

SMSW

Sprache, Mehrsprachigkeit
und sozialer Wandel

Herausgegeben von Jürgen Erfurt

Band 16

Christine Hélot / Monica Barni /
Rudi Janssens / Carla Bagna (eds.)

Linguistic Landscapes, Multilingualism and Social Change



PETER LANG

Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Sprache, Mehrsprachigkeit und sozialer Wandel

Herausgegeben von Jürgen Erfurt

Band 16



PETER LANG

Frankfurt am Main · Berlin · Bern · Bruxelles · New York · Oxford · Wien

Christine Hélot / Monica Barni /
Rudi Janssens / Carla Bagna (eds.)

Linguistic Landscapes, Multilingualism and Social Change



PETER LANG

Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.



ISSN 1610-143X

ISBN 978-3-653-02576-7 (E-Book)

DOI 10.3726/978-3-653-02576-7

ISBN 978-3-631-61716-8 (Print)

© Peter Lang GmbH

Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften

Frankfurt am Main 2012

All rights reserved.

All parts of this publication are protected by copyright. Any utilisation outside the strict limits of the copyright law, without the permission of the publisher, is forbidden and liable to prosecution. This applies in particular to reproductions, translations, microfilming, and storage and processing in electronic retrieval systems.

www.peterlang.de

Dedication to Nira



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

Nira was a pioneer in research on linguistic landscape in Israel; she continued her work in the project documenting mixed cities in Israel (Ben-Rafael et al, 2006). Nira and her colleague Hannan collected rich data in ten mixed cities in Israel (via digital cameras, this time). The study showed that Israel consists of a number of bilingual entities in terms of its LL, in different combinations of languages – Hebrew and English in Jewish Areas; Arabic and Hebrew in Arab areas and Arabic and English in East Jerusalem. This very study led Nira to pursue a fuller picture of LL research in her dissertation, which was directed at policy makers and pedestrians, beyond

‘cold’ documentation; rather it involved actual people, those who hang the signs, those who read them. Nira was especially interested in ‘mixed cities’, referring to cities where Arab and Jewish reside in the same territory; this was Nira’s passion and expertise. She was keen on understanding the role that LL played as an indicator, for separation but also for co-existence between Arabs and Jews in Israel.

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

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

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

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

Elana Shohamy

Publications by Nira Trumper-Hecht

- Trumper-Hecht, Nira (1999): *Multiculturalism and multilingualism as reflected in the linguistic landscape of Israel: The story of five urban areas in the Tel Aviv metropolitan region* (M.A. thesis, in Hebrew). Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University
- Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2005): Multiculturalism and multilingualism as reflected in the linguistic landscape of Israel: The story of five areas in the Tel Aviv metropolitan region. *Hed Ha-Ulpan He-Hadash*, 88 (in Hebrew)
- Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, Shohamy, Elana, Amara, Mohamed, & Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2006): Linguistic landscape as symbolic construction of the public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7-30
- Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2009): Constructing national identity in mixed cities in Israel: Arabic on signs in the public sphere of Upper Nazareth. In Elana Shohamy/Durk Gorter (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery* (pp. 238-252). New York and Abingdon: Routledge
- Trumper-Hecht, Nira (2010): Linguistic landscape in mixed cities in Israel from the perspective of ‘walkers’: The case of Arabic. In Elana Shohamy, Eliezer Ben-Rafael/Monica Barni (eds.), *Linguistic Landscape in the City* (pp. 235-251). Bristol: Multilingual Matters

DURK GORTER

Foreword

Signposts in the Linguistic Landscape

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

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

In this Foreword I cannot do more than setting out some of the signposts. Technological innovations have a direct influence on the development of the field of Linguistic Landscape studies. For example technology has made data-collection accessible to anyone who can operate a digital camera. Today almost all modern mobile phones have a camera included as a standard application and these devices are omnipresent, as we know all too well. It has already changed the ways people take, look at and share pictures. The cameras can capture photographs of sufficient high quality for most items in public space. Taking photos of the Linguistic Landscape requires hardly any effort and poses no particular difficulties.

Furthermore, one does not even have to take pictures because there are numerous sources of data of public signs freely available on the internet. Special groups or categories are used for signs and signage on photo sharing services such as Flickr, Photobucket, Picasa or Slickpic. However, efforts to maintain a dedicated website or blog to the study of Linguistic Landscape have not been very successful thus far.

