Educational Linguistics

David Malinowski
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Language Teaching in the Linguistic Landscape

Mobilizing Pedagogy in Public Space

Educational Linguistics

Volume 49

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Mobilizing Pedagogy in Public Space

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Preface

This volume has grown from innumerous instructional and scholarly activities over the past several years, ranging from casual conversations in the hallways outside our classrooms to long-planned workshops and symposia at professional conferences. As second language instructors interested in having our students engage with language use outside the classroom, both at home and abroad, we drew early inspiration from pioneering work on language teaching in the linguistic landscape by Cenoz and Gorter (2008), Shohamy and Waksman (2009), Sayer (2010), and Rowland (2013), as well as a considerable body of writings on first-language literacy emergence through the "environmental print" of logos, labels, and other everyday texts (e.g., Neumann et al. 2011). The Linguistic Landscape 7 Workshop at UC Berkeley in 2015, with its strand of sessions dedicated to practitioner reflections on methods and pedagogies of linguistic landscape, offered the three of us our first opportunity to compare thoughts and experiences in person; this resulted in a jointly organized symposium at the 2016 annual meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics in Orlando, Florida, where several authors in this volume presented early versions of their work. The subsequent Linguistic Landscape Workshops in 2016 in Liverpool, organized by Robert Blackwood, Stefania Tufi, and Will Amos, and in 2017 in Luxembourg, organized by Kasper Juffermans and Christoph Purschke, provided further fertile ground for exchange, discussion, and criticism.

Interspersed throughout this time period were numerous occasions for workshopping language study in the linguistic landscape. Highlights include Elana Shohamy's workshop on linguistic landscape study at Emory University and David Malinowski's workshops with language faculty and colleagues at the University of Utah, Princeton University, Columbia University, the University of Arizona, and Yale University. In particular, the editors wish to express deep gratitude to the Consortium for Language Teaching and Learning; the Departments of Linguistics and World Languages and Cultures at the University of Utah; the Emory College Language Center; the Princeton Center for Language Study; the Hebrew Pedagogy Seminar; the Center for Educational Resources in Culture, Language and Literacy at the University of Arizona; the Berkeley Language Center; the Language Resource Center at Columbia University; and the Yale Center for Language Study for these

opportunities. For their continued support and innovative programming of professional development opportunities for language faculty interested in language teaching in the public space, we offer particular thanks to Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl of the Yale Center for Language Study and Stéphane Charitos of the Columbia Language Resource Center. We would also like to offer our gratitude to all the students enrolled in our courses, who got involved in learning language and culture through the linguistic landscape in France, Austria, and the United States. Through their dedication, their good will, and their work, we were able to experience first-hand the potential of such an approach and be confident that this volume was needed.

Finally, we wish to thank our supporters at Springer: Francis Hult, who helped turn our talking points into a concrete project and volume proposal, and Jolanda Voogt, Helen van der Stelt, and Natalie Rieborn, for shepherding this project through the long valley to completion. As a field of inquiry arguably still in its infancy, language learning in the linguistic landscape nevertheless offers exciting and substantive opportunities for language learners and instructors, and it is our hope that this volume contributes to the profession's evolving understanding of how the linguistic landscape both reveals and fosters resources for meaning-making and social transformation.

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Introduction

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Abstract Language learners' activities in the world are not just contexts for applying lessons learned in the classroom. Their unscripted activities and discoveries in a myriad of places are themselves significant sites of language development, transcultural awareness-building, and identity growth. This volume seeks to capitalize on this wealth of language and literacy learning opportunities in the discursive world of public texts and textual practices, through a paradigm of "mobilization". With fourteen chapters drawing from numerous pedagogical traditions, situated in varied geographic and institutional contexts, and narrating diverse learning projects amongst the languages of public space, this volume pursues three overarching goals. First, it aims to illuminate powerful opportunities for language and literacy teachers to expand their approaches to teaching, with a particular emphasis on the development of political awareness and social transformation. Second, the volume illustrates how language teaching and learning in the linguistic landscape brings opportunities to integrate training in research methodologies with language instruction—a mobilization of language pedagogy for cross-disciplinary knowledge growth. Third, just as it addresses researchers and practitioners of language pedagogy, this volume seeks to inform and stimulate researchers in the field of linguistic landscape with numerous opportunities for conceptual, methodological, and praxiological cross-fertilization.

Keywords Curricular change · Engaged learning · Mobility · Multiliteracies · Second language instruction · Social pedagogies · Transdisciplinarity

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1 Overview and Goals of this Volume

Language teachers and students in the early twenty-first century are both literally and figuratively finding themselves in unknown places. As schools and cities continue to diversify, and as networked technologies transform classrooms and mobile learning opportunities, language educators are exploring new ways for students to learn "beyond the classroom" (Benson and Reinders 2011; Nunan and Richards 2015) and "in the wild" of unplanned social interaction (Wagner 2015; Dubreil and Thorne 2017). In their everyday navigation of multilingual home, neighborhood, and school environments, through community-based or service-oriented learning projects, and in intercultural encounters in online affinity and gaming spaces, language learners' activities in the world are not just contexts for applying lessons learned in the classroom; their unscripted activities and discoveries in a myriad of places outside—including radically transformed home and online learning contexts in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic of 2020—are themselves significant sites of language development, transcultural awareness-building, and identity growth.

Learning to capitalize on this wealth of language and literacy learning opportunities is a primary motivation for this volume on linguistic landscape and language teaching. Linguistic landscape, a term used to designate the visible, audible, and otherwise textualized languages of public space (Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Van Mensel et al. 2016), has captured the imaginations of language teachers and SLA theorists for the encounters it offers with the authentic, complex, and often contested languages and ideologies of everyday life (for reviews, see Gorter 2018; Huebner 2016; Malinowski and Dubreil 2019). As Cenoz and Gorter (2008) note in an early overview of the topic, "The linguistic landscape can provide input for second language learners and it can be particularly interesting for the development of pragmatic competence" (p. 274). In a more recent review, Schmitt (2018) extols the virtues of the linguistic landscape for awareness-building and analytic learning activities in areas including multilingual writing practices, dialects and dialect writing, writing systems, toponyms (place names), onomastics (proper names), and language play.

Indeed, while the languages of public space may be read and studied for their grammatical, lexical, and other formal linguistic properties—as many of the chapters in this volume illustrate—a primary motivation for learners and teachers to move 'beyond the classroom' is to engage with the linguistic landscape as a nexus of social, cultural, and political phenomena, an environment that "signals what languages are prominent and valued in public and private spaces and indexes the social positioning of people who identify with particular languages" (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 254). Accordingly, one theme that runs through the chapters of this volume is that, through their studies in the linguistic landscape, language learners have the opportunity to consider their own affective responses and ethical stance toward the people and places around them. Consequently, language educators can readily consider a wide variety of topics for learning activities anchored in the linguistic

landscape, such as cultivating greater social and political consciousness through critical language awareness activities (Thorne and Reinhardt 2008), fostering dispositions toward linguistic activism (Shohamy and Waksman 2009), and even expanding understandings of citizenship (Stroud 2001; Williams and Stroud 2015).

As a first collection of papers on language teaching and learning in the still-new field of linguistic landscape, this volume has multiple, intersecting goals. With fourteen chapters drawing from numerous pedagogical traditions, situated in varied geographic and institutional contexts, and narrating diverse learning projects amongst the languages of public space, its first goal is to illuminate powerful opportunities for language and literacy teachers to expand their approaches to teaching design and practice. As suggested above, one such opportunity is to advance dialogue about the linguistic landscape as a site for critical, social justice-oriented pedagogies that increase recognition of the heterogeneous literacies and languaging practices typical of learners' classrooms and communities (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2010; Leung and Wu 2012; Norton and Toohey 2004). In the United States, the institutional home of the three editors and over half of the authors represented in this volume, this goal accords with the growing call among foreign, heritage, and second-language (L2) educators to enable learners to "use the [target] language both within and beyond the classroom to interact and collaborate in their community and the globalized world" (ACTFL World Readiness Standards, "Communities" Goal Area 1996). However, as this volume's chapters illustrate through their projects in Canada, Finland, Germany, Israel, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Spain, and Sweden, the linguistic landscape is relevant to socially aware language pedagogies across many national, geographic, and cultural contexts. As Cope and Kalantzis (2016) note in tracing the origins of the dynamic, holistic *multiliteracies* approach (one that informs several of the chapters of this volume; cf. New London Group 1996; Cope and Kalantzis 2009), literacy and language education should be premised upon learners' need to participate fully in the fast-changing realms of work, citizenship, and identity at both local and global scales, a social and political mandate that goes far beyond the manipulation of formal elements of language and text.

Of course, as we alluded to above, the plethora of real-world public texts that can be captured with visual or audio recording devices is readily available as a source of "authentic, contextualized input" (Cenoz and Gorter 2008, p. 273) for all sorts of purposes in second language learning and teaching. Student-driven projects of image collection, categorization and interpretation as documented in Sayer (2010) and Rowland (2013), for instance, can be used to foreground the functional, sociopragmatic, or intercultural affordances of particular linguistic forms that are instantiated in the landscape (cf. Gorter 2018). Yet, as Shohamy has argued for well over a decade (e.g., Shohamy 2006; Shohamy and Waksman 2009), the opportunity, if not responsibility, afforded by the linguistic landscape is for students to observe, document, analyze, reflect upon, critique, and even intervene in the social and political processes themselves: "LL as an engagement device can turn students into concerned people with attention to language as a political and economic tool, and to

activists in their communities as they become aware of the public space as an arena they 'own' and should take an active role in shaping" (Shohamy 2015, p. 167). In particular, pedagogies of engagement (Pennycook 1999) that focus on "how students are invested in particular discourses and how these discourses structure their identities and pathways in life" (Kramsch 2009, p. 206) may be particularly efficacious for L2 students, who can be said to have a unique perspective on language as symbolic form. Neither complete outsiders or insiders to the discourses in places where the target language(s) may be found, language students in the linguistic landscape can record, annotate, hypothesize about and question meanings in forms useful for their own development trajectories as well as larger classroom and research communities.

The ACTFL World Readiness Standards goal for language learners to "interact and collaborate in their community and the globalized world" points to an expanded role played by language learners and teachers outside the classroom and, in this, to the volume's second goal. As illustrated especially in the chapters in Section III "Language students as researchers and the LL," language teaching and learning in the linguistic landscape brings opportunities to integrate training in research methodologies with language instruction, such that students become accountable for the co-construction of knowledge as they forge connections with other disciplines of study. In many cases, language teachers find that cultivating students' ability to conduct in-depth investigations into language, culture, and place is well served through techniques of ethnography, including participant observation and detailed interviews (cf. Roberts et al. 2001)—even if the time, material, and curricular affordances of many language classes do not allow for the long-term, in-depth engagement typical of *doing* ethnography in the anthropological tradition (Heath and Street 2008; cf. Green and Bloome 1997). Whether language teachers choose to incorporate elements of research methodologies from the social sciences, humanities and arts, or further afield, there is growing consensus among theorists of language pedagogy and second language acquisition that cultivating rich linguistic and cultural competencies involves students' development of their own tools for awareness-building, analysis, and critique of real-world language use (Modern Language Association 2007; Canagarajah 2013; Wiley and García 2016; Mori and Sanuth 2018).

Third, just as it addresses researchers and practitioners of language pedagogy, this volume aims to speak to the diverse interests of researchers in the field of linguistic landscape, as they draw from disciplines such as "applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, language policy, literacy studies, sociology, political science, education, art, semiotics, architecture, tourism, critical geography, urban planning and economics" (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015, p. 1). Indeed, in the editors' introduction to the inaugural issue of *Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal*, the "educational context of LL in schools and classrooms" is identified as a key arena for advancing the field's general mandate to understand "the development of society and political regimes and communities" (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015, p. 3). As language educators have been able to design robust pedagogical interventions by including theoretical and methodological frameworks from linguistic landscape

studies, researchers in the field of linguistic landscape can refine their epistemological stance by gaining a broader understanding of the potential and impact of learning languages and cultures through the linguistic landscape, while considering lines of inquiry that are traditionally situated in applied linguistics. For example, applied linguistics can inform issues pertaining to the language itself (e.g., lexical borrowing, syntactic patterns, metaphors), to language ideology (e.g., language policy, heteroglossic practices), and to the cultural dimensions of language (e.g., symbolic values, identity and subjectivity). It is our hope that this volume can contribute effectively to the cross-pollination between fields so as to facilitate LL researchers' capacity to learn from language students and teachers as "go-betweens" (Kramsch 2004), and engage with their complex objects of study through the transformational lenses of development and learning.

2 Mobilizing Pedagogy in the Public Space: Converging Research Trajectories

This volume's subtitle, "Mobilizing pedagogy in the public space," speaks to the practical reality of language teachers and students who are teaching and learning outside the traditional classroom, developing and applying their competencies in the heterogeneous and unpredictable real world of everyday life. Throughout the contributions to this volume, we see students conducting linguistic landscape-based learning activities in far-away study abroad settings (e.g., Bruzos chapter), in the 'close-by' city surrounding their school campus (e.g., Abraham, Lozano & Jimenez-Caicedo chapter), and in novel activities that join study abroad and study-at-home activities together (e.g., Richardson chapter). While students may travel far across their home states or territories to make observations, take photographs, conduct interviews, and otherwise engage with the living language of public spaces (as in the chapters by Lee & Choi, Sterzuk, and Hayik), they may also turn their focus to familiar neighborhoods, school environments (Seals chapter) or, indeed, their own homes (Szabó & Dufva chapter). Additionally, the chapters of this volume demonstrate that linguistic landscape representations in language textbooks (Chapelle chapter) and online environments (Kim & Chesnut, Hernandez-Martin & Skrandies chapters) offer their own unique pedagogical affordances. Indeed, even when we do not have direct access to the physical world of discourses-in-place, if we understand the "landscape" as not just material but a "*way of seeing* the external world" (Cosgrove 1984, p. 46; cited in Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, p. 3), then each chapter of this volume may help us to see multiple layers of pedagogical possibility, regardless of where we reside as teachers and students.

In this light, "Mobilizing pedagogy in the public space" stands as an invitation to consider how the linguistic landscape can enable the *learning mobilities* that epitomize the contemporary age—giving us impetus to reconsider the places of learning, possibilities for culturally and historically rich trajectories of apprenticeship, and

the actualization of new networks of learning and sociability (Leander et al. 2010). As we elaborate below, this volume dialogues with and builds upon many of the theoretical 'turns' that have given shape to research in language and literacy education in recent years, including the social turn in second language acquisition and use (e.g., Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007; Block 2003), which sees social action as the foundation and desired outcome of language learning; the multilingual turn, which "foreground[s] multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis" (May 2014, p. 1); the focus on multimodality in language and literacy education, where there is widespread acknowledgement that "human language is done in placed, material contexts of use, and performed and interpreted across many different, often non-linear, timescales that differ to those of speech and written words" (Mills 2016, p. 71); and, unsurprisingly, a mobilities paradigm that employs new theoretical and analytic lenses in order to go "beyond the imagery of 'terrains' as spatially fixed geographical containers for social processes" (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 209), urging us to understand unequal patterns of concentration, connectivity, dispersion, and exclusion as they exist in the world: in flux.

As Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) note in their groundbreaking study of changing discourses of economy and self in the South African township of Khayelitsha, landscape is "a resource for the study of social circulations of meaning in society, [where] signage is one form of linguistic recontextualization in a chain/network of resemiotizations across (economically differentiated) technologies, artifacts and spaces" (p. 380). Their material ethnographic approach points to a growing opportunity for language teaching and learning in the linguistic landscape that mirrors two additional 'turns' in recent social theory and applied linguistics research: that is, the opportunity to explicitly engage with *spatiality* and *materiality* in discourse. Where Scollon and Scollon (2003, p. 160) observed that "any sign whatsoever continues to give a significant portion of its meaning through the ways in which it indexes the world in which it is placed," Pennycook and Otsuji's (2015) notion of metrolingualism and Canagarajah's (2018a, 2018b) translingual practice as spatial and material repertoires are further articulations of the ultimate inseparability of language from its places, times, and material conditions of use. In practical terms, this means that linguistic landscape, despite the apparent fixity of its signs, is not a static object whose meanings are transparently available to all who see it. Rather, public and semi-public spaces such as markets, movie theaters, and street corners "[have] a different linguistic landscape at different times of day" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, p. 53). They must be interpreted dynamically and self-reflexively by students who attend as much to the *where, when*, *how*, and *why* of what they observe as to the *what*—questions that encourage a hybridization of classroom methodologies that might include, as in Ivković's *Linguascaping Toronto* project, "autoethnography, discourse and thematic analysis, corpus-based analysis, semiotic and multimodal analysis, psychogeography and narrative analysis, and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)" (Ivković 2019, p. 5). The linguistic landscape, then, forms an occasion for second language teachers to cultivate students' *spatial literacies* by attending to situated practices of text-making and interpretation that

take place differentially across time and place (cf. Leander et al. 2010; Taylor 2017; Mills 2016), as well as *material literacies* that account for the histories and agency of the sign-making 'stuff' of the world (Kern 2015; Mills 2016; Pahl and Rowsell 2010).

On one level, then, "mobilizing pedagogy" means that fundamental notions and processes of language teaching and learning must be reevaluated in light of their situatedness in local geographic and historical realities. As Canagarajah (2018b) argues from a material orientation (e.g., Barad 2007), prevailing conceptions of competence in language learning overemphasize individual agency and cognition apart from the environment; "emplacement" may be a more apt organizing concept for characterizing learners' accomplishments in that it understands communication as "a qualified, responsive, negotiated, and ongoing activity in which people engage with rhizomatic networks for possible outcomes" (p. 18). However, on another level altogether, this volume encourages its readers to consider language and literacy pedagogy as "mobilized" to the extent that it orients itself toward the social and political struggles that take place in the public spaces of the linguistic landscape (cf. Ortega 2019 on the imperative for Second Language Acquisition research to an equitable approach toward transdisciplinarity and multilingualism in SLA). As "a powerful policy mechanism and an arena where language battles and negotiations and reaffirmations can take place" (Shohamy 2006, p. 125), the linguistic landscape invites educational approaches that pursue questions of social justice and equity in representation of diverse language users, as many existing studies have demonstrated. Dagenais et al. (2009), for instance, designed curricular interventions for elementary school children in Montreal and Vancouver to observe and discuss the linguistic diversity in their respective neighborhoods in order to challenge "the tokenism of liberal multicultural educational and universalist assumptions" (p. 257) characteristic of their schooling environments. Burwell and Lenters (2015) introduced multiliteracies-based lessons to high school youth in suburban Ontario, who analyzed their local multimodal texts in order to create place-based documentaries exposing popular stereotypes of their neighborhoods. Hancock (2012), meanwhile, demonstrated how the linguistic landscape can serve as a tool for teacher training, as students in a social justice-minded teacher education program documented and analyzed Polish, Chinese, and other visible community languages in the city of Edinburgh. As he asserted, "the very act of investigating LL can potentially alter students' world-views and the school environment in which they will teach" (Hancock 2012, p. 250). Indeed, this last statement, of the self- and world-changing potential of student-teachers' investigative work in the linguistic landscape, may be an apt characterization of the social transformations and political engagements possible when language pedagogies are reimagined through a paradigm of mobilization.

3 Volume Overview

This volume is comprised of three parts, each of which foregrounds pedagogical innovations at different locations, scales, and purposes in the ecology of second language teaching and learning.

Part I, "Transforming language curricula and learning spaces," features five chapters that leverage the linguistic landscape to enhance the second language learning potential in their respective educational settings. From their perspective as post-secondary Spanish instructors, Abraham, Lozano, and Jimenez Caicedo demonstrate how a multiliteracies pedagogy can be applied to project-based learning projects in the linguistic landscape of New York City in order both to generate meaningful engagement with the second language and to foster critical thinking about interculturality in spaces frequented by the learners on a daily basis. Whereas Lozano, Jiménez Caicedo, and Abraham explore the possibilities of incorporating projects outside the classroom into language studies, Chapelle's chapter examines materials used in the classroom in her analysis of the visual portrayal of Quebec in post-secondary elementary French language textbooks over a fifty-year period. Despite targeting a North American readership, the textbooks offer very few examples of the linguistic landscape of Quebec and even fewer instances of pedagogical engagement with the images. Similarly, Kim and Chesnut's chapter focuses on classroom materials by presenting language learning activities involving virtual landscapes accessible online. Heeding the 2007 call by the Modern Language Association to foster translingual and transcultural competence in post-secondary language studies, they outline specific guided exercises that facilitate learners' encounters with the heterogeneity of the manners and modes of expression in the linguistic landscape. Szabó and Dufva's chapter returns the reader to physical spaces outside the classroom in their presentation of tasks conducted with Finnish as a second language learners that explicitly engage learners with the linguistic resources in the linguistic landscape. Recognizing the linguistic affordances in the surrounding environment, they develop tasks that look to raise learners' awareness of the learning opportunities in the landscape. Concluding Part I, Seals' chapter examines the language learning possibilities in the multilingual schoolscape of an early childhood education center in New Zealand that actively promotes translanguaging in its public display of language. Through the explicit focus on translanguaging in the schoolscape, the school fosters an acceptance of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic spaces that support the school's overall focus on multilingualism and that dovetail more broadly with the heritage and realities of the world outside the school.

In Part II of the volume, "Fostering Critical Social Awareness," five chapters illustrate how the linguistic landscape can foster the development of teachers' and students' sociopolitical consciousness and agency in contexts of systemic inequities. Against a backdrop of colonial discourses about language and education in Saskatchewan, Canada, Sterzuk's chapter addresses the cultural and linguistic responsibilities of mostly monolingual and white teachers-in-training in public

elementary schools with diverse student bodies. Student and teacher reflections from a Bachelor of Education course demonstrate the potential of linguistic landscape activities to "provide key sites for language awareness-building in teacher education," though Sterzuk argues that substantive institutional support is needed as well. Richardson's chapter narrates a pedagogical dialogue between an LL analysis project in a German study abroad program and student activities in a U.S.-based German-as-a-foreign language classroom, where the target language is not prominent in the public space nearby. This gap occasions students' investigation of *ambiguity* ("the multiplicity and indeterminacy of meaning within and related to texts") and *silence* ("the absence of entire languages, dialects or translations, and thus the silencing of those people who are excluded from more active participation in socio-political realms") in the LL, a framework that promoted a goal of symbolic competence (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008; Vinall 2016) to challenge cultural myths and stereotypes. Also writing from a U.S.-based foreign language education setting, but highlighting the potential of heritage language and multilingual student backgrounds for community-based projects, Lee and Choi investigate applications of the LL in Korean as a Foreign Language classes in service of the "5 C" goal areas of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, Communities). Exploring the latter three areas in particular, the authors document how 50 first-year university students discover and debate notions such as cultural authenticity, regional knowledge, and identity construction. Focusing on the case of Israeli-Arabic EFL writing courses, Hayik's chapter presents an action research project inspired by Freirian critical literacy pedagogy (e.g., Freire 1970), in which the teacher aimed to challenge the "banking model" of education through critical literacy learning in the LL. Utilizing a participatory documentary photography tool, students observed and critiqued phenomena such as the Hebraization of names, grammatical and spelling mistakes, and the outright absence of Arabic in the LL, activities that the author contends cultivated students' awareness and affective responses to the politics of visibility of Arabic in Israeli public space. In the final chapter of Part II, Elola and Prada outline an inquiry-based pedagogy in which heritage and L2 learners of college-level Spanish conduct an ethnolinguistic project on linguistic and cultural dimensions of Spanish and English use in West Texas, U.S. With an eye to the possibilities of LL projects to help redefine instructed L2s as *local* languages, the authors chronicle students' photography, interviews, and collaborative data analysis as steps toward Critical Language Awareness (e.g., Leeman and Serafini 2016) and "more informed discussions about social justice, equality, diversity, and minorities, all of which require urgent attention in today's world."

As demonstrated in Elola and Prada's chapter, the goal of developing students' critical linguistic and political awareness through language study in the linguistic landscape may be well-served through the conscious introduction of ethnographic and other research methods into the language classroom. This is the common theme explored in chapters in Part III of the volume, "Language Students as Researchers and Linguistic Landscape." In the first chapter, Bruzos outlines U.S. university students' use of critical observational and interview techniques to expose

commoditized, touristic discourses in a short-term Spanish Study Abroad course. Participants compared and contrasted the LL in five neighborhoods of Madrid, Spain, interpreting their findings in the light of course readings on Spain and Spanishness drawn from multiple perspectives and time periods—a collaborative endeavor that, the author argues, resulted in "a dynamic and conflictual understanding of contemporary Spanish culture and society, very different from the essentialist and normative approach common to language teaching textbooks and tourism discourses." Hernández-Martín and Skrandies' chapter, set in the superdiverse neighborhoods of London, offers a case study of what Damen (1987) terms "pragmatic ethnography," in which language students carry out participant observation, interviews, document collection and analysis, and self-reflection in order to understand the local situatedness and relativity of cultural practices. As students developed contextualized knowledge of communities of Spanish speakers in *Loñdres* through interactions with the material landscape, the audible soundscape, and online, the authors argue that students were uniquely able to develop intercultural competence and sociolinguistic awareness while learning Spanish. Sayer's chapter further elaborates on the potential of adapting ethnographic principles and techniques to the language classroom through learning activities in the linguistic landscape. After a review of the literature on several models of constructivist and experiential models of language learning, Sayer outlines a five-part model for organizing "ethnographic language learning projects" (ELLP), illustrated with examples from the author's own EFL classroom experience in Mexico. In the final chapter of Part III, Lykke Nielsen, Rosendal, Järlehed and Kullenberg take up the potential of coordinated citizen science projects (cf. Purschke 2017; Svendsen 2018) to cultivate students' dispositions and skills in scientific thinking, while yielding large-scale, open-source databases of value to research communities. Their chapter documents a large federally funded project in Sweden wherein primary and secondary students from 46 different schools systematically documented language use on bulletin boards; as they reflect upon design considerations, implementation challenges, and practical outcomes, the authors assert that this collaborative project "was extremely motivating for both teachers and students and contributed significantly to students' general learning about communication."

Taken collectively, these contributions offer theoretical, methodological, and pedagogical frameworks to leverage the potential of linguistic landscape in language and culture education. They engage several key aspects of language pedagogy such as the educational environment (instructional materials, the schoolscape itself), establishing a meaningful bridge between the school context and the physical community around it, extending learning spaces to distant communities (e.g., study abroad, virtual landscapes), and exploring new roles for the learner (e.g., researcher, author, ethnographer). It is our hope that this volume will contribute to productive transformations in pedagogical practice and social action in language and culture classrooms.

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Part I
Transforming Language Curricula and Learning Spaces

Linguistic Landscape Projects in Language Teaching: Opportunities for Critical Language Learning Beyond the Classroom

María Eugenia Lozano, Juan Pablo Jiménez-Caicedo, and Lee B. Abraham

Abstract This chapter describes the design and integration of linguistic landscape (LL) projects in elementary-level Spanish-language courses in which students analyzed meaning-making practices and constructed knowledge from their active engagement with New York City (NYC), a socioculturally and linguistically diverse space for language learning. We provide an overview of the multiliteracies and knowledge processes pedagogical frameworks (New London Group Harv Educ Rev 66:60–92, 1996); (Kalantzis, Cope Literacies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012) and then discuss students' work in NYC through the lens of these frameworks. These student-centered projects afforded students with opportunities to analyze and critically reflect upon the socially-situated and constructed public spaces in LLs and the communities who are represented and excluded.

Keywords Linguistic landscape · Literacies · Multiliteracies · Multimodality · Space · Cultures · Diversity · Spatial approaches

1 Introduction

The analysis of meaning-making practices with diverse linguistic and multimodal resources in public spaces, defined as the linguistic landscape (LL), has increasingly attracted attention in second language (L2) education (Gorter 2013, p. 203). At the same time, how such practices in LLs can be effectively integrated into lessons, courses, and in language programs remains underexplored. Connecting students' identities and experiences with authentic cultural and linguistic materials beyond

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the classroom setting holds great potential for language instruction because of the cognitively engaging and meaningful learning possible in these contexts.

This chapter describes the design and integration of linguistic landscape (LL) projects in first-year beginning Spanish-language courses in which students in the first semester analyze and interpret meaning-making practices and, in the second semester, document and represent their understanding of the LL of New York City, a culturally and diverse space for language learning with extensive linguistic and semiotic resources. First, we discuss two important shifts in language pedagogy that inform students' critical engagement with and interpretation of multimodal meaning-making practices beyond the classroom. Second, we provide an overview of the LL projects in the two courses that is followed by a discussion of how learner-centered fieldwork in LLs could be understood and implemented by instructors who are interested in integrating LLs in physical spaces through the lenses of the multiliteracies and the Learning by Design pedagogical frameworks (New London Group 1996; Kalantzis, Cope, and The Learning by Design Group 2005; Kalantzis and Cope 2012). These learner-centered projects afforded students with opportunities to analyze and critically reflect upon the socially-situated and constructed public spaces in LLs and the communities who are represented, silenced, or excluded.

2 Background

Two of the most important developments that have influenced language learning and teaching in the past two decades are: (1) the shift, referred to as the *social turn*, toward understanding the role of language learners' identities in relation to their linguistic and cultural development inside and beyond the classroom (Block 2003; Firth and Wagner 1997) and (2) the *spatial turn*, which influences instructional practices that guide language learners to engage with people, multimodal texts, and other artefacts in and beyond the classroom in other spaces and over time. In the sections to follow, we discuss how these two paradigm shifts in the scope of language learning and teaching inform students' work in LLs.

2.1 The Social Turn in Language Education

The *social turn* in language learning and teaching brought renewed attention to the role of learners' identities, communities, and learning trajectories in different spaces such as: (1) linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms (Gay 2018), (2) study abroad (Kinginger 2013), and (3) experiential learning programs such as service-learning and community-based education (Clifford and Reisinger 2019; Palpacuer Lee et al. 2018). This shift toward designing instruction that takes into account learners' identities and agency, often defined as inclusive teaching practices, and of expanding the locations/sites (e.g. formal and informal learning; face-to-face and

online) of language learning occurs within the context of initiatives in institutions of higher education to encourage faculty to design courses and programs for community engagement, or what is commonly referred to now as engaged or public humanities (Jay 2010).

The renewed focus on social dimensions of language learning reflects the broad range of language learning situations beyond the language classroom that are associated with increased globalization and mobility, all of which, in turn, raise a number of important questions from the perspective of post-communicative approaches to language education, namely, "the broader social and cultural context in which languages are learned and the multiple goals and purposes of language education within a plurilingual and pluricultural environment" (Van Deusen-Scholl 2017, p. xiv). The linguistic landscape projects that we discuss in this chapter were specifically designed to address these emerging pedagogical issues and social realities of language learners (Sects. 5.1 and 5.2).

2.2 The Spatial Turn in Language and Literacy Education

The *spatial turn* in language and literacy education emphasizes the importance of students' critical examination of texts and other semiotic resources within and across different spaces (e.g. classroom, home, school, communities, online) that are embodied, interactive, multimodal/multisensory, and that evolve over time (Mills 2016; Kramsch 2018). These practices and activities are influenced by both global and local contexts of learning (Steffensen and Kramsch 2017) as well as by the flows, circulations, and connections of written and multimodal texts between participants and communities located across local and national boundaries both physically and online (see Lam and Warriner 2012) and also within different sites in the same geographic area (see Gutiérrez 2008; Vossoughi and Gutiérrez 2014).

Leander et al. (2010) point out that classrooms have historically been conceived by both educators and researchers as the only valued places in which students' learning occurs. They argue that we should move beyond this reductionist conceptualization of learning as only occurring in classrooms to a nexus perspective, that is, a network of relationships between different places (e.g. classrooms, local communities, online) and people, where the mobility and connectedness of students, teachers, other people, and texts are emphasized rather than the usual "classroom as container" perspective, in which students' learning is confined only to what occurs in classrooms with peers and teachers. From this perspective, the classroom is merely one complex point along a learning trajectory or node in a network of relationships of people, places, and texts (p. 381). They further recommend that we should "reconsider fundamental assumptions about the role of the body in learning, about places of engagement and affect, about learning 'transfer' as a psychological and social process of mobility, about development as distributed over social spaces and time [....] 'scaled' and shaped through particular forms, perspectives, and distributions of resources and people." (p. 381).

Kell (2015), along the lines of this approach, proposes the concept of a *meaning-making trajectory* for analyzing the transformation and movement of texts through different physical and virtual/online locations over time with different people. A meaning-making trajectory encompasses all of the activities that co-occur along spatial and temporal lines around different types of texts (e.g. written, spoken, multimodal), including embodied and gestural communication. These meaning-making trajectories do not necessarily flow in linear ways, but they can move in different directions. They are also "both situated, in moments in time and space and in participant frameworks, and [are] mobile, as people project their meanings across time and space" (Kell 2017, p. 423).

From a language learning perspective, attending to both space and time means that we create opportunities in our lessons and in a given language curriculum or sequence of courses for learners to critically analyze situated and embodied language practices in one or more spaces over time both physically (e.g. universities, schools, communities) and virtually/online. For example, Kern (2015) proposes a relational pedagogy that aims to foster learners' critical symbolic awareness. Language learners should be provided opportunities to reflect on meaning-making practices that occur with material resources (paper, writing instruments, computers, smartphones, other tools and technologies), social resources (language and other semiotic systems, social practices, norms, conventions, cultural values, and ideologies), and individual resources (creativity, imagination, emotion, available time, energy, and motivation) in and beyond the classroom (Kern 2015, p. 233).

Taken together, the approaches and studies described in this section reveal that students' meaning-making practices do not only occur within the confines of bounded spaces such as classrooms, but rather these are often fluid trajectories or networks of texts and interactions with people and other artefacts that move, change and unfold in and through different spaces over time with different semiotic resources. These textual and discursive practices are distributed spatially and socially, within and across different sites either physically and or virtually through the use of technologies, and they are influenced by global and local ecologies and affordances (Steffensen and Kramsch 2017; van Lier 2004).

The preceding sections have traced two significant shifts that provide crucial opportunities for language educators to re-examine the kinds of pedagogical opportunities that we make available to our students, many of whom are increasingly immersed in multimodal forms of communication both in and beyond classroom in local communities and online. In the section to follow, we discuss the multiliteracies and knowledge processes pedagogical frameworks, which addresses many of the contemporary challenges brought about by these two paradigmatic shifts, and, which, in turn, provide the analytical lenses for the rest of the chapter.

2.3 Multiliteracies and Linguistic Landscapes

Multimodal communication is not a new phenomenon; meaning-making has historically involved more than one mode of communication (see Kress 2010). However, globalization and the advent of new technologies have profoundly impacted the communication landscape by increasing language learners' access to and interaction with multimodal texts, which they now produce, combine, adapt, and share in ways that were previously not possible (Jenkins 2006). In response to this changed landscape, the New London Group (1996) proposes five design elements to describe modes of meaning-making in this new multimodal communication landscape: linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, spatial. By Design the New London Group (1996) calls attention to the active participation of learners who create with these modes and transform (Redesign) these multimodal resources (the Available Designs) while engaging with these resources in physical (e.g. linguistic landscapes) and online spaces. This approach to students' meaning-making extends beyond their formal learning in classrooms to participation in physical and online communities, particularly in a world characterized by mobility and fluidity of people and texts that promotes communication and learning using these modes of meaning (see Cope and Kalantzis 2009, pp. 171–172). Kalantzis and Cope (2012) further examine the pedagogical implications of written, visual, spatial, tactile, gestural, audio, and oral meaning-making systems first proposed by the New London Group (1996). In their work, they explain that these modes of meaning-making are seen as a dynamic process of transformation by learners rather than a process of reproduction, allowing learners to take the role of agents in their meaning making processes (Kalantzis and Cope 2012) to interpret, reflect upon, and create with multimodal resources.

Working with a multiliteracies framework allows language instructors to extend the range of literacy opportunities for students, incorporating, in addition to the alphabetical representational tools widely used, the possibilities of using multimodal forms of communication, including digital media. By affording them opportunities to work with an expanded range of representational forms, we give agency to our language learners in the classroom by incorporating and validating their interests in the changing communication landscape in language and literacy education (Lotherington and Jenson 2011). Moreover, by engaging with linguistic landscapes, students are able to explore learning spaces outside of the classroom and expand the traditional view of the classroom-as-container to a notion of learning trajectories as discussed by Leander et al. (2010) and Kell (2015, 2017) [see Sect. 2.2]. At the same time, these out-of-class assignments provide them with opportunities to bring their prior knowledge, lived human experiences, and expertise into the classroom.

2.4 Multiliteracies and Learning by Design

Providing students with agency by allowing them to engage with, critically reflect upon, make sense of and represent their knowledge and understanding of spaces outside of the classroom requires that their interactions be purposeful so that their experiences are meaningful for them. Kalantzis, Cope, and The Learning by Design Group (2005) propose a pedagogical framework called Learning by Design, comprised of four knowledge processes, "foundational types of [students'] thinking in action" (Kalantzis and Cope 2012, p. 356) or "things students can do to know" (Kalantzis and Cope 2012, p. 359). The knowledge processes that learners can bring to different types of learning situations, for example, with linguistic landscapes, are each divided into two subprocesses: *Experiencing the Known and the New*; *Conceptualizing by Naming and with Theory; Analyzing Functionally and Critically*; and *Applying Appropriately and Creatively* (Leander et al. 2010), and are summarized in Table 1 as follows (see also Kalantzis and Cope 2012; Kalantzis, Cope, and The Learning by Design Group 2005).

The knowledge processes are meaning-making actions that students take to understand diverse multimodal resources (*Experiencing*, *Conceptualizing*, and *Analyzing*) and to express their own understandings or to Redesign (see Sect. 2.3) by creating with their new knowledge (*Applying*). These processes are not hierarchical nor do instructors have to use them in a specific sequence (Kalantzis and Cope 2012, p. 359). Their use depends upon the objectives of lesson plans as well as the desired learning outcomes for particular courses and curricula, all of which involve "… a careful process of choosing a suitable mix of ways of knowing and purposeful weaving between these different kinds of knowing" (Kalantzis and Cope 2012, p. 360).

Table 1 The Knowledge Processes

Experiencing	The Known	Students bring personal and familiar perspectives and prior knowledge to learning situations
	The New	Students are immersed in new or unfamiliar situations or information
Conceptualizing	By naming	Students group elements into categories or classify and define terms
	With theory	Students put together concepts and make generalizations
Analyzing	Functionally	Students analyze the functions and purposes of information
	Critically	Students evaluate their own and others' purposes, motives, intentions, points of view
Applying	Appropriately	Students use knowledge in a typical situation
	Creatively	Students make innovative and creative uses of knowledge in a new situation

While the New London Group's (1996) and the Learning by Design group's frameworks have resulted in significant theoretical and practical investigation of multiliteracies in language education (see Burwell and Lenters 2015; Kern 2000; Kumagai et al. 2016; Menke and Paesani 2019; Paesani et al. 2015; Rowland et al. 2014; Zapata and Lacorte 2018), these frameworks have to date not been applied to language learners' work in linguistic landscapes, which we discuss in Sect. 5.1.

3 The Spanish Language Programs at Barnard College and Columbia University

In the last decade, language pedagogy has increasingly begun focusing on the development of autonomy in language learners (see Benson and Cooker 2013) while, at the same time, there has been a broad gradual move in higher education to what is now defined as learner-centered teaching (Weimer 2013). Resulting from these two trends has been a pedagogical shift to collaborative learning and also to learning in other settings outside of the classroom. Both of these approaches emphasize collaboration and reflection as well as learners' active involvement in constructing knowledge by providing them with opportunities to engage in problem-based and project-based learning. In this section, we describe how the curriculum at our institutions has made substantial contributions to these pedagogical and curricular developments in higher education.

The Spanish Language Programs at Barnard College and Columbia University have integrated inquiry- and project-based learning to engage every student in a critical reflection on the urban landscapes of New York City (NYC) since 2005 when there was a reorganization of the shared curriculum for the language program for elementary- and intermediate-level courses that included assignments and projects involving NYC. The shared curriculum of the Spanish Language Programs at Barnard College and Columbia University integrates language through content and requires students to connect with Hispanic/Latina/o/x cultural contexts through a series of research projects that take language learning beyond the classroom.[1]

An integral component in all elementary- and intermediate- level Spanish courses in the shared language program at both institutions, this engagement with NYC becomes progressively more complex as students progress along the language sequence to fulfill the language requirement. Starting with an initial focus on noticing the presence and usage of Spanish in the city in elementary-level courses, the projects gradually call on students to interact more fully with, and reflect upon, the various modes of expression of Spanish in the public realm and with the broader

[1] We follow Haslip-Viera's (2017, p. 42) definition and use the terms Latina/o and Hispanic interchangeably throughout this chapter. Latino/a and Hispanic refer to all persons living in the United States whose origins can be traced to Spain and the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Included in this category are all United States immigrants who have come from these countries and their descendants who live in the United States, whether or not they speak Spanish .

manifestation of Hispanic/Latino/a/x cultures in the NYC area. This work can be either individual or collaborative, can take the form of ethnographic research that involves interacting with Latina/o communities located in NYC or abroad, and is often mediated by technology, including blogs, social media, and other online tools. Language learning expands beyond the walls of the classroom to include the lived experiences and identities of our students through their active and critical engagement with the city. Thus, the sociocultural affordances of NYC, described in the section to follow, are vital spaces for language learning, which exist within a broader pedagogical ecosystem (see van Lier 2004 and the Douglas Fir Group 2016, p. 25 and Sect. 2.2).

4 Hispanic/Latino/a/x Cultures in New York City

56.5 million Latinos resided in the United States in 2015, comprising 17.6% of the total population. The Latino population in the state of New York is the fourth largest in the United States with about 3.7 million Latinos, which is 6.6% of all Latinos in the nation (Pew Research Center 2014). Over 2.4 million Latinos reside in New York City, more than any other city in the United States. Latinos from the Caribbean, namely Puerto Ricans and immigrants from the Dominican Republic largely constitute the Latino population of New York City (see Haslip-Viera 2017 for a comprehensive historical survey of New York City's Latino communities).

As shown in Table 2 (Bergad 2016, p. 10), immigration of Dominicans to New York has steadily increased in the last twenty-five years, with dramatic spikes during periods of economic challenges in the Dominican Republic (Haslip-Viera 2017). During that same period, New York's Puerto Rican population decreased from 49% of all Latinos in 1990 to 28% in 2015. During the same time period Mexicans were New York City's fastest growing Latino community, becoming the third largest Latino group by 2000, but that growth has slowed after 2010, due to a decrease in migration from Mexico and from other parts of the United States. In 2015 Mexican-origin persons comprised 15% of all of New York City's Latinos.

5 Linguistic Landscape Projects

As mentioned previously, making connections with the city in which we live and learn is an integral part of the shared Spanish language programs at Barnard College and Columbia University. All of the classes that are taught as part of the language requirement include projects that require students to go outside of the classroom and interact with the city either in the form of homework assignments, in-class activities, or a final project. Attending cultural events, gallery openings, film screenings, interviewing people, going to concerts, among other opportunities, are integrated into the activities that students are asked to complete during the semester in an effort for learning to happen across different spaces, beyond the classroom. Two examples of such projects are discussed below.

Table 2 Largest Latino Nationalities in New York City, 1990–2015 (Bergad 2016, p. 10)

	1990		2000		2010		2015		Annual Population Growth Rates			
	Population	% of Total Latinos	Population	% of Total Latinos	Population	% of Total Latinos	Population	% of Total Latinos	1990–2000	2000–2010	2010–2015	1990–2015
Puerto Rican	860,889	49.1%	816,827	36.7%	738,978	30.8%	700,546	27.8%	−0.5%	−1.1%	−1.1%	−0.8%
Dominican	348,951	19.9%	547,379	24.6%	605,840	25.3%	723,077	28.7%	4.6%	1.1%	3.6%	3.0%
Mexican	58,410	3.3%	187,259	8.4%	342,699	14.3%	376,548	14.9%	12.4%	6.9%	1.9%	7.7%
Ecuadorian	85,155	4.9%	149,897	6.7%	210,532	8.8%	222,793	8.8%	5.8%	3.8%	1.1%	3.9%
Colombian	91,769	5.2%	109,710	4.9%	101,784	4.2%	101,848	4.0%	1.8%	−0.8%	0.0%	0.4%
Others	308,282	17.6%	415,835	18.7%	396,541	16.5%	398,304	15.8%	3.0%	−0.5%	0.1%	1.0%
Total	1,753,456	100.0%	2,226,907	100.0%	2,396,374	100.0%	2,523,116	100.0%	2.4%	0.8%	1.0%	1.5%

5.1 *The Linguistic Landscape Project in Elementary Spanish I*

5.1.1 Framing the Project

In the Elementary Spanish I class final project, "Carteles callejeros" ("Street Signs"), students are asked to become aware of their surroundings and the presence of Spanish outside of class by taking photographs of signs in Spanish around their neighborhood and any public space in the city at large (e.g. bus stop advertisements, publicity of any kind, announcements, etc.). The task for this project is for students to collect a series of 8 to 10 photographs of signs in Spanish around their neighborhoods either at home or near the university. Students need to document each of their photos with the following information: the exact location of the sign, an interpretation of it, a brief explanation of why they decided to take that particular picture and any other relevant information about the signs (e.g. spelling mistakes, exact translation side by side, etc.). For the design of the LLs project into a content-based curriculum, we drew on the multiliteracies framework and sociocultural perspectives on language learning (New London Group 1996; Kern 2000), which, as we discussed previously, conceive second language literacy development as a process in which learners negotiate, analyze, and critically reflect upon the multiple discourses and semiotic signs that circulate in today's superdiverse contexts (Blommaert 2013). This project was designed considering each of the four knowledge processes in the Learning by Design pedagogical framework: *Experiencing the Known and the New, Conceptualizing by Naming and with Theory, Analyzing Functionally and Critically, and Applying Appropriately and Creatively* (Cope and Kalantzis 2015; Kalantzis and Cope 2012; Kalantzis, Cope, and The Learning by Design Group 2005).

In order to ground their interpretations of the social, cultural and political situation of immigrant communities in New York City as "situated signs-in-space" (Blommaert 2013), and taking advantage of the presence of Spanish in New York City, the project has the objective of creating awareness of the presence of the Spanish speaking community around the city. By having students actively identify and capture photos of such advertisements, this project aims to make students read texts critically by asking questions that involve identifying the text's purpose, interpreting the perspectives and intentions of those who created it, and situating those texts in the sociocultural context where those texts (Street Signs) are found in the city (Cope and Kalantzis 2015).

The project is briefly introduced on the first day of class as part of the presentation of the syllabus for the whole semester, but it is not until the sixth week of classes that the instructor takes time to explain thoroughly what the final project entails and what they need to do in the following weeks to be able to present it to the entire class during the last week of the semester. Before students start collecting data, and as a way of *Experiencing the Known and the New*, they are asked to reflect on the signs they see every day on their commute to campus. Students are asked to describe the signs that have attracted their attention and the places where they typically see those signs. They talk about the language in which those signs are typically

written and the grammatical tenses that are most frequently used on the advertisements. Then, students are presented with examples of final projects from previous semesters in order for them to get an idea of the end product they are expected to produce for their final project. During the following weeks students continue taking their own photographs. Even though this project may be completed with images found on the Internet, students are required to complete the assignment by doing fieldwork in NYC since they have to point in their final presentation the exact location of each sign, the context of the photographs (i.e. at a bus stop, in the subway, at a store front, etc.), and what they hear and see around the location of the photographs (Kalantzis and Cope 2012; Mills 2016). In addition, during the final presentation each student indicates the location of their signs in a live Google map on the day of their presentation in order to create a class map with all of the locations of the signs. As such, attention to detail is also important in order to complete the project. This project is worth 10% of their final grade, and it is divided into 5% individual work consisting of the submission of the 8 to 10 images with their respective information, and 5% for the group work and presentation where they summarize, write a conclusion, and make a presentation based on their discussion, all in Spanish.

At the end of the semester, during the day of the presentation of the final projects, each student brings to class a report with their images documenting their findings of the linguistic landscape of their city. In the classroom, students form groups of four and each one takes a turn talking in Spanish about each of their signs with regard to the basic information requested. In order to *Conceptualize their Knowledge*, students are guided to describe their examples in terms of the signs' content and the grammatical features present in the signs. In addition, they are encouraged to talk about unknown vocabulary and/or expressions found in the advertisement, and they have to sort their advertisements into different categories (e.g. products, services, employment offerings, etc.). Then, *Applying Appropriately and Creatively*, each group has to produce a brief PowerPoint presentation where they include four examples of signs (one from each person in the group). They also have to include in their presentation a written summary of their findings in Spanish, including what they discussed in their analysis of the data they collected as a group as well as their interpretations of their data based on the material and the discussion they had in their group. These interpretations and explanations of the possible meanings of the images, along with four sample signs, are presented by each group to the whole class.

During their presentations, students provide examples of their ethnographic work (see Fig. 1), where they reflect on the complexity of the connections between language and culture, and they provide an interpretation of the visual and verbal codes in the signage (e.g. free government services signs that are only in Spanish). They are also able to *Analyze Functionally and Critically* the message found in these signs where cultural and social identities come into contact. As a result, they not only reflect on the linguistic issues like the misspelling of a word, or a confusing idiomatic expression, but they also talk about the meaning of such signs and the impact they have in the Hispanic/Latino/a/x community specifically. The final presentation activity ends by each group indicating in a live online Google map where all their signs were located, thereby creating a visual map of all of the class signs.

Bodega Amsterdam & 107th
¡La Hablando Banana! Este anuncio es del gobierno y se trata comer frutas y verduras para una Buena salud. El anuncio es grande y los colores son simples pero audaces así te notas. La pregunta “¿Vas de prisa?” es atraer la atención de y la respuesta, la banana habla “Llévame contigo” es cómico. [sic]

(Convenience Store Amsterdam & 107th
The talking banana! This announcement is from the government and it is about eating fruits and vegetables for good health. The announcement is big and the colors are simple but bold so you notice it. The question “Are you in a hurry?” is to attract attention and gives the answer, the banana says “Take me with you” is funny.)

Fig. 1 A student’s description (on the right) of a sign of a public health campaign of New York (on the left)

5.1.2 Examples of the Linguistic Landscape Project in Elementary Spanish I

During their group presentation to the whole class, students talked about their findings and shared their group’s conclusion. One of the groups, for example, after seeing several advertisements of remittance services to Mexico, free breakfast for students, free tax services for low income people, and several more free services offered in Spanish, discussed the differences between the advertisements they have seen in English and the ones in Spanish:

> “Todas las imágenes de nuestro grupo están relacionadas con temas sociales y de servicio público. Además, parece que la mayor parte de la publicidad es financiada por el estado de Nueva York o la ciudad de Nueva York en contraste con los intereses comerciales mostrados en los anuncios en Inglés. Una mayor conciencia de estos carteles ha aumentado nuestra percepción de cómo la comunidad de habla hispana es retratada e incluso destacada, ya que la mayoría de estos anuncios solo se publican en español. Si bien estos servicios son una necesidad para la comunidad y necesitan ser comunicados, esto ilustra una cultura de necesidad y perpetúa estereotipos en el clima político actual.” (Elementary Spanish I students).”
>
> [All the photographs from our group are related to social themes and public services. Also, it seems that most of the advertisements are financed by the State of New York or the City of New York in contrast to the commercial interests displayed in the announcements that are in English. A greater awareness of these signs has increased our perception of how the Spanish-speaking community is portrayed and even highlighted since most of these advertisements are only published in Spanish. Even though these services are needed by the community and need to be communicated, it portrays a culture of need and perpetuates stereotypes in the current political climate.]

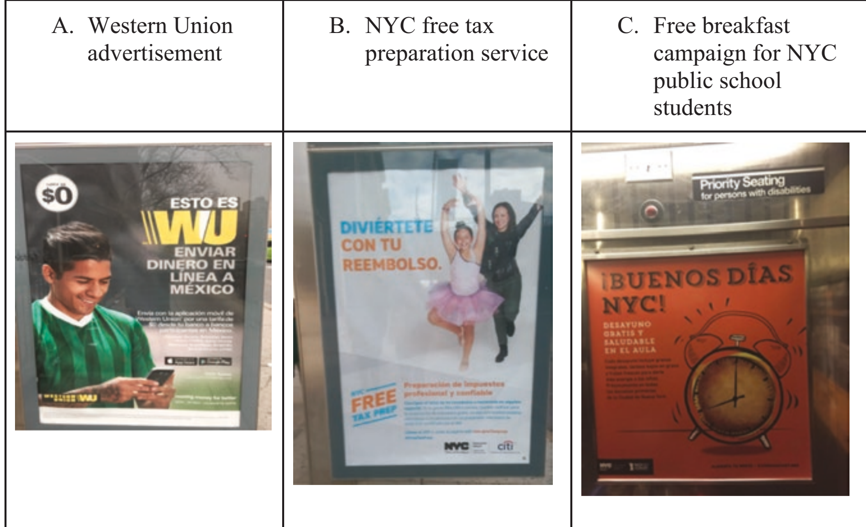

Fig. 2 Photos of advertisements for remittances and city-wide campaigns taken by students in the class

Throughout the class discussion, students voiced their interpretations of these signs as the government positioning "all Spanish speaking people" as those in need of free services because they lack the resources to pay for them. Students believed these signs reinforced the stereotype of Hispanics being represented as low-income, having a low educational level and living in disadvantaged Hispanic neighborhoods. In their critical analysis students contrasted advertisements in Spanish and English. They indicated that advertisements in English sell a "way of life" or a "particular feeling" that a consumer should get when purchasing a product, yet rarely did they observe such use of language in Spanish ads, which tended to be direct and simple such as those in Fig. 2. For example, one student reflected on the ads found on the subway for "Casper", a mattress brand. The student observed that one cannot find a reference of what they are actually selling, but one can notice a "way of life" that you get when you purchase the mattress.[2]

Another topic of discussion that arose from the whole class discussion was based on the fact that not all the languages that are present in the city were reflected in the advertisements found in public spaces. Students reflected on which languages get to be present in public advertisements and which ones do not, bringing to the table the need for the presence of Spanish and other languages in public announcements in the city. One student commented: "I decided to take a picture of this ad because I think it is important that this type of information [information about the city's public transit] be available for everyone."

[2] A sample of such an advertisement may be seen at: https://eportfolios.macaulay.cuny.edu/ball17/2017/10/18/caspers-artistic-take-on-subway-ads/ (accessed June 2020)

Throughout the project, students were able to “see” Spanish where they had not noticed it before. When talking about their experiences, students often talked about their lack of attentiveness when it comes to noticing other signs/languages around them. One student said: “I walk by this newspaper stand every day and had never noticed it was carrying a newspaper in Spanish”. Thus, this project helped students become aware of their surroundings and helped them view the city as socially-situated and constructed, a complex assemblage of dynamic and changing spaces in which students’ learning occurs as they move through and reflect upon them. As such, the city and the classroom are two (of many potential) dynamic nodes of students’ learning trajectories both of which mutually shape what they come to know (Cope and Kalantzis 2009; Kalantzis, Cope, and The Learning by Design Group 2005). Such learning can occur if we spatialize and broaden pedagogical notions of where, when, with whom, and how learning takes place (see Sect. 2) by affording language learners with opportunities to purposefully engage with, interpret, and represent their understanding of diverse and socially-constructed meaning-making resources in spaces (offline and online) beyond classrooms (van Lier 2004).

