tigrinya speakers such as signboard writers, journalists and even those preparing textbooks and teaching materials apply Amharic word order when they write Tigrinya. This may be due to the fact that Amharic was the only language originally used for writing and adults of today received their schooling in Amharic. In

Table 12.4 Distribution of languages in bilingual signs

| Languages | No. of signs | | Total | (%) |
|--------------------|--------------|--------|-------|------|
| | Private | Public | | |
| Amharic + English | 129 | 3 | 132 | 52.6 |
| Tigrinya + English | 109 | 6 | 115 | 46 |
| Amharic + Tigrinya | 3 | — | 3 | 1 |
| Tigrinya + Italian | 1 | — | 1 | 0.4 |
| Total | 242 | 9 | 251 | 100 |

Table 12.5 Placement of languages in bilingual signs

| <i>Top</i> | (%) | <i>Bottom</i> | (%) |
|------------|-----|---------------|-----|
| Amharic | 93 | English | 92 |
| Tigrinya | 92 | Tigrinya | 8 |
| English | 8 | Amharic | 7 |

the process of promoting Tigrinya into a written language, there has been a tendency for people to follow Amharic word order as if that were the norm for written language. In most cases, the writers actually start with Amharic texts and translate them into Tigrinya. Thus, they have the tendency to give a word-for-word, as opposed to an idiomatic, translation of an existing written text in Amharic rather than to produce an original Tigrinya text. This phenomenon is also attested with other languages, including Oromo, which have recently become written languages. Huebner (2006) noticed the influence of English on Thai, including syntax, in his work on linguistic landscapes in Bangkok. More work will be needed to follow this trend of the written language and to what extent it affects the spoken language.

Names of Businesses in Signboards

Of the 376 pictures, 134 are private businesses containing proper names, which serve as names for the businesses. The owner of a business can attribute any name he wishes to his shop, and in most cases, the names of businesses reflect the identity and background of the owner. Historical place names from Tigray, such as *Axum* and *Zalambesa*, are also found as are names of people who have left a legacy to the history of the region such as *Queen Sheba* and *Emperor Yohannes*. Names from Amharic, Tigrinya, English, Arabic and Italian are observed as business names. More than one third of the names are Amharic names. English is used more often than Tigrinya with shop names like *Nice*, *Delight*, *Noble*, *Universal*, *Modern*, *Unity*, *Pillar*, and *Central*. Personal names such as *Naomi*, *John*, and *Charley* are also used as names of businesses.

Since the implementation of the new language policy, people tend to use Tigrinya names more often for their businesses. In our survey, we observed that most of the newly established shops used Tigrinya while the older ones used Amharic, a similar situation also being attested in other regions of Ethiopia. The use of local and indigenous names is becoming more common while Amharic names are becoming less visible than before in the landscape of each region. Interestingly, the same trend has become widespread even with proper names (see also Edelman this volume). Earlier, people of all ethnic backgrounds preferred to give Amharic names to their children. There was even a tendency to change the names in local languages to

Amharic names when children started school, a clear illustration of language ideology. Generally, people preferred to identify themselves as Amharas, indicating the high prestige the people and the language held. Contrary to this at present, it has become very common to name children in local languages. The linguistic landscape in Mekele also reflects that direction.

***The Role of English: A Means of Communication or an Index
of Modernity?***

As Mazrui (2004: 2) notes “Globalization is also making the English language in Africa more and more triumphant in demographic as well as functional terms.” English is used widely in signs throughout Tigray, with even little local shops and tailors in the small villages at the countryside using English. As indicated above, almost all of the bilingual signs use English as a second language along with either Tigrinya or Amharic. Moreover, monolingual signs were noted using English. In general, about 77 percent of all of the signs make some use of English. Furthermore, English words are at times transliterated into Fidel. Private businesses using English names are observed more often than those with Tigrinya names.

The use of English in signs does not seem to have any important communicative function. Besides the relatively small office of the UN Mission to Ethiopia and Eritrea, there is no English-speaking community in the city that requires English for communication. Moreover, as mentioned above, the English version of a sign is consistently placed at the bottom of signs. There is an emerging tourism in the region; however, it would be difficult to claim that businesses use English for tourist purposes, although the museum notably held a sign in both Tigrinya and English. In our fieldwork in the rural localities in Tigray, we observed that even little shops in the small villages, which are not accessed by tourists and which are not expected to give services to tourists, use English in their linguistic landscape. Hence, there is a case to be made for English serving another function than information-giving. A similar situation in which English purportedly was not necessarily included for information was noted in the linguistic landscape of the Basque country (Cenoz and Gorter 2006), and otherwise generally in multilingual advertising (Piller 2001).

In the interviews conducted with some shop owners, it was asserted repeatedly that the use of the English language and English names in signs was considered a sign of modernity. Many of the shop owners considered this use to be functional for attracting customers, albeit local customers. For example, most of the tailors, boutiques and sweater shops actually use *modern* in their business name, as we see in Color Figure 12.5. Competence solely in English would not be sufficient to understand the communicative intent of the shop name. Hence English has an important symbolic value.

Another consistent observation supports the claim that English does not have much communicative value in the signboards. In bilingual signs, in almost all of the cases, details given in Amharic or Tigrinya are omitted from the English version, with the English version being briefer and more general than its equivalent in the Ethiopian languages. There are also cases in which the two versions are incompatible. For example, the English counterpart of *Central shoe house* in Tigrinya is given as *Central shop*. The Amharic *City Cosmetics—Different creams and gift articles selling place* has been given a short equivalent in the English version, namely *City Cosmetics*, as we see in Color Figure 12.6. The Tigrinya *Rahel Music and Electronics* is rendered as *Rahel Electronics*. Services provided in clinics and stationeries, for example, are listed only in the local languages but not found in the English version.

Hence English serves a symbolic function as a marker of modernity for the language users in this remote city of Ethiopia. Moreover, in side streets to the main shopping district, which is the focus of our investigation of the linguistic landscape, one can note the use of well-known symbols of globalization, *McDonald's* and *Starbucks*, as noted in Color Figures 12.7 and 12.8. These inclusions in the general linguistic landscape of the city provide further support for an interpretation of the use of English and international labels as an appeal to modernity.

The use of English in post-colonial Africa has indeed been under fire by intellectuals. Mazrui (2004: 122) goes so far as to state:

One of the disturbing fallacies in the African experience, in fact, has been the association of English and the Western cultural legacy at large with modernity. Many African policy-makers have a tendency to assume that being Westernized in language and culture improves the chances of “development”.

Nonetheless, Mazrui also points out the instrumentality of English in developing Pan-Africanism. The policy-makers in Ethiopia have promoted English through instruction in the schools and through public services. The local language users promote its use through their displays in the LL.

Conclusion

An investigation of the LL of Mekele has provided insight into actual language practice in light of the official language policy promoting an ideology of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia, in which the use and development of regional languages are encouraged. The display of certain languages and the lack of others provide a clear ideological message as to the value, relevance and priority of the languages. While Tigrinya, Amharic and English compete in the public space, other indigenous languages in the region have no representation. The top-down public language displays in Mekele clearly

promote the new language policy with a prominence of Tigrinya while bottom-up displays show a nearly equal distribution of Tigrinya and Amharic in signs.

The Tigrayans and the Amharas have been rivals in history and with Tigrayans in power at the turn to the new millennium, the official language policy appears to promote language emancipation after the hegemony of Amharic. This language policy, however, has been met with its critics who argue that education in the regional languages will inhibit social and national mobility (Vaughan 2007). Especially the educated and entrepreneurial sectors of society deplore the demise of Amharic as a *lingua franca*. This ideological battle is fought out in the linguistic landscape with the persistence of Amharic. Nonetheless Tigrinya appears more clearly in Mekele's linguistic landscape, a phenomenon that has been possible due to the language policy of ethnic federalism of which the local shop owners avail themselves. A Tigrayan identity is ever-present. Hence with an ideology favoring regionalism, Amharic seems weakened; however, its influence is still present not only on the surface level but also on the abstract grammatical level, as noted in many of the Tigrinya signs that employed Amharic word order.

In the LL of Mekele, English also plays an important role. In post-colonial Africa, many deplore what Phillipson (1992) has termed the "linguistic imperialism" of English, and critics of globalization and its implications for trade in developing countries have resisted in the public sphere the use of languages such as English that symbolize power from colonialism. Ethiopia has no colonial past and an ideology of resistance to English is not evident in the public sphere. However, interestingly enough the Ethiopian languages are predominantly placed at the top of bilingual signs involving English.

Hence Mekele, and indeed Ethiopia in general, experience tension from within and from outside the country's borders in language practice and policy, particularly as evidenced in the linguistic landscape. This study focuses on the written word. Further work will be needed to investigate the ideological battles in oral communication in this regional capital of a country without a colonial past.

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LOCAL POLICY MODELING THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Silvia Dal Negro

Linguistic Landscape and Sociolinguistic Diversity

The relationship between linguistic landscape (LL), that is the written use of languages in public space (Landry and Bourhis 1997), and language policy, in the sense of the explicit and conscious intervention on language form and functions (as in Calvet 2002),¹ can be at least two-fold: LL is at the same time the expression of a given sociolinguistic situation, as well as the instrument through which a new course in language policy is made immediately apparent and a new sociolinguistic scenario is being shaped. For instance, a bilingual sign can be read as the expression *per se* of a bilingual community, or it can be seen as an aspect of an explicit language policy aimed at giving equal status to two codes, not necessarily representing the *entire* or the *real* local linguistic repertoire but its language policy. This duality also means that the indexical functions of LL (Scollon and Scollon 2003) are not as straightforward as they might seem at first glance. LL does not point directly to a speech community by means of the codes displayed; rather, the relationship between the visual aspects of languages and the composition of a sociolinguistic repertoire is always mediated by official and non official interventions on language, by speakers' attitudes and by ideologies shared by the community. Because of its highly symbolic value and of its public use, it is not by chance that LL plays a crucial role in most minority communities, that is in all those sociolinguistic contexts in which the strive to obtain or to maintain political acknowledgement is a primary issue in local policy, as the examples discussed below will show.

Moreover, in the way it contributes to the “symbolic construction of the public space” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 10), LL reflects much more than language policy. In particular, as an important component of social environment, LL is a marker of sociolinguistic dynamism: the presence of new languages, the (usually gradual) disappearance of others, and the overt (sometimes aggressive) appearance of language varieties that are not commonly found in public contexts are all examples of phenomena that can be successfully

revealed through a careful analysis of LL. Thus, these studies can contribute actively to the knowledge of the composition of complex linguistic repertoires and to enhance subtle but crucial differences between communities that, on the basis of the codes being used, are only apparently similar.

As the data from local communities in Italy will show, different functions are at stake when languages are used in public space. A sign can have mainly a communicative/informative function, it can act mainly as a marker of identity, or it can have an attractive function: language choice, together with other “material” components (selection of fonts, colors, typographic organization of space, type of support), largely contribute to these functions. The combination and the intertwining between these factors result in the various forms of LL that surround us.

Italy's Linguistic Landscape

The study of LL is new in the context of Italy, although recent research in sociolinguistics and in social and human geography is paying growing attention to the visible presence of local traditional dialects, and especially of new ethnic (migrant) languages. Particularly in this second domain, researchers are mapping the presence of migrant groups in urban contexts through the analysis of shop signs and other written data that can be found in the streets, in open-air-markets, etc. (see for instance, Bagna 2006). Confirming the lack of direct correspondence between sociolinguistic repertoires and LL, one can observe that a variety of migrant languages are almost completely absent in public space, though supported by large communities of speakers (typical examples of this would be Albanian or Rumanian); on the other hand, international languages such as French and especially English play an important role also in migrant milieus, besides their globalizing function. Such different uses can enlighten the role of migrant languages within each ethnic community, towards other migrant communities and towards the local population, thus they function as markers of ethno-linguistic vitality, as shown by Landry and Bourhis (1997) in relation to French and English in the Canadian context.

The case of indigenous minority enclaves, however, is rather different from that of migrant groups, because of various reasons. First, the national language is well known by the majority of the population and it is widespread around the territory being the main written code within the Italian State. Second, the majority of the population (if not all) is primarily literate in Italian and the use of local languages or dialects in public signs does not seem to be aimed at reaching sections of the (local) population that might not be fluent in Italian, nor at improving communication within the community, since the knowledge of dialect orthographic systems is extremely limited and very controversial. Actually, LL seems to be a means through which the local community constructs its (public) linguistic image, what

turns LL into an instrument that is particularly appropriate for the study of these contexts.

Despite the strong centralistic policy that has often characterized its (relatively brief) national history, Italy stands out for its traditional multilingualism and its rich language diversity against which even the explicit and authoritarian language policy of Fascism proved largely ineffective.² Up to the third millennium the national language has co-existed with a variety of dialects that are sufficiently distant from Italian to be considered independent language systems rather than local varieties of the standard. Beside this, several different languages (such as German, Albanian, Croatian, Greek and others) are spoken all over the peninsula, usually scattered in semi-isolated communities, but in some cases covering larger areas extending towards the political borders of the country. As a result, a rich range of individual and societal repertoires may emerge, in which one or two languages and one or more dialects co-exist.³

Apart from few exceptions (among which German in South Tyrol, which will be discussed below), no other language or dialect has obtained any form of official status, until very recently. Because of this, especially since the late 1970s and early 1980s, many language groups have started to claim an official recognition of local languages, usually demanding political autonomy and financial support for the corresponding populations as well. It was not until the very end of the twentieth century (1999), however, that a law giving official recognition to most (indigenous) language minorities has been approved, a fact that has simultaneously denied any status to all Italian (Italo-romance) dialects (as commented upon by Dal Negro 2005). In the last decades language issues related to LL have played a relevant part in the political debate, with local communities all over the country (but notably more in the north) striving to assert their distinctiveness and trying to resist the national state, globalization, and, more recently, the increasing presence of migrant workers coming from Eastern Europe, Asia, South America and Africa.

Because of the richness of situations that can be observed and that are relatively little known in the literature, the next sections will deal with examples taken from the Italian context, underlying the aspects of explicit and implicit language policies.

Linguistic Landscape, Place Names and Language Policy

Probably nothing is more symbolic for a community than its own name, and in fact place names, in particular the names of towns and villages, have long been the tangible expression of political power and of subsequent anti-State struggles.

One area in which this issue has been particularly painful is South Tyrol,

the German-speaking region that was annexed to Italy in 1918. Here a massive Italianization process of all proper nouns took place before and after World War I to justify the military occupation of the region and reached its apex during the Fascist regime. Special effort was devoted to place names because of their symbolic value; Italian or Latinate correspondents had to be found that could replace the German names that were used by the population. In some cases the names of a former Romanization were restored, in other cases the German name was translated into Italian, in many other cases a new name was created following a variety of linguistic, historical and geographical principles. Such principles, together with the whole list of Italian place names of South Tyrol, can be read in a notorious booklet, Tolomei's *Prontuario* (Tolomei 1935), which includes examples of such a massive language policy supported by extensive explicatory linguistic notes. After World War II, according to the 1946 Treaty of Paris, the German population of South Tyrol was accorded "special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural and economic development of the German-speaking element."⁴ One of the effects of the new policy was that all German place names were restored and given official status side by side with Italian names. As a result both names now coexist and are obligatorily in written use, a fact that characterizes strongly the LL of South Tyrol (see Color Figure 13.1. It is also an issue that is constantly brought up in public debates in local newspapers or television programs.⁵

Otherwise in most of the Italian territory (with the exception of other, recognized, minority enclaves), official place names appear exclusively in Italian and are usually the result of a phonological and morphological adaptation of local names, or represent the traditional and cultivate variant, which has long been used alongside spoken (dialect) variants in written documents. Locally, however, the population might still use the dialect name of one's own town or village, as well as the name of neighboring towns or villages, so that an interesting variety of names exists in spontaneous and local language use.

Between the mid-1970s and the beginning of the 1990s, especially in the north of the country, a rebellious practice spread that consisted in offending road signs by spraying off official (Italian) names and adding the dialect counterpart. While driving through the north of Italy one could then see the diffusion of "language rebels," actually making visible a political quest for autonomy. However with the advent into power of political autonomist and populist parties, most of these offended signs have disappeared, and have been replaced by bilingual signs, advocated and authorized by local administrations (though unacceptable and unrecognized on the national level). Yet, on these signs it is the dialect variant which is written with a different font, in a different color and is usually accompanied by tourist or folkloristic comments (see Color Figure 13.2). As a result, in the very moment in which local place names have obtained their semi-official recognition, they

have lost their subversive nature and have been allocated in the realm of (banal) folklore, aimed more to satisfy outer visitors' curiosity than to express the linguistic composition of the population.

German Enclaves in Italy

Groups of German and Upper German dialect speakers are present within the borders of the Italian Republic for a variety of different historical and political reasons (Egger and Heller 1997). Roughly two distinct types can be detected here: on the one hand, various German-speaking enclaves are scattered in the north-west and in the north-east of the country, the origin of which lies in Middle-Age migrations from the north of the Alps; on the other hand, South Tyrol, which belonged to Austria until 1918 when it was annexed to Italy, which constitutes a very different state of affairs.

Although linguistically (and partly ethnically) similar, the difference between these two types of German communities is striking from the socio-linguistic point of view. In the case of small minority enclaves, German dialects do not lie under the roof ("*Dach*") of the German standard language. That is, they are, in the Italian context, *dachlos*, (cf. Kloss 1986) and strongly diverge from German. Most of them are subject to language decay and shift and coexist, within the same communities, with Italian and usually with other Romance varieties. In contrast South Tyrol is a typically diglossic German speaking community that enjoys a special political autonomy and has a very supportive language policy. This community lives side by side with an Italian community that mainly resides in towns and has moved to South Tyrol from various Italian regions during the last 80 years.

Such dissimilarities are mirrored in a completely different structure of LL in the two areas, as the data presented here will show. Different from most research done in this field, the present study focuses on non-urban settings, namely on three alpine villages in northern Italy, two in South Tyrol and one in Piedmont, belonging to the Alemannic minority known as "Walser." All three communities have a similar socio-economic profile that is based mainly on agro-pastoral activities and, more recently, on tourism (especially Formazza and Funes/Vilnöß); finally, they are all numerically very small (the largest, Funes/Vilnöß, counts 2,300 inhabitants).

The first case study, Funes/Vilnöß, is a municipality of South Tyrol in which 98 percent of the population declares to belong to the German ethnic group.⁶ Similarly as in the rest of the region, the population speaks a local Bavarian dialect but only standard German and standard Italian are officially recognized and are given equal status. As a form of comparison, results of a similar research on LL (Grazioli 2006) that was conducted in another village of South Tyrol (Cortina/ Kurtinig) will be taken into account as a second case study. In contrast with Funes/Vilnöß, Cortina/Kurtinig is situated on the touristically attractive *Weinstraße* ("wine route"), but is not itself a tourist

resort, and geographically it is located further south, much nearer to the language border between German and Italian; besides, the German-speaking population here is proportionally less (68 percent, according to ASTAT).

The third case study is a village in Piedmont, Formazza, which belongs to the small and diffused Walser (Alemannic) minority. Here only part of the population still speaks the traditional dialect alongside with Italian, whereas knowledge of standard German is only scant. German has been recently given official recognition (in the sense that it *can*—but it does not *have to*—be used in public and in written documents), but no explicit guidelines regulate whether the object of language policy should be Standard German or the local (archaic and idiosyncratic) dialect.

The different role of dialects in the two contexts is of particular relevance. Whereas South Tyrolean dialects find in Standard German their *Dachsprache*, which is learnt at school and used in all written documents, Walser dialects are *dachlose Aussenmundarten*, “roofless” minority dialects (Kloss 1986). As we will see, the different role played by Bavarian and Alemannic dialects in the LL of our two case-studies is one of the most significant factors in the representation of the two sociolinguistic profiles.

Finally, from the point of view of linguistic repertoire modelling, South Tyrol is a case of bilingualism at community scale (with diglossia in the case of German), whereas Walser communities present a kind of diglossic repertoire in a context of language shift. The two repertoires can be represented graphically as in Figure 13.1, in which white areas stand for Italian, grey stands for standard German and shaded areas stand for German dialects.

The Analysis of Linguistic Landscape

The core of this research is the analysis of a corpus of signs⁷ that were photographed and coded according to the languages (and dialects) visible and according to the type of sign. Following, among others, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 14), the data collected were first divided into “bottom-up” signs (“issued by individual social actors”) and “top-down” signs (“issued by national and public bureaucracies—public institutions”). Because of too many border-line cases, however, this classification proved ineffective to

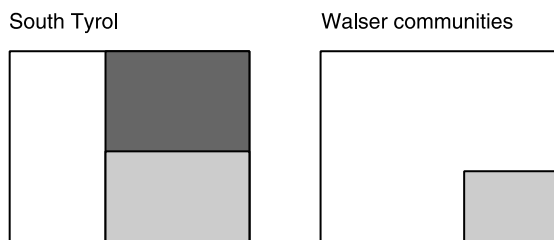


Figure 13.1 German enclaves in Italy.

describe these small communities, so that other subtypes, focussed on social domains, were devised and will be discussed below.

A first examination of the data gives the results summarized and displayed in Table 13.1, in which no differentiation is made for the label “German” (whether the standard or a dialect). As one can see, in the first two communities a monolingual mode prevails, Italian in the Walser community, German in Funes/Villnöß, although the Walser community is more monolingual (Italian) than the village in Tyrol is monolingual German. On the other hand, the third case presents a very interesting situation with a dominance of bilingual signs and a slightly higher percentage of Italian-only inscriptions.

As regards Funes/Villnöß, Italian appears, alongside with German, in institutional signs (so-called top-down signs) and in some private activities (skiing facilities, shops) that are meant for tourists; however, since German tourists are the majority, this kind of bilingual signs is not frequent and a monolingual German mode prevails in this domain as well (see Color Figure 13.3, advertising a flat for rent). In the Formazza corpus, on the other hand, it is German that is (rarely) added in an almost monolingual landscape: it can be found mainly on institutional buildings (see Color Figure 13.4) and on place name signs; its presence reflects a recent official recognition and stands out almost as an overt landmark of a newly acquired status. German is also added in the tourist domain but its use is not meant to facilitate communication with (mainly Italian) tourists since it is usually limited to proper names of hotels and bars.

Pointing in particular to the minority/regional language which is the main focus here and summing up the data presented in Table 13.1, German is present (in any form) in 57 signs in Formazza (27 percent of all units), in 213 signs in Funes/Vilnöß (92 percent) and in 195 signs in Cortina/Kurtinig (90 percent). These values mark again the fact that German is extremely rare in the public and written use within the Walser village, whereas it can be

Table 13.1 LL in three German-speaking communities in Italy

| <i>Languages</i> | <i>Formazza (Walser)</i> (212 signs) | <i>Funes/Vilnöß</i> (South Tyrol) (229 signs) | <i>Cortina/Kurtinig</i> (South Tyrol) (216 signs) |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Italian Only | 150 (70.7%) | 12 (5.2%) | 21 (9.7%) |
| German Only | 11 (5.1%) | 108 (47.1%) | 65 (30%) |
| Italian and German | 34 (16%) | 99 (43.2%) | 121 (56%) |
| Italian and German and Other | 8 (3.7%) | 4 (1.7%) | 8 (3.7%) |
| Italian and Other | 4 (1.8%) | – | – |
| German and Other | 4 (1.8%) | 2 (0.8%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| Other language | 1 (0.4%) | 4 (1.7%) | – |

found in almost all signs in South Tyrol. If these values attest the strikingly different role of German in the two enclaves and could be largely foreseeable given the great differences in current language policy (and in their history), a more unexpected result relates to the different composition of the German sub corpora. As can be seen in Table 13.2, a good proportion (65 percent) of signs displaying German in Formazza is actually in the local Alemannic dialect (Color Figure 13.5), whereas in the South Tyrolean corpus Bavarian only accounts for 16 out of a total of 408 German signs (4 percent).

Thus, the theme of local, non-elaborated languages (or local varieties) and their relationship to the standard (majority or minority) language has turned out to be one of the most relevant factors in describing and accounting for LL variation in different kinds of language communities. Whereas standard German is the only acceptable written language (alongside with Italian) in South Tyrol and it is on standard German that the entire struggle for autonomy has been carried out,⁸ Walser communities, similarly to most minority enclaves all over the country, are still constructing their own ethnic and linguistic identity, in (partial) contrast with the national identity, but also independently from other linguistic, cultural, ethnic and political centres. Therefore, the use of deviant (non German) orthography and the written use of dialect are an important assertion of language “uniqueness” and the elaboration of a new local standard.

Finally, both Alemannic and Bavarian occur with a special function that has not been considered so far. Given the peculiar nature of these communities, in which tourism is nowadays one of the main economic resources, most signs consist in fact of the name of a hotel, a restaurant or a room rental. Hotel or restaurant owners frequently name their activity after a (local) place name, typically the name of a mountain or of an alpine pasture. Such proper names are usually, in these communities as elsewhere, local names displaying distinctive dialect features; moreover, such names very often combine with “Gothic” fonts and sometimes with a wooden support (see Color Figure 13.6). This symbolic and material combination functions as a commercial reification of the notion of a rustic, genuine, alpine character. It is interesting to observe that in the Walser community, similarly to dozens other mountain resorts in Italy, the material features (fonts, wooden support) can combine with an Italian inscription (see Color Figure 13.7), whereas this would be rather unusual in the case of South Tyrol where the

Table 13.2 Standard German and dialect

| | <i>Formazza</i> | <i>Funes/Vilnöß</i> | <i>Cortina/Kurtinig</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Standard German | 20 | 199 | 193 |
| Dialect | 35 | 10 | 0 |
| Both | 2 | 4 | 2 |

Italian language is *per definitionem* non local. The less tourist character of Cortina/Kurtinig and its non-alpine setting explain the lack of this type of signs (with one exception) that decorate hotels, guest houses and private homes in Formazza and in Funes/Vilnöß.

Closely related to this topic is the almost insignificant occurrence of other languages in these communities (see Table 13.1); in particular, the absence of English in private and commercial signs stands out and clearly differentiates these alpine villages from urban contexts, in Italy or elsewhere.⁹ What is at stake here, it seems, is not the construction of a global, up-to-date consumer, but the commercialization of a local and rustic symbolic capital. If we consider some of the keywords used by Piller (2001) to account for recent multilingual advertisements in Germany (international orientation, future orientation, sophistication), it is clear that the values that are implied in the commercial signs collected in our case studies are exactly the reverse: local orientation, past orientation, sincerity.

Apart from tourism, three other domains can be considered: shops (used by locals as well as by tourists), associations (organizing activities, mainly for locals), and the church, (in the sense of the village parish). In these domains the requirement to transmit information to a well defined audience seems to be greater than political or symbolic functions. The results of this further analysis are quite interesting and, again, emphasize the great difference between a truly minority status, such as German in Formazza, and a context of bilingualism *de facto* and *de jure* in which the minority language is used by the majority of the population. Italian is the only language used in signs that belong to these three domains at Formazza. German has a sporadic presence alongside with Italian in shops (2 out of 17) and associations (two signs issued by the local minority language association out of 13 in total). In contrast, German is the only language in most signs advertising activities of private associations in South Tyrol (14 out of 17 in Funes/Vilnöß, 19 out of 23 in Cortina/Kurtinig) and no monolingual Italian signs could be detected there. The same holds for church activities, whereas shops present a majority of bilingual signs and, in the case of Cortina/Kurtinig, also four cases out of 13 of Italian monolingual advertisements. This village, in which 40 percent of the population is Italian speaking and which is located near the southern border of the region, also presents a considerable amount of bilingual or monolingual Italian signs on private homes, such as the well known “beware of the dog” signs.

To sum up, it does not come as a surprise that Italian is present in all top-down signs, such as school buildings or road signs, in all three villages, because Italian is the national language. The difference is marked on the one hand by the spread of German in all possible contexts which sets apart South Tyrol from the Walser community, and on the other hand by the spread of Italian in bottom-up signs (individual and commercial), which sets apart Cortina/Kurtinig (more Italian) from Funes/Villnöß (further less

Italian). In Figure 13.2 the relationship between Italian (white areas) and German (shaded areas) is visualized graphically.

Discussion

Similar to other manifestations of language, LL is both the mirror of socio-linguistic norms (bilingual signs mirror a bilingual community), and an important component of sociolinguistic structures (that is, bilingual signs contribute to construct a bilingual community). With its interplay of implicit and explicit strategies that underlie language choices, LL can thus work as a promising indicator of a better understanding of language patterns in society.

The methodology developed in the framework of LL has proved to be an effective tool in modelling multilingual repertoires in the alpine space and in unveiling local language policy in its various and composite peculiarities. How does LL correlate with language use and distribution within these communities? Because the LL is directly observable it is a place in which the relative power of languages (and groups of speakers), as well as language ideologies, are indexed; in particular, LL seems to play a crucial role in the construction of linguistic identity, as the choices between dialect and the standard have shown. On the other hand, most signs have a practical function as well, that is, they convey relevant information and they have to do so in the most effective and economical way to reach the expected addressees.

The role of language policy in modelling the LL seems to be explicit and direct as well as indirect. With regards to language policy in South Tyrol the only explicit mention about the written use of languages in public space relates to place names, street names and road directions, all of which have to be bilingual by obligation; in other minority enclaves, such as the Walser, place names and road directions are allowed to be bilingual but need not be so. In other domains, German-speaking citizens in South Tyrol have the right to use German and to be addressed in this language in public offices (while no explicit mention is made to commercial and private activities); the same is true for minority enclaves. This right is then extended to written (public) communication, but this is applied *de facto* only in the case of South Tyrol, where a well defined German speaking community has to be



Figure 13.2 Italian and German in the data.

addressed in its mother tongue. This shows that very local features of speaking communities, their history and their language policy tradition determine which languages appear in which domains. A few relevant variables can be considered.

If we go back to the fieldwork that has been presented here, it is apparent that, from the point of view of power relations, German has more (politic, economic, demographic) power than Italian in South Tyrol, especially in those communities in which the majority of the population is German-speaking; the presence of Italian in most top-down signs, however, indexes its official status on the national level and thus its higher power). Italian is the only “high” language in the rest of the country, whatever other language or dialect it is in contact with; this is easily proven by the uncertain, often folkloristic and always subordinate position of the local code in bilingual (Italian-dialect) signs.

With regards to ideology, LL in South Tyrol underlines in a very explicit way the sense of belonging to other German speaking regions and nations. This might explain why only standard German is visible in public written contexts although Bavarian is the main spoken code. In contrast, Walser communities, as other minority enclaves in Italy, codify their distinctiveness from neighborhood through the use of local proper nouns, place names and few other linguistic and cultural ethnic markers. At the same time there is an emphasis on the uniqueness of the community so that Walser German (and not standard German) is used in LL. Such uses are rather new and a stratification of older and newer signs attests the former use of monolingual signs at Formazza where today bilingual signs are used instead.

Finally, in South Tyrol German is used by private associations and groups if the implied target of a sign is clearly local (and thus German speaking). In bilingual signs, too, German is often used for practical information which is not translated into Italian; a greater amount of Italian signs are used with these functions in communities with a larger Italian speaking population (such as Kurtinig/Cortina). In minority enclaves such as the Walser, instead, only Italian is used for actual communicative purposes, whereas the local dialect is rather evocative of the traditional and genuine character of the community and of its usually mythical uniqueness.

Thus, explicit and conscious interventions on language functions are typically reflected in LL, a privileged *locus* for language policy, both in top-down (institutional) and in bottom-up (counter-institutional) expressions because of its inherently overt nature. However, it is in the gap between the real and complete linguistic repertoire and what appears in the public use of languages that one can read the actual role of language policy and its scope within a speech community.

Notes

- 1 For a useful distinction between language policy and language planning in different European languages, see Dell'Aquila and Iannàccaro (2004).
- 2 On the topic of language policy during Fascism, see especially Klein (1986).
- 3 On sociolinguistic repertoires in Italy, see Berruto (1989), Dal Negro (2005). For recent developments of the dialect-language relationship, cf. various papers in Sobrero and Miglietta (2006).
- 4 The entire text of the Paris Treaty can be read in: *Recueil des Traités. Traités et accords internationaux enregistrés ou classés et inscrits au répertoire au Secrétariat de l'Organisation des Nations Unies*, Volume 49/747, 1950.
- 5 A chronological sketch of this and other issues related to bilingualism and a deep analysis of language "uneasiness" in South Tyrol are provided by Baur (2000).
- 6 According to ASTAT, the regional office for statistics (www.provincia.bz.it/astat).
- 7 The corpus comprehends all signs (with the exception of repetitive road signs) that were visible in the three villages during one single field-work session for each. In all cases only signs in inhabited areas were considered (thus excluding mountain paths and huts) and, in the case of Funes (South Tyrol) a selection of the two main villages of the communal territory has been made, because of its larger extension in comparison to the other communities.
- 8 See Egger and Heller (1997: 1355): "Der deutschen Hochsprache wird besondere Bedeutung beigemessen, weil sie den Kontakt mit dem gesamten deutschen Sprach-und Kulturraum ermöglicht, was für eine Sprachminderheit besonders wichtig ist."
- 9 See for instance, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) for comparable minority contexts in which English plays a much more important role.

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Part IV

IDENTITY AND AWARENESS

LANGUAGES ON DISPLAY

Indexical Signs, Identities and the Linguistic Landscape of Taipei

Melissa L. Curtin

Introduction¹

In this chapter, I focus on the relationship between *social identity* and properties of *indexicality* of language scripts in the public space of Taipei. Taipei is an excellent site for such a study as Taiwan is witnessing animated public discussions regarding ethnic, cultural, linguistic, political, and (trans)national identities during its rapid process of democratization. These debates are evidenced in competing systems of Romanization of Chinese in official signage in the capital's changing linguistic landscape. Additionally, as Taipei becomes increasingly internationalized, certain areas of the LL exhibit salient displays of several non-Chinese languages, the scripts of which signify additional notions of what it means to be "Taiwanese" today.

