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Mapping the Landscapes of Disciplinary Languages: the Global Urban Humanities Initiative and the Study of Urban Space

Susan Moffat

Global Urban Humanities Initiative, UC Berkeley

The Global Urban Humanities Initiative is an experiment in the interdisciplinary study of cities. Funded by the Mellon Foundation, the GloUH initiative brings together scholars and students from the design and urban planning disciplines together with those in the arts and humanities to investigate global cities. Over a three-year period, the initiative is sponsoring symposia and launching experimental publications and exhibits on mapping, on the arts and public space, and on questions of the human experience in urban areas.

The core activity of the initiative is the creation of a total of twelve new interdisciplinary courses, each co-taught by one faculty member from the College of Environmental Design and one from the Arts & Humanities Division of the College of Letters & Science. Humanities students have engaged in the studio method of pedagogy, central to architecture education, and have learned how to make models and graphic presentations. At the same time, design students have grappled with demands that they achieve a high level of sophistication in reading and writing about theory from the humanistic disciplines.

The lessons learned from the transdisciplinary work of the Global Urban Humanities Initiative may be useful to the field of linguistic landscapes, as the disciplines that gather under our umbrella, including anthropology, architecture, city planning, geography, landscape architecture, and rhetoric, are also ones that potentially could contribute to a deeper understanding of visible language in the urban landscape. Moreover, lessons learned about the process of interdisciplinary inquiry may also be of reference to future cross-disciplinary work in linguistic landscapes.
Examining the Linguistic Landscape for Latinas/os in California: Resistance, Persistence, and Reinvention

Patricia Baquedano-López

Graduate School of Education, UC Berkeley
Chair, Center for Latino Policy Research

Like so many states in the nation, California has a history of migration and relocation. It is also the rugged terrain where one finds openness to linguistic diversity, but where one also encounters barriers through restrictive language policies. This ecology is found particularly in schools and school districts where the increased presence of speakers of languages other than English, has made learning English the critical factor for academic advancement. In this talk I focus on the language experiences and practices of Latina/o students in California schools, a group with great linguistic and cultural diversity (density) that includes native and heritage speakers of Spanish, English, and indigenous languages. I discuss examples of the ways linguistic diversity in schools influences ideologies about bilingual and multilingual speakers and how it becomes organized and regulated. Drawing on my language socialization studies of the past fifteen years in and out of school settings in California, I examine the porous boundaries that demarcate linguistic practices of individuals, schools, and communities and the ways that these boundaries give rise to persistence, resistance, and reinvention.
In this paper I address societal power relations in Galicia, an autonomous region located in the northwest of Spain, and the way these are reflected in the public space. I will present a reflection on the struggles taking place around the presence, contestation and erasure of language(s) within the city of A Coruña, one of the largest cities of the region. The name of the city, which can be written in three different ways (La Coruña, A Coruña, A Corunha) symbolizes the struggle between social agents with different backgrounds, ideologies and aims: linguistic conflict is thus a homology for social and societal conflicts. Each of the three forms of writing the city name expresses not only 1) the use of a certain language, i.e. Spanish (La Coruña), ‘isolationist’ Galician (A Coruña), and ‘reintegrationist’ Galician (A Corunha); but also 2) a certain linguistic ideology or a certain glotopolitical stance (Spanishism, Spanish-Galicianism, Portuguese-Galicianism); and 3) more generally a certain political-ideological stance, ranging from right to left. More particularly, each one of these three forms is related to the issue of boundaries and spaces, tracing different boundaries for different imagined spaces and communities. The analysis of the examples will demonstrate that socio-cultural and politico-administrative elites (traditionally hispanophone and Spanishist) appropriate the “legitimate” Galician language (isolationist Galician) that is supposedly autonomous, for reinserting it within the hispanophone space. In the paper I will firstly recall the story of the so-called “guerre de graphies” in Galicia, highlighting the importance of some graphs in indexing identities. Through some examples of the struggles taking place in the Galician semiotic-linguistic landscape among Spanish, isolationist Galician and reintegrationist Galician, I will reflect on the graphs’ distinctiveness especially in the relationships between script and orality, since some diacritic graphs are bivalent once spoken and some bivalent graphs become diacritics only in oral production.
Different borders, different landscapes: Linguistic Landscape and the Irish political border

Jeffrey Kallen
Trinity College Dublin

Studies of the Linguistic Landscape have analysed situations of urban multilingualism, minority language use in diverse communities, globalisation, policy conflict, tourism, and related topics. Though some studies (e.g. Sloboda 2009, Van Mensel and Darquennes 2012) refer to LLs in areas that include or are close to political borders, such border areas themselves have not been a major focus in LL research. In this paper, I suggest that border regions may give rise to a distinctive LL which is indexical not only of central policy and local language use, but of the border region itself.

The partition of Ireland following the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921–22 provides an illustrative cross-border LL. The modern legal framework institutionalises two political jurisdictions with different language regimes. Language policy in the Republic of Ireland follows the 1937 Constitution, which designates English as an official language but Irish as the ‘first official language’; policy in Northern Ireland has usually taken English for granted as the official language, albeit with allowances for the use of Irish in education. The inter-governmental Belfast Agreement of 1998 has facilitated, especially in Northern Ireland, newly developing policy perspectives on Irish and Ulster Scots in particular.

The LL on each side of the border reflects certain policy differences directly: official signage is consistently (though not uniformly) bilingual in Irish and English in the Republic, while Northern Ireland exhibits a jurisdiction-wide layer of monolingual English signage. This paper shows, however, that the LL of the border region is characterised by more complex local variation and diversity than the two-jurisdiction dichotomy implies. This diversity in turn creates a new LL which is indexical of the border region. The outcome of historical and geographical language display thus yields a multiplicity of micro-borders within the LL, which can be compared with LLs in other border areas.
Multilingualism and linguistic demarcations in border regions: The ‘linguistic borderscape’ of the German-Polish twin cities Frankfurt (Oder)-Słubice

Dominik Gerst, Maria Klessman, & Slavena Korsun
European University Viadrina, Frankfurt (Oder)

The making and shaping of idiosyncratic spaces is one of the key foci in Linguistic Landscapes. Thus far, there has been little investigation within the context of border regions. This particular lack of interest is astonishing, as border regions can create generative spaces of language contact and specific multilingualism. Furthermore, border regions evoke interesting practices of signage as borders themselves become both subject and resource of Linguistic Landscaping. These aspects become even more striking when considering scientific and political discussions about the changing character of the interior borders of Europe. They often have been described as softening, fading or even disappearing (e.g. Łada/Segeš Frelak 2012), a process that is said to be rendering the possibility of opening euroregional spaces.

Our contribution to Linguistic Landscape 7 addresses the topic of multilingualism and linguistic demarcations in the "Linguistic Borderlandscape" of the German-Polish twin cities Frankfurt (Oder)-Słubice. Our goal is to shed light on the role public language usage plays in shaping borders and border regions (see Gerst/Klessmann 2014). We will give insights into a case study that is based upon a large photographic documentation of the Linguistic Landscape which is being carried out in both cities.

We claim that – in spite of a prevalent ideological language consensus of multilingualism – the actual language barrier in the region remains durable. However, cases of multilingual signage indicate a domain-bound multilingualism that is related to common motives for border-crossing, as well as to the disparate symbolic value of the local languages and English as a lingua franca. Concerning linguistic demarcations, we will emphasize the variety of subtle strategies of localizations and categorizations. In this way, the “Linguistic Borderlandscape” is presented as a dynamic field of drawing and also questioning different kinds of boundaries which determine the profile of the reality of the border and the border region.
Linguistic Landscape and language vitality: Investigating the Hindi communities in Northern Virginia

Shereen Bhalla & Terrence Wiley
Center for Applied Linguistics

Hindi is the fourth most commonly spoken foreign language in the home (Ruggles, Alexander, Genadek, Goeken, Schroeder, & Sobek, 2010). As of 2011, it was noted that South Asian languages were experiencing high levels of growth in language use, particularly Hindi as this language use grew by 105% (Ryan, 2013). However, Hindi speakers represent a small portion of the total population in Virginia, making up only 3.3% of the total 8.26 million people. This study will investigate the relationship between Hindi language presence, linguistic landscape and vitality in the Fairfax county of Virginia.

Despite the presence of over 128,000 Hindi speakers, this population only represents 3.3% of the states’ total population. The focus of this study will be on the South Asian ethnically oriented commercial centers in Fairfax county, VA, which serve as cultural and social nuclei (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). Despite this being a low-destiny site, preliminary investigation indicates that this site is a place of networking for the community and thus, has been selected as a “potential anchor site” for evidence of linguistic vitality of the Hindi speaking community. The study’s purpose will be to examine the key anchor sites that are more heavily used by the South Asian population and analysis will consist of looking at commercial signage, message boards, public notices, and media materials. Examination of Hindi use will be conducted at this micro-ethnographic site which is a suburban space where Google, census maps and street-level views aid in the analysis of small shop advertising and messaging. Mapping the larger language environment surrounding our units of analysis will help us interpret how our data may be linked with Hindi speaking communities.
On identity and the LL of a Druze town in Israel

Deborah Dubiner
University of Haifa

Shohamy and Waksman's (2009) definition of Linguistic Landscape refers to “what is seen, what is heard, what is spoken, what is thought” (313). When coupled with the traditional definition by Gorter (2006) -- The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration -- linguists can attempt to understand diversity and hybridity in a multilingual environment.

This paper describes and explores the Linguistic Landscape of a Druze town in Israel (native and dominant language: Arabic; dominant language of commercial signs: Hebrew). In this study, dozens of commercial shop signs in this town's main street are examined and analyzed. We can notice the clear presence of Hebrew and the less dominant visibility of Arabic. The findings are discussed in view of sociocultural multilingualism research. The notion identity construction through language (Edwards 1985, Hamers and Blanc 2000, Hansen and Liu 1993, McNamara 1997, Zentella 1997) is reassessed in light of the concept of super-diversity (Blommaert 2010b, Vertovec 2007). Indeed, speakers [...] draw on linguistic forms which index social experience, and which circulate in meaning-saturated social worlds” (Heller, 2007: 8–9). It is the social experience of Druze Israelis and the meanings expressed in the Linguistic Landscape of their environment that is discussed in this study. When setting out to account for the reason behind the use of Hebrew in an Arabic-speaking environment, theoretical-methodological challenges emerge and are also discussed in this presentation.
Landscaping a Midwestern Nepalese linguistic community from the inside

Peter De Costa & Hima Rawal
Michigan State University

The Midwest is often characterized as ‘fly over’ country in that it is often overlooked in favor of coastal US cities. Contrary to this perception, however, the Midwest is multicultural and diverse, having witnessed migration streams since the 19th century (American Immigration Council, 2013). In light of this growing heterogeneity, this study examines how linguistic vitality is represented within a Nepalese community in a small Midwestern city. In contrast to earlier linguistic landscape research which focused on public spaces, signage, language density maps, and bilingual newspapers in the communities (Shohamy, Ben-Raphael & Barni, 2010), this study expands the linguistic landscapes construct both theoretically and methodologically by conducting informal meetings and formal interviews with members of the local Nepalese community. Such data collection tools shed light on how languages are used in these micro spaces, which are crucial components of the linguistic landscapes inhabited by migrant communities. Drawing on data involving ten Nepali immigrants who worked in various vocations and who had lived in Michigan between 5 and 25 years, the findings revealed that the participants held mixed views of living in the US. On the one hand, when they recalled the political instability in Nepal, they felt fortunate to be living in a country that was more affluent than their home country. On the other hand, several participants also expressed being lost and being looked down upon. Crucially, there was general agreement that the use of their heritage language at home and among other Nepali immigrants helped them maintain their Nepali identity, which in turn fuelled their desire to teach their children/grandchildren their heritage language. By examining language use in the Nepalese community, this study thus brings to light (1) the often seen but sometimes unnoticed conditions of inequality, and (2) affective dimensions of language learning (Benesch, 2012; Kramsch, 2009).
Historical and synchronic dimensions of LL in Italy: What methodologies are appropriate?

Monica Barni, Carla Bagna, & Sabrina Machetti
University for Foreigners of Siena

In the last 20 years, the use of the LL as a research tool and a data source to address a number of issues in multilingualism has become very wide. It has developed through more 'global' approach to LL, in which quantitative research is no more the main methodology applied, and the objects of analysis have expanded, especially in multilingual settings (Gorter, 2013).

Furthermore, many multilingual settings, such as in the case of Italy, were affected in their make up more from the absence than the presence of top-down language policies, often replaced by policies which sought to guarantee and secure public order with a strong impact on linguistic urban landscape.

Italy represents a good example of how different political choices – not expressly linked to language policy - redraw the linguistic landscapes more quickly than individual or group attitudes.

Starting from the existing literature, but also from the researches on immigrant languages in Italy (Bagna & Barni, 2008), our aim is to analyze how methodological issues and objects of analysis have evolved simultaneously over the years.

In particular, the paper discusses the need for a model able to measure and describe - over the time and at a given time - the impact of the public policies and extra-linguistic features on linguistic features in a multilingual context.

The paper focuses on a district of the city of Rome, the Esquilino district, perceived as one of the most multilingual districts in Italy. Since 2004, despite the visibility and vitality of 24 different languages, a strong public policy and the economic crisis have affected the visibility and vitality of languages and their relationships. In 2014, in just 6 months, the Chinese shops have disappeared and been replaced by Bengali stores, with a strong impact on the linguistic landscape.
One size fits all?: Method and madness in the LL

Susan Price
BMCC-CUNY

The explosion of research in the field of linguistic landscape (LL), including many recent studies in the US, have left researchers scrambling to find or create methodologies and analytic frames to fit their data. To that end, linguists have often looked to new theories to explain what they are looking at and how they are seeing it. Theoretical frames employed in the past have been discarded in our search for the next best thing, or in our haste to pick and choose among what’s currently being used, sometimes cutting and pasting to suit our needs. Yet, not only are out-of-fashion models useful for some data, but different methods can (and should) be used to explain different types of data, even in the same study.