Throughout the various stages of this project, students were given agency in their second language learning processes when they were asked to make sense of and critically analyze LL manifestations in their environment through the lens of each of the knowledge processes of the multiliteracies framework. More importantly, by working on this project students were able to *Conceptualize by Naming* the different types of grammatical features one can find in advertisements. By classifying and analyzing their data, students internalized the concepts, made connections with the concepts previously worked on during class, and saw the application to real life situations.

5.2 The Linguistic Landscape Project in Elementary Spanish II

5.2.1 Framing the Project

The LL second-semester Spanish course project entitled *Manifestaciones artísticas Hispanas en Nueva York* (Hispanic Artistic Manifestations in New York City) is another example of the curricular innovations developed as part of the restructuring of our language program, in which students work on scaffolded explorations and critical examinations of available interactive, multimodal/multisensory semiotic resources (e.g. written text, murals, public art and architecture, art exhibits and installations, etc.) within and across different spaces and diverse sociocultural contexts (see Leander and Sheehy 2004; Mills 2016). As will be shown in this section, the project illustrates how urban landscape activities and inquiry-driven questions generate meaningful and authentic foreign language and culture learning that extends well beyond the classroom and that moves away from the traditional view of the classroom as the only or main site for learning, or what Leander and

colleagues refer to as the "classroom as container perspective" (Leander et al. 2010). Such a project also aligns with the curricular redesign of the shared Spanish language program (see Sect. 3).

The initial project was first conceived in 2007 by colleagues in our departments in order to encourage students to learn about famous artists from Spain whose work can be found in the permanent collections of museums and landmarks in New York City. However, given the fact that the majority of the over 2.4 million Spanish-speaking residents of this city come mainly from Latin America and the Caribbean (see Table 2 above from Bergad 2016, p. 10) a few years later, the course project was modified to closely reflect New York's changing demographics. Most importantly, the new project was rethought from the perspective of Linguistic Landscapes (LL) and is informed by the multiliteracies framework of the knowledge processes (Cope and Kalantzis 2009). Its main objective is for students to become aware of and appreciate the different artistic expressions, including visual and performing arts of the Spanish-speaking world present in the everyday life of New Yorkers. The project is also an applied extension of the classroom-based language learning experiences for which students are required to read, write, listen and speak in Spanish while expanding their knowledge about these local communities.

Following the main learning phases of the knowledge processes within the multiliteracies pedagogical framework and as part of *Experiencing the Known*, the project is introduced during the third week of the semester. First, students are asked to brainstorm and write on the board the names of the famous artists with whom they are familiar (e.g., Diego Velázquez, Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes, Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, etc.). Then, students are shown a PowerPoint presentation with pictures of several artists and samples of their works of art. Students and the instructor talk about what they know about the artists (e.g. Velázquez's 'Las meninas' a Baroque painting from the seventeenth century, Picasso's Cubism, etc.). Then, students are provided with a worksheet explaining the goals of the project, its different steps with scaffolded bi-weekly requirements, the grading criteria, and a list of possible sites and cultural activities they may explore for the project.

For *Experiencing the New*, students are asked to immerse themselves (working individually or in pairs) in New York City's artistic offerings by visiting different museums, exploring several sites in Spanish-speaking neighborhoods and the city at large, experiencing live performances and/or viewing arts' exhibits during the following nine weeks of the course. Specifically, students are asked to visit their own selected places in person to try and locate at least five different artistic manifestations ranging from paintings, sculptures, architecture to dance, theater and music performances at five different times and spaces around NYC. Whenever possible, they must document their visits by taking photographs or recording video clips of the different places and of the selected artwork utilizing their own smartphones or cameras. If students cannot take a photo or record a video clip of their piece of art, then they can take a photograph of themselves (e.g. a selfie) at the site and later search for an image of that work from authorized sites available online (e.g. Artstor, or from the museums' websites directly).

Regarding the *Conceptualizing by Naming and with Theory* knowledge processes and, in addition to photographs and video clips, students are required to take notes of their visits (e.g. create a written log) recognizing and identifying each selected work including the author's biographical information such as style, artistic movement, materials employed, etc. Next, students move into *Analyzing Functionally and Critically* by investigating further information about the artist, the artistic movement, and the selected work. Then, after each visit, students are asked to write a summary review with at least three or more paragraphs about each selected work or artistic manifestation and their corresponding images directly in their course wiki page or use Mediathread, Columbia University's online collaborative multimedia analysis platform. For instance, they write a paragraph about the artist, another about the artistic movement and style, and one or two more paragraphs describing the selected work, defining specific terms and explaining aspects that seem interesting to them and/or why they chose that work of art over others. Here students have the opportunity to add their own interpretation and to question the perspectives and motives of the meaning, message, and purpose in their selected pieces. In this sense, the wiki page or Mediathread becomes the compilation of a multimedia portfolio for their LL project in which the instructor can see the overall progress, thus serving as an ongoing assessment tool. It also allows classmates to look at their own work in comparison to other peers and to provide peer feedback on their projects.

For the last phase of the project, students engage in *Applying Appropriately and Creatively.* Once students complete their visits to museums or to Spanish-speaking neighborhoods along with their written reviews for each selected work of art, they need to create a short video clip and an oral presentation for the rest of the class. The main purpose of this activity is to have students demonstrate what they did for their LL projects, synthesizing what they have learned in an innovative and creative way. It is also an opportunity for them to use their command of oral Spanish language in a real situation. At this point in their "language learning trajectory" (Leander et al. 2010; Kell 2015, 2017, as discussed in Sect. 2) and after having worked for over eight weeks on their LL project, it is expected that students can move from the written and multimodal texts of their prepared summary reviews to an oral and/or multimodal account of their work. In the following section we present samples of our students' work in Spanish with the knowledge processes of *Applying Appropriately and Creatively*.

5.2.2 Examples of the Linguistic Landscape Project in Elementary Spanish II

Seven of the 15 students enrolled in the class completed the LL course project adhering meticulously to its guidelines by completing the different project tasks and visiting mainly the suggested museums and sites. Their work indeed revealed aspects of their ability to engage in the knowledge processes of *Analyzing Functionally and Critically* (Cope and Kalantzis 2009), by identifying the purposes of LL texts,

interpreting the points of views and intentions of their authors, and situating these texts in their socio-economic and historical context, that is, in their spatio-temporal spaces. The rest of the students saw the project as a rather unique opportunity to discover or rediscover the city as a complex social space, to reflect on the course content, to demonstrate a deeper and critical understanding of the layers of meaning conveyed by the artists and their cultural productions. Furthermore, they saw it as an opportunity to make connections between art and their own academic interests, majors, and minors. That is, they departed from their own *Experiencing the Known* and background knowledge. For instance, Benny (all students' names used here are pseudonyms), a music major, focused his project on popular Latin music played at different venues around his neighborhood in Brooklyn by new bands who do not get to perform in the highly acclaimed venues. Along similar lines, another student, Josh, looked at Mariachi bands playing *corridos* on New York's subway and whose lyrics are about issues on immigration along the U.S.-Mexico border. From his social justice background, Josh concluded the following:

> "*... su inspiración se convierte en una forma de sobrevivencia, de resistencia y de la belleza en la forma de música Norteña. Esta música de la frontera indica una respuesta al supresión de la derecha humano para migrar líberamente* [sic].
>
> [their musical inspiration transforms itself into a form of survival and resistance through the beauty of the *Norteño* music. This music from the border signals a response to the elimination of the human right to migrate freely] (Josh's summary written review).

Furthermore, other students also saw the LL project as an opportunity to challenge themselves in a process of semiotic transformation when *Applying Appropriately and Creatively*. That is, they drew on their agency in what Cope and Kalantzis (2009) describe as "…fully makers and remakers of signs and transformers of meaning" (p. 175) in their L2 learning process. In what follows, and considering the space limitations of this chapter, we describe in detail three other examples of students' work on semiotic transformations and our analysis of their socio-spatial literacy practices.

In the first example, Carol, an Africana Studies major, decided to foreground the art of Afro-Latinos in New York as a conscious response to the stereotypical view of Hispanic art as either only belonging to Spain or to the fine arts and to the lack of exposure of Afro-Latino arts. Her nine-minute video starts with her voice-over asking *"Afro-Latinos qué es?"* (Afro-Latinos who are they?) and displaying footage of a documentary with the same name and Latin music played in the background. She then explains the focus of her project, the need for Hispanic art in New York to include that of Afro-Latinos in the city, and how it connects to her studies.

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Carol's video continues with detailed descriptions along with clips and still images of the different samples of art she found: A performance by Orquesta Afro-Latina, several murals on the streets of Spanish Harlem including one about slavery and the struggle for freedom by the Puerto Rican artist James de la Vega (see Fig. 3). Carol concludes her video by restating her project's purpose about the critical need to voice and foreground forms of art by Latinas/os that are different from those more typically valued as fine art and/or that are silenced in the city.

Fig. 3 Screen capture from Carol's video showing James De La Vega's ode to Picasso mural in Spanish Harlem

The second example focuses on protest art and draws on a variety of available designs, translating knowledge into a mix of diverse modes of meaning (see Kalantzis and Cope 2012). Jonathan starts his video narrating how he did not know what he would find or where to begin his project until he reflected on his experiences in his Spanish class, when students viewed and discussed the movie *Machuca* (Wood 2005) by Andrés Wood. The movie is about the 1973 coup to oust Chilean president Salvador Allende, where the poor and indigenous were most affected, and he mentioned that he made a connection with an image in the mural *"Primer encuentro"* (1978) by Mexican muralist Aurora Reyes (an example of *Experiencing the Known and the New*). Based on this, he realized that *"El arte fue más que las pinturas. Lo fue la cultura, una cultura de dos mundos ha mezclado junto" [sic]* ("Art is more than paintings, it is the culture, a culture of two worlds who have mixed together"). He added that in order for him to understand it, he first needed to understand the history of Spain and the indigenous peoples in the Americas. His voice-over narration is a form of *Conceptualizing with Theory* in that he makes generalizations connecting several images of an art exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) about Diego Rivera's murals (including The Liberation of the Peon, Sugar Cane and The Uprising, 1931) with concepts critically discussed in classes related to political, social injustice and class struggle that originated with the Spanish colonization and that still prevails in Latin America today.

Next, Jonathan's video continues with footage from the film *Machuca*, showing multiple scenes of street demonstrations of both working- and upper-class people. Based on his own research for his project, he added text over those scenes with the Spanish lyrics of the song *Los Dinosaurios* (García 1983) by Argentinian songwriter Charly García, which metaphorically denounces the dictatorship's disappearance of thousands of people during the Dirty War (1976–1983). Then Jonathan declares:

*"Después de mucha opresión la gente responde con la protesta... con el arte de protesta" (*After much oppression people respond with protest... with protest art*)*. Later, at the 5:10 mark of his multimodal creation, Jonathan asks: *"¿Dónde están los desaparecidos?"* (Where are the disappeared people?), echoing a *New York Times* article read in class (Barrionuevo 2010), as part of an oral and written discussion of the end of the movie when a whole working class neighborhood on the outskirts of Santiago is taken over and completely destroyed by Chilean armed forces and the audience is left with the same question. The video collage ends with another protest song, Derecho de nacimiento [Right to be born] (Lafourcade et al. 2012), with footage and images of the Argentinians Mothers of Plaza de Mayo demonstrations, and ends with indigenous celebrations from different Latin American countries.

The third and final example of students' *Applying Appropriately and Creatively*, Marc's Autofotito (Selfie) LL project is condensed into a 3:53 long video, starting with a statement in a large white font over a black screen background that reads: *"Fotos tomadas como el profesor nos recomendó"* (Pictures taken as recommended by our instructor) that is clearly written using some of the grammatical forms studied over the semester, such as the preterit and the use of the past participle as adjective, with its required gender agreement between the noun and its adjective. The statement makes reference to a verbal clarification made in class about the project's written guidelines that whenever students visited a museum or site where taking pictures was prohibited, a picture of them either entering to or in front of those sites sufficed as proof of their visits. The instructor jokingly asked them to take a selfie since this word had been recently declared the 2013 English Word of the Year (Selfie 2013). Marc decided to title his project with his own coined neologism #autofotito not only because he refused to simply borrow the newly accepted word but also to satirize the popular song #Selfie and its original music video by the DJ/production duo of Andrew Taggart and Alex Pall (Chainsmokers 2014), by playing it in the background of the images of his individual work for the LL project.

Immediately after the title, the video introduces a few photos of the New York-based Cuban Conjunto Guantánamo playing at a nearby Cuban restaurant and then a question appears, "*¿Cómo puedo demostrar que estaba allí?"* (How can I demonstrate that I was there?), written in the same form as the initial statement. The answer to this question is the hashtag "#autofotito" appearing precisely when the actual song lyrics in the background of his LL project video say "… but first let me take a selfie!" followed by a burst of random selfie images of Marc taken at the museums and locations that he visited.

Next, the question *"¿Qué sigue?"* (What's next?) appears on the screen, followed by photos with detailed Spanish captions of some artifacts he viewed at The Met Cloisters museum in Manhattan. The plural "you all" command *¡Síganme!* (Follow me!), written in red over a photo of Marc climbing a stairway, invites the audience to a guided walking tour of images of several imposing statues of heroes of the Hispanic independence movements of the early nineteenth century in the Americas (José de San Martín, José Martí, Simón Bolívar), and is accompanied by brief captions with an overview of their historical exploits (Fig. 4).

After another short series of selfies still synchronized with the original song lyrics, the end of Marc's short video starts with a title *"El arte de las calles de El*

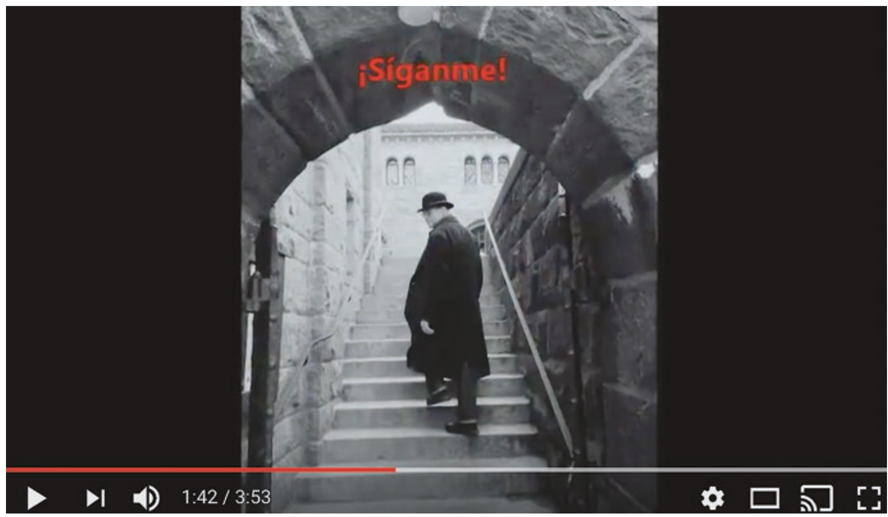

Fig. 4 Screen capture of Marc's video guided walking tour around The Met Cloisters museum in Manhattan

Fig. 5 Screen capture of Marc's video showing the Zapatista mural in Spanish Harlem

Barrio Latino de Nueva York" (Street Art in New York's Spanish Harlem), followed by two images from opposite angles of El Mural Zapatista (2001) by the Mexican artist Ricardo Franco, formerly located on the corner of 117th Street and second Avenue in the heart of Spanish Harlem[3] (Hernández Corchado 2014) (Fig. 5).

[3] Sadly and due to the active gentrification process in Manhattan's Spanish Harlem the Zapatista mural is no longer there as the old building was replaced by a brand new residential building in 2019. This is an example of how the 'old LL disappears' (Shohamy et al. 2010).

Finally, the song's music fades away and a more serious tone is enacted by Marc's voice-over reading in Spanish of a paragraph of a Zapatista statement (The Zapatista Army of National Liberation is a revolutionary political and militant group from Chiapas, Mexico) that appears on the mural within the next two text boxes, one Spanish and one in English, as shown in Fig. 6 and Fig. 7.

When Marc is halfway into the reading of the Spanish text, the still image (Fig. 5) fades out to give way to the same text but this time in English (Fig. 7), while the voice-over finishes reading the Spanish text, signaling the end of the video. The concept of the selfie is once again brought in at the end of the video, this time portraying

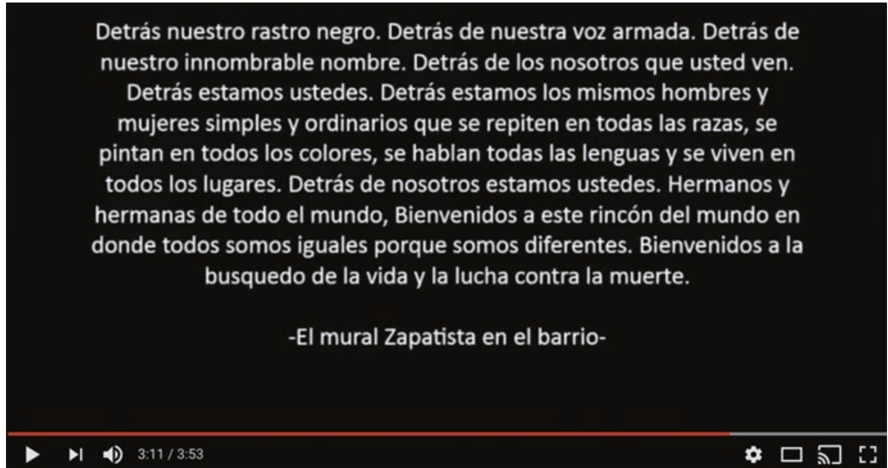

Fig. 6 Screen capture of Marc's video with the Zapatista statement in Spanish

Fig. 7 Screen capture of Marc's video with the Zapatista statement in English

a more critical analysis of its meaning by showing an image of the covered face of Comandante Marcos (in a metaphorical sense of a selfie), the leader of the Zapatistas, along with the reading in Spanish of his powerful message (see Fig. 6).

As seen through this analysis, students in these examples completed all of the required tasks of the LL project by going out of the classroom space to discover or rediscover the city as their extended classroom, by visiting different sites, museums, attending live performances, finding and analyzing public art (e.g. murals) in parks and neighborhoods. Furthermore, their final video projects constituted more than Redesigns or examples of the knowledge processes of *Applying Appropriately and Creatively* (Cope and Kalantzis 2009, 2015). Students drew on several elements to convey a more critical interpretation of the LL project itself, their role as language learners and of the messages and meanings of public art in the city. Indeed, these students' LL projects are examples of a complex Designing process by the appropriation, the revoicing and the transformation of such multiple discursive modes (linguistic, visual, aural, spatial) and genres through an artful blending of Available Designs from the vast linguistic and cultural landscape of New York City.

Through these LL projects discussed within the multiliteracies framework, literacy development in elementary Spanish courses became "a process of negotiating a multiplicity of discourses and plurality of texts that circulate in the context of today's cultural and linguistic diversity" (Jiménez 2007, p. 27). Students as Designers (New London Group 1996; Kern 2000; Cope and Kalantzis 2015), and makers and remakers of meaning, used their agency to creatively and critically orchestrate Available Designs such as signs, announcements, graffiti, murals, photography, audio and video clips. Students created Redesigned artifacts for their projects (e.g., video recorded presentations, PowerPoint or Prezi presentations, etc.), which in turn became new Available Designs in order to achieve their communicative purpose for completing the Spanish language tasks. As Cope and Kalantzis (2009) argue, "a pedagogy of multiliteracies requires that the enormous role of agency in the meaning-making process be recognized, and in that recognition, it seeks to create a more productive, relevant, innovative, creative and even perhaps emancipatory, pedagogy" (p. 175). Students' creative processes also demonstrate "how discourses and texts are produced and moved across social spaces" (Leander and Sheehy 2004, p. 3).

In sum, students' active engagement with urban LLs afforded critical opportunities for them to reflect upon the construction of identities embedded in public art and spaces and upon the socioeconomic and political conditions of Hispanic/Latino/a/x communities in NYC.

6 Conclusion

Although we wanted to include all of the knowledge processes in the multiliteracies and Learning by Design pedagogical frameworks, both student-centered LL projects discussed in this chapter organically rely on particular knowledge processes

more than others that are appropriate for the level of each course (see Sect. 5.2.2 and Kalantzis and Cope 2012, pp. 356–360 for further discussions). In the Elementary Spanish I project, students focused on using the *Experiencing and Conceptualizing* knowledge processes in order to analyze the public signage that they found, and in the Elementary Spanish II project, students used Available Designs to Redesign artifacts and, therefore, drew more upon the *Applying Appropriately and Creatively* knowledge processes.

Students' literacy practices in both courses showed how inquiry-driven scaffolded LL projects created meaningful and authentic language and intercultural learning beyond the traditional classroom setting. With the support of the instructors, students applied the different learning phases of the knowledge processes within the multiliteracies pedagogical framework.

In both projects, students' active engagement with urban LLs afforded opportunities for them to reflect upon the construction of identities and the socioeconomic and political conditions of Hispanic/Latino/a/x communities in NYC embedded in signage as well as in public art and in public spaces, particularly the identities of those who are represented and of those who are excluded. Throughout the implementation of the projects, students were given agency and were able to create knowledge outside of the classroom, allowing them to use their background knowledge, prior experiences and their academic interests as well as their current sociocultural and linguistic repertoires. Based on the instructional approach guided by the multiliteracies framework and the knowledge processes, students made connections to academic interests and created knowledge that was relevant to them as they began to develop a sense of ownership and purpose on their language learning trajectories. Moreover, a focus on multimodal meaning-making in public signage and in cultural manifestations in urban LLs created a space for students to discuss with their peers and their instructors topics about Hispanic/Latino/a/x communities that are also meaningful to them, rather than discussing topics assigned or predetermined by an instructor or a textbook (Weimer 2013).

In this chapter, student-centered LL projects allowed them to consider socioculturally-constructed and dynamic spaces outside of the classroom from critical perspectives, thereby presenting them with the possibility of using those spaces for language learning. In doing so, students came to understand what is profoundly meaningful for the communities who currently reside there. Similarly, LLs are often sites for culture and collective memory for communities that are no longer physically present, but that have deep sociocultural and historical connections to these LLs.

We hope to have provided examples of the pedagogical importance of student-centered and scaffolded LL projects in which language learners, when given agency, go outside of the classroom, are on the streets, and relate to their surrounding neighborhoods. As such, students engage with and learn from other communities while also thinking critically about dimensions of multimodality and interculturality for language learning and for connecting with other disciplines.

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Linguistic Landscape Images and Québec's Cultural Narrative in French Textbooks

Carol A. Chapelle

Abstract The chapter reports results of an investigation of linguistic landscape (LL) in images of Québec in 65 systematically sampled first-year French textbooks, over the fifty-year period from 1960 to 2010. A total of 311 images were found with over half of these appearing in the decade beginning in 2000. The sequential, explanatory mixed methods study design produced a quantitative summary of the number of images picturing French language in public spaces in Québec; it also offered a qualitative analysis of how the language in LL images contributes to the meaning conveyed by the images as well as how the images contribute to the pedagogical tasks in the textbook. Results indicate some use of LL images throughout this period, but very few good models integrating LL images with pedagogy.

Keywords Cultural narrative · Diachronic image analysis · Francophonie · French language pedagogy · Multimodality · Textbook analysis

1 Introduction

It would come as no surprise to most applied linguists that foundational research on the linguistic landscape (LL) came from Canada, where Landry and Bourhis (1997) noted, "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place-names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the LL of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p. 25). Québec's language of public spaces today reflects the outcome of the political actors who proposed the Charter of the French Language in Québec in the 1970s, thereby conceiving of Québec as a francophone space. This policy, which has been the source of interest and controversy over the past fifty years (Martel and Pâquet

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2010; Oakes and Warren 2007), would seem an obvious entry point into the study of language and culture for students of French in the United States.

This chapter investigates how the language teaching profession has represented Québec's LL, as defined by Landry and Bourhis, in the images presented in beginning-level French textbooks in the United States over the five-decade period from 1960 through 2010. It introduces foreign language textbook analysis, defined by Gray (2013) and by Weninger and Kiss (2015), as research that serves as a basis for critical reflection and action directed toward improving language learning materials. This textbook analysis is based on the assumption that LL images of Québec contribute to teaching cultural narrative in first-year French. I motivate the textbook analysis by specifying intended consequences from use of LL images of Québec in French textbooks. The analysis shows an increase in the use of LL images over the five decades but not an increase in the percentage of landscape images showing language. Moreover, even when LL images appear, their use for teaching students about Québec's cultural narrative in the textbooks remains extremely limited throughout all five decades. The study reveals how language used in LL images contributes to meaning and pedagogy as well as illustrating how a systematic textbook analysis can reveal knowledge and practices in the field as a first step toward improving them.

2 Textbook Analysis

Textbook analysis is defined as a principled approach to examining language-teaching materials. Weninger and Kiss (2015) distinguish textbook analysis from textbook evaluation; the latter is intended to judge the appropriateness of a textbook for a certain course and students. Textbook analysis, in contrast, treats textbooks as data in the study of the professional knowledge and interests guiding language teaching. It can be undertaken with the goal of description, but typically the researchers' choice of what to describe is guided by assumptions about what needs to be taught. In other words, even though the contrast between textbook analysis and textbook evaluation may appear to suggest the neutrality of the former in contrast to the value-laden nature of the latter, both entail assumptions that need to be made explicit if results of textbook analysis are to be credible. Credibility is a goal because the results of analysis would ideally speak to a broader audience than readers of applied linguistics research. Textbooks are commercially situated; in other words, they are produced in an environment where perceived market demands are a force (Gray 2013; Kramsch 1988).

A research design for textbook analysis needs to meet "certain criteria for relevance and rigor, defined as (1) cultural and historical grounding, (2) theoretical and practical relevance, and (3) methodological credibility" (Chapelle 2016). The need for methodological credibility was summed up by Chapelle (2016) as follows: "If the results of textbook analysis are to be informative to the commercial industry of textbook producers, research questions and methodological choices need to be set

up in a manner that allows for relevant and defensible interpretations about a population [of textbooks] of interest to textbook producers" (p. 30). The theoretical relevance refers to the need to apply professional knowledge and analytic perspectives to carry out the research and yield new findings of interest to the field. Textbook analysis is not simply choosing books; it is for discovering tacit pedagogical values in the profession. The practical relevance of the methodology refers to the extent to which the analysis yields findings that are useful for creating textbooks better aligned with intended values. If research is to serve practical relevance, the motivation for the profession-affecting research needs to explain the intended benefits, demonstrate the problems with current practice, and present plausible alternative options. The cultural and historical grounding in this case needs to come from an understanding of Québec's official cultural narrative that explains why the LL appears as it does.

Many different points of view exist on what should be included in Québec's cultural narrative (Létourneau 2014) but the primary aspects of interest for the analysis are a matter of historical record, such as the arrival of French explorers in 1500s, the ongoing struggles between French and English speakers, and the establishment of the Charter of the French Language that became the law in Québec in 1977. The Charter, which establishes French as the official language of Québec, serves as an explicit expression of a conceived linguistic space, which was legislated to establish Québec as a francophone society. Despite various challenges and modifications to the Charter over the years, visitors to Quebec immediately perceive the effect of the laws governing French use in the public spaces.

3 Québec Cultural Narrative in French Textbooks

Cultural narrative is highlighted in the 2007 Modern Language Association (MLA) Report on teaching foreign language in higher education as key for foreign language learning because of the role it plays in "transcultural understanding," (MLA ad hoc committee on foreign languages 2007, p. 238) which educators see as a goal of foreign language study. In their report, the MLA ad hoc committee on foreign languages defines transcultural understanding as "the ability to comprehend and analyze the cultural narratives that appear in every kind of expressive form—from essays, fiction, poetry, drama, journalism, humor, advertising, political rhetoric, and legal documents to performance, visual forms, and music" (p. 238). In other words, comprehension of any authentic genres of language use requires knowledge of cultural narrative, and authentic genres, in turn, help to orient learners to the culture. The report does not define cultural narrative explicitly but Chapelle (2016) speculates on the intended meaning as follows:

> Cultural narrative in the MLA report probably refers to the collective understanding of a people about their history, which explains who they are and how they came to be… Such narratives of identity and language involve highly political dimensions of struggle for recognition within existing states as well as the creation of nation-states. Thus, an

> understanding of any cultural narrative requires engagement with political concepts such as nations, states, and sovereignty in addition to ideological concepts such as identity and group rights (pp. 14–15).

In Québec, the Charter of the French language, and particularly Bill 101 requiring the language of public spaces to be in French, is an important episode of Québec's political history that was intended to strengthen cultural identity and power of Francophones in Québec. One highly visible trace of this episode is the LL of Québec, which is available to materials developers wishing to draw upon it to teach Québec's cultural narrative as one of the francophone areas of the world included in the textbooks. The intriguing back story of Québec's LL is at the core of Québec's cultural narrative, which Chapelle (2009) argued holds potential for serving as important cultural content for first-year language students in the United States in ways that respond to the MLA's call for reconceptualizing first-year language courses (MLA ad hoc committee on foreign languages 2007). Despite the potency of Québec's cultural narrative and the accessibility of Québec LL materials, the appetite for inclusion of any Canadian content in beginning-level French textbooks has been modest (Chapelle 2009, 2016). Chapelle's (2016) investigation of Québec-related visual and textual content in French textbooks through the lens of cultural narrative found fragmented presentation of important cultural figures, places, and events.

As noted in these previous studies of Québec content in first-year textbooks, any attempt to understand and improve how students are exposed to Québec culture in their French classes needs to start with an analysis of the images in textbooks. With four out of five students of French in the US studying at the beginning level (Goldberg et al. 2015), most obtain their classroom introduction to the French-speaking world from first-year textbooks. Therefore, the first-year textbook is the ideal artifact for revealing how exposure to cultural narrative is seen by those responsible for creating the materials.

4 Why Investigate Québec's LL Images in Textbooks?

In this study, LL images of Québec in French language textbooks are investigated to discern their role in conveying Québec's cultural narrative. LL images include the photographs in the textbooks of cityscapes or rural areas that include signage displaying printed language. French signs in public spaces are a symbol of the effect of the Charter of the French Language (Martel and Pâquet 2010), making the very subject matter of LL research a pervasive symbol of the cultural narrative that French language learners should be exposed to. The rationale for a textbook analysis needs to extend beyond the variety of meanings Quebec's LL has in Canada to reveal assumptions about the connection between LL images and their hypothesized effects for language teaching and learning. The tools for conceptualizing and expressing such a rationale for this study were developed by researchers conducting evaluations of a range of social programs including those in education (Patton

2008). Accordingly, researchers have used these methods to evaluate language programs (Norris 2016) and technology for language learning (Chapelle 2014, 2016; Gruba et al. 2016; Le 2017).

The basic framework for conceptualizing an evaluation is a "theory of action" connecting basic assumptions with multiple levels of preconditions (e.g., certain materials and their effects), which in turn are expected to produce certain effects, help to achieve intended goals, and result in desired consequences. The theory of action motivating this study expresses the implications of the assumption underlying this volume—that language learners' engagement with multimodal LL is important for language and culture learning. Figure 1 shows this assumption in the

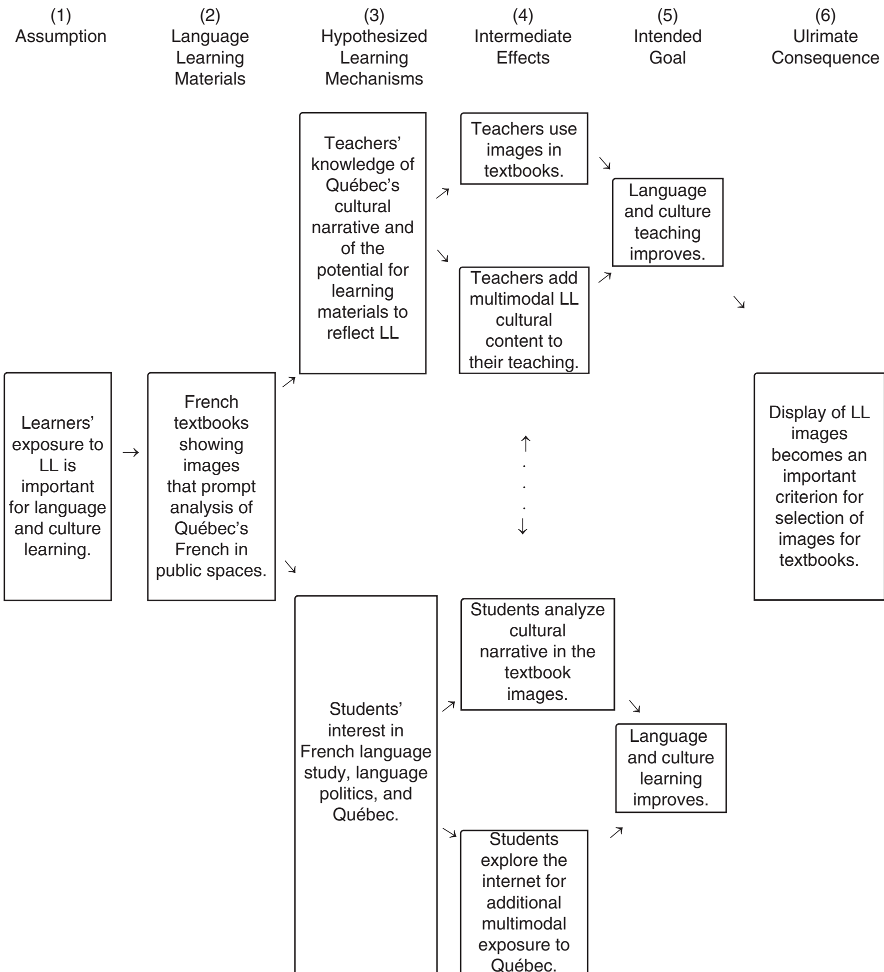

Fig. 1 Schematic diagram of the theory of action expressing the hypothesized role of LL images in instructed language learning

left-most box, indicating that it serves as grounds for the claims that certain specific benefits will be attained if French textbooks show images that prompt analysis of Québec's French in public spaces. Benefits are hypothesized from LL images of Québec because LL reflects a critical aspect of Québec's cultural narrative that teachers can use to raise questions about identity and culture through the use of the multimodal presentation. For example, why are the signs in the public spaces in French? Would all people in Québec be able to understand the signs in French? Answers to these questions touch on multiple facets of Québec's cultural narrative in a way that would be accessible to beginners.

Reading from left to right in Fig. 1, the second element places the characteristics of (2) the language learning materials within the theory of action. In this study, I am concerned with landscape images picturing language. The importance of textbook images in general has been recognized for decades, and researchers have raised concerns about their selection by textbook producers, particularly for teaching culture (Risager 2007; Weninger and Kiss 2015). For example, Lafayette (1988) recommended that the use of textbook images could be improved by engaging students in guided analysis with questions about the image to get them to describe, get information about, and compare the image. This aspect of analysis is important for the theory of how LL images are to promote learning so it is included in the theory of action.

The immediate effects of the LL textbook images are (3) hypothesized learning mechanisms within both teachers and students. The mechanisms are expected to increase teachers' knowledge of Québec's cultural narrative and of the potential for learning materials to reflect LL. The LL images play a critical role in informing teachers about the actual French look of Québec because knowledge about Québec varies among French teachers in the United States. For students, analysis of LL images of Québec is hypothesized to spark interest in language study, language politics and Québec. The increased knowledge and interest are in turn expected to prompt certain (4) intermediate effects: Teachers' use of the images in their teaching and students' interest and curiosity in analyzing, hypothesizing, and explaining what they see. Students' interest in language study, language politics and Québec should prompt them to analyze the images and to explore the Internet for additional multimodal exposure about Québec. Students' positive responses would be expected to compel teachers to add multimodal LL cultural content to their teaching. Together, these activities are expected to result in the (5) intended goal of improved teaching and learning. The engagement of teachers with LL materials in their teaching should have the (6) ultimate consequence of transforming their vision of what they would like to see in textbooks. Teachers called on to review French textbooks would then be expected to ask for textbook producers to include images depicting the LL of the cultures introduced in class.

In any learning context multiple factors of the materials, teachers, learners and overall cultural context come into play (The Douglas Fir Group 2016). The linguistic landscape displayed in images would be only one of these. A study investigating reflections of cultural narrative through other types of images and in text would begin with an assumption about the effects of these factors stated in the left-most

box in the diagram. The theory of action is a tool for identifying any one or more of these factors and specifying its intended effects in order to clarify the rationale for investigating factors in the learning context.

Overall, the theory of action expresses the hypothesized chain of mechanisms that follow from the assumption that learners' exposure to LL is important for language learning. These hypothesized connections among LL images, language learning materials, teachers' and students' responses, and professional values and action suggest many potential research questions. From a textbook analysis perspective, the central question is about the existence of the hypothesized beneficial images in French textbooks and their integration into the materials in a manner that promotes learning about a region's cultural narrative.

(1) How many LL images exist in the sample of textbooks?
(2) How does the language in the images contribute to the meaning-making potential of the textbook?
(3) How do the images contribute to the pedagogical tasks for students?

5 Method

These questions called for a sequential, explanatory mixed methods design (Creswell and Plano Clark 2011) to assess the quantity of LL images in a systematically gathered sample followed by a qualitative interpretation of their meaning and use in the learning materials. The first question required a quantitatively-oriented sampling design and summary of LL images across the decades from 1960 through 2010 to ensure that the sample of LL images would be interpretable with respect to the population of all beginning-level French textbooks in each of the decades investigated. The second two questions called for a qualitative look at the meaning making role of the language in the LL images and their pedagogical contribution to the other textbook material for teaching Québec's cultural narrative. The methodology was intended to allow for interpretation of results with respect to practices reflecting professional knowledge and values about the use of Québec's LL for teaching cultural narrative. In view of the small amount of space allocated to Québec content in the textbook, ideally, the images would be carefully selected to convey rich meaning about cultural narrative about Québec.

5.1 Sample of Textbooks and Images

The sample was selected to reflect the LL images appearing in the population of textbooks used at the beginning-level in university French classes in the USA from 1960 through 2010. The diachronic perspective obtained from this sample is useful for detecting changes over time that might be expected in view of the change in

Table 1 Population and sample counts by decade for beginning-level university French textbooks in the book reviews section of the *French Review* 1960–2010

Decade	Population: number of qualifying textbooks reviewed	Number of identified textbooks included in the sample	Percentage of the identified textbooks included in the sample
1960s	13	11	85%
1970s	23	11	48%
1980s	41	23	56%
1990s	27	9	33%
2000s	20	11	55%
Total	125	65	55%
Mean	24.8	13	55%

Note. Adapted from Chapelle (2016)

official language policy in the 1970s and the interest in LL in applied linguistics beginning in the 1990s. In addition to an academic interest in understanding shifting practices in the field, the legacy of textbooks from eras past remains in teachers' and materials developers' knowledge of how students' exposure to cultural artifacts can be managed. I defined an actual population as consisting of the beginning-level French textbooks that had been reviewed in the major professional journal for French language teaching in the USA, the *French Review*. To examine the trend in LL images, I divided the population into five decade-long subsamples. As Table 1 indicates, each decade subsample contains over 50% of the population except for the 1990s, when only 33% was obtained. The sample is assumed to be an unbiased representation of the population, which should justify inferences from the sample results to the population. In other words, the results are claimed to be credible as a reflection of professional practice rather than reflective of just the textbooks in the sample.

5.2 Analysis

To make a quantitative summary of the LL images, the first part of the analysis identified all images of Canada and Québec in the 65 textbooks. The 312 images were scanned and reviewed manually to identify images that pictured landscapes, which included exterior city and countryside images whether or not people were present. The landscape images were reviewed again to identify the ones that contained any language that was clear enough to be read by the viewer. These images were counted to calculate the percentage of landscape images that were considered LL images, i.e., those containing legible language, for each decade and across the whole sample.

The second and third parts of the analysis examined the LL images qualitatively from a social semiotic perspective as developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) to examine the way that the language in the images helped to convey meaning to readers by expressing ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. Specifically, I

investigated the ideational identity meanings expressed in the LL images. Identity in textbook images can refer to who a person is or group of people are, but in these images, identity refers to places in all but one instance. Interpersonal meanings are conveyed primarily through the attitude, proximity and gaze of people pictured, so this aspect was not relevant to this study, which investigated language in public spaces rather than attitude, proximity and gaze of people. I examined textual meanings by analyzing how the language in the image (French, English, or both) worked in synergy with the text and other images on the pages surrounding the LL images to convey aspects of cultural narrative and contribute to the pedagogical tasks. I judged each LL image to have a certain level of task essentiality, as detailed in the results section.

6 Results

Of the 312 images of Québec appearing in the sample textbooks, 29 were found to be LL images, i.e., images containing legible language. LL images began to appear in the 1970s and each decade thereafter contains some examples of LL images, but the percentage of cityscape images that are LL images did not increase. The examples of LL images provide some insights on the function of naming that the images can perform, but only a few Québec LL images cohere with the text to create the opportunity for multimodal meaning-making, and none were analyzed as task essential.

6.1 *Language in the Cityscapes*

The quantitative summary appears in Table 2 showing the number of Québec images (total 312), landscapes (total 122), cityscapes (total 104), and cityscapes containing visible language (total 29) across the five decades of the study. In the 1960s, the 11 textbooks contained no landscapes of Québec, but beginning in the 1970s, Québec

Table 2 Descriptive Summary Statistics of Québec Images

Decade	Number of textbooks	Number of Images (Average[a])	Number of Landscapes[b] (Cityscapes)	Number of Cityscapes with Visible Language	% of Cityscapes with Visible Language
1960s	11	1(0)	0	--	--
1970s	11	24(2)	8 (7)	3	43%
1980s	23	54(2)	28 (21)	6	29%
1990s	9	45(5)	20 (17)	3	18%
2000s	11	188(17)	66 (59)	17	29%
Total	65	312(5)	122(104)	29	28%

Note. [a]Average number of images per textbook. [b]None of the countryside images contained legible language

cityscapes containing language began to appear, and have continued to appear in the textbooks since that time. The numbers of images, landscapes, cityscapes and LL images are substantially greater in the textbooks in the 2000s, but the percentage of cityscapes containing readable language remains well below 50% of all cityscapes for each of the five decades with no upward trend. These numbers do not suggest an increase in awareness of the potential for LL images in beginning level teaching of Québec on the part of the profession.

6.2 Cultural Narrative in LL Images

The qualitative analysis of the 29 LL images examined how the meanings conveyed by the language in the images reflected that component of Québec's cultural narrative pertaining to the use of French in public spaces in Québec. Each image was considered for (1) the contribution of the language in expressing the identity of the focal object in the image, and (2) the image's pertinence for affirming the cultural narrative. The clearest example of cultural narrative language appears in two textbooks (Lenard 1971, color insert, no page number and Magnan et al. 2007, p. 410) with images depicting "Je me souviens" [I remember], which is the motto for the province of Québec, and appears on the Québec license plate today. The expression refers to the collective memory of the struggle of the people of Québec to retain their culture and language in the face of challenges they have encountered in the primarily Anglophone controlled country of Canada and continent of North America. In both images, the focal element is the linguistic expression itself that is spelled out in garden shrubbery at a Québec government building, as shown in Fig. 2. This example is unique in the sample because the language does not name a physical focal element in the image, but rather indexes an idea with powerful public meaning in Québec.

More typically in the images, the language contributes to the identity of the focal object by naming a physical space or property in a cityscape directly or by providing clues that allow the reader to draw an inference about the identity of the place pictured. The directness of the naming then is one dimension used for describing how the language creates meaning in the images. The second dimension of meaning is the type of entity (public or private) that is named. From the perspective of cultural narrative, an important distinction is made between the naming of a government or public entity, such as the Place Jacques Cartier, a city park, and what might be a privately owned property, such as a restaurant. The former denotes a domain where readers would expect official laws to be in effect, whereas the latter might be expected to be chosen in by a group or an individual to have personal, commercial, or aesthetic meaning. Figure 3 shows the classification of the 29 images into two dimensions based on the directness of their expression of the identity of the focal element as well as their public or private identity.

In the lower right-hand quadrant of Fig. 3 are three images in which the language is used to name the focal element which is a public place. These images would be

Fig. 2 The caption of this LL image appears in *Paroles*: "La devise du Québec en fleurs devant le Manège militaire à Québec" (Magnan et al. 2007, p. 410)

good candidates for prompting discussion of the Québec cultural narrative because they show the institutional use of language in a manner that is essential to the conveyance of meaning in the image. Figure 4 shows an image of a city park, Place Jacques Cartier. The sign, given the prominence of the middle of the image, directly assigns meaning to the location pictured. The name Jacques Cartier refers to the French explorer credited as the founder of Canada in Québec's cultural narrative. The image is therefore rich in potential for discussion of the roots of French in Québec as well as the issues of language and colonization.

The other two images in which the language names the focal element directly show a medical center in Québec and a street corner in Montreal. The former is shown with the sign "centre médical" that identifies a public medical facility (Magnan et al. 2007, p. 387). In the other image, a crossed set of two street signs marks the corner in Montreal where two streets meet: "Avenue Henri - Julien" and "[not readable] St – Louis" (Muyskens et al. 2004, p. 298) (Fig. 5).

The upper right quadrant of Fig. 3 includes images of privately owned properties with language naming the focal element. These might also prompt discussion of Bill 101 because they display language in the public space, but because of the less official nature of these buildings, readers might expect that such names can be invented at the discretion of the owners. Figure 6 shows the sign for a ski school (l'école de ski at Mont Tremblant), which is multifunctional, naming the school and doing the business of advertising the private ski lessons available. French language on the signs of properties where owner discretion would be expected raises the issue of the French language laws, their intent, and reach—topics that are central to Québec's cultural narrative.

Directness of Language Use in the Image to Identify the Focal Element

Type of Property or Location	Indirect	Direct
Private	(14 LL images) ▪ Sign on the back of a city bus: « Tout le monde s'attache au Québec » (1980s) ▪ Shop front in a touristic square: « ARCADE » (1990s) ▪ Restaurant sign on a street with other signs and people: « RESTAURANT LA RIPAILLE » (1990s) ▪ Building sign on a pedestrian path on the Université Laval campus: "PAVILLON BONENFANT" (1990s) ▪ Shop front in a touristic square: « ARCADE » (2000s) ▪ Restaurant sign on a street with other signs and people: « LE COCHON DINGUE » (2000s) ▪ Restaurant Shop front in a touristic square: "Pôle Sud" (2000s) ▪ Shop signs on a touristic street : « Boutique Suzanne Emond » and "LA MAISON DU CADRE" (2000s) ▪ Signs above outdoors Café on a touristic street: « Le Clos Saint-Denis » (2000s) ▪ Shop front sign on a busy historic street: Serge Bruyère (2000s) ▪ On the back of a boat with Montreal in the background: "M V MONTREAL" (2000s) ▪ Restaurant sign on a street with other signs and people: « AUX DELICES du VIEUX MONTREAL » (2000s) ▪ Posters displayed in a public area including « PLEIN ART » and « MÉTIERS D'ART » (2000s) ▪ Restaurant sign on a street with other signs and people: « LE COCHON DINGUE restaurant café » (2000s)	(5 LL images) ▪ "galerie saint-denis cadeau Québec" (1980s) ▪ « Ecole de ski de Mont Tremblant » (1980s) ▪ « BCBG » (2000s) ▪ « MARCHE DE SOUVENIRS » « Devises Internationales Bureau de change Currency Exchange 392-9100» (2000s) ▪ « RESTAURANT AUX ANCIENS CANADIENS » (2000s)
Public	(6 LL images) ▪ « JE ME SOUVIENS » (1970s) ▪ "QUÉBEC" "CANADA STOP" "BEEBE PLAIN VT" (1970s) ▪ "Postes Canada," "Canada Post" (1980s) ▪ "QUÉBEC" "CANADA STOP" BEEBE PLAIN VT" (1980s) ▪ "LAVAL, LEVY, MONTCALM, AND MONTMORENCY" (1980s) ▪ « JE ME SOUVIENS » (2000s)	(3 LL images) ▪ "Place Jacques Cartier" (1970s) ▪ "centre médical" (2000s) ▪ "Avenue Henri-Julien" "? St-Louis" (2000s)

Fig. 3 Summary of images analyzed according to two dimensions of expression of identity in Québec LL images and the decades when they appeared

Fig. 4 With no caption for the image in the textbook, the language shown in this image in *Langue et Culture* (Valdman 1975, p. 547) performs the function of naming the central element in the image

The top, left quadrant of Fig. 3 contains LL images in which the language contributes to the identity of the focal element indirectly by naming the elements populating the location or space. The majority of these are pictures of the city streets in Montreal or Québec with signs naming private properties along the streets. In most such images the name of one shopfront is evident, showing a specific identity of at least one shop, but the focal object of the image is the street scene itself consisting of multiple shops. Figure 7 shows one such example of a street in Québec. The images showing streets with multiple signs contribute to the busy, interesting look of cites for sightseeing, eating, and shopping even if they do not make a clear link to cultural narrative.

Finally, in the lower, left quadrant is the language that names public places, ideas and people. As noted above « JE ME SOUVIENS » spelled out in the plants is itself a public expression referring to the identity of the people of Québec. In the other cases, what the language names is not the focal element of the image; instead, the named public entities contribute to the meaning of the image indirectly. The second set of words is the readable language appearing on three signs at the border crossing, which in combination allow the reader to identify the specific location of the border crossing. The third sign listed also has language that does not provide any specific identifying clues about location beyond its location in Canada. In the foreground of the city street image with one man, a mailbox appears in the foreground with the following:

Postes Canada
Canada Post

The language of the fourth is cryptic, naming historically important figures in Québec's history, "LAVAL, LEVY, MONTCALM, AND MONTMORENCY," as

Fig. 5 Captioned to mirror the naming language in the sign, "Centre médical à Québec" in *Paroles* (Magnan et al. 2007, p. 387)

part of what appears to be a big ice castle at Québec's winter carnival. All of these images hold potential as an entry into a discussion of Québec's cultural narrative. The next step of the analysis looked beyond the images to discern the extent to which the textbooks use the images for pedagogical purposes.

6.3 Multimodal Language and Culture Learning

The final part of the analysis investigated how the meanings of the LL images cohered with the other primarily textual elements on the surrounding pages to teach cultural narrative. Based on the theory of action, the LL images of interest in French textbooks show images that prompt analysis of Québec's French in public spaces, so the question is how well the LL images support Québec cultural narrative themes

Fig. 6 Captioned "Au Mont Tremblant," an image that adds multimodal meaning to a dialogue about skiing on Mont Tremblant in Québec (Valdman et al. 1984, p. 136)

in a way that contributes to language learning tasks. The summary of the analysis of levels of integration of the 29 LL images by decade is in Table 3, which contains a key to the meaning of the five levels based on Chapelle (2016).

The 1970s The three LL images in the 1970s illustrate a range of degrees of integration of the images with their surrounding text. The LL image most integrated with the textbook in the 1970s is the one showing "Je me souviens" [I remember] spelled out using plants in a garden that appears in *Parole et Pensée* (Lenard 1971). It coheres with three other Canadian images on the page, one of which also includes the words "Je me souviens" and the third a Canadian flag. The language in the LL image contributes to a specific theme about Québec (3), which is presented in the dialogue connected with the Canadian pictures. In the dialogue, a guide tells the tourists, students visiting from the United States, that the motto of Québec is "je me souviens," which refers to the memory of Québec's cultural and linguistic roots. The questions for the students following the dialogue also include a question about the meaning of the phrase, which also appears in the expressions taught in the unit. This is the high point for coherence between LL images and text that teach cultural narrative across all of the textbooks.

With less integration, the image in *Langue et Culture* (Valdman 1975) that directly names "Place Jacques Cartier" could have been used pedagogically because Cartier is a key figure in Québec's cultural narrative but the textbook itself does not exploit the image in this way. The dialogue on the page with the image refers to

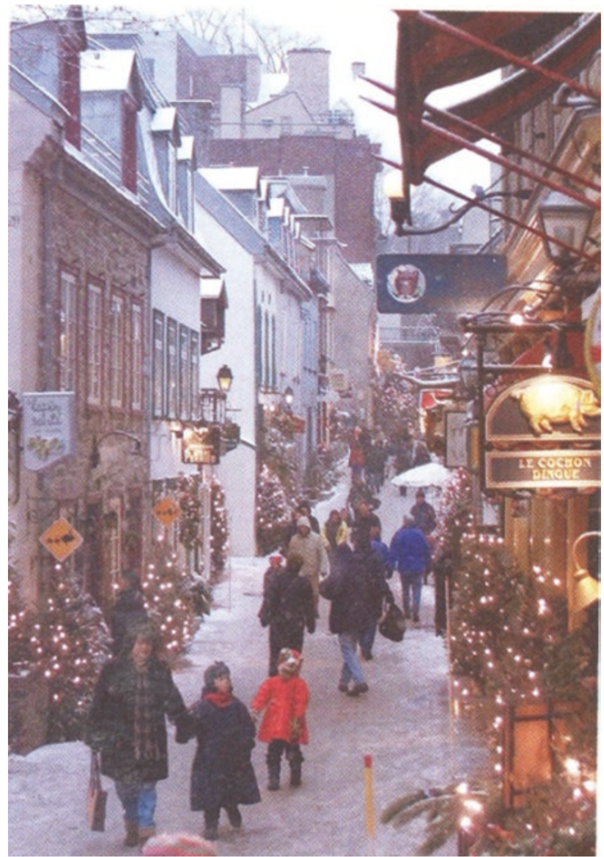

Fig. 7 With the caption “Le Vieux-Québec en hiver,” this image in *Deux Mondes* (Terrell et al. 2004, p. 228) shows a street with many signs, one of which contains visible language, “Le Cochon Digne” [the crazy pig], a restaurant

Montreal, where one of the interlocutors is a student at the University of Montreal, but no reference is made to the places that are named in the image. Nor do the questions following the dialogue refer to these places or the image at all. The pedagogical use of this image is orienting readers to the topic of Canada (2). However, the image has no caption, so it would suggest Canada as a topic only insofar as the readers were able to recognize the significance of Jacques Cartier in Québec. That knowledge is needed to see the coherence between the title of the dialogue “On parle du Canada” and the language in the image.

The low point for coherence and teaching of cultural narrative appears in *En français: Practical Conversational French* (Carton and Caprio 1976, p. 26), and is repeated in the second edition in 1981. The image has public signs indirectly indicating the Vermont-Québec border at Beebe, Vermont. The visible language, other than the locations (Beebe Plain VT, Québec, and Canada), is the word “stop” in

Table 3 Summary of Level of Integration with the Elements on the Pages Surrounding the LL Image

Decade (Number of textbooks)	Number of Cityscapes with Visible Language	Level of integration of image with surrounding text				
		1 Independent	2 General theme-setting	3 Specific theme-setting	4 Text enhancing	5 Task essential
1960s (11)	0	–	–	–	–	–
1970s (11)	3	1	1	1	0	0
1980s (23)	6	2	2	1	1	0
1990s (9)	3	0	2	0	1	0
2000s (17)	17	2	9	4	2	0
Total (65)	29	5	14	6	4	0

Note. 1 Independent = independent of the text content, that is, used for aesthetic purposes; 2 General theme setting = generally orienting to suggest Québec as a topic; 3 Specific theme-setting = contributing to a specific theme about Québec; 4 Text enhancing = adding to the meaning of the language in the text to provide the opportunity for multimodal meaning making; 5 Task essential = providing meanings that students are to engage with to complete the language tasks

English. The topic of the dialogue in the lesson is border crossing, but the dialogue that the image accompanies is about border crossing into France (e.g., "Combien de temps comptez-vous en France?" asks the Customs Officer). The dialogue makes no mention of Canada or Québec; I, therefore, categorized it as independent of the text content (1).