Two types of public signage in Taipei are primarily examined in this study—one that employs non-Chinese, "vogue display languages" and one that features official signage with varying Romanizations of Chinese. In particular, I consider ways in which all orthographies employed—those contested and those highly naturalized—are ideologically based and serve in indexing residents' complex negotiations of numerous polycentric identities. Somewhat similarly, Backhaus (2006) examines official and nonofficial multilingual signs in Tokyo. Using the notions of power and solidarity, he concludes that official signs reinforce power relations whereas nonofficial signs employ foreign languages to "communicate solidarity with things non-Japanese" (Backhaus (2006: 52). Here, however, I note that relations of power are implicated in both types of signage, and argue that a consideration of the social indexicality of language orthography helps reveal *how* language scripts signify power and solidarity.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) note that the use of language in official and nonofficial signage may be similar or radically different. Where similar, there is a "consistent and coherent linguistic landscape"; where radically different,

the LL signals social discord (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 27). In the case of Taipei, however, the use of different languages and scripts in nonofficial signs versus official signage does *not* signal social discord but rather is part of a hierarchical graphic regime that values certain non-Chinese languages (e.g., English, Japanese) as well as Mandarin. And yet there is a marked social discord in competing scripts of Romanization of Mandarin in *official* signage, a discord that is explicitly debated in terms of how orthographies are seen to index various “Taiwanese” and/or “Chinese” ethnic, cultural, political, national and global identities. Thus, the changing LL of Taipei provides a striking visual picture of Taiwan’s state of transition wherein both non-Chinese scripts in unofficial signage and struggles over Romanization in official signage reveal shifting boundaries of identities of self and nation as these are negotiated on (trans)local, regional, and global levels. I first provide an overview of the ethnolinguistic, political and historical context of Taipei and then present a summary of indexicality and indexical order. I then discuss specific ways in which the social indexicality of orthographies in the LL of Taipei plays an important role in the negotiation of identities in today’s rapidly changing Taiwan.

Sociohistorical and Ethnolinguistic Orientation to Taipei

With a population of about 23 million, Taiwan is often described as having four main ethnolinguistic groups: Aboriginal peoples (1.7 percent), *Hakka* (12 percent), “Mainlanders” (13 percent), and “Taiwanese” (or *Hoklo* or *Holo*, 73.3 percent) (e.g., Shih 2002). The surviving population of indigenous Aborigines (原住民 *yuán zhù mín*, literally “original inhabitants”) speaks about 12 different languages of the Austronesian-Formosan family. Since the late 1980s, there has been a rise in Aboriginal sociopolitical movements and a shift away from assimilation. Despite efforts at language revitalization, however, there is a marked language shift to Mandarin.

The *Hoklo* (鶴佬人, ancestry from Fujian province) and the *Hakka* (家人 *kèjiā rén*, most ancestry from northern Guangdong) are Han Chinese who began settling the island in the seventeenth century. The majority Hoklo speak Taiwanese Southern Min (also called *Hoklo* or “Taiwanese”). Of the four million Hakka, the older generation in particular speaks the Hakka language (Library of Congress 2005). Both the Hoklo and Hakka Taiwanese are commonly referred to as “native born Taiwanese” or *běn shěng rén* (本省人 “original-province-people”). Many, especially of the Hoklo group, sympathize with the cause for Taiwan independence (Shih 2002: 1).

“Mainlanders,” or *wài shěng rén* (外省人 “outside-province-people”), include those who came to Taiwan after WWII and their descendents. They are largely associated with the Kuomintang party (KMT, 中國國民黨, *zhōngguó guómíndǎng*) that took control of the island after retreating from the Mainland upon losing the civil war to the communists. For decades

the KMT enforced a harsh policy of “re-sinicization” to erase all traces of “Japanization” from the islanders who had been under Japanese colonial rule for 50 years. Although from diverse parts of China with various Chinese first language backgrounds, the Mainlanders have strongly supported their *lingua franca*, Mandarin, as *guóyǔ* (國語) or “national language.” The majority of the Mainlanders live in Taipei and its environs. Most maintain their “Chinese” ethnic and cultural identity and sympathize with various, albeit ambiguously proscribed, political agendas for unification with China.²

Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Hakka are not mutually intelligible languages (DeFrancis 1990). However, due to the KMT’s aggressive National Language Movement, within forty years (1945–1986) the island’s population changed from having few speakers of Mandarin to nearly everyone being highly proficient in both oral and written Mandarin. Mandarin is now the first language of about 20 percent of the population (Library of Congress 2005). Language shift to Mandarin is significant for younger members of the Hakka heritage language group and is also of increasing concern for those of the Southern Min heritage language group (Friedman 2005). Mandarin is thus the *lingua franca* of Taiwan. It is the primary language of government and of all levels of education; it is also centrally important for the largest export market, Mainland China. Realistically, then, Mandarin will remain the *de facto* “official” language of Taiwan and will continue as “more equal than other languages” (Klöter 2004: 63).

There are, however, efforts to open up the public sphere wherein all languages are equally valorized, if not equally used. In addition to the recent Language Development Bill rendering all languages of the island as official “national languages,” there is now a weekly “Mother Tongue Education” day in elementary schools (albeit with major logistical and financial obstacles to fully instituting multilingual education). Additionally, the rapid transit system has multilingual announcements in Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, Hakka and English. And, as discussed below, a further strategy to open up the public sphere involves Romanization in public signage.

Ideology, Identification, and Indexicality

Indexicality has been considered in a few LL studies, but with differing points of understanding (e.g., Collins and Slembrouck 2004; Kurzon 2003; Scollon and Scollon 2003). I therefore provide an overview of the framework of identification, indexicality, and ideology used here.

Identification

Although there is a common logic of identity as a “true self” that presumes a stable subject in a stable world, identity emerges in a “*process* of identification . . . that happens over time, that is never absolutely stable, that is subject to the play of history and the play of difference” (Hall 1999: 300–301). Furthermore, identity exists only in a dialogic relationship to the Other.

Indexicality

The role of indexicality in language and identification can hardly be overstated. Ponzio (2006: 598) notes that indexicality “plays a fundamental role in verbal language.” Silverstein (1998: 130) underscores that language “is indexical in its most essential modality.” From a Peircian perspective, the index signifies its object by “a relation of contiguity, causality, or by some other physical . . . connection” (e.g., smoke to fire) (Ponzio 2006: 597). However, contiguity is more or less abstract, and indexicals are often transposed to “recalled, imagined, or merely projected contexts” (Hanks 2001: 120). Additionally, indexes *build* context in both presupposing (signaling what is taken for granted) and performative ways (establishing new social relations or conditions) (Silverstein 2003a).

An intricate relationship operates between indexicality, ideology, and identity. “Ideology construes indexicality by constituting its metapragmatics” (Silverstein 1998: 128). As a thoroughly ideological mechanism, the indexical properties of various linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions via ideologically imbued labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems (Bucholtz and Hall 2003). Additionally, Ochs (1992) distinguishes between *direct indexicality*, wherein a group is consciously linked with a specific linguistic feature, and *indirect indexicality*, wherein a social action (e.g., stance or speech act) is one link in a semiotic chain that comes to index a group (e.g., tag questions to index a stance of deference or uncertainty; this stance is then strongly associated with a social group such as women who are *essentialized* as deferent and/or indecisive). Overall, then, indexicality is fundamental in the “creation, performance, and attribution of identities” (De Fina et al. 2006).

Silverstein’s (2003a) framework of *indexical order* further explicates the ideologically informed construction of identity via indexicality. In first-order indexicality, speakers establish links between certain linguistic forms and a particular social category (micro-social, situated language use); in second-order indexicality, speakers hold ideological rationalizations for these links (macro-social frames of interaction). With the continual interplay between micro-social interactions and ideologically imbued macro-framing, indexicality is thus both highly contextual *and* processual.

Iconicity

Distinctions between indexicality and iconicity vary. In work by linguistic anthropologists (e.g., Irvine and Gal; Silverstein) and sociocultural linguists (e.g., Bucholtz and Hall), *iconization* is an ideological extension of Peirce's iconic sign and entails an *essentialized fusing* of a perceived quality of a linguistic feature with a perceived quality of a social group (Bucholtz and Hall 2003).³ For example, the sounds and grammar of Haitian *kreyòl rèk* are perceived by some as being harsh, deformed, debased, and simple; these qualities are then attributed as the very essence of the *speakers* (Schieffelin and Doucet 1998). Moreover, "actual practice may be far removed from the imagined practices that ideology constructs" (Bucholtz and Hall 2003: 380). Thus, the iconic link carries a seemingly direct and natural connection between form and meaning (similar to Peirce's iconic sign).

Overall, social meanings potentially conveyed by linguistic forms are multiple and ambivalent, with few (if any) features of a language exclusively indexing a particular aspect of identity (Ochs 1992). With this framework of indexicality, ideology and identification, I now consider the LL of Taipei as one important aspect of the social semiotic process of identification in Taiwan.

Methodology and Methods

This project is a critical social semiotic study using tools from ethnography and discourse analysis. It began with a year long ethnographic study in which I collected examples of non-Chinese scripts in the LL from four major sections of the city: a more industrial and "working class" area, the diverse city center, an upscale area catering to teens and young adults, and an upscale area catering to older adults. Data included more permanent street and building signage as well as salient displays of language on vehicles, posters, window displays, and even various items for sale that are used in social settings (e.g., youth's magazines, school notebooks, address books, and T-shirts).⁴ From these hundreds of samples, I developed preliminary (*etic*) categories based on source language and the apparent function and meaning of each.

To develop a more *emic* framework, I then worked closely for a period of ten months with several local Taiwanese with varying L1/L2 backgrounds (Mandarin, Mandarin/Southern Min, Southern Min/Mandarin). Four main characteristics of interpretive readings emerged: the (apparent) source language, the necessary degree of comprehension of the source language, the relationship of form to meaning, and the general function of the pattern. An analysis of the data using these four characteristics yielded nine patterns of display language: Mandarin, Romanization of Chinese language, display English (five types; three discussed here), display "European," and display Japanese and Korean.⁵

I also considered broader discursive practices in education and politics concerning language and Taiwanese identities. I reviewed materials from four primary sources: (1) newspapers and magazines, (2) government and political websites, (3) personal blogs, and (4) academic publications. The use of ethnographic and discourse analysis tools thus allowed a situating of the social indexicality of scripts in the LL within a broad range of ethnolinguistic and political perspectives.⁶

The Linguistic Landscape of Taipei

I present my findings based on four broad categories of source language and script: (1) traditional Chinese characters, (2) European/US Romance languages, (3) Japanese and Korean, and (4) Romanization systems of Chinese.

Traditional Chinese Characters

As one surveys the LL of Taipei, it is overwhelmingly clear that the majority of signage is in Mandarin, using traditional Chinese characters (see Color Figure 14.1). Via opposition to the “Other” of the People’s Republic of China (PRC or “Mainland”) and Singapore which use simplified Mandarin, the traditional characters directly index the geopolitical entity Taiwan. This orthographic script involves a presupposing indexicality that contextualizes well-established geographical and political positions. It has also served as a type of local performative indexing, having been a central aspect of the KMT’s program of resinicization of the island’s residents. Once the language and its speakers were authenticated through nationalistic rhetoric, this language script came to routinely index an “authentic” Chinese national identity.

Furthermore, by saliently foregrounding the names of places, people, and ideals of pre-Communist China, street names themselves served a performative indexing of a national “Chinese” ethnic, cultural and political identity, as well as of (imagined) geopolitical boundaries. For example, in Color Figure 14.2, we see a street sign for 忠孝東路 (*zhōng xiào dōng lù* in *hanyu pinyin* but transliterated/translated on the sign as ZhongSiao E. Rd.). The name means “loyalty and filial piety east road.” Loyalty and filial piety are two of the eight Confucian virtues displayed in four main streets of Taipei, the others being Ren-ai (benevolence and love), Hsin-yi (fidelity and righteousness) and He-ping (peace and fairness). While the public display of these eight virtues may seem quite fitting for a “Chinese” city, these names were part of the KMT’s explicit program to “resinicize” the islanders.

The KMT’s performative mapping of the motherland onto *le visage linguistique*⁷ of Taipei had a number of goals: (1) an erasure of all political and cultural traces of Japanese colonization, (2) a nostalgic invoking of the emigrés’ love for and goal to reclaim the mainland, and (3) an effort to inspire

among the native Taiwanese an identification with the “motherland” and with the nationalist, Mandarin-speaking regime in Taiwan. Conversely, by not naming streets after people or places of the island, the names indirectly index decades of the linguistic, political and economic marginalization of the majority population (Chen 2000).

The LL has therefore been part of a decades-long KMT nationalist effort at *erasure*, the eliding of details not consistent with the ideological position of a unified, Mandarin-speaking, Chinese nation-state (Irvine and Gal 2000). Additionally, Mandarin versus non-Mandarin identities have been replicated via *fractal recursivity* at national, community and individual levels (Irvine and Gal 2000). At the national level, Mandarin has signified loyalty to the authorized Chinese nation-state (“Chinese” being an ethnic, cultural and political national identity); at the community level it has denoted urbanity and modernity; and at the interpersonal level it has meant high socio-economic status and refinement. Conversely, non-Mandarin languages in the public sphere have indexed disloyalty to the nation-state and/or rurality, backwardness, illiteracy and low socioeconomic status (Hsiao 1997). The social indexicality of traditional Chinese Mandarin characters in Taipei is therefore much more nuanced and complex than simply pointing to the geopolitical entity of Taiwan. Rather, it matches Hanks’ observation that indexicals are anchored to their contexts, but contexts are variously imagined. Additionally, there are multiple and often ambivalent readings to the “web of indexicality” of any text. Thus, the indexing of imagined identities and contexts in the LL is now expressly contested in terms of competing systems of Romanization of Mandarin.

European/US Languages: International Businesses

Contrasting with the predominant backdrop of traditional Mandarin characters, signs featuring the Roman script are especially salient. For example, with Taipei’s increasing internationalization, signs for businesses such as McDonald’s, Starbucks, 7-Eleven, Pizza Hut, Costco, and Carrefour (French department store) are spotted throughout the city. However, an uncomplicated reading of these signs as just indexing globalization (or economic colonization by US corporations) is overly simplistic.

For example, in Color Figure 14.3, the McDonald’s sign may index Taipei’s internationalization, and yet McDonald’s, 7-Eleven and other enterprises are now considered very local businesses. This localization may be indexed by a corresponding Chinese name, such as 麥當勞 (*mài dāng láo*), a transliteration from the English name. And even for businesses without official Mandarin names, locals often create one such as in the informal translation of Burger King as *hanbao wang*. The English script on signs of international businesses thus invokes a bidirectional indexicality between the global and the local. This process of “glocalization” is more than a simple process

of homogenization; consumers are localizing transnational signs within a framework of local cultural practices (cf. Mackay 2000).

European/US Languages: Vogue English on Display

There is also a widespread use of “vogue or display English” (Curtin 2000) in which the English Roman script is saliently displayed on posters, advertisements, upscale housing complexes, store signs, and nearly *every* one of the over 800,000 scooters (as well as clothing, school and office supplies, and many product labels). Display English has been described as “mood or decorative” English in Europe (Ross 1997), Hong Kong (Brock 1991), Japan (Dougill 1987), and elsewhere. Generally, it is “designed to be seen rather than read, the visual appeal of the foreign words taking precedence over their accuracy and appropriateness” so as to “convey a mood as much as a message” (Kay 1992: 542).

In Color Figure 14.4, we see a scooter sporting display English that boasts, “*Vogue: ALL I HAVE: GIVING YOU THE BEST FUNCTION.*” Local residents report that they do not “read” display English denotatively, but the script signifies being cool and fashionable. Because display English appears in a Mandarin character script environment and is mainly non-referential, it is the *visual form* of the English orthography that is “put on display” to index certain qualities and identities. More than just decoration or mood setting, the script indexes a product’s or establishment’s high quality as well as a savvy consumer mentality. It also often indexes a vogue cosmopolitanness, an educated, often youthful, and fashionably hip and worldly identity. Moreover, there is a distinctively local flavor to the use of English on the scooters and elsewhere that indexes a Taiwanese, or East Asian, modernity. Thus, just as there is a “reterritorialization of ‘American’ images in East Asia,” one may speak of a reterritorialization of the “image of English” and its indexical values of modernity, affluence, high fashion and personal freedom (Iwabuchi 2002: 154).

European/US Languages: Creative English on Display

In the more upscale commercial districts, there is also a widespread use of quite creative English names for various shops that may or may not have Chinese names. The English names frequently involve clever language play through the use of initialisms, clips, homophonic word play, and linguistic interplay between Mandarin and English. In Color Figure 14.5 we see two signs with creative display English. The top sign, “u’dbe: you would be,” is for a fashionable young adult clothing store and features a clever use of initialisms and an implicature of how fashionable one would be if one were to shop here. The bottom sign for the local sandwich shop, “Always,” is a delightful case of creative intertextuality that seems to

challenge T.G.I. Friday's name ("we aren't just good on Fridays, we're a good choice always").

Because English has come to signify a cosmopolitan life-style in many parts of the world, the script serves as a presupposing indexical that points to established qualities such as being cosmopolitan, educated, well-to-do, and fashionable. However, there is also a bi-directional indexicality as these vogue displays do not just point outward to the global cosmopolitan world, but also to specific cosmopolitan sections of Taipei and the frequenters thereof "we shop owners and consumers in these districts are hip and cosmopolitan and *Taiwanese* and we are indexing this by our distinctively creative use of English names of shops," a creativity that includes clever homophonic word play, a common feature of everyday Chinese language communication in Taiwan. Thus, while presupposing a cosmopolitan, worldly context (e.g., US American or west European), these qualities are indexically *grounded* in an East Asian context.

European/US Languages: Vogue "European" on Display

Other display languages that particularly appear in upscale districts include vogue French, a bit of Spanish and Italian, and a good deal of "pseudo-French/vogue European," a script that looks "French" or of another western European language (e.g., Curtin 2000, 2007). Whereas English carries its semiotic value by means of its distinctiveness from Chinese characters, these display languages have value by means of their difference from both Mandarin and English, with the latter now sometimes seeming a bit too mundane, accessible, American, or even Taiwanese. Examples of display European include "authentic" French materials, such as a Coca-Cola sign in the front window of a young adult clothing boutique ("Savourez Coca Cola: ajoutez à nos plaisirs"), restaurant names ("Café de Jean"), and beauty salons ("Institut de Beauté"; Color Figure 14.6). An Italian example is a local bakery chain ("Casamia"); a Spanish example (perhaps) is a home supplies store ("HOLA: House of Living Art").

Once again, the social indexical meaning is conveyed primarily by the form, a point underscored by the use of "vogue European" names such as "an'ge: Paris; Ozoné; honor; La Modé; and O'Chean" (Color Figure 14.6). Although not of a particular language, the salient use of Roman scripts and accent marks and apostrophes conveys a sense of "European, possibly French, chic prestige" that is distinctive from vogue English (even though apostrophes are not used in French). Like display English, these bidirectional indexicals point to both a globalized world of fashion and European cosmopolitanism and to a local Taiwanese prestige that indexes a shop and its clientele as having the distinctive taste of Taipei's modern, urban scene.

Japanese and Korean on Display

The strong influence of Japanese popular culture is seen in the vogue display of Japanese characters (with a different syntax and pronunciation from Chinese), *romaji* (Romanization), and/or *hiragana* and *katakana* (syllabaries). For the most part, only the oldest residents who were educated under the Japanese regime can read *hiragana* or *katakana*, yet these scripts are readily recognized by all as Japanese. For example, in Color Figure 14.7, the top sign features Chinese characters for hotpot cooking (涮涮鍋, “*shuā shuā guō*”) as well as the Japanese name in both *romaji* (*shabu shabu*) and *hiragana* (しゃぶしゃぶ). As most locals only know the Chinese name, the Japanese script is indexing “authentic,” fashionable Japanese cuisine. The lower sign is for a hip clothing shop, “non.no,” located in the Ximending district and bears the name of a wildly popular Japanese teenage girls’ fashion magazine; it is written in both *romaji* and *katakana* (ノノノ).

Display Japanese is “read” by locals in divergent ways according to each person’s “interpretations of experience” (Iwabuchi 2002). For many of the older Mainlanders, the script indexes Japan’s colonizing and “de-Sinicizing” of the Taiwanese peoples as well as its Japan’s brutal military operations on the Mainland (Le Bail 2002). By contrast, for many of the older “native Taiwanese,” the scripts index a history of a more benevolent Japanese colonial rule before the KMT’s martial law era. They can also nostalgically index a defiant embracing of Japanese cultural heritage as resistance to the KMT’s strict policy of resinicization (Le Bail 2002; Shih 2002). For these, then, Japanese scripts can be a refreshing alternative to the dominant force of Mandarin and even of English and other European languages.

For many of the younger generation, the Japanese script indexes a surging identification with a *pan-Asian* modernity (Le Bail 2002). These scripts attest to the economic success, fashion, vivacity, and self-confidence of Japan which has “managed to instrumentalise Western influence while keeping its culture, and thus its dignity” (Le Bail 2002: 58, 61). In addition to indexing Japan and Japanese popular culture, the scripts signify a broader transnational East Asian modernity that is “a sophisticated co-mingling of the ‘global’ and ‘local’ ” (Iwabuchi 2002: 120). Via performative indexicality, the scripts *re-center* globalization through the assertion of a dynamic Asian modernity, a young Asian cosmopolitanness shared by the residents of Taipei, Tokyo, Seoul, Hong Kong, and Kuala Lumpur (Iwabuchi 2002; Le Bail 2002).

Similarly, with a “wave” of Korean popular culture (*hanliu*) sweeping across much of Asia since 2002, the distinctive *hangul* script indexes a vogue prestige. In contrast to Japanese, however, this script conveys both an Asian and “foreign” appeal (Ko 2004), indexing a distinctive urban Asian identity that is less centered upon Japan.

Several points emerge concerning the indexicality of vogue display languages in the LL of Taipei. One is that the orthographies primarily carry

indexical meaning via their salient *visual form* in this script-mixing environment, a form that is rarely read denotatively or that cannot be read such because the script may be “nonsensical.” Additionally, indexical readings are multiple, ambivalent or even contradictory, and involve frames of interpretation and ongoing negotiation of various identities including socioeconomic class, ethnic, cultural, political, national, regional, and/or global identities.

Moreover, these presupposing and performative indexical significations (first order) are thoroughly ideologically informed and informing (second order). The ideological nature of indexicality is at times quite naturalized, such as in the uncontested use of Roman script to signify a worldly, cosmopolitan identity.⁸ The display of English and French is nevertheless inherently ideological and based on a “structure of interdiscursivity” that inscribes the languages of the First World at the “apex of regimes of languages” (Silverstein 2003b: 540, 548). However, the ideological ramifications of display of Japanese and Korean orthographies are somewhat more consciously considered because of an ambivalence to both the *harizu* (fans of Japanese popular culture) and *hanliu* (Korean wave) movements in Taiwan. While these languages and cultural products index a celebration of a transnational regional modernity in East Asia, there is a concern that these movements threaten the cultural and even national identity of Taiwan’s youth, whether that be a primarily Chinese or Taiwanese identity (Ko 2004; Le Bail 2002).

Romanization Systems of Chinese: Wade-Giles, Hanyu, or Tongyong Pinyin?

Currently in Taiwan, there are three main systems of Romanization appearing in the LL, each viewed as indexing different facets of identity. The oldest system, Wade-Giles, was developed by British diplomats and adopted for use in pre-Communist China; it has been widely, although erratically, used in post-World War II Taiwan. *Hanyu pinyin* was developed in the PRC in the mid-1950s and is used for modern Mandarin in China; it has also been widely adopted internationally. *Tongyong pinyin*, about 85 percent similar to *hanyu*, was developed in the late 1990s by a research team of Taiwanese linguists to be used for both Mandarin and Taiwanese languages.

In the past, officials in Taiwan steadfastly supported Wade-Giles and resisted the use of *hanyu* because it indexed the Communist government of the PRC. However, because few can accurately write or read Wade-Giles, wildly disparate Romanized renderings of street names and places have existed for decades. For example, in 2000, three street maps transliterated 忠孝東路 (*zhōng xiào dōng lù* in *hanyu pinyin*) as “JungShiau E. Rd.,” “Chung Hsiao E. Rd.,” and “Zhongsiao E. Rd.” Returning to the sign in Color Figure 14.2, we note three systems for labeling this street—one in traditional Mandarin characters (忠孝東路), one in an early version of *tongyong* (“ZhongShiao E. Rd.”; in *tongyong* it would now read “Jhongsiao”), and one in

English (“4th Blvd”). These signs index various facets of Taiwan’s national identity at the time of this photo (Diedrichs 2000): (1) the traditional Mandarin characters index the geopolitical entity “Republic of China on Taiwan,” (2) the characters and their meaning of “loyalty and filial piety” also index (now contested) claims to Chinese cultural and political legitimacy by the “Republic of China,” (3) the *tongyong* pinyin indexes the opposition DPP party as well as “de-sinicization and Taiwanization,” and (4) the new English name, “4th Boulevard,” indexes the internationalization of Taiwan. Conversely, use of *tongyong* (instead of *hanyu*) and the English names for just twenty-four avenues/boulevards were seen by some as indexing Taiwan’s provincialism and political isolation.

Officials have now agreed on the need for an accessible and standard system of Romanization, but whether that system should be *hanyu* or *tongyong* continues to be contested. Interestingly, for those of the KMT bloc, there has been a resignifying of *hanyu*. Whereas it formerly indexed Communist China, it is now proclaimed as indexing (1) authentic ethnic and/or cultural “Chineseness,” (2) Chinese nationalism and pro-unification with China (with “unification” understood in strategically ambiguous terms), and (3) Taiwan’s receptivity to internationalization. A fourth reading holds an indirect indexical value of disalignment from the “Other,” the supporters of *tongyong pinyin*.

Tongyong may be viewed as indexing alignment with a number of stances and identities, including promotion of: (1) multiculturalism and multilingualism; (2) a Taiwanese identity that is ethnically, culturally, linguistically, and/or geopolitically distinct from “Chinese” identity; (3) Taiwanese nationalism and/or pro-independence; (4) a censuring of the KMT’s history of domination and its forced (re-)sinicization of the Taiwanese peoples; and (5) an openness to internationalization while maintaining a prideful, distinctive *Taiwanese* identity. Additional readings may involve (6) a favoring of Hoklo Taiwanese people and their language; (7) a politicization of identity by the DPP for their own political gain, and (8) a provincialism that stubbornly refuses to accept the pragmatic value of an internationally accepted *hanyu pinyin* (e.g., Chiung 2001; Lin 2002).

Because of the different identifications indexed by *tongyong* versus *hanyu*, the public signage in Taipei city, Taipei county, and elsewhere has been part of an “orthographic tug of war” over the past decade or so. In the mid-1990s, Chen Shui-bian, the DPP-backed mayor of the city (now former president), ordered a gradual changing of official signage to *tongyong* (thus the sign in *tongyong* in Color Figure 14.2). But the next KMT-backed mayor, Ma Ying-jeou (current president), ordered all signs to be changed to *hanyu pinyin*; this policy is continued by the current mayor, Hau Lung-pin. Thus, in Taipei, street sign Romanization for 忠孝東路 is now more consistently rendered in *hanyu pinyin*/English as ZhongXiao East Rd. Conversely, the national government recently approved *tongyong* for use throughout Taiwan;

nevertheless, because of harsh language mandates in the past, the government allows localities to select their own system.

Thus the debate over orthographic systems and their signification of Taiwanese identities is far from resolved. For example, as one leaves the city, Romanization often changes from *hanyu* to *tongyong*. That is, the street name 中正路, formerly *Chungcheng lu* (semi Wade-Giles), may be rendered in Taipei city as *Zhongzheng Rd* (*hanyu*), in Taipei county as *Jhongjheng Rd* (*tongyong*), and in the nearby city of Keelung as *Diong-zing* (Romanization for Hoklo) (Neihu 2006). Similarly, the station names of the MRT rapid transit are listed in *hanyu* in the city and may be in *hanyu* and/or *tongyong* in the county. For example, in Color Figure 14.8, the sign for the MRT station for the Taipei county seat is rendered as both “Banqiao” (*hanyu*) and “Banciao” (*tongyong*).

Interestingly, despite fervent ideological interpretations of these systems, in practice it is not unusual for a local political body to apply a confusing mishmash of Romanizations. For example, the lower photo of Color Figure 14.8 shows several signs posted on one street corner in Banqiao/Banciao (Swofford 2007). The sign for “Zhongzheng Rd.” is written in *hanyu*; signs for “Simen St.” and “Banciao” schools are in *tongyong* (cf. “Ximen” and “Banqiao” if *hanyu*); and “Pancial,” a sign for the famous Lin Family Residence, is an erroneous rendering of Wade-Giles which should read “Panchiao.” This gap between ideological framings and actual linguistic practice approaches *iconization*. That is, despite an inconsistent application of systems of Romanization, the ideological interpretations of these scripts is often debated as conveying a transparent, essentialized indexical iconicity of “*tongyong* \approx DPP \approx Taiwanese ethnic, cultural and/or national identity \approx cultural and political sovereignty” and “*hanyu* \approx KMT \approx Chinese ethnic, cultural and national identity \approx pro-unification (albeit ambiguously prescribed).” In sum, debates over the largely similar systems of *hanyu* and *tongyong pinyin* are fundamentally ideological and about “different perspectives of national identity rather than different linguistic designs” (Chiung 2001: 32).

Conclusion

Robust metalinguistic discourse about writing systems is not unusual when a society is experiencing a shift in national identity (e.g., Schieffelin and Doucet on Haitian Creole orthography and identity 1998). In fact, the explicit contestation of orthographies in Taipei helps unmask the much more naturalized readings of orthographies in vogue, display languages. On the whole, then, we observe a striking example of how the graphic regime of orthographic scripts is an important part of the ongoing process of identification, a process that is historically situated and ideologically framed in a dialogic relationship to the Other. Former group identities are being

challenged and new ones are unfolding; throughout this process notions of “Chinese-ness” versus “Taiwanese-ness” are being interrogated as to their political, historical, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, socioeconomic and even geographic import.

It is during this time of marked transition that the LL is an especially salient site for demonstrating the ideologically imbued role of the social indexicality of language and orthography in the shifting processes of identification. In fact, for over one hundred years, changing regimes on the island have been keenly aware of the role of Taipei’s linguistic landscape in the forming, maintaining and shifting of residents’ boundaries of identity. While seemingly of a fixed “place,” the LL is not merely composed of referential “signs” (physically or semiotically speaking); rather, it engages one in interactional readings that require assigning indexical values and identities to both the sign makers and readers. Thus, the LL is *experienced* as an important part of the very fluid social semiotic process of identification. As such, the “indexical ground” of the linguistic landscape extends far beyond the physical context of Taipei into the realm of a *politics of place*, a realm that continues to unfold as a process of *place-making* on global, national, regional, and local levels.

Notes

- 1 In writing a piece on the linguistic landscape of Taipei, I must decide upon terms for languages as well as which system of Romanization to use. Each decision is inevitably open to the challenge of embracing a particular ideological position in the representation of language. In order to make this information as accessible as possible for a majority of readers, I employ *hanyu pinyin* to transliterate Mandarin because it is the most commonly understood system of Romanization and it is the system in which I have been trained. However, I do use the commonly rendered “Taipei,” instead of “Taibei” (Táiběi).
- 2 Until now, the KMT strongly asserted a “greater Chinese identity” in which all of Taiwan’s ethnic groups were essentialized as “Chinese” through a claim of 5000 years of cultural assimilation (融合, *rónghé*) (Friedman 2005: 41). This Chinese nationalism was used to justify both the KMT’s authoritative rule over the island population and to legitimate its goal to retake the mainland and effect reunification. The KMT still thinks of Taiwan as part of China, but has given up the pretense that it will retake the mainland by force and instead puts forth a strategically ambiguous notion of eventual unification. The opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and many Hoklo in general embrace a Taiwanese ethno-cultural nationalism with claims to a distinctive, authentic Taiwanese history and cultural identity; some extend this position to an assertion of a specific Taiwanese ethnicity or race, such as by invoking a history of frequent intermarriage between the Han settlers and some Aboriginal peoples. For Taiwanese nationalists, then, the Han tradition is only *one* aspect of modern Taiwan culture which holds a mix of Han and Aboriginal cultural values as well as Japanese and Western cultural influence (Schubert 1999).
- 3 In this framework, the social semiotic processes of indexicality and iconicity differ from Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) “geosemiotics” which entails a complex

interaction among three factors in the meaning of public signs: (1) the indexical function of the sign, (2) the symbolic function of the sign, and (3) the sociohistorical expectations of the viewers. In presenting a more traditional semiotic system of indexicality versus symbolism versus iconicity, they employ a more denotational and thus restricted (non-ideological) construct of indexical meaning that is determined by the *physical* context (geophysical placement, physical characteristics, and/or placement in relation to another sign/object). Symbolization is then seen as a representation of something not present, the ideal, or the metaphorical. Icons are understood as an actual picture of that which is being represented.

- 4 I believe that my broader view of the LL is supported by comments made by Pennycook (2005, see also this volume) wherein he argued for space being seen as more dynamic and fluid and to therefore include notions of salience, language ideology and global spaces in one's analysis (and thus work toward building a *theory of meaning* of the use of private language in public space).
- 5 See Curtin (2007) for a full description of coding process and of categories.
- 6 This project is somewhat similar to Collins and Slembrouck's (2004) study of multilingual shop signs in Belgium wherein they also emphasize that the meaning or function of a form *cannot* be presumed but rather must be understood in terms of participants' "interpretive framing, a meta-pragmatic apprehension which is strongly ideological and based in institutional and other social organization forms which are not micro-analytic" (Collins and Slembrouck 2004: 8).
- 7 "Le visage linguistique" was used by the Supreme Court of Canada to discuss Quebec's Bill 101, which required that commercial signs and posters in Québec be exclusively in French (Kurzon 2003: 459, citing Coulombe 1995: 116). This expression nicely captures the importance of the visual aspect of a locale's LL.
- 8 One could, however, contend that the use of display orthographies other than English (e.g., French, Japanese, Korean), is in fact a form of resistance to the hegemonic power of English as dominant world language. Also, the creative appropriation of English may also be seen as a form of resistance to the gate-keeping function of "lexically and grammatically proper" English in education and employment.

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CONSTRUCTING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MIXED CITIES IN ISRAEL

Arabic on Signs in the Public Space of Upper Nazareth

Nira Trumper-Hecht

Introduction

The status of Arabic, as it is reflected by the extent of its visibility in the public space in Israel is a central question guiding my research on linguistic landscape (LL) as a sociosymbolic phenomenon. In this chapter, I shall claim that the language battle between Hebrew and Arabic on signage in mixed cities serves as an instrument within a wider status struggle between the two national groups. This language battle, which is taking place in mixed cities, constitutes “a microcosm of Israeli society” reflecting Jewish Arab relations (Torstrick 2000) in a country suffering from an unresolved national divide. This chapter focuses on the mixed city of Upper Nazareth: the legal battle for the representation of Arabic on public signs and the story of Arabic on private signs in the city’s mall. The case of Upper Nazareth shows how through language, Jews and Arabs construct their respective national identities and define the national identity of the public space they share.

Spolsky (2004), following Lambert (1995), includes Israel among dyadic states such as Belgium and Canada, in which the languages of the two ethno-linguistic groups have official status. There is a fundamental difference, however, between Israel and the two dyadic states he mentions. In Israel one can find elements that are reminiscent of arrangements that exist in other dyadic states, such as official status for the minority language and schools in which the minority language is the language of instruction. However, whereas in countries like Belgium and Canada the relationship between the two national communities is dialogic, in Israel it is hierarchical; the state is clearly identified with the majority group and is enlisted to preserve its advantages (Saban 2000).