This presentation focuses on findings of a yearlong project of LL in American ethnic communities. Using ethnomethodology as the overarching frame, I suggest that different data sets within the larger study are best explained using different types of analyses. Data consist of over 2000 photos of restaurant and grocery signage in 24 communities in 9 American cities. Particular attention is paid to food vs. non-food signs, rhetorical vs. instrumental language use, and connections between signage and spoken language in the community. While analyses consider census data, including language use, length of residency, age, and socioeconomic status, they are supplemented with other tools seeking to account for relationships between people and their signs. The presentation concludes by considering how different languages are used in different ways and to different extents in the landscape.
Living, working, belonging in the imagined ethnic zone: The linguistic landscape of Chinatown in Liverpool, UK

Will Amos
University of Amos

Liverpool is home to almost 8000 Chinese immigrants who, according to the national census of 2011, are officially the largest ethno-national minority group in the city. This paper examines the extent to which physical boundaries serve as quantifiable markers of ethnic spaces. We explore the term ‘Chinatown’, officially designated by Liverpool City Council and generally glossed as a ‘Chinese’ space, and we argue that Appadurai’s (1997) notion of ‘ethnoscape’, and similar ideas discussed elsewhere (Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2012; Lou, 2010) are not universally valid. Whilst in some regards — the official bilingual street signs, the high concentration of Chinese-run businesses, the 50 ft. high Chinese Arch — the space is distinctly Chinese, in others — the absence of Chinese on certain streets, its restriction to specific contextual domains, and its symbolic commodification — the ‘Chinatown’ moniker appears fictitious and unauthentic. Through an exhaustive corpus of all the 3240 signs visible on the eleven streets of Chinatown in July 2014, the analysis reveals marked differences between its top-down classification and the diverse bottom-up interpretations of the term.

This leads us to question whether the denomination ‘Chinatown’ embodies a real-world space of ethnic vitality; or whether in fact it represents an imagined zone of symbolic expression and interpretation. In addition to the empirical analysis of the signs, the methodology incorporates an ethnographic survey of those who write, read, interpret, and ignore signage as they inhabit, work in, and move through the public space. The data reveal distinct trends in Chinese language use in diverse spatial, authorship, and subject contexts, and even illustrate a widespread disagreement about the physical limits of Chinatown itself. The paper thus re-evaluates the relationship between spatial boundaries and ethno-linguistic representation, and demonstrates that the meaning and definition of ‘Chinatown’ are not unanimous throughout the space.
Diachronic change in the contemporary LL: A return to Rennes and Perpignan

Robert Blackwood
University of Liverpool

Quantitative approaches to LL data collection are occasionally dismissed as merely “counting signs”. We argue that the careful selection of survey areas, the recording of all signage in those specific spaces, and the coding of signs according to several matrices as a collective process lends itself to periodic returns in order to establish variation in the LL over a specific timeframe. From the perspective of language revitalization, we discuss the revisiting of two French cities, Rennes in Brittany and Perpignan in Northern Catalonia in 2014, following initial surveys in 2007 and 2008 respectively. The seven/eight year gap between surveys, during which time both survey areas have been exposed to different sociolinguistic pressures, including developments in language policies, migration of peoples, an economic downturn, and the transformation of ethnolinguistic and other social factors permit a close examination of local practices set against regional, national, and transnational change. This return to Rennes and Perpignan provides an opportunity both to evaluate the evolution in our quantitative approaches to LL fieldwork, now happily married to qualitative analyses, and to examine the maturation of the public space as a site for language revitalization. Changes in the ownership of premises, the ephemeral nature of some signs, the evolution in language beliefs, and economic trajectories all contribute to the variability of the public space over a relatively short period of time. Simultaneously, the contestation of the streets of these two cities, by action groups on the one hand and by the civic authorities on the other, point to fundamental differences in language management within France – a country normally characterized by uniformity in language policy. Above all, the diachronic potential of this symbiotic approach to LL research is an ideal methodology for scrutinizing trends in language revitalization without recourse to impressionism or anecdotes.
Linguistic landscape as a standing historical testimony: The case of Ethiopia

Hirut Woldemariam
Addis Ababa University

Abstract: Ethiopia is Africa’s oldest independent country and its second largest in terms of population. Apart from a five-year occupation by Italy, the country has never been colonized. The LL of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia and the seat of the African Union, greatly depicts that important history. Erected in the main squares of Addis Ababa, the various monuments serve as standing testimonies of famous battles, places, dates, victories and agents involved against Italian fascists. Including the popular Battle of Adwa in 1896 where African triumphed over European colonialism, all important historical records are exhibited in the LL symbolizing the moments. Moreover, there are different institutions (schools, hospitals, etc. and infrastructures (bridges, streets, etc.) officially named after such significant historical moments. Being visible in the strategic locations and squares of the city, the monuments, statues, and sign boards of names of streets, bridges, schools, and hospitals, these memorials keep everyone aware of two things: the struggle against colonization, and the record of a historical memory of the fact that citizens of Ethiopia were killed publicly in the Italian Fascist Massacre. The LL involves multiple instruments including language use, statues, symbolic representations and semiotic resources. Symbols of the Lion of Judah, the cross and national flags are also part of the monuments. Pictures were collected of all the important items in Addis Ababa and analyzed. Historical written documents were referred to for understanding the contexts. This study aims at showing how LL serves as a mechanism to understand and depict the history of a nation and its people.
Displacing gentrification: A diachronic case-study of language and multilingualism in Brussels’ Quartier Dansaert

Mieke Vandenbroucke
Ghent University

Prominent cities in the Global North are increasingly experiencing similar, interrelated socioeconomic developments: (i) gentrifying regeneration of post-industrial urban neighborhoods, (ii) demographic changes resulting in increasingly multilingual and global populations, and (iii) post-Fordist social inequality and income polarization. This paper focuses on the Quartier Dansaert, an inner-city urban neighborhood in Brussels, and on how these social changes and developments are (in)directly reflected in its diachronic landscape and perceived and experienced by its inhabitants.

Drawing on my own systematic, diachronic corpus of LL data (2008-2014) alongside earlier studies of its main commercial artery (Tulp 1978; Deconinck 1991; Wenzel 1998) and interviews with local inhabitants, witnesses and long-term participants in its (re)development, I address the socioeconomic, ethnolinguistic and spatial history of this urban neighborhood, with particular reference to the emblematic role played by language and multilingualism. I distinguish three stages in its transformation: from a francophone and immigrant-populated, impoverished quarter in the 1970s, to an artistic hotspot gentrified by Dutch-speaking ‘Dansaert-Flemings’ during the 1990s and, most recently, an even more expansively gentrifying sought-after neighborhood by the arrival of a new, affluent transnational elite. Each of these demographic changes redefines, reproduces and challenges the Quartier’s demarcated boundaries, both real/physical and experienced/perceived, by displacing and decentralizing the previous inhabitants and commercial establishments.

In line with these three diachronic stages, the LL and interview data reveal concomitant shifts in commercial activity (sector, commodities, range), prevalent language choices and hierarchies, foreign language diversity, commercial discourses of ethnic or commodified language use, soundscape observations, and ‘lived space’ experiences, etc. These shifts are all indicative of local socioeconomic changes in demographics, financial resources, clientele and consumer-tastes. As such, this case-study underlines the inherent value of contextualized, diachronic and mixed-method approaches to historical urban (re)development as ‘lived’ by local actors and reflected in the landscape and its evolving boundaries.
A Tale of Two Tuscons: The language of street signs and classroom instruction

Steve Przymus
University of Arizona

There are two rallying cries prevalent in the public education discourse on classroom language of instruction in Tucson, Arizona: English for the Children (Arizona Proposition 203) and Bilingualism for the Children (Combs et al., 2005). This multimodal analysis and presentation demonstrates how street signs in this borderland city of the American Southwest subconsciously influence language ideologies and policy regarding when the Spanish language is privileged or prohibited. I begin with a comprehensive corpus analysis of more than 700 street signs in two disparate parts of Tucson, the largely Hispanic and bilingual south of Tucson and the predominantly Anglo and monolingual Catalina Foothills to reveal a surprising pattern of language use. I diachronically and synchronically expose myths that have accompanied the acceptance of street sign language in the two parts of Tucson. I then narrow my analysis to the 33 street signs in the vicinity of two elementary schools and demonstrate how on the one hand the dominance of English language and U.S. state street signs surrounding a school in the predominantly Hispanic and bilingual south of Tucson justifies the English only policy in that school and on the other hand how the overwhelming use of Spanish language street signs surrounding a school in the largely Anglo and monolingual English speaking Catalina Foothills, supports the ideology of bilingualism as a resource and that school’s dual language program.

I conclude with how street signs enter our cognition syntagmatically, paradigmatically and as metonyms and conceptual metaphors, and call for greater recognition of the influence of linguistic landscapes on the formation of ideologies. Photographs and the reorganization of session seating will augment the presentation by re-constructing the context of the study for session participants.
Where agency takes place: Schoolscapes in Finland and in Hungary

Tamás Péter Szabó & Petteri Laihonen
University of Jyväskylä

Brown has proposed the term schoolscape to cover the school-based material environment where text, images and artifacts “constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies” (2012:282). We emphasize two perspectives: how do school community members interpret them and contribute to their (re)arrangement. We focus also on how agency is (re)constructed through the production and the interpretation of artifacts in the building. We redefine agency as the display of “the ability to act with initiative and effect” (Hunter & Cooke 2007:72).

Our corpus contains 9 interviews and ca. 1700 pictures from 8 schools from Finland and Hungary. The interviews were recorded and the photos were taken by the first author, walking through the school buildings, accompanied by a local teacher who acted as a guide.

Our results show how students and teachers were positioned through the schoolscape in the process of learning and teaching. There is a great variability but some trends can be drawn. In Hungary, teacher-fronted settings were dominant, except for alternative (private) schools where individual or group seating was more typical. In Finland, teacher-fronted and other setups were equally represented, and in the interviews, teachers voiced the importance of fostering cultural and linguistic diversity and the integration of all students with various backgrounds. Building on the students as active participants and reliable sources in the construction of knowledge was also a common topic in Finland. In state schools in Hungary, homogenizing, top-down conceptions of culture were common and pupils’ agency was often restricted to transgressive forms, while in the alternative schools, fostering individual thinking and creativity were among the main explanations for the schoolscape in the interviews.
Linguistic Landscape in a Norwegian Multilingual classroom of 2014/2014

Anne Golden & Elizabeth Lanza
University of Oslo

In this presentation we will report from a study of classroom materials and wall decorations as they appear in a 5th grade classroom in a Norwegian school in 2014. During the last 10-15 years both classrooms and textbook covers have changed in part as the result of change in the organization of classes and the development of technological tools. In Norway a new National Curriculum was implemented in 2006 and with this, a new way of organizing the school days. At the same time the development in publishing tools has been considerable especially in regard to pictures in books and in print in general. Thus the classroom landscape has changed.

We will compare the classroom landscapes as they appear in different class periods in one school in Norway depending on the different subjects taught within one classroom and in specialized rooms. The data come from a pilot study conducted across three days as part of a study of classroom practices in different subjects in a multilingual classroom with special attention to the use of textbooks.

In the present study we identify the classroom landscape of the learning space to see if it reflects the multilingual background of the students. We investigate how, and to what extent, the wall decorations are utilized during the teaching lessons and we ask if there is a difference according to the different subjects taught. As for the books, we compare the covers of the different subjects' textbooks to see if, and to what extent, they seem to be related to the content of the books or if they merely seem to be eye-catchers to promote the choice from one particular publisher. The results will have implications for teacher training in raising the teachers’ awareness of the classroom landscape.
Session 2C. Hearing the unspoken, seeing the unseen in the LL

Road signs revisited: Looking beyond inscription

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Stockholm University

This paper seeks to demonstrate how an elaborated idea of space can extend the empirical and theoretical relevance of the linguistic landscapes framework. As argued by Cresswell (2003), the concept of landscape privileges an understanding of space as completed. Focusing on the already accomplished, it side-lines questions of practice, mobility and flux. This critique seems to hold true for many linguistic landscape explorations of signage, which often assigns empirical prominence to questions of content, design features, emplacement and spatial distribution. Concurring with Cresswell’s position, this paper probes into the field of tension between emplaced signage, its discursive histories, and its integration in novel, less fixed, practices. It draws on an analysis of the language political play surrounding bilingual road signs in Älvdalen, a rural locality in central Sweden. There, language advocates, voicing claims on symbolically potent visibility, campaigned for the inclusion of Övda sk, a Scandinavian local language, on road signs. While successful in its aim, the campaign also gave rise to new engagements with language, which circulated beyond the advocacy group. The process of putting language in place unearthed largely unheard language ideological articulations which accompanied and followed upon the process of semiotization. Arguably, reluctance to probe into the practices which precede, draw on, and resemiotize seemingly emplaced language may misrecognize the complexity of semiotized space. Such approaches are at risk of downplaying the importance of practices of looking at, speaking about and inserting language in places.

Turning to our empirical example, it seems necessary to develop a framework for addressing these questions. Accordingly, the paper investigates semiotics, practice and accumulated discourse as means for understanding the entanglement of emplaced signs in reflexive engagements with language, space and politics.
Experiencing the Alloverstreet event: Arts-based research on participatory linguistic landscapes

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Kimi Hanauer & Lee Heinemann
Maryland Institute College of A

Alloverstreet: East Oliver Street Art Walk is monthly night of simultaneous art openings and events spanning the many art spaces and organizations of the Station North District, a neighborhood in Baltimore, USA. It combines a network of diverse spaces such as commercial galleries, DIY (do it yourself) venues, houses, hallways, studio spaces and arts organizations in an attempt to make this creative pocket of Baltimore accessible to larger audiences. Alloverstreet is a form of “eventwork” (Holmes, 2011) which aims to democratize social spaces, connect and engage various audiences through meaningful dialogue and experience, and promote critical understanding of social and public space. This presentation explores this form of artistic communal, collaborative activist project as a form of participatory linguistic landscape. Previous work on social activism in the linguistic landscape has studied demonstrations and graffiti and the ways in which these LL forms interact with social discourses (Hanauer, 2011, 2004; Pennycook, 2009). Eventwork of the type exemplified by Alloverstreet utilizes many of the methods of both demonstrations and graffiti such as reframing spaces, billboards, lighting, printed materials, arrows and signs, maps, digital marking, music and street performance. But in contrast, this form of social criticism functions through the construction of positive feelings of connection and spatial engagement focused on the inherent potential present in the existing place. The aim of this presentation, is to understand both the methods and functions of this form of linguistic landscape. In achieving this aim both arts-based and traditional qualitative methodologies were utilized. Findings of the study suggest that eventwork fulfills a critical function of creating participatory spaces which make people socially engaged with their surroundings as a way of making them more aware as democratic citizens countering broader social messages of alienation, exclusion and hierarchy. Using arts-based methodologies the presenters will provide description, experience and analysis of the Alloverstreet phenomenon. The meanings of artistic eventwork for LL studies will be discussed.
Imagining place through linguistic landscape: Silent signs of resistance in Nga Tsin Wai Village, Hong Kong

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City University of Hong Kong

This paper examines how linguistic landscape is created to imagine a place. Intrinsically tied to the ideas of space and place in human geography, linguistic landscape studies in the past have, on one hand, analysed how dominant groups exploit the symbolic capital of linguistic landscape, and on the other hand, how guerilla linguistic landscapes, such as graffiti and protest signage, are employed as acts of resistance. Illustrating the pedagogical application of the second line of research, the current study discusses a sound-art workshop at a secondary school in Hong Kong, during which students created linguistic landscape and imagined another possibility for an urban village that is soon to be demolished.