The 1980s Three textbooks in the 1980s contain LL images. One is the second edition of *En Français: Practical Conversational French* (Carton and Caprio 1981, p. 40), the border-crossing image described above. The second is *Appel* (Ollivier et al. 1983) which contains an LL image that is integrated into topics raised in the lesson's dialogue. The LL image is a Canadian Street with a Canadian mailbox foregrounded with its bilingual "Postes Canadian/Canada Post" label and maple leaf. In the background, other signs appear, but only one is a barely visible: "Restaurant." The bilingual language on the mailbox coheres with the topic of language in Québec that is raised by two lines in the opening dialogue: Two tourists note that the "stop" on the bilingual stop sign has been painted over in red. The idea of a language problem in Québec is developed in a paragraph in which students are to complete sentences using the appropriate negative forms. These two instances of focus on language cohere to some extent with the foregrounded bilingual mailbox in the image, which I therefore analyzed as contributing to a specific theme about Québec (3).

The third textbook with LL images in the 1980s is *Son et Sens* (Valdman et al. 1984), which contains four LL images including two in a chapter that presents a Québec theme. The chapter about Québec includes multiple images that contribute to the theme of winter sports in Québec with cultural information, dialogues, areas of language focus, and images. One of the two LL images in the chapter depicts skiers at Mont Tremblant standing around dressed for skiing and holding outdoor

gear (see Fig. 6). One of the French dialogues refers to skiing at Mont Tremblant, which coheres with the language on the sign naming the Mont Tremblant ski school along with the information that one can obtain private lessons. The LL image is therefore considered text enhancing because it adds to the meaning of the language in the text providing the opportunity for multimodal meaning making, that is, readers read about skiing on Mont Tremblant in the dialogue and see skiers, who they know are at Mont Tremblant because of the language in the image.

Early in the textbook, an LL image of Québec depicts what appears to be an ice castle with names printed in large letters (Laval, Levy, Montcalm, and Montmorency). This is undoubtedly a scene from the winter carnival in Québec, which is mentioned in the chapter on Québec much later in the book. However, the text that refers to the winter carnival does not make reference to the LL image or the names that appear on the ice castle, so the specific cohesive elements as well as the meaning of the names from Québec's cultural narrative are most likely lost for readers. The image appears on a page and in a section asserting that French is spoken in many locations throughout the world including North America, so it serves the purpose of generally referring to Québec (2). Another image appearing much earlier in *Son et Sens* (Valdman et al. 1984) than the main Québec chapter shows a street in Montreal with the sign on the back of a bus displaying the language "Tout le monde s'attache au Québec." The image does not support or cohere with any of the text on the page (1). The other LL image in the chapter shows a store front on a street with the signs, "galerie saint-denis" and "Cadeaux Québec." In connection with that picture is a close-up of a sign for another shop, "Boutique Champlain Cadeaux." The storefronts support the general topic of Québec (2), but do not connect in any more specific way to the text, which does not mention the stores pictured.

The 1990s Three LL images were identified in the 1990s textbooks. One in *Chez Nous* (Valdman and Pons 1997) with the caption "Le vieux Montreal" shows a busy outdoor city area with an artist paining the picture of a child. The only language showing on one of the storefronts is "Arcade," which is unfortunately the same in English and French, so the image fails to support the specific information that is given in the text on the same page, which introduces the Charter of the French language as applying to commerce and business in Québec. The image is, however, generally orienting to the theme of Québec and Canada (2) because it is a picture of Montreal, as stated in the caption.

The other two images appear in *Voilà* (Heilenman et al. 1989), which is included in the textbooks reviewed in the 1990s. One is a street scene, where the sign "Restaurant La Ripaille" and "Boutique Champlain Cadeaux" are readable and the text on the same page introduces the Québécois people and where they come from. The image is generally oriented toward the topic of Québec (2) in that the image accompanies the textual explanation about Québécois people, which does not make reference to the language on the street signs or the street at all. The second image shows the campus of Université Laval with a sign "Pavillon Bonenfant." The image accompanies a task asking students to invent a French-speaking student who is studying at Laval and to describe the student including the student's character and

preferences, the room where the student lives, and the things that the student carries in the backpack. The image with people walking on the snow-covered campus is therefore text enhancing in that (4) it adds to the meaning that the student is supposed to interpret as input to the task.

The 2000s Seventeen LL images were identified in the textbooks from the first decade of the 2000s. Of these, the majority was intended to provide a general orientation to Québec. Of the others, two appeared to be independent of the textual content on the adjacent pages, four depicted a specific Québec-related theme, and two were text enhancing in a way that allowed for multimodal meaning making. In short, despite the greater number of LL images, the levels of their integration were similar to those of the previous decades, and lacking in any images that could be considered task essential.

The two images that prompt students to read multimodally are worthy of examination. One shows a shopfront with a sign showing the acronym, "BCBG," which refers to a women's clothing store in Québec. The activity for students is to listen to some common phrases including the referent for the acronym appearing in the image, "le bon chic bon genre," and then to say the acronyms, in this case "BCBG." In doing so, the students can see the use of the acronym visually on the shopfront, which arguably creates an additional dimension to the meaning of the acronym and the task. The second text enhancing LL image appears with a short text describing the charm of the churches, squares, streets and museums of a province attached to its French origins, where the people love to speak French. The image shows a charming street in the old city in Québec with shopfront signs. Only one is readable, "Le Cochon Dingue," but the added meaning of the image to the text is evident.

Overall, it would be difficult to conclude that LL images contribute significantly to teaching the cultural narrative of Québec in the beginning-level textbooks of the five decades investigated in this study. However, the LL images that appear provide a range of examples of how such images can be present but seemingly irrelevant to the pedagogical activities, or supporting of the pedagogy at various levels of specificity. Still, no examples were found of task essential LL images for teaching cultural narrative. Perhaps these began to appear after 2010.

7 Discussion

This diachronic analysis of LL images reveals how the profession has used LL images for teaching cultural narrative in the case of Québec over a fifty-year period. Instances of LL images began to appear in the French textbooks in the 1970s, long before the study of LL became part of applied linguistics research. Despite the increasing political and scholarly recognition of the significance of linguistic landscape over the five decades studied, the percentage of landscape images with language did not increase from the 1970s through the 2000s, and in fact, the 1970s has the highest percentage of LL images (43%). Overall, fewer than 50% of landscape

images were LL images. Despite the overall trend found in previous research to increase representation of Canada and Québec in French textbooks in the United States, this study found that the increased numbers of images overall did not indicate an increase in a percentage of LL images or examples of their use in the teaching of cultural narrative. In contrast, the greatest degree of integration of the LL images in the content of the chapters in this sample appears in the 1980s in *Son et Sens* (Valdman et al. 1984).

The Theory of Action hypothesized specific putative benefits to be attained in French language teaching if French textbooks display images of Québec's French in public spaces that prompt analysis. The actual findings, however, suggest that over the fifty-year period few examples of LL images contribute toward multimodal meaning making. Moreover, no examples were found of their use in pedagogy for prompting analysis of cultural narrative, or any type of analysis. In short, these findings reveal a considerable gap between the applied linguists' perspectives of the importance of visual, spatialized, multimodal learning and what is actually contributed by textbooks for the classroom. The only solution may appear to be getting students out of the classroom, but in fact our profession is responsible for improving what happens in the classroom with online materials, and in other planned education activities rather than for dismissing class. How can textbooks and learning materials in other formats be constructed to scaffold students' knowledge and skills in a way that will prepare them for their next steps?

The basic idea suggested years ago by Lafayette (1988)—inclusion of questions for analysis of images—seems the most fundamental point of entry for making LL images useful for language and culture learning. Table 4 illustrates questions that could be used to engage students in examining four of the LL images appearing in the textbooks in the sample. The questions illustrate how images of the language displayed on the public and private properties can prompt discussion of key aspects of Québec's cultural narrative including the language policies in both Québec and Canada and their effects today. Beyond the three levels of questions suggested by Layfette, I have added an "analysis" category intended for language focus and an "extension" category intended to move students to the Internet to search for additional exploration. One might also expand on the examples provided by including additional perspectives for analysis (e.g., Lamarre 2014) and other sites for comparisons than the United States. For example, teaching Québec's cultural narrative can best be done by including opportunities for comparisons of Québec's linguistic landscape with those of other parts of Canada. Comparisons might also be made across different regions of Québec, sections of Montreal, or countries within la Francophonie.

The analysis questions afford the opportunity to build on existing materials in practice. However, for the profession to conceptualize and create better materials in the future, ideally the results could be interpreted from a theoretical perspective of how images are selected and integrated into textbooks. Chapelle (2016) outlines a theory of image selection based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) theoretical perspective on how a designer's interest in a particular criterial object affects the way that images convey meaning across a wide variety of contexts. With respect to

Table 4 Questions for Analysis of Four LL Images from French Textbooks

Type of Question	Je me souviens[a]	Canada Post[b]	Centre medical[c]	Mt Tremblant[d]
Description	What is spelled out in the plants? What language is it in? Is it a sentence? What else is in the picture with the plants?	What does it say on the mailbox in the foreground? What language is displayed? What else is in the picture?	What does it say on the sign in front of the building? What language is displayed? What else is in the picture besides the sign and building?	What does it say on the sign in the foreground of the picture? What language is used to convey information? What else is in the picture besides the sign and building?
Information gathering	What does the expression mean literally? What is the background of this expression? What is its cultural and historical significance?	Why does the mailbox display two languages? Do all mailboxes in Canada display two languages? How and when was the two-language mailbox rule established?	Why is the sign only in French? Are all medical facilities in Québec marked with a sign like this? When was it decided that medical facilities should have signs in French only? What other public buildings have signs only in French?	Where is Mont Tremblant located? Why is the sign only in French? Are all signs in Québec in French? When was it decided that signs should convey information in French only? Are all the skiers at Mont Tremblant French speakers?
Analysis	Why does the official motto of Québec refer to remembering? What do the people of Québec remember? Why is the motto in the first person? What does "me" mean in the expression?	What is the difference between the English and the French expressions used to mark the mailbox? Would people be able to understand that it was a mailbox if it displayed only one language? Why are the two languages displayed?	How does the French "Centre médical" differ from how the building would be marked in English? Would all people in Québec be able to understand the sign in French? Why doesn't the sign display English in addition to French?	Translate the sign into English. Who is the intended audience for the message on the sign? What percentage of the population of Québec is francophone? Does the sign in French signal inclusion and exclusion of certain people from the ski resort activities?

(continued)

Table 4 (continued)

Type of Question	Je me souviens[a]	Canada Post[b]	Centre medical[c]	Mt Trembant[d]
Comparison	Does the United States have an expression that appears at government sites? Compare the expression from the US and the one from Québec?	In the US, are languages other than English used on mailboxes? Are languages other than English used on any public government sites?	In the US, how are medical facilities marked? In the US, are all public buildings marked in English only in the US?	Are signs in resort areas in the US all in English? Give some examples from your experience or from the internet of places in the US where languages other than English are used on signs in resorts. How does the use of language on signs at resorts signal inclusion or exclusion of certain people in the US?
Extension	Where might you see the expression if you go to Québec? What do Canadians say is the meaning of the expression?	What other publicly displayed objects in Canada have the two languages? What do Canadians think about the bilingual public language?	What other buildings display French signs in Québec? Are there any buildings that have signs in other languages, or that have signs in both English and French? What do Canadians think about the French-only signs on public buildings?	What other resort and touristic sites display French signs in Québec? Are people who don't speak French welcome as tourists in Québec? Do Canadians outside Québec like to visit Québec?

Note. [a]Image in two textbooks: *Parole et Pensée* (Lenard 1971, color insert, no page number) and *Paroles* (Magnan et al. 2007, p. 410); [b]Image in *Appel* (Ollivier et al. 1983, p. 403); [c]Image in *Paroles* (Magnan et al. 2007, p. 387); and [d]Image in *Son et Sens* (Valdman et al. 1984, p. 136)

images depicting cultural narrative, Chapelle (2016) suggests that both the interest and knowledge of the textbook producer affect the process of image selection. The selection process begins with the knowledge of the textbook producer of cultural, linguistic and situational artifacts that can be depicted to teach cultural narrative. From this perspective, the specificity of the textbook producers' knowledge of cultural narrative affects their choices of images. We can now add that knowledge of multimodal language learning affects their inclusion of useable linguistic landscape in the images and the cohesion with the language learning tasks. The authors' choice of LL images might best be seen not as conceiving the public spaces of Québec but rather as re-conceiving or representing the public spaces for students. The limited

use of LL images suggests that textbook producers over the fifty years studied did not take advantage of their opportunity to represent the LL of Québec.

8 Conclusion

Despite the dramatic shifts in today's affordances for language learning that now include digital, video, mobile, interactive, and social media, the past practices revealed in this study undoubtedly continue to scaffold teachers' and materials developers' knowledge today of how to select and manage their students' exposure to the cultural artifacts. At best, materials from past textbooks would teach about cultural narrative while modeling good pedagogy for teaching through engagement with LL images. In contrast, however, this study found data for a constructively critical analysis of how past textbooks have failed to provide the materials required for the positive consequences hypothesized in the theory of action.

Despite the largely failed search for pedagogical models, this textbook analysis has implications for language teachers and materials developers wishing to take advantage of LL images. The quantitative analysis indicated that students of French in the United States from 1960 through 2010 were very unlikely to have been exposed to LL image use in their beginning-level textbooks. The implication is that such pedagogies are unlikely to emerge naturally as the result of teachers' experience as learners; pedagogical practices for exploiting LL images need to be created and taught. The qualitative methods of analysis in this study may be useful in pursuing this goal because they point to strategies for selecting and tailoring LL images useful for pedagogy. The identity analysis revealing directness of naming and the type of property (public vs. private) in the image is relevant to the analysis questions that can be developed for students. The continuum for analysis of the degree of integration of the LL images (stemming from the textual analysis) should prompt developers to consider the pedagogical purpose of the images they choose.

Another set of implications from the study is for researchers investigating language learning materials as a means of gaining insights about professional knowledge and practice. The research provides an example of how a textbook analysis was designed using a sequential, explanatory mixed methods research design to achieve the credibility and meaningfulness required of research that is intended to inform practice. The key elements of the design were the following: (1) development of the rationale for what to analyze based on values of the profession and historical cultural knowledge, (2) expression of the rationale in a theory of action that makes explicit the role of certain aspects of materials in affecting specific outcomes within a complex system, (3) a sampling design for selection of a meaningful relevant sample with a known relationship to a larger population of interest to textbook developers, (4) a quantitative method for summarizing the object of study, and (5) qualitative methods for revealing the role of the language for conveying meanings in the images and the role of the images in the pedagogical materials.

The overarching implication of the study is that teachers and materials developers need to recognize their responsibility for making the links between theory and practice. The results underscore the fact that theory and research in applied linguistics has not necessarily had much effect on commercially available pedagogical materials that are pervasive in formal language study. LL images were not discovered in the 1990s by textbook producers when Landry and Bourhis (1997) published their important paper on linguistic landscape. Nor had textbook producers shown evidence of expanding the potential of LL images in the 2000s textbooks when this research area was rapidly expanding. The situation may be changing in current textbooks, but it takes volumes like this one as well as teachers and materials developers to integrate research in applied linguistics into language teaching materials. With the expanding research on linguistic landscapes especially in areas where language policy is important in society (e.g., Spain and Belgium), linguistic landscape should offer an effective entre into critical aspects of cultural narrative in language teaching,

Appendix: French Textbooks Containing LL Images

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Teaching with Virtual Linguistic Landscapes: Developing Translingual and Transcultural Competence

Sungwoo Kim and Michael Chesnut

Abstract Researchers have shown that students' language skills can develop through locally-based linguistic landscape activities such as guided research projects and literacy walks. However, this approach is limited as students need to travel to the sites of these local linguistic landscapes and simply cannot physically get to more distant places. Moreover, students of languages other than English may have far fewer opportunities to examine the languages they study within local places. To address these limitations and contribute to the larger discussion of language teaching with linguistic landscapes, we examine the use of virtual linguistic landscapes, exemplified by various street-view services such as Google Street View and curated collections of digital photographs, as an alternative means of language teaching. Focusing on English language teaching in South Korea, but with relevance to language pedagogy in a wide variety of contexts, we examine classroom practices utilizing virtual linguistic landscapes that can develop learners' translingual and transcultural competence, understanding these competencies to be the ability to operate between languages; the ability to reflect on oneself through another language and culture; and the capacity to challenge conventional ideas and consider alternative understandings more generally (Modern Language Association, Foreign languages and higher education: new structures for a changed world. Available at http://www.mla.org/flreport, 2007).

1 Introduction

Bringing linguistic landscapes into language learning creates new opportunities for educational practices, as illustrated throughout this volume, and already a variety of scholars have examined productive language learning practices that can draw upon linguistic landscapes (Burwell and Lenters 2015; Malinowski 2016; Rowland 2013)

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and begun important critical discussions regarding these educational practices (Malinowski 2010). However, the discussion regarding language teaching with linguistic landscapes remains early in its development, meaning there are only a limited number of papers written for language teachers which discuss productive ways teachers can incorporate linguistic landscapes into language teaching (see Chern and Dooley 2014; Sayer 2010, as examples). Therefore, there is still the need for texts which illustrate educational practices that draw upon linguistic landscapes for language learning in a way that allows teachers to begin envisioning these practices as part of their teaching. These practices should provide a wider range of viable options upon which existing linguistic landscape-based pedagogical practices can extend their geographical and sociocultural repertoire. One way to answer this call is to tap into the potential of digital technology to enrich literacy practices. With this backdrop, this chapter discusses a variety of educational practices suitable for a variety of different classroom contexts which draw upon *virtual linguistic landscapes* as key elements.

The term virtual linguistic landscape can refer to several distinct forms of language,[1] but within this chapter we use this term to refer to digital representations of publicly visible texts such as billboards, shopfront signage, menus, street signs, and other general signage originating within particular places and curated in a particular manner by those who create these virtual linguistic landscapes. Curation is a critical concept in this definition as it emphasizes that images of signs are created through digital means and presented in particular ways. Including curation in our understanding of the virtual linguistic landscape puts focus on the many elements of individual human choice, algorithmic processes, and the many practices involving both that shape all virtual linguistic landscapes.

We further categorize the virtual linguistic landscape through the use of two terms, *virtual world linguistic landscapes* and *virtual realia linguistic landscapes*. With virtual world linguistic landscapes, we refer to digitally created places that allow viewers to move around within them and observe the linguistic landscapes contained within these digital worlds. With virtual realia linguistic landscapes, we refer to digital images of publicly visible signs and texts which are selected, organized, presented, and sometimes found through digital means.

Examples of virtual world linguistic landscapes include Google Street View and Kakaomap Roadview (http://map.kakao.com), both of which allow viewers to virtually place themselves within and travel along paths corresponding to real-world places and their corresponding signs. Further, this term includes digital representations of non-real-world landscapes containing signs that can be visited and explored such as the digital recreation of a modern-day, fictionalized Seattle found in the videogame *Infamous Second Son*, various virtual worlds such as *Second Life*, and a

[1] Ivković and Lotherington (2009) define virtual linguistic landscape as "visibility and salience of linguistic items and other semiotic markers delineating ethnolinguistic presence and indexing power relations in cyberspace-as-the-public-sphere" (p. 10) meaning essentially all websites, blogs, and texts online are part of this virtual linguistic landscape. We believe our definition is more productive for our discussions of teaching with linguistic landscapes.

representation of the Korean city of Busan in the future, post-robot-uprising world depicted in the videogame *Overwatch*. Typically, these virtual world linguistic landscapes are created as smaller elements of larger projects intended to create digital representations of particular places and can be shaped by both direct human choice and the programs developed as part of these projects.

Examples of virtual realia linguistic landscapes include collections of images of a particular type of sign such as cafe signboards in Seoul, pizza restaurant menus from around the world, or neon signs from Hong Kong and are created by researchers, teachers, and individuals or groups interested in signs. Any curated digital collection of pictures of signs, found through a digital search or individual act of photography, selected along some principle or idea and shared digitally can be a virtual realia linguistic landscape. Visually oriented social media services such as Instagram have allowed individuals to curate and widely share virtual realia linguistic landscapes through specific accounts dedicated to particular types of signs, such as roadside-Americana-themed signs or classic neon signs, and allowed others to curate their own virtual realia linguistic landscapes by searching for various types of images of signs within these social media spaces via hashtags and other search features. Typically, virtual realia linguistic landscapes are curated and shared via digital means for a particular reason, such as examining a particular aspect of the linguistic landscape, sharing signs that are aesthetically pleasing in a particular way, or for use in teaching.

Recognizing that virtual linguistic landscapes are curated is critical for any teaching practices involving this medium. Teachers and students must recognize that individuals, teams, and programs curate the images and worlds that constitute virtual linguistic landscapes and can therefore shape and limit what is being seen in these virtual linguistic landscapes. Likewise, teachers and students must recognize that the context present when walking down a street and looking at a sign is mostly absent in a virtual linguistic landscape. Virtual linguistic landscapes typically do not include observations of human interaction both with signs and in the presence of signs, although some of these experiences may be available when examining some virtual linguistic landscapes, such as those within certain videogame worlds. Understanding that virtual linguistic landscapes are curated and that context may be extremely limited when examining many virtual linguistic landscapes can help mitigate the challenges to using virtual linguistic landscapes discussed by Malinowski (2010). There is a danger, outlined by Malinowski (2010, p. 207), that virtual representations of streets, places, and signs decontextualize these signs to such an extent that viewers or students begin to understand them through simple stereotypical views of a particular place, people, or language. This constitutes a serious challenge to the use of virtual linguistic landscapes in teaching activities. However, we believe emphasizing that these virtual linguistic landscapes are curated, alongside discussion of the limited context presented in virtual linguistic landscapes, can mitigate the potential dangers and limitations of using virtual linguistic landscapes in language teaching.

Moreover, the quantity and accessibility of images in the virtual linguistic landscape provide rich opportunities for exploring language and meaning making. Even if the entire context of signs is limited, the virtual linguistic landscape still allows access to the written language, fonts, colors, illustrations, diagrams, iconography, and lighting that are curated within any particular linguistic landscape. These elements form a complex linguistic ecology that provide further context to any virtual linguistic landscape. Additionally, virtual linguistic landscapes allow for an ecological examination of the linguistic landscape (Shohamy and Waksman 2009), by displaying material elements, such as the surrounding architecture and people going about their daily routines. Google Street View, other road view services, and other images of signs often include images of people walking along streets, businesses operating, cars driving back and forth, and other elements of everyday life, all of which contribute to the establishment of the context in which signs are placed. While we acknowledge the limitations of virtual linguistic landscapes, approaching virtual linguistic landscapes from an ecological perspective creates new opportunities for language learners to examine and learn from language in use: learners can examine and learn how vocabulary, grammar, and other sociocultural elements of language are used to create meaning within a particular place.

Another benefit of exploring virtual linguistic landscapes is that, assuming the needed technology is available, teaching activities can be done within classrooms and at home, thereby saving time and money demanded by physical travel in the real world. Further, virtual linguistic landscapes can be explored without regard to physical or geographical boundaries, creating new opportunities for teaching and learning with linguistic landscapes around the world. Additionally, in contexts in which students cannot leave classrooms or have limited access to local linguistic landscapes, virtual linguistic landscape activities may be the only way to engage in language teaching with linguistic landscapes. Exploring virtual linguistic landscapes should not replace exploring local linguistic landscapes in person, but teaching practices incorporating virtual linguistic landscapes create further opportunities for language learning in a variety of ways.

In examining teaching practices based on virtual linguistic landscapes, this paper uses the language learning goals stated within the Modern Language Association Ad Hoc Committee Report (MLA Report 2007), hereinafter the MLA report, as guiding principles. The MLA report emphasizes the importance of translingual and transcultural competence for language learners with three concrete language learning goals: the ability to operate between languages; the ability to reflect on oneself through another language and culture; and the capacity to challenge conventional ideas and consider alternative understandings more generally (MLA 2007). Moving beyond conventional ideas of language learning as the mastery of reading, writing, speaking, and listening, these recommendations highlight the further goals of expanding language learners' capacity to examine themselves, others, and the surrounding world. Importantly, these goals are understood not to be distinct and isolated, but interrelated and overlapping aspects of the desired development of a language learner who can "capitalize on the surplus of meaning that multilingualism can bring about" (Kramsch 2011, p. 18). Translingual and transcultural

competence demands language learners become aware of and examine the organic connections and relationships between language users, the environment, and larger surrounding cultures. Critically, the MLA report does not provide any guidance on how to achieve these goals, meaning teachers and researchers must develop and examine different means to work towards the goals outlined in the MLA report. Virtual linguistic landscape activities, carefully designed and supported, are especially well-suited to furthering these goals as they can create opportunities for students to view diverse environments featuring language that arises out its ecological context in both distant and near streets and locales.

Images of linguistic landscapes, such as in Fig. 1, can offer language in rich contexts, embedded in places where such language reflects the history of a place, the identities of people within that place, and the global elements influencing that place. The following three sections each focus on a different language learning goal of the MLA report, and examine various language teaching activities that make use of virtual linguistic landscapes. Aware of the limitations of virtual linguistic landscapes and cautioned by Malinowski (2010), we are nevertheless hopeful that these virtual linguistic landscape activities can create new opportunities for language learning.

This chapter aims to expand existing linguistic landscape-based activities into the realm of digital representations of linguistic landscapes, and so focuses on presenting and discussing educational practices that teachers can make use of in their own contexts.

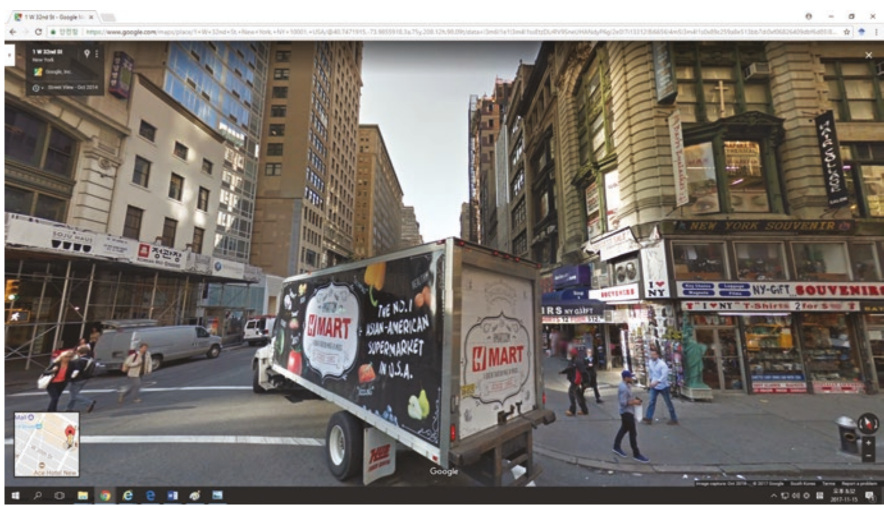

Fig. 1 Screen capture of linguistic landscape image

2 The Ability to Operate Between Languages

The MLA report highlights that language learners need to operate between languages or be "educated to function as informed and capable interlocutors with educated native speakers in the target language" (MLA report 2007), while also understanding that the goal of language learning is becoming a globally capable multilingual communicator, not an idealized monolingual target language speaker. Essentially this means students should be capable of representing themselves and making well-informed choices about their language use regardless of how they are communicating. Critically, teachers may also be working within institutions that shape and potentially constrain teaching practices, and teachers themselves may be drawing upon educational foundations and knowledge that elevate certain teaching practices over others. Therefore, we begin this section and the following two sections by discussing how virtual linguistic landscape activities can be incorporated as relatively short activities within a larger textbook-based English language lesson. We have chosen to focus on a lesson for young learners of English concerning the flavors of pizza, based on an existing textbook in Korea, as this example is both typical, in our judgement, of many English language classes for young learners in Korea and other similar EFL contexts while also allowing for the creative incorporation of virtual linguistic landscape activities. This lesson is based on one page of a textbook, featuring a pizza with four flavors (lemon, sweet potato, gimchi (sic), and bacon) and features an accompanying reading and writing activity. Overall, this lesson is focused on teaching and reviewing vocabulary such as 'salty', 'sour', 'spicy' 'sweet', and 'delicious' as well as expressions such as 'please try some', 'help yourself', and 'do you want some more?'. Because such textbook activities can be seen as limited or focused on learning vocabulary solely as an end rather than a means of communication, teachers often find themselves having to develop ways to use these textbook activities in creative communicative lessons that further develop learners' vocabulary, as Thornbury (2002, p. 34) highlights in his accessible discussion of teaching vocabulary through coursebooks. We aim through this particular example to showcase the possibilities of adding virtual linguistic landscape activities to a wide variety of classroom activities such as this pizza-focused lesson.

In this lesson, centered on a four-flavored pizza, the virtual linguistic landscape offers the opportunity to expand students' ability to operate between languages through additional vocabulary review activities. Following Schmitt (2007, p. 749) for whom "the fact that vocabulary is learned incrementally inevitably leads to the implication that words must be met and used multiple times to be truly learned," virtual linguistic landscape activities create possibilities for vocabulary use in multiple ways. Following the lesson derived from the textbook, many preselected images of pizza menus featuring a variety of images and texts, and varying in the amount and complexity of text, can be shown to students via computer and data projector to elicit the previously taught vocabulary, recycling that vocabulary and in doing so aiding language learning (González-Fernández and Schmitt 2017, p. 290). Students can be asked to guess how the pizza would taste, eliciting the taught

language 'salty', 'sour', 'spicy' 'sweet', 'delicious', and any additional vocabulary students are comfortable sharing. Students can also be asked to visit the Instagram account of a restaurant and use the phrases studied earlier, saying to one another 'please try some,' naming a pizza in one of the images, such as 'kimchi pizza' or 'cheeseburger pizza', 'BBQ pizza', 'apple pizza,' (all examples that may be found at existing pizza restaurants in Korea) and commenting on its taste. Students can further be asked to name another pizza flavor drawn from their imagination but inspired by this virtual linguistic landscape. Moreover, students can be shown pizza menus with differing writing systems, languages, and design features, pushing students to rely on images and guesswork as they recycle the previously taught language while nurturing their imaginations through the use of these less-familiar languages, writing systems, and multimodal elements. Critically, these activities rely on the use of a virtual realia linguistic landscape assembled by the teacher. While creating such a resource may seem challenging, Google Image Search and the search function of Instagram can allow teachers to easily access many images such as pizza menus and, depending on the context, teachers may encounter a variety of such menus in their normal routines and can digitally photograph them and incorporate them to into a virtual realia linguistic landscape. Such resources, once created, can be expanded, shared digitally among teachers using the same textbook, and drawn upon again and again. This classroom activity may take only a few minutes, but even within this short amount of time more activities can be done and further virtual linguistic landscape resources can be used, as we discuss in the latter two sections focused on reflection and challenging students' imaginations, the further goals outlined in the MLA report.

Similar activities can be developed for reviewing and recycling other forms of vocabulary as well. Having previously taught a set of 'city vocabulary' such as 'bridge', 'stream', 'road', 'hospital', and 'apartment' via a cartoon map featured in a mandated vocabulary book, for example (See Thornbury (2002, p. 44, for a discussion of teaching vocabulary through vocabulary books), a teacher may use a virtual world linguistic landscape to further recycle that vocabulary in a relatively short activity. Using Google Street View to drop in to a location containing English signs, a teacher can begin by asking students to read a sign posted in such a way that the object the sign marks is not visible, such as a 'low bridge' sign warning about an upcoming but-not-visible danger. This simple reading activity is valuable for elementary learners of a language and done in this new and immersive way can be more memorable. The students and teacher can then travel along the street in Google Street View until the bridge becomes visible, thereby reinforcing connections between the word 'bridge' and the physical object. Research has found that learning vocabulary through videogames can aid language learners in expanding their vocabulary (Hitosugi et al. 2014) and exploring vocabulary through Google Street View may similarly benefit students as these lessons can be a memorable, game-like experience. This activity can be repeated for similar vocabulary such as 'hospital', 'apartment' and more. Likewise, the practice can be reversed with the building or object first being shown, the desired vocabulary elicited from the students, and then the sign revealed. This practice can also be expanded to places in which English is

one of several languages on signs to kindle the interest of students in both this specific vocabulary as well as the multilingual world that surrounds them, while also challenging students further by having to find the English vocabulary within a sign containing more than one language. We refer to such an activity involving virtual movement designed to elicit and recycle words or phrases as a *vocabulary tour* and explore how such activities can support all three goals of the MLA report throughout this chapter. Importantly, caution should be taken using road view services as sometimes signs are not visible and viewers can get 'lost' moving along paths in virtual worlds. Therefore, these activities should be carefully prepared and additional images of signs can be used, found through Google image search, to show students clearer examples of images of signs along routes.

Similar vocabulary tour lessons can be developed for other topics, such as food and markets, by teaching or reviewing such language through an interior virtual world linguistic landscape provided by Google Street View. Figures 2 and 3 provide an example of a Google Street View tour of inside an American supermarket in which a variety of signs are visible and a wide variety of food items can be seen. Google Street View can be used to examine both items and language found within an American supermarket by taking a vocabulary tour of such a place and teaching and recycling vocabulary along the way.

More advanced vocabulary language lessons can focus on particular aspects of adjective word order and usage found in a virtual realia linguistic landscape which features numerous examples of adjectives, such as virtual realia linguistic landscape consisting of coffee, tea, and flavored milk product packaging. In this example activity, designed for learners of English in Korea, images of milk cartons from Korea selected from a larger virtual realia linguistic landscape could be a means of reviewing adjective word order, compound-adjective formation and usage, food and

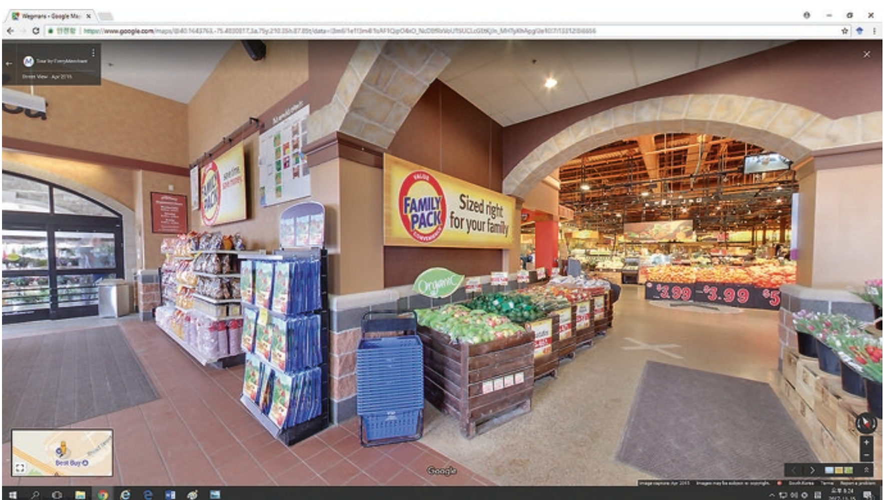

Fig. 2 Google Street View tour of the shelves of a U.S. supermarket

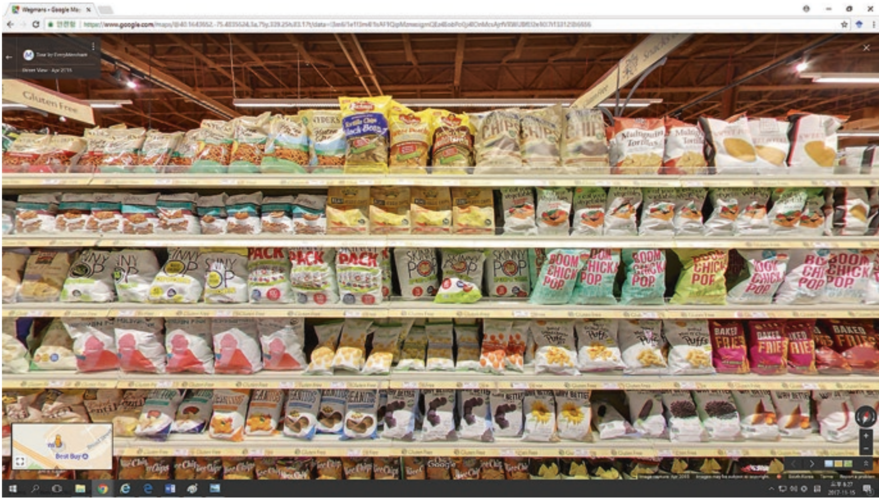

Fig. 3 Google Street View tour of the interior of a supermarket in the U.S.

Fig. 4 Flavored milk product packaging, an example of an element of a virtual realia linguistic landscape

beverage related collocations, and the culturally relevant adjectives often associated with food in different contexts. Examining English expressions such as "It's Sweet & Soft" (as in Fig. 4) and "coffee made from the world's best seasonally harvested fresh coffee beans" (an expression on a similar carton bearing the brand name of a famous cafe in Korea), creates opportunities to explore vocabulary in multiple, memorable ways for students and allows for conversations about issues of appropriateness of word choice and the very nature of appropriateness. A virtual realia linguistic landscape of similar packaging, created by a teacher photographing items from a convenience store or through the use of Google Image Search, can create

many new opportunities for language learning in different ways, including explorations of adjectives and descriptive writing.

Similar practices based on virtual linguistic landscapes can be developed for other language lessons as well. A language lesson focused on teaching English imperatives through classroom actions could be followed later with a short review activity featuring a virtual realia linguistic landscape consisting of English imperatives such as 'do not enter', 'do not litter', 'do not feed the animals' and more. A Google image search for 'do not sign' could provide some basic English examples, and further searches for 'do not sign' and different names of countries can produce more interest-generating multilingual examples. Signs could be read and quickly explained by students as they are shown in succession to a class, moving from simple monolingual English 'Do Not' signs to more unusual English 'Do Not' signs to 'Do Not' signs featuring a variety of languages less familiar to students, generating student interest through encounters with the less-familiar and intriguing contexts of these signs. These activities could be followed by examining similar signs with no English present, with students guessing as to their meaning, aided perhaps by the teacher with knowledge of those signs, with students subsequently writing English texts that would be appropriate English additions to those signs.

González-Fernández and Schmitt (2017) suggest in their contemporary review of vocabulary acquisition scholarship that "there is an almost unlimited number of potential vocabulary learning activities" (p. 289) and we believe the use of virtual linguistic landscapes can contribute to the learning of vocabulary, grammar, and the myriad of skills required to operate between languages. Developing language teaching practices incorporating virtual linguistic landscapes, even when focused on recycling basic vocabulary such as 'spicy' and 'bridge', creates opportunities to present learners with complex multilingual images that arise from a rich historical context. It is critical that teachers be supported in engaging in teaching practices that support the type of learning required by educational institutions or that are part of a mandated, textbook-based lesson.

The MLA (2007) report argues that within programs built upon the goals outlined in that report, "literature, film, and other media are used to challenge students' imaginations and to help them consider alternative ways of seeing, feeling, and understanding things". These practical activities involving pizza menus, road signs, American supermarket signage, and more draw upon a unique form of media to challenge students' imaginations and, in doing so, consider new ways of seeing the world, while primarily focusing on developing a language learner's ability to communicative effectively. Importantly, in the following two sections additional activities are outlined which facilitate both reflecting and challenging assumptions regarding self and language. However, the MLA report (2007) emphasizes that there is often a tension within language programs: "at one end, language is considered to be principally instrumental, a skill to use for communicating thought and information. At the opposite end, language is understood as an essential element of a human being's thought processes, perceptions, and self-expressions," and we acknowledge that many language programs and classrooms operate under the constraints of an instrumentalist view of language teaching, even while we adopt much broader and

inclusive goals within this chapter. We believe the activities within this section can be easily incorporated into classrooms operating under an instrumentalist framework and in doing so create further opportunities to expand language teaching within that context beyond such a framework, as we explain in the following two sections. There is a need, we believe, to highlight that virtual linguistic landscape activities can be incorporated in lessons focused on, for example, basic vocabulary acquisition and, by doing so, we believe greater opportunities for activities which reflect and challenge the self through language will be made possible.

3 Reflection Through Another Language and Culture

The MLA report further suggests that foreign language education needs to encourage language learners to "reflect on the world and themselves through the lens of another language and culture" (2007), including the ability to "to comprehend speakers of the target language as members of foreign societies" (2007). This aspect of translingual and transcultural competence emphasizes the importance of developing the ability to be familiar with and understand those who speak another language and whose views are influenced by another culture. Further, these goals emphasize the ability to see oneself and one's own culture through the eyes of another. Ultimately, the goal suggested by the MLA report is to develop intercultural communicators who can adopt different perspectives, as well as anticipate and understand the challenges and opportunities of communicating across languages and cultures. Below, we discuss several virtual linguistic landscape activities that can enhance this aspect of transcultural and translingual competence.

Returning to the previously-discussed, textbook-based lesson centered on a four-flavored pizza and the accompanying virtual realia linguistic landscape activities involving images of pizza restaurant menus, we can easily expand this activity to incorporate reflection on another language and culture. Repeating the previously discussed activity with pizza menus, a teacher can also engage students with questions about what types of pizza are common in different places, how different types of pizza were developed and became popular, and what expectations different customers might have in terms of pizza in different places, all without resorting to essentialization or stereotypes while also reusing key vocabulary required to operate between languages. Teachers can benefit by finding images that challenge simplistic views of language and culture by discussing the hybridity and diversity contained within pizza restaurants in places such as the United States, Korea, and elsewhere, emphasizing this point with images of pizza menus that reflect this diversity. An image of an American pizza-restaurant menu containing kimchi pizza, for example, can encourage students to consider how vocabulary, food, and culture circulate and flow through different parts of the world. Questions can be asked about how kimchi pizza may be viewed in different places by different groups to encourage students to adopt new perspectives on issues of food and culture. Further questions can be asked about the relationships between taste and descriptive language in these menus,

suggesting to students that notions of flavor, taste and even degree of spiciness can be viewed from multiple perspectives across different languages. Similar questions can be asked about the prices on different menus leading students to ask how price can be related to understanding a particular food as common, refined, exotic, ethnic, or some other way of seeing this particular food. Going further, questions can be asked about different visual elements in these menus, with teachers suggesting that different colors, images and other visual elements can be seen in multiple ways. This process can be repeated for other pizza related menus, signs, and packaging, such as an image of the packaging for a Dr. Oetker Big Americans frozen pizza. Asking how different people in different countries and contexts may understand and feel about references to kimchi pizza, a pizza brand named Big Americans, taste, price, and aspects of these virtual linguistic landscapes can be a productive way of going beyond students' own culturally-located ways of seeing such images and working towards the translingual and transcultural goals of the MLA report.

Additional activities still focusing on this pizza lesson and virtual linguistic landscapes but engaging further with reflection on another language and culture can include visiting pizza restaurants via a virtual world linguistic landscape. Through Google Street View, for example, students can stop by various pizza restaurants around the world, guess what type of pizza is served, and consider the role of the restaurant in that particular place (e.g., a working-class restaurant, a family restaurant, or a restaurant attempting to represent Italian culture and cuisine). Even comparing one pizza restaurant franchise in two locations, such as in the United States and Korea, can lead students to consider what different pizza restaurants represent in their communities. Looking at Pizza Hut locations in Korea and the United States, for example, can help students consider how different places construct the same type of restaurant in different ways in terms of class, identity, and more. Done simply at the end of an activity based on a proscribed textbook and recycling vocabulary in a way that is congruent with institutionally-required language learning goals, these activities can aid reflection on another language and culture within a potentially limiting curriculum.

The city vocabulary tour activity can be similarly expanded to focus on the second goal of the MLA report by explicitly focusing on comparing and contrasting a less familiar linguistic landscape in a primarily target-language speaking area and a more familiar local linguistic landscape from the learner's own city or nation. Korean learners of English based in Seoul, perhaps having already done a vocabulary tour of Toronto, New York (see Fig. 1) or London, can take another tour but be asked to identify certain categories or genres of signs, such as traffic signs, hotel names, advertisement billboards, signs with pictograms, or signs attached to buses or taxis. For example, students in a typical Korean university's required first-year English class can be asked to examine the signs of typical shops they visit such as cafes and restaurants while being led on a tour of Toronto's multicultural neighborhoods or New York City's metropolitan areas. Via Google Street View and a data projector, the class can collectively take a tour of these neighborhoods examining these signs and discussing the names of stores, the information displayed, the languages being used, the use of graphics, the use of fonts, and whatever else is of interest to students. Google Street View offers great affordances for this kind of

activity in that it enables users to locate a collection of shops, read a summary featuring information regarding each shop, and visit their official website on the spot for further exploration. (See Fig. 5 for an example search of 'pharmacy in NYC').

With the class interested and excited by observing this somewhat distant and potentially exotic place, the tour can return to a familiar place, Seoul in this example of Korean students (see Fig. 6), and examine the same type of shop fronts. This movement from more remote places to more familiar locales can help generate

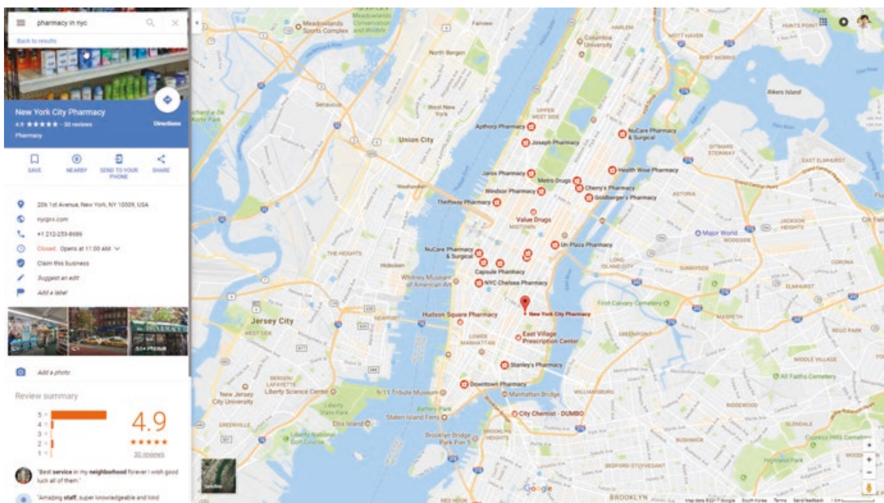

Fig. 5 Google Maps search for 'pharmacy in NYC'

Fig. 6 Looking at a familiar linguistic landscape anew: An ordinary street scene in Seoul

interest in local signs and language in those local linguistic landscapes that students might otherwise feel are routine, already well known, and uninteresting. This movement from abroad to home, even if done only virtually, can help students look at their local linguistic landscape anew, primed to the multilingual signs in their own contexts that, without such movement, are often ignored. This ideally de-familiarizes local linguistic landscapes and eases the process of looking at these deeply familiar places with new eyes.

An additional activity we propose takes students to another culture but more importantly another time within a particular place. This activity can promote students' awareness of growing and transforming multicultural communities by examining different examples of these communities in different locations across the globe and, more interestingly, a single relevant example across time. This type of activity can start engaging students in discussions about social changes within a country related to tourism and migration. This can be followed by raising their awareness of accompanying demographic shifts, which can be further explored by referring to the relevant virtual linguistic landscape. The MLA report lists understanding "how a particular background reality is reestablished on a daily basis through cultural subsystems" with "local historiography" listed as one of these subsystems. This activity's focus on time can contribute to understanding how history is made within particular places, and in doing so follows the MLA report's recommendations.

Kakaomap Roadview, which covers South Korea, offers a special feature that can serve this activity: a view of the designated area at different points of time, usually on a yearly basis. This allows users to 'time travel' back to as early as 2008. For example, Fig. 7 presents two images, an earlier image on the left and a later image on the right, of Dae-rim Dong in Seoul, where a fast influx of immigrant workers from Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture is changing this neighborhood's linguistic, cultural, and commercial scene.

Figure 8 presents two images of Itaewon, a famous tourist area and home to a visible international community, taken at different times. In the earlier image on the left more Korean text is visible, while within the image on the right, taken later, much of this Korean text is absent, demonstrating some of the changes occurring in this neighborhood. In certain locations Google Street View similarly allows viewers to examine locations, such as Times Square in New York City, from 2007 to 2016.

Students can be encouraged to explore changing semiotic as well as physical scenes of particular areas, while discussing different aspects of sociocultural change in these places. Teachers, drawing upon needed scholarship, can carefully scaffold their participation in this activity by offering an overview of the socioeconomic forces driving these changes, emphasizing the complexity that exists within any context and cautioning students against assuming an essentialized view of change in the linguistic landscape under examination. Furthermore, assignments can ask the students to collect a batch of screenshots to represent change on diverse analytical levels such as multilingual representations, graphic components, and linguistic expressions appealing to a specific group of people.

Fig. 7 Two images of the same location in Dae-rim Dong, Seoul, taken at two different times, via Kakaomap Roadview

Fig. 8 Two images of Itaewon, Seoul, taken at different times, via Kakaomap Roadview

Further, this activity can be expanded to include discussions of future worlds through the virtual world linguistic landscapes of various videogame worlds set in the future. Unfortunately, incorporating videogame worlds into classroom activities is incredibly challenging as these games can require powerful computers or dedicated gaming systems and it is rarely practical for a class to collectively play an immersive videogame. However, videos of videogame worlds exist and by watching

a video of such a videogame world, and pausing when relevant signs appear, a class can collectively tour an imagined future world and examine that virtual world linguistic landscape, albeit to a limited extent. For Korean university students studying English, watching a short video featuring a tour of a future version of the city of Busan from the videogame Overwatch is an opportunity to reflect on the future linguistic landscape of Korea. Students could be asked to examine the existing signs in this world, such as 'Welcome to 부산역' (Busan Station) and be asked how realistic this language is for a future Korean city. Students could be asked to construct their own signs for a future city, incorporating previously taught English, while also reflecting on the role of English, Korean, and other languages in a future Korea. This activity can be repeated for other locations with relevant language contexts within Overwatch's videogame world or the future more generally, creating opportunities for reflection on language use in different contexts in the future. We refer to these explorations of past and future virtual linguistic landscapes as *time travel language tours* and believe they represent a powerful opportunity to reflect on language and culture for language learners.

Another activity that can further reflection on language and culture is what we refer to as a *linguistic landscape tour guide activity*. Using a virtual world linguistic landscape such as Google Street View, students could give a 'cultural traveler's narrative', in which they give a detailed account of linguistic signs they see, how they interpret and feel about them, the motivation behind various signs, and what kinds of actions they would take if they were a business owner or resident of that street. For example, they can visit several cities, screen capture and curate signs of interest, present their perceptions and understanding of them, while discussing one focal component such as traffic signs, local franchise restaurants, subway stations, taxi and bus signs, and other notable objects visible in the virtual linguistic landscape.

Ideally, these activities create additional opportunities for students to further develop their language skills while also creating new possibilities to reflect on language and themselves. Furthermore, for many learners of English this experience of virtually examining English abroad can make local displays of English more noticeable and interesting, priming them to better examine the English that surrounds so many language learners. Alternative versions of these activities for different target languages can create opportunities for reflecting upon understandings in different ways. Korean language learners in Canada, for example, can examine the virtual linguistic landscape of a typical neighborhood in Seoul, the much more international neighborhood of Itaewon within Seoul, and various Korean-Canadian communities in Canada to study, examine, and reflect upon the use of Korean in those places, expanding Korean language learners' understanding of language use in Korea and Korean language use in Canada. While much of this section focuses on examples of English language teaching, virtual linguistic landscapes can be a medium through which learners of a wide variety of languages reflect on language, themselves, the world, and others in deeply productive ways.

4 Challenging Students' Imaginations and Fostering Alternative Linguistic, Cultural Experience

The MLA report further advises language teachers "to challenge students' imaginations and to help them consider alternative ways of seeing, feeling, and understanding things" (2007). The report argues that language education needs to go beyond teaching the functional ability to deal with everyday communicative situations; it needs to seek ways to promote the learner's "political consciousness, social sensibility, and aesthetic perception" (2007). Though these may seem relevant to only advanced language learners, we believe that virtual linguistic landscape activities can help even novice students develop a greater awareness and appreciation of their linguistic environments, a critical aspect of the MLA report's goals. Further, we believe even young learners can challenge and engage with their own assumptions about language through these activities.

Returning for a final time to the textbook-based lesson centered on a four-flavored pizza and accompanying virtual linguistic landscape activities, several opportunities exist for further expanding this activity into a practice that both challenges students' imaginations and fosters alternative linguistic and cultural experiences. Within this activity, students can be given opportunities to reevaluate and reexamine their beliefs and understandings of language, and the specific languages they encounter in school, through examination of the different language contained in food-related translingual signs. Many students conceptualize their first language, for example Korean for most students in Korea, and English as being two radically distinct systems with Korean existing for the use of Korean people, and English existing as the language of the US, the UK, and as a language of global communication. The use of English in Korea is then presumed by many students to be for the purposes of communicating with tourists or other visitors from outside Korea. A teacher seeking to challenge these understandings can choose to introduce various food-and-drink-related translingual signs which at points combine English and Korean text within one message, as in Fig. 9, and use English and Korean in different ways within the same sign, as in Fig. 10. Students can examine these translingual signs, which feature two or more languages, and question who created these signs and why they were created. Specific questions such as to why the word 'chef' is used in Fig. 9 can foster deeper discussions of the use of English by Korean people for Korean audiences, perhaps helping some students examine previous unquestioned ideas about English, Korean, and language more generally.

Through an examination of a variety of translingual signs within both local and distant virtual linguistic landscapes, related in this example to our original pizza-based lesson through a focus on food, students can be given opportunities to question their assumptions regarding language and even the assumption that rigid divisions exist between languages such as English and Korean (see Makoni and Pennycook 2007, for further discussion of how language can be understood without rigid divisions between individual languages). Additionally, students can further develop their understanding of register and word choice more generally by discussing alternative possibilities for these signs and recreating these signs using different

Fig. 9 Translingual Korean-English sign

Fig. 10 Translingual Korean-English sign

language, all the while examining their fundamental assumptions regarding English, Korean, and language more generally.

Lastly in terms of exploring this pizza lesson, a teacher can lead students on a global exploration of pizza restaurants, taking the class to pizza restaurants in places students do not expect them, through a virtual linguistic landscape. In the case of young learners in Korea, the class could explore the English signage of pizza restaurants in Lagos, Nigeria (see Fig. 11), for example, through Google Street View,

Fig. 11 A pizza restaurant in Lagos, Nigeria as seen via Google Street View

repeating many of the activities discussed earlier, but with additional discussions of how both pizza restaurants and English can be present around the globe but can also have different values and functions in different places. Simply seeing pizza restaurants with their accompanying English signage in places students have only limited knowledge of can challenge assumptions about such places and push students to reexamine their understandings of place, language, and food.