In order to establish and preserve a state of hegemony (such as the one enjoyed by the Jewish majority and Hebrew), the existence of a public sphere accessible to all is required (Kimmerling 2004). I suggest that in countries like Israel, characterized by a national divide, the linguistic landscape constitutes an important component of that public sphere and is essential in the establishment and preservation of national hegemony. The fact that the linguistic landscape lies within the physical public space, visible to all (and in mixed cities also is shared by both Arabs and Jews on a daily basis), gives the struggle for language representation a potential visibility which may project onto the wider struggle between the two national groups.

Kimmerling (2004) points to two stages characterizing a weakening or loosening of the state of hegemony: Voices debating the underlying assumptions that serve as a basis for the existing social order, and the fragmentation of the homogenous public sphere into a number of enclaves characterized by differing assumptions *vis-à-vis* the existing social order. The case of Upper Nazareth studied here shows that while voices challenging the present lack of representation for Arabic in the public space were heard loud and clear during the Supreme Court deliberations, a loosening of the state of hegemony did not actually take place. The balance of power between Jews and Arabs in Upper Nazareth has not undergone any significant change and the linguistic landscape in the city was and still remains largely homogenous, with clear prominence given to Hebrew. In other words, the attempt to shake the present linguistic status quo in this officially mixed city did not result in its becoming a mixed *community* with all aspects that that entails as far as majority–minority relations. The question, of course is “Why?”

Upper Nazareth: A Jewish or Mixed City?

Upper Nazareth is a town in the Galilee founded in 1956 on a mountain overlooking Arab Nazareth. While Jews see the founding of the Jewish city in the midst of an area historically populated by Arabs a legitimate manifestation of Zionism, the Arabs see the founding of the city as an incursion into their territory. From the early days of its establishment, the city contained the Arab-owned lands of Al-Kurum. Today, 50 years after its founding, the population of Upper Nazareth consists of approximately 44,000 residents, half of whom are Russian speakers who immigrated from the CIS (former Soviet Union) in the 1990s, and approximately 13 percent Arabs (based on data from the Central Bureau of Statistics 2005). The majority of Upper Nazareth’s Arab residents are educated Christians who arrived at the beginning of the 1970s from the city of Nazareth and the surrounding villages to live in the Jewish city with their young families. Today, the majority of Arab residents in Upper Nazareth are well-to-do professionals (e.g., bankers, doctors, lawyers, accountants) who live in the neighborhood of Al-Kurum. Other Christian and Moslem Arabs, who work as teachers, clerks,

and manual laborers, live in flats they buy or rent in mixed neighborhoods throughout the city (Rabinowitz 1997). Interestingly, the Arab residents of Upper Nazareth appear to see the city they live in as a type of suburb of Arab Nazareth; a suburb that offers them economically reasonable housing as well as providing young couples with the privacy they usually lack when living with their extended families. In most other areas of everyday life, such as work, business, shopping, culture and religion, the daily lives of Upper Nazareth's Arab residents are carried out in Arab Nazareth, where they also send their children to school (Rabinowitz 1997). As Rabinowitz (1997) points out, the continued immigration of Arab residents from Nazareth and its environs to Upper Nazareth is of a very personal nature. This is important to remember in light of the suspicion with which this growing "wave of immigration" is met. The resentment many Jewish residents in Upper Nazareth feel towards this demographic change, he claims, stems from a strong suspicion that this immigration is a calculated plan to "take over" the Jewish city.

In an article dealing with the question of trust between Jews and Arabs, Rabinowitz (1992) claims that in the conflict ridden relationship that exists between the two groups, identifying a rational, personal interest usually helps create an *ad hoc* trust between Arabs and Jews. This is so mainly because it enables Jews to see Arabs, whose intentions they usually suspect, as "people" who, like them, simply look to benefit from doing business with the other side. This pragmatic basic assumption allows even Israeli Jews with anti-Arab attitudes to set aside their suspicion and fear, neutralize the feeling of danger, and simply trust, even if only for a limited time, an Arab pediatrician or a basketball coach they come in close daily contact with. Apparently, though, what is true on an interpersonal level does not seem to work on the group level. And so, when an issue, such as the presence of Arabic in "their" public space comes up it is automatically perceived by Upper Nazareth Jewish residents as a threat.

Linguistic landscape issues, thus, illustrate very clearly how the *ad hoc* trust created between Jewish and Arab residents on a personal level does not transfer to community relations in the city. The attempt to demand visibility for Arabic together with the continued immigration of Arabs into the city, are seen as an attempt to take away from Upper Nazareth its Jewish identity. This basic suspicion intensifies during periods when the Israeli-Palestinian conflict becomes violent.

In September 2000, about one month before the *El Aksa Intifada* (uprising) and the October riots in the Arab sector, a pioneering study of Israel's LL was conducted (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) in which languages on private and public signs in Upper Nazareth and other Jewish and Arab locations were documented. The findings showed that in the Jewish sectors, Hebrew was the most dominant language (appearing on monolingual signs in 49.6 percent of all signs, and together with English on another 44.6 percent of all

signs). English had a solid presence (about 50 percent of all signs), but Arabic, the second official language of Israel, had a negligible presence in Jewish localities (approximately 6 percent). In Upper Nazareth, an officially mixed city, the distribution was as follows: Hebrew appeared on 66.7 percent of all monolingual signs and together with English on another 30 percent of all signs. English was less prominent than in other Jewish localities (appearing on approximately 30 percent of all signs), and Arabic, the language of a growing proportion of the city's population had a negligible presence (less than 4 percent of all signs).

Five years later, we repeated the study in Upper Nazareth. The results in 2005 showed that there had been hardly any change in the presence of Arabic in the city's LL (Nira Trumper-Hecht, *in press*). This was surprising in light of the fact that the Upper Nazareth municipality was ordered by Supreme Court to add Arabic to all public signs in the city. In his ethnographic book about Upper Nazareth Rabinowitz (1997) writes about the difficulty Jewish residents have accepting the fact that Arabs choose to live with them in the same city and often even in the same building. This difficulty is clearly manifested in Jewish residents' inability to accept the inclusion of Arabic in the linguistic landscape of their city (see Color Figure 15.3).

I will first present the different actors' points of view regarding the legal battle over Arabic on public signs, and then go on to describe the language battle on private signs which took place in the city mall located on the boundary line between Arab Nazareth and Upper Nazareth.

The Construction of Jewish Hegemony in Upper Nazareth and Public Signs

The attempt made in the 1980s to limit the purchase of housing by Arabs (Rabinowitz 1997), and the more recent attempt to fight the demand for language representation, both reflect a resistance on the part of the city's Jewish residents and its leaders to see their city as a mixed community with all that that entails. It is interesting to note that the struggle for language representation on public signs in mixed cities (including in Upper Nazareth) was led by "Adalla," a civil rights organization operating nationally, and not by local Arab residents.

In interviews I conducted with activists in other mixed cities in Israel the explanation they gave for this fact was that there exist more urgent issues to be resolved than that of language representation. Given the poverty and marginalization of the Arab communities in most mixed cities, issues such as housing, education, crime prevention and community building seem more pressing than the visibility of Arabic. "Shatil" activist, Busaina Dabit, from the mixed city of Ramle admits, though, that the importance of cultural symbols has been overlooked "We are busy looking for solutions to more basic problems our degenerated communities in mixed cities like Lod,

Ramle and Jaffa are facing, but the truth is that the issue of language representation is a symptom of our problem as Arabs in this country: a problem of recognition.” Unlike Arab residents in most mixed cities in Israel, the Arab community in Upper Nazareth is mostly affluent, educated and Christian. This is not a community that needs to struggle for basics, yet they too chose to keep out of the struggle for language representation leaving it in the hands of the “Adalla” civil rights organization. The following discussion will provide some explanations to their behavior in this matter as well as to that of local Jewish officials.

The tendency of the Arab community in the city of Upper Nazareth is to maintain a low profile keeping their involvement in city politics to a minimum. Rabinowitz (1997) explains that this pattern of behavior has to do with the alienation Arabs feel towards the Jewish state, and with their reluctance to lend it legitimacy by taking an active part in its public life. Interestingly enough this strategy of avoidance seems to serve Upper Nazareth’s Arab residents both in their vulnerable relationship with their Jewish neighbors—who they sense would resent Arab political activism in what they consider “their” city—as well as in their relationship with the Arab community in the area with which they maintain close family, cultural and commercial ties. This community, they suspect, would not easily approve of any signs of commitment to the Jewish Upper Nazareth whose very existence many of them still resent. With this background in mind, one can more easily understand why the battle for language representation on public signs was not initiated by Upper Nazareth’s Arab residents, but rather fought by human rights activists from outside the city.

While Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Acre, Ramle and Lod complied with Supreme Court order (handed down in 2002) adding Arabic onto public signs within five years from the court ruling, Upper Nazareth, to date, has not done so. The interviews conducted with the mayor of Upper Nazareth and with the city’s chief engineer in the summer of 2005 reveal some of the reasons for their objection to the representation of Arabic in the city. The two, surely aware of the fact that Arab residents constitute a growing proportion of the city’s population, insisted, though, that the percentage of Arabs in Upper Nazareth (e.g., claimed to be 9–10) has not changed over the years. Talking with residents and reading the local press (“Voice of the North”) reveals a different picture than the one the two officials wish to portray. In reality, a much higher percentage of Arab residents (about 20 percent) live today in Upper Nazareth, many of whom are not registered. Both these local policy-makers belong to the generation that founded Upper Nazareth as a Jewish city in the 1950s. Their choice to overlook this information, or try to conceal the demographic change is symptomatic of Upper Nazareth’s Jews’ refusal to accept their new official status as a mixed city. “I know about the Supreme Court [decision], but first of all, one needs to say that we have a problem in defining ourselves as a mixed city.” Indirectly expressing his

reservation about the Supreme Court ruling itself, the city's chief engineer for the past two decades makes it clear that in his eyes the city is a Jewish city and should remain so: "We see ourselves as a Jewish city in the Galilee, a city that has a mission in this area. It is true we also have Arab residents but" . . . (His pregnant pause seemed to imply that this *de facto* situation does not necessarily have to change anything). He is careful to add, though, that "what the law requires needs to be carried out." The mayor of the city for the past 25 years is more openly critical of both the Supreme Court ruling and the political system who in his opinion, is steering away from the Zionist premises on which the state of Israel was founded. "The State of Israel has not yet decided what it wants," he says and adds "Upper Nazareth and Carmiel (both situated in the midst of Arab populated areas in the Galilee) were founded in order to absorb Jewish immigration, to serve as an anchor for Jews coming from all different countries to create an Israeli society here in the Galilee . . . but as time went by these intentions were blurred." Seemingly oblivious to the fact that he's just defined "Israeli society" as one which includes Jews only, he goes on to exemplify the gap between past and present policies by quoting from a letter sent to him in the early 1950s by Israel's first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion: "I have a letter from Ben Gurion ordering the establishment of Upper Nazareth. It reads: 'not a suburb of Arab Nazareth (as the Arabs would have it), but rather a Jewish settlement next to Arab Nazareth'." The mayor of Upper Nazareth believes that the state of Israel today is issuing conflicting policies whereby on the one hand it demands from Israeli Arabs loyalty to a Jewish state and makes consistent attempts to influence the demography of Arab populated areas by encouraging Jews to settle in them. On the other hand, it turns an existing Jewish city into an officially mixed city, and this change in legal status, in turn, opens the door for what he sees as illegitimate national claims. In his view, the state of Israel through its Supreme Court "gave in" to national claims put forward by the Arab minority when it ordered that Arabic be added on all public signs thus imposing upon what he sees as a Jewish city, Arab national symbols. When I asked Upper Nazareth's mayor what languages he thinks should appear on public signs in his city, he replied without hesitation that he "thinks that what should be [there] is *Hebrew* (his emphasis) . . . and English for tourists and not any other language, certainly not Arabic." After a short pause, in what seemed like an attempt to justify his answer he added: "There is also a large Russian speaking population in the city so why Arabic and not Russian?" When I asked if he didn't see a difference between Arabic, the language of an indigenous minority group and immigrant languages, he said he understood that "the Supreme Court saw the absence of Arabic in [his] city as discrimination against the minority community living there." In his opinion, though, this ruling is detached both from general public opinion and from the reality in this area of the Galilee. He fears that, Jews in Upper Nazareth, particularly the immigrants

among them “will not willingly accept the presence of Arabic. Coming from places in which they suffered from anti-Semitism, they expect to live in a Jewish country and in a Jewish city.”

Another part of my study shows that the mayors’ reading of Jewish public opinion in his city is quite accurate. Interviews with about 110 Arab and Jewish residents in Upper Nazareth about their preferences and attitudes regarding the linguistic landscape of their city reveal that Jews would like to see Hebrew on shop signs (98 percent), but would not like to see Arabic (88 percent). Arabs residing in Upper Nazareth, on the other hand, like to see Hebrew on signs (85 percent) and would also like to see Arabic on shop signs (88 percent). An important difference between Jews and Arabs was also found with regard to language representation on public signs. While the majority of Arab residents in Upper Nazareth (about 80 percent) strongly believe that all street name signs in the city need to be in Hebrew and Arabic, only a fifth (22 percent) of the Jews think so (Trumper-Hecht, *in press*). This objection to Arabic by both local policy-makers and ordinary Jewish residents seems to conceal a much deeper fear than that of losing some of the Jewish identity of the city. It is the fear of losing Jewish hegemony both in the city and in the state as a whole that lies behind the criticism of the present ruling. “The Supreme Court decision also ignores the demographic threat Jews are facing in that part of the Galilee, where they constitute a growing minority,” the mayor says. By presenting the threat as existential he warns that “. . . trouble will come not from hostile Arab countries, but from within the country, because in our area, we [Jews] form less than 25 percent of the population.”

It is clear then that for the mayor of Upper Nazareth for the past three decades as well as for most Jewish residents in the city any “erosion” in Jewish hegemony—even if only that of language symbols—is seen as a concrete threat to the very existence of the Jewish state. The ever present suspicion regarding the hidden national intentions of Israeli Arabs is expressed in this objection to the presence of Arabic in Upper Nazareth’s linguistic landscape. This same spirit can be detected in the words of the chief of police who, to my question why the sign above the police station did not include Arabic, replied: “Why Arabic? Arabic belongs down there [in Arab Nazareth]. This [Upper Nazareth] is a Jewish city.” Undoubtedly aware of the growing number of Arab residents in the city, the chief of police nevertheless expresses a typical opposition to giving any symbolic recognition to the Arab minority living in the city.

As Torstrick (2000) in her ethnographic study of the mixed city of Acre notes, co-existence between Jewish and Arab residents is limited by state intervention and national interests. Despite the attempt made by the Supreme Court to bring about change in Israel’s public sphere, resistance to Arabic in the public space is still prevalent in mainstream national politics. In a public discussion which took place in Jerusalem in 2003 under the heading “Signs

in Arabic—"Where is it Leading?" Tzipi Livni, the Ministeress of Justice at the time, related to the question of signs in Arabic in mixed cities as one pertaining to a broader issue the state of Israel being both Jewish and democratic. The relationship between symbols in the public space and the identity of a nation state, in her view, mandates that in the Israeli context the Jewish identity of the state be expressed through the majority's collective symbols, thus the Hebrew language (as the primary national symbol of 80 percent of Israel's population) should not lose its prevalence. Adding Arabic and thus giving equal visibility to the minority's national language would, in her mind, undermine the Jewish identity of the state of Israel. She summarized her criticism of the Supreme Court ruling by saying that "Hebrew in the public space serves as a legitimate national expression of the Jewish identity of the state and any diminution of its salience constitutes a danger to that identity." This prevalence of Jewish national symbols does not and need not take away, in her mind, from the obligation the state has to ensure civil equality for the Arab minority in Israel.

Like most middle-class Israeli Arabs, who are becoming less tolerant towards what they perceives as a contradiction between the Jewish nature of the state of Israel and its definition as a democratic state (Smootha 1996), Salim Khuri from Upper Nazareth, would disagree with Livni's contention. As a political leader in a mixed city he, however, prefers to speak about the language issue using words of coexistence. Khuri, the only Arab member ever to serve in Upper Nazareth's city council speaks about language representation in terms of mutual respect and good will. He believes that "the Jewish residents in Upper Nazareth shouldn't mind the presence of Arabic on public signs. On the contrary, this would show that they respect the Arab community in their city." Khuri, a respectable banker and community leader, also sees lack of respect for the minority group in the fact that Israeli Jews don't generally know Arabic while Israeli Arabs speak Hebrew fluently. "I don't understand why Jews with all their wisdom do not study Arabic," he says gently. "To respect a people and to respect a person is when you know his language and his culture. We know that if you live with a Jew you need to know his language . . . and you? You live in a country surrounded by hundreds of millions of Arabs and you don't need to know their language?" Khuri believes that Arabic should be visible in Upper Nazareth. Aware, though, of the asymmetry in the way Jews and Arabs view the identity of the city, he admits that he was careful to refrain (while in office) from claiming rights that could be interpreted as national and thus endanger the vulnerable relationship between Jews and Arabs in Upper Nazareth. "The Arabs see the city as a mixed city," he says "but no Jew does . . . not even the mayor. It was founded by Ben Gurion as a Jewish city and no Jew in this city is willing to see it as a mixed city." Khuri, like others in the Arab community in Upper Nazareth is well acquainted with the Zionist narrative and the sentiments of the Jewish majority in the city, and is, therefore, reluctant to

openly criticize the lack of implementation of the court ruling. Well aware also of the Arab community's reluctance to get involved in the Jewish city's public life, he worked to push more neutral issues during his years in office such as improving the infrastructure in the neighborhood of Al-Kurum in Upper Nazareth. "Besides the need for respect, what is needed is a lot of good will towards the minority," he says. "If I were you, I would go out of my way to make the minority group feel good . . . respected . . . because it is the minority which is weak after all," he concluded.

In sum, while majority group leaders aspire to preserve the advantage of the Jewish majority by maintaining the superiority of its group symbols (language in this case), minority group leaders in the city, aware of the opposition to any change in the balance of power between the two groups have refrained from initiating a struggle for language representation in the city. In private conversations, however, Arab residents of Upper Nazareth do wish for recognition of their language rights as well as their every day community needs such as a school where Arabic is the language of instruction, a church, and a community center. As we shall see in the discussion that follows, the "Adalla" organization, in contrast, conducts the language battle from a more ideological stance, one that openly competes with the Zionist narrative.

Adalla's Legal Battle for the Presence of Arabic in Mixed Cities in Israel

In nation states characterized by ethnic divisions, such as Belgium and Canada, the language of signs is often the focus of attention as minority groups struggle for their right to representation in the public space (Landry and Bourhis 1997). In Israel, the Adalla organization based its claim on Clause 27 of the International Treaty on Civil and Political Rights, a treaty which Israel ratified in 1991. Their claim was accepted by two of the three judges deciding the case.

Geertz (1973) contends that social play through cultural symbols becomes "deeper" and more intense as the rivals enjoy a more equal status. In the Israeli reality, where the Jewish majority is the dominant national group and its language (Hebrew) is prevalent in all areas of public life, the Arab minority has had to carefully calculate its moves to ensure its success in the language battle. In order to enter the language battle from a more advantageous starting point, the Arab minority enlisted its educated elite, which in turn took the battle for language visibility out of the political arena and into the legal arena knowing that it stands a better chance in the Supreme Court, which has taken an activist stand on minority majority relations, than it does in the political system. The disillusion from the political system was clearly expressed by Mohamed Dahla, a lawyer representing "Adalla", when he explained (in a conference at Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem in 2003) that

transferring the battle from politics to legislature was essential as “in the Knesset (the Israeli parliament) there is no way to foster the group rights of the national Arab minority in Israel. The only chance for that is through the legal system.” Fighting for language visibility through the legal system indeed proved more successful than previous attempts to change the linguistic status quo through local politics. Through a series of law suits filed by the “Adalla” organization, the Arab minority managed to alter to some degree the linguistic status quo in Israel. The first most salient example of legal linguistic landscape battles won in court was “Adalla versus the ministry of transport” from 1999 in which the Supreme Court ruled that Arabic be added on all road signs around the country. Five years after the ruling, implementation was completed and today all road signs in Israel include Arabic alongside Hebrew and English. Adalla’s second most important victory was won in 2002 when the Supreme Court ordered five mixed cities to add Arabic on all public signs within their jurisdiction (Nadir 2000). In this case too within five years implementation was completed by all municipalities except for that of Upper Nazareth.

In the Supreme Court rulings ordering that Arabic be added to public signs, a general obligation of the state towards the minority language was established and a connection was made between individual rights to language representation and collective cultural human rights. The spirit of the ruling was one of recognition for minority collective rights. The three judges who presided over the deliberations, Barak, Heshin and Durner, all agreed the claim for minority language visibility in mixed cities was justified, but they differed in their view of the role the Supreme Court needed to play in this matter. Judge and President of the Supreme Court, Barak, ruling in favor of the claim wrote in his decision that the addition of Arabic, alongside Hebrew, on municipal signs is required “because of the weight it would give to a person’s right to his language, to civil equality and to tolerance towards the minority group.” A decision to add Arabic to signs in mixed cities would not harm the status of Hebrew, he argued, nor is it likely to harm the national cohesion and sovereignty of the state. Aware of fears of erosion in the country’s national identity among Israeli Jews he added that “recognizing the need for Arabic on signs harms the national identity of the State of Israel only so slightly that one should accept such a claim.”

In an answer to the question (asked also by the mayor of Upper Nazareth): “what is it that gives Arabic a unique position vis-à-vis other languages spoken by city residents?” Barak replies that Arabic is unique in that it is the language of the largest indigenous minority, and in that it has enjoyed an official status since the establishment of the state of Israel. Speaking the language of co-existence he explains that “Arabic is the language of Israeli citizens, who despite the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, seek to live in Israel as loyal and equal citizens, whose language and culture are respected. The willingness to ensure respectful coexistence through mutual tolerance and

equality, justifies the recognition of Arabic on municipal signs in those cities in which there is a substantial Arab minority—alongside its older sister, Hebrew.”

In a minority opinion of one, Judge Heshin rejected the claim on the grounds that the issue in question behind the language battle is the question of Arabs’ social and political status in Israeli society, or, as Gavison (1999) put it, the goal is social change through litigation. Like most Israelis they too believe that the language issue needs to be resolved through political negotiation between the Arab minority and the Jewish majority. The court should protect individual rights and in this case, he argues, no evidence was presented to show that any harm was done to individual Arab residents as a result of the absence of Arabic on public signs. He thus concludes that the claim was ideological in nature and that the Supreme Court should not intervene in an issue that is essentially a political one. Attorney Mohamed Dahla admits that the battle to bring mixed cities to add Arabic on public signs is in fact an attempt to bring about recognition of the collective rights of the Arab minority in Israel. This recognition, other activists believe, will also improve the status of the Arab individual. “The individual cannot have equal status as an individual if his or her collective rights are not recognized,” claims Gibarin, another Adalla activist, and clarifies that “The individual’s right to language is meaningless if the status of Arabic and the cultural rights of Arabs are not recognized.” The belief Arab activists hold, thus, is that through the struggle for language visibility as a collective right, Arabs will also achieve a more equal status as individuals looking for equal opportunities in Israeli society.

The case was won leaving the Israeli society with a ruling which attempts to give some answers to the vulnerable relationship between the two national communities only two years after the breakout of violence between Arabs and Jews (Saban 2003). At the same time, though, this court ruling reflects the extent to which the long standing official status of the Arabic language was void of any practical implications (Saban 2000). The fact that the language issue was brought before the court rather than resolved through political deliberations also shows that the issue of minority collective rights is still largely illegitimate in Israeli public discourse. The case of Upper Nazareth’s resistance to Arabic on its public signs best illustrates this claim.

The Construction of National Identity in Upper Nazareth and Private Signs

Unlike the case of Arabic on public signs in Upper Nazareth, the drama regarding Arabic on private signs involved local Upper Nazareth business and political actors. The story which is the focus of the following discussion takes place in the “Lev Ha’ir” (“city center”) mall located at a road junction

right on the boundary line between Arab Nazareth and the city of Upper Nazareth.

Language on private signs in Upper Nazareth as in Israel as a whole is not under any kind of state or municipal regulation. Thus, decisions regarding what language(s) will be used on businesses are those of private actors. On a tour I made of the commercial centers of Upper Nazareth, I discovered the presence (a rare one in this city) of Arabic in the city mall located (physically and symbolically), as noted, on the border line between Arab Nazareth and Upper Nazareth.

Large and conspicuous signs in Hebrew and Arabic are displayed over public bathrooms and mall escalators, and one can hear shoppers and salespersons speaking in Arabic. Interviewing the general manager of the "Lev Ha'ir" mall, I learnt that I was in fact watching the remnants of Arabic left in this mall from a language battle which took place there a few years before. The mall was built in 1993 on an intersection separating Nazareth and Upper Nazareth, a geographical spot that would become (in the riots of October 2000) the place of a bloody confrontation between Jews and Arabs. The mall, located at this strategic spot to attract both Arab clientele from Nazareth and Jewish and Arab clientele from Upper Nazareth, was built within the municipal boundaries of Upper Nazareth, a fact which would eventually affect the mall's linguistic landscape. As this area of the Galilee is populated mostly by Arabs, the mall attempted to appeal to the Arab population through signs in Arabic and performances of Arab artists in the mall's open spaces. To help give Arab customers a feeling that this is their mall, the management made sure many shop owners in the mall were Arabs and that there will be shop signs in Arabic. In addition, the main sign on top of the mall was a big bilingual sign in Hebrew and Arabic. Today the big sign on the roof is in Hebrew only and there is no Arabic on shop signs.

To explain this drastic change in the linguistic landscape of the mall, my interviewee spoke about the tension between economic interests, national sentiments and political pressures.

When the present general manager of the mall began his job in 1997, he decided that "the attention given to the Arab clientele was pushing the Jewish clientele away." Arab symbols such as signs in Arabic, Arab music and theatre performances in Arabic, the celebration of Moslem and Christian holidays and political party propaganda in Arabic, resulted in his view, in growing tensions between Arabs and Jews working or shopping in the mall. Jewish customers, he noticed, took their business away from the mall "the Jews said to me 'this is an Arab mall, we're not coming here anymore'. There were people from Upper Nazareth who didn't enter the mall for years." In order to get the Jewish customers back and at the same time keep the Arab customers, the general manager searching for a "magic formula" decided to create a neutral space by getting rid of all national, religious, and political symbols that arouse opposition or irritate any of the sides. In order

to get the Jews back he quickly got rid of Arab cultural symbols such as language and music, “In a rapid process I removed all the Arab symbols . . . The bilingual sign on top of the mall building came down first and after a while a new sign went up [in Hebrew only] and that’s it . . . In order to appease the Arab customers I took the Habadniks (an ultra orthodox missionary Jewish group) out of the mall because they irritated the Arab customers with their loud Hassidic music. Similarly, Israeli flags that flew ‘for too long’ after Independence Day, were taken down, and election campaigns for local and national politics were taken out of the mall” (see Color Figure 15.1 and 15.2).

To my question of whether the removal of signs in Arabic was met with any resentment on the part of Arab shopkeepers and shoppers, his response was negative and he even gave a marketing explanation for that lack of protest: “In Israel, Jews serve as an object of imitation with regard to consumption patterns among Arabs, so the more the mall looks like a Jewish mall, the more attractive it is for Arab shoppers, and the better it serves the economic interests of entrepreneurs and shop owners.” Regardless of whether this explanation for the lack of protest is valid or not, it is clear that it is the pressure put by Jewish clients and the political leadership in Upper Nazareth that led to the removal of Arab symbols from the mall. Though he was not eager to talk about these types of pressures, the general manager of Upper Nazareth’s mall admitted that they do exist. “The policy of the municipality is to preserve the Jewish identity of the city and the mayor himself is personally involved in making sure it happens here too,” he concluded.

In summary, even when the people involved in the language battle are private actors, whose main interest is to maximize profits, their decision-making regarding language on private signs cannot be divorced from the larger political context in which they operate. The mall in this case is not free of ideological, emotional or identity considerations, as it aligns its language policy with dominant mainstream national ideology.

Concluding Remarks

In the linguistic landscape in Upper Nazareth one witnesses a much deeper play than that which meets the eye at first glance. A “deep play” which goes way beyond language choice to deciding “Whose space it is,” a painful question which lies at the heart of the Jewish Arab conflict. These groups are competing with each other—more openly than ever before—over resources and the right to change (in the case of Arabs) and preserve (in the case of Jews) the existing balance of power as well as the very definition of the national identity of the state of Israel (Smootha 1996; Reiter 1996; Kimmerling 2004; Yiftachel 1993). If we agree that representation in the symbolic reality can serve as a power resource (Gross 1988), we may also conclude that representation in the linguistic landscape can potentially, though indirectly,

influence the degree of political, social or even economic power of ethno-linguistic groups in a given society. From this point of view, the linguistic landscape is a component of the public space which, to use Lefevre's theatrical metaphors, does not serve merely as a set functioning as decoration for the social play, but rather constitutes the very stage on which ethno-linguistic groups compete for a central position (Lefebvre 1991).

From the analysis of the language battle in Upper Nazareth, the pattern which emerges is that of a vulnerable and non dialogical relationship between the two national groups living together but separately.

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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND LANGUAGE AWARENESS

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Toward an Educational Perspective on the Linguistic Landscape

While the study of the linguistic landscape (LL) is emerging in various domains of inquiry (Gorter 2006; Spolsky, this volume) such as ecology, literacy research, sociocultural studies, urban sociology, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and linguistic anthropology (Shohamy and Waksman, this volume), it has heretofore not drawn much attention in the field of education. This is somewhat paradoxical since the study of linguistic landscape traces its roots to research conducted with youth and work on literacy, both areas of primary interest in education. Foundational work cited in studies of the LL (e.g., in Cenoz and Gorter 2006) was conducted in psycholinguistic research on adolescents' responses to signs in their environment (Landry and Bourhis 1997) and in studies of readers' interactions with print in contexts of diversity (Scollon and Scollon 2003). While much recent work has concentrated on documenting what print appears in particular geographic locations and on articulating an interdisciplinary theoretical framework, relatively few studies of the linguistic landscape have continued to examine interactions with text in different languages among young readers and writers.

Our own work takes up Scollon and Scollon's (2003) exploration of actors' interactions with print and Landry and Bourhis's (1997) line of research with youth who have contact with more than one language. It also draws also on a rich field of inquiry on environmental print established in French urban sociolinguistics (Bulot 1998; Calvet 1994; Lucci et al. 1998). Adopting an educational perspective, we focus on elementary school children to document their literacy practices in activities examining multilingualism and language diversity in their communities. Our interest in young children is two-fold: on one hand, we seek to understand how they see and respond to what is represented in the print/visual environment of their communities as they construct their own representations of the LL. On the other hand, we

refer to Gorter's (2006) description of the etymology of the term landscape that includes notions of land as territory and constructs of geography as space to document how young children move through the multilingual landscape and read its multimodal texts.

We attend to children's negotiation of their identities as they interact with diverse forms of mono/bi/multilingual script in their communities. In this chapter, we focus on the linguistic landscape as a heuristic for describing the contexts in which children become literate citizens and for raising their critical awareness about power issues related to language.

Children and the Linguistic Landscape

Scollon and Scollon (2003) as well as Mondada (2000) have emphasized how social actors not only respond to the LL but also shape it through textual discourse in particular spaces. As Ben-Rafael (this volume) and Trumper-Hecht (this volume) remind us, social actors also construct their own identities in interaction with the collective identities represented in the linguistic landscape (see also Bulot 1998). In our work, we emphasize how young children are social actors who have their own take on the places they live and construct their identities accordingly.

Children as Social Actors in Multilingual Cities

Curtin (this volume) examines how the LL both reflects peoples' local, regional, national and transnational identities and serves as site/object of identity construction. In our prior research (Lamarre and Dagenais 2003) we found that adolescents adopted a transnational frame of reference to construct their identities as multilinguals in relation to local, national and international language markets (Bourdieu 2001; Zarate 1998). In our current work (Dagenais et al. in press),¹ we turn our attention to younger children to explore how their identities are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the LL. This landscape provides them with information about the population of their neighborhood, it signals what languages are prominent and valued in public and private spaces and indexes the social positioning of people who identify with particular languages.

Drawing on Norton's (2000) articulation of the relationship between identity and language learning, we investigate how children imagine the languages of their neighborhoods and construct their identities in relation to them. Wenger (1998: 173) argued that imagination plays a central role in learning as a socially situated process that entails "creating images of the world and seeing connections through time and space by extrapolating from our own experience." We suggest that documenting the imagined communities (Anderson 1983/1991) of neighborhoods as seen by children can provide much information on their understanding of the city that would

be helpful to language educators and researchers. As we examine their interpretation of the linguistic landscape, we also consider what this implies for students of diverse backgrounds who may—or may not—see their family languages represented in public and private space. We wonder how this affects the way they discursively position themselves and are positioned by others in social interactions.

To address these issues, we turn to Francophone scholarship in European sociolinguistics (Moore 2001; Beacco 2004) and Canadian research in education (Dagenais 2001) that have developed the construct of social representations (*les représentations sociales*), as first proposed in French social psychology to articulate how groups discursively attribute meaning to their common experiences (Doise 1988; Jodelet 1989; Moscovici 1961/1976).² Social representations may be relatively homogenous and shared by all, or they may be heterogeneous and contested when they include divergent or contradictory notions that are more or less shared by group members. In the latter case, individuals may strategically align themselves with particular representations to signal allegiance or opposition to them. Representations are also dynamic since they can be reshaped through the confrontation of differences and negotiation of new meanings. Thus, we suppose that constructing representations of the linguistic landscape involves a process of interpretation and discursive negotiation. As well, we posit that individuals make sense of their print environment depending on where they are situated socially and they strategically affiliate with particular representations according to their own experiences and interests.

In this regard, Lucci et al. (1998) suggested that texts found in cities have various meanings and overlapping functions. Graphic images and imaged script often appear in mixed media that mirror the diversified social activities of citizens. Like the variations created by looking in a mirror from different angles, the interpretations attributed to visual/textual information in the linguistic landscape are also multiple and differ according to the perspectives of those who observe them. Children's gazes differ from those of adults who, at the very least, move through cities at another height and perhaps in a more preoccupied state, with less direct attention to their senses than is the case in childhood. Thus, we draw on the metaphor of a mirror to survey how the linguistic landscape is reflected—and reshaped—through the gaze of children.

Cities as Texts

Another metaphor that can be applied usefully to the study of the LL in metropolitan areas is the notion of cities as texts (Mondada 2000). Viewed in this light, cities are dense with signs that must be deciphered, read and interpreted by citizens who participate in the consumption of the moving, literary spectacle of the metropolis. Calvet (1994) signaled that the texts of cities are not equally accessible to all; they are relatively cryptic and readers

must be culturally and linguistically informed to decipher their meanings. The texts of cities define and delimit who their readers are since they address particular audiences.