The only walled-village that remains in urban Hong Kong, Nga Tsin Wai was founded in the mid-14th century. Citing the poor living conditions in the village, the Urban Renewable Authority initiated a "conservation" project in 2007, which will ironically only conserve eight of the 36 existing buildings and create 750 new residential flats.

In April 2013, the instructors of a sound-art workshop named "Word Chimes" at a secondary school took their students on a field trip to the village and gave them transparency slips and marker pens to write down what sounds they could imagine hearing as they walk through the village and tie the slips onto structures nearby. An analysis of 37 of these word chimes which have not been taken down immediately by security guards shows an overwhelming sense of nostalgia for traditional village life and sense of fear and helplessness at its future prospect. Although the workshop intended to train the students to imagine sounds in an unfamiliar place, their word chimes created a new layer of the linguistic landscape in the village and imagined an alternative place.
Eastern-bloc propaganda signs and the problem of ‘authenticity’

Cammeron Girvin
UC Berkeley

This paper addresses attempts to establish the propaganda signs found at large gatherings in the Eastern Bloc as an "organic" part of the linguistic landscape. Looking at these signs primarily in the context of post-World War II Bulgaria, I argue that conscious efforts were made to ensure that their slogans were seen as originating "authentically" in the ranks of the common citizen, lending their political messages greater legitimacy.

The emergence of slogan signs ("lozungi") was immediately connected with the Socialist Revolution, and their creation was often overseen by political leaders. But as the Communist Party worked hard to convince everyday individuals that it represented their interests, functionaries wanted to ensure that political signs were seen as representing the voices of these very "folk." On the one hand, this was accomplished by linguistic specificities of the slogan texts themselves: first-person plural verb forms, for example, directed those reading the signs to see themselves as already included in the socialist movement. But moreover, many slogans incorporated linguistic peculiarities of proverbs, such as adjective-noun inversion, elision of copula verbs, and archaic nominal declensions. Political leaders, well aware of the cultural significance of proverbs, argued explicitly for the wider use of proverb-like forms in political agitation campaigns.

Moreover, the meta-language about these forms established them as an important part of the national linguistic culture. Memoirs of youth workers explicitly describe how the slogan served as their most personal and authentic form of speech. Journals issued explanations to schoolchildren about how the slogan was a natural, well-established part of Bulgarian literary culture, and folklorists even attempted to track down the origins of certain important slogans.

Thus, despite their sudden appearance in the public political space, both the text and contextualization of slogans were used to characterize them as an existing, "organic" form of national expression.
Kalevipoeg and Emelja on signs: Questioning cultural borders in Estonia

Anastassia Zabrodskaja
Tallinn University / University of Tartu

In “Dimensionalizing Cultures: The Hofstede Model in Context”, Hofstede (2012:20) suggests that “culture is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others.” Signs put up in the public space can be seen as markers of cultural collective identity: the shared values of a group are inherent in the way these signs are formed, where they are put up and what they say “between the lines”, in metalanguage and connotations. People create their own environment, and what is seen in the outside world is also a representation of the identity discourses.

In my paper, I will discuss the images used on signs by the Consumer Protection Board during publicity campaigns that were aimed at improving the quality of the lease (financial) sector, tourism sector and used car sales sector. The Consumer Protection Board used “Kalevipoeg” and “Hedgehog” to educate and inform consumers about their rights. The campaign was not understandable for Russian-speakers, who represent one third of Estonia’s population. Thus, the Consumer Protection Board decided to use “Emelja” and “Garfish”, more familiar Russian fairytale characters for the targeted audience. As a result, this campaign was the most successful one.

The questions I am going to explore: to what extent is such separation of two targeted audiences living side by side in one country justified?, and what can one learn from this about inter-cultural communication? In “Culture and explosion” Yuri Lotman proposes that cultures can be seen as semiospheres, with no objective borders and in a constant process of semiosis. The last question I ask is: can a campaign with “Kalevipoeg” and “Garfish” (or “Emelja” and “Hedgehog”) on one sign capture the attention of the whole Estonian society?
Introducing a new municipal LL system in tourist areas of Tel Aviv-Jaffa

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Shoshi Waksman
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Since 2012 a new LL system was introduced in areas of major tourist attractions of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. The function is to mark historical buildings and sites and to direct tourist – local and international - for independent tours. The unique feature of this system is that the Arabic language is included and is visible on most new signs, along with Hebrew and English. Based on the premise that contemporary tourism is one of the key areas which nations construct their national identity and unity (Pretes, 2003; Urry, 1999), this research aims at identifying the main motivations for the inclusion of Arabic in the spatial landscape. The sources to address the goal of this research are: a. Interviews with people involved in the initiative who hold high positions at the municipality and to have them report on the rationale, motivations and ideologies of this policy; b. Critical Discourse Analysis of the content of the signs and multi-cultural representation; c. Interviews with tourists as to their perceptions of the multilingual designs.

The findings reveal that: a. The motivations and rationales reflected the agendas of transforming Tel Aviv Jaffa into a ‘World City’, for economic benefits; b. The critical read shows that the signs deliver an ideology in which Jaffa and Tel Aviv should be perceived as one cohesive territory ignoring the Jewish and Arabic tensions of the areas (e.g., most residents of Tel Aviv are Jewish while Jaffa is considered Arab); c. The inclusion of the Arabic language does not necessarily imply inclusion of Arab people, their historical background and cultures as these were overlooked. Major implications will be discussed.
Linguistic landscape in Clarkston, Georgia: Language, literacy, and refugee resettlement

Cassie Leymarie
Georgia State University

This paper shares linguistic landscape data from a larger study on Somali refugee women's language socialization pathways in order to shed light on the relationship between their literacy backgrounds and their language environments. The study describes the linguistic landscape of Clarkston, Georgia, an established refugee resettlement site in the Southeastern United States. The small city of Clarkston, population approximately 7,500, became a refugee resettlement site in the early 1990s and today is home to speakers of over 40 different languages (City of Clarkston, 2012). Clarkston experienced a dramatic population shift; the historically white city soon found that over half of its residents were born outside of the United States. It became a site of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) and from the diversity problems arose. After resettlement, agencies assist newcomer refugees for up to three months. Afterwards, the community must accommodate these newcomers educationally, and that includes preparing them for language socialization and eventual integration in the community. Despite various refugee serving agencies and educational programming some refugee populations face more difficulties with integration and cultural adjustment. After ethnographically contextualizing the space I provide variables including the linguistic composition and purpose of signage (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006) of LL items across three major retail and business areas of Clarkston, Georgia. Then, I discuss the composition of the linguistic landscape in light of symbolic condition value (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991) and the language and literacy backgrounds of Somali refugee women in order to see how the LL might impede upon/ or aid in the language socialization of refugee residents. Findings indicate a preference for English rather than Somali signage in Somali dominant areas of Clarkston and are analyzed in light of the present language socialization pathways of the women. Implications for refugee socialization and education are then shared.
Defining linguistic landscapes as a tool for languages and literacy education

Olga Bever & Diane Richardson
University of Arizona

The general goal of this workshop is to explore definitional and methodological issues in the study of LLs. As an example, our presentation explores LLs in terms of their practical application: we propose how to define, consider and analyze LLs through the lens of their practical application in the classroom.

Based on pedagogies of multiliteracies, this presentation demonstrates how everyday multilingual multimodal texts of LLs represented by various media, play critical roles in developing language, culture and literacy skills. It discusses novel pedagogical tools on how to utilize learners’ immediate environment and their experiences with LLs to enrich cognitive, linguistic and cultural input and critical thinking from local, national and global perspectives.

This presentation explores an application of LLs research for language and literacy education. It involves a new line of study on how to build a bridge between formal and informal learning contexts in diverse student populations, and how to incorporate into classroom curricula not just the languages of LLs, but also discourses and discussions about the languages and cultures represented in LLs. This perspective emphasizes educational processes and practices in transformative ways, beyond local contexts and beyond traditional educational boundaries: it involves mobility and migration, novel meaning making systems, and the global circulation of language and cultures.

We present examples of incorporating into the foreign language classroom pictures of signs taken in Tucson, AZ and Leipzig, Germany. The findings demonstrate the link between the languages and cultures in LLs, and particular social practices and discourses associated with these languages in sociocultural and sociohistorical perspectives. This approach offers novel analytical and educational spaces and practices, situating LLs not just as an object of study, but as building blocks in developing linguistic and cultural/intercultural competence, to create a broader view on LLs as an educational tool.
Juxtaposing spaces: A postmodern approach to language learning in the linguistic landscape

David Malinowski
Yale University

As greater attention is given in fields such as linguistic anthropology and the sociology of language to the production of global spaces and local places through linguistic practices, so too are language educators growingly concerned with the ability of learners to map their skills across spaces of classroom and community (see, e.g., ACTFL National Standards). Linguistic landscape, the study of the visible and audible representation of multiple languages in public space, is an area of language scholarship particularly well-suited to application in spatially-informed L2 pedagogies (Chern & Dooley, 2014; Rowland, 2012; Sayer, 2010). However, documented learning projects in the LL have, thus far, tended not to adopt a more postmodern, reflexive approaches to language “from the vantage point of the social circulation of languages across spaces and different semiotic artifacts” (Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009), choosing instead to treat visible phenomena of language use in public space as fixed in place, time, and medium.

The present paper attempts to address this gap, reporting on the coordinated implementation of several university-based, out-of-class language learning projects in the LL of a small city in the northeastern United States. Specifically, technologically-informed approaches were designed to involve students of Spanish, Chinese, and other languages in a tripartite engagement with the target language in their community: image capture and collaborative annotation to document the observable “perceived spaces” of everyday life; mashups of official maps and policy documents representing the “conceived spaces” of local governments; and social media, community mapping, and digital storytelling techniques used together with ethnographic interviews to interpret and reflect upon the actual “lived spaces” of community members themselves (see Lefebvre, 1991). The presentation concludes with student and teacher observations on perceived effects on linguistic, intercultural, and symbolic competence, as well as feedback on the practicality of implementing such exercises within tightly scheduled curricula.
English in the linguistic landscape of Vienna, Austria (ELLVIA): Outline and rationale of a new project

Barbara Soukup
University of Vienna

This contribution presents a new, large-scale research project under the title and on the topic of ‘English in the linguistic landscape of Vienna, Austria’ (ELLVIA). The project was launched in October 2014 and is funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), for a period of four years. It investigates meaning-making through the choice of English on written public signs, with reference to the classic LL tradition sparked by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Yet, crucially, the project focuses on the hitherto under-researched perspective of sign-readers, theoretically modeling and empirically mapping the steps involved between encountering English use on a sign, and interactionally interpreting its message (e.g. signaling of ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘modernity’). This undertaking is grounded in a constructionist epistemology that holds that communicative messages emerge in an interactional-dialogic process of anticipation, interpretation, and negotiation between language ‘producers’ and ‘recipients’ (Bakhtin 1986 [1952-53]; Goffman 1959; Gumperz 1982; Tannen 2004). Readers of public signage use language choice (variation) as an interpretative cue in this process, ‘contextualizing’ a text in terms of the social (symbolic) meanings indexed by the chosen language, and deriving messages accordingly. To address the steps involved in the perceptual and interpretative activities that LL sign-readers engage in, the project develops and applies a multidimensional research strategy by which the recipients’ essential role in LL-meaning making can effectively be captured. This strategy conjoins methods from variationist sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and the social psychology of language in what amounts to a highly interdisciplinary approach and toolbox.

The present contribution introduces this toolbox in detail, discussing the methodological challenges involved, the strategy proposed to address these, as well as the expected yield and added value for LL research.
SUV spare tire covers and Swahili in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Karsten Legère
University of Vienna

There is an East African tradition of using buses, trucks and other vehicles, including even bicycles, for conveying text messages. These messages may be religious (such as blessings, both Christian and Islamic, the latter occasionally in Arabic), proverbs, wisdoms, sayings and more. In the recent past, some of these messages have been observed on SUV spare tire covers. As the spare tire is mostly located at the SUV's rear, the text of the moving vehicle is expected to be seen and read by anyone following the vehicle or just seeing it parked or passing by. The vehicles displaying various spare tire texts (which are often advertisements) can be often found in parking lots in Dar es Salaam or on the roads nearby. Photographs were taken for further text analysis and for identifying the topics addressed. In view of the presenter's academic profile the cover texts are mainly in Swahili, the national and co-official language of Tanzania.