Beyond the example of this pizza-focused lesson, virtual linguistic landscapes offer many additional ways to challenge students' understandings of language. Many students conceptualize English, and other languages, as somewhat perfect systems in which grammar and vocabulary are used either correctly or incorrectly. Virtual linguistic landscapes and examination of specific signs can create opportunities for students to experience the diversity that exists in written English and in the written forms of other languages, and, in the case of English, can even organically introduce students to ideas of World Englishes. A vocabulary tour done within a virtual world linguistic landscape can, returning to our city vocabulary tour example, focus on a particular type of sign which varies across the world, such as commercial signs for pharmacies. Students can be taken on a virtual tour of this type of store, examining signs featuring 'chemist', 'drugstore', 'pharmacy', and 'dispensary' (see Fig. 12), the instructor having already curated a collection of these signs either as individual images or at locations through a street-view service. Examining even this seemingly mundane collection of signs can help students reexamine deeply held ideas about the absolute correctness of vocabulary, and language in general, creating opportunities for students to consider a more pluralistic understanding of language and communication. Importantly, examining signs containing examples of translingual language and different language varieties offers students greater opportunities to examine the widely varying language used in

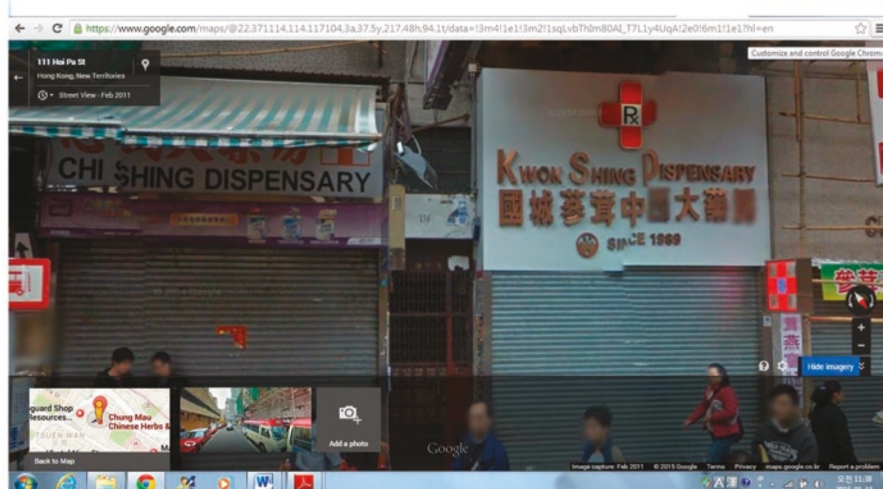

Fig. 12 Dispensaries in Hong Kong visited on a virtual world linguistic landscape tour

signs around the world: a relatively simple teaching activity that can further the MLA report's goals of translingual and transcultural competence.

Importantly, we found it challenging to search for creative translingual signs well-suited for class discussions within virtual world linguistic landscapes as, unlike with pharmacies or bridges, there are no easy means of searching for these signs within these virtual places. However, we experienced some success finding such signs by exploring areas within cities known for their linguistic and cultural diversity such as China towns, Korea towns, and international districts such as Itaewon in Seoul. Exploring these areas through Google Street View or another service allowed us to find examples of some interesting multilingual and translingual signs. Image search engines offer additional opportunities to search for translingual signs but there are important limitations with these services as well. In our experience it is difficult to search for signs that creatively blend languages as keyword searches using terms such as 'translingual' or other academic phrases either return more typical signs, signs that are seen as humorous because they contain a perceived error, or covers of scholarly books and other academic images. Ultimately, we found the most productive way to develop virtual realia linguistic landscapes of translingual signs was to simply photograph any 'interesting' signs we came across in our daily routines.

Importantly, the experience of finding many interesting signs led us to share them online through social media, which in turn made us aware of the growing community of people sharing these images online and the many fascinating images of signs existing in these digital spaces, many of which are associated with various hashtags. For teachers now beginning to explore the use of virtual linguistic landscapes in teaching, searching Twitter, Instagram, and other social media for hashtags associated with linguistic landscapes can lead teachers to many images that can be

part of activities that challenge students' imaginations and foster creative experiences with language. Through a process of taking their own digital photographs, searching social media, using image search engines, or a combination of all these practices, teachers can develop their own virtual realia linguistic landscapes focused on translingual signs suitable for teaching within their respective contexts. The emergence of a community interested in linguistic landscapes online who share images of signs that challenge more common understandings of language promises to create more opportunities to teach with linguistic landscapes in ways that expand student understandings of language, communication, culture, and more.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Virtual linguistic landscape activities draw connections between the language in classrooms, the language that surrounds learners, and the complex and changing use of written language in public places around the globe. Opportunities can be created through virtual linguistic landscape activities for language development, reflection on familiar and more remote places, as well as cultivation of new ways of seeing a target language, other languages, and the world more generally. Furthermore, the use of virtual linguistic landscapes in language teaching can broaden students' perspective on language learning materials, directing attention from language learning coursebooks and vocabulary books to the more multilingual and translingual texts that surround students both in the physical world and online.

Implementing virtual linguistic landscape activities within regular classroom curriculum requires preparation, support for students, and consideration of the technological limitations as well as required technological literacies of this practice. Teachers intending to engage in activities using street-view services should carefully prepare by reviewing possible routes, images, questions, and other needed activities so that students can get the most out of these activities. It is surprisingly easy to wander about Google Street View in even densely populated urban centers and view almost no written texts, or only ubiquitous concrete buildings with little to distinguish them. Likewise, students, well-prepared to undertake coursebook-based activities, can find themselves immersed in such a rich concentration of widely varying signs and language that they struggle with where and how to begin to examine these signs. A certain level of technological literacy is needed both by teachers as well as students and caution must be exercised in even the most wired digital classrooms. Some students, and even teachers, may be far less adept at using online means of examining virtual linguistic landscapes, and care must be taken not to exclude these students.

Teachers can begin simple virtual linguistic landscape activities with only a few images and initially spend only a few minutes reviewing vocabulary using virtual linguistic landscapes. Alternatively, teachers can display an image of a single translingual sign at the end of class and take a few minutes to discuss why previously studied language that appears in that sign is being used in that way. Virtual linguistic landscapes can be the basis for serious student projects and entire classes but can

also be incorporated within very short, simple activities that can fit within a rather rigid and limited curriculum. A teacher who begins exploring the use of virtual linguistic landscapes through these short activities may, over time, develop a larger curated collection of images or a greater knowledge of appropriate street-view locations that allow for more in-depth lessons to be developed incorporating virtual linguistic landscapes. As teachers develop greater familiarity with the use of virtual linguistic landscapes and richer curated collections of productive signs both the skills of teachers and these digital resources can be shared within schools and beyond. A collection of sign images and street-view locations, useful perhaps for teaching vocabulary within a set curriculum, could be shared through school share-drives or through other resources, allowing for a school or group of teachers to collectively develop such virtual linguistic landscape resources for teaching and recycling vocabulary. The use of virtual linguistic landscapes for language learning may begin with only a few minutes of simple activity focused on following a predetermined curriculum, but may lead to further language learning opportunities with both virtual and physical linguistic landscapes.

Curating a collection of images with signs that feature useful text, meaning-laden fonts and colors, easily visible elements that relate to local contexts, and meaningful aspects that relate the lives of those who live in that place allows for language teaching that explores all of these intertwined issues. Likewise, developing an understanding of different places visible within a street-view service can accomplish the same goals. Virtual linguistic landscapes offer language teachers and learners the opportunity to explore meaning making with language in fascinating and productive ways beyond their local contexts.

We want to emphasize that these virtual linguistic landscape activities need to be flexible enough to invite students' creative, spontaneous contributions to the class. Students may want to point out some 'odd' signs or relate their own experience to a specific building or advertisement in the landscape. They may also pay extra attention to visual components such as sign colors, typography, icons, or even configurations of buildings and streets. Within different activities, students can also collect images of signs that interest them via the virtual linguistic landscape and share them in different ways as part of class activities, building further interest in different aspects of these signs. This interest in these areas is an opportunity for students and teachers to engage in linguistic experiences that contribute to both communicative skills and allow students to move toward translingual and transcultural understandings, all of which are within the goals of the MLA report.

Additionally, the technological limitations of both image searches and street-view services such as Google Street View and others must be considered both in teaching practices, and in conceptualizing virtual linguistic landscapes activities more generally. A major technical limitation of Google Street View is the limited areas and nations covered by the service, with English speaking nations such as India and Pakistan barely visible through such technologies. Such limitations may create a teaching activity that threatens to frame only the places open to Google and other global technology companies as worth exploring, rendering India, Pakistan, and much of the world invisible. Teachers exploring the use of virtual linguistic

landscape activities may want to critically examine, following Malinowski (2010), the origins of virtual worlds they are exploring and engage in other teaching activities discussing language use in places such as India, Pakistan, and elsewhere beyond the view of Google Street View.

Teachers can often struggle to connect actual classroom practices with the MLA report's goals of translingual and transcultural competence and these goals can remain intimidatingly distant when using monolingual language learning textbooks. However, we believe the use of virtual linguistic landscapes expands opportunities for translingual and transcultural development for both students and teachers. Virtual linguistic landscape activities can highlight and clarify transcultural and translingual uses of language, creating new opportunities for teachers to connect their classrooms to the goals of the MLA report. The virtual world linguistic landscape accessible through various street view services and virtual realia linguistic landscape developed by teachers and others can introduce students to displays of multilingual texts that arise from their context, allowing for a discussions and consideration of language in the world. These classroom activities may then lead to students noticing the linguistic landscape that surrounds them, creating further possibilities of learning outside of the classroom. Teachers, ultimately, will take up these practices and discover for themselves how both they and students can make use of this technology and further develop their translingual and transcultural competence. Ideally, these teachers will then contribute to a growing discussion of teaching activities using linguistic landscapes, extending the opening conversational gambit this paper represents.

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University Exchange Students' Practices of Learning Finnish: A Language Ecological Approach to Affordances in Linguistic Landscapes

Tamás Péter Szabó and Hannele Dufva

Abstract In linguistic landscape (LL) studies, various projects have demonstrated how language learners benefit from tasks that involve the documentation and interpretation of the LL. In this chapter, we investigate how Finnish as a second language learner exchange students turned the local LL into affordances during their time abroad in Finland.

While *language awareness* and its relation to learning and teaching have been extensively discussed, it has often been regarded as a property of an individual consciousness: a faculty or a tendency of a particular person to perceive, notice and reflect upon the linguistic features present in their environments. In contrast, we argue for an approach that contests the person vs. environment dualism and frames language awareness in terms of *relational* processes. Using awareness raising tasks in second language pedagogy may help learners not only to notice what is useful in their environments, but at the same time invites them to reflect on how they can make use of such resources.

Based on the analysis of our corpus we argue that the students explored the role of the LL in their learning and thus, implicitly, also displayed elements of an ecological model of distributed cognition which we discuss in detail.

Keywords Language awareness · Affordances · Metalinguistic narratives · Ecology of language learning · Learner agency

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1 Introduction

In linguistic landscape (LL) studies, various projects have demonstrated how language learners benefit from tasks and activities that involve the documentation and interpretation of the LL (e.g. Dagenais et al. 2009; Sayer 2010; Chesnut et al. 2013; Chern and Dooley 2014; Burwell and Lenters 2015; Gorter 2018). We contribute to this research on LL-based language learning, investigating how Finnish as a second language learners turned the local LL into affordances during their time abroad in Finland. Drawing on van Lier's (2004) ecological framework in which the notion of "input" has been reconceptualized as "affordance," we emphasize that language learners are active perceivers of linguistic resources rather than mere consumers of signs they encounter.

In this chapter we discuss the results of an exploratory study in which learners of Finnish as a second language university courses were invited to take notice of linguistic resources in their LL. We analyze how they report on when and why they turn resources in the LL into affordances and, thus, recognize learning opportunities. As such, this study looks to establish links between ecological frameworks of language learning and LL studies by researching the ecology of learning-in-the-LL.

Learning environments or spaces of learning are social spaces, the usage of which is intertwined with socially co-constructed conceptions and discourses of learning and teaching. Although out-of-school environments such as urban neighborhoods had already been discussed from the point of view of learning (for example in the realm of Cultural Geography: Hart 1979), Linguistic Landscape Studies as an ever-growing research agenda has given new impetus to the investigation of educational interaction not bound by classroom walls. Extending the study of *schoolscapes,* we build on Brown's fairly inclusive definition which covers "the physical and social setting in which teaching and learning take place" (Brown 2005, p. 79). While this definition focuses on learning and teaching as processes without specifying the spatial arrangements in which they take place, Malinowski (2015) has discussed how the classroom can become a purposefully constructed micro-environment for studying all kinds of literacy practices that are outside the classroom, and in reverse, how "every space and place in the world becomes readable or interpretable as a classroom" (p. 95).

Our approach in this study is to describe a task which was used to make learners perceive and consciously reflect upon linguistic affordances of their environment. Learning outside school premises has been labeled in various ways, such as *learning in the wild* (e.g. Little and Thorne 2017); *informal learning* (e.g. Benson and Reinders 2011), *incidental learning* (e.g. Rogers 2017) or *ethnomethodological and usage-based learning* (e.g. Wagner 2015). Our perspective aims at pointing out that language learning is not exhaustively explained by either 'social' or 'cognitive' analyses alone, but needs to be approached as an ecology where subjective processes intertwine with social embodied interaction and with different multimodal affordances of the environment. Many (e.g. Cenoz and Gorter 2008) have argued that observing linguistic landscapes can raise teachers' and students' awareness to

multimodal and multilingual sources of language learning in the physical environment. However, making use of outside-of-school landscapes in education still cannot be considered mainstream. Although there are several studies highlighting how creatively students recognize learning opportunities and resources in their out-of-school life contexts (e.g. Kalaja et al. 2011), there are still reports that argue for increased awareness-raising and claim that primary and secondary school students find it challenging to recognize resources their material environment would provide for language learning (e.g. Menegale 2013). To address this challenge, we discuss a specific task as a means for enhancing learners' agency (cf. Dufva and Aro 2014) and present an ecological approach as a framework for designing tasks.

2 Context

We conducted the study in Jyväskylä, an increasingly multilingual university city in Central Finland with a total population of 140,000 (City of Jyväskylä n.d.). There are two higher education institutions in the city: the University of Jyväskylä with nearly 15,000 students, including international and exchange students from approximately 100 countries (University of Jyväskylä n.d.), and the JAMK University of Applied Sciences with more than 8000 students, including international and exchange students from over 70 countries (JAMK n.d.). Jyväskylä is also a developing tourism destination with an annual average of more than 33,500 visitors from abroad over the last five years (Statistics Service Rudolf 2017).

By constitution, Finland has two national languages, Finnish and Swedish, and municipalities can be administratively either Finnish speaking, Swedish speaking, or bilingual (see Halonen et al. 2015). Since Jyväskylä is officially a monolingual Finnish-speaking municipality, public signage is mostly in Finnish only. As some exploratory studies suggest, the linguistic landscape of Jyväskylä displays effects of internationalization but, still, the dominance of Finnish in visual language use is clear (for a study of "main street English", see Laitinen et al. 2016; for graffiti, see Laukkanen et al. 2016). However, there is no study about people's perceptions of and interaction with the local LL in Jyväskylä. Since the two universities, some companies and tourism bring tens of thousands of visitors and temporary residents from abroad to the city, we were interested in studying how they make use of the local LL for the purposes of learning Finnish. Here, we focus on one group, exchange students.

We study exchange students as learners of Finnish as a second language for two reasons. First, we wanted to involve persons who had already shown commitment to explore the language by enrolling in a course. Second, we wanted to contribute to the development of teaching materials and practices that can later be used at our university. While the students' language background is heterogeneous, it can be argued that Finnish as a Finno-Ugric language often means a challenge to them, its grammatical structure and vocabulary being significantly different from their L1 as well as the various Indo-European languages that are most commonly taught as L2s globally. Moreover, students often find Finnish unfamiliar, even exotic, when

exploring its use in various everyday contexts and they may not find it easy to refer to their previous L2 study routines either. The task we analyze below was designed to show how signs in the private, semi-public and public linguistic landscape may help the students to notice learning resources and function as sources of motivation for further study of Finnish.

3 Language Awareness: Towards an Ecological and Distributed Approach

While *language awareness* and its relation to language learning and teaching have been extensively discussed (for a review, see Svalberg 2007), it has often been regarded as a property of an individual consciousness: a faculty or a tendency of a particular person to perceive, notice and reflect upon the linguistic features present in their environments. In contrast, we argue for an approach that contests the person vs. environment dualism and frames language awareness in terms of a *relational* process. Using awareness-raising tasks in second language pedagogy may help learners not only notice what is useful in their environments, but at the same time invite them to reflect on how they can make use of such resources.

An ecological view of language education (e.g. Kramsch and Steffensen 2008) points out the reciprocal relationship between learners and their environments. Thus the approach embeds cognitive considerations, but sees cognitive operations as extending beyond a single agent's brain-based processes, and thus, *distributed* across participants and resources of the environment (e.g. Hutchins 1995; Cowley 2011). At the same time, the approach allows social considerations and recognizes the significance of social interaction in particular socio-cultural contexts. However, the ecological perspective particularly points out that social activity is afforded and constrained by embodied and material circumstances and that humans are both social, cognitive, and embodied agents (Dufva 2012). Hence, human activity is approached as emergent in the human-to-human and/or human-to-artefact activity and regarded as a result of the activity within organism–environment system (Järvilehto 2009), or, achieved in *interactivity* where embodiment is an important consideration (Steffensen 2013; Steffensen and Cowley 2010; Steffensen and Pedersen 2014).

The central idea of the ecological approach, i.e., the intertwining relationship between humans and their environment, was pointed out already by Jakob von Uexküll (1934/1957), who argued that each organism has its own perceptual environment *(Umwelt)*. Today, ecological psychology is mostly known through James J. Gibson's (1979, p. 127) pioneering work which introduced the concept of *affordances,* suggesting that affordances are "what (the environment) *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes,* either for good or ill." Hence, to analyze the affordances for language learning, it is clear that the linguistic landscape analysis is highly appropriate: here, we describe how the rich and complex linguistic

environments outside the classroom, both multilingual and multimodal, may offer various types of resources that learners can benefit from. However, affordances are not a property of the context, i.e., linguistic landscape, as such. Rather, the concept indicates a relation between the perceiving agent and the features of the environment. Thus, the learners' awareness and noticing strategies are significant.

Affordances can be provided by human interlocutors and physical objects alike (see, e.g., the discussion in van Lier 2004, p. 94–96). In the present paper, we focus on the role of various signs in the linguistic landscape to discuss how a task led the participants to notice the linguistic resources present in their linguistic landscape and how they described their reflections of them. The cases we analyze show that the signs of the environment are affordances that routinely provide action potential for a particular immediate action, as is the case, for example, when encountering instructions of how to use a washing machine or when trying to interpret a traffic sign. However, it is important to note that to be able to carry out an action may also pave the way for managing subsequent actions and, thus, allow learning.

Finally, it can be suggested that the task we analyze below relates to the learners' awareness, and respectively, to their *agency*. It is rather obvious that resource-laden environments do not guarantee any outcome in regard of language proficiency if the agent lacks motivation, opportunity, or skills to genuinely assume an involvement and responsibility in the learning process. That is, to enhance and facilitate the learning process, specially designed tasks may give inspiration to the students for recognizing environmental resources as affordances, and to develop their LL awareness. In other words, we argue that when learners are encouraged to detect and recognize the semiotic resources in the LL, these can be turned into affordances and become appropriated as part of their repertoire (Dufva et al. 2014; Busch 2017).

4 Materials and Methods

Data was gained from two courses of Finnish as a second language given by the Language Centre of the University of Jyväskylä in the academic year of 2014/2015. The task was originally developed by Language Centre teachers who regularly use this and other activities exploring the LL. For example, during a 'City Rally' students were asked to walk through Jyväskylä, observe the environment, and engage in conversation in Finnish with local people in various situations (e.g. service encounters, information request, etc.). We as researchers collaborated with teachers of two courses who then integrated our task into the program of their courses. One of them, *Survival Finnish*, was meant for those who wanted to get a quick overview about the language and build receptive skills and language learning strategies, while *Finnish 1* was the first unit of a series of courses developing language proficiency in

a more systematic way. Both courses used English as the initial language of instruction while Finnish was introduced gradually.

In the particular task we analyze, we asked the students to explore Finnish in their LL and, first, take photos of the Finnish-language signs that they thought they understood and, second, signs that they could not understand but considered to be important for some reason. Further, we asked them to comment shortly on why they had chosen these photos. That is, we asked them to build on and demonstrate their already existing Finnish skills and also to set new goals of their Finnish studies. The text of our instruction was as follows.

> TAKING PICTURES ON FINNISH…
>
> Please take pictures about texts or signs which are written in Finnish and can be found anywhere around you (on the street, in a shop, at the university, in your room…). Please take at least two pictures: one about a sign or a text which you can understand and about another which is not intelligible for you but you think it would be important to understand. Please write a short comment on both of your choices in English and send the pictures and the comments to your teacher's and to our e-mail address which is indicated at the end of our letter. Please write us where and when you took the photos, why you sent those particular pictures and how you interpret the depicted texts or signs.

Our task is an online mediated version of photo elicitation (Rose 2016), a widely used participatory visual method in which participants are asked to take photos and comment on them. Our instruction focused on the Finnish language, and we asked the students to take the role of an observer who is in the middle of an imagined space of observation ("take pictures about texts or signs [that] can be found anywhere *around you*").

We organized data collection online and received photos and texts via e-mail. Participation was voluntary. Completing the above task was one of the non-graded course assignments, so all students sent their materials to the teacher via e-mail, and those participating in the study included us in the message as well. Altogether 16 students submitted materials for research purposes, and 13 of them agreed on using them in publications (8 students from the Survival Finnish course and 5 from Finnish 1). We guarantee the participants' anonymity by using pseudonyms which they were invited to choose themselves.

For this study we interpreted students' submissions as manifestations of multimodal metalinguistic narratives, that is, narratives about language use constructed with the help of both visual and textual resources. Consequently, we applied multimodal discourse analysis (e.g. LeVine and Scollon 2004) to the 31 images and circa 2000 words of students' written comments submitted. The analysis of such materials reveals how students discursively reconstruct learning environments and their own agency in such environments. We believe that the visual-textual accounts we analyze in the next section help us to identify some mechanisms of individuals' relation to affordances in out-of-school learning situations.

We are aware of the limitations of our exploratory study. For example, the materials we analyze here are just a small fragment of the course material. The scope of the activity was also wider; for example, the students briefly discussed the collected materials in small groups in one of the course meetings. However, we argue that our

present analytical experiment on these materials is suitable for combining points of view of previous research traditions and preparing further studies that apply the ecological approach we elaborate on.

5 Analysis

5.1 An Overview

In this section we discuss (i) what kind of signs and texts the students chose for sharing with us; (ii) how they explained their choice; and (iii) how they reconstructed their learning practices through multimodal (visual-textual) metalinguistic narratives. In students' submissions and in our paper alike, texts and images are combined to reconstruct the students' multimodal interaction with the LL.

To draw a general overview of the submitted materials, we quantified the textual and visual pieces of information from two points of view: (i) what kind of signs the students photographed, and (ii) where they took the photos (see Tables 1 and 2). Both aspects tell us about the students' perceived environment in Finland, in general, and in Jyväskylä, in particular, in the period of their exchange studies. Further, the submissions can also be connected to their status as young international exchange students. The research participants were particular agents in particular environments, and the quantitative overview of their materials reflects this relationship. Tables 1 and 2 indicate the number of submissions with one focal (textually commented) sign in each of them so we can see what phenomena the students took as the object of their observations.

Since we invited students to walk and observe signs in their environment, mobility played an important role in completing the task (cf. Szabó and Troyer 2017). As the sign categories in Table 1 show, the students captured signs that they recognized as learning opportunities in various ways. The class of regulatory signs mostly included traffic and warning signs that are used to regulate the mobility and trajectory of people and their vehicles (e.g. *Läpikulku kielletty* 'No trespassing'), but also regulatory signs in other contexts were included (e.g. *Ethän varaa saatavana olevaa*

Table 1 Sign categories

Category	Number of submissions
Regulatory signs	15
Information signs including commercials	12
Packages of commercial products	2
Textual narrative (in museum)	1
Travel ticket (online)	1
Total	*31*

Table 2 Locations captured

Category	Classification	Number of submissions
Street	PU	11
Library, museum	PU	6
Shop, restaurant, club	PU	5
Home (including yard and shared premises)	PR/SP	3
Railway station, airport	PU	2
Workplace	SP	1
Computer screen capture	PU/PR	1
Unspecified	N/A	2
Total		*31*

PU public, *SP* semi-public, *PR* private spaces

kirjaa 'Don't reserve a book which is available' on a library screen). Most information signs that were sent to us were meant for pedestrians about available services or opening times of shops and other service provider units. The display of signs in these two categories was located; that is, the signs were posted on walls or projected by wall-mounted screens. Students could make implications about action potentials in relation to the signs. According to students, some signs were meant to block some directions (e.g. 'no trespassing'), to encourage them to enter somewhere and do something there (e.g. opening times in shop windows invite customers to buy something), or to make them stop and read (e.g. information tables with maps and lengthy explanations). In some cases, students reported their confusion about the relationship between visual symbols and additional text that was not clear for them. An example of this was a 'no parking' traffic sign in which an additional plate with a Finnish-only text listed exceptions to the main message (e.g. people with certain permits are allowed to park there).

From the point of view of mobility and trajectories, the remaining three categories in Table 1 constitute another group. Packages of commercial products can easily be carried anywhere; that is, their visibility is not located as strictly as that of, for example, billboards. Commercial packages include textual and visual information about the products they cover and also influence customer decisions. Such packages are delivered from big distances to the shop and are moved away from shops by the buyers. That is, as sign holders, packages are always on the move, and constitute mobile languaging. In Finland, commercial packaging needs to be bilingual by legislation, including the text both in Finnish and Swedish (see e.g. Decree 1084/2004). Such LL elements bring nation-wide, constitutionally regulated bilingual practices also to administratively monolingual municipalities, such as Jyväskylä.

The sole example that pictured a sequence of a textual narrative in a museum exhibition calls our attention to the phenomenon that some collections of signs are meant to be read in a sequential order; that is, people need to find out in what order they should be read, and set their trajectory accordingly. Further, the example with

a screenshot by an online travel ticket brought virtual linguistic landscapes to the study.

Below, Table 2 summarizes what locations the students captured.

The frequency of items in the categories reflects the wording of our instruction; that is, we asked the students to capture signs on various locations, for example, "on the street, in a shop, at the university, in your room," and these four location categories occurred most often in the submissions. Computer screen as a location refers to the above-mentioned travel ticket. "Unspecified" covers a map the location of which is not named in the accompanying text, and a tobacco packet hold in the hands of the student against a black background which does not make the location recognizable.

We adapt a tripartite categorization in data analysis, distinguishing public, semi-public and private spaces (for semi-public spaces see Gorter 2018). It is not surprising that the students' submissions were mostly of public spaces since access to those is available to all with or without payment. For example, in Finland libraries are free of charge as are also museums on certain days and, in comparison, an entry to a restaurant or a bar is linked to buying products or services. However, also private settings were included among the sites. There were also examples of semi-public spaces including institutions, such as workplaces and schools where entry might be available for certain groups of people, but at the same time it is also policed (e.g. by key cards) and surveilled (e.g. special permission is needed for community-external visitors). Similarly, entry to accommodation premises (e.g. yards, shared laundry or sauna) may also be policed and surveilled. Virtual spaces, again, challenge our above categorization since, for example, webshops of service providers are available to all, but personally purchased items, invoices, receipts, etc. can be displayed only with personal accounts.

The sites captured by students were naturally mainly designed for purposes other than learning. Only library and museum spaces can be categorized as custom designed learning environments. However, the task was designed with the purpose of helping students to explore their learning in relation to several types of social spaces, not only those that were particularly designed for studying and learning. Further, we argue that the task supported students to establish or strengthen connections between their everyday space-, place, and sense-making routines (de Certeau 1984) and their Finnish learning experience. Finally, we argue, reflection on their already established literacy practices directed their attention towards new goals that they could set during or after their exploratory photo tours.

5.2 Examples

In what follows, we discuss eight examples of signage that the students recognized as affordances. We mainly include regulatory and information signs in public spaces in this section since these sign types and contexts constitute the biggest part of the corpus (see Tables 1 and 2). To show the potential diversity of interpretations, we

include cases where the same sign was interpreted twice by the same student, or the same sign was photographed and commented upon by two students. We publish the students' commentaries in an unedited form.

5.2.1 Making Sense of 'Unintelligible' Signs

First, we discuss the signs that the students had considered "not intelligible, but potentially important to understand." One reason for giving this subtask was that any moment of not-understanding offers a natural stop for a person and potentially raises their awareness and curiosity. By this design, we both made the students stop and gained some insight into their perceptions of semiotic features in the LL that made them curious about the message.

In the first example (Fig. 1; Excerpt 1), the student shared a traffic sign which indicates a pedestrian area. The additional plates in Finnish read as follows: 'Taxi transfer of physically disabled persons is allowed' (above), and 'Service traffic is allowed' (below). The numbers on the plate below indicate time restrictions

Fig. 1 Pedestrian area with restrictions

(unmarked: hours on working days; in brackets: hours on Saturdays; in red: hours on Sundays or public holidays; that is, service traffic is allowed any day between 5 a.m. and 10 a.m.).

(1) I also took this picture during the exercise, but have seen it before and wondered what it meant. It is at the beginning of the downtown and seems important to know. I still do not know the meaning, but feel as if I should.

This example demonstrates the importance of the task for beginner learners who need support to make sense of an unfamiliar environment. As the comment shows, the task resurfaced one of the student's recurring challenges of everyday life ("…have seen it before and wondered"). The traffic sign itself might be universally used and understood (at least in Europe; cf. Wikipedia n.d.), but the additional plates in local languages can be challenging. Although the student does not specify why he considers the sign important, it is easy to argue that knowing the meaning of traffic signs is essential for safety reasons, but also because drivers entering the pedestrian area without proper justification or outside the time interval are charged a penalty fee.

Besides outdoor spaces, the university library was a commonly captured public indoor space. This is quite natural as the library relates closely to the study routines of the students and can be considered a custom designed space for studying. As Fig. 2 and Excerpts (2a) and (2b) illuminate, a library is not only a space that provides a wide range of textbooks and other sources of academic texts for learning, but also displays various types of both permanent and non-permanent signs that may serve as affordances for second language learners.

The photographed sign above in Fig. 2 reads in Finnish 'The use of mobile phone is allowed in the staircase areas.' Thus, it is a sign indirectly prohibiting the use of mobile phones in the proximity of the sign, i.e., not in one of the library rooms, but

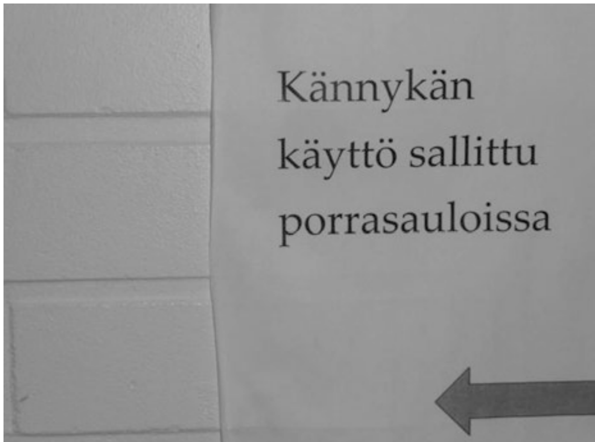

Fig. 2 "The use of mobile phone is allowed in the staircase areas"

somewhere else. The arrow points to the referred location, i.e., the staircase. It is also interesting that the photo was submitted twice with different explanations. Since the student Stéphane was not sure whether we had received his first e-mail message, he re-sent his material and attached a more detailed explanation for the second time.

His first message referred to an assumed, potential function of the sign:

(2a) [it] looks important, we have a pointer so maybe an emergency advise orsomething really followed to do.

His second message approached the sign from a different perspective:

(2b) [it] is the picture that I don't understand. No translation, only a pointer and a Finnish sentence. So my way of understanding this sentence had to ask a Finnish student, and she told me something like we could talk on our cell phones (she did not succeed to explain me where it was followed to call but not at this place in the library…).

As the excerpts show, the student reported two different strategies of meaning-making. In his first comment, Stéphane highlights the arrow as a visual symbol and builds his interpretation on that. In the second message, he comments that the sign is rather ambiguous and no translation is provided ("only a pointer and a Finnish sentence" in Excerpt 2b). Further, not understanding the sign made him ask for help from another person whom he recognized as a native speaker. Strengthening his claim on the ambiguity of the sign, he adds that even the "Finnish student" was not able to tell either where the arrow pointed to, that is, interpreting the sign together was only partially successful.

Our last example in this subsection can be placed on the border between understanding and non-understanding. Two students, Stéphane and Václav, photographed the same sign, and one of them included it among the unintelligible signs, while the other one reported on it as a sign he understood. However, neither of the students claimed that they would understand the textual content which gives insight into different interpretations of the task. We suppose that Václav focused more on the textual element of the sign when claiming unintelligibility, while Stéphane considered 'understanding' a semiotic meaning-making process in which different features of signs are all important, and textual information can even be neglected. The sign in question (Fig. 3) hangs in one of the reading rooms of the library and the text in Finnish says 'Silent area'.

Václav only commented that he did not understand the sign and added no further comments while Stéphane sent two explanations in his two messages mentioned above. The first message claimed that no Finnish language proficiency is needed for the interpretation of the sign; it is most likely a reference to the visual content of the sign:

Fig. 3 "Silent area"

(3a) [it is] also something important to respect and I don't need to speak Finnish to understand it.

In this message, *also* refers to the fact that this is the second regulatory sign from the library he chose for the task. In his second message, Stéphane wrote the following:

(3b) I understood [this]. Depending on the context, the place, and thanks to the picture, we can guess what this picture means.

That is, Stéphane argued that the meaning of the sign can be understood ('guessed') by taking only some of its semantic features (location and image). In the second message he elaborates on why one does not need to speak Finnish to understand the sign; that is, he calls attention to the picture as a sign warning others to keep silent. In his own way, the student describes what is essential for our approach as well: understanding something is not exclusively about language but interpreting and understanding the particular resources within the context of their own ecology by drawing on one's cognitive resources and one's own learning trajectory. In this sense, when writing about his success in understanding a Finnish sign, Stéphane does not mention his emerging Finnish skills. What he does is rather the opposite: he refers to the visual aspect of the sign, which seems to scaffold his understanding in a way similar to how textual content in another language on a bi- or multilingual sign would do (cf. Fig. 5; Excerpt 5).

Fig. 4 “Leaving bikes on the overpass is forbidden”

5.2.2 Signs ‘Understood’

In this subsection we discuss examples in which the participants told us they had managed to understand the textual content in Finnish. Discussing the examples, we also build on the insights gained from the previous subsection and show how the (fragmental) understanding of textual content is complemented by a general level of interpretation of various other semiotic features.

Our first example (Fig. 4; Excerpt 4) is about a prohibition sign near the Jyväskylä Travel Centre which is here referred to with its Finnish name *Matkakeskus*. The travel centre is a junction of train and bus lines and the sign in question forbids leaving bikes on the overpass. It is also worthwhile mentioning that the student chose a Finnish-language pseudonym *Kiitos* which translates as ‘thank you’.

(4) I took this picture on the bridge of Matkakeskus about 2 weeks ago (I don’t remember the exact date) and I understand that it refers to bikes. Since there are no bikes around it probably means that it’s forbidden to leave your bike there.

This textual account highlights that the sign and its proximity are taken as closely related, inseparable units in the meaning-making process (just as in Excerpt 3b). As is obvious in the text, the student had recognized the word *polkupyörä* ‘bicycle’ (in the sign it is in plural Genitive: *polkupyörien*), and noticed that there were no bicycles in the proximity of the sign. That is, even a partial translation of the sign and the lack of certain objects (i.e., bikes) in the environment seemed to have played a definitive role in the student’s interpretation. Further, although Kiitos does not explicitly mention it, we could speculate that also other aspects of the sign, such as

Fig. 5 "Centre"

the commonly used yellow-red color code for warnings or prohibitions may have supported this interpretation. This remains only our assumption.

In the message, the student translated the Finnish word into English *(bikes)*, but used the Finnish word *Matkakeskus* to indicate the Travel Centre. The lack of translation and the capital letter seem to suggest that *Matkakeskus* is used as a proper name. The use of languages that involves 'code-switching' or 'translanguaging' can be interpreted in various ways. The students may use certain lexical elements, especially references to familiar locations or institutions, as kind of proper names that may be learned in their original language so that the translatability of the item may not even be recognized or that it is seen as unnecessary. In addition, the explicit use of Finnish in the message and in the choice of the pseudonym may indicate the student's intention to show some of their Finnish skills.

The next example (Fig. 5; Excerpt 5) is also from the Travel Centre of Jyväskylä. In this case, the same student captured direction signs showing the way to the city centre.

(5) This was also taken on the Matkakeskus bridge and although it has english translation, I would still know it means center ☺

Since the current study was carried out in connection with a Finnish as a second language course, our instructions focused on how the students interpreted signs in Finnish. However, students sent us pictures also of multilingual signage, as shown in this example. Here the sign displays Finnish, Swedish and English in a hierarchical manner (from left to right; cf. Kress and van Leeuwen 1996). Finnish and Swedish are prioritized as national languages and English is added as a global language and lingua franca – as we researchers understand it. However, it is obvious that lexical items such as *Centrum* and *Centre* could also be words of many other languages. In this, they can also be considered hybrid lexical elements the spellings of which are the same in several languages (for hybrid language practices, see e.g. Csernicskó and Laihonen 2016). From this perspective, *Keskusta* is the only word affiliated with only one language, Finnish. In their account, Kiitos identified *Centre* as an English word and referred to translation from English as a potential support of meaning-making, leaving the presence of Swedish uncommented upon. They also referred to their growing Finnish vocabulary, stating that they would understand the

Fig. 6 “The Moomins in the Riviera”

word *Keskusta* even without seeing its equivalent in English. In our interpretation this shows that they highlighted a language from their own repertoire while erasing Swedish as irrelevant when discursively reconstructing the LL. Again, Kiitos referred to the importance of translation in meaning-making.

The following example (Fig. 6; Excerpt 6) shows a movie poster photographed in Tampere, a city near Jyväskylä. This setting directs our attention to the fact that exchange students often make trips to other regions of Finland, and those trips are also parts of their University of Jyväskylä experience when narrated in the frame of the task. The poster in the example advertised the premiere of a new animated movie entitled ‘The Moomins in the Riviera’ *(Muumit Rivieralla)*, which is based on popular Moomin books by the Finnish writer and artist Tove Jansson.

(6) This photo was taken in Tampere on 17.10.2014. I took this photo not only because Moomin is quite cute and famous, but also it had some information about movie in Finnish.
There are lots of endings and suffixes in Finnish words, so sometimes it's hard for me to look up the words in dictionary. However, I think most movie posters in different countries are quite similar. I still could catch the released time of the movie.

Moomins are labeled by the student, Frances, as successful ("Moomin is quite cute and famous"). "Famous" might refer to the popularity of the stories and the visual design in general, but this can also be understood in a global context since the Moomin family, in this contemporary animated form, is the end product that combines a Swedish speaking Finnish writer's stories with Japanese visual design.

The second paragraph of Frances' account shows signs of 'dictionary literacy' or 'language learner literacy'. Here, she seems to connect the photo with classroom instruction and her experiences of learning and studying Finnish by mentioning such grammatical features as suffixes. Further, she explains that this is also why there are challenges in applying established literacy practices to the context of studying Finnish. It may simply be difficult to find the correct dictionary entry if one encounters the word in its inflected form only. For example, in the poster the word *elokuvateattereissa* 'in cinemas' is in plural Inessive, while the dictionary entry would be in singular Nominative, i.e., *elokuvateatteri* 'cinema'. Interestingly, Frances points out that many features of a particular genre of signs, in this case, a movie poster, are recognizable across national borders. In this, Frances is able to relate her interpretation not with the current location and space only, but also with her previous experiences, acknowledging the commonalities.

Our next example (Fig. 7; Excerpt 7) emphasizes the mobility of objects as facilitators of learning. Caroline took a photo of a milk carton in her home, and her textual narrative recalls shopping experiences in Finland. This dual locatedness of the case calls our attention to links that are established between different sites of learning (in this example, shops and home, but also, as in the previous example, Finland and other countries).

(7) The second picture was captured on October 9th 2014, at 15:00. The reason why I took the picture of the milk for the context I can understand is because the first words that you learn in a new country except from Hi, Good Morning, Thank you are the foods. This category of words are really important for your survival and through the first weeks I spent hours in the super market trying to learn new words!!!

Fig. 7 Milk carton

In the above text, Caroline creates an iterative narrative (Baynham 2011), that is, a narrative of regularly repeated routine actions. In this case both shopping and learning Finnish are presented as iterative actions which are intertwined. Caroline highlights the importance of building a basic lexicon including formulaic expressions and words referring to food products for one's "survival." The word "survival" might be recycled from the course title *Survival Finnish* and it also refers to the course agenda which is to build basic skills and carry out mundane actions. This example also seems to suggest that there are learners who may spontaneously see their everyday activities as language learning opportunities, just as Caroline in this example does.

In a similar manner, the next example (Fig. 8; Excerpt 8) makes connections between mobility as well as public and private spaces. The picture below shows a washing machine in the shared laundry room of the student housing unit. The signage on the machine shows pictograms that are supposed to help in choosing the correct temperature, program and detergent. The images are accompanied by explanatory text in Finnish (first row) and in Swedish (second row). The bilingual Finnish-Swedish control panel also seems to be a manifestation of the manufacturer's awareness of the national language policy.

Fig. 8 Control panel of a washing machine

(8) The second picture is from the washing machine in my building. Perhaps this doesn't really answer to the task anymore as I do understand all of it now, but I had to use a translator. So these signs were not obvious for me, as I didn't do much laundry yet at home and anyway the signs are often different. But of course this was very important to understand.

We chose this example as our final one because it shows a complexity of language learning in the LL. First, we find it interesting that the student, Hilda, included this example among unintelligible signs even though she reports that at the time of completing the task she had already found out the meanings ("I do understand all of it now") by using technology that helped her to translate the instructions. While our first example (Fig. 1) showed how the task directed students' attention to challenges of language learning, this final example is a brief narrative of solving a challenging situation and finding personal interpretation strategies. We argue that such explications help students to recognize their own ways of making sense of the LL, and also help them in finding tools for language learning which suit them the most. Further, although the control panel is bilingual in Finnish and Swedish, Hilda herself does not mention nor name any of the languages. That is, what seems to be challenging in this case is not necessary knowing a certain (named) language ('studying Finnish'), but rather, solving a problem via more holistic sense-making (understanding "all of it", that is, making sense of the control panel as a tool for interacting with a machine).

As Hilda explains here, she faced two challenges at the same time: doing the laundry, which was a relatively new task to her, and interacting with a machine, which was labelled in languages she could not understand, for the first time. In exchange students' everyday lives, such encounters are both common and

important, as they start running their households independently in a new country. Further, while Hilda seemed to have recognized pictograms as potentially helpful, she also observed that their meaning was not universal ("the signs are often different"). This case is in contrast with, for example, the sign for 'silence' in Fig. 3, the meaning of which was considered unambiguous.

Finally, the example seems to show that signs, such as the control panel above, influence human agency in different ways than the signs in Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. All other signs discussed above are designed for influencing embodied conduct with an emphasis on the human agent; that is, how to regulate the trajectory of humans and their vehicles (Figs. 1, 4 and 5); where to speak and where not to speak (Figs. 2 and 3); or what services and products to buy and consume (Figs. 6 and 7). In contrast, here we see an example of human–machine interaction with an emphasis on the non-human agent, the machine. In a way, the machine can be considered a gatekeeper for human action if the person cannot interpret or misinterprets the instructions. This case is even more complex since the instructions were translated to another language with the help of another nonhuman agent, in this case, "a translator" (unspecified but presumably a computer or smartphone application), which we interpret as a facilitator for human action (for the role of artefacts in human cognition, see, e.g. Susi 2009).

6 Discussion and Conclusion

In general, our chapter contributes to various dimensions of second language learning research, focusing on language awareness, learner agency, and multimodal literacy in relation to LL. The task we used for research purposes was integrated into University of Jyväskylä Language Centre courses, and explored students' LL as part of instructed language learning (cf. Clark and Lindemalm 2011). Tasks like this are regularly used in courses, and they are also discussed in the class. With the help of the task, students have been encouraged to turn many different kinds of LL items into affordances and, further, they also reported on their experiences of learning. Among other things, students referred to their learning trajectory, for example, mentioning in retrospect how a sign which they now understand was unintelligible to them at first (e.g. Excerpt 8) or how they had used their shopping routines for studying new words (e.g. Fig. 7). In many messages that we received, the students presented themselves as active, skillful (new) speakers of Finnish by using Finnish expressions such as *Moi* ('Hi') or *Hauskaa viikonloppua!* ('Have a nice weekend!'). In this paper, however, we did not wish to focus on the development of language proficiency, but rather examined in what kind of ecology learning outside the classroom is made possible.

Based on the examples presented in this paper and the analysis of our whole corpus we argue that the students did manage to explore the role of environments in their learning. Below, in Fig. 9 we aim at presenting how our findings can be related with the ecological model of distributed cognition (cf. Sect. 3) that emphasizes the

Learner as human agent

- routine actions
- semiotic literacy practices

Other human agents

- issuers of signs
- (co-)interpreters of signs

SIGNS

Spatial context

- proximity of objects
- (non-)presence of objects/persons

Nonhuman agents

- (IT) machines/devices
- software

Fig. 9 Signs as affordances in a distributed cognitive ecosystem, based on students' submissions

need to analyze learning as interactivity that involves the learner, other human agents, non-human agents, and the learning space. We believe that taking notice of the dimensions of language learning ecology helps teachers in designing LL-based tasks in a way that they can consider and include all relevant elements of a distributed cognitive ecosystem when planning and implementing their courses. Such tasks can include a comprehensive investigation of students' own linguistic environments (e.g. objects in home environment, face-to-face and mediated interactional practices with members of personal networks, use of various media, etc.; cf. Clark and Lindemalm 2011).

In Fig. 9, signs are in the center of a distributed cognitive ecosystem because the task focused on signs. The task instructed students' exploration of the LL and, in doing so, it helped the students to build (further) their awareness of LL. That is, the task did not concentrate on vocabulary or grammar learning per se, but rather developed general learning skills. The task asked the students to explicate mechanisms of LL perception, which are often overlooked in everyday life. All in all, the task can be interpreted as a tool through which interaction with the LL can be enhanced. Interaction in and with the LL led to LL-focused interaction with the teachers, researchers and peers, and finally we hope that these interactions provided tools for recognizing and exploiting learning opportunities in the LL (cf. Excerpts 7, 8).

Although we focused on how the students recognized the Finnish language in the LL, the signs they chose also included other languages and various kinds of visual semiotic means (Figs. 3, 5, 7, and 8; Excerpts 3a, 3b, 5, 7, and 8). For example, they mentioned languages other than Finnish (Excerpt 5), an arrow (Excerpt 3), pictograms (Excerpts 3 and 8) as well as typographic conventions (Excerpt 6) as resources that scaffolded their understanding. Furthermore, they seemed to be attentive to proxemic relations between signs and other artefacts, and built their interpretations on the presence (Excerpt 3) or the non-presence (Excerpt 4) of certain objects or persons in the proximity of their focal signs. The students' observations illustrate

some of the main theses of the ecological conceptualization: while learning needs to be analyzed holistically, in its many ecological niches, language as an object of learning should be understood as inherently intertwined with those ecologies – the variety of contexts, modalities and genres – and inseparable from other semiotic resources.

In their observations, students pointed to the importance of interaction with artefacts and human agents. In line with our instruction ("Please take pictures about texts or signs") they focused on certain types of LL items, that is, textual and multimodal signs, but at the same time they highlighted their own role and their own agency in seeing the signs as affordances (e.g. spending time in the supermarket with searching for food names; Excerpt 7). Further, they also recognized the role of other human and non-human agents in their environments as means of scaffolding (e.g. asking a fellow student to translate a sign in Excerpt 2, and using a translator to interpret washing machine instructions in Excerpt 8).

Students have built metalinguistic narratives, that is, narratives about language use in which they also applied their personal, specific viewpoints on the LL. For example, naming some languages while erasing others from their narratives (e.g. not mentioning Swedish in Excerpts 5 and 8), they reconstructed personal LLs that at the same time bear signs of their own personal trajectories and repertoires. Such solutions manifest customized visual representations (cf. Troyer and Szabó 2017) which need more consideration in the design of language teaching. That is, although in a physical sense the same LL is available to all, perceptions differ individually (as in the case of the 'Silent area' in Fig. 3). This also seems to suggest that open-ended tasks that allow learners to explore and examine LLs without an expected normative outcome encourage them to become more aware of their own resources and strategies in learning.

While noticing the details and analyzing one's own navigation in the LL can be demanding for a student, the photos and the text excerpts seem to show that students in fact had detected and recognized several elements that contributed to their meaning-making. Further, some of them even recalled how customizing and consciously using the LL helped them in solving daily tasks (e.g. Excerpts 7 and 8). It is exactly this kind of reflection that we hoped to develop with this task: openness to the LL, seeking learning opportunities (affordances) in it, and benefiting from help (either from humans or non-humans) that help customizing or (co-)interpreting it. The task functioned as a tool supporting embodied learning experience in different environments as it involved all senses and the mobility of human bodies and artefacts (cf. Bucholtz and Hall (2016) theorizing the relationship between language and embodiment).

Above, we have explored ecological thinking as a theoretical background for combining the fields of LL and second language learning. We argued for an extended notion of language learning that reaches beyond classroom instruction and sees learning-in-the-wild as an important dimension of language education. However, we emphasize that learning-in-the-wild does not refer to social verbal interaction between human agents alone, but that it comprises the variety of contexts and environments where human languaging is present in different modalities, where not only human but also non-human agents are involved and where both here-and-now and virtual dimensions are at work.

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Classroom Translanguaging Through the Linguistic Landscape

Corinne A. Seals

Abstract Linguistic landscape and translanguaging research into language education has so far focused primarily on primary, secondary, and tertiary sectors, as well as on educational contexts outside of the formal domain. However, there has not yet been any research conducted with Early Childhood Education centres (ECEs) that utilizes these two frameworks. The present study makes this contribution by looking at how changes in the linguistic landscape of an ECE can foster an acceptance and practice of translanguaging in the classroom at a very early age. The data for the present chapter come from a one-year microethnography conducted at a Samoan ECE in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following the initial data collection and analysis stage, recommendations were made to the teaching staff as to how they could foster translanguaging, and the linguistic landscape was one of the areas of focus. Crucially, part of the recommendations also involved working alongside the teachers to design a translingual linguistic landscape that meets their transcultural and pedagogical needs. Following these recommendations, ECE students' and teachers' interactions with the linguistic landscape and resulting interactions with each other were analyzed in an empirical examination of the ways that positive changes in the linguistic landscape can foster translanguaging.

Keywords Translanguaging · Schoolscapes · Early childhood education · Multilingual education · Microethnography · Heritage language education

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1 Introduction

The world is becoming increasingly transnational, with people moving internationally for work, school, family, or personal interest. People may move temporarily or permanently, setting up a new home base, such that the host country becomes the home country for their families. Regardless of what push and pull factors lead people to move or how long they remain in the new location, people retain these transnational, global experiences, and these experiences in turn influence how they communicate with others. Even people who remain local for the entirety of their lives are influenced by increasing globalization, as those whom they come into contact with are increasingly transnational, which also means increasingly multicultural and multilingual.

This increase in multilingualism and multiculturalism internationally has required people to change how they think about systems and institutions, including education. In all sectors of education, traditional Western (colonial-influenced) methods of teaching and learning are coming into question as it becomes more and more clear that people do not all learn the same way, nor do people bring with them the same experiences and goals. As a result, equity has become a major issue of concern across educational sectors. How can all students be supported to have equal chances of succeeding?

One concept that has emerged from the critical turn in humanities, social science, and education research[1] is translanguaging, which looks to support all of children's linguistic repertoires in the educational environment. This chapter explores this idea by investigating what supportive multilingual and multicultural strategies and tools are used in an early childhood education center in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular, this chapter focuses on the linguistic landscape[2] of the educational center, as it was found to be a visual embodiment of the center's actual linguistic practices. After exploring the empirical findings, this chapter then focuses on the types of tools that researchers can make to support translanguaging in linguistic landscapes of educational programs.

[1] cf. Gottesman (2016) for an overview of the rise of the critical turn from the 1970s until the present through Marxism, poststructuralism, feminism, critical pedagogy, and critical race theories, all seeking to empower oppressed social minorities and support a space for minority voice.

[2] The linguistic landscape is multimodal and regards "space as a semiotic resource in its own right" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009, p. 1). It includes any text (written or visual) that conveys a message to the reader/viewer. It is "systematically produced, purposeful, and meaningful" (Seals 2015, p. 226; cf. Shohamy and Waksman 2012).

2 Bringing Together Linguistic Landscapes and Translanguaging

In recent comprehensive reviews of advances in linguistic landscape research, Shohamy (2015) and Shohamy and Malinowski (2016) have pointed to classroom practices as a crucial area into which linguistic landscape research is moving. Aligning with this, researchers in applied linguistics have begun using linguistic landscapes as a framework to study a variety of theories surrounding language learning and multilingualism (e.g. Cenoz and Gorter 2008; Chesnut et al. 2013; Gorter and Cenoz 2015; Malinowski 2015; Sayer 2010; Shohamy and Waksman 2009).

Particularly influential to the current project, Shohamy and Waksman's (2009) research provided a foundation for the connection between language learning and linguistic landscapes by analyzing how ecological linguistics supports the proposition that language learning must take account of the larger context in which that learning occurs. Then, Malinowski's (2015) research emphasized the importance of analyzing the function of the linguistic landscape by looking specifically to how we can make use of it pedagogically. By drawing upon Lefebvre's (1991) conception of conceived, perceived, and lived spaces, Malinowski highlighted the creation of a third space (i.e. *thirdness*) in the language learning space. Additionally, Chesnut et al.'s (2013) research looked at how linguistic landscape projects can be used for language learning in the classroom. However, this project differed from other such research in also emphasizing the importance of considering learners' own unique backgrounds in how they interact with and make meaning with the linguistic landscape. This insight supported the need for a deeper understanding of the learners and learning context, such as we could gain via a microethnography. Finally, Gorter and Cenoz's (2015) research laid the foundation for investigating translanguaging in the linguistic landscape, including all available linguistic forms and modalities.

Much of the research on linguistic landscapes in education to date is surveyed by Gorter (2018). In his article, Gorter differentiates between four key types of research on linguistic landscapes and education: (1) schoolscapes (the way language is presented and used in school spaces); (2) societal texts brought into the classroom (what he calls environmental print); (3) linguistic landscapes used for English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teaching; and (4) taking students out into the local community to develop critical language awareness through the examination of cityscapes. The present chapter further contributes to research found within this first type (schoolscapes – see, Brown 2012), while simultaneously examining the presentation of language in the schoolscapes through a critical perspective of language: translanguaging (Williams 1997; García and Li 2014; Gorter and Cenoz 2015). As translanguaging has the potential to contribute to a paradigm shift in applied linguistics research, it is apt that it be joined by an innovative, exploratory method such as that which can be used in linguistic landscapes (cf. Seals 2017a).