As children begin to move around their communities, interact with others and learn to read the signs that surround them, they attribute meaning to the public/authoritative discourses of their cities. They appropriate these discourses, transforming them to make them their own—a process Bakhtin (1981) referred to as the construction of internally persuasive discourses. Navigating their cities, children develop literacy practices that enable them to engage with messages communicated between the readers and writers of their communities. They read the multimodal texts (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; Malinowski, this volume, Shohamy and Waksman, this volume) that take many different forms and serve various functions, engaging with them in different capacities and at different levels. According to Colletta et al. (1990), readers may decipher the textual communication of a message, they may interpret the rapport between the writer(s) and intended reader(s) and they may consider the psychosocial and cultural repercussions of the message.

Drawing children's attention to layered readings of texts in different languages of the linguistic landscape thus entails developing critical literacy so that they learn to listen to the multiple voices in their communities (Barton et al. 2000; Comber and Simpson 2001; Gutiérrez and Rogoff 2003). Critical literacy activities bring to the fore a reading of texts that makes more explicit to young readers the tensions between unity and discord in society and helps them situate the sociohistorical contexts of written communication. Children are encouraged to ask: What are the interests of the writers and readers of texts? What is at stake for them in producing and decoding texts? Who has power to determine what languages appear in texts?

Critical literacy activities that encourage children to interrogate texts in terms of issues of power and privilege are typically adopted in teaching approaches that have come to be known collectively as critical pedagogies (Norton and Toohey 2004). They emerge from a scholarly tradition that draws on Apple (1979), Bourdieu (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Freire (1970), Giroux (1983) and others whose work on power differences in social relationships shaped critical theory in education. As Norton and Toohey (2004) suggested, language educators who adopt the perspective of critical pedagogies focus on language as a means of pursuing equity. Earlier, Pennycook (1999) proposed that a critical stance in education involves connecting language to broader political contexts and ethical concerns with issues of inequality, oppression, and compassion.

Linguistic Landscape as Heuristic for Learning

In our research with children, data on the LL serves as a research tool to stimulate children's observations of texts, multilingualism and language

diversity. Documenting their discourse on these topics provides a means of accessing children's representations. Since the LL highlights relationships of power between dominant and subordinate groups (Ben-Rafael, this volume) and struggles between official and non-official language communities over visibility in public space (Trumper-Hecht, this volume), it also provides a pedagogical tool to draw children's attention to the non-neutral nature of written communication.

In a Canadian context, activities on this topic might involve interrogating the relationship between texts in the environment, the interactions of social actors from diverse communities, and the status of official languages such as English and French, languages of First Nations people and languages brought to cities through immigration. This draws students' attention to the fact that the texts most visible in their particular environment do not necessarily reflect the local language practices. For example, in various areas of the country, French and English have *de facto* minority status but they maintain visibility because of their *de jure* status as official languages and the collective national imagination (Anderson 1983, 1991) of Canada as a bilingual country.

As well, in cities such as Vancouver, attending to the way Aboriginal languages and cultures are referred to in local signage and murals may enable children to critically interrogate folkloric or romanticized images of these communities. Their portrayal in the linguistic landscape sometimes reinforces an imagined national identity based on liberal multiculturalism (Kubota 2004). The latter is associated with social cohesion in the government's policy discourse, but as Kubota and others have argued, it also eclipses how linguistic genocide, racism and elitism have marked the local history and the relationships between linguistic groups in this land.

Touraine (1997) argued that schools must avoid universalist perspectives on language and education that fail to account for the complex social realities marking students' everyday lives. Thus, an educational approach to the linguistic landscape based on critical pedagogies would aim to move beyond the tokenism of liberal multicultural education and universalist assumptions by problematizing how graphic and visual representations of diverse communities are discursive constructs. In this respect, this type of pedagogical work on the linguistic landscape also adopts an ecological perspective (Hornberger 2003; Van Lier 2002) by accounting for the complex relationships between all languages in the environment.

Pennycook (this volume) considers language in signs of the linguistic landscape as a form of style in multilingual urban settings of global transcultural flows. The notion of language as style is quite relevant to a critical reading of commercial signs in Vancouver or Montreal. It could serve to make more explicit how some languages, such as French or English, are not necessarily used to conform to policy on official languages or for the purposes of communicating with readers. Rather, words in a particular language

can be used simply to display style and signal an association with what is hip, exotic or even urbane in the context of globalization.

Awareness of the Linguistic Landscape

In our ongoing work, we seek to understand whether attention to the LL can contextualize language awareness activities at school. Based on Hawkins' (1984, 1992) work in England, and a re-adaptation of them in Europe (Candelier 2003; Perregaux et al. 2003), these activities aim at having students explore several languages in class to develop an appreciation of linguistic diversity. Students participate in discussions about multilingualism, manipulate texts, listen to audio recordings and watch video clips in a range of languages, many of which they have not previously learned. They examine patterns that are different or shared among languages and attribute meaning to new languages by drawing on the languages they know. One objective of language awareness is to highlight the social functions of language. Activities include observing how languages are valued or devalued in their communities and examining stereotypic representations of speakers of diverse languages. Anchoring language awareness activities in children's experience of the local LL makes them more meaningful. This grounded approach serves as a springboard for exploring language diversity in other areas of the globe and adopting a comparative perspective on language contact and literacy practices.

Research on Language Awareness

To date, language awareness has been studied most extensively in Europe. Longitudinal research has revealed that language awareness allows educators to expand beyond school languages, recognize minority languages and raise awareness of language diversity (Candelier 2003). This research has also shown that students who participate in this approach develop more positive representations of diverse languages and their speakers (Sabatier 2004).

Our prior research revealed that educational practice in Vancouver and Montreal focused primarily on official languages, so that other languages received only scant attention (Dagenais et al. in press). Lamarre (1999, 2001) has argued that Quebec's language curriculum and intercultural education policy are silent on issues of linguistic diversity and tensions between language groups—including French and English communities. Since our work is situated in French language educational contexts, we turned to studies of language awareness activities designed for instruction in French. They are known collectively as *Eveil aux langues* through large-scale projects such as Eole (Perregaux et al. 2003) and Evlang (Candelier 2003). Several recent applications draw as well on advances in research on multilingualism (Cenoz and Genesee 1998; Coste 2002; Martin-Jones and Jones 2000) and

developments in critical pedagogies (Fairclough 1992; Norton and Toohey 2004).

Fairclough (1992) proposed a critical approach to language awareness. He suggested that it might help students interrogate social inequalities and work toward greater equity. Critical language awareness activities have been taken up in various contexts, including some Canadian English language classrooms with students of Aboriginal ancestries (e.g., Bilash and Tulasiewicz 1995).

Our Study

Our project is based on a prior case study of language awareness activities in Montreal, Quebec, and Vancouver, British Columbia. As we reported elsewhere (Dagenais et al. in press; Maraillet and Armand 2006), students who participated in these activities recognized that their collective language repertoire extended beyond official languages.

Objectives

The general aim of our current (2005–2008) longitudinal study is to document elementary school students' contacts with a variety of languages in their communities. We also describe how they co-construct representations of languages, language speakers and language learning in language awareness activities. As well, we investigate how aspects of the LL can serve both as research and pedagogical tools in these activities.

Context

The presence of speakers of other languages has become even more important in and around Canadian urban centers over the years. According to the most recent census figures, between 2001 and 2006, Canada has undergone a greater population growth than any other G8 country due mainly to immigration (Statistics Canada 2007a). Since 2001, an average of about 240,000 newcomers has arrived in Canada each year, for a total of some 1.2 million immigrants in five years. Roughly two-thirds of Canada's population growth now comes from net international migration (Statistics Canada 2007b). The population shift in Canada has led to an increasing number of children in schools who also speak languages other than French or English. Although Statistics Canada has not yet released the data on language gathered in the 2006 census, according to the previous census (2001), 13.9 percent of children between ages 5–14 living in the Montreal metropolitan area and 29.5 percent of children in the same age range living in the Vancouver metropolitan area had a mother tongue other than English or French.

Participants

This study is based on an action-research project aimed at changing pedagogical practice. Students and teachers from two schools in Montreal and Vancouver collaborate with researchers to develop classroom language awareness activities that attend to the linguistic landscape. The project is in its second year at the time of writing and the participating students, who are in grade 5, are between 10 and 11 years of age.

The Vancouver students have been enrolled in a French Immersion program since kindergarten where they receive instruction in French and English. The school is part of a large suburban school district in which 40 percent of the student population speaks a language other than English at home. However, only 7.5 percent of students in the school are designated as learners of English as a second language. While most students speak English at home, some speak a language other than French or English and a few were born abroad. In Montreal, the school is part of one of the largest French school districts in which 44 percent of students speak a language other than French and English. In this school alone, which is located in one of the most multicultural neighborhoods of Montreal (Meintel et al. 1997), this group represents 80 percent of the population. The students are all of immigrant ancestry, though their years of residence in the country vary from recent arrivals to those who were born in Quebec. It is noteworthy that all the Vancouver students in this project are bilingual and some are multilingual and many of the Montreal students are bilingual or multilingual. Thus, it is likely that all these students might be more aware of linguistic diversity than their monolingual peers.

Exploring the Linguistic Landscape

In the first year of the project, researchers gathered data related to the LL of the neighborhood around each school in consultation with the participating teachers. For the second and third years of the study, they are working more intensively with teachers and children who are collecting their own data on the LL in language awareness activities.

Documenting the Linguistic Landscape for Educational Purposes

Data on the LL was gathered according to its pedagogical relevance to language awareness activities. The researchers took digital photos of fixed signs in a targeted zone around the participating schools. Since the neighborhoods and the signage in the two cities were quite different, data collection strategies varied for each site. Nevertheless, the schools were considered to be the central point for data collection. Moving away from this centre, two zones were defined for gathering photographic data.

In Vancouver, the zones were defined as follows: Zone 1 was a quadrangle formed by four streets surrounding the school and zone 2 was comprised of a larger quadrangle of streets roughly 1 km away from the school. Since the school was situated in a residential suburb, there were very few signs in zone 1 except for street signs and text on objects such as mailboxes. Zone 2 included the three commercial streets closest to the school that were most frequented by students and their families, according to the participating teachers. As well, since the project focuses on multilingualism and language diversity, the Vancouver researchers did not photograph monolingual signs in English. Instead, they took photos of monolingual signs in other languages, as well as bilingual and multilingual signs. More specifically, they photographed store-fronts, signs on public service agencies and other types of personal signage. A total of 132 photographs were taken in zones 1 and 2, including one electoral/political sign; seven personal/home made signs; 105 commercial signs; 13 official signs and six community/religious signs. Among these, 34 signs were unilingual and written in a language other than English (17 in French and 17 in a non-official language), a further 89 signs were bilingual (40 in French/English and 49 English/non-official language) and a total of nine signs were multilingual with more than two languages in various combinations.

In Montreal, zone 1 included two residential streets; the street where the school was located and an intersecting street nearby with numerous community and religious organizations. This latter street included several warehouses bordering a train track. Zone 2 was comprised of a quadrangle of commercial streets covering about a square kilometer. In both zones, all types of signs were photographed including those on religious and community buildings, businesses, government services, and street signs. Small handmade signs and electoral signs on poles and buildings were also included. In zone 2, signs were photographed on only one side of each of the four streets to limit the corpus. The multitude of signs on products in storefronts was not photographed. In all, 221 photographs were taken of public, commercial, personal, community/religious and electoral/political signs. Of these, 139 signs were unilingual, with 108 in French, 27 in English and four in a non-official language. A further 66 signs were bilingual, of which 51 were in French and English, 11 were in French and a non-official language, and four were in English and a non-official language. A total of 16 signs were multilingual, drawing on more than two languages in various combinations. The photographic data are discussed below in terms of their relationship to the language awareness activities implemented in each site.

Constructing Activities on the Linguistic Landscape

During the second and third years of the project, students will observe and gather data themselves on the LL and they will examine the photos taken by

the researchers in Year 1. A focal group of students (12 per class) will be observed and videotaped as they engage in language awareness activities over a period of 4 months during grade 5 and again the next year. They will be interviewed in focus groups before and after the implementation phase each year. Their teachers will be interviewed on students' responses and the institutional structures that support or impede the exploration of language diversity. Parents of the focal children will be interviewed on their child's language contacts and their responses to the activities.

Although many language awareness activities were previously developed, adapted and implemented in these two schools in prior studies (see www.elodil.com for a sample of activities developed for Montreal), in this project the teams sought to develop an approach focused more specifically on the local linguistic landscape. Although the activities took different forms in each city according to negotiated researcher and teacher orientations, it was agreed at the outset that children in both cities would exchange information (letters, posters, photographs and videos) on their respective neighborhoods. At the time of writing, the fieldwork phase in both cities had just begun and the first few language awareness activities implemented. What follows is a description of initial analyses of observational notes and videotapes recorded during the first activities of Year 2.

As indicated above, reading the multilingual city implies relying on a visual geosemiotic system anchored in a multi-sensory interpretation of signs (Lucci 1998; Scollon and Scollon 2003). We focus on children as researchers, readers and interpreters of symbolic meaning in their solitary or group movements around the city. They respond acutely to olfactory, tactile and auditory literacy cues in the city—such as signs on bakeries or garbage cans, etc. As they walk the streets of the city, children navigate through three dimensions of the linguistic landscape that include the geographical, the sociological and the linguistic aspects of the geosemiotic system. These dimensions can be conceptualized in terms of horizontal and vertical axes. The horizontal axis includes the physical, visual locations of signs in the material world such as store signs, posters, newspapers, graffiti, as well as their visual characteristics such as color, composition and their temporal characteristics, that is, whether they are permanent or ephemeral. The horizontal axis serves an informational function; it documents the physical location of language, of “discourses in place” (Scollon and Scollon 2003), providing clues needed to decode, read and observe the city. The vertical axis corresponds to the symbolic function of language in which meanings of signs are interpreted in terms of power relations, language status, cultural affiliations and identity negotiations. These two axes intersect at a central node, the social actor, and in this case, the child who is mobile, in motion and dynamic.

A language awareness activity implemented in Montreal aptly illustrates this point. Students were asked to describe their neighborhood in their own

terms to let their representations emerge and document whether or not they had anything to say about languages in their community. They had received a letter from the students in Vancouver and as they discussed it, they talked about the geographic location of Vancouver, its climate and the languages spoken in schools of that city. The teacher then asked students how they would like to respond to this letter. Students opted to create a mural with their drawings of the important places in their neighborhood and collate a photo album with short texts they would write. They discussed what places could be represented in the mural and as homework, they drew a picture of their favorite place in the neighborhood.

The next day, students discussed their drawings in groups, responding to the following questions: (1) What do we see in the drawings of your favorite places? (2) Do you recognize the places drawn by your team-mates? (3) What languages would you expect to hear in these places? (4) What languages can we hear in your neighborhood? In their drawings, none represented the small businesses or multilingual signs in the neighborhood that the researchers had photographed. Instead, the children represented locations that were meaningful to them, such as the school, the plaza where they shopped with their families, the park where they played baseball, the indoor sports centre and the local intercultural library where they borrowed books, watched movies and played computer games.

When questioned about their drawings, the children spoke about the various languages they heard in their neighborhood and they referred to the diversity of the local population. Yet, this linguistic diversity was not represented in their drawings in any way. Perhaps this is not surprising, since most of the sites they chose to illustrate related to public services where the language on signs is in French only due to language legislation.

The following week, the students took photographs of their neighborhood in groups using a disposable camera (see Color Figure 16.1). The teams determined what to photograph and took pictures of the places they had represented in their drawings. The photographs were later developed and distributed to students. Working in the same teams, they looked at the photos, reflected on the languages they observed in their pictures and stated whether anything appeared different from what was illustrated in their drawings. Since there were few photographs of businesses in the students' corpus, pictures taken by researchers were also shown to elicit a discussion of the languages and scripts in the neighborhood. Students were able to identify a variety of languages and scripts in the LL after consulting with peers who were familiar with those languages. When asked what this revealed about their neighborhood, students talked about Montreal as a multicultural and international city. One student talked about Braille in elevators, on traffic lights, on the cameras that they used to take photographs. Others brought up the language of animals and some debated the status of Jamaican English as a language.

The lack of importance children attributed to language diversity and its expression in the local LL is revealing and sheds light on the way these youngsters experience their city. In fact, it appears that they engage with it physically in terms of the activities in which they participate. They chose to represent the locations they frequent with friends and family. The LL, for all of its richness in this particular neighborhood, was relegated to the background of their gaze and came to their attention only through direct pedagogical intervention. For these children, who have few opportunities to visit other cities or even other parts of Montreal, their experience is embedded in their neighborhood, a part of the city where almost everyone is immigrant. While they might not have been quick to describe the language diversity in the print of their environment, or grant it much importance in their drawings or photographs, this does not mean that they were not aware of it and were not able to formulate what this diversity means to them. In fact, as Color Figure 16.2 taken during the initial outing illustrates, a few children did point to a sign in a shopping plaza that featured a reference to foreign languages with flags.

When directly asked, they were able to speak to language diversity quite well. One wonders if these children, whose lives are fully immersed in the multilingual context, think it is so commonplace that there is no need to describe this aspect of their neighborhood. In another study, Dagenais and Berron (2001) found that children in highly multicultural neighborhoods considered multilingualism to be banal.

Linguistic Landscape as Pedagogical Framework

An example of an activity in Vancouver illustrates how drawing attention to the LL provided a framework to ground language awareness activities. In keeping with what was done in Montreal, an outing was planned as the first language awareness activity in Year 2. In the morning, students were organized in groups and given disposable cameras. They were also given hand-drawn maps of the neighborhood around the school. This activity served as a follow-up to a mapping lesson in social studies. Each group had a different trajectory to follow in zone 2 around the school with instructions to take pictures of signs with different languages. The maps led different groups to move in opposite directions along some of the same commercial streets, including one with the most signs in the area. It is interesting to note that although some describe the neighborhood as more homogenous than the larger suburb, a closer look at the local LL reveals the presence of diversity and language contact. In fact, the LL mirrors the various patterns of mobility and the overlapping history of settlement in this community.

Students followed their maps as they moved through the neighborhood and took pictures of signage along the way. For example, they photographed a mailbox next to the school featuring text in both official languages. As the

Color Figure 16.3 indicates, the children also noticed writing in non-official aspects of the linguistic landscape such as litter.

The photographs were developed and distributed to the students in the afternoon. They were asked to group the pictures in whatever categories deemed appropriate. Afterward, the teacher asked them to describe their categories. The discussion aimed specifically at shifting their 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). Drawing on Scollon and Scollon (2003), the LL served as a pedagogical tool to develop critical literacy by engaging children in three levels of analysis of textual and visual media. That is, they considered the geographical location, sociological importance and linguistic function of media in the landscape. As they used maps to move around their neighborhood, the children examined the horizontal plane of the local LL by attending to topographical information. Moreover, having them photograph the *in vitro* language of the landscape was intended to draw their attention to language norms and indications of the human geography of their neighborhood. As students moved through the streets in the vertical space of the LL, the objective was to draw their attention to *in vivo* language and the way citizens use it to mark their territory in the urban space (Calvet 1994). As their gaze shifted from the horizontal space of the maps, where legitimate language practices were represented and they moved around the vertical space, the children observed writing that appeared in legitimate and illegitimate spheres of activity (Billiez 1998; Pennycook, this volume), such as texts on signs, walls and in litter. As illustrated in Color Figure 16.4, a mural that captured the children's attention, their perception of the city and the way they situate themselves in it are shaped by the contact of communities in the linguistic landscape—and the way they are represented.

Thus, in the activity following the outing, learners reflected in greater depth on the human geography and history of this place. This aimed at raising their awareness of the distributed network of authorship in multilingual cities (Malinowski, this volume) by attending to the relationship between groups of readers and writers who belong to diverse language communities. In the follow-up activities planned for these schools the focus will be on developing their critical awareness of the way the linguistic landscape indexes a selection and hierarchical representation of languages in their environment (Calvet 1994). For example, in Vancouver, where Aboriginal languages have been marginalized and ostracized, new romanticized depictions on urban murals in the community reveal an effort to recognize the presence of First Nations people. Yet, they are often depicted as a homogeneous entity in the collective imaginary, which ignores the distinct linguistic and cultural traits of Native groups.

Conclusions

Though still in its initial stages, this study suggests that attending to the LL in language awareness activities provides a promising avenue for teaching about language diversity and literacy practices from a critical perspective. It will be interesting to explore in the future whether such activities are relevant for children living in more homogenous linguistic neighborhoods in rural areas. Clearly, pedagogical approaches related to diversity must expand beyond the typical focus on religion, culture and ethnicity explored in liberal multiculturalism or intercultural education. Language issues are sometimes eclipsed in Canadian classrooms because they have been the subject of historical tensions between communities, but there is an urgent need to address them as the country grows rapidly and becomes ever more multilingual. By examining how languages are in contact in the linguistic landscape—and in competition, children may develop a new understanding of the dynamics in their communities.

In our study, children are ever-changing actors, whose reading of the city may be below awareness and deeply embedded in their own experiences, for as Scollon and Scollon (2003: 15) argued, “. . . although it is strongly debated just how much agency (active, rational, conscious intention) any social actor might have in any situation, the position we take is that in most cases our actions are only vaguely purposive and conscious, and almost always they are multiple and complex.” Approaching the LL through critical pedagogy enables us to capture and transform awareness of cities in children’s eyes. Following Bertucci’s (2005) call for pedagogy based on students’ experiences, such activities take into account their out-of-school lives, their own values and perceptions. They reveal the dynamic interaction between children, language and territory. As well, in drawing attention to the ways children walk through the urban landscape, such activities signal how signs become texts that mirror the perception and agency of its young readers. This understanding of the relationship between young readers and texts in the landscape raises three questions: (1) What constitutes texts according to children? (2) What knowledge and skills do they need needed to read them? (3) What meanings do they attribute to the multilingual landscape through their peregrination(s) as traveling citizens? (Lucci et al. 1998).

Notes

- 1 This study entitled: “Éveil aux langues et à la diversité linguistique chez des élèves du primaire dans deux métropoles canadiennes” is funded by a standard grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada 2005–2008.
- 2 For a historical discussion of social representation as a sociological construct, see Billiez and Millet (2001).

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TOURISM AND REPRESENTATION IN THE IRISH LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Jeffrey Kallen

Introduction: Tourism and Public Discourse

Tourism and Tourists

Tourism is an experience of near-universal proportions in today's world. Whether as tourists, as residents in countries where tourism is a significant economic factor, or as people engaged directly or indirectly with aspects of the tourist trade, most of us have had experience of tourism at one time or another. So widespread and diversified is the experience, however, that formal definitions are hard to come by, and a little reflection shows that there are many possible approaches to the subject: the economic effects of encouraging tourism from overseas, the ecological effects of "cheap" air travel, the role of tourism in shaping cultural values, and many other topics, could all provide starting points for in-depth studies of tourism. To begin this discussion, let us start with Smith's definition (1989: 1) of a tourist as "a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change." This simple definition includes a number of important distinctions between tourism and other forms of travel: to be temporarily leisured is not to lead a nomadic or peripatetic existence in which travel is a constant, nor is it to be engaged on business travel, travel for study or work, or any kind of forced migration or movement.

Tourism studies rarely consider the semiotic needs of tourists or look at language as a positive factor in tourism. Language-learning schools, particularly for young people, offer the opportunity for travel and may involve fun outside the classroom (often in native-language interactions with fellow students), but the crucial element of required work precludes the idea that this form of travel can be classed as tourism. Even language-learning phrase-books or book and tape packages that promise to teach a language "without pain" or in "just minutes a day" give the impression that language-learning is

work, incurring pain or taking up time that might be better spent doing other things, which only prepares the tourist for the genuine leisure that is to follow. Nevertheless, I would argue that it is precisely the encounter with “foreign” languages that constitutes an essential part of the tourist’s experience of a voyage of foreign travel. For the tourist who is in search of a feeling of being truly away from everyday experience, being greeted at the airport by signs in a foreign language is an immediate way to mark out the distance that has been travelled. The “foreign” language thus offers an immediate sense of transcendence from the mundane, and a token of authenticity in the new surroundings.

The difficulty with the authentic foreign language experience for the tourist lies in its potential to make the journey incomprehensible and thus threatening. A threat to one’s sense of competence or personal safety may transform the experience of travel from one of leisure to one of work or even hardship. Those who work in the international tourist industry are well aware of the danger of language barriers. Since it is difficult to sell goods or services to people who cannot understand what is on offer or how to obtain it, both the industry and the consumer may develop a mutual interest in achieving linguistically uncomplicated communication. A challenge for the design of the linguistic landscape (LL), where tourists are concerned, is thus to use visible language in public places in such a way as to maintain authenticity and communicative value for local audiences, simultaneously providing the tourist with a comprehensible linguistic experience. If those charged with making signs and those who read them in the course of tourism thus enter into a state of mutual understanding, the people who provide services to tourists will have had a successful commercial experience, while the tourist will come away with a feeling that the new country is different but not so different as to be repellent. This pact can thus form the basis of a successful journey of transformation in which the linguistic landscape plays a significant part.

Discourse and the Linguistic Landscape

The understanding of linguistic landscape as a mode of discourse has taken some time to develop. Spolsky and Cooper (1991: 81–84) imply a discursial approach to signage by proposing “rules of signs” that resemble Grice’s (1975) conversational maxims; these rules include “write signs in a language you know,” “prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read,” and “prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified” (see also Spolsky, this volume). Despite their implicit interest in signage as discourse, however, Spolsky and Cooper’s (1991) main approach is to treat signs as artifacts—as evidence of structures (such as political jurisdiction) or functions (such as everyday spoken language use) that have an independent existence outside

the domain of the linguistic landscape. Likewise, the view of Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) that “the most basic informational function of the linguistic landscape is that it serves as a distinctive marker of the geographical territory inhabited by a given language community” is clearly focused on signage as an *indicator* (in this case, of “ethnolinguistic vitality”), rather than as a form of discourse.

A consideration of tourism and the LL, however, points out a limitation in the focus on language and territory as described by Landry and Bourhis (1997). The transience and linguistic diversity of tourists determines that disputes over territory and border demarcation will not apply as they do in cases like Belgium or Québec. Landry and Bourhis (1997) demonstrate that the LL correlates in complex ways with language use in domains such as education, electronic and print media, public performance, and networks of social relations. Yet for the tourist as a “temporarily leisured person,” many of these factors are unavailable or irrelevant: it matters little to the tourist what language the local schools use or what language is used at meetings of a residents’ association. Locally significant arguments about the use of national languages such as French or Spanish instead of territorially-defined alternatives such as Alsatian or Catalan are of little significance to the tourist who does not expect to use any of these languages. It is unrealistic to imagine that a group of tourists would organize themselves as a linguistic minority and demand language rights in the usual sense: even if such a thing were to happen for a moment, the tourists would soon be gone, and their language rights with them. Some cases may suggest a movement for the territorial rights of foreign languages—consider, for example, communities of expatriate holiday home owners or zones in which the local tourist industry might argue for the right to use tourist languages contrary to national policy—yet these are not cases of touristic “ethnolinguistic vitality.” In the former case, the very investment (whether economic or metaphorical) of the foreigner in local life indicates a passage, which may occur in various degrees of completion, from tourist to resident, while in the latter case the argument is not one for the right of the tourist but for the right of segments within the local population to maintain successful relationships with tourists. Rather than focusing primarily on territory and tradition, therefore, the model of the LL that takes account of tourism must incorporate transience and diversity as an essential part of the social environment.

Taking the LL as a form of discourse let us then consider signage as a localized act of communication: a speech act which takes place where the sign takes place. The physical sign thus becomes a signage event: a coming together of the motivating factors and communicative intents of both the sign instigator and the sign recipient. The message form is shaped not only by the desire to perform some specific speech act at a given time and place, but also by the instigator’s anticipation of the receptive framework of any hypothesized sign recipient. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 3) make a similar

point in looking at the ways in which linguistic signs show *indexicality*, the semiotic property of pointing to other things:

The meaning of a sign is anchored in the material world whether the linguistic utterance is spoken by one person to another or posted as a stop sign on a street corner. We need to ask of the stop sign the same four questions we would ask of a person: Who has ‘uttered’ this (that is, is it a legitimate stop sign of the municipal authority)? Who is the viewer (it means one thing for a pedestrian and another for the driver of a car)? What is the social situation (is the sign ‘in place’ or being installed or worked on)? Is that part of the material world relevant to such a sign (for example, is it a corner of the intersection of roads)?

Thinking of signage as discourse leads us to look systematically at the participants in the instigation of signs and at the acts they are likely to engage in. Gorter (2006a: 3) refers to a distinction between “top-down” and “bottom-up” signage, where the former typically includes “official signs placed by the government or related institution” and the latter “nonofficial signs put there by commercial enterprises or by private organizations or persons.” While this distinction has heuristic value, as shown in various papers of Gorter (2006b), the increasing amount of data on linguistic landscape suggests that this dichotomous spatial metaphor is too simple. Arguably, a government notice to ordinary citizens may be “top-down” if one assesses the power dimension only and takes the view that governments have ultimate power over citizens. A sign in a local shopkeeper’s window, however, is not symmetrically “bottom-up”: there is no necessary intention for the shopkeeper to communicate upwards to any governmental agent or agency. In terms of state authority, signs of this kind—being addressed to other private citizens—are best described as horizontal. Local domains of power are important too: within the small shop, it is the shopkeeper who exercises local power in putting a NO ENTRANCE sign on the store room door. In this case, the top-down power runs from shop to customer—a different relation from that of state to citizen. In addition to simplifying the different domains of power and direction, the vertical metaphor relies on a model of social consensus, whereby all participants agree on who is at the “top” or the “bottom.” Real life in society, however, is never that simple: authority may be claimed, but it can equally be contested or counter-claimed.

These points suggest that any particular act of signage could be simultaneously top-down, bottom-up, horizontal, or otherwise oriented, depending on the speaker’s intent, the reader’s interpretation, and the place and function of the sign itself. Even simple descriptive labels such as “public” and “private” are not always easy to define. While the organs of the political state (including local governments, national governments, and state agencies

at various levels) may appear clearly as “public,” other institutions which may receive government funding or support are not public in the same sense. These bodies often include utility companies, public transport companies, broadcasters, educational institutions, airports, and state-related businesses of other kinds. In the private domain, multi-national corporations, some with huge budgets and control over markets, obviously have different communicative goals from small local retailers or regional enterprises. Private citizens (as distinct from privately-owned businesses) contribute to the LL in ways that may seem random or even unintentional—putting up a name plaque for a private house, putting down a doormat that says WELCOME, displaying signs for events such as football matches or elections, and even dropping litter in the street—yet these contributions are also a socially-significant part of the LL.¹ While this chapter will categorize signage into two major types: public and private, it must be remembered that these categories, which arise here from a specific consideration of the role of government language policy in shaping the LL, are only suggestive of more detailed categorizations that could be made.

A discourse perspective on the LL also shows that speech acts are frequently initiated by signage that is complex and polysemous. A sign outside a restaurant may have a deictic function in indicating the existence of that restaurant in a particular place, but the sign recipient’s real-world knowledge about restaurants may also give rise to an interpretation of the sign as an invitation to enter as a customer. While the dynamics of using the LL to perform speech acts are more complex than can be discussed here, I suggest that signage is usually focused on one or more of the following areas: *Deixis* (pointing especially to place, time, or person); *Behavior* (e.g., regulation, exhortation, invitation); *Interaction* (including greetings and leave-takings, humour, and metalinguistic comments); and *Cognition* (edification, description, legal notices, historical information, and so on). Each of these focal points will be exemplified in the discussion which follows.

The multiplicity of overlapping discourses that exists within the LL is brought into a particular focus in considering tourism. Some of the LL in the tourist’s destination will be directed at tourists; some will be directed at a much wider audience that may include the tourist; and other parts will be addressed to an internal audience only. In different encounters, then, the tourist will fulfill the roles of *addressee*, *audience*, and *eavesdropper*, respectively. Across these roles, the tourist may not always comprehend what is said, and will only rarely know what language policy decisions have shaped the landscape. Nevertheless, it is the sum of these discourses which for the tourist leaves a lasting impression of a transient experience—what we can call the *representation* of the country or region.

In discussing tourism and the linguistic landscape, I do not suggest that the tourist is a passive observer. Of course the tourist may make an obvious contribution to the landscape by adding to it: writing in hotel or museum

guestbooks, writing graffiti or other inscriptions that indicate the tourist's transient presence, littering, and so on. As an anticipated interlocutor, the tourist also plays a role in shaping the design of the linguistic landscape in areas where tourism (particularly international tourism) features as a prominent economic or social activity. Though it would be impossible here to construct a model of tourism-based audience design that would cover all cases, I suggest that four types of anticipated tourist need are likely to influence local decisions in shaping the LL: (1) the need for an authentic experience of place, to see the "real" foreign land; (2) the need to feel secure, ensuring that what is different is not so different as to be threatening or in some way repugnant; (3) the need to break away from normal routines; and (4) the need to return from a journey of transformation, i.e., to create a memory of the experience of travel that stands out from other experiences (cf. Sutton 2001). Though these needs may also be satisfied by other parts of the tourist industry (restaurants, for example, often face the same set of considerations), in the following discussion I suggest that much of what goes on in the linguistic landscape where tourism is important is shaped by these perceptions of the tourist's needs.

Looking at the Linguistic Landscape: An Irish Walkabout

Background

Using the discourse perspectives developed in the introduction to this chapter, we turn to an examination of the Irish linguistic landscape as a case study in the interaction of language policy, tourism, and ethnolinguistic vitality. We set out in this section to study the LL in four urban areas: Galway and Ballinasloe in the Republic of Ireland (ROI), and Bangor and Newry in Northern Ireland (NI). Language policy in each case is a mixture of state and local decision. In the Republic, Irish is constitutionally designated as the first official language (*Bunreacht* 2003), continuing the recognition which it has had since the formation of the Irish Free State in 1921/22. Legal status, as well as community usage, gives rise to the use of Irish throughout the legislative framework, in education, in the media, and elsewhere. Despite the historical use of Irish as a community language in Ulster, government policy in Northern Ireland has been at best indifferent to Irish, although allowances have from time to time been made for educational and other uses (see Mac Póilin 1997). The more recent Belfast Agreement, however, established cross-border language bodies with responsibility for Irish and for Ulster Scots, following the principle that "All participants recognize the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of

the island of Ireland” (Agreement 1998: 13). Recent years have also seen an increase in decisions by local governments to use Irish in at least some public domains. In investigating the four data points under consideration, then, we may expect to see the effects of both national and local policy decisions.