In essence the linguistic landscape of Dar es Salaam is enriched by these novel and mobile, often attractively designed /styled spare tire covers. This phenomenon offers floating boundaries of the linguistic landscape of Dar es Salaam (and even outside this city), which can thus be observed.
Languages on the Land: The linguistic ecology of California

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California is one of the most linguistically diverse places in the world, in terms of indigenous languages. The ecology of California is equally rich and diverse, allowing for the maintenance of many small groups with their own culture and language. Each group originally had their own relationship to the land, though for many, placenames on the map are all that remain of that relationship. Their languages reflect the landscape in numerous ways, including vocabulary and grammatical systems, and traditional tales. When California Indians were displaced from their lands and livelihood by the Gold Rush and other disruptive historical events, the languages began to decline, along with that relationship between language and land. But in the last two decades there have been state-wide efforts in language revitalization, and a new language landscape has begun to evolve.
Theorizing LL: A return to u-topia?
Claire Kramsch
Department of German, UC Berkeley

Now that Linguistic Landscape as a field of research has spectacularly come of age, and is aching to be theorized in a manner that does justice to its rich empirical database, it is time to draw on insights from cultural studies (de Certeau 1974, Anderson 1983) and cultural geography (e.g., Soja 1996, Kramsch 2015) to imagine the potentialities and the pitfalls of theory for a field such as this one. In his *Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau shows how scientific study, while requiring the totalizing gaze one might have from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center, risks covering up the myriad little semiotic moves and tactics of the everyday little guy on the ground floor of everyday life. And in a forthcoming article, Olivier Kramsch, evoking the utopian construction of the Oyapock river bridge in Amazonia, reminds us that our theoretical constructs are only traces left in our research papers by the infinitely resourceful tactics used by consumers and ferrymen on the river itself. Indeed, if the success of linguistic landscape as research practice might indicate a certain utopian longing for the wide open spaces of data collection, LL theory might be the u-topia we have to engage in in order to bring those data to the attention of the public and to further establish the field. However, there is a danger that the landscape be taken for its inhabitants, and the map for their (absence of) territory. I will explore this dilemma as one of the core dilemmas in applied linguistics.
LL as symbolic construction of the public space: Memorial in the Bavarian Quarter

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As symbolic construction of the public space, previous works (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) interpret LL items – and especially bottom-up ones - relatedly to given social action principles (power, self-presentation and collective identity). Though, in our field works, we also encountered LL items of different kinds. Among them, memorials are of special interest as markers of collectivities that “say something” explicitly about – and to - the environment. These memorials which consist of material-artistic structures carry worded messages. Most often initiated or endorsed by public institutions, they are intended at the community as a whole and motivated by an aspiration to collective self-presentation. As such, they constitute what James Young (1993; 2014) calls a “memorial landscape”. The memorial, dedicated to Schöneberg’ Jews (the Bavarian Quarter, Berlin) is, in this line, of particular interest. This memorial consists of 80 dyptics dispersed throughout the neighborhood and carrying jointly naïve drawings and dated anti-Jewish Nazi decrees. They draw out the Nazi strategy vis-a-vis the Jewish population up to total isolation and annihilation. Ever since 1991, this memorial has become an integral part of the LL of the area’s public space. It has made remembrance a matter of daily life and thus, in a certain manner, a counter-memory à la Foucault (Foucault, Bouchard 1980). These dyptics “say something” theoretical about the notion of “symbolic construction of the public space”. The same principles considered with respect to bottom-up items may serve as an interpretative framework for memorials as top-down items. These dyptics, however, refer explicitly to the community as a whole. Hence, they convey essentially different significance from bottom-up items. Though, it is conjunctively with them that they contribute to the gestalt of LL. This paradoxical input to LL arises theoretically innovative questions.
Memorials, multilingualism, and multiculturalism in Norway

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University of Oslo

The scenery of the linguistic landscape has extended considerably in current research. Yet little attention has been paid to historical monuments and commemorative spaces in the public sphere, an object of study traditionally dominated by the field of cultural memory. As for war monuments as semiotic landscapes, Abousnnouga & Machin (2010: 220) point out that these are erected “to legitimize particular discourses of war, to communicate particular values, identities, goals and motives, placing these in everyday public spaces”. Linguistic landscape research can contribute to this study by investigating how the LL is a nexus for several discourses, including multilingualism, multiculturalism and national identity.

In our paper we will illustrate such an approach by taking a point of departure in the discourses associated with the construction of memorials to commemorate the victims of the worst terrorist attack in Norway since the Second World War, perpetrated on July 22, 2011. This crime was perpetrated by a native-born Norwegian, a self-avowed opponent of multiculturalism in Europe. After an extensive competition, the proposal from a Swedish artist won. The memorial suggested for Utøya, where innocent young people participating at a political youth camp were massacred, is called “Memory Wound”. The idea is to create a wound in the landscape. The proposal has triggered strong protests, and the discussions online and off have been intense. The youth that were killed at Utøya came from many different ethnic backgrounds and were part of a political party that is supportive of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Norway. The extent to which multilingualism is reflected in the memorial or in the discussions surrounding the memorial is therefore of great interest.

The winning proposal: http://www.nrk.no/kultur/slik-blir-22.-juli-minnestedene-1.11572588
The Historical Memory Law and its role in the re-design of the semiotic cityscapes in Spain: The Granada case study

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Spain’s Historical Memory Law (HML), enacted in October 2007, has had an enormous influence on the symbolic reconstruction of public spaces and, specifically, on linguistic landscapes. The statute recognizes victims on both sides of the 1936–1939 Civil War, establishes entitlements for victims and descendants of victims of the war and the regime of Generalissimo Francisco Franco that followed (1939–1975), and formally condemns the Franco regime. The law requires authorities to have Francoist symbols and signs removed from public buildings and spaces, to rename streets, squares, and so on. It does allow exceptions for artistic, architectural, or religious reasons, resulting in a lengthy series of continuous and persistent public struggles over monuments, memorials, and outdoor sculptures.

Our presentation focuses on a case study in Granada, relating to the process of removing a sculpture that paid tribute to the founder of the Spanish Fascist movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera. Until the summer of 2014, when the court ordered it to be taken down, the sculpture stood in a central square in the city center, abutting an environment rich in historical and heritage sites. For more than twenty years, this has been the main setting for an ideological, cultural, and aesthetic struggle that includes additional plaques and monuments. Actions and reactions in this struggle include multiple agents, intersectional discourses, and fields of reference: civic, artistic, linguistic, ideological, and legal. The struggle over historical memory spawned a set of iconic symbols. One of the most salient of them is a blotch of red ink, reminiscent of a spatter of blood, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions such as “Murderer.” The controversy over the statue in honor of Primo de Rivera has yielded a rich platform of visual data and animated a local debate in Granada about the implementation of HML in the public space. The debate has expanded to the media, where political representatives and movements, citizens, artists, and specialists in the fields of urbanism and art engage in it. In the case study, their attitudes and opinions are analyzed and triangulated with the empirical findings to elucidate the different levels or referential fields that play roles in the design of the linguistic landscape that the discourse of historical memory creates.
Subsequent to it being identified as a legitimate site for sociolinguistic enquiry (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), the study of the linguistic landscape has become a very active field of research and, by now, is characterized by very considerable methodological diversity. Limitations to the study of the linguistic landscape have been pointed out by some, including the ‘lack of shared conceptualizations’ (Laur, 2007) and that the field is ‘simply a collection of somewhat disparate methodologies’ (Nash, 2012). Proponents of linguistic landscape studies are not unaware of the methodological challenges posed. Gorter (2006 & 2011), for example, concedes that the ‘unit of analysis’ remains problematic in the field. Partly in response to such criticisms, alternative approaches have been suggested in the shape of the semiotic landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010), the use of ‘frames’ (Kallen, 2010) and in the concept of language display (Coupland, 2012), in which the ‘frame’ is also used as a heuristic device (Coupland & Garrett, 2010). This paper draws from pertinent work in disciplines beyond sociolinguistics (Forman & Godron, 1986; Goldman & Papson, 1996; Mayhew, 2009; Mehta, 2013; Soja, 1996; Turner et al, 2001; Wu & Hobbs, 2007) in order to problematize these methodological concerns in a coherent manner. While rejecting the notions of bilingual display, the semiotic landscape, and frames, the author retains the keystone concept of landscape. However, he argues that in order to overcome the field’s ‘methodological quandary’ (Jaworski & Thurlow) it is necessary to adopt an understanding of landscape that is simultaneously more nuanced and robust than is presently the case. Thus, the author identifies and delineates in this paper the four key, defining features of the field of linguistic landscape studies. Moreover, two case studies are drawn upon in order to illustrate ways in which raw linguistic material might be robustly garnered from the field and be subject to rigorous analysis.
Situational and temporal emplacement of signs in (global) language landscapes

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University of Aizu

Linguistic landscapes (LL) as a research field typically looks at the (multi)linguistic content of signs. However, in a broader approach to ‘language landscapes’ I explore signs as connected to transitional processes, taking into account the notion of semiosis, or the process of interpretation of signs. Unexceptional at first sight signs are analysed to demonstrate how their interpretation relies on their contextualised location (including cultural, economic, political, and social aspects) in particular time and space and on their targeting selected audience (cf. Graddol & Danielewicz-Betz 2014). Here I build on Scollon & Scollon’s (2003) geosemiotics and its focus on indexicality of signs (see Fig. 1). Drawing on existential semiotics, I follow Tarasti (2000), who claims that life of signs does not stop with their fixation into objects. Existential signs are always in a state of becoming. Moreover, signs always appear in connection with a certain temporal situation (either predictable or unpredictable), either denying or affirming it. If signs get all their power from their situations (‘situational signs’), they are considered weak signs (see Fig. 1).

Signs indicate on-going change and movement and may sometimes be situated in a kind of social and conceptual vacuum (cf. Merrell 1995), for signs can exist as physical objects; yet not exist semiotically (e.g. when displaced creatively - as in Fig. 3 - or discarded).

Temporary aspects illustrated in the present paper typically refer to temporal closure or maintenance (see Fig. 4), being out of order (Fig. 5), or under construction, seasonality (e.g. justifying German-Arabic bilingualism in Fig. 6), passing event (e.g. an entrance exam – in Fig. 7), light projection onto ground in the dark (see Fig. 8), etc., whereby the physical nature (e.g. a paper notice with handwritten corrections – see Fig. 5) or placement (e.g. covering a permanent sign – as in Fig. 9) of a sign itself may point to its transitional nature in relation to the socio-cultural environment.

Figures: https://www.dropbox.com/s/6a7rpvmqtsjb28j/LL7_abstract_figures_Anna_DB.pdf?dl=0
Linguistic landscapes as ecological niches: A conceptual and methodological reconceptualization of LLS

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Centre for Human Interactivity

Linguistic Landscape Studies (LLS) have positioned itself as a major field of study within sociolinguistics. LLS share a set of basic assumptions with sociolinguistics, including the assumption that languages are codes that have a social function of creating social identities, besides its communicative function of allowing information-exchanging and -sharing via a public medium.

However, as argued by recent developments within cognitive science (e.g. Ecological Psychology [1] and Distributed Language and Cognition [2]), the code view of language is theoretically unsatisfying. As an alternative, or supplement, to the sociolinguistic perspectives, we propose an ecological perspective: on this view, language can be naturalised as a species-specific means of (a) regulating real-time, inter-bodily coordination in the human ecology [3], and (b) construct an ecological niche that is adapted to various human life forms. Both the coordinative and the niche-constructing function depend on persons recruiting sociocultural resources, be it in the shape of spoken language, linguaform cognition, or externalised graphic materials.

We demonstrate the ecological approach to LLS by analysing two examples of how public signs, qua visual linguistic and graphic traces, create haptic correspondences [4] that allows for cognitive and behavioural coordination in and across human ecological niches, both on a microsocial and a macrosocial level. The analysis relates details of public symbolicity — e.g. (choice of) language, colour, font, layout, and materiality — to the coordinative dynamics that emerge as human beings make their way in the world, drawing on public signs and each other.
Online linguistic landscapes: Discourse, globalization, and enregisterment

Esther Ní Dhonnacha

Karen Wade
University College Dublin

Jeffrey Kallen
Trinity College Dublin

In reviewing linguistic landscape research, Marten, Van Mensel, and Gorter (2012: 4) point out that 'the emphasis in most linguistic landscape work has been on [...] static signs', and suggest that 'this focus may seriously limit the variety of signs that one can encounter in public space'. In agreeing with the call to expand the domains of signage considered in the LL, we examine the internet as a complex set of linguistic landscapes, comparable to but in significant ways distinctive from the geographical LL. Our argument hinges on the observation that the interactive nature of the internet allows not only for 'top-down' displays of language from institutions to readers, but for truly 'bottom-up' displays from readers to institutions, as well as a range of peer-level discourses, and complex interactions in which the internet user's private choices can influence the public sphere of the linguistic landscape (for example by triggering the use of targeted advertising).

We start with a definition of the public space of the online linguistic landscape (OLL), which is distinct from purely private spaces such as e-mails. Contrasting language use as the unmarked choice of language for purposes such as information or persuasion with language display as 'an attempt to inform others of who one is, or would like to be in the world' (Eastman and Stein 1993: 187), we consider evidence from OLL displays of the Irish language and Irish English. We argue that because the internet is both local (both geographically and within internet communities that transcend physical geography) and global (going beyond communities through the public domain of the internet), the OLL provides opportunities for language display that are rare in the geographical LL but which can be used in the OLL to enregister (cf. Johnstone 2009) local linguistic features in a global context.
Exploring the (virtual) linguistic landscape of Kazimierz

Rachel Steindel Burdin
The Ohio State University

Kazimierz, the Jewish Quarter of Krakow, Poland, has in recent years become a center for Jewish tourism in Poland, due to its proximity to Auschwitz-Birkenau. This paper explores the linguistic landscape of Kazimierz in both physical and virtual space, and the conflicting narratives of Jewish life in Poland constructed by “Jewish-style” businesses and some sections of the local Jewish community. In doing so, this project also touches on the issues of how to explore virtual linguistic landscapes, and questions of how these virtual linguistic landscapes interact with the physical spaces they are associated with.

Through the juxtaposition of fragmentary, post-vernacular, texts in both Hebrew and Yiddish with antique-looking furniture and decorations, the Jewish-style businesses promote the Holocaust-centered narrative that Jewish life in Krakow and Poland is inextricably linked to the past and was destroyed in the Holocaust. In contrast, the local Jewish Community Center (JCC) provides spaces for Yiddish to exist as a full, vernacular system, emphasizing its status as a living language, and Jewish culture as a whole as thriving.