2.1 Translanguaging

Translanguaging is a theoretical concept that is considered by some to be a paradigm shift in how we think about languages and use (Canagarajah 2017; Cenoz and Gorter 2017; García and Li 2014; and Olsen-Reeder and Seals 2019). Broadly, translanguaging seeks to address language learning, teaching, and analysis from a perspective closer to how language is used naturally by multilinguals in everyday settings. It was developed by Williams (1997) in the context of language teaching in Wales to explain a pedagogical process that drew equally upon English and Welsh, at times intersententially or intrasententially, to simultaneously construct meaning and proficiency across languages instead of independently.

Since then, translanguaging has been expanded beyond the pedagogical to also become a theory of language and an analytical approach to studying language. Notably, Canagarajah (2013) and García and Li (2014) have broadened translanguaging to become a theory of language use generally, seeking to draw attention to the socially constructed nature of independent "languages" and to encourage a focus on the value of utilizing individuals' full linguistic repertoires instead. Through this, they have also sought to engage critically with the politics of language choice and use, asking educators and researchers to question what linguistic varieties are valued and given space in teaching and learning.

With the rise in popularity of translanguaging has also come many questions. The most common question has been, "how is this different from codeswitching/codemeshing/multilingualism/plurilingualism/etc.?" This is a good question, without a simple answer. Chiefly, translanguaging is a macro lens through which language use can be viewed that acknowledges all parts of the linguistic repertoire as connected and equally valid. It is a position actively aligned with critical pedagogy, seeking to adjust how language is viewed to, in turn, question the larger power structures associated with language teaching, learning, and use. In this sense, at the larger level, we can refer to multilingual/plurilingual language practice as "translingual practice" when aligning with this perspective. Within a translanguaging lens, it is entirely possible to have micro units of analysis such as codeswitching/codemeshing, etc. Therefore, a translanguaging lens does not preclude the existence or use of codeswitching and codemeshing. However, naming translanguaging is also naming an activist position (see Canagarajah 2017; Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Vogel and García 2017; and Li 2018 for a deeper discussion of these differences and overlaps).

Pedagogically, translanguaging can be defined as:

> an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems, as has traditionally been the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages. (García and Li 2014, p. 2)

However, while García and Li use the term "bilingual" and argue that this term subsumes all other terms for multiple language proficiency, the current chapter instead uses the term "multilingual." The reason for this choice is that the very

nature of the word "bilingual" itself means "having two tongues" and thus draws upon the very conceptualization of languages as countable and separate that the notion of translanguaging is trying to dispel. Rather, at its very core "multilingual" focuses on the many linguistic abilities held by people without paying mind to any countable number. Therefore, the current chapter takes the following revised definition of translanguaging: A framework for critically considering the full linguistic repertoire of multilinguals, not as separate socially constructed systems of individual languages, but as dynamic repertoires drawn upon depending on context.[3]

The concept of translanguaging is crucial from a critical pedagogical perspective because it focuses on maximizing all students' chances of success in education, especially students coming from diverse multilingual backgrounds, many of whom are already disadvantaged by educational systems. Translanguaging in education embraces the fluid use of an individual's linguistic repertoire to maximize their multilingual abilities. Many applied linguistic and educational researchers have argued for the importance of translanguaging in recent years and have given suggestions for how it can work in the classroom (e.g. García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Hornberger and Link 2012; Li and Zhu 2013; Velasco and García 2014; Gorter and Cenoz 2015; Seals et al. 2019, 2020). Notably, a repeated message across all of these publications is the importance of reinforcing the notion of "multilingualism as normal" in the classroom. By promoting multilingualism as the norm in the classroom, it not only encourages the further development of multilingualism amongst students, but it also helps multilinguals of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and therefore investment in the classroom environment instead of feeling as "others" or outsiders (cf. Menard-Warwick 2009; Seals 2017b; Seals and Kreeft-Peyton 2016).

2.2 *Translanguaging in Schoolscapes*

Linguistic landscapes in an educational setting (i.e. schoolscapes) play a very important role in students' abilities to see themselves as belonging in the classroom space. The schoolscape is quite literally a place where students could (and should) see themselves semiotically represented. Many teachers at the school sites I have worked at have asked how this can be done, especially if the educational setting is geared more towards one particular language or another. My first reply is always to ask teachers to consider whom this education is for. The answer, of course, is the students themselves. I then ask whether the teachers find it more important to teach students how language is used in actual social life or how language is taught from a purist perspective. Most teachers reply with the former, as it is what students will actually encounter outside the classroom. Then we get to work on brainstorming

[3] This repertoire also leaves room to include the linguistic elements of dialect, style, tone, and register (among others) as being part of a person's linguistic skill set.

ways that actual translingual language use can be visually represented in the classroom.

This current chapter reports on a case of translanguaging appearing in a school setting and how it was able to be enhanced while aligning with the school's mission of language development and inclusivity.

3 Contextual Setting

The current chapter focuses on translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of an A'oga Amata (Samoan early childhood education center/pre-school) in Aotearoa New Zealand. New Zealand early childhood education (ECE) centers are for children under 5 years of age, and they are usually divided into two parts – an area for children between 2 and 5 years old, and an area for babies and toddlers up to the age of 2 years.

At over 40,000 speakers, Samoan is the third most spoken language in New Zealand, after English and te reo Māori (Statistics New Zealand 2013). Samoan is taught in 80 of New Zealand's 2400 mainstream schools, which is far more than any of the other Pasifika languages taught in the country. Within the ECE context specifically, 462 ECE centers support Pasifika languages, with 93 ECE centers (over 3,000 children) using a Pasifika language at least 50% of the time (Education and Science Committee 2013, p. 9). However, it is unknown exactly how many of these children are actively using the Samoan language at school, as well as how many children are heritage language speakers or second language learners, as New Zealand does not make this distinction when gathering educational statistics.

The above information shows that Pasifika languages, and particularly the Samoan language, are of interest to educational centers including ECEs in New Zealand, especially given the large number of Samoan speaking residents. However, beyond the basic educational statistics, not much is known about the form of language teaching taking place. While anecdotally teachers and students have talked about the immersion-style, bilingual-style, or subject-style use of Samoan in these educational programmes, there is not much research-based evidence chronicling what this language use looks like. This current study thus emerged as an attempt to research alongside the students and teachers to see what linguistic practices take place every day.

Furthermore, the research site reported on in the current article was chosen due to the ECE center's embracing of a multilingual, multicultural ideology. In New Zealand, over 160 languages are spoken on a daily basis, marking the country as "superdiverse" (Royal Society of New Zealand 2013). The ECE center focused on in the present chapter has welcomed New Zealand's diversity and supports interest and enrollment from families of all backgrounds. At the time of data collection, there were 30 children between 6 months and 5 years old enrolled in the center. While officially a Samoan A'oga Amata (a licensed Samoan-medium early childhood education centre), less than ten of the enrolled children were of full or partial

Samoan heritage. The majority of children enrolled were from a variety of other backgrounds culturally, ethnically, and linguistically: Māori, Ethiopian, Dutch, Mexican, Chinese, Lebanese, Philipino, Tongan, and Palagi (Samoan term for Anglo-European). Therefore, this site was ideal for investigating how and where language appeared, as well as how translanguaging might be used as a way to naturally support multilingualism and multiculturalism in this space.

4 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

The data for the present chapter come from a 1-year microethnography, which "aims at describing how interaction is socially and culturally organized in particular situational settings such as classrooms… to investigate in minute detail what interactants do in real time as they co-construct talk-in-interaction in everyday life," (Garcez 2008, p. 257).[4] This microethnography was conducted in 2017 at the above-discussed Samoan A'oga Amata in New Zealand, of which 3 months were audio and video recorded. Audio and video recordings took place twice per week, for 3 h each time. As the A'oga Amata is large in size, three handheld Sony video cameras and three digital Olympus voice recorders were placed in different inconspicuous locations so as to capture the majority of daily interactions. In total, the data is compiled of over 300 h of audio and video recordings of naturally occurring interactions, as well as over 200 photographed images of the linguistic landscape of the center – the schoolscape.

A layout of the A'oga Amata is shown in Fig. 1 below. Only the first level is shown, as it is the only one on which the parents and children are permitted to be. The squiggle lines show where the parent-, student-, and community-facing posters, pictures, artwork, and cultural artefacts are displayed. They are in the entryway, in the hallway, in the kitchen facing the dining tables, and along all of the walls in the areas frequented by the children 2–5 years old (including eating, nature, book, music, and games areas). These images and artefacts also occur floor to ceiling in all areas in which they occur.

The microethnography was essential in shedding light on the importance and realistic representation of the linguistic landscape images. That is, without the naturally occurring data from the ethnographic data collection, it would not have been possible to truly know whether or not the translanguaging found in the linguistic landscape was a reflection of everyday linguistic practices at the A'oga Amata or if it was an ideological representation of what they sought to achieve. However, a

[4] A microethnography is not unlike a case study (though at times a microethnography is composed of multiple case studies). However, the focus is on an in-depth investigation of a piece of a larger whole (such as a single a'oga amata within the larger network of a'oga amatas). Additionally, by specifically choosing a microethnographic orientation, an anthropological approach to research is brought to the forefront, and the role of culture and society in influencing interaction is highlighted (cf. Au and Mason 1982; Fusch et al. 2017; Garcez 2008).

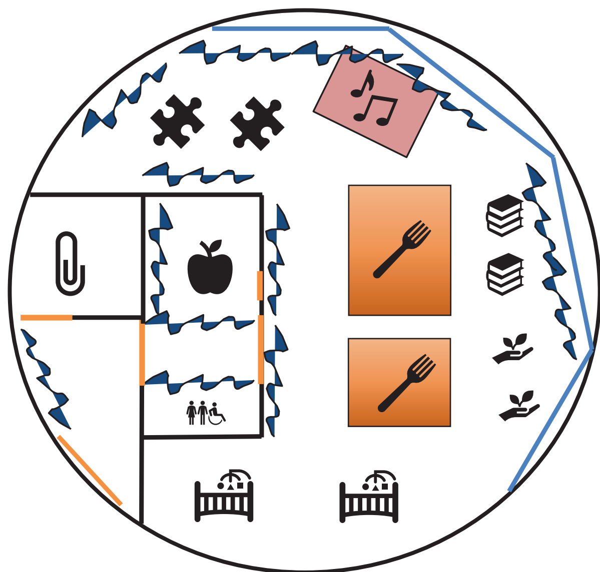

Fig. 1 Inside layout of the A'oga Amata

Excerpt 1 Translanguaging by a teacher and student at the A'oga Amata

Speaker	Original	Translation
Teacher	You can see it,	You can see it,
	va'ai le ketapila lea.	**see the caterpillar**.
	Tu'u I luga.	**Put it up**.
	A, a share, **ave iā** L---.	A, a share, **pass to** L---.
	A--- **tu i luga, sau**,	A--- **stand up, come**,
	A--- come stand up and come.	A--- come stand up and come.
	Go wash your hands for lunch,	Go wash your hands for lunch,
	alu e fufulu lima.	**wash your hands**.
	Lunch time **omai**,	Lunch time **come**,
	omai e fufulu lima.	**come now wash your hands.**
Child	Goodbye caterpillar,	Goodbye caterpillar,
	yeah **tofā ketapila**.	yeah **go to sleep caterpillar**.
Teacher	What are we going to call him?	What are we going to call him?
	O ai le igoa o le ketapila D---?	**What will we call the caterpillar** D---?
	Yeah **ua moe**.	Yeah **it's sleeping**.
	Moe loa ketapila.	**Go to sleep caterpillar.**

detailed and holistic emergent analysis of the microethnographic data showed that the linguistic landscape is indeed representative of the linguistic practices found at the A'oga Amata, exemplified by Excerpt 1, below:

While there is not currently room for a full discourse analysis of the above excerpt, translingual practice by both the teacher and student can be seen throughout the interaction. Translanguaging occurs both intersententially and intrasententially, building meaning across languages indiscriminately, therein valuing the use of the full linguistic repertoire. Thus, the translanguaging found within the linguistic landscape mirrors that found within linguistic interaction.

Additionally, where new linguistic practices are sought by the teachers (e.g. the incorporation of more te reo Māori), the linguistic landscape serves as a daily reminder and vehicle through which these new practices can be jumpstarted.

5 Findings

The findings presented below focus on translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of the A'oga Amata. While only a few photos are presented in the current chapter, they are representative of many found throughout the educational center.

5.1 Presence of Multilingualism

Before getting to examples of more complex translanguaging, it is important to establish that multilingualism and multiculturalism is found throughout this schoolscape in many different forms. As Fig. 2, below, shows, this includes the more

Fig. 2 Multilingual classroom wall sign in the main activity area

common presence of words and phrases presented across languages, so that even people with little to no conversational abilities in one of these languages are still able to acquire these lexical items with repeated exposure.

As shown in Fig. 2 above, the days of the week and months are presented with the alphabet for the children of the A'oga Amata, placing all of these items in a category of "basic information" that children learn in educational settings. The alphabet that is presented is in fact the Samoan alphabet, as are the names of the months, further strengthening the identity of the educational center as primarily focused on Samoan language and culture. However, the days of the week are presented multilingually, and these actually occur at eye-level for most of the children. Furthermore, all of these items are at the main activity area of the A'oga Amata, so that during music time, prayer time, and story time, the children have regular exposure to these items.

Additionally, the ordering of the multilingual days of the week is interesting and speaks to the local community who send their children to school at the A'oga Amata. First, in the most prominent place, is Samoan – "Aso Tofi". Second, in the next most prominent place, is te reo Māori – "Taite". Finally, English comes third and last, with "Thursday". Each day of the week is presented in this order, showing the hierarchy from Samoan as most important, then te reo Māori (as the A'oga Amata is in Aotearoa New Zealand), followed lastly by English, which is still a common language but not in need of as much prestige support as the others because it is the most frequently found in New Zealand society (cf. Seals and Olsen-Reeder 2017). It is also important to note that each day of the week has the card presented in its own color (e.g. Wednesday is in grey, Thursday is in pink, etc.), and this color is the same across languages, drawing semiotic attention to the commonality in meaning multilingually.

5.2 Displayed Newsletters

Support for multilingualism and multiculturalism can be found throughout the current research site. For example, upon entering the A'oga Amata, there is a wall of newsletters, covering the time period of the previous week to 2 years prior. As shown in Figs. 3 and 4 below, translanguaging occurs naturally throughout the newsletters, both in the reported dialogue and in the descriptive narratives.

In the image shown in Fig. 3, above, a particularly windy day is the topic of the newsletter to parents, and the newsletter is accompanied by images illustrating the topic, a narrative-style introduction providing an abstract and orientation for the events (Labov and Waletzky 1967), and reported dialogue to make the events come to life. In the dialogue, there are instances of translanguaging when the student remarks, "Oh look at mine its gone [sic]," and the teacher replies, "oi ua na la ua lelea lau streamer" (*You've lost your streamer*).

Then, in Fig. 4, also above, translanguaging occurs throughout the narrative description. In this newsletter (from a different period of time), the writer reports on

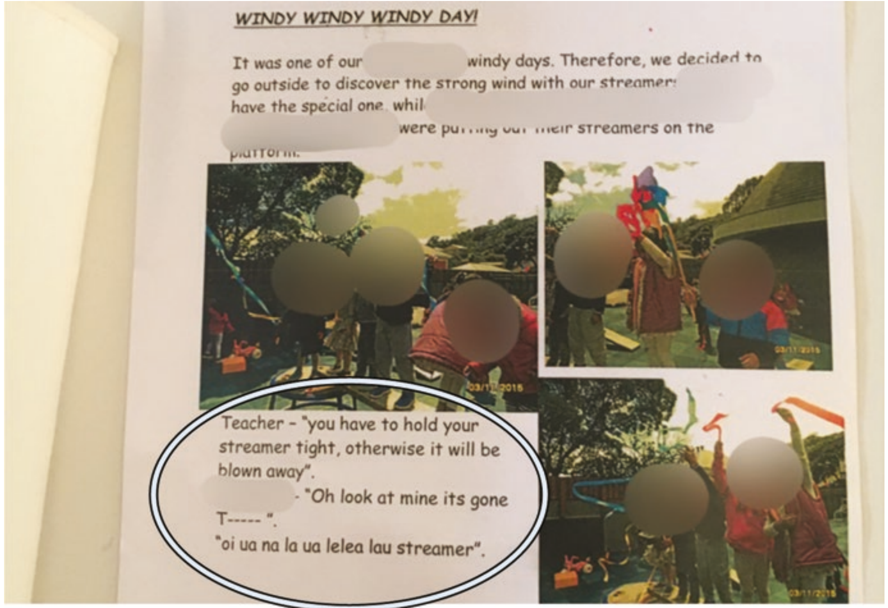

Fig. 3 Translanguaging in newsletter dialogue

Fig. 4 Translanguaging in newsletter description

how students at the A'oga Amata celebrated Samoan Independence Day. In this newsletter, which is representative of the majority of newsletters found in the hallway, translanguaging is found throughout the entirety of the newsletter. In addition to translanguaging through the insertion of particular Samoan words into English discourse for particular actions and items (e.g. lotu (*prayer*), sapasui (*chop suey*)), there is also sentence-level and discursive narrative-level translanguaging, as in the following example:

> When we finish le Lotu. Sisi loa ma le Fu'a. Usu le vii o Samoa. [Name] knows all the words. Fai Matou fiafia, Siva Samoa and Haka. O le aulelei o tamaiti. E tele tamaiti o le A.A e omai Anunuú eses but they love Samoan Culture. [sic]
>
> (*When we finish the prayer, the flag was raised. The kids sang the anthem of Samoa. [Name] knows all the words. We all danced, the Samoan siva and haka. The children looked so beautiful. There are many children here at the A'oga Amata, and they come from different ethnic backgrounds, but they love Samoan culture.*)

It is also interesting to note the use of the word "haka" in the above discourse, as a haka is a traditional dance done in the Māori culture and performed throughout New Zealand schools as a signifier of the importance of Māori culture and history throughout the country. Therefore, the translanguaging above does not just include what is traditionally thought of as the Samoan and English languages, but also te reo Māori.

As translanguaging in the newsletters is occurring in both reported dialogue and in the narrative itself, this is evidence of its regularity at the school site, which was likewise supported by the observational data (as discussed earlier in this chapter). Furthermore, by making translanguaging visible both to the parents (through the newsletter) and to anyone who may enter the A'oga Amata (by displaying it in the entryway), translanguaging is normalized and becomes part of the everyday landscape of the educational center.

5.3 Multimodal Translanguaging

Throughout the A'oga Amata, multimodal translanguaging appears in the entire schoolscape. As mentioned above, any semiotic depictions of languages and cultures in the linguistic landscape can be part of a translingual landscape because people interact with the linguistic landscape. Not merely passive observers, people respond mentally and emotionally to semiotic elements in the linguistic landscape, as evidenced through the many times that parents stop to read/observe the linguistic landscape and then facially react (e.g. smile, nod, laugh) and/or comment upon aspects of it, as well as the many times that children viewed and then pointed out aspects of the semiotic elements in the linguistic landscape. This also shows how semiotic elements of the linguistic landscape are dialogic – they convey a message, and people respond to that message.

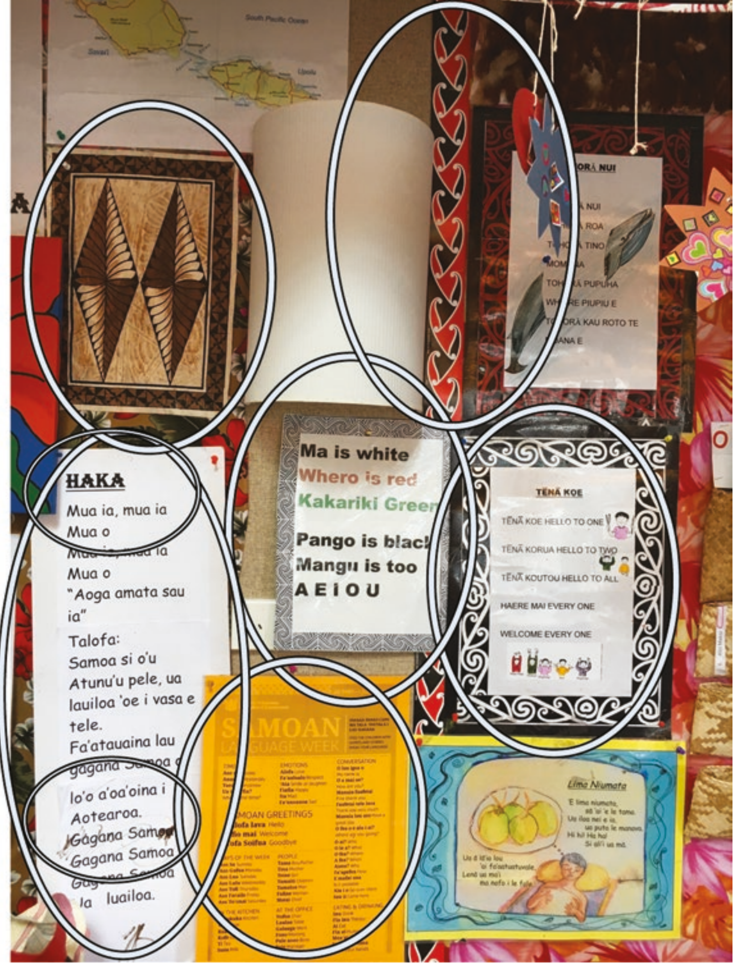

Fig. 5 Multimodal translanguaging on educational center wall

The below example, Fig. 5, is one such snapshot of the complex multimodal translanguaging that takes place in this schoolscape. This interweaving of cultural and linguistic resources is found throughout the site.

As shown in Fig. 5, there is much happening in the schoolscape, which together makes up a cohesive message of what it means to be a part of this A'oga Amata. Some areas have been circled to draw the reader's attention to them.

Beginning in the top left is a depiction of tradition Samoan imagery, which conveys the message that this is a place that embraces Samoan culture and traditions. In the top right is a depiction of tradition Māori imagery. While the main focus of the A'oga Amata is on Samoan culture and language, it is still located in Aotearoa New Zealand, where there is much emphasis placed on respecting the Indigenous Māori

culture. As such, the placement of this semiotic representation of Māori culture parallel to the semiotic representation of Samoan culture shows respect also given to New Zealand values, which includes support for Māori culture and traditions.

Further analysis of Fig. 5 highlights this multimodal translanguaging. On the left of the image is a text that is titled "Haka", which as previously mentioned is the Māori word for a traditional dance, which is also often performed in New Zealand schools, accompanied by music and lyrics. In this instance, the majority of lyrics are presented in Samoan. However, near the bottom of the lyrics, the word "Aotearoa" appears, which is the Māori name for New Zealand. Thus, translanguaging in the A'oga Amata schoolscape does not just occur between Samoan and English. It also occurs between Samoan and te reo Māori.

Furthermore, as Fig. 5 shows, translanguaging in the A'oga Amata schoolscape also occurs between te reo Māori and English, as evidenced by the poems in the center and center-right of the image. The center image is a commonly found poem in New Zealand, helping English-speaking children to learn the color names in te reo Māori. The center-right image is a poem meant to help children learn the te reo Māori grammatical number system. For example, "Tēna koe hello to one" conveys the message that "Tēna koe" is a greeting in te reo Māori addressed to a single person. Likewise, "Tēna korua hello to two" illustrates that "Tēna korua" is a greeting addressed to two people in te reo Māori. Finally, at the bottom of the image is a Ministry-provided resource for Samoan language week, which presents Samoan words and English definitions in a glossary format.

A second example of multimodal translanguaging in the schoolscape is found in Fig. 6, below. Like previous examples, this image shows the importance of understanding the local context and values in order to more reliably interpret the linguistic landscape.

Fig. 6 Multimodal linguistic landscape in main activity area

In the above image, actual textual language only occurs in the traditional Samoan siapo (bark cloth) in the left of the image. However, the entire image is still full of semiotic meaning. The siapo on the left and the ie togas (fine woven mats) on the right are valuable items, which show the importance placed on Samoan tradition and ceremony in the educational center. Additionally, the leis at the bottom of the image are an important symbol of shared Pasifika culture.

An interesting and locally very meaningful addition to the semiotic landscape in this image can be found in the two jerseys present in the center and right of the image. These jerseys are from national and local New Zealand rugby teams, respectively. Rugby is extremely popular in New Zealand, and many residents of the country are staunch supporters of these teams. Therefore, the display of these jerseys is a very "Kiwi" (New Zealander) thing to do. With these jerseys placed alongside the traditional Samoan and Pasifika cultural artefacts, the schoolscape speaks very strongly of educators who identify as much with New Zealand culture as with Samoan culture.

While each of these resources conveys a linguistic and/or semiotic meaning, taken together as the linguistic landscape bricolage that they are (cf. Hebdige 1984; Thorne 2016), they provide a strong multimodal translanguaging resource. As this linguistic landscape bricolage is repeated through many different semiotic and linguistic resources throughout the A'oga Amata, a message of support for multilingualism and multiculturalism is put forth. Children, parents, teachers, and other stakeholders are given the message that all linguistic and cultural backgrounds and resources are welcome here, and a space will be made for them. This was further confirmed through ethnographic interactions with the parents, children, and teachers when they repeatedly commented upon the cultural and linguistic inclusiveness of the A'oga Amata (both the people and the space).

6 Contributing to Translanguaging in the Schoolscape

As mentioned above, the linguistic landscape findings are supported by a microethnography, such that the results presented here are illustrative of the language practices regularly taking place in this educational center (see Excerpt 1 above). As shown in the findings below, the translanguaging that takes place extends beyond the literal presence of lexical and syntactic items in the landscape. It is not just the "forms" of language that matter – "Through the application of the concept of translanguaging we can foreground the co-occurrence of different linguistic forms, signs and modalities" (Gorter and Cenoz 2015, p. 56). As part of the signs and modalities, translanguaging also occurs in the mental discourses (i.e. dialogism; cf. Bakhtin 1984, 1992) that occur when individuals encounter the semiotic representations of languages and cultures. As stated by Li (2017, p. 20), "Language, then, is a multisensory and multimodal semiotic system interconnected with other *identifiable* but *inseparable* cognitive systems." This interwovenness in turn allows the existence of a space that embodies the dynamism of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Thus,

the space itself, both in its entirety as well as the multimodal pieces (see Figs. 5 and 6 above) that make it up, is the unit of linguistic landscape analysis (Aboelezz 2016; Seals 2015, 2017a; Backhaus 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow 2009; Waksman and Shohamy 2010).

The linguistic landscape must be viewed in its entirety, looking (via discourse analysis and dialogism) at possible conversations being had with the students, teachers, parents, and in fact everyone coming into contact with the schoolscape. This conversation is dialogic and can occur also at a subconscious level (Bakhtin 1984, 1992), to which future research using think-aloud protocols could contribute. All elements of the linguistic landscape are filled with semiotic meaning, which are constructed with the experiencer of the linguistic landscape by drawing upon intertextual references to underlying meaning (i.e. intertextuality, cf. Bakhtin 1984, 1992; Seals 2015). When the experiencer comes into contact with varying elements of the linguistic landscape, a sense of identity, values, culture, norms, and expectations are encountered. As the space (i.e. the school) is further understood through regular contact as a student, parent, or teacher, so too is the meaning of the schoolscape. Therefore, the dialogue taking place through the schoolscape is a meaningful conversation at a semiotic level.

To find translanguaging in the linguistic landscape further adds to the dynamism of this conversation, as translanguaging includes "the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships" (Li 2011, p. 1223). Through its very presence in the schoolscape, translanguaging is putting forth support for the development and presence of multilingual, multicultural identities and the variety of interactions therein. This can then provide support for translingual practices, if teachers in the center can and do make use of them, such as what oftentimes occurred in the present microethnography when teachers and students engaged in translingual practices while drawing attention to images, signs, and artefacts in the linguistic landscape.

6.1 Activist Research: Giving Back to the Community

Following the collection and analysis of microethnographic data, including the schoolscape data, my research assistants and I worked together to design resources that further embrace the theories of translanguaging, as outlined in the section on *Translanguaging* above. These resources were developed based on mutual agreement with the educational center at the beginning of data collection. At the very beginning of the school ethnography, I met with the school board, and it was agreed that resources based on our findings of natural language usage would be an appropriate contribution to the community following data collection and analysis. The community was interested in how to support the development of multilingualism amongst students, and this was in line with our goals as well. While we did not know at the time what these materials would look like, the community had the opportunity to review drafts of the materials and provide feedback before they were

printed. Feedback was positive and related to particular word choice as well as thematic topics addressed in the materials. The overall translingual structure was developed by the research team, and the community was happy with it. By giving these resources to the A'oga Amata, we were actively giving back to the community (cf. Smith 1999 on researcher responsibilities towards communities), and we were helping to support the educational center's goal of embracing and encouraging multilingualism and multiculturalism, therein centering our work in community- and culturally-responsive research.

Creating materials focused on translanguaging is very important when supporting multilingualism and multiculturalism, as

> the act of Translanguaging creates a social space for the language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience, and environment; their attitude, belief, and ideology; their cognitive and physical capacity, into one coordinated and meaningful performance. (Li 2017, p. 23)

By creating materials for the educational center that supports translanguaging, we are helping the teachers to also support their students' development, as described above by Li (2017). An educational center that sends the message that this is a safe space to access all of your experiences and resources is an environment in which students have the greatest chance to develop to their full potential.

The use of translanguaging in the educational space is also a matter of equity. Often, students who come from multilingual, multicultural backgrounds are positioned as minority language speakers or ethnic minorities (cf. Seals 2017b; Seals and Kreeft-Peyton 2016). As critical scholars and educators are well aware, minority students also tend to face the greatest uphill battle for equal access to education and further opportunities. By creating a space where multilingualism and multiculturalism are viewed as a welcome resource, students are more supported in their learning (Menard-Warwick 2009).

Figures 7 and 8, below, show the types of translanguaging resources that can be developed for educational centers open to the benefits that translanguaging can bring. It is important to note again that these resources are based directly on the microethnographic data and analysis. The topics are based on the students' interests and on what is culturally relative for the educational center. Additionally, the dialogue from the storybook (Fig. 8) is directly inspired by recorded interactions from the A'oga Amata. The characters and settings are also representative of the students and their daily experiences. Finally, the phrases and sentences were molded by fluent speakers of the languages involved to make sure that the translanguaging actually works grammatically and experientially for them. In these ways, the materials are as representative as possible of real translanguaging in action. By ensuring this, as well as by basing the materials on the students' experiences and the educational center's priorities, the materials receive investment from students and teachers alike.

Figure 7, above, is of an original A1 size poster created for the A'oga Amata. The poster depicts the lifecycle of a butterfly, which is notable for two reasons. First, the students at this educational center were fascinated by plants and insects, so this directly met the interests of the students. Second, an important concept in Pasifika

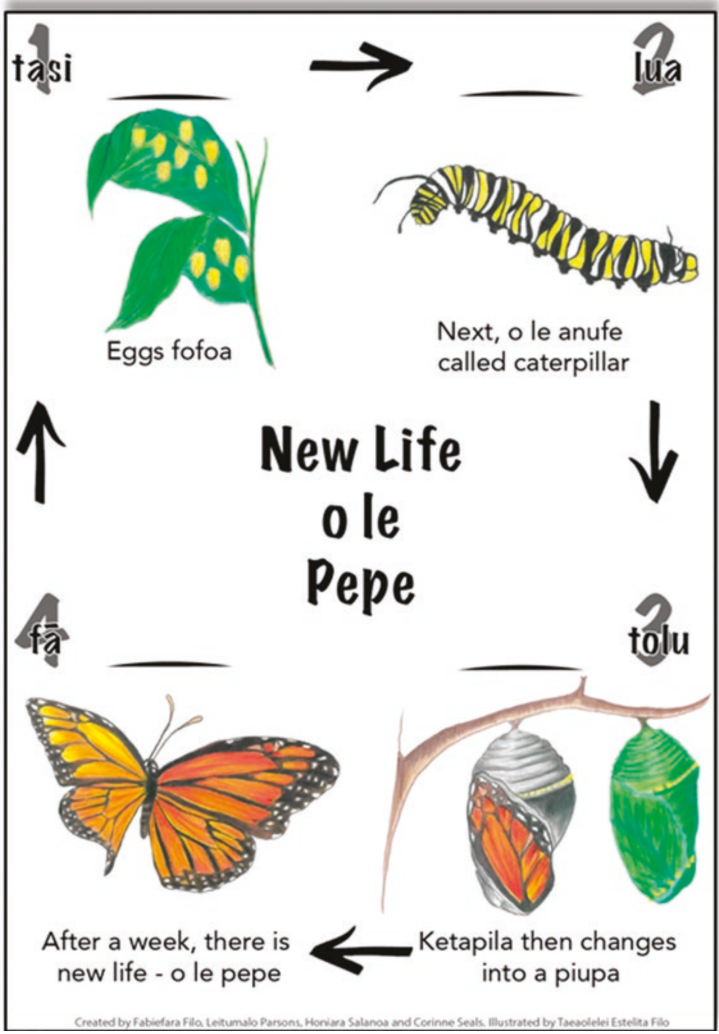

Fig. 7 Poster created for educational center

cultures is the life cycle and the renewal of life, which is also represented by the concept, cyclical layout, and language of the poster.

Additionally, the poster has translanguaged descriptions accompanied in each place by an image, so that the students can draw upon the images to understand any words that they might not at first know. These translanguaged descriptions also create a need for the languages (Cenoz 2015) so that students can understand the full description. Further adding to this need for languages, the blank lines in the poster in Fig. 7 are actually spaces where labels are velcroed onto the poster. There are four labels: (1) fua (*eggs*), (2) anufe (*caterpillar*), (3) piupa (*cocoon*), and (4) pepe

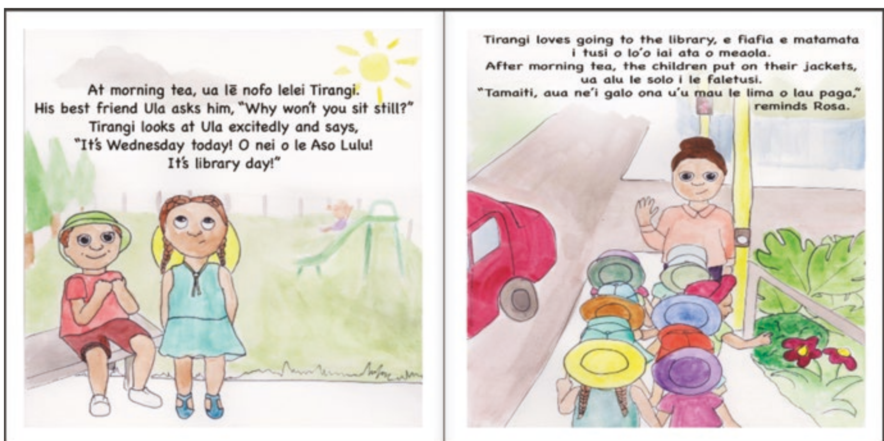

Fig. 8 Pages of book created for educational center

(*butterfly*). Students have to match the label to the proper image and rely upon the descriptions to help them figure out which one goes where. Finally, the numbers also make use of multimodality by presenting the text in Samoan in front of the number.

This poster has been extremely popular with the A'oga Amata, and they made three additional copies as soon as we gave it to them. These posters are now put up in different parts of the A'oga Amata and interacted with regularly, normalizing translanguaging and helping students build their linguistic repertoires across languages and modalities.

Additionally, Fig. 8, above is an example from another resource created for the A'oga Amata. These pages come from a 16-page picture book, which teaches lessons that are important in the culture of the A'oga Amata, as well as to Samoan and New Zealand cultures. As previously mentioned, the dialogue from the book also comes from actual observed language use from the microethnography. We elected to use this instead of graded vocabulary (i.e. graded readers) because the goal of translanguaging in education is to be representative of actual social language use. Therefore, we chose to use language that students were actually experiencing on a daily basis.

The characters in the book come from a variety of backgrounds, as do the children from the educational center. There are characters with names traditionally found in Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island, Māori, Chinese, and Palagi/New Zealand European cultures. The main teacher in the book also has a name that is popular across cultures – Rosa. All characters in the book take part in the translanguaging, therein normalizing multilingualism across cultures.

There are also three locations represented in the book – (1) the main story area of the educational center, (2) the local library, and (3) the outside play area. All three locations are visited daily by the students and are regularly visited by school children throughout New Zealand. In each location, actions that were regularly observed

during the microethnography are represented. Additionally, each part of the story repeats the message of respect for and kindness towards each other. Therefore, the storybook also is easily relatable for the students and teachers, and it is representative of them and their daily experiences. By then utilizing translanguaging throughout the book, this again normalizes it and grows the children's linguistic repertoires.

The book, like the poster, is very popular at the A'oga Amata, as reported through emails from the center as well as during face-to-face ongoing ethnographic meetings with teachers at the center. It too is placed in plain view, sitting on the children's book table in the center of the educational center, and it is read with the children regularly. The children's parents have also been shown the posters and the storybook, and they encounter them daily when dropping off and picking up their children. As a result, there is now more translanguaging present throughout the schoolscape in the form of colorful, interactive resources. This further sends the message to everyone who enters the educational center that *multilingualism and multiculturalism is welcome and encouraged here*.

7 Conclusion

The present chapter has argued for the value of translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of educational centers by presenting findings from a microethnography that took place at a Samoan A'oga Amata in New Zealand in 2017. Additionally, the materials that were developed based on the microethnography findings were discussed, as were the reactions from the teachers at the educational center. As discussed throughout this chapter, translanguaging practices are normal in multilingual, multicultural societies and for multilingual, multicultural individuals. By incorporating translanguaging into the schoolscape, the stigma associated with multilingualism and translanguaging practices is reduced. Moreover, the incorporation of multimodal translanguaging throughout the educational center reduces this stigma for teachers, for children, and for parents. The linguistic landscape facilitates and supports socialization into translanguaging as a norm.

Finding multimodal translingual practices through the microethnography and in the schoolscape speaks to a natural use of translanguaging practices that are also reflective of actual language use in society. As a superdiverse society inclusive of over 160 languages, Aotearoa New Zealand's changing sociolinguistic and sociocultural profile is reflected in the A'oga Amata's schoolscape. Such schoolscapes are not uncommon, especially in places where multilingualism and multiculturalism thrive. It is therefore the responsibility of researchers to use the analytical and creative tools at their disposal to understand local communities and support their efforts at linguistic and cultural inclusion. Adding to their schoolscapes in a meaningful way allows students, teachers, and parents to be able to access the message of translanguaging's acceptance on a daily basis.

Finally, translanguaging in the educational space benefits all children, regardless of their backgrounds, as “a Translanguaging Space acts as a Thirdspace which does not merely encompass a mixture or hybridity of first and second languages; instead it invigorates languaging with new possibilities from ‘a site of creativity and power’” (Li 2017, p. 24, quoting hooks 1990, p. 152). *All* children’s linguistic repertoires are enriched, and *all* children are empowered.

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Part II
Fostering Critical Social Awareness

Building Language Teacher Awareness of Colonial Histories and Imperialistic Oppression Through the Linguistic Landscape

Andrea Sterzuk

Abstract This chapter considers the potential of the linguistic landscape to address the challenge of developing critical multilingual awareness in a predominantly English monolingual and white settler student body in a Canadian teacher education program. The chapter begins with a historical overview of colonial efforts to suppress multilingualism in the province through education, provides a review of relevant literature, and describes a teacher education linguistic landscape activity in relation to this literature. From there, the chapter provides details and findings from a small study of pre-service teachers. The chapter includes examples of student photo analysis as well as a discussion of the usefulness of "noticing" the textual practices of public spaces in helping student teachers to build their awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression. In this way, the chapter addresses the question of how the linguistic landscape can become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education.

Keywords Teacher education · Indigenous languages · Multilingualism · Teacher language awareness · Project-based learning

1 Introduction

This chapter considers the potential of the linguistic landscape to address the challenge of developing critical multilingual awareness in a predominantly English monolingual and white settler student body in a four-year Canadian teacher education program in a comprehensive university (Cho 2010; Haddix 2008; Schick and

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St. Denis 2003, Sterzuk 2010). Specifically, this chapter presents a study of a pedagogical activity used in a linguistic diversity education course designed to build critical multilingual awareness for student teachers. Student participants in the study were all in year two of their 4-year Bachelor of Education university degree. The course is a required course in an undergraduate teacher education degree program with an explicit social justice orientation. The program strives to blend this priority with the overall goal of preparing teachers with expertise in matters of curriculum design and instruction. Students complete school practicum placements in all 4 years of the program. This design provides students with multiple opportunities to make connections between theory and teaching practice. Most graduates of the program will go on to teach through the medium of the English language in Canadian public elementary school classrooms (Kindergarten to Grade 8) to children from a range of religious, ethnic, racial and linguistic backgrounds.

Here and in other writing (Sterzuk 2011, 2015; Sterzuk and Hengen 2019), I highlight the relationship between educational institutions and the production of Canada as a white settler society. Razack (2002) describes this construct in the following way:

> A white settler society is one established by Europeans on non-European soil. Its origins lie in the dispossession and near extermination of Indigenous populations by conquering Europeans. As it evolves, a white settler society continues to be structured by a racial hierarchy (p. 2)

In this racial hierarchy, white settlers occupy a place of dominance, not necessarily through our individual choices but through the processes and institutions that serve us. As a term, *white settler* allows me to highlight the continuing role of colonialism in shaping teacher views of languages and language varieties in official spaces like classrooms.

As a teacher of teachers, and as a white settler educator (Sterzuk 2011), my objective is to help prepare future educators to meet the challenges of contemporary classrooms. From this perspective, this goal includes encouraging student teachers to interrogate their own cultural and linguistic location. This concern is not unique to the Saskatchewan context where I work as a teacher educator. As Haddix (2008) explains, “teacher education literature is replete with examples that highlight that teacher education programmes are filled with white, middle class, monolingual female students” (p. 255). Increasingly, this teacher profile does not mirror that of future students and this mismatch is no matter of small concern when it comes to the matter of multilingualism and schools:

> One of the most serious implications of the cultural and linguistic divide among prospective teachers and today’s K-12 student population is that many White, middle-class pre-service teachers understand linguistic diversity as a deficit (Gutiérrez and Orellana 2006) and view cultural and linguistic differences as other people’s issues” (Haddix 2008, p. 256).

Working to disrupt this understanding is important for social justice oriented educators. To this end, the course has four goals: (1) students will develop an understanding of what language is and how language differences work in the classroom to the advantage of some students and to the disadvantage of others; (2) students will

develop an understanding of first and second language acquisition and literacy development across social contexts; (3) students will develop an understanding of how classroom language instruction can help to constitute and maintain race, gender, and social class as categories of unequal power relations and 4) students will become familiar with some ways of teaching speaking and writing that work to foster equity and justice in the classroom and world.

2 Course Structure

Among the various course activities, one assignment entails students volunteering weekly in local English as an additional language classrooms in public schools as well as a series of three activities which have developed into something that I refer to as self-studies. These activities ask students to make connections between course content and their own lived realities. The reflective aspect of these assignments is necessary precisely because of the ways in which white settlers like me are produced as the educational norm. Systemic control of institutions and schools allows us to reproduce and reinforce our racial and colonial interests because white settlers and our interests are centered in all matters (DiAnglelo 2018). Self-study activities, then, are a deliberate attempt to push a predominantly white settler student body to understand themselves as historical and raced educators. Because of the way it forces students to pay attention to space, the linguistic landscape assignment discussed in this chapter is particularly useful for encouraging students to understand the settler identity as "forged through violence and displacement of Indigenous communities and nations" (Battell Lowman and Barker 2016, p. 2). From this perspective, the linguistic landscape has the potential to play a catalyst role in cultivating critical multilingual awareness in student teachers.

These self-study activities also correspond with what Malinowski (2015), drawing on the work of Lefebvre (1991) and Trumper-Hecht (2010), refers to as the three modes of being in the world – "perceived," "conceived" and "lived" – which interact to socially construct geographical and metaphorical spaces. The first assignment is the linguistic landscape activity which is the focus of this study. This activity orients learners toward meanings they can read in the signs of their neighbourhoods. Malinowski (2015) might categorize this assignment as a "perceived space activity" but it also holds some aspects of "lived space activities" because it asks students to interpret their own surroundings. The second activity is a family language profile assignment that asks students to make connections between family language stories and academic readings about Canadian language policy. This project is designed as a "conceived space activity" because it asks students to consider space as planned, designed, legislated and enforced (Malinowski 2015). The third assignment is designed to help students make connections from the two self-study assignments to their future classrooms. In this activity, students are asked to respond pedagogically to what they have noticed in their spaces. This activity corresponds with Malinowski's (2015) description of "lived space activities" because it requires a

response to the spaces they have studied throughout the semester. Note that whereas these projects focus on one aspect of Lefevbre's (1991) theory of space, it is primarily as a point of departure for students as all three dimensions are always in interaction with each other.

3 Pedagogical Context

As the first assignment in this series of critical language awareness activities, the linguistic landscape pedagogical activity is rooted in the assumption that Canada's colonial history is highly visible in the settler colonial linguistic landscape. Fixed and nonfixed signs are overwhelmingly English; street names like Albert, Victoria, and Prince of Wales reflect Canada's colonial past and present and Indigenous languages are largely rendered invisible or are reinvented as English. For this assignment, students begin by taking photos of neighbourhoods of their choice and analyzing them in writing. The only criteria for selection are that they either currently live in the area or have lived in it in the past. Some students choose neighbourhoods in the city where the university is located. Many students who are originally from rural communities travel home to analyse signs from their small towns. There are no minimum or maximum numbers of photos but students are required to include a selection of 4–6 photos in the assignment and explain their reasons why. In their analyses, they are asked to demonstrate their critical language awareness by responding to the following questions in writing:

> What meanings can you attribute to the linguistic landscape? What do the languages present in these images reveal about this city or town? Based on these photographs, what languages would you expect to hear spoken in this neighbourhood? Based on your own experiences, what languages do you hear spoken in this place? How does this linguistic landscape shape you? You might also ask yourself about the relationship between the photographs you've taken, the people who live in these spaces, and the status of official languages; languages of First Nations and Métis peoples, and languages brought to this location through immigration.

For many students, these reflections on their familiar environments are the starting point for critical multilingual awareness. They consider how their identities, and those of others, are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the linguistic landscape in which they live. They consider whether the languages present in the photos represent their own linguistic identities as well as how this alignment, or lack thereof, reinforces or undermines their own identities. They also reflect upon which Indigenous languages are displaced from the landscape. This chapter, then, presents findings from a case study (Feagin et al. 1991) examining the usefulness of this activity for pushing students to make connections between colonialism and their own space. This research project seeks to explore the connections between student teachers' perception of their linguistic landscape and colonial histories, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to assess the potential of linguistic landscape as a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education.

4 Historical Context

In order to convey the reasons why pre-service teachers might struggle to notice connections between their linguistic landscape and colonialism, I begin with an overview of the historical, racial and linguistic context of Saskatchewan, a Canadian province and the site of this study. The 2016 Canadian Census indicates that 89% of people living in Saskatchewan report English as the language most often spoken at home. This relative linguistic homogeneity is a recent phenomenon and has been produced, in large part, through language-in-education policy and public schools. Prior to European contact, Indigenous societies in Canada/Turtle Island had a high degree of diversity (Iseke 2013). Indigenous peoples have lived in this territory for tens of thousands of years. Saskatchewan was, and is, home to the Métis Nation; the Nêhiyawak (Cree); Anishinaabek (Saulteaux); Nakota; Lakota, Dakota and the Dene peoples. European settlers began to arrive in Saskatchewan in the eighteenth century. The population of western Canada grew significantly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as eleven Post-Confederation treaties with Indigenous peoples were signed (1871–1921), the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed, and the Dominion Lands Act, an 1872 law aimed to encourage settlement, came into effect. The Canadian government used promises of 160 acres of free land to recruit European immigrants, like my grandparents, to settle in the area. Almost half of these early settlers came from non-English-speaking countries. The government's efforts to introduce European settlement produced results but also led to the issue of creating a homogenous Canadian population out of a heterogeneous population with no shared history, language or ethnicity (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). As Joshee et al. (2016) explains, "for much of Canada's history, diversity has been a defining characteristic of the country and has preoccupied and bedeviled policy makers" (p. 37).

Saskatchewan educational institutions have traditionally served as homogenizing agents for a heterogeneous population. After Saskatchewan entered Canadian Confederation in 1905, English became the sole language of instruction in Saskatchewan schools (Mackey 2010). English monolingualism and family language shift were constructed and normalized through a number of interconnected practices including: Indian Residential schools; provincial language-in-education legislation; teacher education, school curricula, and pedagogical practices. The state push for family language shift was intense and created long-lasting effects and beliefs. In fact, it was not until 1974 that the School Act of Saskatchewan was amended to allow languages other than English to be taught or used as the language of instruction for a limited time of the school day.

At the same time when public education was being used to solve the issue of introducing English to European settlers, twenty Indian Residential Schools operated in the province of Saskatchewan (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015b). The result of colonial policy, these schools caused long-lasting and multigenerational trauma to survivors and their families, including in the area of Indigenous language loss (Ball and McIvor 2013; Battiste 1998). The loss of land,

language, spiritual ways and respect for Elders, and traditional ways continue to impact the resilience and well-being of Indigenous communities in North America (Whitbeck et al. 2004). The last residential school closed in Saskatchewan in 1996. These schools no longer operate and provincial legislation no longer forbids the use of language other than English for instructional purposes. Yet while educational goals might be less assimilationist, colonial discourses about language have not disappeared and educational decisions continue to be influenced by "common-sense" beliefs about language and schools. The result of this educational movement over the majority of the twentieth century is a provincial and educational community in which English monolingualism is normal, family language shift is understood as inevitable, and multilingualism and unofficial bilingualism are at best ignored and at worst viewed with suspicion, particularly when the speakers have brown skin.

My previous Saskatchewan-based studies of pre-service and in-service teacher views of language point to ongoing deficit understandings of English language variation (Sterzuk 2010, 2011). Working to shift this thinking is important because this province is once again undergoing a change in demographics. The 2011 census found 70 different languages spoken as mother tongues in Saskatchewan and 16 were new to the province. Similarly, languages other than English and French are also becoming more common across Canada. In 2016, 21.8% of Canadians reported speaking an unofficial language at home in 2016, compared with 20.0% in 2011 (Statistics Canada 2017). The pattern for Indigenous languages is also changing. The number of people who speak an Indigenous language at home (228,770 people) is higher than the number of people who have an Indigenous mother tongue (213,230 people). This difference, particularly significant among children younger than 14, is due to the growing acquisition of an Indigenous language as a second language, the result of the hard work of Indigenous educators (Statistics Canada 2017). With the Canadian government's introduction of an Indigenous languages act in 2018, this pattern is likely to continue. These demographic changes as well as the province's colonial past and present create implications for teacher education in Canada. One area is the need to determine ways to increase critical multilingual language awareness in teachers in an effort to protect against some of the colonial educational practices around language in the past. In my teacher education context, we address this need through the language education course described in this chapter.

5 Linguistic Landscapes, Language Awareness and Teacher Education

As a term, *language awareness* has been used in the field of language education since the 1980's to describe language knowledge (Andrews 2007; Svalberg 2007). In the early 1990's, critics of traditional language awareness projects expanded the discussion to include *critical language awareness*, or an understanding of the social,

political and ideological aspects of language (Fairclough 1990). More recently, Garcia (2008) has proposed the need for *critical multilingual awareness* (CMLA) which she describes as "the understanding that language is socially created, and thus, socially changeable to give voice and educate students equitably" (p. 6). One of the necessary knowledge areas identified in this framework is teacher awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression (Garcia 2016). Linguistic landscape research tells us that the languages we see in print around us give us "information about the population of a neighbourhood, signal what languages are prominent and valued in public and private spaces and index the social positioning of people who identify with particular languages" (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 254). Building teacher awareness of colonial histories is where linguistic landscape research becomes particularly valuable for language teacher education.

Broadly put, linguistic landscape research involves the study of languages on display in public spaces. Over the past 10 years, this field has grown rapidly (Gorter 2018) and a significant number of studies have focussed on the use of the linguistic landscape in educational contexts. For example, Dagenais et al. (2009) examines the usefulness of linguistic landscape pedagogy to teach children in Vancouver and Montreal about language diversity and literacy practices from a critical perspective. Similarly, Burwell and Lenters (2015) examine linguistic landscape pedagogy and its effectiveness for helping Grade 10 students to "read the linguistic, visual and spatial texts of the urban landscape" (p. 203). In this way, students were able to explore issues of language, identity and representation. The study provides support for what Burwell and Lenters (2015) call "the transformative potential of critical reflection paired with creative media production" (p. 219).

In addition to research that focuses on the experiences of language learners and adolescent students, a number of studies have also examined the value of the linguistic landscape for building language awareness in educators. Hancock (2012) explores student teachers on "camera safari" in Edinburgh. The study was designed to help the in-service educators engage in deeper thinking about the multilingual communities in which their future classrooms are located. The study ultimately concludes that drawing educators' attention to their linguistic landscape can lead to heightened awareness of linguistic diversity. Wiese et al. (2017) conducted a study of an anti-bias programme designed to change teachers' attitudes towards linguistic diversity in Germany. Eighty-six teachers from twelve institutions participated in nine workshops, including a linguistic landscape excursion. Results of this quantitative study reveal positive and enduring change in these teacher-participants. Finally, Domínguez Cruz (2017) explores critical awareness in a group of eight EFL preservice teachers in Colombia. In this qualitative case study, the linguistic landscape is used in a pedagogical intervention designed to push participants to critically reflect on the non-neutrality of linguistic landscape texts. This study indicates positive changes in student teachers' understandings of the hidden messages about language in the community around them.

Re-shaping settler dispositions towards linguistic diversity through linguistic landscape pedagogy is one area that offers possibilities and is worthy of further investigation. In a context where the shift to English monolingualism is ubiquitous,

this literature suggests that linguistic landscape activities offer possibilities for helping future teachers to see multilingualism as something positive as opposed to something that needs to be corrected through schooling.

6 Methodology

The objective of this research project is to answer the following two questions: (1) What connections do student teachers make between their linguistic landscapes and colonial histories? and (2) How might the linguistic landscape become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education? Using principles of discourse analysis, the research project examines student written reflections on the photos they took for their assignment. For this project, I emailed all former students in one section of the course to ask for copies of the assignments that were originally completed in fall 2016. Fifteen students gave me permission to use their photos and texts for analysis in my study. Thirteen of the fifteen students had the following profile: white settler, spoke English as a first language and, in some cases, spoke or understood some French. Two of these thirteen students were men and eleven were women. The remaining two participants included a Métis man who spoke English as a first language and a South Asian woman who had emigrated to Canada as an adult, worked elsewhere as a teacher, and spoke multiple languages.