Classifying areas as being of “high” or “low” tourist activity is a more complex activity than it might seem. Some statistics exist for countable measures of tourist activity (e.g., trips per year, number of nights spent in given destinations per year, and total money spent by tourists; see Northern Ireland Tourist Board 2003), but a quantitative approach has its limitations. Locations with larger populations may attract more tourists per year, but an area with a small local population that attracts many tourists due to its picturesque location or proximity to amenities may seem more intensively touristic than the larger city. In the cases analyzed here, the available information suggests that the smaller locations, Ballinasloe and Newry, are not niche tourist hamlets and rely less on external tourism than do Bangor or Galway. In looking at relative differences in tourist activity, however, it should be kept in mind that there are few parts of Ireland which do not participate in the tourist industry at one level or another.

Census figures from both jurisdictions provide self-reported levels of Irish-language usage that give an indication of linguistic vitality as perceived by speakers themselves. Whether this vitality should be seen as ethnolinguistic or more purely linguistic is an open question. In the Republic, Irish has both a historical link to native ethnicity and contemporary status as an official language for everyone, regardless of their perceived ethnicity. In Northern Ireland, ethnolinguistic motivations may be more prominent in determining patterns of usage, but even here the situation is complex: see Mac Póilin (1997) and Longley et al. (2003). Census reports from the four data points examined here are shown in Table 17.1, using statistics from *Census* (2002) and *Northern Ireland Census* (2001).

Method

Within each of the data points considered here, broadly similar approaches were taken for making an inventory of the linguistic landscape.² Each

Table 17.1 Comparison of four data points in the Irish linguistic landscape

| <i>City/Town (Jurisdiction)</i> | <i>Tourism level</i> | <i>Population</i> | <i>% with some Irish</i> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Galway (ROI) | High | 65,832 | 50.8 |
| Ballinasloe (ROI) | Low | 5,910 | 47.0 |
| Newry | Low | 24,433 | 19.3 |
| Bangor | High | 58,388 | 02.3 |

Jurisdictional average for some knowledge of Irish: ROI 41.9%, NI 10.35%.

investigation started at a popular point of entry to the city, proceeded down streets likely to be of tourist interest, and returned in a loop back to the original starting point. The local tourist office was included in the route. A representative sample of signage was photographed in each area, with the aim of showing the linguistic codes, semiotic modes of presentation, and discourse functions which would be visible on a hypothetical tourist's walk. Within each walk, a continuous section of the landscape was also surveyed quantitatively. A signage unit for this purpose was defined as a single visible unified presentation. This definition allows for units as small as one single sign or as complex as a shop window with the shop name, advertising, and local notices all included in one ensemble. These signage units were categorized on a public/private division and noted for the language or languages used within the unit as a whole.

Choices in the Linguistic Landscape

In order to understand the signage in the Irish sample within a discourse frame of reference, I suggest that the LL should be understood to incorporate more communicative choices than simply a choice of language. Figure 17.1 shows a summary of communicative choices which I take to be crucial in shaping the material under analysis here. *Language choice* includes not only the selection of a language, but the relationships between language and message, noting, for example, whether messages in two languages are fully equivalent, partial translations, asymmetrical, or based on the superimposition of one language on another (see Reh 2004). *Code choices* recognize the importance of font selection in our data, but would also take into account other graphic modes of presentation (color, placement, etc., as elaborated by Scollon and Scollon 2003) where appropriate. *Pragmatic choices* raise questions as to the general interactional function of any given unit of signage, while *audience choices* build an examination of expected audiences into the analysis (see also Huebner 2006). Each cell within the matrix of

| | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Language choices</i></p> <p>English, Irish, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Chinese, Welsh</p> | <p><i>Pragmatic choices</i></p> <p>Deixis; Behavior; Cognition; Interaction</p> |
| <p><i>Code Choices</i></p> <p>Modern Roman fonts; Celtic-style fonts, based to varying degrees on the manuscript orthography of Irish (see Ó Murchú 1985); Chinese orthography</p> | <p><i>Audience choices</i></p> <p>Tourist focus; general inclusion of tourist and natives; native focus</p> |

Figure 17.1 Matrix of choices in a sample of Irish signage.

Figure 17.1 thus refers to a set of possible choices, listed with the realizations found in the sample investigated here.

A View of Irish Signage

The discussion which follows is designed to illustrate the interaction of various choices made within the matrix of Figure 17.1. Due to space limitations, the discussion concentrates only on the uses of English and Irish: the occasional use of loanwords and short code-switches in other European languages, as well as the use of Chinese in advertising Chinese restaurants, are excluded from consideration.

We begin with Color Figures 17.1 and 17.2, which show contrasting approaches to a complex speech act that includes both a cognitive function and the performative act of welcoming the tourist. Color Figure 17.1 is from the Newry tourist office. After giving practical information in English, the sign contains a formal act of welcoming in English, Irish, French, and German. English is exclusive in the cognitive part of the message, but shares a role with other languages in the interactional part. Giving Irish second position in this segment is not likely to appeal to the native language needs of the foreign tourist, but does index the role of Irish for all who read the message.

Color Figure 17.2 is from the Bangor tourist office. The explicit function of this sign is only cognitive, yet the placement of the sign outside the tourist office also performs an implicit welcoming act. In this case, however, the information is given with English in a dominant position and with nearly-full translations into French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Irish, on the other hand, does not feature at all. In comparing the two signs for the crucial question of how Irish is negotiated in the Irish LL, we can say that Color Figure 17.1 gives a small degree of recognition to Irish in the interactive sphere, while Color Figure 17.2, though much more multilingual in the cognitive domain, gives no role to Irish. As will be seen in Table 17.2, this initial encounter at the tourist office sets the scene for the LL more generally.

Color Figure 17.3 shows how complex speech acts can be communicated multilingually, even to tourists who are not expected to understand the entire text. The simple announcement PUB in modern Roman font tells tourist and local alike what sort of an establishment this is. The text in Irish, in a font based on traditional Irish orthography and offering “the best of food, the best of drink,” supplies information which the non-Irish speaking tourist will not understand and which is not translated: it must be inferred from knowledge that this is a pub. The Irish text thus commits a pragmatic act of exhortation, but even if the illocutionary force of this act is missing from the tourist’s consciousness, there is every chance that the intended perlocution of the unit as a whole—buying food and drink—will be taken up by the tourist. In this case, we can see a message which demonstrates the

simultaneous creation of safe exoticism for the foreign tourist and textual authenticity for those who know Irish.

Whereas Color Figure 17.3 uses a bilingual message to exhort the passerby to enter the pub, Color Figure 17.4 occupies a different position in the matrix of language choices by presenting a message entirely in English that nevertheless indexes Irishness by using a Celtic-style font in both the main sign and the lettering at the bottom of the centre window panel. The tourist who might feel intimidated by the Irish in Color Figure 17.3 will not be expected to have such a reaction to the signage in Color Figure 17.4. This sign thus offers the tourist an opportunity to experience Irish authenticity at minimal linguistic cost.

The Celtic-type font is seen again to index Irishness in Color Figure 17.5. The Irish text on the left is fully translated by the English on the right, and unity of color and font underscores the equivalence of the messages. The speech act in the signage focuses on cognition in communicating proverbial wisdom, but since this information is not relevant to the business of the shop, we can understand it as an attempt to provide an exotic-looking but non-threatening experience of Irish proverbial wisdom.

Speech acts which regulate behavior in our data also provide a range of language choices. Color Figure 17.6 is a sign of a type found commonly in the UK. The sign is strictly monolingual in English and contains no Irish localization. Though tourists may often be guilty of public order offences, Color Figure 17.6 is neither directed at tourists nor excluding of them; it lies instead in the neutral ground between these two possibilities.

Color Figures 17.7 and 17.8, on the other hand, show more conscious applications of language policy in the signage which regulates parking. The monolingual sign in Color Figure 17.7 contrasts dramatically with the bilingual notice in Color Figure 17.8. Though tourists often rent cars, it is difficult to see a tourist-oriented motivation behind the use of Irish in Color Figure 17.8. Instead, it is more plausible to see Color Figures 17.7 and 17.8 as the outcomes of policy decisions with regard to the regulation of local drivers. In these cases, the tourist is merely eavesdropping on a local discourse.

Color Figures 9–11 show elaborations of pragmatic function in the use of Irish which correlate with aspects of linguistic vitality. Color Figure 17.9 puts the tourist in the role of eavesdropper, in so far as the sign is oriented towards those who know Irish. Both the main headline, which announces a Saturday traditional music session, and the concluding exhortation to “satisfy thirst in the right place” are exclusively in Irish. The picture of the fiddle, together with the date, time, and price of admission to the session, all given in English translation, nevertheless provide enough information to enable the non-Irish speaker to attend the session. Language in this case acts as a gatekeeper, inviting Irish-speaking music fans and making the journey more difficult (but possibly more rewarding as an authentic experience of Irish tradition) for those without it.

Color Figure 17.10 shows the front for a coffee shop with a sign that uses a neologistic coinage in Irish, translatable as “Banana Republic.” This phrase is indexical of many things: stereotypes growing from colonial and post-colonial experience in South America, extended senses which conjure up both unstable political regimes and images of sun-drenched holiday paradises for those who ignore the negatives of colonialism, and, more recently, an American-based international clothing chain which, as part of the Gap group, maintains a presence in Europe (including Ireland) and Japan. The multivalent title is thus also indexical of the use of Irish in a global age. The services of the coffee shop, which is owned by an Irish speaker from the Netherlands, can be appreciated by all, but the inter-language wordplay in the invention of the shop name will escape the tourist who knows no Irish.

Tourists may well be oblivious to the name plates of training consultants, and so may ignore the sign in Color Figure 17.11. Yet behind the sign lies some intricate multiple referencing that illustrates versatility in the use of Irish as a community language. Irish *athrú* “change” is a semantically appropriate name for the business. The use of color on the letters <hr>, however, also brings to mind the English phrase “human resources,” a generic term associated with the field of personnel training. Though the speech act status of the sign may seem purely deictic, the language play in physically imposing an English-language reference to modern management jargon on an Irish word adds a cognitive element for those who know both languages.

Finally, Color Figure 17.12 shows an unplanned tableau of signs, each with potential relevance to tourism. The pub in the photograph uses Celticised English to advertise the availability of Irish music, yet somewhat parallel to the pub in Color Figure 17.3, it also uses a purely Irish inscription in a traditional font as an exhortation, in this case offering the “best of traditional music.” As with Color Figure 17.9, the illustration of musical instruments adds force to the speech act of inviting customers by using non-linguistic means to complement the message in Irish. An official place name sign is also attached to the wall, giving the name in a modern Roman font for Irish and English: Irish has a valued top position in the sign, though English has the counter-balancing value of a larger font. The Heineken logo, recognizable throughout the world, completes the picture on an international note.

A Quantitative View

Having sampled the visual messages seen in our hypothetical tourist’s walk in four Irish locations, it remains to show how quantitative differences may reflect and influence the interplay of tourism, language policy, and linguistic vitality. Table 17.2 shows the result of the quantitative survey described above. Signage units are divided in this table between public and private signs, and raw figures are given for signage exclusively in English (E) or Irish (I), for bilingual signage in Irish and English (B), and for signage which uses

Table 17.2 Quantitative results in four Irish data points

| | <i>Private</i> | | | | <i>Public</i> | | | <i>Total</i> | <i>Some Irish (%)</i> |
|-------------|----------------|----------|----------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|--------------|-----------------------|
| | <i>E</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>O</i> | <i>E</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>I</i> | | |
| Galway | 119 | 41 | 2 | 7 | 1 | 44 | 0 | 214 | 41 |
| Ballinasloe | 133 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 25 | 29 | 2 | 207 | 22 |
| Newry | 145 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 53 | 11 | 0 | 211 | 06 |
| Bangor | 139 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 49 | 1 | 0 | 202 | 02 |

other languages (O). The percentage of sign units at each data point which shows at least some use of Irish is given in the right-hand column.

The figures of Table 17.2, combined with the interpretive principles discussed thus far, suggest that each factor of tourism, language policy, and linguistic vitality has a role to play in shaping the LL. Tourism matters: in Galway, especially, we see a proliferation of signage that indexes the Irish language in places likely to be seen by tourists. Compared with the signage we have seen elsewhere, the Galway examples perform a wider range of communicative acts and show an elaboration of communicative choice in their use of Celtic-type fonts. The large percentage of bilingual sign units from Galway in Table 17.2 reflects the use of signage as found in Color Figures 17.3 and 17.5, where knowledge of Irish is not essential to an understanding of the message, but where the overall image is indexical of the language and, in turn, of the cultural elements which Irish itself indexes.

Language policy also matters. The most obvious division between signage in the Republic and signage in Northern Ireland comes as a direct result of language policy. Signs for street names, roads, and places are bilingual throughout the Republic, while most (though not all) counterpart signs in Northern Ireland are only in English. Local decisions fine-tune national policies: the Irish of Figure 17.1 exemplifies other public uses which we find in Newry but not in Bangor, while the contrast between Color Figures 17.7 and 17.8 arises from local decisions within a common legal framework.

Community language use also matters in shaping the landscape. The census differences between Newry and Bangor in the reported use of Irish (Table 17.1) correlate with the landscape differences shown in Table 17.2. The extremely low level of Irish-language usage in Bangor also explains why the linguistic landscape in Bangor is not like that in Galway: though both are active tourist spots, there is no community connection to Irish which is a part of Bangor's tourist appeal. In comparing Galway and Ballinasloe, we see some limitations of census figures. The census suggests that the two areas are similar in levels of Irish-language usage, but the differences in the linguistic landscape show that the use of Irish in Ballinasloe owes much to public signage and language policy, and not to the wider range of functions seen in

Color Figures 9–12. The census sets only a minimum standard of linguistic ability in order to return individuals as Irish-speaking: the landscape itself shows qualitative differences in linguistic vitality beyond that minimum.

Directions for the Future

We see from the evidence presented here that the Irish LL shows an interplay of complex decisions on the part of sign instigators entering into discourse with anticipated sign readers. The interpretation of qualitative and quantitative evidence from a hypothetical tourist's walk in four data points shows language policy, tourism, and community language use in interaction with communicative choices to yield a landscape in which the tourist may be a targeted audience or merely an eavesdropper. It is this confluence of overlapping discourses that gives rise to national representation and to the authentic cultural experience as encountered and remembered by the tourist. It cannot, of course, be assumed that what is crucial in Ireland is crucial elsewhere: different kinds of tourism (e.g., where economic disparities between host and tourist are much greater or where potential ethnic ties between host and tourist are viewed differently) may bring other factors into play.

Considering signage as discourse, we should also note the potential value of engaging in interviews with signage creators and signage recipients. The former type of interview (see also Malinowski, this volume) is needed to understand the role of semiotic choices in the generation of sign messages; the latter would balance a potentially undue emphasis on the production of signs by helping us to understand how different people distinguish between signage that is comfortably exotic and that which is intimidatingly incomprehensible. Moving from the purely visual to the more broadly discursive, the study of the linguistic landscape thus promises to take its place as one of the fundamental areas in the study of how meanings are expressed and interpreted in a social and physical context.

Notes

- 1 Though litterers may not intend to contribute to the LL, they do. The appearance in the street of discarded cigarette packs with health warnings in Polish and Lithuanian in Ireland today is an indication of recent trends in population mobility which complements the evidence of more conventional shop signs and advertising. What one might call the detritus zone in the landscape has now become multilingual, mirroring real demographic change.
- 2 The procedure described here is best suited to teamwork; I am grateful to Margaret Mannion, with whom I undertook these investigations in Spring, 2005. I would also like to thank Esther Kallen and Susan Gass for their helpful suggestions on earlier versions of this chapter.

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Part V

EXTENSIONS AND THE WAY
FORWARD

SCIENCE AND THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

A Genre Analysis of Representational Wall Space in a Microbiology Laboratory

David I. Hanauer

Introduction

This chapter explores the linguistic landscape (LL) of a professional microbiology laboratory. This study can be seen as continuing previous research within the context of multimodal semiotics that has explored the role of multimodality in the science classroom (Kress et al. 2001; Lemke 1998) and extends basic concerns of linguistic landscape studies to educational scientific contexts. The current study of laboratory wall space is part of a broader research project that deals with the role of multiliteracies and multimodal representation within the framework of biological scientific inquiry and aims to explicate, through qualitative description, the interrelationship of representational resources and scientific activity (see Hanauer 2005, 2006a,b, 2007). The study of microbiological wall space, as explicated in this chapter, was a result of the observation that members of the laboratory used their laboratory wall space as a significant representational resource within their everyday working in the laboratory. This project may be of interest to LL investigators as it situates LL within the context of academic literacy and as such may exemplify a broadening range of research questions to which LL research is applicable.

Conceptualizing the Linguistic Landscape

As discussed by Gorter (2006) the core of LL research is the understanding that language surrounds us in our everyday life and within multiple public settings. This research agenda has been promoted through the careful analysis of “language texts that are present in public space” (Gorter 2006: 1). In

most cases, the public domain has been the context of the LL research and the underlying concern of the evaluation of social relationships between majority and minority language groups vying for presence. Studies have been conducted in places such as Israel (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Spolsky and Cooper 1991), in Friesland in the Netherlands and the Basque Country in Spain (Cenoz and Gorter 2006), in Thailand (Huebner 2006) and India (Itagi and Singh 2002).

From the perspective of this very research project, on a very basic level the LL is seen as a literacy research paradigm. It is the extension of the exploration of individual and personal literacy practices from within the realm of one's private space to the literacies written on the canvas of public spaces. As also argued by Malinowski (this volume) and Spolsky (this volume), writing in a public space does indeed raise new questions concerning literacy and literacy practice. Some of these literacy concerns are:

- Who writes in public spaces?
- What is written in the public arena?
- What are the aims and ramifications of this public writing?
- Under what conditions does this writing take place?
- What are the ramifications of potentially multiple authors writing in the public realm?
- What happens to authorship and ownership of public literacy and the space it occupies?
- What are the ramifications of an unintentional (and in some cases unwilling) readership?
- How does this public writing reflect and/or direct public perception of the social space?
- What does this public writing say about the society and community within which it appears?

The literacy aspects of the LL research exemplified in this chapter are formulated against the backdrop of prior research that integrates literacy within wider social domains. Genre theory, as developed within applied linguistic (Bhatia 1993; Hanauer 1999, 2006a; Swales 1990) and rhetorical contexts (Bazerman 1988; Devitt 2000; Bawarshi 2000) views genre as situated and functioning within specific discourse communities. As defined by Swales (1990), the principle criterion for the definition of a genre is the presence of a clearly definable communicative purpose that is recognized by expert members of the community. Devitt (2000: 697) succinctly describes genre "as typified social action." From this perspective, genres are considered to evolve as a result of the communicative and representational needs of particular communities and accordingly a study of these genres may reveal how the discourse community actually functions (Devitt et al. 2003). Specifically

for LL research, genre analysis offers the possibility of further exploring inherent distinctions in representational and communicative literacy usage found in public domains and their inherent social functions.

In this chapter, the study of representational wall space in a professional microbiology laboratory will be presented. As with other LL literacy studies, the research methodology initially describes linguistic signage within publicly accessible areas and then analyzes the roles of these literacy genres within the setting that they are found. In the present case the overall aim of the analysis is to answer the question: What are the functions of representational wall space within a professional microbiological laboratory?

To answer this question, a description of the specific setting needs to be presented and an analysis of the genres utilized on this wall space needs to be conducted. The next section provides some initial context for the description of representational wall space within this specific disciplinary context.

The PHIRE Program

The context of the current study is a professional microbiology laboratory deeply involved in a unique educational enterprise—the integration of high school and undergraduate students in the process of professional microbiological scientific inquiry.

The PHIRE program (Phage Hunters Integrating Research and Education) is situated in the Bacteriophage Institute of Pittsburgh (at the University of Pittsburgh) involves detecting and isolating, through microbiological laboratory processes, novel bacteriophage and completing a full genetic description of the found organisms (Hatfull et al. 2006). A bacteriophage is a virus that infects bacteria and has the ability to integrate its own genetic material with that of the infected cell. The fact that the bacteriophage population is extensive, very diverse and under researched creates a situation in which the isolation and identification of these specific organisms by high school and undergraduate researchers is a significant and viable research project with the potential to extend professional scientific knowledge within the realm of microbiology (Hatfull et al. 2006). The viability of this program is further enhanced as a result of the graded nature of the actual microbiological processes of investigation that are required (Hatfull et al. 2006). Initially stages of the research project require minimal microbiological knowledge and this knowledge can be built through the process of actually conducting the research.

Research exploring the nature of scientific inquiry in this program has revealed some important educational features (Hanauer et al. 2006). The concepts of mentorship, scaffolded apprenticeship, collective ownership and evolving information flows are the underlying educational principles of this program. Within the laboratory and for all researchers (high-school,

undergraduate, graduate, post-doctorate and faculty) there is a system of mentorship based on extensive personal interaction in which information is freely and consistently shared. The educational development process and the scientific research agenda are achieved through what can be termed as a scaffolded apprenticeship model. The scientific research conducted in the laboratory is scaffolded through the presence of a more experienced student researcher and the collective written experience of the laboratory in the form of methodological protocols and written papers. This creates a multi-modal structure that directs the process of scientific inquiry and ensures the quality of the research. The result of this process is the collective ownership of the research outcomes (as evidenced in collective authorship on papers) and the research agenda that is fulfilled through the laboratory (see Hatfull et al. 2006).

Finally the PHIRE program is characterized by a process of continuous flow of information throughout laboratory. Figure 18.1 schematically represents this flow of knowledge. Three levels of knowledge can be defined

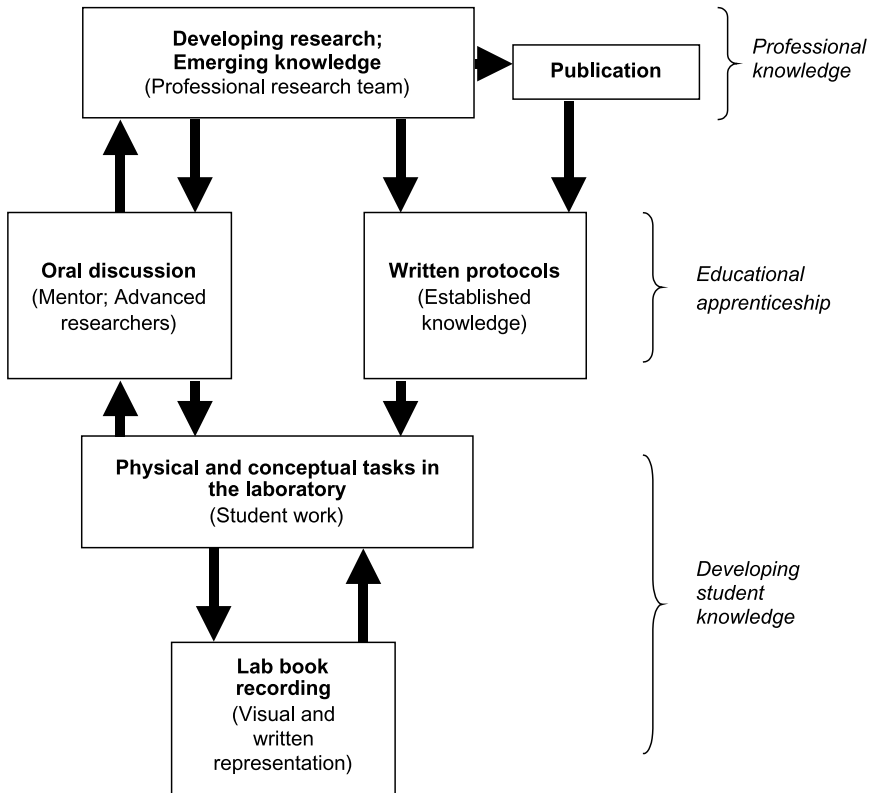


Figure 18.1 A schematic representation of the flow of knowledge through the laboratory.

within the laboratory: *professional knowledge* expressed in the form of published papers; *educational knowledge* concerning frameworks of multimodal scaffolding that direct the educational process and *student knowledge*. These levels of knowledge are interconnected with professional knowledge informing student research and developing student knowledge finding its way into professional publications. The integration of scientific inquiry and education within the laboratory is dependent on this circular flow of information through the laboratory and is both a defining feature and a central aim of the PHIRE program.

Methodology

The overall research design for the study of representational wall space within the microbiology laboratory consisted of a multimodal, qualitative genre approach (Hanauer 2006a,b; Kress et al. 2001; Lemke 1998). This specific project was preceded by an in-depth two-year qualitative study of the educational processes and multiliteracy aspects of scientific inquiry utilized within the laboratory (Hanauer et al. 2006; Hanauer 2006b, 2007). The research presented in this chapter was conducted in a series of stages:

- 1 *Photographic Documentation and Field Notes*: The laboratory is a relatively limited physical area that lends itself to comprehensive photographic documentation. It consists of four different functional spaces: “wet” microbiology laboratory, office space, corridor space and a kitchen area—complete photographic documentation was possible for each of these areas thus, avoiding sampling issues. As a first stage of data collection all the walls of the laboratory were photographed and carefully documented. Photographs were taken of all wall appendages that included visual or verbal representations. Photographs were taken using a digital camera with high resolution capabilities. In addition and as part of the data collection process, over a three-month period, observation of the usage of wall space was conducted by the researcher. This process was facilitated by the fact that the researcher was by this time a well-known member of the laboratory and was not seen as an “external” observer. The observations consisted of written documentation of how members of the laboratory interacted and used representational wall space. All observations were recorded using a hand written field note approach. When appropriate and as part of the observation process, laboratory members who utilized wall space were briefly interviewed on the spot about the procedures and functions of the laboratory wall space. The participants were asked what they were doing, what literacy product they were addressing and what role it played in their daily laboratory work.
- 2 *Qualitative Wall Space Genre Analysis*: Following the process of data collection of both photographic data and field notes, a process of genre

identification was conducted. The aim of this analysis was to generate a list of specific and identifiable genres that were present within the microbiology laboratory wall space. Some of the genres found on the laboratory walls had already been identified in other contexts within the laboratory (see Hanauer 2007 for an analysis of conference posters). However, prior research did not cover all the genres found within the linguistic landscape data set. All representational uses of wall space were categorized as a type of genre. Initial categorizations were based on the photographic data and the field notes for usage. The attempt in this initial designation of laboratory wall space genre was to define unique form function relations that were part of a consistent usage of the literacy artifact by different members of the laboratory. This did not consist of a full description of each of the genre but rather the designation that this was a differentiated and consistent usage of representational wall space within the laboratory that required further analysis. In all the eight different genres the following representations were found: sticky notes, conference posters, scientific graffiti, white/black boards, data tables, visual data, and general posting boards.

- 3 *Specific Genre Analysis:* Following the designation of the specific genres utilized within the laboratory wall space a more focused analysis of the specific genre was conducted. This analysis involved consideration of the original photographs and field notes as well as subsequent interviews and observations. The analysis was designed to explicate the specific functions, procedures of production and reception and characteristic structures that were present for each of the specific genres which were identified in the previous stage. The additional interviews and observations that were conducted were for validation purposes to make sure that the proposed understandings of genre usage were compatible with participants' understandings. If necessary, changes and modifications to the genre descriptions were made.
- 4 *Global Analysis of Representational Wall Space:* As a final stage, a more global approach was taken to the exploration of representational wall space within the microbiology laboratory. This broader analysis took into account the specific placement and description of each of the genre found in the laboratory and addressed the main question of the current study in the attempt to provide a description of the functions of representational wall space within this microbiology laboratory.

Results

General Description of Laboratory Wall Space

An early and initial observation of the usage of representational wall space within the laboratory was the variation of genres in accordance with the

type of laboratory area that was being documented. The physical space of the laboratory is divided into four different functional areas:

- 1 *“Wet” Microbiology Laboratory*—This laboratory area, termed the “wet” laboratory as a result of the experimental usage of chemicals, is used for the physical manipulation of micro-organisms and their environments. This area is characterized by the presence of work benches and all appropriate equipment necessary in order to conduct microbiological scientific inquiries. Color Figure 18.1 presents a photograph of this area with some of its representational aspects. There are two wet areas within the laboratory investigated in this study. One is more predominantly occupied by post-doc and graduate students and the other is used more by undergraduate and high school students. Both wet laboratory areas are adjacent to each other with only a corridor in between. There is constant movement between the two wet laboratory areas.
- 2 *Office Space*—Three different office areas exist within the physical confines of the laboratory. One office is for the head of the laboratory, one is for the coordinator of the PHIRE program and one is used by bio-informatics and educational researchers. All offices are used as conference areas and for specific computer needs such as those required in the annotation of the DNA of bacteriophage and the modeling of multiple bacteriophage groupings. The offices are an integral part of the laboratory and have open access to all members of the laboratory. Color Figure 18.2 presents a photograph of one of these areas. There is frequent movement in and out of the offices by all members of the laboratory.
- 3 *Corridor Space*—In between the two wet laboratories there is a corridor. This corridor allows movement between the two laboratories and also allows other researchers who are situated within the same building to move past the laboratory without actual entering the areas of scientific inquiry. Color Figure 18.3 presents a photograph of this area. The corridor also has small tables that are used to hold coffee and other beverages that the researchers cannot take into the wet laboratory area because of safety requirements. The corridor also has an important safety function in that it has a large shower head for immediate use in case of contamination. This corridor would also be used in case of evacuation.
- 4 *Kitchen Area*—The laboratory also has its own kitchen. This area is used during meals times but also functions as a form of social meeting room in which all members of the laboratory interact around personal or full laboratory events, such as celebrating birthdays or special achievements (promotion, publication, etc.).

Table 18.1 presents the different genres found according to each laboratory area. As can be seen in Table 18.1, eight different wall space genres were identified as functional within the laboratory wall space. The wet laboratory

Table 18.1 Frequency of wall space genres according to laboratory area

| <i>Laboratory area</i> | <i>Identified genre</i> | <i>Frequency</i> |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| “Wet” Laboratory | Sticky notes | 43 |
| | Warning signs | 13 |
| | Visual data | 7 |
| | Data tables | 7 |
| | White board | 2 |
| Corridor | Conference posters | 7 |
| | Warning signs | 4 |
| | Genome maps—scientific graffiti | 3 |
| | General posting boards | 2 |
| | Blackboard | 1 |
| Office | White/black boards | 4 |
| | Genome maps—scientific graffiti | 12 |
| | Visual data | 6 |
| Kitchen | White board | 1 |

and corridor had the most diversity of genres. Within the wet laboratory “sticky notes” and “warning signs” were the most prevalent; conference posters, warning signs and genome maps were the most prevalent in the corridor space; genome maps and white boards were the most prevalent in the office space. All laboratory areas made use of representational wall space.

Genre Descriptions

Each of the eight genres identified was defined on the basis that it fulfilled a specific function and had distinct features within the realm of the laboratory. A brief synopsis of the genre characteristics of each of these genres appears below:

Sticky Notes

Sticky notes were found solely within the wet laboratory area of the laboratory. The notes are stuck above and adjacent to the work bench areas and fulfil an important role within the scientific inquiry process itself. The notes present four different types of information—lists of things that need to be done in a specific procedure or set of procedures for scientific inquiry, sequences of DNA that need to be remembered so that they can be recognized, quantities and equations. The information on the sticky notes and the way this information is situated in the wet laboratory working area suggests that the notes are used as a memory aid for specific information that is important for on-going microbiological inquiry. This was also reported to be

the function in the interview data. The to-do list notes are written quite quickly and tend to change on a daily basis. The DNA sequences, equations and quantities are left close to the work bench for long periods of time. The notes are all created by the specific researcher assigned to that work bench and are part of the literacy practice of scientific inquiry. Without the sticky notes, other literacy resources such as a protocol handbook would have to be constantly referred to. These sticky notes provide a quick reference for the researchers during their everyday work and their small size and ability to stick to shelving and other bench areas makes them ideal for this purpose.

Warning Signs

Warning signs were found within the corridor and the wet laboratory areas. The social function of the warning sign is to provide information to laboratory members on the role of specific machines, procedures that need to be followed and potential dangers that exist within the different sections of the laboratory. As with other microbiology laboratories, there are organisms and materials that pose a potential danger to humans. Within the laboratory there are researchers with very different scientific experience and as such, many of the potential hazards are not clear. The warning signs help to bring awareness to the different things that need to be addressed. Some of the warning signs deal with just correct and helpful working procedures that need to be followed such as which pipette tips are to be used, where to place waste paper or which sink to use. A difference was found in the type of warning signs found in the wet laboratory and in the corridor space and the authorship of these signs. In the corridor the signs were official, produced by the university authorities and dealing with fire, evacuation and designating the safety shower. The warning signs in the laboratory were created by members of the laboratory. The laboratory signs could be handwritten on paper, produced by a labeling machine or actually written on machines using a permanent marker. Most of the warning signs were permanent for the three months of the study but a limited number of new signs appeared for specific periods. The signs play an important role in regulating activity in the laboratory and ensuring that safety procedures are well known and integrated within the everyday workings of the laboratory. The warning signs are placed next to the machine in which the actions that are required should take place.

Conference Posters

Conference posters were displayed in the corridor area and consisted of actual presentations that had been made at the American Society for Microbiology conference of that year. During the period of the data collection, the posters were changed as new posters from the current year were displayed.

The posters are predominantly visual, presenting data from a variety of scientific inquiries conducted by members of the laboratory. The conference posters allow the dissemination of knowledge through the laboratory. The laboratory research is designed as a multiplatform research project in which different members of the laboratory address a range of more specific research issues relating to the specific organism they have found or specific characteristics (or methods of research) in relation to that organism. The presence of the posters within the laboratory corridor allows members of the laboratory the option of closely observing the important (visual) data results that were found. Since the laboratory has researchers with very different educational levels, the corridor space provides an educational opportunity for younger researchers to understand the research conducted in the laboratory. The conference posters are often observed and discussed by participants in the laboratory. It is a common sight to see an undergraduate student with a high school student observing and discussing the visual representation presented on the posters. The posters also have an additional role, as in producing the posters the researchers were required to reflect and conceptualize their current findings. The posters take about three weeks to produce and are composed by researchers in the laboratory (undergraduates, graduates, post-docs and faculty). The posters have the sections of a scientific argument (introduction, methods, results, conclusions, and future directions), but are predominantly visual forms of presenting the results. The results sections cover 43 percent of the poster space and consist of the visual representation of laboratory results. Text is reduced to a secondary role in the figure headings and as an argumentative frame in the introduction and conclusions. The posters provide good examples of laboratory results and are used to exemplify what should be seen at different stages and what these findings could mean.