The JCC also makes considerable use of English in its branding, and in its various social media sites, signaling its status as a modern and sophisticated JCC. This use of English helps build the narrative being told by the JCC and other Jewish institutions in Poland, centered around a Jewish revival, and a rejection of the Holocaust as a focal point. The use of English is also a practical one, and one shared with the businesses, who also have English versions of their websites: in both cases, an English-language presence on the internet makes it possible to attract tourists or donors from western Europe, the United States, and Israel.
Online sites of engagement: A justification of webspaces as linguistic landscapes

Robert Troyer
Western Oregon University

Though Linguistic Landscape (LL) research has dealt almost exclusively with language in the physical environment, this paper seeks to question the boundaries of what we consider the LL and open new spaces for applying familiar and adapted techniques. The paper begins with a justification of understanding websites and pages as LL locations by relying on Jones’ (2005) notion of “sites of engagement” as a framework for situated discourse—included in this justification will be a critique of the dichotomy of real vs. virtual. After acknowledging relevant previous LL work, I will present two applications of this approach to LL. The first is a longitudinal analysis of the language of advertising on Latino websites produced in the US for resident Spanish users. This study will reveal the degree of multilingualism that is present on the periphery of these sites as well as recent changes to the online environment that present challenges to this line of LL research. The second study is a brief demonstration of the role that English plays in the periphery of monolingual online newspapers from around the globe attesting to the utility of exploring online environments from the perspective of LL research. A discussion of special considerations and limitations of this application of LL will follow including theoretical issues of authorship and methodical concerns such as how to capture web-based advertisements. The conclusion will offer suggestions for further research as we consider extending the boundaries of LL studies to the digital domain.
Differentiation of the urban space: Linguistic diversity in the linguistic landscape of Venice

Matthias Wolny
Heidelberg University

This study presents an ethnographic and semiotic analysis of the complex linguistic landscape of Venice. Being the city both one of Europe’s major tourist destinations and a target for work immigration, its linguistic landscape shows a huge range of languages. Furthermore, the linguistic landscape of the city includes Italian and the Venetian vernacular, both used in formal as well as informal signage.

Based on recent work in linguistic landscape research (e.g. Shohamy/Ben-Rafael/Barni 2010), the study analyzes photographs and ethnographic field notes of official and informal signs in public spaces – like shop signs, advertisements, tourist signage and posters – both in the mainland part of the city and in the historical city center. The focus of this study lies on the scalar distribution of languages (e.g. Russian as a tourist language vs. Russian as an immigrant language, Venetian on posters about local politics vs. Venetian as proof of authenticity in tourist shops and restaurants) and the unofficial differentiation of the city areas (tourist areas vs. Venetian neighborhoods vs. mainly immigrant neighborhoods) both visible through top-down and bottom-up signage. The analysis unveils a multilayer and scaled multilingual linguistic landscape in which geosemiotic variables (Scollon/Wong Scollon 2003) determine the comprehensibility and the addressee of the signs: a ‘sale’ sign in Russian in an expensive boutique, for example, addresses well-off Russian tourists and not Russian-speaking immigrants originating from the former Soviet Union. Similarly, the use of the vernacular in political posters signals authenticity to show the regional rootedness of a political initiative and not to attract tourists.
Comparing Koreatowns: The linguistic landscape of the K-Towns of Los Angeles & Mexico City

Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr
University of California, Los Angeles

Los Angeles shares many characteristics with its sister city, Distrito Federal, or Mexico City. Like Los Angeles, Mexico City is a massive urban agglomeration, home to diverse cultures and languages. These two metropolises also share the presence of an established Korean community. Located in Central Los Angeles, Koreatown contains one of the densest populations in the city. However, Koreans are not the ethnic majority of this region, comprising only 22% of the population while Latinos form a majority at 58% (Sánchez et al. 2012). Similarly, Pequeño Seúl, or Little Seoul, is a small neighborhood in Mexico City. Korean and Spanish, as local languages, and English, as a global language, are frequently both seen and heard in these two communities.

An examination of the linguistic landscape provides for an effective means of analyzing the languages of the two neighborhoods. Using a framework based on Landry and Bourhis’ symbolic and informative functions of signs (1997), the current study investigates the linguistic preferences of the main and informative sections of each sign in order to demonstrate which languages hold a strong position in the global realm and which are necessary for public communication (Franco-Rodríguez 2009). The present project begins to resolve the dearth of work regarding the linguistic landscape of Mexico and Los Angeles. Preliminary results show that in Koreatown, although Spanish-speakers are a majority, the Korean language is more present in the linguistic landscape than Spanish. In contrast, in Pequeño Seúl, both Korean and Spanish are widely present. In the two areas, English is highly prestigious given its role as a global language. However, in Mexico, English is not used for communicative purposes whereas in Los Angeles it is.
Multilingualism in progress?: A diachronic study of language policy in the virtual public space

Maimu Berezkina
University of Oslo

The aim of this presentation is to provide a diachronic analysis of the use of different languages in the communication of state institutions with the public in the virtual space. I will use Norway as a case study and focus on three institutions: the tax office, the labor and welfare service, and the directorate of immigration, which are central to the meeting between the authorities and the public.

In recent years, state institutions in Norway have rapidly been moving a significant part of their communication with the public to the Internet. Information and communication technologies often play an important role in facilitating communication between the state and its citizens and increase participatory democracy. Ideally, this can be achieved if information from the state is well communicated to the population as a whole, including individuals with a minority linguistic background. With Norway’s growing linguistic diversity in mind, I focus on the inclusion of multilingualism in state communication in the virtual linguistic landscapes (VLL) from 1997 to the present. In my analysis I will make use of diachronic data concerning the presence of Norwegian, immigrant and minority languages, and English on websites of the aforementioned state institutions. The data have been collected with the help of The Internet Archive, which is a unique tool providing detailed insight into the historical dimensions and development of VLL. All three institutions in focus launched new homepages in 2014 and significantly reduced the number of languages available. Drawing on interviews with key language policy makers at these institutions, I discuss the motivations behind the changes in symbolic and instrumental language use in the authorities’ communication with the public in the online world.
The month of Ramadan in Senegal is a particularly sociable time during which invitations are extended liberally to friends and family to come and join in the ndoggu, or breaking of the fast at sunset, a ritual that involves a significant investment of resources and effort to prepare fine food. Beyond the domestic sphere, the streets of Dakar are transformed by advertising that targets the ndoggu as a site of consumption, as well as an aspirational site of luxury (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009). The advertisements depict elegant women serving food in well-appointed homes that are beyond the economic reach of most Senegalese, or they show the product itself in orientalist surroundings composed of Moroccan trays, teapots and architectural details, a crescent moon, and Arabic script. In this paper I discuss the layering of written language in commercial top-down (Ben-Rafael 2009) Ramadan signage in Dakar, both in terms of the choice of language: French, Wolof or Arabic, and the choice of script: Latin, Arabic or ‘Arabesque,’ the latter being an embellished Latin script that is stylized to look like Arabic. In particular, I focus on the indexicality of these choices in fashioning a local narrative that reconciles the broadly consumerist orientation of a growing Senegalese middle class with the wider spiritual orientation of Ramadan within the Islamic world. Fieldwork for this project was carried out in Dakar during Ramadan in 2011 and 2012.
Language objects, art and consumer culture

Adam Jaworski
University of Hong Kong

The focus of this paper is on language objects in the contemporary landscape of consumer culture. I define ‘language objects’ as instances of writing existing as two- or three-dimensional pieces (e.g. needlework samplers, fridge magnets, wooden or metal sculptures, etc.) that do not serve any apparent utilitarian purpose, i.e. they are not ‘attached’ to or displayed on any objects with identifiable practical functions, e.g. buildings, t-shirts, mugs, paper weights, and so on. These are instances of the commodification of language that go beyond considering language as a measurable skill in service-based industries and as a resource for imbuing material goods in saturated markets with symbolic added value (e.g. Heller, 2003). Following the lead of the visual arts since Cubism, when writing became an autonomous expressive form in painting alongside other graphic signs, consumer culture has appropriated and turned writing into aesthetic and commoditized objects in their own right, i.e. writing was detached from the authenticating or merely ornamental role for other, utilitarian, commemorative or collectible merchandise (e.g. tourist souvenirs). This paper considers such mass produced language objects (for example, a standing ‘LOVE’ letter decoration sold by Marks & Spencer) principally as enactments of Jakobson’s (1960) poetic function of language (with its key focus on form). Yet, as I will argue, these language objects are also instances of linguistic performance with complex trajectories of appropriation and recontextualization of prior cultural and linguistic material (Bauman, 2001; Bauman and Briggs, 1990), while their meaning potential is best explained by treating them as ‘shifters’ – referential indexes, or signs constituted by the combination of their symbolic value and the communicative act itself (or ‘rules of use’) (Jakobson, 1971; Silverstein, 1976).
Chronoscape of inner-city Johannesburg: A semiotic landscape analysis of post-apartheid urban development

Gilles Baro
Wits University

Johannesburg inner-city has been described as a space full of contradictions (Nuttall & Mbembe, 2008; Murray, 2008; 2011) with a history of mining, racial apartheid, great aspiration but also urban decay. Today, however, it can be taken as a true representation of the country’s rainbow nation: people from very diverse economic backgrounds and identities live there, shop and walk the streets. That being said, one area, the South-Western Improvement District (SWID), embodies a limited layer of the rainbow. Being the hub of major corporations, white collar jobs and middle to upper class consumption, its wealthy community funds a specific kind of redevelopment of the district. Such urban development touches on signs of heritage and authenticity to tell a controlled, “clean” history of the city, in order to boost its tourism industry.

Against this backdrop, this paper aims to offer a semiotic landscape analysis (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010) of the SWID with an emphasis on its geographical and social context. In this respect, the paper expands on existing research on signs of heritage and memory (Shohamy & Waksman, 2010; Gendelman & Aiello, 2010) as well as linguistic landscapes through time (Pavlenko, 2010). Unlike the existing literature though, I propose to look at the semiotic landscape of the SWID through the notion of the chronoscape, a concept that captures the multiple temporal and spatial “entanglements” (Nuttall, 2009) of the urban spaces. By looking at visual and textual artefacts, as well as interviews with social actors of the district through the chronoscape, I argue that the SWID in Johannesburg demands a retheorization of Western notions of urban development, gentrification and authenticity.
City multilingualism: Between bonds and barriers

Maria Stoicheva
Sofia University "St Kliment Ohridski"

The paper is an exploration of city multilingualism and its emergence as a driver of the multilingual future. The focus is on the multilingual city landscape and on cities becoming part of networked new identity spaces where the meaning of ‘here’ and ‘us’ is changing. We have been able to analyse these phenomena more closely in 18 cities (12 in Europe and 5 in Canada and Australia) through city reports produced under the partnership LUCIDE project (Languages in Urban Communities – Integration and Diversity for Europe). The paper analyses the extent to which multilingualism is perceived as a barrier or as a desirable and celebrated aspect of the city life. It takes up the question of how people position themselves vis-à-vis the urban multilingual environment. City’s multilingual reality as a social fact matters in constructing and sustaining the image of the city in the continual revitalization of society and cities. The images of multilingual cities that emerge from the city reports are diverse and there are considerable variations in the perception of their multilingualism by their inhabitants. The paper argues that the concept of linguistic legibility of the city space is helpful in explaining the link between the phenomenon of multilingualism and identity formation in urban settings. There is a distinct aspect of self-categorization which can be represented in the attachment to the city, in feeling a resident of the city represented in the dynamic relationship between people and physical environment in which people as agents of linguistic diversity create and recreate the urban space. It includes a tangibility of place represented in events such as city festivals as well as in spatial language clustering that enlarges the city identity. The current picture of city multilingualism influences the redefinition of the contours of normality and the extent to which difference can be embraced.
New neighbors: The evolution of attitudes towards a changing linguistic landscape in Philadelphia

Greg Niedt
Drexel University

Language ideologies are often presented as monolithic backdrops in linguistic landscapes research, against which artifacts of text are placed. The variability of two factors in these ideologies are easy to overlook: how majority/minority group attitudes towards each other appear at a micro-level, and the way that such attitudes evolve diachronically. These become particularly important in a U.S. context, where the "English only" and "melting pot" narratives distract from (and ultimately erase) the diverse linguistic reality. How do former minorities that have been assimilated into English-speaking American cultures over generations react to the appearance of a new minority language in their midst?

One LL approach to answering this question is to combine a survey of the new language's presence with a holistic review of long-time residents' perception and reaction of that presence. This paper will focus on two particular sections (one residential, one commercial) of South Philadelphia, traditionally an Italian-American stronghold, that have seen the establishment (since the 1980s) of Southeast Asian micro-communities, primarily Khmer and Vietnamese. A study of the visibility of SE Asian languages in the neighborhoods will be paired with multi-generational interviews of lifelong residents, to determine how attitudes have developed before, during, and since the immigration wave. This methodology complements the language and identity work done by previous researchers (Hornberger 1996, Skilton-Sylvester 1997, Skilton-Sylvester and Chea-Young 2010, Ayhens-Johnson 2012) within Philadelphia's SE Asian community, in order to compare attitudes about the landscape, and highlight differences between the groups in question.
Multilingual signs and endangered language revitalization efforts. Presence of written language in public spaces and language attitudes. Case of Nahuatl in Mexico

Elwira Sobkowiak
University of Warsaw

Introduction of bi- or multilingual signs displaying endangered languages into public spaces is considered to be one of the top-down revitalization efforts, believed to be less effective than bottom-down strategies. We argue that the presence of both a dominant language and a minority (or indigenous) language in language landscape is an important component of building or reinforcing positive attitudes towards underprivileged languages and it should be included in language activism projects. Whereas in certain countries the need of displaying bilingual signs in public spaces and using bilingual or multilingual information system (announcements, information panels, leaflets, etc.) have been long recognized (e.g. Ireland, Malta, Israel, Wales), in other countries such as multilingual Mexico similar practices are still not being implemented by federal or local governments. The Mexican government apart from Spanish also recognizes 68 indigenous languages as national languages which means that the six million citizens who speak indigenous languages can use their native tongues while communicating with government officials and they can also request official documents in those languages. This law is unfortunately rarely implemented, also in case of the indigenous language with most speakers – Nahuatl. Despite the fact that Nahuatl in its many local variants is used by more than one million people its presence in public spaces is negligible, and that includes the areas where there are still monolingual speakers and regions considered Nahuatl-speaking zones. Although there are many Nahuatl revitalization efforts under way (bilingual education, radio programs, websites, publications etc.) its presence in terms of language landscape is scarce. However, having consulted Nahua people in various areas of Mexico it looks like there is a consensus among them that more signs are needed as it would not only increase the ubiquity of the language but as a result of this, it would improve the language attitudes.
REFLECTIONS ON PRACTICE

Integrating the Linguistic Landscape in Technology-mediated Environments for Language Learning and Teaching

Lee B. Abraham
Columbia University

Kramsch (2006) indicated that “... it is not sufficient for learners to know how to communicate meanings; they have to understand the practice of meaning making itself ...” (p. 251). In fact, technology-mediated tools allow second language (L2) learners to interpret and reflect upon their individual understanding of semiotic practices that they document from the linguistic landscape (LL). However, L2 learners could use technologies (e.g. blogs, wikis) to actively interact with classmates with diverse cultural backgrounds through technology-mediated dialogue about LL artifacts, thereby potentially increasing their collective understanding of semiotic practices and intercultural learning from an LL. This paper reports on findings from a pedagogical approach that was designed to integrate the LL for intercultural learning (Liddicoat & Scarino, 2013) with 37 L2 learners’ enrolled in a second-semester Spanish course who regularly used a blog to comment on each other’s LL artifacts (murals, advertisements) from the LL of a large urban area during a semester. Overall, the blog afforded critical opportunities for learners to understand meaning making practices in the LL through peer interaction, self-reflections, and the instructor's guidance (Kramsch, 2014, p. 308).