The student texts vary in length but typically fall into a range of six to twelve pages (including photos and written text). My examination of the student text data focused on exploring participants' ideas, messages, values, beliefs, and ideological systems. I used thematic analysis (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006) to search for themes important to the description of the relationship between colonial histories, imperialistic oppression, and the linguistic landscape. This approach involves reading and re-reading data as a form of pattern recognition. These themes then became the categories for analysis. As I read through the student assignments for the first time, I took preliminary notes about comments on language that seemed to be frequently emerging and that triggered connections to relevant literature. After an initial analysis of the students' texts, I worked deductively by examining the selected documents for keywords related to my research question and theoretical framework (Gagnon 2010). Practically, this means looking for student references to words like English, Cree, Ukrainian or other languages. In particular, I looked for discussions of language shift or language loss, mentions of ethnic block settlements, discussions of Indigenous languages, or discussion of the absence of Indigenous languages in the linguistic landscape. This process allowed me to obtain relevant themes and focus on what is explicitly named in connection to language.

In the section that follows, I present selected student reflections in two areas: Reflections on English and Reflections on Indigenous Languages. In some cases, I include the student photo. In others, I rely solely on the students' texts. Working with student data can be challenging in terms of separating my instructor-evaluative voice from that of my researcher-interpretive voice. In a concluding subsection, I

include my narrative voice as instructor. In this way, I am able to share my own reflections on the activity on matters of course design and adaptations in response to changing social context.

7 Student Reflections

7.1 Reflections on English

As an instructor, I have been able to observe student engagement with this assignment over successive academic years. There are some patterns to how they initially interact with the linguistic landscape. First, students rarely, if ever, have any reservation or hesitation to engage with the line of questioning I propose to them in this assignment. They are engaged in their analyses and keen to understand how they can learn from the activity in terms of their own language awareness development. As students begin to take pictures, another pattern is that one of the first characteristics they notice is the overwhelming English-ness of their landscapes. For all the historical reasons identified early in this chapter, English is ubiquitous in Saskatchewan. For most students, the nature of English linguistic landscape is not something they may have consciously considered until this assignment. Similar to other studies of linguistic landscape activities in teacher education contexts (Domínguez Cruz 2017; Hancock 2012; Wiese et al. 2017), this assignment provides an opportunity to "read the linguistic, visual and spatial texts" of urban and rural landscapes (Burwell and Lenters 2015, p. 203) and students rise to this occasion. This new noticing of English becomes a focus of class discussions largely because many students initially set out to find examples of other languages because they misunderstand this to be the objective of the activity. This is likely due to an understanding of Canada's value as rooted in its multiculturalism. Indeed, the Canadian myth of a common multicultural destiny is promoted throughout multiple layers of the Canadian social imaginary. This understanding seems to shape the ways students approach this assignment. Once they settle into the understanding that they may not be able to locate non-English signs, their observations and efforts lead to interesting reflections, including the following excerpt from a student who participated in the study.

The following photo is of a post office sign in a small town in rural Saskatchewan. First settled by Scandinavian settlers in the early 1900s, the town now has a population of roughly 700 people and the primary industry is farming. This image is from the assignment of 19-year-old man in my course and his response to the image follows the picture (Fig. 1).

> My town has an abundance of English signs all over town, and by that I mean if you are not specifically looking for signs in another language then you will have difficulty finding them—if any at all. The only English-French bilingual signs present in town were that of the post office and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police building. This is very typical of a small town, as the only reason the post office has its hours of operation also in French is

Fig. 1 Canada Post counter hours

> because they are legally required to do so. My town is not a French-speaking town by any means. Twenty miles east is a French-settled village called Village which does have multiple families of French heritage. I bring up Village, because their school shut down long before I started school and because of that many of the children from there took their schooling in my town. While some of the parents of the students may have had the ability to speak French, none of the children I personally knew from there were bilingual.

This student's response shows an understanding of federal language policy, federal institutions, and an awareness of the overwhelming Anglo-dominance of his environment (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995). He makes some connections between federal language policy and the linguistic landscape but also notices the law's lack of alignment with his community in contemporary times. His reflection almost takes on a tone of *too-little-too-late* when he discusses the absence of French in his town. The story he gives of the neighbouring Francophone town shifting to English is rather common in the history of Fransaskois communities (Denis 2006; Von Staden and Sterzuk 2017). School closures eventually led to partial or complete family language shift in many communities. In his comments, we see evidence of student reflections on language policy and the role schools can play in supporting family languages.

The following image was submitted by a mature student in my course who had returned to university after working as an educational assistant for several years. The following picture captures signs and brochures at newcomer welcome center in her community, a small city first settled by Europeans in the late 1800s. The student's reflections on the image follow (Fig. 2).

> Most telling of all were the signs outside and inside the Newcomer Welcome Centre. I was very surprised that every sign in this building had English on it. Important things to the functionality of all Canadians such as education, labour, citizenship and rights, were all in English. A definitive message to newcomers both denying how 'welcome' they are and at

Fig. 2 Newcomer welcome center

> the same time sending the message that in order to be welcome in my city, you need to learn to speak English. Acclimatizing people and assimilating them all in one building.

The student makes some interesting connections between citizenship and language. Morgan and Vandrick (2009) have made similar arguments about the relationship between English and becoming Canadian:

> There is a tendency in schools and society to misjudge immigrants and refugees as partially formed citizens based on their surface "errors" in English. Yet, the newcomer's or outsider's eyes and ears are alert to power in ways no longer available to habituated, domesticated insiders, who see but no longer perceive the beauty, horror and complacency around them. (p. 515)

From this perspective, we might argue, as the student does, that the newcomer welcome center display is designed to do more than simply inform. The student's reflections demonstrate an awareness that the monolingual use of English in these signs positions these newcomers as "partially formed citizens." Through English, the landscape shapes newcomers who will also become habituated insiders. The assignment provides this student with an opportunity to notice this connection between language and citizenship.

7.2 *Reflections on Indigenous Languages*

The current version of this assignment explicitly asks the students to consider the displacement of Indigenous languages. Initially, the assignment did not include this prompt and, not surprisingly, the topic was absent from student assignments, much

in the same way as Indigenous languages are also mostly absent from linguistic landscapes of Saskatchewan. After I introduced the prompt, students began to reflect on the issue of Indigenous languages but frequently with some difficulty. This area of the assignment is one where I receive many emails and questions from students. The following student reflections give some sense of the difficulty students often have with noticing (the absence of) Indigenous languages in their landscapes. The first reflection comes from a 19-year-old women. In the following excerpt, she describes challenges in searching for information about Indigenous languages in her community, a small town in southern Saskatchewan:

> Regarding First Nations languages, there was a total absence in the area. I searched, but was unable to locate any words in the common languages of Cree or Ojibway. Saskatchewan has a long history of the First Nations and Métis people living here. These groups speak a multitude of languages, such as Cree, Dakota, and Ojibway. The English language did not exist in the prairies hundreds of years ago, showing that a huge language displacement has occurred.

The terms this student uses for Indigenous languages in Saskatchewan lead me to believe she did some online investigation. Typically, *Ojibway* is not the word used to describe this Algonquian language in Saskatchewan; the word most commonly used in English would be *Saulteaux*. Still, the student's response shows evidence of noticing the absence of Indigenous languages in her landscape. She also reflects on the displacement of these languages by English. Finally, her noticing also leads to an accurate understanding of Indigenous peoples as living in the territory since time immemorial. This statement shows awareness of how the principle of terra nullius continues to influence how settlers discuss and think about Canadian history – as beginning with the arrival of Europeans (Thobani 2007). The student's reference to a "long history" of Indigenous peoples in Canada shows evidence of critical reflection and absence of the principle of terra nullius.

The following student excerpt about her small farming community includes similar reflections:

> I do not know for sure which First Nations group lived on my town land pre-contact, but I know my photographs reflect no recognition of their languages. The Government of Saskatchewan website shows that the X First Nation and X First Nation are the two closest First Nations people to my town. I know that there are no signs of their languages, or any other First Nation's language in our community, so perhaps that means that First Nations people were pushed out of our village when settlers arrived.

This part of the activity causes some problems for the student. In being asked to re-examine her context, she experiences some difficulties when asked to think about Indigenous languages in her space. Whether or not this is the first time she has ever considered that someone lived in her area prior to European settlement, is not possible to know. Because of her willingness to engage with the activity, she is able to move to the understanding that colonial activities might have affected Indigenous peoples in her area. In this way, the activity serves as a useful prompt for her critical reflections.

Finally, the following excerpt from another woman's reflections on the languages in her small semi-urban farming community in southern Saskatchewan shows greater accuracy in terms of Indigenous languages spoken in the area.

> As I mentioned earlier, the area of my town was once home to the Assiniboine people. They would have spoken Assiniboine, also known as Nakota, which is a member of the Siouan language family. Along with Assiniboine being heard, one might have also heard Stoney and Dakota-Lakota being spoken; relatives in the Dakotan Siouan language family. Something that I find disappointing is that I had to research this information to find out who lived in the area pre-contact. This goes to show that the relationship between the city and the Assiniboine people has become invisible and practically non-existent. In fact the photo included on page nine doesn't even mention which First Nations group originally created the stone formations. Whoever created that sign had the power to include a lot more information about Indigenous culture, but instead only chose to include minimal information.

A few things are worthy of attention in this student's assignment. First, she has researched the Indigenous languages and peoples displaced by European settlement in her area (Ball and McIvor 2013). This provides evidence of connection-making between her linguistic landscape and settler colonial efforts to produce linguistic homogeneity (Stasiulis and Jhappan 1995; Thobani 2007). Also noteworthy is her take on the power of the sign-maker. This critical reflection leads to a statement on the inclusion of accurate Indigenous history in her community's history. Understanding the gaps in historical depictions of rural Saskatchewan is a useful exercise for a future teacher.

7.3 *Instructor Reflections*

Initially, when I began teaching this course, which was first developed roughly a decade ago, I centered course activities around academic readings. This approach did not seem effective in terms of shifting thinking in any real or lasting ways. Roughly 7 years ago, I began experimenting with other types of experiential and project-based learning, including linguistic landscape pedagogy. Over the years, I have continued to make adaptations to better respond to the changing context of contemporary schools, teachers, and learners. Three influences are worth mentioning as I reflect on the usefulness of the linguistic landscape for instilling critical multilingual language awareness: (1) program reform in my Faculty of Education; (2) mandatory Treaty Education in the province of Saskatchewan and (3) the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

In 2007, the Faculty of Education where I work specifically named matters of social justice, diversity, and equity as core principles of our program. This mandate means that all courses in my Faculty take up and integrate these principles. The effect has been that students arrive at my second-year course with increasingly nuanced understandings of matters related to these principles because they are learning about these principles throughout their courses. Their growing understandings enable me to push them more in their self-reflection and also likely account for

the absence of overt resistance in the data shared in this chapter. Students are engaged in their analyses and keen to understand how they can learn from the activity in terms of their own language awareness development. Next, in 2008, mandatory Treaty Education was introduced in the province of Saskatchewan. In the part of Canada where I live and work, Treaties were signed between Indigenous peoples and representatives of Queen Victoria in the late nineteenth century. The displacement and confinement of Indigenous peoples and the period of the Indian Residential Schools are understood today as failures to honor these Treaties. K-12 Treaty Education pushes students and teachers to examine the historical context and spirit and intent of Treaties but also our inherited Treaty relationships (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education 2013). As Treaty Education has emerged as an important educational focus in this province, its presence has also grown in teacher education programs (Tupper 2011, 2012, 2014; Tupper and Cappello 2008). What this means for my course is that I need to consider these same issues and curricular implications in my teaching in order to help future teachers learn how to do the same. Finally, in 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada made public its final report into the history and legacy of Canada's residential school system. The 94 Calls to Action in the report include calls that implicate universities and schools, including calls to educate teachers on how to integrate Indigenous knowledge and teaching methods into classrooms, calls that highlight Indigenous languages as fundamental and valued elements of Canadian culture and society, and calls to identify teacher-training needs in relation to building student capacity for intercultural understanding, empathy and mutual respect (Truth and Reconciliation Commission 2015a). What these calls have meant for my classroom is a growing responsibility to build future teacher knowledge and know-how in many matters related to the history and legacy of residential schools.

Against this backdrop, I have encountered a professional and ethical obligation to negotiate my own white settler fragility (DiAngelo 2018) in relation to languages and settler-colonialism and to devise learning opportunities that help my students do the same. In the linguistic landscape assignment in particular, I have worked at redesigning prompts, facilitating classroom discussions, and pushing learners in their own growth when they claimed ignorance or innocence and difficult dialogues ensued. What I have learned about instilling critical multilingual language awareness in teacher candidates (García 2016) is that it is not easily achieved through abstract activities and it requires patience but also the ability to push learners when they are struggling to see the mundane in new and critical ways. Activities that allow learners to move outside the classroom and engage with the realities of settler colonialism through the exercise of recognizing an English monolingual landscape as state-constructed create powerful and enduring opportunities for learning. These exercises, coupled with academic reading but also with other experiences like working with Indigenous Elders, engaging with English as additional students in public schools, and talking to their family members about state-mandated language loss, seem to create "aha" moments in ways that earlier iterations of this course did not achieve. Students value this path of discovery.

Since conducting the research described in this chapter, the Language and Literacies subject area of my faculty has introduced some changes to the course. First, the name has changed from *Linguistic Diversity and Teaching Language Arts* to *Multilingualism and the Classroom*, a title which better reflects the goals of the course as well as advances in language education research. The course calendar description has also been updated to explicitly name the development of critical multilingual language awareness as the central goal of the course. These changes will help students to understand their learning objectives. As an instructor, I will continue to develop and refine assignments that support student teacher engagement with the linguistic landscape because of the way this builds teacher awareness of colonial histories and imperialistic oppression. As an educational researcher, I am also committed to further research in this area in order to gather more classroom and on-site data to demonstrate the kinds of learning and self-reflective growth that this course seeks to promote.

8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out to answer two questions: (1) What connections do student teachers make between their linguistic landscapes and colonial histories? and (2) How might the linguistic landscape become a productive site for project-based learning in language teacher education? For many students in my classes, these reflections on their familiar environments are the starting point for critical multilingual awareness. They consider how their identities, and those of others, are shaped in interaction with diverse languages of print in the linguistic landscape in which they live, whether the languages present in the photos represent their own linguistic identities as well as how this alignment, or lack thereof, reinforces or undermines their own identities. They also reflect upon which Indigenous languages are displaced from the landscape (Ball and McIvor 2013; Battiste 1998).

As Indigenous communities work to reclaim traditional languages (McIvor and Anisman 2018) and schools work to respect and include newcomer languages, teacher education must be careful to not re-create sameness, but rather to imagine and prepare for a world where multilingualism moves beyond rhetoric and returns to being the force for decoloniality that it has always been (Khanam et al. forthcoming). Moving towards these goals is more likely to occur in project-based learning like the kind outlined in this chapter. Jarring students from their complacency requires more than readings and discussions, and linguistic landscape pedagogy offers the possibility to help educators engage in deeper reflection about the communities in which their future classrooms are located. Linguistic landscape activities can provide key sites for building heightened and enduring language awareness in pre-service educators (Domínguez Cruz 2017; Hancock 2012; Wiese et al. 2017).

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Floating Traffic Signs and the Ambiguity of Silence in the Linguistic Landscape

Diane F. Richardson

Abstract The ever-changing, often contested, and ambiguous spaces of the linguistic landscape (LL) offer endless opportunities for language educators interested in promoting multiple literacies, transcultural understanding, and symbolic competence. Yet the LL images featured in commonly used language textbooks often appear to be floating on the pages, isolated from the ambiguity of their contexts in the target cultures. The pedagogical module in this chapter presents a more contextualized approach to the LL for language learners in a region of the US where the language being learned, German, is not highly prominent. Thus, this chapter contributes to continued discussions within the field of Language Acquisition and Teaching about supplementing the language textbook with authentic texts to go beyond grammar and vocabulary exercises built around isolated images or artifacts (e.g., Swaffar J, and Arens K, Remapping the foreign language curriculum: an approach through multiple literacies. Modern Language Association of America, New York, 2005). It provides an overview of silences that language learners encountered and expressed when engaging with the ambiguity of various LLs and demonstrates how this contributes to language learners becoming more aware of their place in today's multicultural and multilingual society.

Keywords Silence · Language awareness · Linguistic landscape

1 Linguistic Landscape as a Tool for Language Awareness and Learning

Language as it is or is not represented in the public sphere is the object of study within the discipline of Linguistic Landscape. This chapter provides a view of the linguistic landscape (LL) as a space of ambiguity and invites language learners and instructors to explicitly engage with its related gaps or silences, namely, that which is excluded or at first glance perhaps unnoticed, unobserved, or misunderstood.

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The classroom-based research study featured in this chapter draws on existing LL research that has been conducted in general education settings for language awareness (e.g., Dagenais et al. 2009) and in urban settings where the languages being learned are very prominent, often settings where English is being taught as a foreign language (e.g., Rowland 2013; Sayer 2010). It highlights the transferability of those studies to contexts in which the language being learned is scarcely represented, and outlines the affordances of various dimensions of the LL for language learners who are bound by the situated-ness of their learning context. In this case, the language learners were studying German at a large public university in a large city in the southwestern US (Arizona), where on the surface there would seem to be little connection to German. However, by bringing former study abroad students and materials they had collected abroad into a fourth-semester German class, students in Arizona were exposed to LLs of Germany. They then also explored the LL of their campus and city to find connections to the German language or the German-speaking world. This chapter describes that LL pedagogical module, which was part of a larger curriculum development project, and unpacks the language learners' reflections on the ambiguity of silences surrounding all of those LLs. It does this by examining the broader context of the landscapes, and then focusing on dimensions of silence as identified through analysis of student responses.

Using more authentic, contextualized texts and artifacts from the target cultures in the language classroom has been a topic of interest for years within the field of Language Teaching and Acquisition in the US. This study contributes to the related discussions, which have also promoted supplementing standard language textbooks in order to go beyond common grammar and vocabulary exercises that are often built around isolated cultural notes, images or texts (e.g., Swaffar and Arens 2005). Similarly, the LL images or even drawings that are sometimes featured in language textbooks might be isolated from the authentic settings in the target cultures, and thus appear to be floating on the pages.[1] Simply by reframing the activities corresponding to such images, program directors and instructors can initiate a more contextualized discussion of multiple aspects of language and cultural learning as related to the LL. By looking beyond the textbook, though, language educators can expose learners across all levels, from beginners to advanced, to an even more multifaceted view of LL as a particular kind of authentic text. This in turn supports a more integrated approach to language curriculum development as a means of overcoming the divide that oftentimes still exists between postsecondary language and content instruction in the US (e.g., Maxim 2006).

Bridging that language-content divide was a focus of a report released in 2007 by the Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages of the Modern Language Association of America, which emphasized the development of transcultural understanding as critical, defining it as "the ability to comprehend and analyze the cultural narratives that appear in every kind of expressive form" (MLA 2007, p. 4). The cultural

[1] See for instance the "floating" traffic signs image and exercise in a beginning-level German language textbook (Tschirner et al. 2013, p. 248).

narratives found within the LL make it ideal for lessening the language-content divide, perhaps in particular when implemented at the intermediate level. In addition to enhancing language learners' transcultural understanding, the current study was designed to instill a sense of symbolic competence. Symbolic competence as part of language learning involves confronting learners with form as meaning, production of complexity, and developing a tolerance of ambiguity (Kramsch 2006). This means approaching grammatical, textual, visual, or other structures as meaningful tools for using or understanding the language in an increasingly more complex manner, all the while navigating potentially ambiguous, unclear, or uncertain meanings or situations. The latter component, tolerance of ambiguity, is a central notion for this study, whereby the terms ambiguity and ambiguous as used here refer broadly to the multiplicity and indeterminacy of meaning within and related to texts (of the LL). Bringing learners to feel more comfortable with ambiguity as experienced in various LLs, despite the potentiality of being unable to determine a meaning or entirely disambiguate a text, is one aim of the current study. In so doing, this can lead to a heightened sense of symbolic competence for language learners, while also developing other literacies.

A literacies-based approach to language learning informed the pedagogical design of the current study, largely influenced by Kern's (2000) notion of literacy for the language classroom, as well as other significant works on the topic of multiple literacies (e.g., Swaffar and Arens 2005) or multiliteracies (Paesani et al. 2015). LL research related to education (e.g., Cenoz and Gorter 2008) has also identified multiple areas of literacy to which the integration of LLs into the classroom can contribute, including:

- pragmatic literacy (i.e., understanding the communicative intent of linguistic forms and speech acts ranging from indirect language to metaphors and collocations);
- multimodal literacy (i.e., not just the understanding of isolated words, but all additional aspects that might influence the meaning and interpretation of those words, including symbols, colors, placement, etc.);
- multilingual literacy (i.e., the ability to draw on knowledge and make use of several different languages as well as to reflect on how the languages all influence each other);
- and affective literacy (i.e., the development of positive attitudes towards language and language learning).

That study (Cenoz and Gorter 2008) as well as others (Dagenais et al. 2009; Sayer 2010) have applied the methods used in qualitative LL studies to educational settings in order to provide students with the opportunity to recreate empirical LL research that their instructors have already conducted. This allows the learners to take on the role of researcher by going into a designated area and documenting the linguistic and cultural representations found there. Those studies demonstrate the benefits that explicit engagement with the LL has in educational settings, including the fact that students make connections between the classroom and the real world by applying higher-level, creative, and analytical skills to think about

language use in context. These aspects contribute to language learners becoming more aware of today's globalized society—one in which cultural and linguistic ambiguity is inevitable.

More loosely structured LL projects have been suggested for the language classroom that avoid narrowing "students' perspectives of the LL by focusing them on particular aspects of public signage" (Chesnut et al. 2013, p. 10). The approach in that study, as in the current study, is to urge students to "ask their own linguistic landscape questions and pursue them as they see fit" (Chesnut et al. 2013, p. 106) in order to allow for "a greater focus on the confusion of students, the meandering paths they attempted to take, and their initial ideas about their own sociolinguistic ecology" (p. 105–106). One finding of Chesnut et al.'s (2013) narrative analysis highlighted the "challenge of overcoming naturalized discourses, that render the linguistic landscape unimportant, ordinary and trivial" (p. 116). Motivating language learners to overcome indifference to the LL, to take an active interest in it, with an eye for potentially confusing ambiguities—oftentimes created through silences—guided the pedagogical materials and assessments that were implemented for the current study.

A conceptual framework that would allow language learners to pursue their own LL questions was proposed by Malinowski (2015), who applied LL theory and methodology to language education contexts by adapting Lefebvre's (1974/1991) paradigm of conceived, perceived, and lived spaces. Using the guiding questions provided by Malinowski (2015), learners in various contexts can navigate the LL so that they are brought to reflect critically on a more complete experience of the multiple dimensions and layers to be found within and beyond those spaces. For language learning contexts where such an experiential approach is less feasible, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) offer guidelines for the careful selection and contextualization of authentic textual representations from the LL. The guidelines can be helpful to curriculum developers, instructors or learners themselves and could be adapted for examples from virtual linguistic landscapes (Deumert 2014; Ivkovic 2012; Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009) or, as is the case of the current study, those collected by study abroad participants and brought back to the home university or school. In this manner, language learners who may be learning in a setting where the language is not so noticeable, and who may never have the opportunity to go abroad, can be exposed to authentically contextualized use of the language as well as related issues pertaining to language awareness, status, policy, and planning. The next section proposes a view of the LL as a place for language and cultural learning in particular regard to its potential for highlighting silences and exposing language learners to related ambiguities.

2 Language Learning and the Ambiguity of Silences in the LL

Considerable research has been conducted in the growing discipline of Linguistic Landscape since Landry and Bourhis' (1997) seminal study, expanding the definition of linguistic landscape to a broad concept that goes "beyond displayed 'written' texts of signs in multilingual versions and includes verbal texts, images, objections, placement in time and space as well as human beings" (Shohamy and Waksman 2009, p. 314). There have been studies that draw on expertise from various areas, including semiotics, multimodalities, and multiliteracies (e.g., Bever 2012, 2015; Gonglewski and DuBravac 2006; Shohamy and Gorter 2009). The research has come to include studies on soundscapes (Backhaus 2015), love sculptures (Jaworski 2015), scentscapes (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), and skinscapes—in particular tattoos and a tattoo parlor in South Africa (Peck and Stroud 2015)—as part of or related to the LL. The latter study refers to the excess of meaning that can arise within linguistic landscapes as "sometimes contradictory and potentially ambiguous, oftentimes aspirational and many times unfulfilled" (Peck and Stroud 2015, p. 147). Bringing language learners to actively engage with contradictory and ambiguous meanings of various kinds of texts is an overarching goal of the current study, including a focus on ambiguity induced by silence.

Silence is referred to in this study as more than just the absence of sound; rather it includes when certain things are left unsaid or unwritten, intentionally or unintentionally (see Jaworski 1997, for interdisciplinary perspectives on silence). In the language learning context, this can be seen as a practical limitation in general, for instance, through the omission of a more multidimensional depiction of cultural narratives related to the target cultures or regions in language textbooks, curricula, materials and assessments. This in turn can result in a stereotypical notion or conceptualization of those groups of people as an imagined community (for more on the latter in relation to language learning with the LL, see Bever and Richardson 2020). The silence around such cultural stereotypes can lead to fossilization or naturalization, giving them what is referred to here as mythical status. In terms of the LL, the notion of silence used here applies to absence of entire languages, dialects or translations, and thus the silencing of those people who are excluded from more active participation in sociopolitical realms. Such silences can make just as powerful a statement about the symbolic image or status of the related languages as the dominance of a given language in a particular linguistic landscape (Backhaus 2009; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). This notion of "visible silence" also includes the absence of certain words, symbols, colors, or other elements in the signs of linguistic/semiotic landscapes (for discussion of those terms see Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; for more on absences in the LL see Malinowski 2018; Zhao and Liu 2014). In places where on the surface there seems to be little connection to the language being learned, such as is the case with German in Arizona, the entire topic of local linguistic landscapes might be silenced.

The pedagogical opportunities of confronting language learners with such silences related to the LL inspired this study, informed also by the following wide ranging notion of silence that encompasses: "an auditory signal (pause) in a linguistic theory, as a pragmatic and discursive strategy, as a realization of a taboo, as a tool of manipulation, as part of listener's 'work' in interaction, and as an expression of artistic ideas" (Jaworski 1997, p. 4). Manipulation in various forms is significant for the notion of silence referred to in this study, with one dimension being the manipulation of language and public places to express or comment on topics that are otherwise oftentimes silenced—not only in the language classroom—because they are considered taboo, sensitive or too difficult to discuss. Another dimension is through the use of metaphoric language and paralanguage, or visual elements and symbols instead of text, all of which can be used to mask otherwise unstated, unwritten, implicit, or symbolic meanings. By using these techniques to create meaning, while at the same time distracting from it, the meanings of and within the text become more ambiguous (Cook 1992). This kind of manipulated language is likewise often silenced or avoided in the language learning context because it is considered too complex, difficult, or ambiguous for learners to decipher, particularly at the beginning levels.

The pedagogical framework of this study purposefully confronts language instructors and learners with manipulated language and spaces as well as the corresponding gaps, silences, and ambiguities. It takes into consideration the accompanying uncertainty or unease that can arise for language learners and instructors and the pedagogical implications and benefits. The unease of silence in the narrow sense, as in audible silence, is one reason why it has been described as "the utmost of ambiguity" (Perniola 2010), since it often leads to or is induced by confusion, misunderstanding, miscommunication, uncertainty, or doubt. Despite this fact, ambiguous elements of silences in the LL are not viewed here as a problem that needs to be reduced or solved, rather embraced as a natural occurrence in everyday life and encounters. What this means for the language classroom is exposing learners to the silences within and related to texts of the LL, in order that they become active participants in meaning making and negotiation. This can cause even more ambiguities to arise, as Myers (1994) has discussed in regard to language in advertisements, because active participation with the silences in various texts does not always result in one universal interpretation or answer. Instead, this process ideally prompts language learners to move beyond concrete, material aspects of signage and language to contemplate the multiple ambiguous, symbolic and non-neutral meanings which the texts provoke and foreground. In this manner, students can become involved in "shaping the contours of cultural gaps in meaning and relocating them" (Kramsch and Nolden 1994, p. 34). The process of actively shaping and engaging with the cultural and linguistic gaps or silences in the language classroom in order to relocate or unravel them is a critical aspect for cultivating a deeper sense of transcultural understanding by bringing more awareness to learners about their role in contributing to today's society.

3 The Study: Investigating the LL at Home and Abroad

3.1 Overview of the Study

During the spring semester 2015, a new curriculum was introduced into the fourth semester German class (GER4) at the University of Arizona. That course curriculum was divided into three units that focused respectively on the ambiguity of genre, perspective, and silence. During the third unit, students spent several weeks analyzing various linguistic and semiotic landscapes in films, music videos, lyrics, and postcards. The texts included were selected by the instructor for the potential they offered the learners to explore the direct and indirect manner in which various dimensions of silence, both audible and visible, are conveyed through verbal and nonverbal means. The unit closed with a module that focused more explicitly on the LL, which was developed according to the following objectives:

- Learners will enhance multiple literacies, transcultural understanding, and symbolic competence, in particular a tolerance of ambiguity, by:
  - investigating and reflecting on (silences in) the local LL, a setting where the target language (German) is not highly visible;
  - investigating and reflecting on (silences in) the LL of a city that they have never visited (in Germany);
  - expressing their own opinions (and silences) on the importance and role of the LL for language learning and in general.

In order to approach these objectives, authentic LL materials for the classroom were collected in two phases. Phase 1 involved ten summer study abroad participants of a four-week fifth-semester and above German language and culture course instructed by the author during the summer of 2014 in Leipzig. Leipzig is in the state of Saxony, in eastern Germany, where architectural remnants of the post-World War II Soviet occupation are not the only reminders of the long-lasting effects of the separation of Germany and isolation of former East Germans from Western influences. Economic and mental divides still exist for many Germans, which is evidenced in various aspects of life there, including in the LL. Phase 2 involved students in two sections of GER4 at the home institution who collected examples of German in the LL of their campus and city during spring 2015. While there have been some German influences in Arizona, the vicinity to Mexico makes Spanish the most visible language other than English in the region and on that campus. For Phase 2, students completed multiple LL activities and reflections, including a discussion with study abroad participants from Phase 1. One section of GER4 (Sect. 1) was instructed by the author and 20 of 21 students enrolled in that section consented to be included in this study. The other section of the course, Sect. 2, was instructed by a graduate assistant in teaching, whom the author also supervised. 12 of 17 students in Sect. 2 participated in this study. All student quotes included in this study were selected from submissions of those 32 participants.

3.2 *Introducing LL and the Notion of Silences into the Language Classroom*

To introduce the topic of linguistic landscapes into the newly designed curriculum of GER4, several songs and corresponding music videos from the Berlin-based band DOTA, made up of singer/songwriter Dota Kehr and the band *Die Stadtpiraten*, were incorporated into the third unit. The first song with which students worked was "*Öffentlicher Nahverkehr*" ["Local Public Transportation"] (Kehr 2003) and a corresponding music video. The video features Kehr playing the guitar and singing in the Berlin subway as well as a multitude of scenes from Berlin's LL. In one scene, a graffiti on a bridge is visible that proclaims in capital letters: *WIR WOLLEN NICHT EIN STÜCK VOM KUCHEN WIR WOLLEN DIE GANZE BÄCKEREI* [We don't want a piece of the cake, we want the entire bakery], followed by an anarchist symbol. This graffiti represents multiple dimensions of silence as referred to in this study, all of which contribute to a multiplicity of meanings, including:

- on a more indexical level as
  - silence of taken for granted-ness (that the text and symbol will be understood);
  - silence of cultural myths or stereotypes, here pertaining to the graffiti artist as rebel or more specifically to the West Berlin punk and anarchist movements of the 70s and 80s;
- on a more symbolic level as
  - silence in the use of metaphor;
  - silence in the manipulation of language and symbols, here with the intent to subvert (as opposed to establish) power.

The reader must draw a connection to the anarchist symbol in order to comprehend the more abstract level of the metaphor in the text, thus becoming an active participant in negotiating meaning of this graffiti. That is precisely what the learners in this study were asked to do.

After having discussed and analyzed this song and graffiti, another music video was shown of a live performance at which Kehr explained that the quote in that exact graffiti inspired the lyrics for another song called "*Utopie*" ["Utopia"] (Kehr 2010). That song depicts the world as a man-made place, and is a commentary of capitalistic structures and tendencies, drawing attention to the ambiguity created by the silences of those in power through the manipulation of language and information. These are common themes in two additional DOTA songs that were included in the curriculum. By engaging with all of these songs and videos, the GER4 students trained not only their listening and viewing abilities, but were exposed to the ambiguity of several dimensions of silence within the LL. Furthermore, the students saw that by paying attention to Berlin's LL, Kehr had the inspiration for an entire song and then made use of her position as musician to point to the power of the LL, thus giving voice to those who might otherwise be silenced in political processes.

Following this introduction to the notion of LL and silences, students were asked, like Kehr, to be more aware of their LL. More specifically, participants had 3 weeks to find at least two examples of German(ness) in their city and everyday surroundings. During that time, there was a recurring emphasis in class on additional texts from and related to LLs that highlighted the ambiguity of silences.

3.3 Tasks and Topics of the LL Module

Once GER4 students had time to collect their LL images, the course ended with a final LL module as outlined in Table 1. Student responses submitted for these tasks served as the main data sources for the current study. For Task 1, images were used that had been collected by the ten students during Phase 1 in Leipzig, although a few were from day-trips or weekend excursions to nearby towns and cities in eastern Germany (Wernigerode, Dresden, Berlin). 58 photographs were collected and can be sorted into the following categories, although some could correspond to multiple categories:

- Graffiti (21)
- Artistic Graffiti (5)
- Political Graffiti (6)
- English Language Graffiti (8)
- Other Graffiti (2)
- Signs (11)
  - Official Signs (7)
  - Unofficial Signs/Stickers (4)
- Public Sculptures/Architecture/Museums (8)
- People and Cultural Events (8)
- Food (5)
- Alcohol (5)

Table 1 Overview of the LL module topics and tasks

Topic	Task
1. Leipzig's linguistic landscapes	Categorization and analysis (in-class, small group) of photographs
2. Study abroad participants in the language classroom at home	In-class group discussion about Leipzig's LL and study abroad experience
3. German in our City	Post two photographs with written explanation to online discussion board (individual, at-home)
4. Status of German in our city and general impact of linguistic landscapes	Written reflection (individual, at-home)
5. Comparison of linguistic landscapes in Leipzig and our city	Final unit reflection (individual, written, at-home using online quiz tool)

The four latter categories are sometimes signs or include some linguistic element, for instance, a sign at a museum or the label on a wine bottle, while some images from all categories have no linguistic elements.

Learners in the US viewed printed copies of the pictures of Leipzig's LL, which had previously been grouped by the author into the six main categories above. In small groups, students first speculated on what the "category" was and gave it their own title. Then they chose one or two pictures from their category to analyze in writing and discuss with the class. Written group reflections were collected from the six groups in Sect. 1. While the LL images collected in Leipzig provided more contextual clues than is often the case in standard language textbooks, they were still to an extent also simply floating in a decontextualized realm for those learners in the US who had never been abroad. In order to bring in some more context and human agency for a better appreciation of the images of Leipzig's LL, two of the study abroad students who had participated in that initial investigation came to both sections of GER4 at the end of the spring semester 2015. They shared about their study abroad experience in general, and about their experience of the LL in particular.

Following the tasks around the LL abroad, the curriculum turned to the photos of German(ness) in the local LL that students in GER4 had collected and posted to their online learning platform with an accompanying explanation or description. The 32 participants submitted a total of 52 photographs. One student only posted photos, but no explanation. All of the pictures posted were printed and enough sets made so that in small groups, the students could categorize them. Since students were familiar with this kind of categorization from Task 1, they were quick to start categorizing on their own, even before the task was explained. After the in-class categorization and discussion of the posted pictures of German(ness) in the local LL, students were asked to complete a take-home written reflection (Task 4). The purpose of this task was for learners to begin critically reflecting about what these representations of German(ness) in their city might say about the status of German there or in the US in general, and the impact of LLs in our lives.

A similar prompt was used on the two-hour final unit reflection that was conducted at home during the officially scheduled exam time using the online quiz tool. Students were provided with a German version of Table 2, which shows the

Table 2 Categories of the LLs identified by GER4 students during spring semester 2015

Our City	Leipzig
1. Restaurants	1. Drinking (and love)
2. Products	2. Advertisement/informational signs
Cars	3. Graffiti
Food (candy)	4. Food/drinks
Alcohol	5. Culture (multiculturalism/art)
Hygiene	6. Events
3. Places/cultural events	7. Buildings, art, memorials
4. Names	
Companies	
Street signs	

categories identified by the GER4 students during the in-class tasks and at-home written reflections prior to the final unit reflection. Students were asked to draw comparisons and reflect on the meanings of the LLs in each specific context, and in general. Only one participant did not access the quiz, who had unofficially dropped the class by that time. The high participation rate was somewhat surprising, since the final unit reflection only accounted for 7% of the overall grade and participants were allowed to complete it from home.

4 Discussion of Student Data

Following an interpretive analysis model (see Hatch 2002), all student data were read to get an overall sense for what "silences" may have emerged in the images that students collected, during in-class discussions, and in their responses. The interpretive analysis process included categorizing the images as well as reading, rereading, and reviewing the written data analysis, and was rooted in notions presented above in Sect. 2 on Language Learning and the Ambiguity of Silences in the LL. Most important were the concepts of silence in ambiguous, metaphoric, or symbolic langue (Cook 1992), which can take for granted that the reader will be able to decipher it; silence as related to cultural stereotypes that lead to fossilization or mythical status (Bever and Richardson 2020), and silence as multiple kinds of manipulation (Jaworski 1997). Although the constructs of "silence" and "ambiguity" were never explicitly discussed with students as such, interpretive analysis process revealed the following salient impressions and interpretations:

- silence of taken for granted-ness;
- silence of cultural myths or stereotypes;
- silence in the manipulation of language, often with the intent to establish or subvert power.

These dimensions are not rigid categories, rather they serve as an aid in demonstrating a range of responses that may occur simultaneously, cyclically, or across a spectrum. In any given response most participants reflected on aspects pertaining to more than one dimension or to a mixture, while in some instances none of these aspects may have been indicated. In the following two sections, illustrative images collected by students as well as excerpts from student responses that demonstrate these main dimensions of silences are discussed. All responses included are translations of the students' original German.

4.1 Silence in the Taken for Granted Manipulation of Language

The examples in this section demonstrate how the manipulation of language through the omission of certain linguistic elements can take for granted a common base of understanding. This was the case with a picture taken in Leipzig of a spray-painted graffiti on the side of a building (Fig. 1) that reads "*1. MAI NAZI FREI*". At first glance, this brief phrase seems simple, and the (neo-)Nazi reference clear. Even novice learners of German will know that *Mai* is the month of May and *frei* means free, but due to the lack of a preposition, that graffiti caused a great sense of unease for the student who took the photo. It continued to cause confusion for the participants in Arizona, in particular when it was shown intentionally next to another student photograph (Fig. 2) from Leipzig of an official traffic sign that is covered in various unofficial stickers and graffiti. Underneath those stickers, a symbol of a bicycle is visible as well as the word *frei*. Here again, the author of the sign took for granted that the readers would understand the implied meaning behind the silence

Fig. 1 Antifascist graffiti in Leipzig

Fig. 2 Official traffic sign in Leipzig covered in unofficial stickers

of a missing preposition. The authoritative intent of the official traffic sign is unclear, but some learners noticed the background that is partially visible in the photograph—there are bicyclists on the street beyond the sign. This led them to correctly guess that the missing preposition is *for*, and that the street is free *for* bicyclists. This led to more uncertainty regarding the graffiti in Fig. 1, as the first instinct for many was to wonder if it meant that the first of May should be free *for* Nazis. That is precisely what the student who took the photograph in Leipzig had thought, which prompted discussions in both learning contexts regarding the cultural significance of May first, or International Workers' Day, in Europe and Germany, particularly the often violent antifascist resistance movements or the other peaceful demonstrations in response to neo-Nazis who continue to abuse that day. Thus, the learners were quite relieved to learn that the lacking preposition in the graffiti is *of*. The unsettling distress caused by the silence due to the absence of a single preposition brought learners to contemplate not only the importance of prepositions, but multiple cultural narratives pertaining to the German-speaking world they had not previously encountered in a textbook.

The benefit of such LL images and activities for drawing learners' attention to sociocultural narratives that may otherwise be silenced by their omission from language textbooks and curricula is indicated in the following student comment from the final unit reflection:

> For the category about German in our city, it says that we only have a little understanding of their culture. […] For me, I liked the photos from Germany. I thought that the photos with graffiti were interesting because they showed me a different side of the German culture. This was a side that I normally would not see. This "linguistic landscape" is important because it shows the unnoticed side of culture. (Sam, Sect. 1)

Sam first addressed what was perceived as an absence of cultural appreciation in the US and then expanded on the photos related to Leipzig's LL. For Sam, graffiti was a part of German culture that they would otherwise maybe never have known about or experienced. Another student from that section noted the value of the graffiti images from Leipzig in their final unit reflection, stating "In Leipzig they have more cultural expression. I love the photos of graffiti. The graffiti and art were similar to text in a book. But they preserve the value and history of Leipzig" (Logan, Sect. 1). Similar to Sam, Logan realized the power of a more multifaceted depiction of cultures—not only in the public LL, but also as presented in books. The examples and student responses in this section highlight the importance of going beyond the cultural side notes as they are often presented in language textbooks and bringing in authentic examples from the LL, even if they have taken for granted cultural background knowledge that learners might have to unpack. By confronting the silence of manipulated language as it is found within the LL, language learners gain insight on the manner in which silences can be used to subvert or impose authoritative and/or subversive intentions.

4.2 *Silence in Cultural Stereotypes and Myths*

Since German was not a highly used or represented language in the local LL of the learners in Phase 2, they did not limit themselves to public signs with German words or names when collecting examples. Instead, they also included images of places and events, from private spaces, and even of people and animals, such as a German shepherd dog spotted at a park. In their initial posts accompanying the images, several GER4 students admitted to having chosen examples that seemed at first glance to have no direct link to the German language or German-speaking world. For instance, in the following excerpt:

> My next picture is a beer called Pilsner. Although it is from Pilsen in the Czech Republic, it is very popular in Berlin. When I was in Berlin, many people drank Pilsner. I also had many interesting and happy conversations with German people, as we drank Pilsner. (Sam, Sect. 1)

Sam justified the picture of a Czech beer with an explanation that represented affective connections to Germany. While Sam's comment might seem to promote a

common stereotypical image of beer drinking in Germany, it indicates awareness of the transcultural connections created through and related to that tradition, and of the fact that not all people drank beer.

In both sections of GER4, participants posted photographs of a local German club and their related events, for instance River, who noted: “Here is a photo of the Mt. Lemmon Oktoberfest. There are German dancers, a polka band, a few beers (in bottles) and German food. You could also hike here” (River, Sect. 2). This response also indicates a stereotypical notion of German(ness), including polka dancing, which is a Czech tradition that has taken on a mythical status in the US as something German. The origins of polka dancing might otherwise have been silenced, perpetuating that myth. However, by discussing examples like this and Sam’s in class, language learners broadened their awareness about the mix of cultures and traditions related to the German-speaking world.

Silence in the sense of stereotypes and perceived lack of cultural awareness in the US was a common theme among student responses in the final unit reflection, for example, as indicated in the following excerpt: “America doesn’t care about culture; nobody knows what ‘Linden’ is. No one thinks that Himmel Park is something more than a last name” (Page, Sect. 2). In this response, Page displays linguistic knowledge of the German words Linden and Himmel, but also awareness of potential broader connotations of those names and words in the US and in Germany. Page is referencing a few photographs taken near the university, including Fig. 3. While the stop sign in that image appears to be floating in the sky, similar to traffic signs floating on a textbook page, the street sign attached to it had prompted a discussion in class of the street name “Linden” and the comparison to the well-known street *Unter den Linden* in Berlin. In that same response, Page continued to contemplate the silencing ambiguity surrounding the mythical nature that certain concepts and people have attained in the US: “But we all can comprehend German beer (at least Heineken, no?). And high souls, like Einstein? Everyone has forgotten that he

Fig. 3 Linden Street sign atop a stop sign in Arizona

was born in Germany." Page is referencing a picture taken by some of the study abroad students showing a Heineken sign and sarcastically comments on the belief that people in the US are not able to differentiate between German and Dutch beer, as well as the mythical status that Einstein has achieved.

In order to combat the silencing nature of such cultural stereotypes, many students noted the benefits of the LL in their final reflections, such as in this comment: "I think that America has a stereotypical idea of German culture. And that is why it is important to pay attention to the 'linguistic landscape'. It can decide what we think of other cultures" (Logan, Sect. 1). Logan mentions what is considered the stereotypical portrayal of German culture in the US, and realizes the potential damage that the omission or silencing of a more multifaceted depiction of a group of people can have. Logan recognizes the power of the LL in contributing to breaking down misconceptions by offering additional perspectives. The examples in this case demonstrate the pedagogical possibilities of the LL for bringing language learners to question the dimensions of silence as related to stereotypes. By addressing such topics, language learners can expose the ambiguous roots of cultural stereotypes and myths, thus expanding their transcultural awareness and symbolic competence.

Many of the images collected in both contexts, Leipzig (Phase 1) and Arizona (Phase 2), reveal that the students had adapted a broader conceptualization of the LL, in the sense that they were not limited to purely linguistic elements and reflected more of an engagement of human agency. The LL images fostered discussions that went beyond basic vocabulary or grammar exercises and contributed to the development of multiple literacies and competences. For instance, the multiple English language signs and graffiti from Germany led to conversations in both learning contexts about the status of English as a global language and tool for power. Furthermore, instructor observations in both settings and analysis of student responses from Phase 2 revealed several dimensions of silence related to the images as well as to their implementation as learning materials in the language classroom. An example of this was the absence of a single preposition in the graffiti in Fig. 1, which caused confusion for the learners in both contexts due to the ambiguity of meaning. This confusion brought the learners to contemplate a side of (German) culture they had not previously encountered in their language classes.

The initial written descriptions posted with the images of German(ness) in Arizona varied from concrete descriptions of where exactly students had found their examples in the LL, to more extensive interpretation or analyses, and affective responses. The posts indicate that simply by drawing students' attention to the potential presence of German in their everyday surroundings, some had already begun to notice various dimensions of silence pertaining to the LL. By the final unit reflection, some student responses were still quite brief or provided only concrete descriptions or factual knowledge about a certain photograph. At the intermediate level of language learning, that kind of response is sufficient. Overall, though, the responses indicate that learners were able to use German to draw connections between their everyday surroundings, the German-speaking world, and beyond. A common theme expressed by participants in their final reflection was a positive, although in some instances perhaps naïve, view of the potential of the LL for critical

engagement with issues of sociocultural importance and the danger of silencing that may arise if the LL is ignored.

5 Conclusions and Implications

This study shows the potential that LL projects have for bringing language learners to acknowledge human agency within cultural narratives, rather than only working with de-contextualized images of signs that are floating on the pages of a textbook. While the LL images collected by learners and used in the classroom might still be seen as floating snapshots removed from their authentic contexts, they can indeed offer a more multilayered exploration of topics of transcultural relevance. In so doing, they can bring language learners to question their unique understandings and the general impact of the LL, including the ambiguity of texts that embody or impose some kind of silence, as well as the ambiguity that is created though that which remains unspoken. Thus, the current study invites language instructors and learners to

- explore the LL of their own everyday surroundings, even if the language they are teaching or learning is not highly salient;
- find ways to experience the LL of the regions and countries where the language being learned is spoken and visible;
- notice and reflect on ambiguities and silences in a broad sense within and related to those various LLs in order to enhance multiple literacies and competences.

Through pedagogical interventions and assessments designed to provoke and foreground a sense of ambiguity in regard to silence, as the discussion of exemplary participant responses has shown, language learners can negotiate meanings beyond a concrete level of description. LL activities also provide language learners with the opportunity to realize their role as active social participants who are constantly involved in an informal, incidental process of engaging in negotiation and construction of meanings of all kinds of texts. Integrating similar LL modules across various levels of the language curriculum, thereby bringing in more examples of manipulated, ambiguous language from everyday contexts at all levels, might contribute to smoothing the transition between lower- and upper-levels of instruction in postsecondary language learning in the US.

Further studies on LL activities for the language classroom are necessary to better indicate how the framework of silences proposed here might be more purposefully implemented in order to encourage learners to more conscientiously explore multiple related dimensions: the taken for granted-ness of idiomatic phrases, cultural expressions, stereotypes or naturalized myths, as well as the creative use of metaphor and other kinds of manipulation of language. A critical consideration for future implementation is how to identify “silences” in the LL toward which teachers can lead their learners. This means cultivating an awareness amongst instructors regarding the dimensions of silences that they and their learners may

encounter – the audible and visible silences that are manifested in the LL, while at the same time realizing that their learners may perceive other silences that the instructor had not anticipated. Language instructors may need training and support when incorporating LL activities into language courses, including reminders to embrace the ambiguity of the LL themselves for a more nuanced discussion and approach to cultural stereotypes or myths that might arise. The aim of confronting language learners with ambiguous texts of the LL becomes not just basic comprehension, that is, what the sign literally means in one's first language. Rather, as this study highlights, the LL has pedagogical potential for exposing language learners to, and bringing them to reflect critically on, perspectives in life that may otherwise be ignored or silenced. Through the implementation of LL activities, language instructors and learners alike can begin or continue to question literal meanings and negotiate other potential meanings that may exist: What could this mean to someone else? What could this have meant in another space? What conceived and perceived meanings become lived spaces through our active engagement with the LL? By posing such questions, language learners become more aware of their place in today's multicultural and multilingual society, deepen their symbolic competence as well as multiple other literacies, and foster a sense of appreciation for language learning and the LL in general.

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A Geolocative Linguistic Landscape Project in Korean as Foreign Language Education

Hakyoon Lee and Bumyong Choi

Abstract This study explores the employment of Linguistic Landscape (LL) as a pedagogical tool in Korean as a Foreign Language classroom. Despite the noticeable growth in LL scholarship focused on Korean, there are few studies to date that have investigated Korean language learning. By illustrating how LL is applied to Korean language classes in combination with other pedagogical tools, including digital storytelling and geolocative applications, this study aims to fill this gap. Fifty-two students in university-level Korean classes participated in this project. The students explored local areas fully embraced by the growing Korean community, produced digital stories, and shared their videos on a Google map. The collaboratively created map was a space for sharing complexity of the multilingual environment, offering linguistic exploration, and creating dynamic discussion. The findings show that LL benefits the students by engaging them with displayed texts and promoting the students' development in broad learning goals. Students used their linguistic knowledge as well as regional knowledge to understand different signs and evaluate whether the environment was an authentic source of the target culture. This study discusses how the inquiry-based, student-led, and community-focused project impacted the students' understandings of the target language and culture as well as local multilingualism.

Keywords Linguistic landscape · World-Readiness Standards · Communities · Korean · Local multilingualism

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1 Introduction

The most widely used definition of the linguistic landscape is that of Landry and Bourhis (1997): "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (p.25). As the scope of the general issues and methodologies in Linguistic Landscape (LL) research have expanded, so has its definition. For instance, Shohamy (2018) proposed that beyond the quantitative approach outlined in Landry and Bourhis (1997), the central emphasis of LL research needs to be placed in a multimodal analysis with consideration of the people who interact in the linguistic landscape.

In this vein, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) emphasize the ways in which written discourses interact with other forms of discursive modalities including visual images and nonverbal forms of communication. This claim is grounded on the idea that while language is the most important construct, it is but one of the elements for understanding a place. An investigation of the substantially growing presence or disappearance of languages in the field of LL can be fully understood with exploration of other modes of communication. Additionally, it is important to take into consideration the people who inhabit the linguistic landscape, interact with it, and analyze it.

To make these considerations more tangible, this study broadly focuses on learners' linguistic practices and interaction within the linguistic landscape and uses a survey to investigate these learners' discussions as well as their reflections on their exploration of the linguistic landscape. The overarching goal of this study is to investigate how LL can be applied to Korean as a Foreign Language classes to promote the 5Cs at the elementary level of language study and, in doing so, to examine the benefits of LL in target language learning and use.

Our motivation for this project started with our awareness of and interaction with the emerging multilingualism in the local context of Atlanta, Georgia, and from our inquiries of how we, as language educators, can use local multilingualism in our teaching context. With transnational flows and growing mobility, migration has brought an immense increase in multilingualism, and Atlanta is no exception to this trend. Multilingualism is no longer considered a marginal phenomenon for researchers or policy makers but is instead a characteristic of our everyday lives.

With the above-stated aims, this study examines how a LL project connects language learners in a Korean language class to the local community. We examine how LL projects can ensure learners' interactions with local communities, through contextualized and authentic linguistic resources in the local arena. As emphasized in Rowland (2013), a study that focused on students' engagement in a LL project for both research and pedagogical purposes, LL scholarship is amplified by adding emic understandings from language learners and etic analysis from the researchers. In the following section, we will discuss further the previous LL studies in language education in diverse linguistic contexts.

2 Literature Review

2.1 LL in Language Education

In the rapidly growing field of LL research on public signs, there has been a growing interest in LL activities and inquiry in language education. Taking a critical stance on the implementation of LL in learning, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) argue that LL is "a powerful tool for education, meaningful language learning towards activism" (p. 326); they view texts as tools for deepening our understanding of histories, cultural relations, politics, and humanities. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) investigated how public signs, when viewed as authentic and contextualized input, can be used for second language acquisition, particularly the development of pragmatic competence, literacy skills, and language awareness. In subsequent research on a multilingual school in the Basque Country where more than one language is taught and used, they also argued that multilingual signage contributes to the multilingual competence of the students, and that the domain of education deserves to be investigated more in-depth (Gorter and Cenoz 2015). Similarly, looking at an educational context more closely, Brown (2012) investigated the schoolscape to explore less commonly used languages at a school and issues of revitalization in Estonia.

In another approach to integrating LL work into language learning, researchers explored linguistic resources outside of the language classroom and bring them to class for teaching and learning activities (e.g. Dagenais et al. 2009). Sayer (2010) investigated the linguistic landscape in Mexico in English as a Foreign Language context and used signs as teaching resources to analyze social meanings of the use of English in Mexico. He examined the purposes of the signs, the intended audiences, and different meanings of English, and offers insights into how LL, when used in a foreign language classroom, can help overcome the limited opportunities for authentic input in the foreign language context. Similarly, Rowland (2013) examined the application of LL in English classes in Japan, and he emphasized that LL is useful for the development of students' symbolic competence. LL is also applied in the context of teacher education. In Hancock (2012), LL was used as a tool to raise student-teacher awareness of the multilingual reality and linguistic diversity of schools. He explored how pre-service teachers respond to the LL in Edinburgh and shows how LL can serve as an educational resource for language teaching. This study also argued that LL projects help students to develop creativity and critical thinking.

As we have discussed above, many LL studies with different emphases have proven the educational benefits in language education. However, the topic is still under-explored, particularly in the case of Korean language education. Indeed, only a few LL studies related to Korean have focused on the expanding use of English and increasing visibility of English in Korea. For instance, Vlack (2011) investigated English business signs in Korean urban contexts with comparative perspectives. Malinowski (2009) conducted interviews with Korean shop owners and interpreted the store's signs to investigate the authorship of the use of Korean and

English. He also conducted LL research that investigated Korean-English linguistic landscapes (Malinowski 2010). By taking investigative research methods to the multimodal linguistic landscape, his study presented how to teach and learn Korean through linguistic landscape activities with the use of technology. More recently, Lawrence (2012), in his LL study in Korea, claimed that the use of English is related to notions of modernity, luxury, and youth. Meanwhile, in the field of education, Chesnut et al. (2013) used narrative analysis to investigate how LL can be used as learning resources for English pedagogy.