Scientific Graffiti—(Genome Maps)

A special form of visual representation is used within the laboratory to represent the genetic composition of a specific novel bacteriophage that has been discovered by a researcher in the laboratory. This form of representation is termed a genome map and it consists of the complete genetic description of the organism. The process of determining that a specific sequence of DNA is indeed a gene (a procedure termed “calling genes”) is still a human-based interpretive process. The determination that a specific sequence of DNA is a gene involves integrating different computer based gene determination possibilities, utilizing the researcher’s knowledge of the characteristics of the organism and carefully considering the specific string of letters determining the sequence of DNA. The process of determining the genome of a bacteriophage is time intensive activity. Since this is ultimately an informed human determination there is room for error and disagreement. In

addition, there are a multitude of genes in any given genome and the bacteriophage population is very diverse. The outcome of this process is that it would be impossible for any single researcher to remember and control all the multitude of specific decisions concerning all the bacteriophage that have been discovered in the laboratory. In this sense, every researcher (no matter what their formal educational level is) in the laboratory has a certain unique expertise with their own discovered organism and there is the need to share this expertise with other members of the laboratory.

Within the laboratory, specific ways of representing the genome of a bacteriophage were developed. As can be seen in Color Figure 18.4, the basic genome map consists of a series of colored boxes arranged in a series of long lines. The representation is symbolic and not realistic. Each of the boxes represents a decision concerning the presence of a specific gene. Another line of inquiry within the laboratory is to consider the historically evolutionary relationship among the various bacteriophages that have been discovered. This involves a careful consideration of the similarities and differences in the genome of the different bacteriophages. On the walls of the corridor and in the offices, genome maps are displayed and members of the laboratory are seen writing their comments in relation to the gene calls or the interrelationships. The comments are written anonymously and consist of one of three determinations: a question concerning the way a gene was called, gene comparison to a gene in another organism, and whole genome comparison. Researchers of all educational levels can be seen exploring the genome maps and making comments or marking the map either by writing directly on the map or by adding a sticky note (see Color Figures 18.5, 18.6, 18.7). This is a form of shared knowledge that is represented on the walls of the laboratory. One truly interesting aspect of this process is that the writing is done anonymously and not in any directly concerted way. The representations exist on the walls and members of the laboratory can just walk up and write on them. The work is done seriously and the writers could be anyone from within the laboratory from a world famous geneticist (as in the case of one writing that I observed), or an undergraduate student. The writing and annotation of the genome maps is designed to make the gene calls as accurate as possible and to point out similarities in genomes, and consists therefore as of a form of public sharing of knowledge through literacy. In this sense, it is a form of scientific graffiti in which knowledge is presented publicly but is not assigned specific authorship. It is the ultimate development of shared laboratory knowledge.

White/Black Boards

In every area of the laboratory, white and black boards can be found. As open writing areas these boards serve several different purposes. As observed the boards performed three different functions: they were used to announce

up-coming meetings; to present new rules, guidelines and warnings; and as an ever present teaching and learning tool. The last of these three functions is the most interesting. All over the laboratory white and black boards with diagrams, sequences of DNA, and descriptions of microbiological processes can be found. These representations are in the kitchen, the offices, the corridors, and the laboratory and allow information to be shared throughout the laboratory. The writing on the white boards could be conducted by anyone in the laboratory, but is usually the consequence of a discussion of a specific question that has arisen as a result of the scientific inquiry process. The white boards are used as an *ad-hoc* large writing space where things can be explained. The representations are left up for anyone to see. The writers are commonly the more experienced members of the laboratory providing explanations to younger and newer researchers. The white boards reflect the continual educational process directed by specific scientific inquiries that take place within the laboratory. As might be expected, the contents of the white boards change on a frequent basis.

Data Tables

Data tables are found within the laboratory area and fulfil a similar role to the sticky notes addressed above. They provide information that is required during microbiological scientific inquiry. The data tables reviewed for the current study consisted of “recipes” for specific microbiological processes that are commonly used. The data tables were attached just above the work benches of the researchers within the laboratory and were at eye level for quick reference. The tables are photocopies from a handbook of protocols from microbiology.

Visual Data

Visual data is found in the laboratory and in the office space. The visual data that was observed consisted of either symbolic representations of the genome of bacteriophage or actual electron microscope pictures of specific bacteriophage. The genome representations fulfilled a functional role and were analyzed for their genetic qualities as part of the on-going process of inquiry. The electron microscope pictures had a different status. As reported in Hanauer (2006b), for the undergraduate students the actual picture of the organism that they discovered made the process of scientific inquiry very concrete and personal. The pictures were attached to the wall or adjacent to the workspace and represented a personal milestone in the visualization of the researcher’s discovery. Accordingly, they were displayed next to the work bench.

General Posting Boards

The general posting boards were found in the corridor area of the laboratory. These posting boards were used to present information that came from the wider university community that might be of interest to members of the laboratory. This information was usually in the form of flyers or leaflets and consisted of information on lectures, educational opportunities, things for sale, courses that are open, and other university news. The flyers and leaflets changed on a frequent basis.

**Summary—The Functions of Wall Signage within a
Microbiology Laboratory**

The overall aim of the current LL literacy study was to explore the question as to the functions of representational wall space within a professional microbiology laboratory. A consideration of the different genres found within the wall space of the different laboratory areas suggests that wall space is used for two specific functions: (1) Facilitating a flow of knowledge throughout the laboratory; and (2) Enhancing the procedural aspects of conducting scientific inquiry.

Evidence of the role of representational wall space in facilitating the flow of knowledge throughout the laboratory comes from the analysis of the genres of scientific graffiti, white boards and conference posters. As analyzed here, scientific graffiti consists of the co-construction of knowledge with different members of the laboratory sharing expertise through written inscription on the publicly accessible genome maps. The white boards were used as teaching tools providing specific members of the laboratory with specific explanations of microbiological phenomenon. These descriptions were left in the public arena for further consideration. Conference posters were frequently referenced by various members of the laboratory as a way of understanding one another research results and research agendas. All these genres were produced by members of the laboratory with different education levels and together represent a shared and developing body of knowledge. In previous analyses it was seen that the process of mentorship and the literacy products of publications and protocols facilitated a flow of information in the laboratory (Hanauer et al. 2006; Hanauer 2006b). What the present study adds is the role of representational wall space in exactly this process. The genres described here allow broad access to shared, collective knowledge. Rather than a top down model of knowledge in which experts control all the knowledge, in this setting and as seen most directly through the use of representational wall space, knowledge is co-produced by multiple actors. The analysis of representational wall space presented here reflects the social structure of this specific laboratory and reveals a more equitable concept of expertise resulting from the fact that all members of

the laboratory are involved in a significant scientific inquiry process. This ultimately supports the stated educational aims of the laboratory to share microbiological knowledge with all members of the laboratory.

The second function of representational wall space addresses ways in which the work of science can be conducted in smoother, safer and more efficient way. The use of sticky notes, data tables, warning signs and white boards all function to provide quick literacy access to required information in order to conduct scientific inquiry and warnings as to things that need to be avoided or conducted in specific ways. This regulation of the scientific inquiry process is important because of the different educational levels and backgrounds of researchers in the laboratory.

The current analysis of representational wall space in a microbiology laboratory presents a unique insight into the way the linguistic landscape of an academic setting is utilized as well as providing information on the role of representational communication in science. As seen in this study representational wall space is functional in promoting and enhancing the scientific and educational aims of this specific microbiology laboratory and reflects a specific set of beliefs and behaviors concerning the dissemination and creation of collective knowledge.

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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES AND THE TRANSGRESSIVE SEMIOTICS OF GRAFFITI

Alastair Pennycook

Introduction

Graffiti is a transgressive global art. An element of worldwide hip-hop culture, it is part of both global transcultural flows and local subcultural practices of place. As the most visible element of hip-hop culture, it is viewed by many as inherently anti-social and thus is transgressive in two important ways: First, since it is often viewed as little more than vandalism, inconsiderate doodling on the bourgeois façades of society, it is seen as transgressive social behavior. Second, because hip-hop graffiti is aimed not at the conveying of messages to a broader community (as common graffiti texts may do) but rather at the creation of a subcultural community, its use of language as style rather than communication may be seen as semiotically transgressive. This chapter argues that an understanding of graffiti as transgressive urban semiotics opens up important directions for an understanding of linguistic landscapes (LL) more generally. By looking at current theories of urban space, time and semiotics, this chapter argues that we need to understand how graffiti writing is about space, naming and style; it is about place, pride, rebellion and appropriation. And, as a vicar of a local Anglican church recently put it, graffiti may be the stained glass windows of the twenty-first century.

Twenty-First Century Stained Glass Windows

“We’re a traditional church, in that we acknowledge that God works in many different ways,” says Father Gwilym Henry-Edwards of St Luke’s Anglican Church, Enmore, Sydney, his neatly cut grey beard mirroring the robust metal cross around his neck, both set off by the black of his vestments. “The stained glass windows that we have—some of them are very historic over a hundred years old—and that medium of stained glass spoke

very clearly to the people of the past, and this," he continues, gesturing to the wall of graffiti behind him (see Color Figure 19.1), "speaks to people of the present and the future." He goes on to explain that this wall of graffiti painted by Sydney graff artist Mistery (see Color Figures 19.2 and 19.3) has received "a lot of very positive comments. There's a lady in one of the houses just down the lane who sits up in her window and has been watching Mistery working on it, and saying how wonderful it is to see such artistry on the wall. Because this expresses something which is important to people, and important to Mistery, it expresses his faith, his beliefs and people can see that and they appreciate it" (Compass 2006).

Graffiti as the stained glass windows of the twenty-first century? Aside from Father Henry-Edwards' interestingly open-minded views on graffiti and spirituality, these comments open up several issues of importance in relation to linguistic landscapes. The graffiti being referred to here are not the textual scribbles on toilet walls sometimes associated with the term, but rather large hip-hop style pictures and texts (see Color Figure 19.4). Graffiti or "writing" is seen as one of the four core elements of the broader hip-hop culture (rapping or MCing, scratching or DJing, and break-dancing being the others): A classic hip-hop crew might be made up of one representative of each of the four elements, though graffiti has also developed into a distinctive subculture of its own, with attendant terminology such as *tag* (the most basic form of graffiti, a writer's logo or stylized signature with marker or spray paint), *buff* (the removal or covering up of graffiti), *blockbuster* (big, square letters, often tilted back and forth, usually in two colors), *throwup* (variously used to mean to mean a quickly painted piece with one layer of spray paint and an outline, or also bubble letters of any sort, not necessarily filled), *bomb* (to cover an area with tags, throwups, etc.).

If we are prepared to accept on the one hand the notion of graffiti as the stained-glass windows of the twenty-first century and on the other that both graffiti and stained-glass windows are part of the linguistic landscape (LL), several issues emerge: While work on LLs has tended to view the linguistic in fairly narrow terms (language as script), this perspective opens up the linguistic to a broader semiotic domain. Some might be reluctant to do so, since to include such images opens the domain to a very wide array of semiotic forms. But to exclude them is also difficult, since graffiti are a hybrid form of text and picture, and as many recent studies of multimodality (e.g., Kress and van Leeuwen 2001) have suggested, it may make no sense to try to separate text from image. As Father Henry-Edwards suggests, furthermore, such images "speak to people," or put another way, they are readily interpretable in various ways. Yet they also transcend questions of particular languages and present instead a broader domain of social semiotics.

This raises questions for the notion of linguistic landscapes. Given that both theoretical and empirical aspects of LLs are already well covered in this book, I shall not bother to give my own overview of the field. Rather, I shall

raise several issues that I think need to be considered and which push the notion of LL further. The notion of LLs has clearly resonated with researchers interested in social and political roles of languages. It emphasizes that language is not something that exists only in people's heads, in texts written for institutional consumption, or in spoken interactions but rather is part of the physical environment. At least in urban contexts, language surrounds us, directs us, haies us, calls for our attention, flashes its messages to us. Linguistic landscapes take us into the spatiality of language; we are invited to explore what Scollon and Scollon (2003: 12) call from a related perspective *geosemiotics*: "an integrative view of these multiple semiotic systems which together form the meanings which we call place."

At the same time, the ways in which LLs have operated as a conceptual domain has constrained the possibilities of opening this out to broader considerations. Both the concept of language embedded in the "linguistic" and the concept of context embedded in the "landscape" have been commonly viewed from perspectives that limit the possibilities of thinking about language and place in different ways. Put simply, the most common construction of language has been as an indicator of a particular language, with the focus then being on the representation of different languages in public space; this has been linked most often to questions of language policy and multilingualism in an attempt to address questions about which languages are used for which particular public duties; how official language policies are reflected in public signs; how local sign-making may present other forms of diversity, and so on. The landscape meanwhile is taken generally to suggest little more than the public backdrop of the city, the spaces on which official and unofficial signage is embedded. Landscapes are viewed as blank texts on which different languages have been written. At its most basic, this approach counts signs in different languages and compares these percentages with language policies.

There are several ways in which we might wish to expand this view of LLs. First of all, when we look at signs and their meaning, we need to be careful not to reduce signs to flatly interpretable entities. We need to look not only at presence but also salience: If we want to suggest that signs have significance numerically, we also need to explore why some signs may be much more significant than others. What is it that renders some signs important, while others may be overlooked? This leads on to the concern that LL research may fall into the same trap as critical discourse analysis (CDA) and a number of other approaches to semiotics: Meaning does not reside in the text but is always in the context, or as I have argued (Pennycook 2007), in the relationship among pretextual, contextual, subtextual, intertextual and post-textual meanings. While CDA has long paid lip-service to the importance of textual production and reception, analysis remains predominantly between the text and the analyst. In order to know what meanings signs may carry in the social domain, however, we need to know more about how and

why they are made, with what intentions, beliefs and ideologies, and how they are read, with what interests, interpretations and discourses.

If we look at Color Figure 19.5, for example, taken in Kochi (Cochin), Kerala, we might explore only the issues of language policy that emerge. That this is in English is unsurprising; signs in Kerala are largely in Malayalam or English, with Hindi having only a minor role in various official capacities or large companies. The flowing script of Malayalam is widespread and with the high literacy levels of Kerala, is used in many contexts for local transaction. The broad North-South/Indo-European-Dravidian divide also renders English a more favored option than Hindi. This sign is also in the tourist area of Fort Cochin, and is clearly intended for a non-local audience, with English being the favored language both in India and elsewhere for such texts. All this we can read in fairly uncomplicated fashion from this sign; and we could indeed go on to count signs in English and Malayalam, and to compare such counts in the tourist-oriented Fort Cochin with the more locally-oriented Ernakulam across the water. Thus, we might be able to produce a sign cartography that shows the proportional use of English and Malayalam (and Hindi) and the different potential audiences for these signs.

But there are other things I want to know about this sign. I want to know about the sign-writer, perched on his ladder, lungi hitched up: Does he do signs in Malayalam too? Where does writing signs in English fit into his own language ecology? What does it mean to him to write “Only tourists inn”?; I want to know about these colors, the green of the window shutter, the red of the wall, the white of the sign: Why this hand-written sign on a wall, rather than something more modern? I want to know about the “Da” of the first line, with its apparent reference to African-American English, or more broadly the global hip-hop use of such terms: What world does this index, with its reference to global popular culture (see Pennycook 2007)? Why has this name—Da Candy Bay—been chosen for a new hotel? I want to know about how this sign is read: How will tourists passing the finished sign react to this? How does this mixture of the traditional in the wall-painted sign and the modern in its references get interpreted? How will the passing Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Christians (the sign is close to places of worship of all four religions) of Kochi react to the “spa lounge” and “disco”? But like other LL researchers, alas, I have only an image of a sign, not a signography. This is why David Malinowski’s (in this volume) question—Who authors the landscape?—is so important, since he looks not only at Korean signs in the Oakland landscape but how and why they got there, how they are read, what meanings they are intended to carry, and are read as carrying. In order to understand signs in landscapes, therefore, we need signographies rather than sign cartographies.

We also need to ask questions about the easy rendition of a sign-language relationship. In public, globalized spaces, is it so clear that signs are *in* one

language or another? Take the sign on the front of a building in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, for example: Pub dan karaoke. Is this a trilingual sign (pub—English; dan (and)—Bahasa Malaysia; karaoke—Japanese), a monolingual sign (depending on the integration of pub and karaoke into Bahasa Malaysia), or a bilingual sign (the absorption of karaoke into English before Bahasa Malaysia might suggest that this is in Malay and English)? To ask what language this is in is perhaps to ask the wrong question. In contexts of globalization and multilingualism, it is not so clear that signs are in a specific language at all. And to make diversity contingent on the numerical representation of languages is to focus on what Halliday (2002) has termed *glosodiversity* at the expense of *semiodiversity*, on the quantitative strategy of language enumeration rather than the qualitative understanding of the traffic of meaning (Pennycook 2004; Kramsch 2006). Indeed, as Sinfree Makoni and I have argued (Makoni and Pennycook 2007), there are good reasons to reject the notion of discrete languages as separate identities, and to move instead towards an understanding of how different linguistic resources are used, different worlds evoked, different possibilities engaged in as people use the linguistic wherewithals around them. There are further ways in which we may wish to expand an understanding of language and landscape. This I shall do by looking in more depth at graffiti.

Transgressive Texts and Transformed Landscapes

Graffiti are very much about production. It is the process of writing/drawing illicitly, as well as the subsequent traces of that writing, that matters. There is another echo of the world of stained glass windows in Christen's (2003: 63) claim that graffiti crews "resemble medieval guilds or trade unions, with apprentices assisting on works designed by masters, often painting backgrounds and filling in outlines in preparation for the finer detailed work." Graffiti crews, he argues, are significant "educational organizations that promote valuable learning among their members," providing "poor and disadvantaged adolescents with knowledge, skills, and values important for success in the mainstream. At the same time, it bonds young people to their urban neighborhoods, empowering them to challenge the dominant society and to transform rather than escape their communities" (Christen 2003: 58). Rahn (2002: 191) also suggests that hip-hop in general, and graffiti in particular, "provides a structure of traditional skills, mentors, and codes, but allows for human agency, and a sense of play." Thus, while the product may be deemed socially unacceptable, an understanding of the process suggests socially significant activities.

And yet, while graffiti crews may reflect medieval guilds, they are nevertheless crucially different in a number of ways. Although they may do commissioned or legal work (as with Mistery's pieces round the church), most of the work is transgressive, illegal. Indeed part of the creed of graffiti

crews is to confront the lines of authority around the public space. A common argument among graffiti artists is that the legally sanctioned billboards and advertisements that adorn urban space are a greater eyesore than graffiti, and it is only the fact that capitalist-influenced laws make one legal and the other not that turns their art into an underground activity. Graffiti differ from public signs in several important ways since it is almost always seen as “transgressive to place the spiritual, the artistic, the socially uplifting message in places in which visual semiosis is forbidden” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 149). Not only is the emplacement of graffiti transgressive but “Graffiti are transgressive because they are not authorized, and they may even be prohibited by some social or legal sanction” (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 151). As a form of “transgressive semiotics,” they are very different from the legally sanctioned or officially placed signs of businesses or authorities. Thus we need to read graffiti not as the sanctioned signage of capitalism or the state but as transgressive. Anti-graffiti policies have been around as long as states and societies have developed ways of policing what can be said and where. As Castleman (2004) shows, anti-graffiti policies may play a significant political role in the city, since to be easy on graffiti may be seen as being light on crime. This raises questions about why the predominant focus of LL research appears to have focused so much on officially sanctioned signs, and whether a relationship between “top-down” and “bottom-up” signs could not be opened out to include a more complex set of forms of resistance and accommodation.

Graffiti are generally not intended to be interpretable by people outside the subculture of hip-hop/graff writers. Graffiti are about style and identity: As van Treeck (2003) argues, the different graffiti styles—from tags to throwups, and from local city styles to where they are positioned (under bridges, on the sides of bridges, on trains, inside tunnels, on derelict buildings, high up, low down)—are an important part of identity formation. From risk taking, to opposition to bourgeois sensibilities, from mapping parts of the city, to developing a recognizable style, from placing pieces in juxtaposition with officially sanctioned signage (commercial advertising, road signs, and so on), to locating oneself within a particular spatial, class and ethnic subculture of the city, graffiti are about establishing particular types of identity. They are not only about territory but about different ways of claiming space. They are also transformative in the sense not only that they change the public space but that they reinterpret it. In the same way that *Parkour*, the art of fluid, physical movement through urban landscapes (also known as *Yamakasi*, the name of one well-known group of practitioners, or *l'art du déplacement*—the art of displacement) developed in the suburbs of Paris and other French cities, reclaims and reinterprets the drab concrete environments designed for working class and predominantly immigrant communities, so graffiti is not, as a bourgeois reading would have it, only about bespoiling the public space, but rather it is about its transformation

into a different kind of place that carries not only the signs of urban planners but also the designs of urban dwellers.

While Gorter (2006) usefully draws our attention to the difference between the more technical, objectifying Germanic *Landschaft* and the more subjective Romance *paysage*, there are further considerations here. As Cannadine (2000: 188) suggests in his book on class in Britain, by the same token that we can see landscape as “what culture does to nature,” so it is possible to view class “as being what culture does to inequality and social structure: investing the many anonymous individuals and unfathomable collectivities in society with shape and significance, by moulding our perceptions of the unequal world we live in.” Returning to the first part of this analogy, which draws on Schama’s (1995) work on landscape and memory, the human making of the landscape is not only in terms of planting, cutting, diverting, and shaping (landscaping) but also “the process whereby those trees, rivers and flowers become invested with meanings and morals and myths, and that process is as much a matter of perception and politics, of language and rhetoric, of feeling and sentiment, as it is the result of the conscious acts of landscaping themselves” (Cannadine 2000: 188). While we might be able to view this distinction along the lines of the *Landschaft/paysage* distinction, there is more at stake here: our linguistic landscapes are the products of human activity not merely in terms of the signs we put up but also in terms of the meanings, morals and myths we invest in them.

Milon (2002) gives us an alternative distinction between *visage* and *paysage* in his discussion of graffiti in urban spaces, asking how graffiti “participate in the construction of this urban face [*visage*] or landscape [*paysage*].” Are tags and pieces, he asks, “a part of a city’s skin, or are they but scars more or less deeply engraved on its body?” As he goes on to suggest, for those who do not know how to read the signs of the graffiti world, tags are often seen as “incomprehensible hieroglyphic signatures that aggressively pollute the visual space of the inhabitant, a type of filth that damages the City’s attractiveness. These marks are felt as dirty, exterior marks on the City.” From a different point of view, however, graffiti can be seen as “integral parts of the City; they contribute to the definition of its exterior aspect, its size, as well as to the definition of its interior design, its soul. They are not simple decorations but also the translation of social unrest” (Milon 2002: 87). From this point of view, then, graffiti are “expressions that shape the City’s landscape” (Milon 2002: 88), suggesting again that we need to view the urban landscape not in terms of an artist’s blank canvas onto which linguistic signs are written but rather as a constructed space written through transgressive semiotics.

This suggests the need to think about landscape in different ways. The location of graffiti around transport (bridges, trains, railways) suggests not only that these present accessible yet dangerous sites for writing, but also that movement and visibility are significant to the meaning of graffiti. Like

the Buddhist prayer flags and wheels of Tibet, it is the movement, the moving text that brings meaning: just as prayer flags are strung across windy areas so that they can flutter in the breeze, and prayer wheels may be either turned by hand or even made to rotate by water, so graffiti are not only about placement but also movement. Here it is useful to think in terms of de Certeau's (1990) discussion of walking in the city:

L'acte de marcher est au système urbain ce que l'énonciation (le speech act) est à la langue . . . [C]'est un procès d'appropriation du système topographique par le piéton (de même que le locuteur s'approprie et assume la langue); une réalisation spatiale du lieu (de même que l'acte de parole est une réalisation sonore de la langue).

(de Certeau 1990: 148)

The act of walking is to the urban system what enunciation (the speech act) is to the language system . . . It is a process of appropriation of the topographical system by the walker (just as the speaker appropriates and assumes the language); a spatial realization of place (just as the act of speaking is a vocal realization of the language) [my translation].¹

The act of walking in the city is what brings it to life, a spatial realization of place. For graffiti artists, the city becomes a text, a text that both includes their own writing and is animated by movement. As São Paulo graffiti artist Ninguém explains, "Graffiti is about conquering space. What I like is that I can draw or illustrate the places I move in and out of all the time—the trains, buses, etc. Better said, I can use these places to imagine. Imagination is key to graffiti and it is what attracted me" (cited in Pardue 2004: 426). Thus, as Pardue explains, graffiti is far more than a string of individual identity marks or tags but rather involves a process of narration and *imaginação* (imagination).

Integration, Identity, Imagination, Illocution, Interpellation

This understanding of graffiti sheds new light on possible ways of thinking about linguistic landscapes in terms of integration, identity, imagination, illocution and interpellation. Put together, this suggests a far more dynamic account of space, text and interaction: readers and writers are part of the fluid, urban semiotic space and produce meaning as they move, write, read, and travel. The styles and locations of signs are about identity, they are statements of place, belonging, group membership, and style. Landscapes are not mere backdrops on which texts and images are drawn but are spaces that

are imagined and invented. The social effects, the illocutionary force, of urban texts are animated by the movement and interactions of city dwellers. If, as has become common recently, we view language in terms of practices, as an activity, in terms of “*linguaging*” (see, e.g., Shohamy 2006), so too is it useful to see landscapes in terms of “*landscaping*” where this implies not only the active management of the material environment but also the discursive creation of the landscape. We need to view the landscape not as canvas or as context but as integrative and invented environment. As Scollon and Scollon (2003: 12) note, cultural geographers can help us see beyond our linguistic blinkers that construct an image of language events as simply occurring against a backdrop of a spatial context, since they have engaged in “progressively more acute analyses of the ways in which places in time and space come to have subjective meanings for the humans who live and act within them.” Space, as Soja (1989), drawing on Foucault, points out, has been treated as dead, fixed, immobile: Time moves, space stands still. Yet space needs to be seen in a much more dynamic sense, as much more than a backdrop since “the organization and meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience” (Soja 1989: 79–80). As Ma, suggests, space needs to be understood as a “social construct that anchors and fosters solidarity, oppression, liberation or disintegration” (Ma 2002: 131).

The perspective I have been trying to open up here through graffiti suggests several ways in which research in linguistic landscapes could progress from an interest predominantly in official signs in relation to official and unofficial languages. A focus on production of signs, on the how, why and who behind a sign would help an understanding of how signs come into being, with what purposes, with what hopes and desires. Malinowski’s (in this volume) signography gives us useful ways forward here. An understanding of signs in terms of transmodality (Pennycook 2007) would allow us to move beyond a reduced view of language to incorporate broader semi-otic relations. Going beyond the notion of separate languages and looking instead at linguistic resources would allow an understanding of more than just a relation between language policy and representation. A focus on the reception of signs would help us see how they are read and interpreted. If Althusser was interested in how language interpellated us into particular ideological formations, an understanding of linguistic landscapes as interpellations would help us understand how particular subjects are called into being as they walk through the city. The importance of movement, of interactive spaces takes us beyond mere studies of audience and reception but requires us to focus on space as dynamic, on landscape as constantly under production. Landscaping and *linguaging* become interactive processes with the urban environment. Graffiti, as the stained glass windows of the twenty-first century, speak to us in many ways.

Note

- 1 The English translation by Steven Rendall of this widely quoted text (de Certeau 1984) unfortunately renders this as “The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language.” This is in part de Certeau’s fault since by glossing “l’énonciation” as “le speech act” he has conflated two different ideas. To then translate this only as “speech act” is to miss the effect of the term enunciation: walking gives expression to the urban landscape. A speech act is a different thing again: the social or functional act we achieve through an utterance. Thus, the speech act is a different level again from the enunciation, and here might be understood to mean not only the way we give meaning to the city by walking through it but also the social effects of bringing the city to meaning.

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LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AS AN ECOLOGICAL ARENA

Modalities, Meanings, Negotiations,
Education

Elana Shohamy and Shoshi Waksman

The initial brainstorming of this chapter is taking place between two writers in two locations, a private house in Tel Aviv and the Fertile Grounds café in Berkeley to the playback of a cell-phone conversation conducted in English, Spanish and Spanglish. The conversation is conducted in the space of a wireless café where colored photographs of people working in their fields in remote areas of Mexico are displayed on the walls. These are accompanied by labels of environmental protection and personal narratives of their biographies and of the photographer. The phone conversation centers around a broken water pipe and is peppered with curses and yelling about whose fault it was that the pipe broke. It is then followed by a set of instructions on how to repair the pipe. The person conducting the phone conversation moves around the small café occupying different places and altering the volume level of his speech according to the reactions of the people working intensively at their laptop computers (Color Figure 20.1).

What can be considered as linguistic landscape (LL) in this very context? The labels of the pictures? The pictures themselves? Both? The geographical place? The spaces of Mexico, Berkeley or Tel Aviv? The conversations? The texts created on the laptops? The café and its outside signs? The space as intersection of moving bodies? The technologies? The people involved? The basic claim made in this chapter is that LL incorporates all those displayed and interwoven “discourses”—what is seen, what is heard, what is spoken, what is thought.

Introduction and Overview

This book is entitled *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery* and it refers to the notion that the “field,” “discipline” or “domain” of linguistic landscape

(LL) needs to be expanded in its definitions, components, interpretations, implications and implementations. The chapters included in the book broaden the construct of LL by addressing its theoretical and research perspectives as well as critique and challenge its dimensions, facets and scope.

In this last chapter, we continue in the direction of “expanding the scenery” by proposing broader dimensions of LL. We begin by positing the argument that LL refers to texts situated and displayed in a changing public space, which is being redefined and reshaped. This public space is a fertile ground for the emergence of broad and infinite repertoire of texts types. Such definitions of LL go beyond displayed “written” texts of signs in multilingual versions and include verbal texts, images, objects, placement in time and space as well as human beings. We follow Lefebvre (1996) in claiming that the public space is dynamic, flowing, non-linear and interactive and contributes to the emergence of varied and diverse text types that shape and design the public sphere.

The creation of meaning of the LL texts as displayed in the public space, in its new and changing boundaries, is manifested within a variety of information design modes. These modes include images, sounds, words in mono, multiple and mixed languages, hybrids and fusions, reflecting different modalities and their interactions. The meanings and interpretations of this broad and diverse repertoire of LL texts are created through multi modal and multilingual analyses as: “Meaning resides in all modes and each (mode) contributes to the overall meaning of the multimodal ensemble” (Kress et al. 2001: 1).

We continue by arguing that the public space is not neutral but rather a negotiated and contested arena. After all, “The public space is a shared domain which is embedded in history, culture, ideology, geography as the meaning of place is also of ‘identity of relations and of history’ ” (Auge 1995: 52). As such, LL provides a prism of languages embedded in societies and situated in humanistic, social, and political ecology of those who share, form, influence and are influenced by it.

Given this wide variety of factors and features that influence LL in the public space we will argue for the use of LL as a powerful tool for education and activism utilizing symbolisms within a broad ecology (Kramsch 2006). Thus, we present LL not only as a significant tool for documentation and inquiry but also as a powerful vehicle within a framework of critical pedagogy, activism and language rights.

Linguistic Landscape: Texts in the Changing Public Spaces

The most unique feature of LL is that it refers to text presented and displayed in the public space. In Lefebvre’s (1991: 27) words, the space is not

“... a void packed like a parcel with various contents and that it is irreducible to a form imposed upon phenomena, upon things . . .” Rather, the “public space” as described and discussed in current theories, is in a state of constant change and fluctuations (Auge 1995; Certeau 1984; Balibar 2004). A few questions and issues characterize the discourse around the essence of the public space: What defines the boundaries between private and public? How does the public invade the private and vice versa? For example, some of the reality TV programs expose the everyday “private” indoor lives of people to the public eye in “transparent” apartments with 24-hour documentation. This phenomenon is one example among several, where boundaries between “the private” and “the public” are defused, borrowing attributes from one another, checking and blurring boundaries and influence one another. Another aspect of the fluid nature of spaces is that it is often not anchored in defined physical geographical boundaries but rather represents shared mental/virtual/imagined construct. Based on the diffused and complex nature of public space, Boyer (1996) and McQuire (2006) refer to the layered nature of space and focus on the blurred boundaries between the public and the private, the local and the global, the material and the immaterial.

Within the discussion of these meanings of public spaces, it is essential to draw attention to the sphere of the cyberspace where again boundaries between “private” and “public,” “real” and “virtual,” “space” and “place” lose their original meanings as they converge and overlap. Thus, the cyber space (e.g., *YouTube*) expands the LL “geography” to include people who are not necessarily present physically but nevertheless become active participants in the LL scenery in virtual ways.

It is within these newly defined public spaces of private, public, real, virtual and especially “the cyber” that we are referring to the emergence of new forms of LL texts. It is within these newly defined spaces that infinite repertoires of text types emerge in exponential rates. Such new and innovative spaces serve multiple layers of social and communicative functions such as promoting, informing, attracting, notifying, signing, indexing, creating realities, perpetuating and affirming identities. It is therefore not surprising that a large repertoire of text types such as virtual sprayed graffiti (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iL9WQxJ5ziQ>) mobile posters, screened advertisements, people as walking commercials cartoons, ready-made objects, texts sustained on virtual interfaces and even transparent houses with their displayed habitants are considered to be LLs. After all, they are meant to address the wide range of functions and audiences who participate and transmit broad variety of messages with multiple meanings. “Systems of meaning are fluid modes of communication develop and change in response to the communicative needs of society . . .” (Kress et al. 2006).

Linguistic Landscape: Meaning Construction in Public Spaces

Our claim is that the broad repertoire of LL text types as situated in the public space can be conceptualized within the discourses of existing human culture. As such they are part of meaning construction that serves various social functions and is subject to various discourse forces (Brewer 1980). Thus, the various theories of discourse analysis, literacy and genres that enable text interpretation and processing should be incorporated in the context of LL texts (Halliday 1978; Kintsch and Van Dijk 1978; Freedman and Medway 1994; Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996; Kamberelis 1995). We will therefore examine the ways through which meaning of the broad repertoire of LL texts could be constructed by referring to the applications of multimodal and multilingual theories and their applications to LL.

Multiple Modalities

A major development in the past two decades in understanding the social semiotic processes has been the development of multimodal approaches which argue that multiple modes are involved in the meaning-making process (Barthes 1985; Kress et al. 2006). It is also argued that the conceptualization of discourse that takes into account language alone is in fact “mono modal” and can often result in distortion and partial understanding of the phenomena (Fluit 2006). Furthermore, in current semiotic layouts it is often the case that language is not the central mode. The idea is linked to what is described by Iedema (2003: 33) as “. . . Our human predisposition towards multimodal meaning making, and our own multi-semiotic development or ontogenesis, requires attention to more than one semiotic than just the language-in-use.” Even when we do refer to the linguistic aspect *per se*, there is a need to pay attention not only to the meanings conveyed by the language but also to the meaning provided by the visual aspects of language like typography, placement in the semiotic layouts, color, spatial and kinetic arrangements etc. as part of meaning construction template (Van Leeuwen 2005; Kress et al. 2006).