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

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

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

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

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

Language policy in relation to linguistic landscape has many facets. An interesting example, treated in three chapters in this book, is the case of Belgium, in particular its capital Brussels, where detailed regulations about the public display of

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

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

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

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

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

Linguistic Landscape studies should go further and not limit themselves to the written language and the variations in text types on signs, they should relate to images, colours and other visuals, as well as voices, music and other sounds and to dynamic changes in the physical (mainly urban) surroundings.

In addition there is a need for a more rigorous research approach. The field of Linguistic Landscape studies is still in its infancy but this circumstance cannot be used as an excuse for authors to give insufficient attention to methodological rules. It should become common practice to make their studies replicable and their results verifiable by other researchers.

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

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

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

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS/TABLE DES MATIÈRES

DURK GORTER	
Foreword	9
CHRISTINE HÉLOT/RUDI JANSSENS/MONICA BARNI/ CARLA BAGNA	
Introduction	17
LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND LANGUAGE POLICY	
MONICA BARNI/MASSIMO VEDOVELLI	
Linguistic Landscapes and Language Policies	27
RUDI JANSSENS	
The Linguistic Landscape as a Political Arena: The case of the Brussels periphery in Belgium	39
DEIRDRE A. DUNLEVY	
Linguistic Policy and Linguistic Choice: A Study of the Galician Linguistic Landscape	53
ELIEZER BEN-RAFAEL/MIRIAM BEN-RAFAEL	
Le paysage linguistique belge: Un chaos intelligible	69
GEORGES LÜDI	
The Analysis of the Linguistic Landscape as a Tool for Comprehension of Companies' Language Management and Practices	87
LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES AS LANGUAGE OF DISSENT	
ELANA SHOHAMY/SHOSHI WAKSMAN	
Talking back to the Tel Aviv Centennial: LL responses to top-down agendas	109
CORINNE A. SEALS	
Creating a Landscape of Dissent in Washington, DC	127

DAVID HANAUER	
Transitory Linguistic Landscapes as Political Discourses: Signage at Three Political Demonstrations in Pittsburgh, USA	139
AURA MOR-SOMERFELD/JOHN JOHNSTON	
Linguistic Landscape – The Seeing and Writing of Art	155
HIRUT WOLDEMARIAM/ELIZABETH LANZA	
Religious Wars in the Linguistic Landscape of an African Capital	169
LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES AND LANGUAGING	
PHILIP SERGEANT	
Between Script and Language: The ambiguous ascription of ‘English’ in the Linguistic Landscape	187
LAURENCE METTEWIE/PATRICIA LAMARRE/LUK VAN MENSEL	
Clins d’œil bilingues dans le paysage linguistique de Montréal et Bruxelles: Analyse et illustration de mécanismes parallèles	201
CARLA BAGNA/SABRINA MACHETTI	
LL and (Italian) Menus and Brand names: A survey around the world	217
“READING” THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS	
KASPER JUFFERMANS/JANNET COPPOOLSE	
How Literate, Low-Literate and Non-Literate Readers Read the Linguistic Landscape in a Gambian Village	233
ANDY HANCOCK	
Capturing the Linguistic Landscape of Edinburgh: A pedagogical tool to investigate student teachers’ understanding of cultural and linguistic diversity	249
MARIANA CLEMENTE/ANA ISABEL ANDRADE/FILOMENA MARTINS	
Learning to Read the World, Learning to Look at the Linguistic Landscape: A study in the first years of formal education	267

**LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND THE MAPPING OF
MULTILINGUALISM (CONTINUED)**

HEIKO F. MARTEN/SANITA LAZDINA/SOLVITA POŠEIKO/ SANDRA MURINSKA Between Old and New Killer Languages? Linguistic Transformation, Linguae Francae and Languages of Tourism in the Baltic States	289
DANIEL SÁEZ RIVERA/MÓNICA CASTILLO LLUCH The Human and Linguistic Landscape of Madrid (Spain)	309
FRANÇOIS-XAVIER BOGATTO/ARLETTE BOTHOREL-WITZ La cartographie du paysage linguistique comme outil d'analyse du plurilinguisme de l'espace urbain strasbourgeois	329
AUTHORS – AUTEURS ET AUTEURES	341