Even beyond these studies focusing on LL-related pedagogies in Korean contexts, the Korean language itself is a relatively less commonly taught and researched language in applied linguistics and foreign language education. By illustrating how the concept of LL is applied to Korean language classes and how it benefits the learners, this study seeks to fill the gap in these areas. This project involves language learners in the analysis of their local linguistic landscapes, while the researchers examine students' responses to languages on signs. Furthermore, in this study, we consider our participating students as principal agents in Korean as a Foreign Language (KFL) classes by providing them the opportunity to investigate the local linguistic landscape, which becomes an authentic linguistic and cultural resource. We can in turn harness this linguistic and cultural exploration for an in-class discussion. In our study, we place the students who interact in the linguistic landscape at the center of attention.

2.2 The 5Cs in Foreign Language Education

The widely known World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages were developed to establish what students should know and be able to do as a result of foreign language study. It emphasizes the notion of literacy in a broader cultural context by presenting five domains of goals for language learning, known as the 5Cs: Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities. Since their inception, the 5Cs have made a tremendous impact on foreign language education and research (see ACTFL Task Force on Decade of Standards Project 2011a, b for more details).

Though the National Standards have had a substantial impact on foreign language teaching at the elementary and secondary levels, the challenges of implementing these Standards in college-level foreign language classes and their comparatively little impact at this level have often been discussed (e.g., Scott 2009). As a result, the influence from the Standards has been less visible in higher education, compared to the secondary education context, even though the Standards are explicitly envisioned for PK-16 levels (Magnan 2017).

The ACTFL Decade of Standards Project (ACTFL 2011a, b) revealed that language educators have prioritized the Communication and Cultures standards in their instruction. Among Comparison, Connection, and Community, "Communities has often been termed the 'Lost C'" (ACTFL Task Force on Decade of Standards Project

2011b, p.47) since it poses logistical difficulties for teaching. Moreover, it is often considered as an application task which can only be completed once basic language abilities are achieved.

However, based on surveys conducted with first- and second-year university learners of both less commonly taught languages and commonly taught languages, the Communities domain has been found to generate the highest learning outcomes, motivation, and expectations (Magnan et al. 2014). Ironically, language educators often disregard Communities in their teaching goals (ACTFL Task Force on Decade of Standards Project 2011a, b). This indicates that there is a considerable pedagogical gap between instruction and students' needs. Moreover, in the novice level language classroom, it is an even more challenging task to integrate all 5Cs in the curriculum, due to limitations of resources, a lack of clear assessment tools, and students' limited language proficiency. However, considering the importance of Comparison, Connection and Community, the LL project in this study aimed to offer lower-level Korean students more opportunities to promote these three Cs in addition to Communications and Cultures.

3 The Aim of This Project and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to conduct a location-based project in Korean as a Foreign Language education. Students selected geolocative points of interest, such as restaurants, shops, or cultural events and activities. Students then visited their points of interest, studying how the target language was used and how the cultures were integrated into the local community. The pedagogical rationale for this geolocative language learning was to increase students' engagement in the language learning process by moving their language learning experiences out of the classroom and into the world (cf. Thorne 2013).

As such, this study investigated the following three research questions: (1) To what extent do LL projects allow the students to understand Korean in multilingual contexts? (2) How do LL projects contribute to promoting the 5Cs in the Korean elementary level language classroom? and (3) What are the different potentials, opportunities, and challenges found in LL projects?

There are specific areas in the state of Georgia where the majority of Korean people reside. One in particular is Koreatown in Atlanta. Here, Korean signs can easily be found. The students who participated in this project investigated this focal area's abundant linguistic and cultural resources. In addition, when investigating geolocative points of interests, students were able to interact with target language speakers and to directly learn language and culture from them.

The motivation for this project was to connect to the local community of the target culture and give students an opportunity to engage in activities related to Comparisons, Connections and Communities as they intersect with Communication and Cultures, as explained in the previous section. The learners went out to Korean communities in Atlanta, took pictures of different signs in different areas, and

interviewed Korean people to get to know the use of language in given contexts. After taking photos and videos, students uploaded them as points of interest on a map. In so doing, the learners became aware of the use of Korean in various social contexts and could observe and analyze the linguistic and cultural resources around them. We analyzed students' outcomes from this project qualitatively (Leeman and Modan 2010), by attending to what they achieved from the project. We also want to note that we consider context a "socially constructed notion" (Canagarajah 2013), that is to say, a notion that is not limited to a physical concept but rather one that is formed by ideological components. For this reason, we need to understand multiple layers of meanings shown in the public spaces, beginning in one focal context of this project: the state of Georgia.

4 Methodology

4.1 Context: Korean in the State of Georgia

The Korean community is one of the fastest-growing communities in the state of Georgia, particularly in the northern region, where there has been a shift in the linguistic environment. Korean is widely used, and one can easily see Korean in commercial and public signs in this area. Georgia has the third-fastest growing Korean community in the U.S., according to the U.S. Census Bureau's ranking of the top ten fastest growing Korean populations in U.S. states (U.S. Census Bureau 2010a, b). The data shows that during the rapid growth of the Korean population in Georgia from 2000 to 2010, the number of Korean residents doubled. In addition, due to this increase in the number of Korean immigrants in Georgia, the most commonly spoken language at home other than English and Spanish is Korean (American Community Survey 5-year Estimates 2012). These statistics support first-hand accounts of the noticeable increase in the number of Koreans in Georgia communities. They also suggest that a large number of Korean immigrants, especially newly arrived families, maintain their home language. According to the latest census, it is estimated that more than 66,000 Koreans call Georgia home and 41.9% of the state's Korean-Americans live in Gwinnett Country, where most of the students' projects were conducted. In addition, according to the Korean Education Center in Georgia, currently there are over 70 Korean companies in Georgia creating over 5000 jobs for people who live in the state. Based on this information, it can be assumed there are some fundamental changes in the population of the given areas as well as changes to the languages spoken and written within these areas. Moreover, this growing Korean population impacts local businesses in the area, including restaurants, groceries, and other businesses. It is thus timely to investigate more closely how the population change impacts residents' linguistic choice(s) and other aspects of the linguistic environment, in order to understand how we can maximize these linguistic resources in language teaching and learning.

4.2 Participants

Fifty-two students, between the ages of 17 and 22, participated in this project. They were novice language learners enrolled in one of the four second-semester Korean courses at two universities in Georgia at the time of this research. They took this Korean course either because of the university's language requirement and/or their interest in Korean language and culture. The students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds varied, and the students' first languages included Chinese, English, Spanish, and Vietnamese. Among the 52 students, 10 students had a heritage language background, which means they had some level of exposure to the Korean language at home and/or in their communities. A heritage speaker is defined as a person who speaks an immigrant, indigenous, or ancestral language that the speaker has a personal relevance and desire to (re)connect with (Wiley 2005). However, this does not necessarily mean that the heritage language learners have higher language proficiency compared to other non-heritage language learners.

4.3 The LL Project

This project was designed in a multilayered way. The students participated in the class' LL project, and the researchers analyzed the students' LL project outcomes by focusing on what linguistic and cultural resources they used. First, the students were asked to collect LL data, decode and understand the meaning of visual data, and then to present their findings using digital storytelling. The researchers analyzed the students' findings with respect to the educational benefits of a LL-based project as well as what they intended to represent. As such, this LL project dialogues with other studies that have documented the challenges and potentials of implementing project-based language learning tasks in beginning language classes (e.g., Allen 2004; Beckett and Miller 2006).

In each of the four elementary level Korean classes, students formed 5–6 groups of 3–4 people and chose one of the geolocative points in suburban Atlanta that reflected rich Korean cultural features. Next, the students attended an illustrated lecture on the concept of LL and then submitted a project proposal showing the topic area and the contexts to be investigated. At that point, each group visited their target site(s) where Korean is used for different purposes, investigated the use of language within that context, and collected LL data (pictures, video, sound, etc.). The participating students visited business places, grocery stores, restaurants, etc. We provided a list of potential questions to guide the students' investigation of LL. These questions were adopted and modified from Rowland (2013) to help the learners organize their photos and better present their findings, as follows:

- What type of sign is it?
- Where is the sign located?
- Who made the sign?

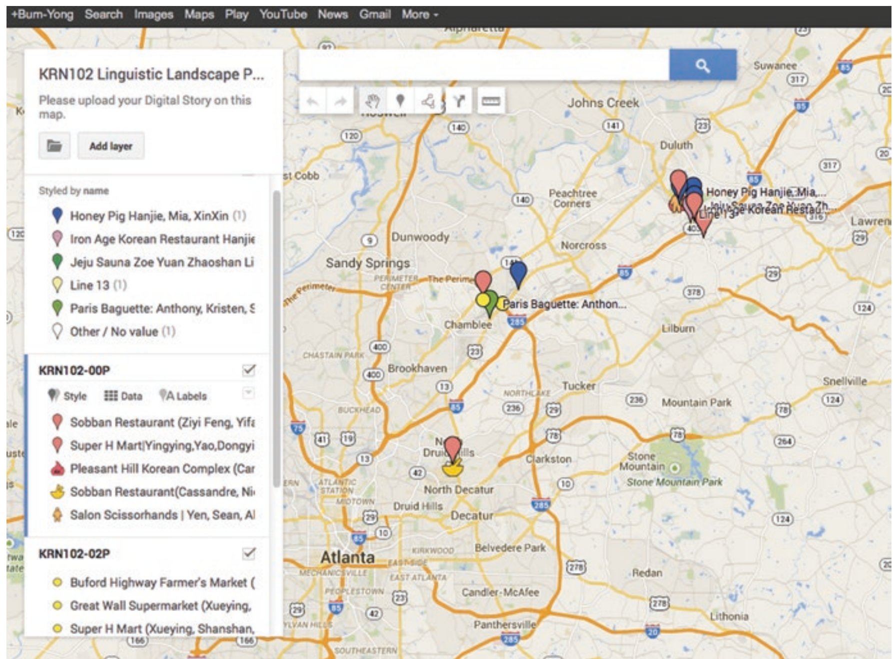

Fig. 1 Google map for class project

- Who is the intended audience of the sign?
- Why do you think Korean is used on the sign?
- Why do you think English is not used in place of other languages on the sign?

After their fieldwork, each group met to analyze the LL data and create a digital story (more details of the project procedures can be found in Appendix 1). Digital storytelling was used as a tool to share the students' LL experiences and present their ideas from the project. In their digital stories, the groups introduced their findings about Korean language use in local contexts. The final projects were posted on a shared Google Map and screened in class. Below is an example of a Google map with students' projects (Fig. 1).

After the presentation, the students discussed each other's projects and wrote a reflection paper. These papers were collected along with a survey of students' views about the LL project.

5 Data Analysis and Findings

5.1 Students' Analysis and the 5Cs

Since Communications and Cultures were a standard part of this project, we mainly focused on how the other typically overlooked 3Cs (Comparisons, Connections and Communities) were used and presented in the students' discussions and analyses of data in their projects.

5.1.1 Use of L1 and C1 to Analyze the Linguistic Environment: Comparisons, Connections, Communities

The learners who participated in the LL project paid close attention to the languages used in the public space. They collected observational data from the local community and engaged with the culture and speakers of the target language. In the LL project, students practiced reading both linguistic and symbolic meanings of signs in the data they collected. In particular, they used their knowledge of their first languages and own cultures to understand underlying, embedded, and other symbolic meanings which cannot be easily seen on the surface. One of the prominent aspects of the students' analyses was their use of L1 and C1 knowledge to understand the target linguistic environment in the contexts they explored. That is to say, their own familiar languages and cultures served as resources to analyze multilingual and multicultural data.

One group went to a Korean grocery market to investigate how different languages were used. They examined the use of a Chinese character in the name of a ramen product sold there, which served as an example that learners "build, reinforce, and expand their knowledge of other disciplines while using the language to develop critical thinking and to solve problems creatively" (Connection Standard: Making Connection) (Fig. 2).

In their final project, they analyzed this Korean brand of ramen with a Chinese character in the following manner:

> Look at the *Shin* ramen and noodle with black bean sauce. The character shin is a Chinese character meaning spicy. *Shin* is the pronunciation of 辛 in Chinese [Spicy]. I guess when Korean (word) was created; it was inspired by Chinese, but adjusted to its own cultural uses. So the term, ramen, in Chinese refers to hand pulled noodles, but in Korean it refers to instant noodles. (Script from students' video1 0:30–0:40).

This analysis of the interaction between two languages was made by a Chinese international student. She gave a translation of the character *shin* 辛 in Chinese [spicy] first, but she also noticed that the word "ramen" signified instant noodles in Korean, which is different from its Chinese meaning of "hand pulled noodles."

We looked closely at the group members' discussion to see how they analyzed the use of the Chinese character in the same video.

> A: I don't think this is in Korean. What ramen is this?
> B: Oh it's actually *Shin* ramen. The Chinese character is *shin* which means spicy. So it's *shin* ramen we all familiar with.
> A: Why do they use Chinese characters here?
> B: I guess from what I heard, Korean people use Chinese characters to make their products fancier so that more people want to buy them.
> (Script from students' video2 2:40–3:10)

In this excerpt, there was one Chinese international student who tried to give his own analysis in response to the question from Student A, who did not have any knowledge of the Chinese language. He also started with the meaning of *shin* and then provided his own reasoning as to why the Chinese character was used on the product, suggesting a connection to the current Chinese economic power and his

Fig. 2 Student's data: *Shin* ramen

pride for his own country. Some Korean people would not agree with the student's statement about the usage of the Chinese characters as a way to make the product fancier, but the interesting point was that both students utilized their own linguistic and cultural knowledge as well as language ideologies when they found contact between their L1 (Chinese) and L2 (Korean) outside of language class. In addition, we also recognize that this example shows students' knowledge of how the writing system and selection of language deliver meanings of wealth, success, or prestige in the product. From examples such as this, we argue that we can observe how multilingual competency and multilingual literacy are developed by investigating how students with diverse linguistic backgrounds interpret the display and use of languages on signs.

In addition, the interplay between other semiotic modes, the relationship between text and image, and the connection between different languages on signs, considered as "intersemiotic relations" (Jewitt 2009), is a crucial part of multimodality. Understanding the relation of two different languages and how the learners' LL projects engage with multimodal literacy skills is an example of multimodality. This dovetails with Jewitt's (2009) approach to multimodality as understanding "communication and representation to be more than about language," and attending "to the full range of communicational forms people use—image, gesture, gaze, posture, and so on—and the relationships between them" (p. 14).

Furthermore, in this process, we can see how the learners utilized the Comparison area in both standards—Language Comparison and Cultural Comparison—to solve the puzzle they encountered in this field trip. Another standard in the Connection area is "Acquiring Information and Diverse Perspectives: Learners access and

evaluate information and diverse perspectives that are available through the language and its cultures." The excerpt between learners A and B can be interpreted as an example of how learners develop new perspectives on Korean language and society by comparing and analyzing the L2 language use with their L1 linguistic and culture background.

One of main concerns about the implementation of the Standards is that the goal areas are considered individually rather than interrelated (Magnan 2017). However, this data shows the interplay between the 5Cs in this one context. Students engaged in linguistic exploration of local communities while comparing the target language and culture to their own language and culture (Communities and Comparisons goal areas).

5.1.2 Comparison of Language Selection and Use with Regional Knowledge

Students used their context-specific knowledge from their experiences to interpret linguistic signs. Many of the students' examples were related to linguistic choices. The two pictures below are signs for items in aisles in different Korean grocery stores. The students concluded that different languages were used based on where the stores were located. The sign on the left has English and Korean together with Korean provided as a supporting language in smaller font. On the right, the Korean-only sign (meaning canned foods, noodles, and curry) is from the region in Georgia that has a Korean-dominant population. The students analyzed these two signs with their contextual and regional background knowledge (Fig. 3).

Interestingly, the Korean-only signage was from a grocery store in Korean-dense Gwinnett County in North East Georgia. According to 2000 U.S. Census Data on Foreign-Born Population by Region, Gwinnett County has a large proportion of the Korean population within Georgia. This one grocery store has more Korean speaking customers than other local stores do, and this fact is relevant to the higher visibility of Korean-only signs. The students' understandings of the connections between place and the selection of language are an important indicator of the students' regional competency. The students were able to differentiate focal locations with different features, particularly the linguistic surroundings.

In another example, the students found that different branches of chain stores put up signs with different languages depending on their specific locations. One group investigated Korean bakeries in Atlanta and, interestingly, found that the languages appearing on store signs of bakeries were different depending on the local population and target customers' languages. "Windmill" or "White Windmill" are widely used as bakery names in Korea. The pictures below show two bakeries which are branches of the same company but use different languages on their store signs. On the left, they use the English version, while the one on the right has a Korean sign with the symbol of a windmill and smaller lettering for the English words, "Bakery and Cafe". Not surprisingly, the second picture was taken in Gwinnett County where the majority of customers are Korean (Fig. 4).

Fig. 3 Students' data on aisle signs

Fig. 4 Korean bakeries

As these examples show, the students used their regional and contextual knowledge to compare and contrast different language usages in their analyses. Building this comparative perspective is closely related to their linguistic competency, as well as their regional competency, because the students can fully understand how languages and cultures are located in a specific context, and how the people within the settings use them. Their analyses show how they take into account the target audiences of the signs. This shows the students' ability to compare language use with the characteristics of local communities—thereby realizing the Comparison goal of the ACTFL World Readiness Standards.

5.1.3 Evaluation of the Authenticity of Target Culture: Connection and Comparison

Although the main focus of this project was the students' investigation of the linguistic features found in the linguistic landscape, they often referred to the interplay between other resources including images, smells, and tastes. In this section, we will discuss how the students evaluated the authenticity of culture based on this information. It is notable that students could have different interpretations of the same linguistic or cultural environment. As an example, two groups visited the same Korean-Southern fusion restaurant, but had contradictory interpretations regarding the authenticity of the restaurant and the food. One group reported their evaluation of the restaurant as follows during the discussion after showing their video:

> As a Korean inspired authentic restaurant at Atlanta, it is interesting to see how this restaurant utilized its Korean words, English words, and combined words in both languages in order to make their menu feel like that to their customers.

In contrast, the other group presented their evaluation as follows:

Z: *Bibimbap*[1] tastes not bad; however, it does not taste like the normal *bibimbap* that I had in other Korean restaurants. It kinda lacks both the traditional Korean and Southern flavors, so now it tastes like a new version of *bibimbap*.
P: Do you like it though?
Z: Not really… Somehow this doesn't taste authentic.

As these examples show, different groups evaluated the authenticity of a Korean fusion restaurant in totally different ways. The first group reported this restaurant to be a very authentic Korean restaurant while the other group criticized this restaurant because of the lack of authenticity. These different perspectives might reflect their experiences and expectations regarding the target culture. These contradictory evaluations are not limited to being divergent opinions, but they open a space for discussing the issue of authenticity in class. This can be found in the other students' project reflections.

> After watching the two videos on the local restaurant by our peers, it was interesting to see their contrasting viewpoints on authentic Asian food. Cassandra and Nicole seemed to feel as though the restaurant was very Korean whereas the other group felt differently. These differences could possibly stem from different background knowledge of how a Korean restaurant should feel.

This portrays how students' subjective evaluations established a space for sharing ideas and learning different perspectives (Connections: Acquiring Information and Diverse Perspectives). As such, the linguistic language can be a source of both authentic input and contestation, as argued by Gorter (2013, p. 201): "Linguistic landscapes can be places where linguistic diversity is displayed but also contested." The diversity of interpretations of the linguistic environment reveals the importance for language teachers to offer a space for students to express and share ideas in

[1] *Bibimbap* is a signature Korean dish, meaning "mixed rice" in Korean.

class. Through this process, leaners have the opportunity to access and evaluate diverse perspectives on the target languages and cultures.

5.1.4 Language Awareness and Construction of Identities: Connections and Communities

The LL project documented in this study also provided opportunities for students to develop awareness of cultural identities expressed through language. As signs can display the identities of certain language groups, they reflect different groups' social status and history in various contexts (Gorter and Cenoz, 2007). Leung and Wu's (2012) case study on linguistic landscape and heritage language literacy education shows that LL projects are also closely related to reinforcement or shifts of identities (e.g. heritage identity). In Leung and Wu's (2012) qualitative content analysis of 330 photos of multiple Chinese language usages, they found that the linguistic landscape can be a resource for socially sensitive literacy development, with the ability to teach how Chinese is used in informal and community-based contexts, which might be different from formal educational contexts. In this light, one student in our study traced the changes of their linguistic environment over time and reported as follows:

> When I was a young child, I actually didn't want to learn Korean. Sometimes my classmates would tease me for being Asian, and I didn't know many Korean kids my own age. At that point in time, I didn't see a use for learning the language. However, as I grew older and began to embrace my heritage, I developed a strong interest in learning Korean. Through this linguistic landscape project, I was able to explore the use of the Korean language in the context of such different areas and observe the changes over the time. It was interesting to find out how Korean people—and thus, the Korean language—has migrated and established itself around Atlanta. I was also able to explore some of the historical reasons and factors affecting the migration of the language.

Another student also reported in her reflection that from the LL project, she came to have high self-esteem in her language and culture. Observing the spread of Korean language and culture and their visibility in local contexts made her realize the growth of the culture.

> It made me proud that my Korean heritage was spread to many different locations. I became conscious of how important language and culture are in influencing the way a place develops over time, and the integration of Korea in many foreign countries was impressive to me. I think that many people are exposed to linguistic landscapes, but do not consciously realize it. Although I think it would be good if people were more aware, I think the fact that they accept it as natural and normal says something about how languages and cultures have become extensively assimilated in many places of the world.

These responses reveal that the LL project influenced the students' reflections on their language learning as well as reconstructed their identities (Connection: Making Connections). They came to understand individual language choices and, from this understanding, they thought about how the multilingual society was constructed (Shohamy and Gorter 2009).

Investigating one's linguistic and cultural environment is an active process of creating and reinforcing one's linguistic repertories. Through understanding the choice of language within a multilingual context, students in this project also interpreted language as not merely a tool of communication, but as a meaningful choice of individual linguistic repertoires. Students engaged with heteroglossic discourses of the local community by focusing on particular neighborhood practices in linguistic landscapes including different Korean cafes where they could see the use of multi/bilingual and monolingual Korean signs (Communities: School and Global Communities). Students also cultivated abilities to research in out-of-class contexts through developing and sharing findings regarding their local linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, students challenged the notion of territoriality that most often considers places as fixed. In the following section, we will further discuss the overall findings of this study and the pedagogical implications of LL projects in terms of promoting the 5Cs in the beginning language classroom.

5.2 *Students' Survey on the 5Cs*

To investigate the effectiveness of the project and what the students thought about the LL project, a survey was implemented after the project's completion. Survey questions consisted of students' self-evaluation of their improvement in the 5 Cs. In terms of Culture, we asked about the understanding, motivation, and learning experiences that resulted from the other students' work. For Comparisons, we wanted to know whether the students compared the target language and the target culture with their native languages and local culture through the LL project. For Communities, we asked whether or not students were able to reach the local communities beyond their language classroom, and whether or not the project contributed to the development of their motivation to continue learning the language. This also relates to the students' motivation to maintain lifelong language learning experiences in the "Community" factor of the 5Cs. Although Connections was not included in the survey, students did in fact actively utilize the Connections area in their analyses of the data that they collected.

Overall, as Fig. 5 illustrates, all the items had very high ratings: 70–100% were positive. As perhaps could be expected, the comparison of both culture and language, and reaching the community beyond the classroom had the most positive responses. In the domain of communication, the most positive response was in the interpretive mode, followed by the presentational mode and interpersonal mode.[2] Since this was a graded project, students dealt with a lot of the written format of data rather than having interactions with other people using the target language.

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[2] Here our use of the terms "interpretational," "presentational," and "interpersonal" modes borrows from performance descriptors commonly employed by ACTFL to differentiate between types of communicative activity in a foreign language.

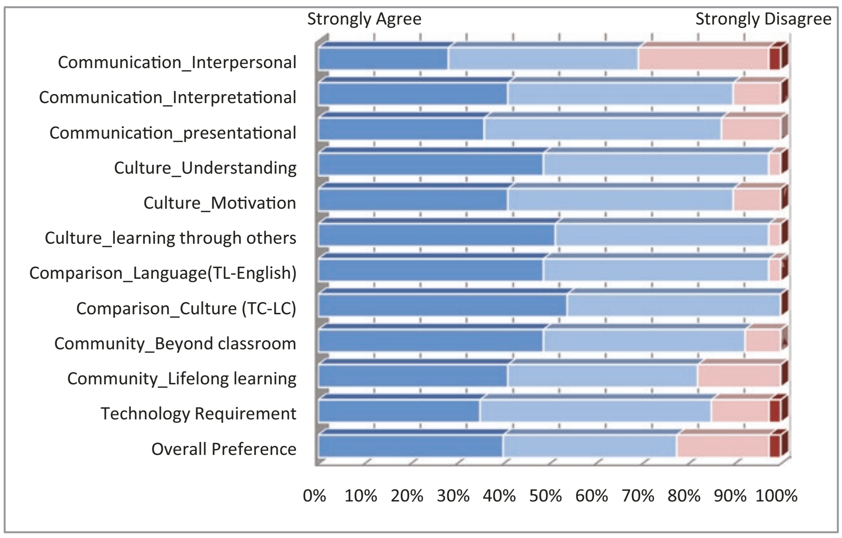

Fig. 5 Student survey results

Communications The students explained that the project enhanced their communication skills through interactions with local speakers of the target language and the growth in their ability to read and understand signage, menus or other written text in the target language.

Cultures The students also answered in their survey that the LL project enhanced their understanding of the target culture in the local context and that participating in digital storytelling increased their interest in Korean culture. In addition to creating their own videos, watching their other classmates' projects helped them learn more about the culture.

Comparisons The project also increased students' awareness of the similarities and differences between the target language and their first language, as well as the target culture and their own cultures.

Communities According to the students' answers, the project also furthered their understanding of local Korean communities beyond the language classroom, and it increased their motivation to continue to learn the target language. The following response from one of the participating students illustrates this point.

> The good part of this project is because we need to collect data from Korean, so it pushed us to get into Korean community, and deeper level of Korean culture. By complete this linguistic landscape project, I can learn that Korean culture has been known by more and more Americans, and it is very nice to see more foreigners would like to try another new culture, and get to know new culture by eating their food, shopping in their markets.

The students' projects included presentation materials (digital storytelling and analysis), a survey, and a reflection paper. In the following section, we will discuss the outcomes from the project and examine the benefits of the LL project in Korean language education.

6 Discussion

The findings from this study illustrate that LL is relevant to foreign language classes; specifically, LL can be applied to elementary level foreign language classes. This project helped students explore their linguistic surroundings and become aware of the multilingual environment. It also promoted the learners' understandings of the use of Korean in multilingual contexts. LL projects are grounded on place-based, community-focused education (Brown 2012) that encompass incidental language learning and developing multimodal literacy.

The students decoded the language on signs in different ways. This owed in part to their diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and this diversity engendered active interactions about the target language and culture, the local language and culture, and students' own languages and cultures (e.g. Chinese, Vietnamese, or Japanese). In analyzing students' LL projects, we were able to see (1) how the learners used their L1 and C1 to analyze the linguistic landscapes, (2) how they evaluated the authenticity of the language and culture, (3) how they compared and contrasted different signs with regional knowledge, and (4) how the learners' awareness of linguistic diversity impacted their reflections on language and culture. In addition, we found that language learning or cultural learning happened not only when students collected or analyzed the data, but also while they were watching other students' videos and discussing different findings.

The findings also show how the LL project promoted the 5Cs in the Korean as a Foreign Language classroom. Predominantly, the LL project afforded students opportunities to develop the 5Cs by closely connecting to the target communities and analyzing signs with comparative perspectives. One of the main concerns about the 5C Standards is "a tendency to consider the goal areas individually instead of focusing on their interrelationship" (Magnan 2017). However, outcomes from LL projects in this study show how the 5Cs interplayed within a cultural context. Communities offered contexts for linguistic and cultural exploration, and the students explored these while connecting to their linguistic and cultural backgrounds and comparing the target culture to their home cultures. As seen in the example of the students' analysis of an instant noodle package, learners used both language comparison and cultural comparison to make sense of the multilingual package, showing that learners can interpret signs with diverse perspectives and create new understandings of the Korean language.

Along with the previous LL research that emphasized the importance of the perspectives of the actors in LL research (e.g., Malinowski 2009; Lou 2010; Papen 2012), students' voices, perceptions, and reflections on the LL project were incorporated into this study by documenting their discussion in class, conducting a survey, and having students reflect on their projects. The students' reflections show that the LL project helped them become aware of their linguistic environment and language use in general. In particular, this project encouraged the learners to interact with their local Korean community and to understand their language and culture. Additionally, it is notable that for the heritage students who spent their whole lives in Georgia, this project offered a meaningful opportunity to rethink their Korean heritage and to obtain a sense of pride in their culture and language, which might have been overlooked by the learners. Overall, the findings of this study reinforce the idea that we cannot think of language learning without social contexts and the linguistic environment, including in particular notions of space, location, and language (cf. Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), all of which are indispensable elements in language education. Our learners engaged with meaning-making processes by incorporating these concepts. We also highlight the significance of considering how multiple layered meanings are differently constructed in relation to other languages and cultures within a socially constructed space (Canagarajah 2013). The local community of the target language is a great resource for students to observe how language and culture are expressed and developed in different regions. This perspective involves a broader understanding of culture to include such features as knowledge of the natural-physical environment where culture develops and awareness of how culture is expressed in a specific region.

7 Conclusion

This student-centered project offers support for foreign language classrooms engaging meaningfully with out-of-class contexts and expands opportunities for language use in the foreign language context. By pushing the notion of multilingualism to a more concrete and accessible level, projects such as the one documented here offer opportunities for students to reflect on their own language learning and use as well as better understand their linguistic and cultural surroundings. In this process, students are considered as active participants, "language detectives" (Sayer 2010, p.144), investigators, and ethnographers who can think creatively and analytically about how language is used in their domestic settings and become more aware of their own sociolinguistic contexts. This also leads students to better understand how multilingualism is locally relevant (Kasanga 2012). This also answers the call for participatory and inquiry-based learning across multilingual sites in critical and alternative pedagogy (Shohamy and Waksman 2009), and socially sensitive pedagogy. Careful analysis of the linguistic landscape can help us appreciate the ways individual language choices are constructed and understand the target language and culture in multilingual contexts (Shohamy and Gorter 2009).

Future research involving more systematic analyses of linguistic features in the linguistic landscape, including orthography, pronunciation rules, and syntax is needed, and these areas can be used to develop classroom materials. In a similar vein, the development of additional pedagogical materials for language learning and teaching is necessary to facilitate this type of project. For example, we need to improve hands-on classroom activities for learning vocabulary, grammar, and idiomatic expressions from the investigation of linguistic landscapes. In addition to that, longitudinal LL exploration may bring meaningful results. For instance, visiting the same places several times over a time period and observing the linguistic shifts in a given context could be a meaningful contribution. Additionally, with the students' increasing mobility, the opportunity to compare and contrast two different linguistic surroundings (e.g. FL and SL) will provide an interesting investigation. The linguistic environment is always changing as time passes, and these shifts may bring changes in linguistic and cultural ideologies with them. The linguistic landscape is a valuable resource for our foreign language classes because of its authentic nature and, undoubtedly, there is room to develop more creative and critical applications in our foreign language classrooms.

Appendices

Appendix 1: A Summary of the Project Procedure

Steps	Formats	Emphases
1. Introduction	Lecture	Definition/Goals/Possible Topics/ Examples
2. Students' research	Group work (3–4 students)	Identify geolocative point of interest that is related to target culture Visit the places and collect data Analyze the data and write a script Obtain feedbacks on the script from the instructor Creating Digital Story Telling and Posting it on Google Maps
3. Presentation	Digital Story Telling (DST), Presentation, board	Present DST videos on Google Maps in class Peer feedbacks and interactions to the DST through Google maps
4. Reflection	Individual Writing	What did you learn from the project?
5. Grading		Script (10%) Materials Contents (70%): Information, analysis, & creativity Interaction and Reflection (20%)

Appendix 2: Student Survey Questions

This project enhanced my communication skills to interact with local speakers of the target language.*	Communication_Interpersonal
This project enhanced my ability to read and understand signage, menu, or other text written in the target language.	Communication_Interpretational
This project enhanced my ability to organize concepts and ideas to inform, explain, and narrate in the target language.	Communication_Presentational
This project enhanced my understanding of the target culture in the local context.	Culture_Understanding
Creating the digital story increased my interest in the target culture.	Culture_Motivation
Watching other students' digital stories helped me learn the target culture.	Culture_Learning through others'
This project increased my awareness of the similarities and differences between the target language and English.	Comparison_Language (target language-English)
This project increased my awareness of the similarities and differences between the target culture and the local culture.	Comparison_Korean (target culture-local culture)
This project furthered my understanding of local Chinese/ Japanese/Korean communities beyond the language classroom.	Community_Schoosl and communities (beyond classroom)
This project increased my motivation for continuing learning the target language.	Community_Lifelong learning (motivation)
The technology required for the project was easy to learn.	Technology
I would recommend using this project for future language classes.	Overall preference

*The target language and culture used in this survey refer to Korean language and culture since this survey was conducted in Korean as a foreign language classroom

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Using Linguistic Landscapes as Stimuli for Relevant EFL Writing

Rawia Hayik

Abstract Surrounded by problematic linguistic landscapes (LL) in Israel where Arabic, the language of the Arab minority, is underrepresented, mistakes in Arabic are abundant, and many Arabic words are Hebraized, I, as a teacher-educator, decided to address these issues in my EFL Israeli-Arab college classroom and use them as a springboard for students to hone their English writing skills while voicing their critique. Inspired by critical literacy pedagogy, the purpose was to raise students' awareness to such problems and encourage them to act for a just visibility of their minority language in the surrounding linguistic space. For achieving that purpose, a tool named PhotoVoice was utilized to provide students with opportunities to practice their English writing while broaching issues that affect their life quality as members of a minority group. Students captured photos of signs in their communities and wrote, in English, descriptions voicing their reflection and analysis of the messages embedded within. Engaging students in these projects offered an empowering alternative to the writing exercises in their prescriptive course-books that were detached from students' life challenges. Using samples of students' "PhotoVoices," this chapter demonstrates how LL texts can be used as stimuli for genuine and engaging EFL writing.

Keywords PhotoVoice · EFL writing · Linguistic landscape · Critical literacy pedagogy · Empowering literacy practices

1 Using Linguistic Landscapes as Stimuli for Relevant EFL Writing

Although Arabic, the native language of the Arab residents of Israel who constitute about a fifth of the Israeli population, is an official language in Israel, alongside Hebrew, its presence in the public sphere and linguistic landscape (LL) is very limited (Amara 2006; Ben Rafael et al. 2006; Trumper-Hecht 2010). Within the Arab

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localities, Arabic is a vital language spoken by a majority of Arab residents (Shohamy and Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012). However, its vitality deteriorates outside those localities, and so does its representation. This problematic linguistic reality is not limited to the underrepresentation of Arabic in the Israeli LL as was documented in previous research (Ben Rafael et al. 2006; Trumper-Hecht 2010), but is also reflected in the abundance of spelling and translation mistakes in Arabic words on the Israeli signs as well as the Hebraization of many Arabic words on official signs. Surrounded by this reality, I, as a teacher-educator/researcher, decided to address these issues in my English-as-a-foreign-language (EFL) writing classroom and use them as a springboard for students to hone their English writing skills while speaking up to hopefully affect some change.

2 Theoretical Underpinnings: Critical Literacy Pedagogy

Inspired by critical literacy pedagogy (Freire 1970; Hayik 2015) that nurtures socially-aware learners who can act to transform their reality into a better one, this study hoped to disrupt the commonplace (Lewison et al. 2008) through raising students' consciousness to the messages embedded within the local LL reality and encouraging them to act for a just visibility of their minority language in the surrounding linguistic space. It challenges Freire's (1970) "culture of silence" prevalent in unequal societies that suppress citizens' rights to speak up and critique the dominant culture.

As Freire (1983) suggests, "language and reality are dynamically intertwined" (p. 5). Thus, incorporating materials relevant to students' reality in the language curriculum connects the word with the world, the classroom with the larger context. According to critical literacy pedagogy, the purpose of language teaching should transcend skill acquisition or knowledge transmission to reach the aspired goal of enhancing peoples' agency over their life trajectories (Luke and Freedody 2000). It is what students do with literacy that matters. After all, as Van Sluys et al. (2006) argue, "literacy is more than linguistic; it is political and social practice that limits or creates possibilities for who people become as literate beings" (p. 199).

2.1 Critical Literacy Pedagogy and PhotoVoice

To achieve this purpose of creating possibilities for people to become socially and politically engaged, the participatory documentary photography tool PhotoVoice (Wang and Burris 1997) was used. A creative, empowering, non-violent tool for expressing protest while improving literacy skills and nurturing more confident students who are willing to speak up, PhotoVoice invites participants to capture photos of areas requiring attention in their surroundings, elaborate on the photos in writing, and share the photos and written critique with influential members in their

community, hoping to raise awareness to the highlighted issues and consequently effect some change.

In their written accounts, the participants are encouraged to answer questions set around the mnemonic "SHOWeD": What do you **S**ee here? What is really **H**appening? How does this relate to **O**ur lives? **W**hy does this problem exist? What can we **D**o about it? (Wang et al. 2004). This differentiates PhotoVoice from other platforms for presenting and commenting on photos (e.g., blogs, Tumblr, Facebook, Instagram) since it encourages the photographer to go beyond the mere description of the photo in a short caption, but rather reflect on it, search for the reasons for the highlighted situation, and suggest ways to act for improving it.

PhotoVoice has been used in various settings and with diverse groups such as rural Chinese village women (Wang et al. 1996), people with mental disabilities (Mizock et al. 2014), children with autism (Carnahan 2006), rural adolescent girls in Western India (Shah 2014), adult participants in a literacy program in El Salvador (Prins 2010), minority English language learners (Graziano 2011), Asian international students studying in the Flemish community of Belgium (Wang and Hannes 2014), high school students in Sweden (Warne et al. 2013), and Israeli-Arab college students (Hayik 2018). However, the combination of PhotoVoice with the LL field is still new. Hayik (2017) underscored the affordances of the tool to grant passers-by chances for voicing their perceptions of LLs they encounter in their surroundings. This chapter further develops such use through highlighting its potential benefits for developing students' literacy skills, especially writing, while providing opportunities for them to reflect on the problematic representation of their native language in the Israeli LL.

2.2 English Writing in the Arab Classroom

Although the ability to write is a fundamental survival skill for the upcoming generation (Wagner 2008) and students need extensive writing experiences to develop this ability, studies have shown that time provided for writing is limited. For example, when studying time provided for writing and the amount of writing at American secondary schools, Applebee and Langer (2011) found that students write only 1.6 pages per week and spend only 7.7% of the core subjects' time to write. In the lower grades 4–6, Gilbert and Graham (2010) found that the time allocated to writing is even less: 25 minutes during the entire day. Writing opportunities in the English classroom in non-English speaking contexts are even scarcer and, in line with Nunan's (1999) assertion that producing "a coherent, fluent, extended piece of writing" in one's second language is enormously challenging (p. 271), there is the urgent need for providing spaces for EFL students to write and practice writing. This is especially important when those students are native speakers of Arabic who face additional challenges to acquire writing skills in English since the orthographic, syntactic, and grammatical systems as well as the rhetorical conventions (structure, style, and organization) in Arabic are distinct from English (Santos and Suleiman

1993). A few examples of the differences between Arabic and English include capitalization (no upper or lower case letters in the Arabic alphabet); syntax (the verb in Arabic sentences precedes the subject, the noun precedes the adjective, and sentences can exist without a verb); spelling (some English letters do not even exist in the Arabic language, e.g. “p” and “v”); and the fact that numerous English vowel sounds have no equivalents in Arabic. Additionally, there are differences in the cohesive devices in Arabic and English. As Mohamed and Omer (2000) argue, cohesion in Arabic is characterized as context-based, generalized, repetition-oriented, and additive, while in English as text-based, specified, change-oriented, and non-additive. Such differences often negatively interfere with Arab learners’ writing (Doushaq 1986; Mohamed and Omer 2000; Mourtaga 2004; Thompson-Panos and Thomas-Ružić 1983). With all these differences between Arabic and English, writing in English becomes even more demanding and challenging when the students are Israeli-Arabs who are writing in their third language.

An additional challenge is that students are not used to expressing their own opinions and reflections. What prevails in the Arab educational system is the banking model (Freire 1970), where the teacher “deposits” knowledge into students’ “accounts” and retrieves such knowledge through drills and tests. As a result, Arab students’ writing can be seen as shallow, as Ahmed (2010) discusses upon analyzing Egyptian students’ writing development, attributing that to opinion suppression due to the oppressive socio-political atmosphere and an educational system that promotes rote learning and memorization instead of critical and creative thinking. The situation in the Israeli-Arab system is similar. Although within a supposedly democratic country, there is segregation in Israel between the Jewish and Arab educational systems. As Bekerman (2009) observed, in opposition to the situation in Jewish schools, the student-teacher relationships in the Arab schools are authoritarian, and the pedagogical approach is very traditional and teacher-centered.

My work as an instructor of English writing courses offered for Israeli-Arab college students is situated within this context, where English writing is mostly taught through guided drills to master writing conventions. I often encounter disenfranchised students who are unmotivated to write and lack sufficient knowledge of basic writing conventions. Encountering such an atmosphere, I decided to deviate from the path in my college writing course. Instead of following the syllabi that offered prescribed exercises for practicing isolated writing conventions, I started connecting the classroom to students’ realities by offering writing opportunities that would encourage them to use the language in meaningful and engaging ways. Out of the belief that “teachers who have faith in their students … involve students in authentic, meaningful and collaborative reading and writing activities” (Freeman and Freeman 2000, p. 6), I decided to provide students with a rich resource for authentic and meaningful writing as opposed to the detached writing exercises previously offered to them. If, following Hyland’s (2007) recommendation, teachers need to connect the language classroom to students’ lives and provide writing opportunities that are meaningful and relevant to them, bridging the language classroom and students’ reality becomes essential. The writing engagements explicated in this chapter offer opportunities for genuine use of English that is meaningful, purposeful, and

relevant to real-life use of English that can improve students' proficiency in a language of a considerable global socioeconomic, cultural, and political position in the world (Pennycook 1994). One opportunity for achieving these goals was inviting students to reflect on the LL in their local area. This chapter describes such encounters where the local LL provided a fertile resource for writing that is relevant to students' reality.

3 Methodology

3.1 Context

The study was conducted in the English department at an Arab teacher education college in Northern Israel. Students preparing to become EFL teachers take oral and written proficiency courses for three consecutive years alongside methodology and literature courses. The course described in this chapter is a year-long English Written Proficiency 1 course offered for first-year students in the English department at the college.

3.2 Participants

The writing course participants were 20 first-year students, all Israeli-Arabs, ranging in age between 18 and 21, with 18 females and two males. They mostly came from a Muslim background (18 Muslims and 2 Christians). Their linguistic background was similar in that they were trilingual, with Arabic as their native language, Hebrew as their second, and English as the foreign language, learned at school beginning in grade 4. However, their proficiency level varied, ranging from intermediate to advanced levels, with most of them in the high intermediate level.

3.3 Procedures

The syllabus of the year-long English Writing 1 course offered for first-year students at the college covers writing mechanics (e.g. capitalization, punctuation, organization and layout of a paragraph), the language system (i.e. grammar, including sentence structure and subject verb agreement), the writing process (i.e. planning, drafting, revising, etc.), and topics like describing given objects, people, and places. My responsibility as a course instructor was to cover those prescribed topics, decided by the college administration. However, instead of strictly following the syllabus in a linear and deductive manner and providing materials and exercises for

practicing isolated writing techniques and language conventions, I decided to teach the required topics more creatively through inviting students to write meaningful pieces reflecting on the LL in the Galilee area. Since the college does not provide a textbook for covering the prescribed written proficiency course syllabus but allows instructors to provide their own materials for teaching the topics detailed in the syllabus, it was possible for me to bring materials other than the guided drills and exercises that others often provide for practicing isolated writing conventions. In my course, writing skills and conventions were taught to students deductively while they were writing and rewriting.

The first step was familiarizing them with the PhotoVoice tool through reading three academic articles that describe PhotoVoice projects in different contexts and parts of the world (Wang et al. 1996; Hayik 2018; and Wilson et al. 2007). The term linguistic landscape was also introduced through Landry and Bourhis' (1997) definition as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (p. 25). As a homework assignment, each student was asked to capture photos of LLs in and outside her/his Arab localities and/or neighboring Jewish or mixed towns during the week and bring them to the following course session. Students were granted freedom of the types and number of signs they chose to photograph. To scaffold their analysis and writing during the following session, I provided them with a list of guiding questions for examining LLs (Table 1). The first three questions, suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) to examine monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual signs, assisted them in scrutinizing the relative significance of each language and its implications. The fourth question afforded critical introspection

Table 1 Set of guiding questions (Hayik 2017)

Sign: _________________
Purpose: _________________
Location: __________________
Languages: _____________________
You can consider the questions below when examining your sign/s:
1. Which languages are displayed on the signs?
2. Is there a connection between the number of languages on the sings (monolingual/bilingual/multilingual) and their location and purpose?
3. What are the characteristics of the bilingual or multilingual signs:
– The order of languages
– The place they occupy on these signs
– The way the languages are displayed against each other
– The size of the fonts of each language in the bi/multilingual signs
– The amount of information given in each of the languages
4. Are certain groups included/excluded by displaying different LL texts? How do those processes of inclusion/exclusion take place through the use of multimodal, multilingual resources?
5. What are your personal insights/feelings?
6. What would you change? How and why?

into LLs as contested spaces. The last two questions invited their personal insights, feelings, and suggestions for change, if needed.

As each student began scrutinizing the signs s/he photographed against these questions, s/he started noticing recurring patterns and embedded messages of which s/he was oblivious before. They were encouraged to start documenting and reflecting on their findings in a paragraph describing the sign/s (location, purpose, language/s and visual representations, if applicable) and their reflections and critique, if applicable.

3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

The final "PhotoVoices" of the 20 students, together with the different drafts, were collected at the end of the process and constituted the main data source, in addition to researcher notes and students' final reflections on the process that were collected during an audio-taped focus group summarizing session. To safeguard students' identities, abbreviations were used instead of their real names.

The data analysis process started with categorizing the "PhotoVoices" according to the issues they addressed. Next, a comparison between students' various drafts and final projects was conducted to scrutinize any progress in writing. Last, students' final reflections on the process and the researcher notes were examined to explore the factors that contributed to students' progress and emerging awareness.

The analysis revealed students' concerns in three different areas. The findings in each area and a description of students' writing development and instructor feedback within each area are presented and discussed in the next section, alongside a summary and discussion of students' reflections at the end.

4 Results

An initial categorization of the 20 "PhotoVoices" revealed that students addressed three main areas. In the first category, 10 students addressed the absence of Arabic from many signs. The second category included 6 students who noted the abundance of mistakes in the Arabic words. Within the third category, 4 students critiqued the Hebraization of many Arabic names of locations on the signs.

4.1 Absence of Arabic

Out of the 10 students broaching the absence of Arabic from the local LL, 8 focused on signs produced by Jewish entities and 2 on signs produced by Arab business owners. In the following example (Fig. 1), M captured six photos where Arabic was

These six signs are missing Arabic translation. I really get disappoint when I see some signs at my country have not any instructions in my own language.

one sign has a translation in English, since the Arabic language is a formal language in Israel as English and Hebrew.

M

Fig. 1 M's original "PhotoVoice"

absent: two signs of location names (towns and a university), two signs including instructions for temporary route change due to road construction, and two signs detailing different buildings at a university, including a shelter. Despite the status of Arabic as an official language in Israel, it surprisingly was excluded from those signs, a fact that greatly disappointed M. While describing her observations and feelings towards this reality, M struggled with some grammatical and linguistic forms. As apparent in her short "PhotoVoice" below, she used the verb "disappoint" as an adjective and the preposition "at" instead of "in," and had a grammatical mistake at the end of the first paragraph, a capitalization mistake, and an incomplete sentence at the end.

Following Hattie's (2009) approach to responsive feedback that includes compliments and next steps, I applauded M for bringing those photos, discerning a recurring pattern in all of them, and expressing her feelings. Simultaneously, I drew her attention to the above-mentioned linguistic and grammatical mistakes and to the fact that English is not actually a formal language in Israel as she mentioned, but only Hebrew and Arabic. To increase cohesion, I suggested describing the facts first and then adding her personal reflection rather than reflecting after the first sentence and then describing the facts again in the second paragraph as was the case in the original piece. I also suggested adding a title and elaborating more on her feelings and expectations. M revised her "PhotoVoice" accordingly to the more cohesive and accurate one in Fig. 2.

The other two students who noticed the absence of Arabic observed that the signs that lacked Arabic in their photos were produced by Arab business owners as opposed to the signs highlighted by the first group which were authored by the

Where is Arabic?!

These six signs are missing Arabic translation. One sign has translation in English, but not in Arabic. Since the Arabic language is a formal language in Israel as Hebrew, I expect these signs to include Arabic as well.

I really get disappointed when I see some signs in my country with no instructions/directions in my own language whatsoever. It is a sad reality and I expect people in charge to start paying attention to this and giving Arabic the status it deserves.

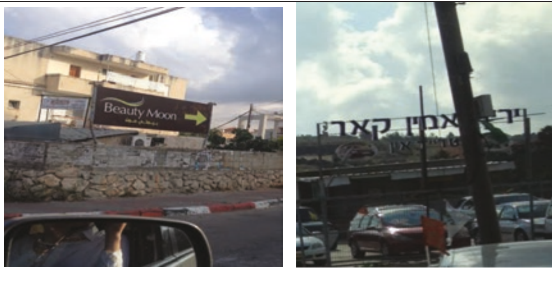
M

Fig. 2 M's revised "PhotoVoice"

national authorities or Jewish private and public institutes/individuals. In the example in Fig. 3, the student (R.) elaborated on this issue in her own village in the Galilee area, Kabul.

It is obvious in her written account that she struggled in various grammatical areas: missing articles or punctuation (as highlighted in Fig. 3), capitalization, preposition use, and subject-verb agreement (all underlined in the sample). In addition, some terms were not very clear and needed further explanation, such as "Arab 48" that was used to refer to "Arabs of 48," a term used for the Arab residents of Israel who stayed in the country when it was established in 1948, or "these people" in the last paragraph. To promote accuracy, she needed to specify who she referred to when writing "these people."

To address those issues, I organized mini-lessons (Atwell 1998) on the issues students struggled with. Mini-lessons are brief instructional sessions that address writing elements that appear to be problematic in students' writing. For example, if repeated capitalization errors emerge in the written pieces of a small group of students, a mini-lesson is arranged with that group to teach them capitalization rules. Other mini-lessons focused on topics like punctuation, using connectors, subject-verb agreement, syntax, and cohesion, topics that were listed in the prescribed syllabi but were taught here based on students' needs and within a relevant written context.



Prestigious Kabul

These two pictures were taken in Kabul village, _ village for Arabs only.

i wonder about why do we always blame Jews about they discrimination and marginalization against us. i think that we create this discrimination against ourselves.

we don't appreciate our language although its a very important language and hard to learn. Arab 48 act proudly because they talk Hebrew. However_ Jews themselves forget their language when they leave the country.

It feels really bad _ we discriminate against ourselves. I suggest for these people to be aware of these small things. It seems to be tiny things but it is _ big deal in reality.

R.

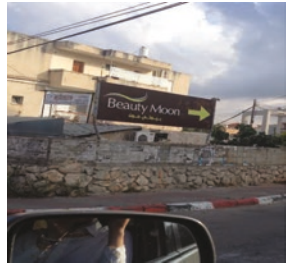
Fig. 3 R's original "PhotoVoice"

Following my feedback and small group instruction, students revised their "PhotoVoices." The example of a revised "PhotoVoice" in Fig. 4 reveals how R addressed the highlighted issues in the previous version and improved her piece.

4.2 *Abundance of Mistakes*

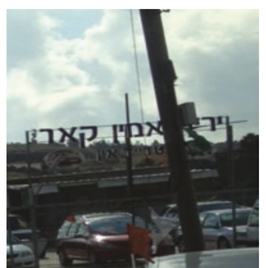
Six students noticed abundant mistakes in the Arabic words on many of the signs they photographed, in terms of both spelling and translation. F, for example, found this issue very concerning and was intrigued to write a longer piece about it. As apparent in Fig. 5, her proficiency level was more advanced than the students in the previous examples, and in the "PhotoVoice" she shared in class, she implemented the writing conventions that were covered throughout the writing course.

From her "PhotoVoice," it was obvious how the provocative topic stirred her feelings and provided a fertile ground for her profound thoughts to be expressed in writing. Reviewing other written pieces produced by F in previous course sessions reveals that those pieces were very short and not as engaged. Allowing her to address



Prestigious Kabul

These two pictures were taken in Kabul village, a village for Arabs only. I wonder why we always blame Jews of their discrimination and marginalization against us. I think that we create this discrimination against ourselves. We don't appreciate our language although it is a very important language and hard to learn. Arabs of 48 act proudly when they talk Hebrew instead of Arabic. However, Jews themselves forget their language when they leave the country.



It feels really bad that we discriminate against ourselves. I suggest that these people who use Hebrew or English instead of Arabic become aware of these small things. They seem to be tiny things but they are a big deal in reality.

R.

Fig. 4 R's revised "PhotoVoice"

a topic that was relevant and meaningful to her resulted in her passion to write extensively about the issue.

4.3 Hebraization of Arabic Words

Upon scrutinizing their photos, 4 students found that many of the Arabic names of locations on their signs were Hebraized (written as said in Hebrew instead of writing the equivalent Arabic name). The Hebraization of the Arabic names provoked students' emotions and resulted in a passionate engagement in writing. Figure 6 portrays one example.

Since cohesion is one of the problems in Arab students' writing due to the differences in what constitutes a cohesive text in Arabic versus English (Mohamed and Omer 2000), it was the focus of several sessions of the writing course, alongside stylistic issues such as writing powerful beginnings and endings. It is obvious that S has followed the recommendations in her "PhotoVoice." She chose to open her piece with a series of questions that were "without answers," in her words, and end with additional questions that needed to be answered, as she noted. The cohesion of

I have chosen to talk about the signs above in order to highlight the problem of spelling words incorrectly on road signs. These are all multilingual signs with Hebrew, Arabic, and English displayed on them. In most of them, Hebrew comes first, then Arabic and lastly English. The font of the three languages on these signs is similar.
When I first saw these signs, I laughed because of the spelling mistakes. However, I felt terrible later to see how our language is treated and the way it's displayed on these signs. Why don't they write wrong spelling in Hebrew or English, as they do in Arabic? They are saying that Israel is a democratic country, but this isn't true at all. If they are treating our language this way, then what about us, Arab people? How would they treat us?
As a person I do respect all of the religions and all the languages and I do not see myself as a person who disrespects the languages of others. I expect from others to respect my language, too. If it's up to me, I won't accept that any of these languages would be treated the way our language is treated, so I would ask those who are responsible for writing the road signs to check what they write very well before publicly displaying them. F.