The inclusion of other meaning-making devices is well described by Mitchell (1986: 9) who elaborates on the broad repertoire of “texts” embedded in our semiotic landscape: “We speak of pictures, statues, optical illusions, maps, diagrams, dreams, hallucinations, spectacles, projections, poems, patterns, memories and even ideas as images, and the sheer diversity of this list would seem to make any systematic, unified understanding impossible.” He further argues that, “It might be better to begin by thinking of images as a far-flung family which has migrated in time and space and undergone profound mutations in the process” (Mitchell 1986: 9). Analysis and conceptualization of texts according to multimodal approaches calls for the

need to become aware of the way in which language is embedded in a variety of semiotic devices. One key idea of multimodal theories is the increased complexity and inter-relationship of the different modes of meaning as was described in the well known manifest of the New London Group (1996: 18): “We have identified six major areas in which functional grammars—the meta-languages that describe and explain patterns of meaning—are required: Linguistic Design, Visual Design, Audio Design, Gestural Design, Spatial Design, and Multimodal Design. Multimodal Design is of a different order to the other five modes of meaning; it represents the patterns of interconnection among the other modes.” The main implications for LL are that by applying theories of multiple modalities, each modality provides additional meaning and thus it becomes part of the LL.

Multimodal approaches gain further support from research of texts’ processing. The claim is based on studies that examined the effect of illustrations in text comprehension. For example, findings suggest that memory and comprehension are enhanced when a number of modalities are displayed together (Filippatou and Pumfrey 1996; Gyselinck and Tardieu 1999). Yet, these depend on a number of factors such as the reader (e.g., age, skills, visual knowledge), the type of texts, the type of illustration, and the relationship between the linguistic and iconic components.

The theory of *synaesthesia* which is gaining major attention nowadays attempts to integrate these new forms of meaning which result from “shifting” ideas across semiotic modes. Specifically, the claim is that each modality adds unique meaning and together all modalities provide deeper and more meaningful understanding (Kress 2003; Nelson 2006; Hull and Nelson 2005).

It is also shown that different communities of practice utilize multimodalities in different ways. For example, in the community of practice of advertising, the utilization of visuals and linguistic resources is different than its use in the context of literature and this difference is manifested through the production processes and the products as well (Waksman and Hanauer in press). Graffiti research provides additional examples of the specific use of modes within a specific community of practice. For example, a study among the Chicago gangs’ communities of practice (Conquergood 1997) showed that the displayed dimensions can exist separately from that of the content when it is addressed to different audiences. Thus, “what” is written versus “how” and “where” is directed towards a number of audiences and can only be understood by them. This indicates how essential it is to relate to *all* the different displayed aspects and dimensions of LL texts types in relation to specific communities of practice within multimodality theories as a target of LL study.

Another important semiotic resource for meaning construction which characterizes LL is the space itself and the variety of ways that language relates to it. The claim here is that when a text is placed in the public space,

the way it relates to that space either, explicitly or implicitly, deliberately or not, becomes part of the meaning which is constructed. As such LL is part of the ecology and it is connected to the ways objects are placed and presented in the physical world (Scollon and Scollon 2003); (see also Malinowski and Hanauer, this volume, for further expansion on multiple modalities).

It is important to note the additional modes which are included in multi-modal contexts, such as clothing, fashion, architecture, industrial designs, food and cinema, and various interfaces appearing in the public sphere as well as “people” who are closely integrated into all those modes. These can be included as LL design facets especially within the context of “immerse systems” which refer to the absorption of people in the space. Gibson (2007: 134) introduces this notion as “. . . all those ways you can ease yourself into a new ‘take’ on the world, not just the world around you but a world you can feel absorbed in . . . You and the world meld together in a designed, dynamic experience.” The idea is that “immerse systems” turn people to become integral part of the “text” in space and this type of immersion is an inherent part of current meaning construction in spaces such as airports, shopping malls and schools, designed to redefine and blur the edges of the human body.

Language and Multi-Languages

A central dimension in the making of meaning of LL texts is rooted in the very language or languages through which LL texts are created, presented, and displayed. Most chapters in this book focus on the *language* dimensions of LL, examining meanings, representations and interpretations within political, economical, social and language policy contexts. Some focus on a single language, while others are targeted at the way multiple languages are interwoven and embedded in one another, creating new and innovative “languages.”

These language creations of the LL texts are in line with current theories of language and multilingualism rejecting notions of languages as closed, finite and homogenous; a notion that dominated language theories for some time. Current approaches perceive languages as fluid, dynamic, energetic, and open. Makoni and Pennycook (2007), provide compelling arguments for “dis-inventing languages” tracing the roots of homogenous systems to European colonialism and nationalism. Hutton (1999) contextualizes it in the political views of nation states attempting to create political boundaries of ethnic purism. Shohamy (2006) showed these views became the central drives behind national and educational language policies, and perpetuated through curricula, texts and tests which stress language purism and correctness of “natives speakers.”

Yet, given the vast flows of people nowadays, as part of regional, transnational, communal and global contexts, languages are re-defined as flexible

and fluid, constantly being invented and negotiated as a result of mediation and negotiations of people in diverse communities. This results in systems which consist of mixes, hybrids, varieties, fusions, “meshes” and multi-coded languages. This phenomenon can best be observed with regard to English, a language that is being created in dynamic ways in different contexts worldwide.

It is especially in the changing public space with its flows, blurring and human interactions that new linguistic forms are being created and displayed in endless variations of languages in dynamic ways (Pennycook 2007). These creations not only decorate the public space but more importantly legitimize linguistic innovations, creating new words, constructions, messages, codes, and icons. In these spaces there are often no fixed “linguistic” boundaries but rather a variety of crossings of the traditional homogenous linguistic borders resisting language laws and standardizations in creative and innovative ways. These LL creations raise questions as to the type of analyses that needs to be performed in LL research: what these new languages look like; how are they used and for what purposes; what are the processes behind these creations; how are they embedded within other modalities; which meanings do they deliver; and how should LL research and analyses be carried out, especially when language is embedded in and accompanied by other modalities as described in the previous section. These questions are further enhanced in the LL of virtual spaces with the high levels of freedom of expression and little control and monitoring as to the languages used.

Some of these questions have already been addressed. For example, Huebner (2006) points to the innovative constructions created by the combinations of Thai and English as they are interwoven with oral and written forms and a variety of icons and images. Pennycook (this volume) shows linguistic creativity through graffiti when it is contextualized in “global flows.” Lanza and Woldemariam (this volume) point to the different meanings transmitted and conveyed in LL when they are presented in a number of languages where English is used for symbolic purposes while Amharic and Tigrinya are used for communication; thus information given in Amharic or Tigrinya are omitted from the English version. Ramanathan (2006) discusses the calculations that enter the translation process as it is associated with stereotypes of speakers of certain languages resulting in different messages in different languages.

Issues of the fluid nature of languages and their fuzzy boundaries need to be further explored within the context of LL beyond language choices and the role languages play within a broader societal context in which LL texts are displayed and interpreted. Canagarajah (2007) writes that meanings are created in given contexts as they are socially situated, contextualized and sensitive to ecological resources. This leads us to the need to examine how LL meanings are conveyed and developed in specific ecologies. Accordingly, we may not be able to speak of specific language or languages, as languages

only exist as systems which are constantly brought into being and negotiated in each specific context of communication in the ecology. Thus, there is considerable contribution from environmental and social domains to the making of meaning as the rules, schema, and conventions, developed are loaded with significant situational information. With regards to English as a *lingua franca*, for example, he argues that, “. . . there is no meaning for form, grammar, of language ability outside the realm of practice as languages are social processes constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors” (Canagarajah 2007: 94). He argues too, for incorporating language within different modalities and diverse contexts: “. . . if we need a grammar of rules for this mode of communication, it will be a grammar of multimodalities—that is, rules that account for how language meshes with diverse symbol systems, modalities of communication, and ecological resources to create meaning” (Canagarajah 2007: 96). This means that we need to refer to the ways meanings of LL are constructed within the specific contexts in the ecology; the pragmatic strategies that are being used in these contexts, their interpretations by different language users and the definitions of language in these contexts.

We therefore view the multilingual dimensions of LL as a form of multimodal meaning construction in which languages are negotiated and created in dynamic manners, conveying different meanings and together they are synthesized into one semiotic whole within very defined contexts of specific ecologies. In Canagarajah’s words, addressing a broader framework with a growing number of factors and variables implies: “How do we practice a linguistics that treats human agency, contextuality, diversity, intermeinity, and multimodality as the norm?” (Canagarajah 2007: 98).

Linguistic Landscape: Texts Embedded in Negotiations and Contestation in the Public Space

It is within this interpretation of LL within the context of the ecology that we approach LL as text embedded in negotiation and contestation. We have seen so far that the public space in its broader definition contains a wide variety of LL texts types consisting of multiple genres, modes, varieties, and languages. These LL texts types, we have argued, need to be interpreted within different discourse communities, both in terms of multi modal and multilingual aspects. Yet, those very LL texts are displayed and created within a larger ecology which is not neutral. As stated by Portugali (1996: 13), “The space and the geography are not separate and passive entities, but are rather active players in the theatre of the social reality.” The space then consists of different discourse communities with multiple and often contradicting ideologies regarding the role of the *shared* public space. LL can therefore be viewed as a visible interface and arena of negotiations and contestations.

The contestation and claiming of the public space often originates from

underlying assumptions about its ownership. On one hand, the public space may be referred to as “free zone” that belongs to and is shared by “all.” At the same time, it is embedded in questions about the extent to which it does indeed belong to all and what does ownership really mean and imply? Does it mean that municipalities and corporations can shape the space according to their own interests? Or that the crafting of the space needs to be addressed, negotiated and contested with “the people”? (e.g., displaying an advertisement of a nude man/woman in the public).

In other words, LL is not only the manifestations of social structure and dynamics but also an arena through which various agendas are being battled, negotiated and dictated. Thus, LL issues that need to be addressed relate to the social and political levels of the public space such as how and if certain groups are included/excluded by displaying different LL texts? How those inclusion/exclusion processes take place through the use of multimodal, multilingual resources? (Kress et al. 2001). Familiarity with the political and social aspects of society is therefore an inherent part for creating meaning, comprehending and interpreting the broad repertoire of LL texts in the public space. In fact it is not possible to interpret the LL texts *without* having a deep familiarity of the spaces in which LL is anchored.

Several authors have addressed the issue of LL as an arena of contestation and negotiation elaborating on different aspects of that issue. In Ben-Rafael et al. (2006: 27), it is concluded that “. . . LL analysis allows us to point out patterns representing different ways in which people, groups, associations, institutions, and governmental agencies cope with the game of symbols within a complex reality.” LL is often used as a symbolic marker of territories to perpetuate homogenous systems by creating LL in specific ideological and powerful languages and gate keeping other languages as is the case of Quebec (see also Backhaus and Dagenais et al., this volume). LL is used to mark boundaries of national or ethnic groups so that it serves as a tool to create collective identity and membership of those residing in specific territories. Curtin (this volume) describes the situation in Taiwan where official signage conveys a *struggle* over central policy and dominant culture. In the case of Israel, it is the contestation of Hebrew/Arabic that does not get displayed in the public space in spite of its official role, a phenomenon that was contested in the Israeli Supreme court leading to a stipulation as to the compulsory use in five mixed, Arab-Hebrew towns (see Trumper-Hecht, this volume). The public space has been contested also in the era of Hebrew revival where shop keepers were forced to display the Hebrew language in shop signs and thus the public space served as an arena where the struggle took place (Shohamy 2008). LL often serves as a mechanism for creating *de facto* language policies where policy-makers mark the public space with specific languages in order to exercise influence and propaganda as to the existence and power of languages and thus to deliver a message of its centrality (Shohamy 2006). LL is used as an arena of negotiations, rejections

and protest in situations when anti-globalization groups resist the presence of the English signs posted by big corporations as symbolizing their dominating powers and is viewed as a form of colonialization. In another example, in Color Figure 20.2 we see laser graffiti which is “sprayed” over a building in Barcelona as displayed on *YouTube*. It is clear that the act itself is considered a violation of the law as can be seen by the police chasing the graffiti sprayers. Yet, the display of this episode on *YouTube* is a form of visible contestation (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iL9WQxJ5ziQ>).

LL in cyberspace provides another case of a contestation as it is considered an open space which, as noted earlier, is relatively free of monitoring and supervision in terms of contents, texts, modes, themes and languages. Yet, increasing voices are currently heard about the need to introduce greater control and censorship of the cyber space turning it to a “sterile” space where only certain materials should be included.

We will now turn to examine and analyze a specific LL site through the themes discussed so far about multimodality and multilingualism as these are embedded in negotiations and contestations.

Linguistic Landscape: An Example

The Haapala as a Multimodal, Multilingual LL Site

The following site and the way it is embedded in the space is an example of a LL as it represents “texts displayed in public space.”

The *Haapala* site is located at the seashore of Tel Aviv in the London Garden. The London Garden was founded in the 1940s to symbolize the identification of the *Yishuv* (i.e., Jews residing in Israel during the British Mandate before establishment of the state of Israel) with the suffering of the residents of London during the Blitzkrieg. The Garden was re-designed in 2003 as a space for the creation of co-memorization of *Haapala* which is the Hebrew word for describing the historical period of the illegal migration of Jews to Palestine before, during, and after World War II. During those years (1934–1948) 120,000 Jews, mostly refugees and survivors of the war, attempted to enter Palestine by boats while it was restricted by the British Mandate; about 3,000 people died on their way. In the Zionist narrative, the *Haapala* is viewed as a major defining chapter in the foundation of Israel. In fact, the meaning of the word *Haapala* in Hebrew is “climbing up” from a “low” to “higher” place, while the concept itself refers to illegal migration of Jews during those years. The purpose of the newly established co-memorization site was, according to the designers, to re-tell the narrative that they believe will otherwise be forgotten by the younger generations.

The site itself consists of two big steel boats where visitors can stroll around and even sit on the benches situated on the deck. The “windows” of the boats contain documentary photographs from the *Haapala* years along

with texts describing the chronological and narrative events of the time (see Color Figure 20.3). Those texts contain descriptions of the main narrative, sequence of events, specific anecdotes, and historical details. On the northern part of the Garden, there is a big wall designed as “a wave” on which the names of the *Haapala* boats is engraved along with number of people who survived and number of those who died on their way to Palestine.

Examining the meaning of the LL *Haapala* site from a multimodal/multilingual perspective brings to a focus five LL sources of meaning and information: (1) The geographical location, placement and design; (2) the photographs and their titles; (3) the written texts; (4) the multilingualism; (5) the people who activate and negotiate the meaning.

The Geographical Location, Placement and Design

The first and most salient design feature of the site is the specific geographical location and the placement of the sculpture in the space. The site reconstructs and redefines “the Garden of London” from a place that was originally “Dedicated to the city of London—as a token of identification of the inhabitants of Tel-Aviv with the British nation . . . at the time of the ‘Blitz’ ” (a text engraved on a plate at the entrance of the Garden) to a place which explicitly accuses the British of aggressive violent acts against the Jews. Thus, it renounces their historical commitment to the Jewish people as declared in the Balfour declaration (1917). So, in fact, the current design is a transformed version of the garden from a place of honor to the British heroes to a site which represent them as aggressors and oppressors.

Another feature which enhances the above interpretation is the physical placement of the monument where it is placed as dominant part of the Garden structure, part of its flora and by thus “invades” and “occupies” the space and becomes the landscape itself.

The Photographs and their Titles

The second level of the LL site refers to the embedded photos which provide additional meaning to the co-memorization site. The displayed photographs provide a personal facet of the *Haapala* experience and give face to themes such as national identity, solidarity, persecution, victimization, and an “imagined” united Jewish community in Palestine and abroad (e.g., *hora* dancing, see Color Figure 20.4). The British soldiers, on the other hand, are displayed as aggressors in uniforms, holding guns, and their backs to the camera.

Examining the complementary meanings that are constructed between the photographs and the titles reflects an additional level of LL information. Thus, Color Figure 20.5, which displays a baby in a cradle on the boat *en route* to Palestine, provides a personal and intimate meaning of the scene.

This is displayed with a Hebrew text, a young “*maapil*” (illegal immigrant) on his way to “the Jewish state.” We can thus observe how the two modalities transmit complementary meanings to the scene whereby the written title recruits the personal to serve as a prop.

The Written Text

The third level of LL analysis refers to the texts which are displayed on the monument. By using multiple types of structures and genres (e.g., narrative, expository, documentary) the texts represent a sequence of events, which together construct an ideological narrative about the illegal immigration to Palestine (the *Haapala*). It begins with an advanced organizer describing the general narrative in historical chain of events followed by selected small narratives and anecdotes to support the main ideological framework. For example, only specific segments of the Balfour declaration supporting the main narrative are displayed while overlooking the parts which do not “suit” the ideology.

Multilingualism

In the terms of the multiple languages which are represented on the site, Hebrew is the dominant language. English is only displayed as meta-narrative which serves as an advanced organizer. This implies that different meanings are delivered to the different language users via the languages and modes. Thus, for the English speakers the basis for creating meaning is the advanced organizers and the iconic modes while they are “deprived” of the detailed and elaborated descriptions of the texts which the Hebrew speakers “benefit” from. Further, a careful comparison of the two versions of the advanced organizers demonstrates that the two versions are not equal. The English version includes “coined” Hebrew ideological concepts such as “*Eretz Yisrael*” (the land of Israel) and the Hebrew words *Haapala* and *Aliya* (migration) instead of “illegal migration” which is rarely being used in the Hebrew version.

The People who Activate and Negotiate the Meaning

The fifth level of LL analysis refers to how the people, i.e., the visitors to the site, negotiate the meaning of the LL site; in other words, the way they negotiate the meaning of the past as offered by the site in the present (Greenspan 2005). Color Figures 20.6a, 20.6b, and 20.6c exemplify three types of negotiation and meaning activations. In 20.6a the visitor focuses and concentrates on the texts displayed in the site; in 20.6b visitors are using the deck as a playground for a baby who is crawling on one of the boat’s deck. In 20.6c people use the monument as a path on their way to the seashore, and to the

McDonald's restaurant next door and thus they seem to ignore the information displayed.

As can be seen from these multi-facet descriptions of the *Haapala* site, the multiple resources of information convey different meanings which do not necessarily overlap, together they provide a fabric of meanings which form a powerful, ideological narrative. As described by Mitchell (1986: 43) the relationship among the different modalities is part of the meaning and relations embedded in society since "The dialectic of word and image seems to be constant in the fabric of signs that culture weaves around itself. What varies is the precise nature of the weave, the relation of wrap and woof."

The Haapala LL Site Embedded in Negotiations/Contestations

Each of the above multi-facet descriptions of the LL site is granted depth only if we posit it within a broader ecology. Without fully understanding the competing and multiple narratives that are present nowadays regarding the story of the establishment of Israel (e.g., the Palestinian "Nakba" version), it is not possible to fully understand the real meaning of the *Haapala* site. It is in this context of the variety of different LL text types and their presence within a contested public space that we turn to the interpretation of the *Haapala* site within broader view of negotiated ecology.

The *Haapala* site is embedded within the historical and current ecology of the state of Israel as an arena where major debates and contestations take place. A deeper understanding of the *Haapala* site as LL must incorporate and address in its interpretations the historical, political, cultural and ideological aspects in which the site is anchored. For example, a deeper understanding of the ecology of the site will lead us to be critical towards the partial representation of the Balfour declaration which is the document on which the legitimacy of the claim for the establishment of a Jewish home for the Jews people is based on. In the site the following part of the declaration is quoted: "His majesty's government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . .", while the following reference which is included in the original text is not displayed: "It is clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine . . ." (Arthur James Balfour, November 2, 1917).

Examining the *Haapala* site in even larger ecology as a contestation site makes one notice other LL texts which surround the monument. In Color Figure 20.7 we can observe global icons such as *McDonald's* and *Kentucky Fried Chicken*, the ecology at large in which the site is placed. This proximity between the global and the local, between the place and the "non-place" (Auge 1995) can be perceived and interpreted in terms of contestation (or negotiation).

This example emphasizes the need to include the larger ecology into

interpretation of LL. Without such reference, a valid interpretation of LL cannot be reached and deeper meanings are overlooked. Further questions that will lead to deeper meaning of the LL *Haapala* site can be posed: Which groups are represented and which are not (e.g., Arabs who were living in Palestine at the time are rarely mentioned); to whom the site is targeted and who is excluded, which languages existed in the cultural historical space are represented on the site and which languages are not (e.g., while most of the immigrants spoke primarily Yiddish and other East European languages, these are never displayed in any of the texts). What is the function of the space? What is the meaning of this space? Is it an Ideological or consumerism space? We claim therefore that there is a need to address contestation and negotiating of the LL sites on various ecological layers.

It is those profound and unique features of LL in the public space that makes it a target of research for the essence of nations, societies and discourse communities. At the same time, it could be a powerful setting in which legitimate contestation is performed as part of democratic principles.

The LL in public space, then, falls in the midst of arenas of struggle and negotiation.

It is within this context that we will now address LL as a powerful tool in educational contexts for development of critical thinking and activism.

Linguistic Landscape: Texts as Educational—Activist Space

Given that LL is located in the midst of negotiations and contestation of the public space and it reflects and establishes cultural relations, we further argue that LL can serve as a powerful tool for education, meaningful language learning, towards linguistic activism.

Current positions towards language and literacy highlight and support the features of LL as an appropriate learning context. Specifically, Kramsch (2006) introduced “symbolic competence” within a broader view of language teaching. Accordingly, language ecology as applied to language learning is being defined as a “nonlinear, relational human activity, co-constructed between humans and their environment, contingent upon their position in space and history, and a site of struggle for the control of social power and cultural memory” (Kramsch 2002: 5). This view positions LL as a rich context for language teaching since many of the features mentioned by Kramsch are inherent in the LL environment. She further argues for developing critical thinking as marketing techniques and political propaganda have commodified meanings. Accordingly, learners need a more sophisticated competence for interpreting the manipulation of symbolic systems; these are in line with the description of LL as a rich context for learning about the ways in which meanings are constructed and manipulated using a variety of devices.

Further, according to Kramsch an inherent part of language learning is

knowing about the history of the society whose language is being learned and the more subtle semiotic practices that draw on a multiplicity of perceptual clues in making and conveying meaning. In her own words: “In order to understand others, we have to understand what they remember from the past, what they imagine and project onto the future, and how they position themselves in the present. And we have to understand the same things of ourselves” (Kramsch 2006: 251). Thus, LL arenas can be considered as “textbooks” which demonstrate these features, or as “gates” to open meanings.

We support this view as we focus on LL as a major component of the ecology, and especially in the broad definition that we argued for and described in this chapter. LL then can be used as an instructive and constructive tool for developing awareness, understanding and social activism in current societies.

The use of LL as an educational tool along these directions has been described in a number of studies. Dagenais et al. (this volume) show how LL can be used for teaching language awareness aiming to develop children’s knowledge of language diversity. Accordingly, students engage in collaborative classroom activities to systematically explore languages in contact and multilingual practices in their communities and develop critical pedagogies. They demonstrate how LL can be used in the context of French immersion in Vancouver and francophone programs of Montreal focusing on students’ attention to the status of languages and develop an understanding of power relationships in language contact.

Another educational context of LL is demonstrated by Hanauer (this volume) who shows how visible representations (e.g., notes) are used as resources to create collective knowledge among scientists in a nuclear biology laboratory.

Freedman and Samuelson (2008) demonstrate how LL sources are being used for re-education and creating a new valid curriculum in the context of Rwanda. Specifically, migration narratives are being represented and spread through a number of multimodal channels, including media, billboards, genocide memorials, local “gacaca” courts, “ingando” check in abstract (solidarity) camps for many segments of the society, from local political leaders, to entering university students, to repatriated former genocidaires.

In the case of Dagenais et al. (this volume) LL was used for creating awareness to co-existence of cultures, languages and “others.” In the Hanauer’s study, LL was used as a context of knowledge construction; in the last example by Freedman and Samuelson (2008) multiple and varied sources of LL were used for critical thinking, reflections and political activism and social change.

In light of the educational uses of LL and the claims posed by Kramsch, we posit the argument for incorporating LL as an educational setting. The main idea is the need for students to be aware and *notice* the multiple layers

of meanings displayed in the public space. In that way, each building, each site, each sound, a billboard, an outdoor moving screen, a mall, a homeless person sitting in the corner of the street, is actually an LL text that has to be critically “read.” In other words, all those visible “texts” need to be processed as “tips of icebergs” to a deeper and more complex meaning which are embedded in histories, cultural relations, politics and humanistic inter-relations.

Our *Haapala* LL site could be utilized as an example for a rich resource which affords in depth learning about cultural and historical meanings as well as social activism. Critical questions may refer to the specific historical timing of designing the monument, the availability of alternative narratives in the public sphere, and intertextualities between narratives and representations in multiple historical periods. For example Color Figures 20.8a and 20.8b represent visual “texts” with parallel themes but in different contexts. The first (20.8a) is of a boat crowded with Jewish “illegal” immigrants being rescued by other Jews as part of the *Haapala* operation embedded in national collective memory. The second (20.8b) is of asylum seekers from Darfur “staged” on a “Jewish boat” trying to enter Israel in current times. This picture utilizes the components of the *Haapala* narrative (e.g., boats, refugees, illegal migration) for promoting activism in support for providing “a home” for these “illegal” immigrants in the Jewish state. Thus, these two LL texts which are displayed in public space and share the same components, could be considered a resource for learning about the Israeli society. This is an example of the use of pictures and texts for activism by the activist group “Activestills,” a group of documentary photographers that try to act towards social justice and change through the “power of photography as a vehicle of change through awareness” (<http://activestills.org/aboutenglish.html>). This group of professional artists tries to convey and highlight visually social and political injustices and make a change through the “eye of the camera” while “Question the society in which we live in.” They use common space as for presenting their work using both walls in the street and their internet site and operating in both Israeli and Palestinian public spaces.

Going back to initial question, “What can be considered LL?”, we obviously argued for a very broad view of LL as all texts situated and displayed in a changing public space which is being redefined and reshaped. We also showed how LL is a complex construct, situated in contested and negotiated arenas of the ecology. We argued as well for using this complex and rich construct in the context of education as a powerful resource for connecting language education and the public sphere. Through the example of the *Haapala* site, we demonstrated the unlimited boundaries of the field. We thus challenge the current concepts of LL by positing fluid and fuzzy borders to include all possible discourses that emerge in changing public spaces. Being aware that this is a somewhat radical notion of the *Linguistic Landscape*, we

ourselves are looking forward to the challenge of further understanding the essence of language in public space.

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INDEX

- Acre 244–5
 Activestills 328
 Adalla organization 241, 242, 246–8
 advertisements: Czech Republic 182;
 decoding 74; English language 34–6,
 37n13, 79, 110, 142–3; English/Hindi
 78; globalization 31–2, 141, (*Color*
 Figure 2.6); hard/soft sell 79; Hindi 35,
 78, (*Color Figures* 5.4–5.5); Hong Kong
 railways 73; multilingualism 70, 214;
 proper names 141–2, 143–4; register
 80–1; Slovakia 182; television 36,
 77–8
 Agaw 197, 198
 agency 4, 30–2, 74, 94
 Alaska, Gulf of 59–60
 Albanians 134, 207, 208
 Alemannic dialect 213
 Allophones 158
 alphabets 135, 162, 163, 194; *see also*
 scripts
 Althusser, L. 175, 310
 Amanat Khan 21
 American images 34–6, 228
 American Signmakers Association 55
 American Society of Microbiologists
 conference 295–6
 Amharic language: communication 319;
 literacy 192, 193; names 200–1; as
 national language 7, 190, 191–2; public
 signage 198, 202–3; word order
 199–200
 Amsterdam study: immigrants 148;
 Kalverstraat 148–9, 152; proper names
 6, 150–2; shops 148–50
 Anderson, B. 254
 Andrews, C. 18
 Anglophones 158, 159
 anti-globalization 322
 Apple, M. 256
 Arabic: Ethiopia 197–8; Israel 57, 238,
 242, 247–8, 321; Italy 137–8; in mixed
 cities 246–8; transliterations 27;
 unwritten vernacular 30; Upper
 Nazareth 8, 241, 242, (*Color Figure*
 15.3); visibility 247–8
 Arjumand Bano Begum 21
 Ark of the Covenant 192
 Armand, F. 8
 Auge, M. 314, 325
 Austin, J. 115–16, 118
 authority 14, 16, 31, 80, 273
 authorship 14, 108–11, 305; constative/
 performative meanings 113–16;
 Korean American business signs 6,
 107–8, 111–19; multimodality 119–23;
 social action 109–10
 Backhaus, P.: code dominance 109;
 indexicality 110, 111, 124; language
 policy 6, 31; Quebec 74, 83; signs 15,
 29, 32, 78, 110, 147, 149, 221; train
 line stops 72; *see also* Tokyo
 Bacteriophage Institute of Pittsburgh
 289
 Bade, D. 145–6, 147–8, 149
 Bagna, C. 6, 135
 Baker, C. 63–4
 Bakhtin, M. 256
 Balfour declaration 323, 324, 325
 Ballinasloe 275, 276; language policy
 281–2; parking sign (*Color Figure*
 17.7)
 Bangkok 26, 57, 119

- Bangor 275; pub (*Color Figure 17.4*); regulatory sign (*Color Figure 17.6*); Tourist Office 278, (*Color Figure 17.2*)
- Barcelona 322, (*Color Figure 20.2*)
- Barker, C. 194
- Barni, M. 6
- Basque Country 26, 57–8, 201, 288
- Bavarian language 213, 216
- beauty salons 229, (*Color Figure 14.6*)
- Behistun trilingual inscription 4, 18–19, (*Color Figure 1.3*)
- Belarus 6; billboards 177–8, 179, 182, (*Color Figures 11.2–11.3*); *Discourse of Victory* 176–9; flower beds 182; graffiti 184–5; Ministry of Education 178; regulatory notices 184; shopping zones 180–1; street signs 182, 183; *see also* Minsk
- Belfast Agreement 275–6
- Belgium: Flemish/French/English 51, (*Color Figures 3.4–3.5*); multilingual shop signs 235n6; official languages 26, 28, 238, 246
- Belshazzar, King 20
- Ben Gurion, David 243, 245
- Ben-Rafael, E.: Israeli study 26, 57, 108, 240–1; linguistic landscape defined 43, 90, 152, 321; neighbourhoods 72; sign defined 71; social actors 5, 46, 74, 92, 94, 109–10, 124, 129, 254; top-down/ bottom-up signs 28, 96, 196, 211–12
- Berron, C. 263
- Bertucci, M. M. 266
- Bex, T. 72
- Bhatia, T. K. 78
- bilingualism: ancient world 19; Belgium 26, 28; Canada 6, 28, 207, 238, 246, 257; oral 27; public signage 56, 109–10, 163, 183–4, 203, (*Color Figure 7.1*), (*Color Figures 11.5–11.6*); sizes of text 163; Tyrol, South 214–15; young people 253
- billboards 182, 197, 307
- biocultural diversity 63
- bio-ecological diversity 63
- Blommaert, J. 183, 186, 189, 190
- Boa Gifts 113–16, 117
- Bouchard, F. X. 16
- Boudon, R. 5, 46, 110, 129, 138
- Bourdieu, P. 256; on Austin 115–16; Butler on 118; *habitus* 94, 194; power relations 5, 46–8, 51, 110, 138
- Bourhis, R. Y.: bilingualism 253; Canada 14, 41–2; language use 167, 189, 207, 221–2; linguistic landscape defined 2, 15, 26, 28, 56, 70, 72, 128, 206; public signs 29–30, 272
- Boyer, C. 315
- brand names 36, 144–51
- Braník Bridge 173–4
- Bridge of Intelligentsia 173–4
- Brussels 14, 26
- Bucholtz, M. 225
- Burger King 227
- Butler, Judith 108, 118–19, 121
- California 83
- calligraphy 21–2
- calling genes procedure 296–7
- Calvet, L.-J. 14, 25, 89, 90, 206, 255–6, 265
- Canada 259–66; education 260–6; Francophone students 26, 255; French/English languages 6, 28, 207, 238, 246, 257; immigration 257; language diversity 8, 259–60
- Canagarajah, S. 319–20
- Cannadine, D. 308
- Castleman, C. 307
- Catalan 57, 272
- Celtic-style font 279, (*Color Figures 17.4–17.5*)
- Cenoz, J. 5, 15, 26, 57, 71, 72
- Centre of Excellence for Research, Siena 126–8, 130
- Champollion, F. 16
- Charter of the French Language* 159–60, 168; Amendment 160–1
- Chen Shui-bian 232
- Chicago gangs study 317
- children: geosemiotics 262–3; language learning 3, 262–3; multilingualism 8, 35, 253–66; as social actors 254–5, 266
- China 32, 35, 145; *see also* Hong Kong
- Chinese language 165, 221, 230–1, 231–3; *see also* Mandarin
- Christen, R. S. 306
- churches 30, 214
- cityscapes 14, 25, 42–3, 255–6
- classification by language 131–7, 153
- Claus, R. J. 55, 67
- Coca-Cola advertisements 31–2, 141, 175–6, 177, 229

- code dominance 108–9, 122–3, 132, 135, 137
- code/language 81–3
- code-switching 98, 99
- Codex Hammurabi 4, 15–16, 22, (*Color Figure 1.1*)
- Cohen, A. 77
- Coleman, J. 46
- collective identity theory 5, 46–7, 48, 50, 51, 321
- Colletta, J.-M. 256
- Collins, J. 235n6
- commercial signs 55, 56–7, 71, 200–1
- Common European Framework of Reference for Languages 148
- communication 56, 135; Amharic 319; cyberspace 315; domains 133; emotional 144; Gorter 128–9; multilingualism 99, 100; public signage 29, 33, 35; public space 91, 197; Scollon 91–2
- communism 173–5, 182
- communities 129, 254, 281
- conference posters 295–6
- connotation 143
- contestation 320–1, 325–6
- contexts 133, 304–5
- Contingent Valuation Method 5, 61–2, 64–5
- Cooper, R. L. 2, 14, 25–6, 33, 34, 41–2, 271
- Cortina/Kurtnig 210, 214, 216
- cost-benefit analysis 61
- Coulmas, F. 4, 5
- Creative English 228–9, (*Color Figure 14.5*)
- criminality levels 184
- critical discourse analysis 304–5
- critical literacy 256, 265
- critical pedagogy 259, 314
- critical thinking 326
- Crystal, D. 63, 146, 151
- cultural diversity 64, 95, 308
- cultural geography 310
- Curtin, M. L. 7, 254, 321
- Cushitic languages 191
- cyberspace 315, 322
- Czech D5 motorway 181
- Czech Republic 6, 179, 180–1, 182, 184–5
- Czechoslovakia 173–4, 182–3
- Da Candy Bay 305, (*Color Figure 19.5*)
- Dabit, Busaina 241
- Dagenais, D. 8, 259–66, 263, 327
- Dahla, M. 246–7, 248
- Dakar 14, 25
- Dal Negro, S. 6, 7
- Daniel, book of 20
- Darfur 328
- Darius I the Great 18–19
- data collection 128, 131–7, 195–6
- data tables 298, 300
- De Blaeij, A. 60, 61
- De Certeau, M. 309, 311n1
- decorum 5, 42, 44
- deixis 73, 274, 280
- democratization 221
- demolinguistics 127–8
- demotic language 18
- denotation 143
- Derg 197
- design, grammar of 70, 76–7, (*Color Figure 5.1*), (*Color Figure 5.3*)
- Devanagari script 35
- Devitt, A. J. 288
- Di Di Coffee Shop (*Color Figure 5.3*)
- discourse 92–3, 274–5, 316–18
- displacement 22, 307–8
- DNA sequencing 296–7
- Dome of the Rock 21
- Domitianus, Emperor 22
- Donati, A. 19
- Donostia-San Sebastian 26, 57–8
- Durkheim, E. 42–3
- Dutch: *see* Netherlands
- ecolinguistics 89, 95–100
- ecology of language 9–10, 88–90, 257
- economic valuations 58–62
- Edelman, L. 6
- education: Canada 260–6; French language 258–60; language awareness activities 258; language diversity 266; language policy 318; linguistic landscape 261–3, 264–6, 314, 326–9; literacy 253; state ideology 178–9
- Elamite language 19
- El-Yasin, M. K. 144
- Endmark 143
- English language: advertisements 34–6, 37n13, 79, 110, 142–3; in Bangkok 26; and Czech 184; and Dutch 147, 148; in Ethiopia 7, 190, 193, 198, 319; in