Questioning Boundaries: Towards a Unified Framework of ‘(Virtual) Linguistic Landscapes’

Jessica Adams & Emily Linares
UC Berkeley

To date, very little research has addressed the complexities of the virtual linguistic landscape (VLL). Further, VLL and ‘physical’ linguistic landscapes (LL) have consistently been viewed as separate entities (Ivković, 2012; Ivković & Lotherington, 2009), characterized by dichotomies; VLL have been described as destabilized and delocalized, while traditional LL are associated with physical localities and relative stability (Ivković, 2012; Ivković & Lotherington, 2009). This paper diverges from previous work in questioning the boundaries between LL and VLL. We explore how digital technologies and virtual spaces can become intimately intertwined with and, even, inseparable from the ‘physical’ LL. With the proliferation of new digital technologies, we demonstrate how the relative stability and localization of LL can be undone. To this end, we focus on two digital phenomena that challenge previous definitions of the linguistic landscape as ‘out-there,’ grounded in the physical world, namely, smartphone applications, such as Word Lens, which translate signs from one language to another, and smartphone users’ experiences walking through a physical LL while simultaneously connecting to VLL. Finally, we show how digital technologies provide individuals with agency to customize a hybrid (V)LL and, ultimately, challenge the boundaries between their virtual and ‘physical’ landscapes.
Quantitative 2.0: Re-evaluating the worth of empirical sign counts and introducing the 'big data' corpus

Will Amos
University of Liverpool

The aim of this proposal is to review some of the methods employed in early LL research, with a view to re-problematizing various aspects of quantitative data collection. My study proposes a more precise approach to survey area selection, which is often arbitrary or even random, by focussing on spaces whose physical boundaries are contextually-defined — in this case, Liverpool’s Chinatown. The database is therefore exhaustive, including all LL items within the area. I also hope to discuss the most expansive cataloguing of items yet attempted in the field, from which distinct linguistic trends can be drawn relative to various criteria: sign materiality and permanence; type (establishment names, instructions, slogans, trademarks, etc.); physical emplacement (windows, doors, billboards, etc.); authorship (state and civic authorities, businesses, individuals, etc.); spatial context (supermarkets, cafés, museums, institutions, etc.); and subject matter (food and drink, traffic, communications, etc.). Along with established classifications regarding code preference and multilingualism, I have developed 96 categorizations, which offers the potential for over eight million variables for each sign. This statistical specificity permits an unprecedented level of detail in a 'big data' corpus; it is hoped that this discussion will encourage consideration about the potential for rethinking empirical approaches in the field.

Multilingualism and memorialization: starting the debate

Robert Blackwood
University of Liverpool

Although memory studies looms large in much scholarship now undertaken in the humanities and social sciences, the extent to which multilingualism — and in particular visible, public multilingualism — plays a part in these debates is, at best, marginal. Linguistic Landscape research has glanced off memory, memorialization, and multilingualism (cf Shohamy & Waksman 2009; Abousnouga & Machin 2010) but the potential here is vast as we bring together the cross-disciplinary expertise from sociolinguistics, semiotics, sociology, pedagogy, and language policy to inform the wider discussions about the remembering/forgetting dialectic. With language at the heart of this exploration, we ask to what extent does multilingualism simultaneously legitimize memory and memorialization? That memory is affective and meaningful is uncontested, but how does language — and in particular multilingualism — contribute to the inevitable partiality of public memorials? With a vast corpus including monuments, historic buildings, ruins, statues, and plaques, we seek to start a conversation about the scope for LL research to contribute to memorialization and multilingualism.
Linguistic landscapes and methodological issues/ political activism

Louisa Buckingham
University of Auckland

I would be very interested in conducting a study of the linguistic landscape in the border areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BH) and its neighbouring countries. I have already begun the data collection in one part of BH. My methodological issue (that ties in with political activism) is that the selection of a particular language (i.e., Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Turkish, etc.) or script (i.e., Latin or Cyrillic) for public use can invoke a violent reaction from the community. The question of choice of language (in this case, Croatian or Serbian) is perhaps most sensitive in Eastern Slavonia. I would welcome a dialogue with participants on the subject of undertaking field work in such a sensitive and conflictive environment on photographing of public signs and talking to people (shop owners or local government officials) about the choice of language or the implementation of official policy on public language. I anticipate that my activities and interest would not be welcomed by the local community and I could meet with hostility. I would be interested in learning from participants who have experience in undertaking field work on divisive language-related issues in politically sensitive environments such as post-war contexts.

English as a street language: Teaching ESL with the linguistic landscape

Jennifer Burton & Michael S. Clark
University of California, Berkeley

Various studies have examined the use of the linguistic landscape (LL) as a pedagogical resource in second-language learning, particularly in English. Many of these have been based in EFL settings where English is not the dominant language, so student activities have focused on exploring the role of the foreign language (English) in their culture and in relation to their L1. However, as an expression of the dominant culture, the LL exposes a wide range of political and social values, both intentionally and unintentionally. This provides a rich source of exploration for the ESL learner. The presenters used the LL in “American Culture through the Media,” an ESL course for visiting international students at UC Berkeley Summer Sessions in 2014. They will discuss how the use of the LL promoted language skills and contributed to a learner-centered examination of local culture.
Spanish in the linguistic landscape of museums in California and New York: A resource for heritage language learners and students of translation

Laura Callahan
The City College and Graduate Center, CUNY

Callahan (2014) examined data from a total of 45 museums in New York City, the San Francisco Bay Area, and Los Angeles, questioning whether racialization of Spanish and Spanish-speakers is a possible consequence of the Spanish on view at these sites. In this presentation I would like to focus on the written Spanish in these linguistic landscapes as a resource for heritage language learners and students of translation. In many of the museums Spanish is limited to translations of exhibition titles and/or the objects within, but in others, extensive descriptions and curator statements appear side-by-side in English and Spanish, and, on occasion, other languages. These venues offer an opportunity to support the continued acquisition of multiple registers and the associated vocabulary and syntactic structures, as well as a chance to investigate particular translation problems and the solutions chosen. The linguistic landscape of the American museum also constitutes fertile territory for reflection on sociolinguistic issues such as the status of Spanish in the United States and the broader discussion of the role of languages other than English in the age of globalization.

Reflecting on Koreatowns: The Linguistic Landscape of the K-Towns of Los Angeles & Mexico City

Jhonni Rochelle Charisse Carr
University of California, Los Angeles

Los Angeles shares many characteristics with its sister city, Distrito Federal, or Mexico City. Like Los Angeles, Mexico City is a massive urban agglomeration, home to diverse cultures and languages. These two metropolises also share the presence of an established Korean community. Located in Central Los Angeles, Koreatown contains one of the densest populations in the city. However, Koreans are not the ethnic majority of this region, comprising only 22% of the population while Latinos form a majority at 58% (Sánchez et al. 2012). Similarly, Pequeño Seúl, or Little Seoul, is a small neighborhood in Mexico City. Korean and Spanish, as local languages, and English, as a global language, are frequently both seen and heard in these two communities (see Images 1 and 2).

An examination of the linguistic landscape provides for an effective means of analyzing the languages of the two neighborhoods. The current study investigates the linguistic preferences of the main and informative sections of each sign in order to demonstrate which languages hold a strong position in the global realm and which are necessary for public communication (Franco-Rodríguez 2009). The present project begins to resolve the dearth of work regarding the linguistic landscape of Mexico and Los Angeles.
This study examines how the concept of linguistic landscape is applied in language education as combined with other pedagogical tools including digital storytelling and geolocative applications (e.g., Google Maps). In particular, the linguistic landscape project in Korean language classes demonstrate how the project motivates learners and promotes their understanding of multilingualism.

This study was conducted in university Korean classes. 52 students who learned Korean as their foreign or heritage language participated in this project. They explored the usage of Korean in their local suburban areas where about 30 percent of residents are Koreans and the city has fully embraced by this growing community. Participants analyzed the complexity of linguistic landscape in this context, produced the digital storytelling with their analysis, and shared their ideas with the class on Google Maps.

The findings of this study show this project makes the learners understand how multilingualism is locally relevant (Kasanga, 2012), and gives them alternative learning opportunities outside the language class. Furthermore, this project helps to bring Korean language learning and teaching closer to the ‘real world’ by pushing the notion of multilingualism to more concrete level and by breaking down monolithic conception of language learning by providing alternative pedagogic goals.

The challenging task of interviewing shop owners

Deborah Dubiner
University of Haifa

This paper describes and explores the Linguistic Landscape of a Druze town in Israel (native and dominant language: Arabic; dominant language of commercial signs: Hebrew). In this study, dozens of commercial shop signs in this town’s main street are examined and analyzed. We can notice the clear presence of Hebrew and the less dominant visibility of Arabic. In order to understand the motives behind the language choice of the signs, interviews with shopkeepers and shop owners are necessary. Theoretical-methodological challenges emerge when researchers find reluctance to collaborate on the part of the informants. Additional challenges are faced when interviewees seem to give the response they believe is expected of them. The purpose of this section is to discuss ways of analyzing and understanding linguistic landscapes when the researcher is lacking basic data from informants.
Toward an ethical treatment of history in the LL: 'Post-memory' narratives in a southern American town

Rebecca Todd Garvin
Arkansas Tech University

This presentation is a reflection on practice that deals directly with methodological challenges of documenting and analyzing the “re-writing” (Shohamy & Waksman, 2010) of the past and treatment of history in the LL. It also seeks to position LL study within interdisciplinary national research initiatives dedicated to accurate and just preservation of local and national histories. A site of convergence, hosting traumatic events in US history, Savannah, Tennessee, recently initiated a community face-lift by celebrating “Historic Savannah”—a tourism campaign supported by the local Chamber of Commerce. Although previous violence was marked discreetly in the LL, there are few signs of the deep scars of division and conflict which are reflected in historical papers, oral histories, and current emotions.

In 2010, I began documenting the literacy objects and signage. My methodology includes collecting data on Main Street, the Cherry Mansion (headquarters to General Grant of the Union Army), the newly built city park, and the local cemeteries as well as interviewing local community leaders and residents. A first read of the narratives in the LL of Savannah reveal diverse fragments of historical narratives of slavery, the Civil War and the Trail of Tears, but stop close to the edge of veracity. In contrast, other recently placed signs and objects seem to inspire idyllic imaginations of the quintessential southern town, expressing another ‘post-memory’ (Hirsch, 2008) version of the past.

How Does Berkeley Mean

Jane Hammons
University of California, Berkeley

The proposal title is the title of a first-year composition I’ll be teaching at UC Berkeley in Spring 2015. In addition to film and various genres of writing about Berkeley, students will be reading memorials, signage, artworks, graffiti and other artifacts such as garbage to interpret the sometimes tense “town and gown” relationship between the City of Berkeley and UC Berkeley. Using video and photography, students will write a visual response to the course title's question. Their final research project—a fieldwork essay—will be displayed on websites students make with weebly. The fact that this course fulfills the Reading & Composition requirement at the University necessitates that students also produce a conventional MLA-style research paper; thus they will engage with existing tensions between the demands of conventional academic writing and those of workplace and personal writing, more likely to be created in digital spaces seldom accessed by undergraduate writers for academic purposes.

Currently (November 2014) I'm participating in Digital Writing Month (#digiwrimo), by shooting 30 short videos (one a day) to represent my interpretation of the story Berkeley tells about itself and will use my video with the class as one model of digital storytelling.
A sample of teaching Chinese characters (kanji) with linguistic landscape for heritage language learners of Japanese

Asako Hayashi-Takakura
University of California Los Angeles

One of the most challenging aspects in learning the Japanese language is to develop literacy with kanji (Chinese) characters. In Japan, the elementary school children are expected to read and learn 1006 characters. Although Los Angeles has the largest Japanese population outside the US, there are very limited Japanese signs in town. Consequently, it was found that the school children who are learning the Japanese language in Los Angeles area have had more difficulty to develop literacy in Japanese comparing with the children living in Japan. Therefore, showing linguistic landscape in the country where the target language is used would be important for language learners who have limited access to the texts of the target language in their daily life. I would like to share how I have incorporated linguistic landscape samples into my foreign language classes at college and literacy development of young children who are the heritage learners of the Japanese language.

In a certain place in London. Cityscape in Spanish

Lourdes Hernandez-Martin
London School of Economics

"In a certain place in London" (En un lugar de Londres) is a project which aims to develop the linguistic, socio-cultural and intercultural skills of students taking the Degree course LN122 Spanish Language and Society (Intermediate level) at the London School of Economics. During the 14-15 weeks project, the students will:

• reflect about the London linguistic landscape, specially the Spanish landscape
• discover the presence on-line of the Spanish speaking communities in London
• read and learn from academic research about the Spanish speaking communities in London
• explore the spaces where the Spanish speaking communities settle in London and,
• meet members of those communities

The project has three phases:
• Phase 1. Reflection on the London linguistic landscape and own students' landscapes
• Phase 2. Research on-line and readings of academic research. Students will start their visits to Spanish speaking spaces in London
• Phase 3. Each student will explore a topic of their choice (which will include interviews) and will produce a written, audio or photo-essay piece.

The information collected during Phases 2 and 3 will be published in a blog/web page http://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/

This project will be piloted in the academic year 2014-2015.

In my presentation, I would like to talk about why I decided to create and implement this project and I will be able to present some reflections on the pilot.
Contextualising units in the Linguistic Landscape- How should data be framed?