- Germany 142–3; globalization 26, 57, 66–7, 100, 201; in India 35, 57; in Israel 26–7, 57, 240–1, 243–4; in Italy 207; as *lingua franca* 320; modernity 201–2, (*Color Figures* 12.5–12.6); orthography/phonology 82–3; Pan-Africanism 202–3; signs 31, 162; in Sweden 99, (*Color Figures* 6.1–6.2); in Taipei 222; in Thailand 57, 81–3, 200, 319; in Upper Nazareth 240–1, 243–4
- environmental factors 5, 59–60
- Eole project 258–9
- Eritrea 198
- Esquilino, Rome 137, (*Color Figures* 8.5–8.6)
- Ethiopia 6, 7; Arabic 197–8; bilingual signs 203; business names 200–1; English language 190, 193, 197–8, 319; history of 191–3; language policy 193–4; literacy 192–3; monolingualism 198, 199; public notices 197; tourists 201
- Ethiopian Orthodox Church 191, 192, 193
- ethnic identity 142
- ethnolinguistics 222–3
- Ethnologue* 62
- Eveil aux langues* 258–9
- Evlang project 258–9
- exonyms 145
- Exxon Valdez 59–60, 62
- Fairclough, N. 259
- Fascism 208, 209
- Fawcett, R. 36
- Fertile Grounds café 313, (*Color Figure* 20.1)
- Fidel script 192, 194, 201
- Finland 147
- First Nations people 257, 265
- Fishman, J. A. 32, 33
- Ford advertisements 141, 143
- Formazza 210–11, 212, 214
- Fourment-Berni Canani, M. 145
- Francophones 26, 28, 158–61, 255
- Freedman, S. 327
- freedom of speech 157
- Freire, P. 256
- French language: Alsatia 272; Brussels 26; Canada 6, 258–60; Hong Kong 110; Italy 207
- Friedrich, P. 36
- Friesland 26, 58, 184, 288
- Frisian 57
- Funes/Villnöß 210–11, 212, 214–15
- Furigana 163, 165, 169
- Galasinski, D. 194
- Galway 275, 279–81, (*Color Figure* 17.12); espresso lounge (*Color Figure* 17.10); human resources (*Color Figure* 17.11); music session advertisement (*Color Figure* 17.9); parking sign (*Color Figure* 17.8); pub (*Color Figure* 17.3); shop front (*Color Figure* 17.5)
- Gavison, R. 248
- Geertz, C. 246
- Ge'ez language 191, 192, 193
- genome maps 296–7, (*Color Figures* 18.4–18.7)
- genres 70, 71–3, 288–9; Hymes 72; knowledge sharing 299; signs 5; state ideology 181–5; textual 132; wall spaces 291–2
- geolinguistics 127–8
- georeferencing 130–1
- geosemiotics 70, 84n1, 180, 234–5n3 262–3, 304
- German language: brand names 144; dialects 212–13; in Italy 208, 209–15, (*Color Figures* 13.3–13.4); orthography 213; television advertisements 36; Tyrol, South 215–16
- Germany/English language 142–3
- Gerritsen, M. 143
- Giles, H. 64
- Giroux, H. A. 256
- globalization: advertisements 31–2, 141, (*Color Figure* 2.6); English language 26, 57, 66–7, 100, 201; information technology 190; local 325; multinationals 202, (*Color Figures* 12.7–12.8); post-colonialism 280
- glocalization 227–8
- glossodiversity 306
- Goddard, A. 74, 76
- Goffman, E.: interaction order 93–4; self-presentation 5, 45, 110, 129, 138; text production 177
- good reasons perspective 5, 45–6, 48, 51, 110, 129, 138
- Google-Earth 131
- Google-Maps 131
- Gorter, D.: Basque/Frisian 57;

- communication 128–9; Contingent Valuation Method 5; European cities 72; *International Journal of Multilingualism* 109; landscape etymology 254; language policy 26; linguistic landscape defined 287–8, 308; methodologies 126; signs/public space 71; store fronts 71; top-down/bottom-up signage 273; units for linguistic landscape 15
- Gothic script 213–14, (*Color Figures* 13.6–13.7)
- graffiti 4; Barcelona (*Color Figure* 20.2); Belarus 184–5, (*Color Figure* 11.7); billboards 307; community of practice 317–18; creativity 319; English language 36; as genre 71; multimodalities 303–4; production 306; as resistance 20, 75; scientific 296–7; semiotics of 303–4; space 302, 308–9; stained glass windows analogy 302–3, 310, (*Color Figures* 19.1–19.4); subculture 185; transgressive 9, 75, 302, 306–7; *visage/paysage* 308
- graffiti crews 306–7
- Grazioli, M. 210
- Greenberg, J. 62
- Grice, H. P. 271
- Griffin, J. L. 36
- Grin, F. 35, 58–9
- Grygar, J. 174
- Guarani language 28
- Guide for Making City Writing Easy to Understand Also to Foreigners* 165–6
- Haapala, Tel Aviv (*Color Figures* 20.3–20.8); contestation 325–6; ideology 326; McDonald's restaurant 325; meanings 324–5; memory 328; multilingualism 324; multimodality 9, 322–3; placement and design 323
- Haarmann, H. 36, 142, 151
- Habermas, J. 4, 13, 14, 40
- habitus* 94, 194
- Hagia Sophia 30, (*Color Figure* 2.5)
- Haile Selassie I 192
- Haitian language 225, 233
- Hakka peoples 222
- Hall, K. 225
- hallal food stores 46, (*Color Figure* 3.3)
- Halliday, M. A. K. 306
- Hanauer, D. I. 5, 8–9, 289–90, 291–2, 298, 327
- hangul* (Korean script) 107, 112, 114–15, 123, 230
- Hanks, W. F. 224
- hanliu* movement 231
- hanyu pinyin* Romanization system 231–3
- harizu* movement 231
- hate speech 118–19
- Hatfull, G. F. 289
- Hau Lung-pin 232
- Haugen, E. 89, 93, 95
- Hawkins, E. 258
- Heartbrand icecream 145, (*Color Figures* 9.1–9.2)
- Hebrew language 8, 26–7, 57, 238, 321, (*Color Figures* 10.1)
- Heineken logo 280, (*Color Figure* 17.12)
- Henry-Edwards, G. 302–3
- Hepburn system 162, 164
- heuristic for learning 256–8
- Hindi language 35, 78
- Hiragana alphabet 162, 163
- Hoklo peoples 222
- Hong Kong 109, 110
- Hong Kong Mass Transit Railways 73, 79, 81
- Hornberger, N. H. 89
- Huebner, T. 5, 26, 57, 72, 74, 82, 119, 200, 319
- Hult, F. M. 5, 89, 95
- human rights 157
- Hungarian place names 183–4
- Hutton, C. 318
- Hyde, B. 36
- Hymes, D. 5, 70, 71, 72, 79, 83–4
- iconicity 225
- identity: construction of 224, 254, 307; ethnic 142; imagination 254; indexicality 7; language ideology 189; power 57; signs 309–10; social 221; *see also* collective identity; national identity
- ideology 3, 174; communism 173–5; *Haapala* 326; indexed/performed 175–7; language 7, 189–90; orthopraxy 183; renaming 175; resistance 185; topology 174–5; *see also* state ideology
- Iedema, R. 108, 121, 316
- imagination 254, 309

- immigrants: illegal 324; Italy 126–7;
language learning 3; Netherlands 148;
Sweden 95, 100; Upper Nazareth
243–4
- indexicality: Backhaus 110, 111, 124;
bidirectional 227–8; and identity 7,
221, 223–5; meanings 121–2, 124;
orthography 222; scripts 231; signs
110, 174, 176; simultaneous layering
183; social 227, (*Color Figure 14.6*);
symbolism 206
- India 35, 57, 288
- indigenous minority enclaves 207–8
- information flows: multilingualism 78,
(*Color Figure 5.2*), (*Color Figure 5.6*);
scientific laboratory 290–1; signs 56;
see also communication
- information technology 190
- instructions 29
- interaction order 83–4, 93–4, 98–100
- international businesses 227–8
The International Journal of
Multilingualism 29, 109
- International Treaty on Civil and
Political Rights 246
- internationalization 162, 227–8
- internet café 116
- interpellation 175, 177, 310
- interpretation 83–4
- intertextuality 228–9
- Ireland, Northern: Belfast Agreement
275–6; language choices 277–8; signage
277–82; tourism 8; Tourist Board 276
- Irish language 275–6, 279–80, (*Color*
Figures 17.9–17.11)
- Irish orthography 278, (*Color Figure*
17.3)
- Irish Republic: bilingual signs 184; Irish
language 275–6, 277–8; language
policy 281; signage 277–82; tourism 8
- Irob region 197, 198
- Irvine, J. T. 189
- Israel: Arabic 57, 238, 242, 247–8, 321;
Hebrew 8, 26–7, 57, 238, 321;
hierarchies 238–9; Jewish hegemony
250–1; mixed towns 8; public space 9,
288; *see also* Haapala; Jerusalem
- Italian language 36, 197–8
- Italian Ministry for Education 127
- Italy 6; Albanians 134; Arabic 137–8;
German language 210–15; immigrant
families 126–7, 137–8; indigenous
minority enclaves 7, 207–8; place
names 208–10
- Iwabuchi, K. 230
- Jaffa Gate sign 27, (*Color Figure 2.3*)
- Jahan, Shah 21
- Jansen, C. 148
- Japan 6; English language 37n13, 110,
142, 162; internationalization 162;
language other than English 164–5;
military operations in Taiwan 230;
product names 36; public signage 29,
169
- Japanese language: displays 230–1;
Romanization principles 162–3, 164,
165; scripts 161–2, 230–1, (*Color*
Figure 14.7); Taipei 222
- Jayyusi, L. 176
- Jellinek, J. 177
- Jerusalem 14, 27; Dome of the Rock 21;
expulsion of Jews 27; Hebrew/English/
Arabic 26–7, 51–2, (*Color Figure 3.6*);
Israeli rule 27; language choices 108,
110; Old City 2, 25–6, 28, 30, 31;
“Signs in Arabic” public discussion
244–5; street signs 27, 31, 32, (*Color*
Figures 2.1–2.2)
- Jewish shop sign (*Color Figure 10.1*)
- Jewitt, C. 120–1
- Johnson & Johnson 147
- Jong Ga House 116–17, (*Color Figure 7.3*)
- Jordanian Arab Legion 27
- Kallen, J. 8
- Kelly-Holmes, H. 35–6, 75
- Kentucky Fried Chicken 74, 325, (*Color*
Figure 2.6)
- Khuri, S. 245–6
- Kimmerling, B. 239
- Kloss, H. 168
- knowledge sharing 297, 299
- Kochi, Kerala 305, (*Color Figure 19.5*)
- Korana Plaza 117–18, (*Color Figure 7.4*)
- Korea Times San Francisco Edition 107
- Korean American business owners 6;
authorship of signs 108–11, 113–16,
119–23; *hangul* script 107; meanings in
signs 116–19
- Korean language 111, 121, 165, 230–1
- Korzilius, H. 147, 149, 152
- Kosher food stores 46, (*Color Figure 3.3*)
- Kramsch, C. J. 326–7, 327–8

- Krauss, M. 63, 64
 Kress, G. 76–7, 108, 120–1, 314, 315, 321
 Kuala Lumpur 306
 Kubias, Jaromir 175
 Kubota, R. 257
 Kunama region 197, 198
 Kuomintang party (KMT) 222–3, 226–7, 230, 234n2
- labor income 58–9
 Ladousa, C. 35
 Lamarre, P. 8
 landmarks 4, 14, 15–22, 23
 Landry, R.: bilingualism 253; Canada 14, 41–2; language use 167, 189, 207, 221–2; linguistic landscape defined 2, 15, 26, 28, 56, 70, 72, 128, 206; public signs 29–30, 272
 language: code 81–3; and communities 129; diversity 266; economics of 58–9; ethnic identity 142; flexibility 318–19; garden analogy 63–4; geosemiotics 304; glossodiversity 306; hegemony 47; ideology 189; loss of 63; prestige 132; register 80–1; script 182, (*Color Figure 11.1*); unwritten 30; visibility 130–1, 167, 247; vitality of 64, 130–1, 207; world statistics 62
 language activists 56, 167, 314
 language awareness 258–60, 262–3, 327, (*Color Figures 16.1–16.3*)
 language choice theory 33–4
 Language Development Bill 223
 language learning 3, 270–1, 326–7
 language legislation 74, 157–61
 language management theory 4, 31
 language policy: Backhaus 6, 31; cross-country comparisons 26; economics 59; education 318; Ethiopia 193–4; foreign 35–6, 144, 158; Irish Republic 281; public signage 56, 67; sociolinguistics 206–7; Sweden 5, 95
 language rights 272, 314
langue/parole 309
 Lanza, E. 6, 7, 198, 319
 Latin script 198
 Latour, B. 121
 Laur, E. 70
 Leclerc, J. 157, 161–2, 167
 Lefebvre, H. 5, 52, 314–15
 Lemke, J. 121
 Lenin, V. I. 174, 183
 Lev Ha'ir shopping mall 249–50, (*Color Figures 15.1–15.2*)
 Levi-Strauss, C. 52–3
 Liggett, H. 119
 linguistic diversity index 62–3, 64, 262–3
 linguistic imperialism 203, 322
 linguistic landscape: as cityscapes 14, 25, 42–3, 255–6; defined 1–2, 25, 70, 90–2, 128–9; as discourse 271–2; and education 261–3, 264–6, 314, 326–9; as a Gestalt 42–4, 52, 152; heuristic for learning 256–8; semiotics 174–5; study of 56–8; *see also* genres
 Lipit-Ishtar codes 16
 literacy 4, 13, 27–30, 192–3, 253
 litter 265, 282n1, (*Color Figure 16.3*)
 Livni, T. 245
 Ljouwert-Leeuwarden 26, 57–8
 Lock, G. 75, 78, 79
 Longley, E. 276
Lovers 148, (*Color Figure 9.3*)
 Lower East Side, New York 32
 Lucci, V. 255, 266
 Lukashenko, A. 178
- Ma, E. K. W. 310
 Ma Ying-jeou 232
 Mac Póilin, A. 276
 McDonald's restaurant 183, 202, 227, 325, (*Color Figure 11.4*), (*Color Figure 14.3*)
 McQuire, S. 315
 macro-linguistic analysis 134–5
 Maffi, L. 63
 Mahadin, R. S. 144
 Maignan, C. 63
 Mainlanders, Taipei 222, 223
 Makoni, S. 306, 318
 Malaysia 31, 306
 Malinowski, D. 5–6, 78, 80, 265, 288, 305, 310
 Malmö 5, 95, 96–8
 Mandarin 222, 223, 226–7, (*Color Figures 14.1–14.2*)
 Maori language signs 34
 MapGeoLing 6, 132, 136–7, (*Color Figures 8.1–8.4*)
 Marx, K. 183
 Masai, Y. 26
 Masjid-I Shah 21
 materialization 173–5
 Matsuura, K. 67

- Mazrui, A. 201, 202
meanings: constative/performative
113–16; context 304–5; *Haapala*
324–5; indexicality 121–2, 124;
multimodality 314; public space
316–18; symbolism 121–2, 124;
unexpected 118
Medvedev, P. N. 173
Mekele 7, 194–5; languages used 190;
public signage 202–3; shop fronts
195–6
memory 174, 317, 328
Menetekel-patsin 4, 20, (*Color Figure 1.4*)
message 2, 3, 22–3
methodological problems 126–7, 129–31
microbiology laboratory 8–9, 291–2;
conference posters 295–6; corridor
space 293, (*Color Figure 18.3*); data
tables 298, 300; kitchen area 293;
office space 293, (*Color Figure 18.2*);
PHIRE 289–91; posters 299; sticky
notes 294–5, 297, 300; visual data 298;
wall signage 299–300; wall spaces
291–4; warning signs 295, 300; wet
areas 293–4, (*Color Figure 18.1*); white/
black boards 297–8, 299, 300
micro-linguistic analysis 135–6
Milon, A. 308
minority languages 26, 56, 66, 95, 99, 100
Minsk 175; city square 176–7, (*Color*
Figure 11.1); McDonald's restaurant/
Lenin Street 183; police presence 184;
Russian language street signs 183;
signs 182, (*Color Figure 11.1*); tourists
184
Mitchell, W. J. T. 108, 123, 316, 325
MIX 79
Mondada, L. 254
monolingualism 198, 199
Montreal 14; education 258;
Francophone programs 327; Jewish
shop sign 160, (*Color Figure 10.1*);
language awareness 259–66; public
signage 257, 261
monumental inscriptions 13, 19
Moore, D. 8
mosques 30
Mother Tongue Education 223
multiliteracies 27–8, 32–3
multilanguages 318–20
multilingualism 258–9; advertisements
70, 214; Belgian shop signs 235n6;
children 263; communication 99, 100;
ecology of language 88–9; *Haapala*
324; Haugen 93, 94; impersonal
142–3, 144, 151; information
arrangements 78; instruction in 35;
mapping 5; monumental inscriptions
19; Oakland Korean shops 111,
116–19; public signage 28–9, 34, 56,
264–6; public space 9; signs 81–2, 119,
221, (*Color Figure 5.3*), (*Color Figures*
5.7–5.10); street signs 26–7; Sweden
96–8, 99
multimodality: authorship 119–23;
graffiti 303–4; Malinowski 5–6;
meaning 314; public space 4, 9; science
classroom 287, 292–300; social
semiotics 287, 316–18; texts 256,
316–17
multinationals 74, 202
mural 265, (*Color Figure 16.4*)
Myers, G. 80–1
National Association of Realtors 35
national identity 177, 232, 233, 248–50
national language management 36
natural resource damage 59–60
Navajo language 27, 30, 31, (*Color Figure*
2.4)
Nazareth 240; *see also* Upper Nazareth
Nebeský, L. 175–6
Netherlands 143, 147, 148, 149–50; *see*
also Amsterdam; Friesland study
New London Group 317
New York 32, 83
New Zealand 27, 34
Newry 275, 276; Tourist Office 278,
(*Color Figure 17.1*)
nexus analysis 5, 90–2, 95, 98–100, 101
Nike brand 145
Nilo-Saharan languages 191
non-market value 59–60, 64–6, 67
non-use value 60, 64–6, 67
Northern Ireland Tourist Board 276;
see also Ireland, Northern
Norton, B 254, 256
noun phrases 80–1
Nunes, P. 60, 61
Oakland 6; English/Korean words
116–19; Korean signs 107, 111;
methodology 111–13; Ohgane
Restaurant 120, (*Color Figure 7.5*);

- Sahn Maru Restaurant 120–3, (*Color Figure 7.6*)
 obelisks 4, 22, (*Color Figure 1.6*)
 Ochs, E. 224, 225
 OECD 59
 Official Language Act 158–9, 161, 168
 Ohgane Restaurant 120, (*Color Figure 7.5*)
 Olshtain, E. 77
 Omega watches advertisement 179
 Omotic languages 191
 option value 61
 Oromo group 192, 200
 orthography 213, 221, 222, 230–1, 278, (*Color Figure 17.3*)
 orthopraxy 183, 185
- Palestine 324; *see also* *Haapala*
 Pan-Africanism 202
 Pan-Asianism 230
 Paraguay 28
 Pardue, D. 309
 Paris 14, 22, 25
 Paris, Treaty of 209, 217n4
 parking regulations (*Color Figures 17.8–17.9*)
 Parkinson, R. 17, 18
Parkour 307–8
 Passeron, J. C. 256
 patriotism 182
paysage linguistique 28–9, 34
 pedagogy, child-centred 266; *see also* critical pedagogy
 Peirce, C. S. 224, 225
 Pennycook, A. 9, 256, 257, 304–5, 306, 318, 319
 performativity 108, 115, 116
 persuasion 29, 56, 142
 Phillipson, R. 101, 203
 PHIRE program 289–91
 photographic records 91, 291–2
 Piazza Navona obelisk 22
 Piller, I. 36, 142–3, 144, 151, 214
 Pittsburgh, University of 289
 place 92–3, 133, 262–3, 302
 place names 184, 208–10, (*Color Figures 13.1–13.2*)
 Poland 145
 Polynesia 27, 30
 Pompeii 20
 Ponzio, A. 224
 Portugali, J. 320
- post-colonialism 203, 280
 posters 71
 posting boards 299
 power 14, 57, 116, 221
 power relations 5, 46–8, 51, 110, 138
 prayer-flags 309
 prestige markers 50
 proper names: advertisements 141–2, 143–4; Amsterdam study 150–2; Arabic 144; businesses 147, 200–1; classified by language 144–51, 153; shop fronts 142–3; signs 141–2; translated 145, 146
 property markers 13
 Prys Jones, S. 63–4
 psycholinguistics 253
 Ptolemy V Epiphanes 16–18
 public domain 288
 public signage 25–6, 29–30; agency 30–2; Amharic language 198, 202–3; bilingualism 56, 109–10, 163, 183–4, 203, (*Color Figure 7.1*), (*Color Figures 11.5–11.6*); communication 29, 33, 35; early studies 26–8; Ethiopia 197; Japan 29, 169; language policy 28, 56, 67; Malmö 96; Mandarin 226–7; Mekele 202–3; monolingualism 198, 199; Montreal 257, 261; MTR 81; multilingualism 28–9, 34, 56, 158, 264–6; power 221; Quebec 31; symbolic meaning 28, 29, 34; Taipei 221; Taiwan 321; Tigrinya 198; Tokyo 26, 32; tourists 98, 100; units of analysis 71–2, (*Color Figure 5.1*); Upper Nazareth 238, 241–6, 248–50; Vancouver 261; *see also* signs
 public space: communication 91, 197; contestation 320–1; decorum 5, 42; fluidity 328–9; Habermas 40–1; Israel 9, 288; language 3–4, 157; Lefebvre 314–15; meanings 316–18; multilingualism 9; multimodality 4, 9; rules/regulation 3, 185; signs 8, 71; symbolism 206–7; writing in 288
 public sphere 5, 13–14, 20, 40
 Public Transport Passenger Facilities 164–5
- Quebec: Bill 101 56–7, 109, 159–60; education 8; Francophone students 28; as French enclave 167; language awareness 259–66; language legislation

- 6, 74, 83, 157–8, 158–61; Official Language Act 158–9, 161; political autonomy 166; public signage 31, 109; and Tokyo compared 74, 83, 170
Queens, New York 83
Quirke, S. 18
Qur'anic inscriptions (*Color Figure 2.5*)
Qut'b Minar 21
- Rabinowitz, D. 240, 241, 242
Rahn, J. 306
Rajagopalan, K. 36
Ramanathan, V. 319
Ramses II 20
Rawlinson, H. 19
register 80–1
regulations 75, 80, 184–5
Reh, M. 28–9, 78
renaming 175, 182–3, 209
re-sinicization 223, 230
resistance 14, 20, 27, 75, 185, 322
restaurant names 229
reterritorialization 228
rhetorical contexts 288
road signs, Welsh 34
roads 181
Roman alphabet 162–3, 194
Roman Empire 19
Romanization 234n1; Chinese language 221–2, 230–3; Japanese script 164, 165, 167, 169
Rome 22, 36
Rosenbaum, Y. 26
Rosetta stone 4, 16–18, 19, 22, (*Color Figure 1.2*)
Rumanians in Italy 207
Rush, S. 80–1
Russian language 57, 182
- Saban, A. 248
Sabatier, C. 8
Sahn Maru Restaurant 120–3, (*Color Figure 7.6*)
Salih, M. H. 144
Samuelson, B. 327
San Francisco Chronicle 112
Santa Clara County 83
Schama, S. 308
Schiffrin, D. 98–9
Schlick, M. 36, 144, 146
Schmidt, R. 77
school instruction 35
scientific inquiry 289–90
Scollon, R. and S. W.: code dominance 108–9; communication 91–2; critical literacy 265; cultural geography 310; discourse in place 92–3, 262; geosemiotics 70, 84n1, 180, 234–5n3 304; graffiti 75, 307; Hong Kong 110; indexical/symbolic meanings 124, 176, 206, 272–3; nexus analysis 5; print interactions 253; social action 94–5, 254, 266
Scotland 184
scripts: Belarus 182, (*Color Figure 11.1*); Celtic 279, (*Color Figures 17.4–17.5*); decorative value 231; Ethiopian 192; Fidel 192, 194, 201; Gothic 213–14, (*Color Figures 13.6–13.7*); hangul 107, 112, 114–15, 123, 230; Japan 161–2, 230–1, (*Color Figure 14.7*); Latin 198; *thuluth* 21
self-presentation 5, 45, 46–7, 48, 110, 129, 138
semiotics 56, 134, (*Color Figures 8.3–8.4*); analysis 134; external position 132–3; graffiti 303–4; linguistic landscape 174–5; public signage 29–30; tourism 270–1; *see also* social semiotic study
Semitic languages 191
Shinagawa Sign Manual 163–4
Shohamy, E. 9, 91, 93, 134, 190, 197, 318, 321
shop fronts 71, (*Color Figure 9.5*); Galway 279, (*Color Figure 17.5*); Malmö 96–8; Mekele 195–6; proper names 142–3; South Tyrol 214; Sweden 104
shop signs 112–13, 123–4
shopping zones 180–1
Sign System Guidebook 164–5
signography 310
signs: authority 16, 31, 80, 273; authorship 305–6; communism 182; economic cost/benefit 55; identity 309–10; indexicality 110, 174, 176; information 56; Kuala Lumpur 306; materiality 174; multilingual 81–2, 119, 221, (*Color Figure 5.3*), (*Color Figures 5.7–5.10*); official/non-official 221–2; persuasion 142; placement 72–3; presence/salience 304–5; proper names 141–2; public space 8, 71; public/private 67, 273–4; regulations

- 75; as speech act 272; symbolic meaning 56, 110; Tokyo 15, 29, 32, 78, 110, 147, 149, 221; top-down/bottom-up 3, 28, 30–1, 49–50, 52, 74, 96, 108–9, 112, 114, 134, 196–7, 211–12, 273, 307; Tyrol, South 211–15; *see also* public signage; street signs
- Silicon Valley 83
- Silverstein, M. 224
- Simpson, P. 79
- Sjöblom, P. 147
- Slembrouck, S. 235n6
- Sloboda, M. 6
- Slovakia 6, 7; advertisements 182; bilingual signs 183–4, (*Color Figures* 11.5–11.6); graffiti 184–5; Hungarian 183–4; regulatory notices 184; shopping zones 180–1; state ideology 179
- Slovenia 36
- Smith, M. 83
- Smith, V. L. 270
- social action: authorship 109–10; behavior/choice 124; Ben-Rafael 5, 46, 74, 92, 94, 109–10, 124, 129, 254; changing landscapes 42–3; genre 288–9; Scollon 94–5, 254, 266
- social behavior 46
- social representation 255
- social semiotics 108, 225–6, 316–18
- sociocultural communities 47, 48
- sociolinguistics 14, 25–6, 41–2, 206–7, 215–16
- sociological approach 5, 40
- Sofia 36
- Soja, E. 310
- Southern Min 223
- space 52, 302, 315, 319, 320; *see also* cyberspace; public space
- Spanish language 28, 32, 35, 272
- SPEAKING model 5, 71; act sequences 75–8; ends/commonality of function 75; instrumentalities 80–3; key 79–80; norms and regulations 83–4; participants 74; setting and scene 72–3
- speech act 77–8, 115, 272–4, 278–9, (*Color Figures* 17.6–17.8)
- Spolsky, B.: agency 4; dyadic states 238; Jerusalem 2, 14, 25–6, 34, 41–2; language policy 194; signs 271; writing in public space 33, 288
- Starbucks 202
- state, defined 177
- state ideology 6–7, 173–5, 177–9, 180–6
- Statistics Canada 259–60
- status planning 168, 169
- Stewart, P. 36
- sticky notes 294–5, 297, 300
- stores: *see* shop fronts
- street signs: Belarus 182, 183; commercial 55, (*Color Figures* 4.1–4.2); Confucian virtues 226; Czechoslovakia 182–3; Jerusalem 32; multilingualism 26–7; renaming 182–3; *Shinagawa Sign Manual* 163–4; Taipei 231–3, (*Color Figure* 14.2)
- structuration of linguistic landscape 44–8, 50
- subculture 185, 302
- Sunglass Hut (*Color Figure* 9.5)
- Surinam 145
- Swales, J. M. 72, 288
- Sweden: ecolinguistics 95–100; language policy 5, 95; minority languages 95, 99, 100; multilingualism 96–8, 99; storefronts 104; *see also* Malmö
- symbolism: foreign language use 35–6; indexicality 206; meanings 18, 28, 29, 34, 56, 121–2, 124; multilingualism 56; public space 206–7
- synaesthesia theory 317
- synagogues 30
- Taipei 7; Chinese characters 226–7; English language 222; ethnolinguistics 222–3; internationalization 227–8; Japanese language 222; McDonald's restaurant (*Color Figure* 14.3); orthography 221–2; public signage 221; rapid transit system 223; social semiotic study 225–6; sociohistory 222–3; street signs 231–3, (*Color Figure* 14.2)
- Taiwan: democratization 221; ethnolinguistic groups 222; *hanliu* movement 231; *harizu* movement 231; Mandarin 223; national identity 232, 233–4; public signage 321; re-sinicization 223; *see also* Taipei
- Taj Mahal calligraphy 4, 21–2, (*Color Figure* 1.5)
- Takashi, K. 36
- technological change 1, 23, 130

- Tel Aviv 2, 313, 322–6
 television advertisements 36, 77–8
 texts: coding 147–8; genre 132;
 multimodality 256, 316–17
 Thai/English languages 74, 81–3, 200,
 319, (*Color Figure 5.2*)
 Thailand 57, 288
thuluth script 21
 Tigray Regional State 194–5
 Tigrayan People's Liberation Front 192,
 197
 Tigrinya: communication 319; literacy
 193; and Mekele 195, 202–3; official
 status 7, 190, 191, 192; public signage
 198
 Times Square 44, (*Color Figure 3.2*)
 Tokyo: brand names 147; English
 language signs 31; Korean signs 111;
 language legislation 74, 83; linguistic
 landscape regulations 161–2, 166–7;
 manuals for signs 162–3, 165–6;
 multilingual signs 29, 221; public
 signage 25–6, 32, 158; Public
 Transport Passenger Facilities 164–5;
 and Quebec 6, 170; Romanization of
 script 167; signs 15, 29, 32, 78, 110,
 147, 149, 221; station signs 72, 166,
 (*Color Figure 10.2*)
 Tokyo Metropolitan Government
 162
 Tolomei, E. 209
 Tonga 27
tongyong pinyin Romanization system
 231–3
 Toohey, K. 256
 Toolan, M. 75, 77–8, 79
 Topkapi Palace 30
 topology 174–5
 Torstrick, R. 244
 Touraine, A. 257
 tourism: cultural values 270; difference
 271; discourse 274–5; Ethiopia 201;
 Ireland 8, 276–7, 280–2; language-
 learning 3, 270–1; Minsk 184; public
 signage 98, 100; semiotics 270–1;
 South Tyrol 210–11, 212
 trade names 71
 translation 145, 319
 transliterations 27, 162–3
 triptych layout (*Color Figure 5.1*)
 Trumper-Hecht, N. 8, 241, 244, 254, 321
 Tulp, S. M. 14, 26
 Tyrol, South: bilingualism 214–15;
 churches 214; diglossic 210; German
 language 208–10, 215–16; road signs
 184; shop fronts 214; signs 211–15;
 sociolinguistics 215–16
 Ulster Scots 275–6
 UNESCO 64, 67
 Unilever 145
 United Nations 157, 201
 Universal Declaration of Human Rights
 157
 Università per Stranieri di Siena 126–7
 university signs 44, (*Color Figure 3.1*)
 Upper Nazareth: Arab residents 240,
 242; Arabic language 8, 241, 242, 244,
 (*Color Figure 15.3*); English language
 240–1, 243–4; Hebrew signs 240–1;
 immigrants 243–4; Jewish hegemony
 241–6, 250–1; mixed /Jewish city
 239–41, 242–3; national identity
 248–50; public signage 238, 241–6,
 248–50; shopping mall 249–50
 urbanization 4, 13
 Ur-Nammu codes 16
 use value 60, 64–6, 67
 utterances, written 6
 Van Leeuwen, T. 76–7, 108
 Van Onna, B. 148
 Van Treeck, B. 307
 Vancouver: commercial signs 257; First
 Nations people 265; French
 immersion 327; language awareness
 259–66; public signage 261; school
 children 8, 258
 vernacular literacy 27
 virtual linguistic landscape 1
 visibility of language 167, 189, 247–8
 visual data 298
 visual language use 91
 Vogue European 229
 Voloshinov, V. N. 174, 185
 Wade-Giles Romanization system 231–3
 Waksman, S. 9
 walking in city 309, 311n1
 wall signage 291–4, 299–300
 Wal-Mart 35
 Walser minority 210, 211, 212–13, 214,
 216
 warning signs 184, 295, 300

INDEX

- The Washington Post* 109
Watch Station (*Color Figure* 9.5)
Weber, M. 44
Welsh language 34
Wenger, E. 254
white/black boards 297–8, 299, 300
Woldemariam, H. 6, 7, 198, 319
Woolard, K. 189
World Bank 59
writing 13–14, 20

Yamakasi 307–8
Yatim, R. 31
Yiddish signs 32
Yohannes IV 194
Yves Rocher 149, (*Color Figure* 9.4)

Zargos Mountains 18
Zhang, H. 35
Zheng He 146, 147–8