Jeffrey Kallen, Deirdre Dunlevy, & Olga Balaeva
Trinity College Dublin

Though Linguistic Landscape studies have relied strongly on the use of photographs as evidence, these photographs themselves are rarely the subject of analysis. We suggest that the LL photograph is a specific visual form whose function in capturing and communicating data raises many questions that have yet to be explored in detail. Building on the premise that most LL photographs fall somewhere on a continuum between de-contextualised images that show only a sign or inscription to a streetview or panorama that may include many signs as well as buildings or natural features, we argue that there is a vital link between the inclusion of visual context in the LL photograph and the overall understanding of what it is that is going on in a speech community. Using examples from Ireland, Spain, and elsewhere, we reflect on ways in which photographing the context of any individual signage unit can shed light on how signs react to or answer each other; display rebellion or defiance against other signs; demonstrate the coexistence of languages in conflict; or show diverse discourses within a single space. Our aim here is to encourage discussion on framing and contextualisation within the photograph in LL study.

Mobility, emptiness, and the meaning of absence: integrating semiotic “blank spots” in the LL framework

David Karlander
Stockholm University

Often, the study of linguistic landscapes deals with facts of emplacement. Such perspective is sensitized to situated meanings of linguistic and perilinguistic semiotics, favouring representations of fixed language as data. However, this gaze becomes limiting with regard to certain semiotic phenomena interlinked in LLs. As Adey (2010:34-35) notes, the presence of mobility frequently seems to be a crucial component in meaning making. As a consequence of its entanglement in numerous entwined practices, semiosis is often non-permanent. Cropping up in places, signs may move around, become modified, switch modalities, and, eventually, disappear. From a methodological standpoint, this apparent flux poses several questions and challenges. For instance, how can we identify and capture empirically less-than-permanent semiotics? Or more pressingly: how can different forms of semiotic mobility and absence be understood as integral in the semiotization of space? This piece of reflection highlights the possibilities to study, theorize and understand the momentariness, erasure and nonexistence of particular forms of language in (primarily) public space. Drawing on concepts from the human geographical toolbox (e.g. non-representational approaches, mobilities, scale), it seeks to discuss methodological strategies for understanding semiotic emplacement in the light of mobility, as well as semiotic presence in the light of absence.
Art and linguistic landscapes: A look at the Chinatowns of San Francisco and Washington D.C.

Genevieve Leung & Jaclyn Knitter
University of San Francisco

This paper reflects upon a joint project that looks at the ways languages are used in the Chinatowns of San Francisco and Washington D.C. We explore the ways in which art, particularly murals and graffiti, interact in and with the local linguistic landscapes of the communities. Examining the linguistic landscape of these public spaces exposes issues of linguistic tensions, language vitality, and language shift in multilingual settings. We demonstrate the diversity, coexistence, and creative uses of multiple Chinese languages and scripts, alongside English and visually “Asian” icons. Moreover, as both sites are frequently visited tourist attractions, we bring up questions related to linguistic rescaling and connecting real and imagined audiences. On a pedagogical level, we show how linguistic and cultural pluralism of “Chinese” have always existed – and continue to exist – in these areas and the importance of developing socially sensitive literacy pedagogy, especially when there is a mismatch between the informal, community-level signage and what is formally taught in “Chinese” language classrooms in the U.S. We propose possible classroom activities for students to engage with the art and linguistic landscapes.

Quantifying the Linguistic Landscape – Reflections on Inferential Analyses

Kate Lyons
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Attempts to quantify Linguistic Landscapes (LL) predominately focus on descriptive statistics, providing valuable insights on distributions of language use that have enabled opportunities for comparative or diachronic studies (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Backhaus, 2007). However, in the growing field of LL study, more sophisticated inferential analyses have not been attempted.

I suggest that a combination of LL theoretical tools and well-motivated statistical analyses enable the LL to be successfully quantified. Inferential analyses provide new insights on discoverable patterns in landscapes, as well as the means to motivate conclusions and theoretical contributions by yielding reliable and replicable results. The implementation of regression models, for example, isolates statistically significant factors (e.g. socioeconomic factors or language choice) in a landscape; an integral insight of an area’s LL that can also be used to predict variation in similar unobserved communities.

The intent of this Reflection on Practice is to investigate the utility and efficacy of implementing inferential statistics on LL data. The reflection focuses on three central questions: (i) What are the benefits and drawbacks of quantifying LLs? (ii) What statistical models are useful and appropriate? and (iii) What does it mean for a distribution to be significant in the field of LL research?
Raising methodological awareness among study abroad participants: Reflections from a student-driven linguistic landscape research project

Hiram Maxim
Emory University

Within the burgeoning field of linguistic landscape, there is growing interest in the pedagogical possibilities of involving students in linguistic landscape research (e.g., Sayer, 2010; Rowland, 2013). While it is clear that a linguistic landscape project can provide students with hands-on exposure to the sociocultural practice of meaning making, it is less clear how to introduce students to the methodologies of linguistic landscape research within a classroom setting. This practical reflection shares the experience from a linguistic landscape research project conducted by intermediate learners of German as part of their study abroad in Vienna, Austria. Reflecting the instructor’s efforts to reduce the power differential between teacher and student (Norton, 2000), learners were not presented with a methodological framework to follow. Instead, they received an introduction into the nature of linguistic landscape research and then worked collaboratively under the guidance of the instructor in and out of the next several class meetings to develop a site- and project-specific methodology for describing and analyzing the linguistic landscape of a thoroughfare in their respective neighborhoods. By no means a linear process, this iterative effort had the dual outcome of revealing aspects of the linguistic landscape and raising awareness about social science research methodology.

Out With the Old, In With the New?: Not So Fast!

Susan Price
BMCC-CUNY

Is newer always better? While linguists and those in other disciplines are quick to discard dated methodologies as easily as we discard dated technology, newly developed research models and analyses are often limiting in scope and lead to findings that are necessarily narrow, making studies hard to replicate. Might we not look back to older models to account for new data? And instead of creating different frames for each study we do, or adopting a frame and searching for data to fit it, can we offer a few general guidelines to those working in LL today? How can we acknowledge contributions made in the past while creating new models? Are data-driven and theory-driven methods complementary? A small data set, part of a larger study, will be analyzed in several ways and discussion will be invited on the outcomes.
The history of street names in southern France

Elyse Ritchey
University of California, Berkeley

Data collection in the field of linguistic landscapes aims at freezing moments in time. This synchronic focus is somewhat tempered by works on temporal change in the LL (Lai 2013). However, the diachronic perspective is usually restricted to the near past and is based on data collected by traditional LL methods. Such limitations are understandable, as LL data has been collected rigorously for only a few decades. Thus, methodology for describing the history of the LL is currently under-elaborated. My reflection on practice addresses the challenges that come with historical descriptions of the LL. The data useful in diachronic LL studies have been collected in diverse ways, and rarely in a form that dovetails well with the current methodological principles of the field. In my presentation, I will discuss some of the complications involved in accessing and analyzing historical LL data. For my project, I used a variety of sources to study the history of street names in Occitan, a minority language of France. These data, sourced from municipal archives and indexes of street names, are rich but incomplete. It is the historical contextualization of these data that is the task of the LL researcher.

The role of the ‘recipient’ in LL research: Notes from the project ‘English in the linguistic landscape of Vienna, Austria’ (ELLViA)

Barbara Soukup
University of Vienna

This contribution reflects on the role of sign readers (‘recipients’) in the meaning-making processes at play in linguistic landscapes. Specifically, it presents and puts up for discussion a socio-cognitive model of such meaning-making that integrates on the one hand theories of individual cognition (Kristiansen 2008; Purschke 2011), and on the other hand theoretical frameworks regarding social interaction (Bakhtin 1986 [1952-53]; Goffman 1959; Gumperz 1982). The proposal of this model is motivated by the claim that language choices on LL signs and artifacts is at least partly, but quite vitally, a tribute to the fact that sign recipients go through steps of perceptually identifying a certain language and metonymically associating it with certain social meanings (indexicalities – see also Coupland 2007; Eckert 2008), thus ultimately realizing respective messages (e.g., for the choice of English, ‘cosmopolitanism’ and ‘modernity’ – Kelly-Holmes 2000, 2005; Piller 2001, 2003). The implication is that, in order to advance our understanding of language choices in LLs, these meaning-making processes must be addressed by theory and subjected to testing by empirical methodology. Reflection by peers will be sought on affordances and constraints of the proposed model, as well as on its potential consequences for research practice.
Reading, reconstructing and interpreting the linguistic landscape of schools: Working with the ‘tourist guide technique’

Tamás Péter Szabó
University of Jyväskylä

I propose innovations as solutions to the shortcomings of reading the schoolscape with an etic perspective (Johnson 1980) and to traditional interviewing of teachers (Brown 2012).

For a study on the schoolscape in Finland and Hungary, I carried out fieldwork using the ‘tourist guide technique’. That is, I recorded interviews and took photos while walking through the school building, accompanied by a local teacher who acted as a guide. Using this method, the combination of semiotic analysis and an interactional approach of language ideology studies is enhanced. The co-constructedness of ideologies illuminates how etic and emic perspectives interact in the emergence of schoolscape-related discussions.

I present two ways for the analysis of the ‘guided tours’. First, a video clip shows how the voice recordings and the photographs can be synchronized, providing a stream-like reconstruction of the fieldwork event. Secondly, I combine transcript and photographs for analysis.

Methodological challenges in conducting LL research

Hirut Woldemariam
Addis Ababa University

In our current world where people tend to be suspicious about strangers, taking pictures for LL research may pose a problem for us. Firstly, what the researcher deals with is something owned by others: individuals, groups or government bodies. In certain countries, one can be misunderstood or suspected as being someone involved in intelligence work. One may even face a reaction from those who consider themselves as part of a victim group. On the other hand, it is difficult to obtain permission from all involved for every picture. Besides, while aiming at a sign with our camera, we can be misperceived as taking a picture of someone for some reason. My personal experience in Johannesburg was terrifying. While taking a picture of Ethiopian restaurant signs, I was confronted by a group of Ethiopian-origin gangsters who claimed I had taken their picture. They further alleged me to be a delegate of the Ethiopian Government to spy on them, as they had escaped their homeland for ‘political reasons’. After a long altercation, others intervened and I was relieved, but advised to stop photographing and leave the place immediately. There is a need more discussion of the challenges of research on LL.
Language representation on a sign

Anastassia Zabrodskaja
Tallinn University / University of Tartu

One methodological approach is just to count all languages represented on signs in the linguistic landscape. However, there are several caveats here that should be mentioned. First, “language” can mean a variety of things, different for the lay person and the linguist, for instance: the totality of actual or potential utterances, human representation, the knowledge of the individual, a symbol of a group (ethnic group, community, state), or an abstract external entity (i.e. a standardized and codified norm “out there”). In the latter two cases, the tacit assumption is that languages have clear borders and any linguistic item belongs to a particular language, although modern research in multilingual speech and writing shows that this is not exactly the case and certain instances are ambiguous. Thus, viewing multilingualism as a sum of separate monolingualisms would be counterproductive. Sometimes one deals with non-target forms and sometimes with deliberate language play that exploits similarities of items across languages, widely known internationalisms, creative use of different scripts, hybrid forms etc. In my reflection on practice, I will discuss, based on the data collected in the Estonian linguistic landscapes, what languages represent or symbolize and what the intended audience is, if it can be established.
A historical linguistic landscape – Barcelona (1836-38): Much ado about the use of Catalan in public space

Rolf Kailuweit
University of Freiburg

In the context of earlier research on bilingual competence and linguistic identity in Catalonia in the 18th and 19th century (Kailuweit 1997, 1999, 2003), I compiled archive material evidencing the presence of Catalan in public spaces. With no further ado, Catalan was used at school and in certain domains of writing up until the 1830s. During the Age of Enlightenment, language was not related to national identity. Catalans could maintain their mother tongue and even use it in public domains. At the same time, they felt themselves to be competent Spanish writers and true representatives of the Spanish speaking culture.

The paper starts from the hypothesis that around 1830 differing linguistic attitudes arose, manifested in the linguistic landscape of Barcelona. The use of Catalan in public space (from shop signs to epitaphs) evoked reactions and controversies at this time. In 1836, representatives of the Academia de Buenas Letras were charged by the City Council to control public signage and fine the use of Catalan. In 1838, the newspaper El Guardia Nacional published several letters as part of a controversy concerning the right to use Catalan for epitaphs. A member of the Academia declared that the practice of fining should be reviewed.

Following Blommaert (2013) the paper will apply nexus analysis (Scollon / Wong Scollon 2004) to linguistic landscaping, but it will do so in a historic field. The reconstruction of social action performed by historical bodies in the context of interaction rules and discourses in place has to be based nearly exclusively on discourse analysis of archive material. In addition, some epigraphs, which still exist at the cemetery of Poble Nou will be taken into account.
Caught between heritage and utility: Bilingual French-Occitan street names

Elyse Ritchey
University of California, Berkeley

Street names are relatively static symbols of a place’s identity. As ingrained features of the LL, they reflect its history and are rarely subject to bottom-up modification. They may undergo top-down change under special circumstances, such as political change (Pavlenko 2009, Lai 2013, Hassa 2012). A less extreme example of top-down change is found in southern France, where bilingual French-Occitan street name signs appear in some towns and cities. Despite the fact that top-down bilingual signage is usually 'just symbolic,' it should be of interest to LL researchers as well as to those who study language revitalization (O’Reilly 2003). Bilingual signage initiatives raise vital questions about control over the visibility of minority languages (Moriarty 2012). France has few national policies supporting the use of such languages, so the adoption of bilingual signage depends on local actors like language activists and municipal authorities (Blackwood 2010 and 2011, Blackwood and Tufi 2013). Its creation and placement is effected in a patchwork fashion. In Toulouse, signs feature a translation of framing words like rue ‘street,’ but the street name is transferred directly from French, with minimal orthographic modifications. Retention of the street’s modern name allows the sign to be a useful point of reference. However, in Aix-en-Provence, the name of the street itself might be changed to a former appellation. This approach associates Occitan with the past, giving information that is irrelevant for wayfinding. Both approaches seek to create imaginaries of the cities en occitan: the former forward-looking and the latter nostalgic. Each represents the city in a calculated way both to visitors and to residents. In this paper I describe and analyze the methodologies behind the development of bilingual French-Occitan street signage, exploring the conflict between modernizing and archaizing tendencies in Occitan revitalization.
Connecting visual presents to archival pasts in multilingual California: Towards historical depth in linguistic landscape

Robert Train
Sonoma State University

California is and has always been a web of dynamic sites and spaces of shifting boundaries between multiple languages, linguistic contact, and flows of human migration. Historical evidence points to the ongoing constitution and reconstitution of California’s languages (e.g., indigenous languages, Spanish, English, and more recent immigrant languages) and speakership in and between them in a complex multilingual relationality. Linguistic Landscape (LL) research has emerged as an ethnographic approach to document and analyze multilingual public spaces in present-day California and elsewhere in the world. This paper extends the conceptual and methodological frame of LL beyond the visual, ethnographic present. It seeks to create dialogue between text-oriented archival research into historical contexts of language and speakership, and the present-oriented ethnographic focus of LL grounded in current sociolinguistic, applied linguistic, anthropological and educational research. Building on archival research into language and education in pre-statehood California (1769-1849), this paper offers an interdisciplinary perspective connecting present and past landscapes of multilingualism in California. Using the historical case of Spanish in relation to other languages in California, this paper examines several methodological opportunities and challenges for LL:

• How can we arrive at deeper engagements with the visible multilingual landscape around us in California in terms of more informed understandings of the complex, conflicted and past that has led to the current diversity of today?
• What can archival evidence have to offer LL research as to the presence, legislation, performance, contestation, and erasure of languages in public space in California?
• How can reading historical archival texts contribute to reading present-day multilingual signs as “chronicles documenting the complex histories of a place” (Blommaert 2013)?
• How can archival evidence documenting language ideologies, language-in-education and language policy reveal a historical materiality that can serve as an analytical tool for understanding the (in)visibility of languages in current public spaces?
The writing on the wall: The Umbrella Movement, language and revolution

Aaron Anfinson
Hong Kong University

‘The urban space of the street is a place for talk, given over as much to the exchange of words and signs as it is to the exchange of things. A place where speech becomes writing. A place where speech can become ‘savage’ and, by escaping rules and institutions, inscribe itself on walls’ (Lefebvre, 2003:19).

Hong Kong’s on-going protests are repurposing urban space. The city is being (re)imagined, realised and inscribed on walls. In this paper I examine how this emplacement constitutes civil disobedience, resistance and revolution. Following Lefebvre (1991; 2003), I analyze posters from the occupied zones, considering space/place as a semiotic and linguistic achievement with the myriad of social, political and cultural undertones, sometimes reinforcing one another and sometimes contradicting and competing with one another. I will make the case for an emerging ‘HongKonger’ identity within the blurring of ‘One Country, Two Systems’ Chinese rule—a case for resistance and ‘localisation’ in the on-going ideological differentiation of Cantonese, Putonghua and English (Johnstone, 2010; Gal and Irvine, 1995). From the semiotic change of the chosen character for umbrella (遮) to a revolution in the dynamic use of urban space, I conclude by comparing the Umbrella Movement to notions of language-in-motion and the sociolinguistics of mobility (Bloomaert, 2010), asking what the ‘Urban Revolution’ and the Umbrella Movement might tell us about the artefactualisation of language in the production of space.
A multimodal analysis of the graffiti commemorating the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks: Constructing self-understandings of a senseless violence

Rani Rubdy
National University of Singapore (CELC)

The paper presents a multimodal analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Scollon and Scollon, 2003) of the graffiti commemorating the 26/11 Mumbai terrorist attacks with the aim of examining what meanings they construct for its viewers as well as sign producers. Of particular interest to the study from the perspective of Scollon and Scollon’s notion of ‘discourse in place’ is the emplacement of the graffiti on the walls of the Bada Kabrastan, Mumbai’s largest Muslim graveyard, and the fact that they were initiated by a group associated with the Hindu nationalist party, known for its fundamentalist and strong anti-Muslim leanings. This and the knowledge that the terrorists, with their deadly Jihadist agenda, had hailed from Pakistan, India’s ‘arch enemy’, would have sufficed to create a huge backlash denouncing such acts of terror in the graffiti paintings displayed. Yet, contrary to these expectations, the analysis reveals that far from conjuring up revenge or retribution against the perpetrators of terror, the signs and discourses represented in this particular manifestation of ‘anti-terrorist protest’ largely index messages of peace, unity, courage, resilience and hope – in effect, the very antithesis of the senseless violence that just a year earlier had catapulted the city of Mumbai onto a discursive space of global terror, drawing comparisons with the 9/11 terrorist attack on the World Trade centre. Drawing on Pennycook’s (2009) notion of graffiti as transformative, and Chouliaraki’s (2002) conceptualization of suffering in terms of sentiment, denunciation, and the sublime, the paper concludes that through its projection of a larger perspective on urban terror that emphasizes rebuilding, resilience and renewal, the graffiti on the walls of the Bada Kabrastan, instantiate the sign producers’ capacity to reinterpret and redefine space in ways that sublime sentiment and denunciation, thus transforming the discourse to a new plane.
The semiotic landscape of Taiwan’s “Sunflower student movement’: Examining the transbordering dynamics of situated linguistic landscaping

Melissa L. Curtin
University of California, Santa Barbara

In the spring of 2014, “Sunflower Student Movement” (太陽花學運) activists occupied Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan, protesting a trade agreement that the KMT-controlled government had negotiated with China without public input or bipartisan review. In addition to their masterful use of social media, the movement’s semiotic landscape was a central strategy in garnering widespread support to “save Taiwan” and to “protect democracy,” a point underscored by Academia Sinica’s request to preserve their materials as historical artifacts which "symbolize a society striving for democracy" and capture the "citizens' modern collective experience."

In examining the displays inside and outside the occupied Yuan, this essay seeks to contribute to LL studies in two ways. Methodologically, it considers visual and other discursive data gleaned from social and mainstream media which themselves fore-grounded the importance of the movement’s LL practices. This approach thus provides insights into what many (outside our field) perceive as “linguistic landscaping,” i.e., “what objects and phenomena comprise LL practices.” It also underscores the importance of the physical LL, while elucidating an increasing blurring of boundaries between semiotic practices in the material world and those in social and mainstream media. Secondly, the study analyzes how the protestors’ LL practices were an effort to (re)position sociopolitical and geographic boundaries in and of Taiwan. In doing so, it introduces the analytic construct of transbordering to LL studies, demonstrating a range of ways in which situated linguistic landscaping is part of an everyday process in which “we all need to negotiate the expanding transbordering of our world and its political, economic, sociocultural, and spatial dynamics” (Irazábal, 2014, p. 16).
Skinscapes: Widening the LL lens to include racialized bodies-in-place

Amiena Peck and Christopher Stroud  
University of the Western Cape

This paper argues for the extension of linguistic landscape studies to also encompass the body as a corporeal landscape or ‘moving discursive locality’. The body as landscape is articulated against a narrative of a developing field of landscape studies that are increasingly attentive to the mobility and materiality of spatialized semiotics as performative in ways that contribute the spatial coordinates and affordances of our ‘being-in-place’. In this sense, the trajectories and visibilities of corporeal landscapes or skinscapes impress their semiotically mediated histories and meanings onto the spaces through which they travel. Taking Cape Town’s tattooing culture as a starting point, we attempt to unpack the idea of “the human subject as an entrepreneur of the self, as author of his or her being in the world” (Comaroff and Comaroff) by using a phenomenological methodology to explore the materiality of the body as a fragmented, mobile and dynamic space of inscribed spatialized identities and (historical) power relations. Specifically, we focus on how tattooed bodies sculpt future selves and discuss what imprint they leave on the everyday landscapes of an emerging postapartheid South Africa. This paper will conclude with a discussion of what studies of corporeal landscapes may contribute to a broader field of linguistic landscape studies.
Navigating the linguistic landscape: On the discursive encounters of a new parent

Linnea Hanell
Stockholm University

The notion of linguistic landscapes effectively sheds light on the organization of linguistic artifacts in various contexts. Data typically drawn on in these endeavors – photographs of written language in public spaces – reflect this fundamental research interest. Adopting a more practice-driven approach, this paper grasps landscapes from the perspective of an individual. Consequently, the main issue here is not characteristics of predetermined landscapes but an individual navigating various landscapes for particular communicative ends. Empirically, the study tends to the case of Veronica, a first-time parent who navigates linguistic landscapes of parental discourse as she attempts to deal with issues surfaced in her first months of parenthood. Focusing on the last month of pregnancy and the first four months of the child’s life, I will demonstrate some of the ways in which Veronica engages with discursive resources ranging from websites, films and books to medical professionals and friends.

Data obtained from this episode of Veronica’s life trajectory encompass a collage of snapshot photos emailed to me, serving to present discursive resources she has used and to what ends. These reports were complemented with similar but more spontaneous reports on the social media service Instagram, where I was only one of some hundred followers. These photograph data also serve as a trigger in interviews where Veronica reflects upon her practices. Thus, putting the methods of linguistic landscape studies, as it were, into the hands of this individual, the study makes a case for the importance of foregrounding questions of what linguistic artifacts are selected as data, and under what premises they should be understood. From this vantage point, I will argue that studying the life trajectory of individuals is a fruitful way of advancing landscape studies, as it brings to light the ways in which landscapes are diachronically experienced and utilized.
Expanding the research on commodification of women’s bodies: Internet sites as modes of delivery to local and transnational audiences

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Universidad de Antioquia

Elana Shohamy
University of Tel Aviv

Camilo Domínguez
Universidad de Antioquia

Shaping the bodies of women by powerful industries has been a wide-spread phenomenon worldwide, specially in Colombia where a long tradition of plastic surgery exists and most women undergo it at an early age. The phenomenon is manifested via multiple types of LL displays in public spaces. In our previous research, we focused on billboards displayed in major roads and highways around Medellín (Shohamy & Correa, 2014). Drawing on the work of Morgan (1991) and Moran & Lee (2013), and using analytic tools provided by visual analysis (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006), we showed how both local and international corporations commodified women’s bodies with augmented breasts and the impact that the billboards had on women’s attitudes, desires and behaviors.

This study expands the LL spaces to internet sites where Colombian clinics are marketing not only breast augmentations but all kinds of aesthetic procedures such as face lifts, butt implants, liposuctions, tummy tucks, and vaginoplasty to both national and international audiences. The questions we ask are how do Colombian aesthetic clinics through this particular medium contribute to the commodification of women’s body and to the spread of the phenomenon over transnational markets? And what is the influence that this particular medium has on local women? To answer these questions, we focus on ten clinic sites and employ a variety of CDA (Young & Fitzgerald, 2005) and multi-modal methods (Kress, 2011). Results from this analysis and from interviews with women suggest that these sites contribute largely to the construction of women with plastic surgeries as the norm and the construction of others as deficient. The sites also promote women’s false expectations.
Cities are not just material environments but also social and discursive constructions (perceptions). The focus of this presentation is the discursive construction of the city of Johannesburg in the South African media. In particular, place-names and other specific locations are extracted from a ca. 218 million word corpus of South African newspaper articles published between 2008 and 2014. This is achieved by using part-of-speech tagging to extract instances of proper nouns, and a gazetteer to identify the proper nouns that are place-names. Every mention of a place-name from the corpus can then be geo-referenced or mapped using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) technology. Furthermore, the presentation views the various collocates (words/terms that habitually co-occur) within the immediate co-text of place-names. Collocates are semantically tagged or categorized according to their meaning. Consequently, we can examine meanings (e.g. wealth, crime, policing, governance) that are associated with particular places/neighborhoods in the city, and display the spatial distribution of different meanings on the map. Finally, we can determine if there are any significant changes in collocates or meaning associations over time. In this way, we can create a revealing and nuanced map of how Johannesburg is constructed in the South African press. The approach is valuable in conjunction to the study of actual phenomena, statistics and other hard evidence. The presentation answers three questions: what places are talked about in the corpus? What are the inferences drawn up about these places? How do perceptions/discussions about places change over time? The presentation shows how large corpora, in this case a newspaper corpus, can be integrated into the study of Linguistic Landscapes. As a postscript, it also suggests how spatialization/visualization of large corpora can be combined with other types of in-depth, expository analysis, e.g. place semiotics, discourse analysis or ethnographic accounts of the city.
Linguistic landscapes of urban Italy and the citizenship of the everyday

Stefania Tufi
Liverpool University

Different understandings of citizenship are rooted in ideologies that have developed over time and that have become highly territorialised to serve the purposes of the nation-state. The politics of national belonging and self-representation as a result of structured, top-down models is often in direct contradiction with forms of citizenship of the everyday (Dickinson et al. 2008). From this perspective, routines and daily practices enacted by individuals lead to the emergence of alternative forms of citizenship performed by different city subjectivities. The everyday lived as participation in localised events is central to the construction of a new geography of citizenship which can be transformative and potentially subversive in so far as it is in opposition to institutional understandings of rights and obligations.

Written practices as exposed in the public space of urban Italy are instrumental in articulating localised forms of group membership. In so doing they mediate relations of power and forms of agency, highlighting the social and relational dimension of citizenship. In this perspective shared spaces are transformed into landscapes of multi-layered citizenship in the process of continuous re-scaling of degrees of participation from the supra-national to the sub-national.

The paper will address the above issues as a result of increased mobility and transculturation via a discussion of those linguistic landscapes of urban Italy which construct citizenship as a scalar, dynamic and transformative process (Painter and Philo 1995).
Signs of the times: Modeling the landscape of gentrification

Kate Lyons
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Attempts to quantify Linguistic Landscapes (LL) predominately focus on descriptive statistics, providing valuable insights on distributions of language use that have enabled opportunities for comparative or diachronic studies (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Backhaus, 2007). However, in the growing field of LL study, more sophisticated inferential analyses have not been attempted.

I suggest that a combination of LL theoretical tools and well-motivated statistical analyses enable the LL to be successfully quantified. Inferential analyses provide new insights on discoverable patterns in landscapes, as well as the means to motivate conclusions and theoretical contributions by yielding reliable and replicable results. The implementation of regression models, for example, isolates statistically significant factors (e.g. socioeconomic factors or language choice) in a landscape; an integral insight of an area’s LL that can also be used to predict variation in similar unobserved communities.

The intent of this Reflection on Practice is to investigate the utility and efficacy of implementing inferential statistics on LL data. The reflection focuses on three central questions: (i) What are the benefits and drawbacks of quantifying LLs? (ii) What statistical models are useful and appropriate? and (iii) What does it mean for a distribution to be significant in the field of LL research?