Fig. 5 F's "PhotoVoice"

the whole written account is further promoted by the fact that each of the middle two paragraphs revolved around one main idea, and the whole piece was given a powerful title. This example demonstrates how, when offered the chance, students can compose profound written pieces that go beyond the conventional writing drills.

4.4 Students' Reflections

In the reflection session at the end of the process, students expressed that as they started documenting the LLs in their area and scrutinizing the photos against the provided list of questions, they started noticing that Arabic was absent from or not accurately represented in so many signs. All of them stated that their engagement in the PhotoVoice journey has increased their awareness of these problems in the LL. They described the significant effect of the experience on them and how they started paying attention to the signs around them. As F. explicated: "This experience affected me tremendously, for life. Now, when I walk in any street, I look carefully to read any sign I see."

Strong feelings were prevalent in students' reflections. Students mentioned that they were surprised of such reality. As one of them stated: "I was surprised by the way some signs were written, and it really blew my mind when I noticed and saw

Questions Without Answers!

Which of those is the correct one? Why do we have them in two different forms? Does it serve the Arabic reader? These are questions without any answers!

The signs guide us to our destination. As we can see, the two signs here are listed in a common configuration (Hebrew, Arabic and then English). That is because Hebrew is the first language in this State, Arabic is the second formal language, and English is listed for the English-speaking tourists who visit Israel every year

The name of the towns on both signs is written in two ways in Arabic. Acre on the first sign is first written as said in Arabic ("A'kka"), but the Hebraized name of the town ("A'kko") is written next in brackets. On the second sign, the first Arabic word is the name of the town Zefat written in Arabic letters but as said in Hebrews ("Tsfat"), followed by the real Arabic name ("Safad") in brackets.

Does our country just combine Arabic and Hebrew? Where are our rights to see the Arabic names listed correctly? The signs here include English, but where are the rights of the Russians and other immigrants? These questions need to be answered! S.

Fig. 6 S's "PhotoVoice"

them, even if it wasn't me who took the pictures but my peers. I noticed some things in their signs that I've never really seen deeply and carefully before." They were affected not only by their own documentation but also by the findings of their classmates. Some students described that feelings of sadness and sorrow emerged when encountering such reality. Others expressed feelings of marginalization. They felt that the country did not care for them or their feelings when it represented their language inaccurately.

Students all stressed that they became cognizant of the significance of broaching this issue and agreed that the situation should be improved. Their language deserves to exist in the public space and exist accurately, many said.

4.5 Community Sharing

Following the recommended methodology for PhotoVoice, the final proposed component of the course was to have the students share their findings with the local community. However, out of fear for retribution, students refused to present their "PhotoVoices" to an influential audience of journalists, political representatives, and leaders of the community, which could have highlighted students' concerns to the authorities and hopefully helped transform their gloomy reality. Being part of an often silenced minority group and on the threshold of graduating as English teachers, they felt intimidated and preferred to refrain from critiquing the authorities and sabotaging their chances of being hired in the Israeli Arab school system that promotes conformity and obedience over audacity and activism. They were cognizant of the political limitations in the country and potential price of disrupting the status quo. Despite their rejection to present to an invited audience, though, they themselves became conscious of these issues and might act upon this emerging consciousness upon graduating from the college.

5 Discussion

Since writing in one's third language is a demanding process (Nunan 1999), EFL writing teachers need to find creative ways to motivate students to write and practice writing. One such way is combining photography with critical writing through encouraging students to reflect on and critique self-chosen photos. The problematic LL in the Galilee area could provide opportunities for critique; therefore, it was chosen as the topic for this project and enabled minority students to write about topics relevant to their life. As offering authentic writing tasks play a critical role in writing instruction (Graham and Sandmel 2011), it was important to substitute meaningless writing drills with meaningful, authentic writing opportunities (Freeman and Freeman 2000).

A significant factor for the success of the project was allowing students free choice of what to write about. That led to their increased interest and motivation. As students themselves chose the signs and topics, writing became more engaging (Allington and Gabriel 2012). In the case explicated in this chapter, the students were granted agency of what signs to photograph and what to write. As a result, they brought their passions to the page (Calkins and Ehrenworth 2016) and wrote "with a real voice" (Wagner 2008, p. 36).

Another important factor was providing responsive feedback (Hattie 2009) throughout the writing process. Qualitative feedback that focuses not only on grammar and spelling but also on style and cohesion was significant for helping students further develop their written pieces. Students in this writing course received feedback in both areas. The instruction and feedback provided through the different mini-lessons (Atwell 1998) resulted, for example, in the development in M's or R's writing (in Figs. 1-2 and 3-4, correspondingly). Pathey-Chavez et al. (2004) propose

that quality feedback can trigger students to develop their ideas. As was obvious from students' various written versions, the provided feedback contributed to developing both their ideas and language.

In addition to developing students' writing ability, this project provided literacy engagements that connected the language classroom to reality (Freire 1983). Through doing so, it disrupted the commonplace literacy teaching practices (Lewison et al. 2008), deviating from the banking model (Freire 1970) and offering opportunities for consciousness raising. As students shared at the end of the course, they were surprised to encounter these problems on the signs and excited to write about them. They viewed PhotoVoice as an empowering alternative to the "boring" writing exercises in their prescriptive textbooks, highlighting how their engagement in the project affected their awareness of the LL in their area. Their final reflections on the process revealed such emerging cognizance of the problematic reality and their discontent of the prevalent situation.

6 Conclusion

This chapter exemplifies how the EFL Israeli-Arab college students in a writing course used LL texts as a springboard for honing their English writing skills while speaking up to express their critique of the problematic linguistic reality in their area. Inspired by critical literacy pedagogy, I hoped to raise students' awareness to such problems and encourage them to act for a just visibility of their minority language in the surrounding linguistic space. Engaging students in these projects offered an empowering alternative to the writing exercises in their prescriptive course-book that were detached from their life challenges. It created opportunities for them to practice their English writing skills while broaching relevant issues that affect their life quality as members of a minority group.

Students' engagement in this project enabled them to "question and challenge the way things are in texts" (O'Brien and Comber 2000, p. 153) and provided them with "potent ways of reading, seeing and acting in the world" (Janks et al. 2013, p. 10). The project offered opportunities for students to reflect on the world through the word. "Reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" raises oppressed people's awareness to oppressing powers and urges them to act for enhancing their reality (Freire 1970, p. 33), or, in Janks's (2010) terms of design and redesign, it involves deconstructing the design of the text to uncover the hidden messages and the relationship between language and power and then reconstructing it through critical text production of transformative powers. And indeed, engaging students in these projects opened their eyes to issues in the surrounding LL texts that they were previously oblivious of.

The "PhotoVoices" shared in this chapter demonstrate how LL texts can be used as stimuli for genuine and engaging EFL writing, and how using PhotoVoice in combination with the LL in EFL can help develop awareness to the explicit and implicit messages delivered through the signs about students' communities.

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Developing Critical Sociolinguistic Awareness Through Linguistic Landscapes in a Mixed Classroom: The Case of Spanish in Texas

Idoia Elola and Josh Prada

Abstract Mainstream educational systems often replicate and perpetuate socio-political views, and therefore, it is not surprising that the social and cultural value of minority languages is often disregarded and overlooked. Aiming at developing tools to enhance students' critical awareness toward the value of these languages and the communities that use them, this chapter operationalizes linguistic landscapes (hereafter LLs) as a pedagogical tool in an advanced Spanish course among a mixed group of students (i.e., a combination of Spanish as a second language and heritage language learners). With a sharp focus on US Spanish and adopting an applied (socio)linguistic approach, we report on the effects of implementing a didactic unit evolving around the notion of LLs at the college level. The unit consisted of teacher-led lectures, readings, homework assignments, students' analyses and reflections of an adapted version of an original LL dataset, and an ethnographic project. Qualitative data were obtained through questionnaires, written reflections, and the final project. The results reveal that LL-based pedagogies may provide students with a toolkit to enhance their sociolinguistic awareness, develop a critical perspective on local/community languages in their area, and how these languages co-exist alongside official/majority languages.

Keywords Linguistic landscapes-based pedagogies · Sociolinguistic awareness · Spanish as a foreign and heritage language · Critical perspectives · Bilingualism · Translanguaging

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1 Introduction

Despite the hostility characterizing the current political climate in the US towards immigrants and minorities, the US Hispanic community continues to grow, showing a 2.0% increase from 2016 to 2017 (US Census Bureau 2017). This nationwide increase has also impacted US colleges and universities: Latinx enrollment at four-year colleges and universities have increased from 13% in 2011 (Fry and Parker 2012) to 17.4% in 2017 (US Census Bureau 2017). Moreover, Spanish, the native language of the US Hispanic community, is also the most widely studied second language (L2) in American education (Potowski and Carreira 2010). The population of Spanish language learners in the US falls mainly within two categories: learners of Spanish as a second language (hereafter L2 learners) and heritage language learners (HLLs).[1] The former group adheres to the typical foreign language learner profile: those who are studying a language other than their native language. The latter are individuals who grew up exposed to a non-majority/unofficial language at home or in their community - 74.2% of US Hispanics reported speaking Spanish at home (Krogstad and Lopez 2017) - and therefore developed some degree of bilingualism in said language and the majority language (Valdés 1980). Given their different linguistic repertoires at the onset of target language learning and their cultural backgrounds, L2 learners and HLLs are two distinct learner profiles (Carreira 2004). One distinction proposed is that HLLs are native speakers of the target language, whereas L2 learners are not (Rothman 2009; Rothman and Treffers-Daller 2014).

While the number of heritage language educational alternatives (e.g., the creation of a heritage language tracks and courses) at the college level has increased in the last decade (Beaudrie 2012) the reality of Spanish classrooms in the US is still defined by their mixed population (Carreira 2004). In this context, HLLs and L2 learners share a learning space despite their foundational differences. Importantly, notwithstanding the different needs of these two populations (Carreira 2016), mixed classes normally approach both groups of learners using a second/foreign language perspective with foci on linguistic and cultural competencies. Both sets of competencies, however, are generally taught in isolation, even though for decades the collegiate L2 profession has been arguing for the elimination of this unnecessary and counter-productive division (Byrnes 1998; James 1996; Kern 2002; Schulz 2007). In addition to the separation of linguistic analysis from cultural inquiry, there is the tendency to focus on linguistic (e.g., discrete grammar knowledge) or cultural *products* (e.g., a work of literature, historical anecdotes, political event, or dance). Yet, our intention is to adopt a broader perspective by also encouraging students to think of *practices* (i.e., behaviors), and to develop informed *perspectives*, or "beliefs, values, attitudes, and assumptions held by the members of the L2 culture" (Dema

[1] Heritage Language learners follow recurring attributes: early exposure to the heritage language in the home, proficiency in the heritage language, bilingual to some degree, dominant in a language other than the heritage language, and ethnic/cultural connection to the heritage language (Zyzik 2012).

and Moeller 2012, p. 78). This perspective reflects an acknowledgement of ACFTL's World Readiness Standards as a framework to guide the pedagogical choices underpinning the classroom project presented herein.[2]

Besides the ACTFL's Standards, our approach joins current re-conceptualizations in the teaching and learning of Spanish in the US (e.g., Leeman and Serafini 2016; Rivers 2018; Prada and Nikula 2018) by focusing on the local, and reformulates traditional understandings of Spanish as a foreign language into Spanish as a *local* language in the US context. In doing so, our perspective also expands the notion of L2 culture to a more inclusive stance where there is room for local materializations. More specifically, we emphasize the role of local varieties, values, and behaviors as worthy of promotion and inclusion in classroom endeavors. In this way, our definition of culture moves beyond traditional representations of cultures as solely pertaining to foreign language communities. The critical applied sociolinguistic perspective (e.g., Piller 2016; Rickford 2018) we adopt asks us to formulate learning contexts where students can examine linguistic dimensions within particular communities. More specifically, we emphasize the need to explore sociolinguistic ecologies within their local communities. To do so, in the context of mixed classrooms, it is essential to define strategies for the learning of language/culture in a setting that encompasses both student populations. To this end, we identify several issues that require attention: (1) How do we make mixed student populations aware of the importance of the language-culture link in our community? (2) How do we raise these students' awareness of the linguistic choices in the community where they live? (3) How can these students understand the factors that impact those choices?

Recognizing the need to explore the language-culture link at a local level calls for seeking new tools to investigate this connection. To achieve this, we propose the strategic use of linguistic landscapes (LLs) for educational purposes as a unifying tool that can help students discover local linguistic repertoires, their deployment, and the decisions behind these choices. To formulate an educational change in the way we work with language/culture in our classes, we sought to devise a pedagogical approach that could harness attention to culture, language, and community through a critical perspective. Furthermore, we sought to implement an approach that would stimulate students to personally interact with real data, solve open-ended problems (Dema and Moeller 2012), and obtain a clear perspective of the link between language and culture in particular contexts.

The idea of using LLs for educational purposes and, more particularly, for culture-awareness purposes is definitely not new. The LL as a pedagogical resource began to be established within multilingual educational contexts; LLs have been used in L1 literacy classrooms and in L2 classrooms, particularly in English as a Second and Foreign Language contexts. For instance, Sayer (2010), working on English signs in Oaxaca, Mexico, noted that analyzing this LL allowed students (a) to reflect creatively and analytically on the manner in which language is used in

[2] https://www.actfl.org/publications/all/world-readiness-standards-learning-languages

society; (b) become more aware of their own sociolinguistic context; (c) shift the student from being a language learner to a language researcher. Similarly, Rowland (2012) analyzed LLs in Japan to successfully develop students' symbolic competence and literacy skills in a multiliteracies sense. In another study, Chesnut et al. (2013) noted that their three South Korean undergraduates obtained a greater awareness of the complex and contradictory relationship between languages and enhanced their development as language learners. The instructor's and the three students' different perspectives influenced the manner in which they analyzed the multilingual signs, generating tension and occasions for learning. All these studies have explored English signs for classroom projects in diverse countries. As a point of difference, however, the current study describes the implementation of a didactic unit revolving around local Spanish/bilingual language use in West Texas. The rationale behind choosing an LL as a pedagogical tool was its potential to illustrate the communicative and cultural legitimacy of local Spanish as it emerges on the signs designed and deployed by local speakers. A central component of our approach was in the collaborative nature of the project. Given that the group was comprised of L2 learners and HLLs, we wanted to provide a scenario where collaborative work among these two populations would yield cross-cultural, critical, and transformative dialogues based on their experiences with the local communities, the different forms linguistic practices take, and the communicative and cultural value they represent

2 Spanish in the Classroom Through a Critical Lens

The Spanish language arrived in Texas in the early sixteenth century. Ever since, uninterruptedly, some areas along the US-Mexico border as well as some smaller ones across the state of Texas have consisted of Spanish-speaking communities. In other words, some of these communities have existed long before and have not emerged solely through recent immigration waves. In fact, migrant flows from Mexico into Texas have only added to the already existing Latinx populations that remained after the Republic of Texas was annexed by the US in 1845. Fundamentally, 38.2% of the population in Texas identifies as Latinx (US Census Bureau 2017).[3] This brief snapshot of Texas demographics lays out a foundation to counter and rethink the portrayal in mainstream discourse of the Spanish language as a foreign language (Alvarez 2013; Leeman et al. 2011) and the Latinx community as an immigrant community.

The representation of the Spanish language as foreign resides at the core of the approach we contest by seeking to bridge the classroom with community-based fieldwork. It is paramount that pedagogical practices find strategies to lay bare the politicization of linguistic practices and cultural behaviors regarding Spanish (e.g.,

[3] Latinx(s) is a gender-neutral term used in lieu of Latino or Latina. The x is a way of rejecting binary categorizations of gender, promote inclusion, and reclaim multiplicity as default, rather than the exception

García 2011; Pascual y Cabo and Prada 2015). In the case of Texas, as is the case of other states where the Spanish-speaking population is large (e.g., Arizona, Florida, California, New Mexico), creating spaces for classroom discussion, local explorations, and forms of community engagement is a necessary step in the contestation of mainstream discourse that bolsters old perspectives on immigrant/minority/indigenous languages, their social roles and values, and their historical presence.

As indicated, this study was conducted in a university context. As is common in this type of context, the traditional framework used in language courses was informed by the abovementioned ACTFL *World Readiness Standards for Foreign Language Learning* (henceforth *Standards*), which identified five central learning domains (i.e., the five C's of *Culture, Comparisons, Communities, Connections, Communication*) as a way of moving language learning beyond purely the acquisition of linguistic elements. Broadly speaking, we recognize these *Standards* as a helpful framework. For our specific purposes, however, we focused on three of these components, Culture, Comparisons, and Communities, and reformulated them to respond/promote to the critical perspective we mentioned earlier. For the specific purposes of our approach that emphasizes engagement with the local community, we will focus on the three components that relate most closely with community interaction: Culture, Comparisons, and Communities. However, to engender the critical perspective that we see as essential for any type of community engagement, we have amended them to include this critical angle.

The notion of *Culture* in the *Standards* is not only about acquiring cultural competence, but also includes being able to move from cultural practices to an understanding of beliefs and values (i.e., perspectives). For this study, culture hinges on students being able to critically explore the local community not only based on the products they see (e.g., signage), but also on interacting with these products in ways that transform their conceptualization of what these products mean to themselves and to the community to which they belong. Regarding the notion of *Comparisons,* the *Standards* highlights the development of insight into the nature of language and culture through contrasting, building, reinforcing, and expanding their knowledge of other disciplines while using the language to develop critical thinking and to solve problems creatively. Based on this, we understand that comparisons must also serve a purpose when faced with non-standard forms of language and culture that do not follow what has been traditionally presented as standard forms in the classroom setting. The third component, *Communities,* is understood as contexts that allow individuals to participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world. For us, the *Communities* component plays a key role, as it becomes the arena for students to engage in first-hand explorations of the target language and culture. More importantly, a locally mindful approach empowers local communities and helps us rethink traditional textbook representations of who the speakers of a language are, where they live, and what their cultural practices are. In line with this approach, the Spanish language and culture should not be seen as a foreign object, as generally perpetuated in textbooks (Leeman and Martínez 2007), but a central element to local communities where Spanish coexists with English. We, therefore, emphasize that this framework presents a limitation: languages and cultures through

the Standards are presented as foreign. Moreover, other reports such as the 2007 report by the MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages present languages as monolithic, separate entities (Kramsch 2014). As we see it, language pedagogy in the twenty-first century should equip students with tools to critically understand these assumptions. As we said earlier, ultimately, our objective is to encourage students to question the linguistic and cultural products and behaviors, and develop informed perspectives of the community in which they live. We seek to create pedagogical spaces to reformulate the way in which language and culture have been—and continue to be—presented through educational, political, and media discourse. Furthermore, based on the belief that cultures are not static (Savignon and Sysoyev 2005) and that the teaching of culture is more related to the "process of discovery than it is to static information" (Lange 1999, p. 60), the dynamic nature of culture becomes a challenge in foreign/second language classrooms. Inquiry-based teaching has the potential to facilitate the bridge between the dynamicity of language and culture and the type of instructional tasks that student can encounter in the classroom. By asking students to investigate, they have the potential to become interested in the target culture (the community they inhabit) and develop an in-depth understanding of cultural similarities and differences (Dema and Moeller 2012).

Additionally, students come into the classroom with a background that encompasses their biographies, their emotional states, their socio-educational profiles and those of their parents, etc. In the case of the language classroom, part of this background influences their understanding of language and bilingualism as a set of preconceived ideas, as well as their experiences. Taken together, these factors shape the basis of their linguistic ideologies. Linguistic ideologies are defined as "cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989, p. 497); these ideologies are dynamic and may evolve in response to new insights and experiences, which in turn, can be nurtured through pedagogical interventions that call to question the status quo. For instance, a focus on critical language awareness (hereafter CLA) captures how "linguistic practices are shaped by, and shape social relationships of power" in the students' mind (Clark et al. 1990, p. 249). As Leeman and Serafini (2016) put it, critical approaches to language awareness look to engage students in examining and assessing events and practices that are taken for granted in everyday life. Connectedly, orientating pedagogies towards CLA development promotes a deeper understanding of how and why the practices of certain communities are represented in a negative light in popular discourse. More specifically, the inclusion of CLA within the classroom should enable students (a) to see language variation as natural and recognize the intrinsic value of their own variety, as well as all others; (b) to develop a consciousness of the political, social, and economic power structures that underlie language use and distribution of the prestigious and non-prestigious varieties; (c) to uncover dominant language ideologies that are hidden in daily monolingual/bilingual practices; (d) to be empowered to exercise agency in making their own decisions about language use and bilingualism (e.g., Leeman 2005; Martínez 2003). Hence, the study presented herein incorporates a LL-based pedagogy as a means to enhance students' CLA.

To accomplish this goal, two research questions were devised:

1. Do LL-based pedagogies result in gains regarding students' critical language awareness (CLA)?
2. If they do, how do these manifest themselves?

3 The Study

3.1 Participants

This study included 17 participants—seven male and 10 female students—with ages ranging from 20 to 27 years enrolled in an upper-level Spanish composition course. As mentioned earlier, the ethnolinguistic make-up of the group was comprised of a combination of HLL and L2 learners; this type of groups, are generally referred to as mixed groups (e.g., Carreira 2016), representing a wide array of linguistic and cultural experiences with the target language, its varieties and culture(s). For 11 of the students, Spanish was (one of) their home language(s). Four of them were born in Spanish-speaking countries and relocated to the US Southwest before adolescence, and another four were born in US cities alongside the US-Mexico border (i.e., El Paso and Brownsville). Four of the non-native speakers of Spanish had spent substantial time in sojourns in Mexico, Central America, South America, and Spain.

All participants were minoring or majoring in Spanish at the time of this study, and therefore had taken a minimum of five Spanish courses prior to this advanced composition one (i.e., Advanced Composition in Spanish). Topics covered in previous courses ranged from foundational, intermediate, and advanced grammar and topics in literature, culture, and history, to Spanish for specific purposes (e.g., medical, business). Some students were Lubbock locals themselves, and were familiar with the ethnolinguistic make-up of the city, and where to "find Spanish." Others, while not Lubbock natives, identified as Hispanic/Latinx and knew the community through their social networks.

3.2 Setting

The university where this study took place is in Lubbock, Texas. This city is considered an urban environment, and is the largest city in West Texas with over 253,000 inhabitants, 22.4% of whom grew up in a home with a language other than English, and 35% identifying as Hispanic (US Census Bureau 2017).

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The didactic unit on LLs lasted 6 weeks in total. Data were collected from three sources: (a) a background questionnaire (an adapted version of the Bilingual Language Profile Questionnaire); (b) a questionnaire on language and signage in the community (included in Appendix A); (c) coursework—personal reflections and a written report. The background questionnaire sought to categorize the students' demographic and linguistic profiles to establish the makeup of the group. The second questionnaire was administered the week before the didactic unit started and consisted of 13 open-ended questions. Its objective was to establish a baseline in terms of familiarity with the notion of LLs, its presence in the local community, and its meaning. Additionally, we analyzed the reflections the students produced while completing the projects, as well as the projects themselves, as sources of insight. The content of the reflections, questionnaires, and projects was analyzed using content analysis (Merriam 2009).

3.4 The Didactic Unit

As mentioned above, this study appraised the overall impact of implementing a unit revolving around the topic of LLs on learners' CLA development. This thematic unit operated as a central component to our study, providing students with a toolkit of conceptual elements and laying out a theoretical bedrock before engaging in fieldwork. Within the overall course framework, the unit on LLs was the third out of a total of seven, with the other units exploring more traditional writing genres (e.g., narration, description, exposition) as well as other textual articulations typically associated with the twenty-first century (i.e., multimodal texts, digital stories). The LL unit encompassed two stages. On the one hand, the unit included a combination of lectures, readings, videos, and homework activities focusing on the acquisition of a core theoretical toolkit to understand LLs (included in Appendix B). Links to online resources containing the readings (included in Appendix B) were provided via email. As part of the homework activities, as we further describe in the following section, students were asked to prepare a one-page digest synthesizing specific information about LL, identify methodological trends in the study of LL, and gain a general understanding of LL as a field of research. For example, students read Colomé (2014) and were asked to provide a working definition of LL, to identify what an instructional "unit" could mean in this context, to provide a one-paragraph description of the methodology and methodological considerations presented in the article, and to provide another paragraph synthesizing the main findings/problems/interesting issues raised by the author. Additionally, there was a practical dimension to the unit design incorporating the presentation of samples from datasets and data analyses from the authors' large-scale study developed in the area, leading to a final

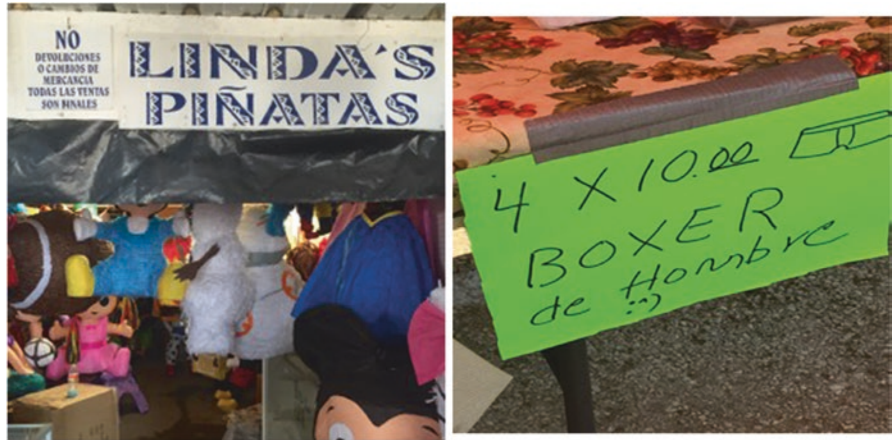
fieldwork-based project. In what follows, we provide a detailed account of how these elements were articulated and the rationale behind them.

3.4.1 Lectures, Readings, and Homework

The unit began with two lectures conducted in Spanish, each running for about an hour. The first lecture focused on introducing the notion of LLs and providing a solid conceptual framework to be called upon for the rest of the unit. It began by stating an open question: "Using your intuition, what do you think a LL is?" Answers ranged from "the languages spoken in a country," to "when you go to a place and hear many languages, like a landscape." According to the information provided in the background questionnaire, none of the 17 students had ever heard of or could recognize the notion of LLs prior to this unit. The lecture continued by providing photographs of the LL across multiple environments, including monolingual signs (e.g., Arabic, English, Spanish), bilingual/multilingual signs (e.g., English/Spanish from Texas, Catalan/Spanish from Spain), and multimodal signs containing icons, pictures, and other semiotic resources. Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 show examples of the photographs shown during these lectures. Following the first lecture, students were asked to provide a working definition of LLs based on what they had seen. This lecture was seen as the first step within the unit towards bringing the local community into focus. Classroom discussions mobilized issues introduced during the lecture and presented through readings (i.e., a scholarly article by Colomé, and a blog entry from the Basque Country's official website) and homework activities (e.g., are tents and monuments LL? If I place a sticker on a trashcan, does that immediately become part of the LL? Are slogans on t-shirts part of the LL?). As foreshadowed earlier, the readings were conducted at home in Spanish and were accompanied by a battery of questions that sought to guide their reading. In the

Fig. 1 Bilingual sign used in lecture as example

Fig. 2 Sign in Spanish used in lecture as example



Figs. 3 and 4 Translingual sign used in lecture as examples

open classroom conversation, students were encouraged to create connections between the nature of LLs and social, historical, educational, and political factors surrounding the community through prompts such as "Considering that over 20% of Texan residents speak Spanish, how is that reflected in the LL of Lubbock? Can you think of any reasons for that?" Besides the above-mentioned synthesis, homework assignments included, among others, an internet search of the notion of LLs, the collection and description of examples of LLs online, and the development of a two-paragraph synthesis of the language policy and linguistic history of Texas (Appendix B). Taken together, these homework activities were geared toward helping students begin to actively investigate different aspects of the LL, its social meaning, and its potential as a window into linguistic vitality in situations of ethnolinguistic minority and diaspora.

Fig. 5 Bilingual sign used in lecture as example

Fig. 6 Imported products from Mexico. Photograph used in lecture as example

The second lecture presented an adapted version of a study conducted by the authors that consisted of an original dataset (photographs N = 500 and semi-structured interviews N = 75) collected in Hispanic flea markets in four different Texas cities (Lubbock, El Paso, San Antonio, and Houston). Through their exposure to the photographs and the interviews, participants came into contact with some of the sociolinguistic realities of the communities that use Spanish as a local language in Texas, unveiling answers to questions connected to the legitimacy of local Spanish, the role of Spanish in local discourse, and the importance of Spanish to the cultural heritage and the identity of the areas under study. To that end, students engaged in discussions regarding the difference in concentrations of Spanish-only signs in Lubbock and San Antonio, compared to El Paso and Houston. Then, through their review of the interviews conducted in these markets, students explored the relevance of location to the individual linguistic profile of each community. Meaningful excerpts were played in class and used to stimulate discussion.

Finally, through sets of questions provided by the instructor, students reflected on how the market users' views on the LL incorporated a multilingual perspective, transcending notions of purity and standardized language, thereby granting contact Spanish communicative and identity value. These reflections, however, were very abstract.

The ultimate goal of these two lectures was to help students move from theory to practice in their understanding of local language dynamics (with a focus on Spanish in Texas), while equipping them with the tools to explore how power structures impinged on language use, and laying the foundation for the students' own interpretation of these phenomena in the next stage of the project through their development of an ethnolinguistic project and an oral class presentation.

3.5 The Ethnolinguistic Project

This project was framed as an ethnolinguistic field investigation into the sociolinguistic dimensions of the local community. Students were given 5 weeks to complete the project in pairs under the instructor's guidance. Students choose their own partners, resulting in HLL/HLL and L2/L2 dyads. To that end, they were asked to complete five stages: (a) select a unit of analysis within city limits (e.g., a shopping area, a restaurant, a street, a clinic) in consultation with the instructor; (b) take digital photographs of the LL focusing on signs; (c) conduct interviews with local community members with a focus on language use, linguistic policy, and/or language attitudes and ideologies (two drafts of the interview questions were reviewed by the instructor prior to data collection); (d) synthesize their findings in a final written report; (e) carry out an in-class presentation of their data (included in Appendix B).

Following the two lectures, all students met with their course instructor to determine the feasibility and focus of their project ideas. Importantly, students were encouraged to come up with their own research ideas. Given the mixed nature of the group, some students had strong familial connections with the local Hispanic community, while others had other linkages, ranging from a general interest in the culture/language to feeling like an outsider/visitor. Because of this array of biographies, we deemed it necessary to design a project that would allow students to position themselves in the field and define their interests in light of their personal experiences. To conduct the fieldwork portion of their projects, each group decided upon a different area of analysis. These ranged from a Mexican *Cantina* to a Hispanic supermarket (Fig. 7) or a health clinic.

Interestingly, their areas of choice were representative of their life experiences, as reported by the participants when asked the question, "Why did you choose this particular area for your fieldwork?" Some of the participants already knew the area, while others had to ask friends and relatives for advice. For some of these students, this was their first time visiting the Hispanic community of Lubbock. This yielded

Fig. 7 Façade of Hispanic Supermarket in Lubbock. (Photograph taken by student)

a variety of projects reflecting the students' personal understanding of where the Spanish language is in the local community.

3.5.1 Written Reports and in-Class Presentations

Written reports ranged from 12 to 25 pages. There was no minimum or maximum page count for this project. Conversely, students were asked to use as many or as few pages as they deemed appropriate to support their argument, including a list of interview questions used in the ethnographic stage of data collection. The written reports were divided into two parts. The first part showcased the photographs and an analysis of the LL, and the second included a synthesis of the participants' responses and a personal reflection on the fieldwork assignment. Upon completion of the written reports, students prepared an oral presentation to communicate their results and personal reflections to the rest of the classroom members.

4 Results

4.1 Questionnaire Results

As reported during classroom discussions and as revealed in the questionnaires, before the students had conducted the study, most had not paid attention to the urban signage and had not realized the language(s) being used in the signs. They had a recollection of seeing public signs in hospitals and other health-related institutions, elevators, grocery stores, gas stations, directional signs, and university signs (i.e., top-down or public signage). Some students expected to find Spanish and maybe a few bilingual signs, but overall, their expectations were to find English signs because that was the majority language. As reported in the questionnaires, students anticipated finding bilingual or Spanish monolingual signs only in areas where a sizable Mexican population owned businesses. It is for this reason that they expected that Lubbock's location in the Texas panhandle, away from the border, may have presented a lower presence of Hispanics and, consequently, of bilingual and Spanish signs. For instance, one student stated that his aunt (of Hispanic origin) believed that the people in Lubbock lack the values of their Latinx roots due to being further away from the border.

With regards to the project itself, a non-Hispanic student thought of the project as a way to be immersed in the target culture because he had never been abroad. Another student expressed his hope to become more aware of the Spanish language and culture when investigating the local community and obtain a sense of how, when, and where Spanish was spoken in this city. Overall, students wanted to gain insight as to what areas of town were more densely populated with Spanish-speaking individuals and their families as well as understand how Spanish and English are intertwined in local advertising and the reasoning behind such decisions.

4.2 Data Analysis

Upon completion of a qualitative content analysis (Merriam 2009) of the three data sources (reflections, papers, and questionnaires), four main features of the students' interaction with the LL emerged: linguistic awareness, the intersection of social/cultural/political awareness, the purposes of the signs, and hypotheses and imagined communities. We conflated all the responses from all three sources and conducted a categorization from the ground up, developing categories through qualitative content analysis. In what follows, we provide a synthesis of the results as they pertain to four major features.

4.2.1 Linguistic Awareness

Prompted by the study of the Hispanic markets introduced in the class and the instructional environment itself, students analyzed the data they collected to explore some of the reasons for the language choice(s) and use in the LL of their unit of choice. Specifically, students discussed the range of bilingual signs in the LL, which demonstrated different degrees of translation or adaptation within and across particular signs. Figure 8 illustrates one example of how to "make a sign bilingual" by just adding the label with a translation on it.

Students referred to some of these signs as examples of Spanglish because they were neither entirely English or Spanish monolingual signs, nor did they appear to be literal translations. In doing so, they were discussing moments of flexible language use or translanguaging (García and Wei 2014; Gorter 2015)—where the community's linguistic repertoires are used to construct a single message, rather than by adhering to isolated languages (e.g., monolingual –*standard*- Spanish). Even though their discussions addressed flexible bilingual practices, they did not use the term translanguaging in their reports (even though the notion was covered in classroom discussions). For example, a dyadgroup of L2 learners commented that "algunas señales tienen español e inglés mezclados, pero no en forma de traducciones. Diferentes ideas son diferentes lenguas porque la gente puede leer las dos idiomas"

Fig. 8 Imported Mexican bags of chips with stickers showing the English translation of the flavors. (Photograph taken by student)

(Some signs contain Spanish and English, but not as translations. Different ideas are represented in different languages because people can read both languages). Similarly, a dyad of HLLs reported that some signs are in one language and some are in another one, “apoyando uno a otro” (supporting one another). This way of describing languages in contact as supporting one another and, somehow, behaving as a system, connects sharply with the underpinnings of translanguaging theory (e.g., Otheguy et al. 2015; Li Wei 2017; Prada and Nikula 2018). Importantly, while the notion of translanguaging had not been covered during the lectures, a critical attitude towards what is Spanish and what is not, what is meant by language purity and hybridity, and the idea of native speaker were explored and discussed in class. Students also delved into the grammatical correctness and appropriateness of the signs. This idea of correctness was not only triggered by the ways in which aspects of grammar were included and discussed, but also by students’ assumptions of what good Spanish should look like, influenced to a degree by imagined conceptions of monolingual standard or prestige Spanish.

Additionally, students also mobilized concepts such as bottom-up and top-down signs (which had been previously introduced and exemplified during lectures) in their data analyses; they often found specific reasons to use official or required signs—such as *slippery floor* (Figs. 9 and 10)—and private signs where the designer chose the languages based on beliefs, opinions, or interests. Students saw these bilingual or Spanish signs as a system to regulate bilingual spaces in the city of Lubbock, creating a linguistic mapping of the area. Overall, it was not surprising that these students showed an acceptance toward bilingual signage for community purposes and as a language learning experience. Indeed, the fact that they were minoring and majoring in Spanish and that many were of Hispanic origin explains this favorable opinion of the use of these signs.

Figs. 9 and 10 Some signs are bilingual to help people navigate spaces. (Photo taken by student)

4.2.2 The Intersection of Social/Cultural/Political Awareness

In the state of Texas, the use of bilingual and Spanish signs reflects the state's proximity to the Mexico border and the continued influx of immigrants crossing the border. After all, as a HLL stated, "This is a nation of immigrants," and as such the use of Spanish language is seen as a natural resource to help Hispanic immigrants navigate this area of the US. The Hispanic presence in Texas has been a constant in the history of this state as a HLL put it: "Texas used to be Mexico, and America took the land from them, but they didn't leave." It is because of the continuous influx of immigrants that the language is kept alive.

As a result of the interviews with people who reside around that LL, our students started to map the Hispanic community of Lubbock. They found that the northeast area of Lubbock was where the community was more present, but other business areas also emerged scattered across the city (e.g., Hispanic supermarkets, restaurants, or Women, Infants and Children (WIC) clinics (Fig. 11)), prompting students to propose increased cultural integration as the result of the emergence of new cultural spaces. The students saw how the signs helped the city highlight the presence of local Hispanic communities in which their members spoke Spanish and had specific cultural traditions. Figures 12 and 13 illustrate the use of bilingual and Spanish signs showing authentic products and the relationship-building and community creation happening in Lubbock. From the Hispanic community's perspective, a central finding drawn from the participants' interviews was that signs were used as a means to show appreciation for the Spanish-speaking people living in the local community: "It makes for a more well-functioning society when everybody can read where they are, where they are going and what to do in certain important situations." Similarly, students perceived bilingual signs as a way to appease both communities and to showcase the city's demographics. Taken together, all students shared the same vision of the signs as community unifiers, even though as a L2 learner noted:

Fig. 11 Women Infants and Children (WIC) Clinic. (Photograph taken by a student)

Figs. 12 and 13 Authentic products. (Photograph taken by students)

"Some people definitely don't like them, but I don't think the signs should be removed or English only. I think it unifies the community more so than disrupts it."

The L2 learners' instincts about what is Spanish in the LL and what is not are more traditional than the HLLSs'. Importantly, although all participants, to some degree, shared a view on some of the signs being "hybrid," "Spanglish," and "non-textbook Spanish," their abilities to express their ideas in a nuanced manner were limited. For example, an L2 learner described these flexible practices as "Spanglish, broken Spanish but it gets the message across," while a HLL gave a more personal "this is how we speak Spanish; this is our Spanish." This acknowledgment of local Spanish practices as non-canonical was a central component to their linguistic awareness.

4.2.3 Purposes of the Signs

The third category to emerge from the data was related to the practical reasons why the signs used Spanish. In the eyes of the students, Spanish and bilingual signs played three specific purposes, and therefore, this category is subdivided into these three purposes: signs as utilitarian, signs as cultural markers, and signs as levelers.

Signs as Utilitarian To begin with, bilingual and Spanish signs appeared to be used for marketing purposes so vendors could attract clients; that is, language choice was strategic. Moreover, the design of the signs certainly had an economic motivation since vendors wanted to sell their products. These signs also constituted a trust-building strategy. Vendors wanted the clients to feel comfortable, to recognize a space similar to what they were accustomed to in their countries of origin or other Hispanic communities in the US. Furthermore, a HLL dyad who investigated a *carniceria* found out that the owner did not really speak Spanish, but had most signs translated into Spanish to attract the Spanish-speaking members of the local community. At the local level, they saw the choice of language as a way to help older generations of Hispanics or new Hispanic immigrants who do not understand or manage themselves well in English, whereas younger generations apparently do not need this linguistic "help". For example, a pair of students found out that a

non-for-profit clinic used bilingual signs 98% of the times because they were aware that *la población hispana local necesitaba sus servicios mucho* ("the local Hispanic population were in need of their services"). As one L2 learner student mentioned, "because the Hispanic community is larger than most people think, we have to help them integrate better into a different community they are not used to." Similarly, another L2 learner dyad included that the use of bilingual signs was essential for laws and norms to be abided. For example, they expressed that "many undocumented people that may speak only Spanish that need clarification (grocery stores, hospitals, church)". Finally, bilingual signs were just a means for translating particular information, which was important for people who spoke little or no English.

Signs as Cultural Markers Students' opinions as to whether the bilingual and Spanish signs represented their community appeared to be divided. Some stated that the signs represented the Hispanic community because the Hispanic community itself was part of the urban landscape, and because "the Hispanic in larger than most people think." Others held that signs did not represent the Hispanic community because the signs themselves could not represent a culture ("they are only words on boards" as a L2 learner stated). A third HLL dyad argued that signs represented some Hispanic communities/community members, although our students did not feel they were necessarily represented as part of this group; despite being Latinx, their proficiency in English and their exposure to American culture placed them in a different group identity. However, some of these students claimed that signs represented some members of their family (mostly grandparents or relatives who they consider "more Hispanic"), but not them, a HLL mentioned. In their contributions, two recurring themes emerged: English language proficiency as an identity marker, and the linguistic diversity of US Hispanics. Despite differences about the degree to which their community and identity were represented in the signs (see Figs. 14 and 15 below), students reported that Spanish and bilingual signage helped Latinxs identify businesses, institutions, and other service providers that to some degree celebrate/embrace the US Hispanic presence. In fact, by serving as cultural markers, Spanish and bilingual signs helped community building; as a L2 learner put it, "I think it does promote a sense of community because it acknowledges that both English and Spanish speakers are a part of the community instead of just assuming everyone speaks perfect English."

Signs as Levelers Interestingly, even though some students (including both, L2s and HLLs) did not recognize the value of signs in representing the conglomerate of communities in Texas, they connected the Spanish and bilingual signs to the

Fig. 14 A Tortilleria (Photograph taken by students)

Fig. 15 Candles on shelves are understood by students as Mexican/Catholic symbol. (Photograph taken by students)

presence of the Hispanic community. In general, all students saw the Hispanic community as having its own identity and acknowledged that Spanish/bilingual signs helped materialize this identity. As one HLL put it, "The minority community is there and exists," and so the signs reinforced their existence "rather than disregard and ignore it." A pair of L2 learners went further when they stated in their report, "There are a lot of minorities, and it [the signs] could help them feel at home. They are living here just like any other American." The only case in which a student did not align with this argument was a L2 learner who considered that Spanish/bilingual signs did not necessarily reinforce the identity of minority communities. He compared Spanish signs in Texas to English signs in Germany, arguing "I don't think signs contribute to their identity at all. It just makes their lives a little bit easier. If I go to Germany and see an English sign, it doesn't change how I perceive myself, Americans, or other English speakers."

4.2.4 Hypothetical Reasoning

The fourth category resulted from an activity drawn from Aiestaran et al. (2010) that presented students with the hypothetical situation of having to work with a budget to develop urban signage. Their responses to this activity signal the influence of two factors: on the one hand, their reflections on the photographs they took and the interviews they conducted and, on the other hand, their previous knowledge and diverse perspectives of the communities in Texas they brought to the classroom. When faced with this hypothetical situation, their responses unveiled positive attitudes toward bilingual signs in the community. For example, one HLL posited that she would place bilingual signs in her community "so people are well communicated and [can] build a better community" while recognizing those people who "once spoke Spanish." In other words, students not only recognized that signs were representative of their community as it was in the present, but also that they could

serve as a tribute to the local history. Some students took into consideration the size of the community in question: "Since Spanish is such a largely spoken language in Texas, we should have signs for those who speak Spanish." Another HLL moved beyond Spanish to include other minority languages: "I would develop street signs to have a mixture of languages that represents the population. With every city, the population will have different demographics, and I would make the signs accommodate them." Yet, one L2 learner would only have bilingual signs in areas where minorities lived so as not to spend money where they were not needed. Finally, another HLL wanted to have more universal signs, using images and drawings, to reduce the lack of comprehension that comes from using language. Overall, this imagined society was more open to the diversity of languages and community building than the society they currently inhabited.

5 Discussion

Going back to our research questions, based on the results presented, we can posit that LL-based pedagogies have the potential to promote critical sociolinguistic awareness among advanced learners of Spanish. The project exposed them to an array of linguistic and cultural products and practices that helped them reassess previous perspectives on language use and variation as well as local cultural representations. Through fieldwork in the local community, all participants engaged with aspects of language and culture that were new to them or they had unconsciously disregarded as peripheral to their community. Moreover, their fieldwork experience, while focusing on the LL, helped them rethink the notion of ethnolinguistic diversity in their local community.

Given the mixed population of our group, it is important to note that both learner profiles benefitted from this form of pedagogy. For some participants, (particularly L2 learners), investigating the LL served as a means to discover a reality that, while local, remained hidden to them. Importantly, interacting with the local LL prompted them to enter the Hispanic community, whether they felt they naturally/rightfully belonged to it or not. On the other hand, HLLs appeared to be familiar with the presence of the community, but they reported not to have an in-depth familiarity with how the community behaved; none of these students was originally from Lubbock and they all relocated to attend the university. Through this project, they moved beyond typical interactions with community members (e.g., shopping, making orders) and with their own classmates to address social and linguistic configurations. Because of their diversity and their shared interests in the target language/culture(s), we found that seeking patterns solely based on type of profile did not yield significant differences, although some general trends can be identified (e.g., awareness of local Spanish forms vis-à-vis text-book Spanish forms; familiarity with flexible language use – often referred to as Spanglish by the participants).

The focus of this study was on the development of critical sociolinguistic awareness. As the results reveal through the students' reflections and answers, LLs

provide a space to reappraise old perspectives on community languages, linguistic practices, and their social roles and values. In this case, the different categories that emerged from the data offer insights into how this sociolinguistic awareness surfaces.

The categories derived from the students' perspectives illustrate how the LL is articulated by members of the local Hispanic community. At times, these formulations in Spanish went beyond standard models presented in class. In other words, they did not fit the textbook Spanish the L2 learners had been socialized into as normative. Whereas the HLLs recognized these linguistic practices as their own, L2 learners, by interacting with and exploring these practices, came into contact with the values and possibilities afforded by flexible language use. Interestingly, as a pair of L2 learners described: *el español bilingüe tiene una posibilidad de comunicar muy alta y no es solo para hacer bromas* (bilingual Spanish has a high ability to communicate and it is not only meant to be used as mockery). At the same time, reflecting their diverse language learning backgrounds, the L2 learners' attitudes towards these flexible practices varied greatly, with those students who had experienced Spanish in an immersion setting (both in the US and abroad) understanding this type of variation as normal, and those who had not finding it strange but interesting. This should not be surprising, since it is not common for second/foreign language courses in the US to acknowledge linguistic variation in geopolitical areas where Spanish is not valued (Prada and Nikula 2018). Moreover, the US has been primarily presented as an English-monolingual society in political and social discourse (Valdés et al. 2006). As a result, creating spaces for students to critically address this monolingual character is essential for raising student awareness about language variation and diversity. Similarly, this argument applies to an understanding of culture. As reported by the students, local cultures are much more diverse than they might appear.

The question now is: How exactly does studying the LL of local Hispanic communities help students understand these complexities? Our cohort identified that the design of the signs is based on much more than utilitarian purposes. Initially, the students identified that Spanish/bilingual signs act as a means to attract possible clients. However, a more in-depth analysis showed that the signs serve a greater purpose at the cultural/linguistic belonging level. In recognizing these aspects, students were able to connect this LL to the character and identity of the local community under study. A LL is much more than an artifact. The implications point to how a minority community is nested within a larger society and is perforce affected by sociopolitical ecologies, as reflected in immigration laws, US-Mexico border dynamics. Understanding how these power structures operate, be it through the study of LLs or any other inquiry-based pedagogy, creates space to enhance critical awareness regarding these realities, the nature of the status quo, and the possibilities for change. In fact, this renewed stance on communities and societies allows for reimagining these communities themselves, their configurations, and their ability to cater to their diverse citizens.

Fundamentally, this type of research-based approach served as a window into the complexities of these sociolinguistic ecologies, providing an experiential bedrock

to build on and question issues that transcend signage, language, and culture and paving the way to more informed discussions about social justice, equality, diversity, and minorities, all of which require urgent attention in today's world. While these types of outcomes fall outside of the scope of this project/chapter, this exploration generated opportunities to discuss issues in a more nuanced manner in subsequent sessions. In bridging the classroom with current realities, we provided students with the opportunity to formulate new ways of thinking and acting. Using ACTFL's *Standards* as the point of departure, this LL-based pedagogy established synergies between critical approaches to language in context and the ways language/culture are presented in the classroom and, in doing so, enabled students to explore and experience local communities and their speakers, practices and values. Through this LL-based pedagogy that aimed to challenge monolithic conceptualizations of language in generally accepted frameworks as well as the prominence of this orientation in language curricula, some of the participants recognized that the idea of Spanish as a foreign language that abides by standard rules does not hold true in the local LL.

6 Conclusion

While some of the tenets of the *Standards* serve a purpose in guiding language practitioners, engaging in community-based research may help us rethink the possibilities of connecting these *Standards* to local realities. These local realities, the cultural traditions and linguistic practices are often left out of language textbooks and therefore it is crucial to develop pedagogical strategies that complement and, at times, challenge textbook content. By portraying Spanish as a foreign language in the language classroom (within the US context), we are distancing learners of all profiles from gaining a deeper, more informed understanding of local realities. More specifically, in this case, this study suggests that exploring LLs allows for meaningful perspectives to emerge from the interactions between the student and the local community. In doing this, learners are given opportunities to build new conceptualizations of local Spanish, its connection with culture, and its social roles. This form of inquiry-based approach to the link between language and culture lays out a scenario for ideologies to be reassessed. For this type of pedagogical approach to serve as a catalyst to critical thinking, in general, and critical sociolinguistic awareness, in particular, it is imperative to provide a toolbox from which students can operate. Only then can our students formulate informed opinions about the values of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Appendices

Appendix A

Linguistic landscapes questionnaire

Name:
Age:
First language:
Other languages you speak:

1. When did you start speaking Spanish?
2. Who do you speak Spanish with?
3. How often do you speak Spanish outside the classroom?
4. Have you seen bilingual signs (English and Spanish) in your community?
5. Where have you seen those signs?
6. Have you seen signs in Spanish in your community?
7. Where have you seen those signs?
8. Why do you think you can find bilingual and just Spanish signs in Texas? Can you give me two or three reasons? Think of official places such as a hospital o public spaces such as a store or market.
9. How/in what ways do the signs represent the communities where they are located?
10. If you had a budget for changing the way our streets in your community look, would you develop bilingual signs in your community? Why? Can you elaborate?
11. Do/does the language(s) in the signs contribute to the minority community identity?
12. Within the Hispanic community, who/what does this type of signage represent? Does it represent you as an individual? Does it represent your family, friends, or immediate circle?
13. Do you believe having this type of signage promotes a sense of community? Or otherwise, do you feel this type of signage and what it represents drives some community members away by embarrassing them?

Appendix B

Instructional Materials

I. Linguistic Landscapes - Reading list

1) Definiendo y comprendiendo el concepto de “paisaje lingüístico” (Defining and understanding the concept “linguistic landscapes”).

Abajo encontrarás una lista con enlaces a documentos que describen e ilustran la noción de paisajes lingüísticos. Lee los artículos y mira el video. Toma notas mientras lo haces. El objetivo es que comprendas a lo que nos referimos cuando hablamos de paisajes lingüísticos. Prepara una definición del término basada en la información que encuentres en los documentos.

(Below, you will find a list of links to documents that describe and illustrate the notion of linguistic landscapes. Read the articles and watch the video. Take notes while you do it. The goal now is to understand what we mean when we talk about linguistic landscapes. Prepare a working definition of the term "linguistic landscapes" based on the information you will find in the documents).

- El estudio del paisaje lingüístico (Jasone Cenoz and Gurt Dorker): https://www.euskadi.eus/gobierno-vasco/contenidos/informacion/artik22_1_cenoz_08_03/es_cenoz/artik22_1_cenoz_08_03.html
- Linguistic Landscape (Wikipedia entry): https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linguistic_landscape
- Linguistic landscapes: an introduction (Diggit Magazine) https://www.diggitmagazine.com/articles/linguistic-landscapes-introduction
- Birkbeck Explains: What is linguistic landscape? (Birkbeck, University of London) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hPjzI_4pNug

II. Conducting your project

Stage one: Getting started: data collection.

(a) Select a unit of analysis within city limits (e.g., a shopping area, a restaurant, a street, a clinic) in consultation with the instructor.
(b) Take digital photographs of the LL focusing on signs.
(c) Conduct interviews with local community members with a focus on language use, linguistic policy, and/or language attitudes and ideologies (two drafts of the interview questions were reviewed by the instructor prior to data collection). Analyze the interviews and find common patterns for the use of diverse languages in signs, walls, vans, shops, etc.
(d) Reflect about what you have learned about linguistic landscapes in your community and synthesize your findings in a final written report.
(e) Prepare a short (3-minute) presentation to share your data in class with the rest of your classmates.

Stage two: Written part of the project.

(a) Explain how you developed the project from the early stages (identifying an area of analysis). Include the focus of your paper, problems you encountered and how you solved them, and lay out the structure of your paper.
(b) Include pictures you took (examples), and describe them and how they represent the area of analysis you explored. Find patterns.
(c) Make sure to connect your arguments and descriptions with the articles you read and the videos you watched. Remember, if you see examples of an idea you have learned somewhere else, explain it, and cite the source.

(d) As you analyze your data and find patterns in them, create categories. Use these categories to explain commonalities and differences in the signs you are using as data. Describe them in detail, and discuss them as a whole in the context of the city.
(e) Include a conclusion where you provide a short summary of the key take-home points from your experience working with the local linguistic landscape.
(f) Create a PowerPoint presentation of your project (approximately 10 minutes). Include examples of your data and explanations. Practice your presentation with your partner.

Ask me any questions you might have - Remember: no question is too small to be asked.

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Part III
Language Students as Researchers and Linguistic Landscape

Linguistic Landscape as an Antidote to the Commodification of Study Abroad Language Programs: A Case Study in the Center of Madrid

Alberto Bruzos

Abstract This chapter presents a pedagogical model to counteract the influence of the discourses and practices of tourism on the subjectivities and experiences of study abroad participants. In order to situate this model, I examine the debates on the impact of tourism on study abroad and, more broadly, language education; I also consider the importance of tourism and language tourism in Spain. Then, I describe a project in which students had to explore and contrast the linguistic landscape of five different neighborhoods in the center of Madrid. I argue that the linguistic landscape is an approach with the potential to resist the commodification of the study abroad experience by positioning language learners as 'researchers' and not 'tourists,' and by situating language learning in contexts that require engaging with political and social meanings (Shohamy E, Waksman S. Linguistic landscape as an ecological arena: modalities, meanings, negotiations, education. In: Shohamy E, Gorter D (eds) Linguistic landscape: expanding the scenery. Routledge, New York, pp 313–330, 2009; Rubdy R. Conflict and exclusion: the linguistic landscape as an arena of contestation. In: Rubdy R, Ben Said S (eds) Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape. Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire; New York, pp. 1–24, 2015a), thus mobilizing and fostering linguistic, critical, historical and sociocultural competences. Finally, I discuss the results of the linguistic landscape project completed by the students, evaluating its impact in the development of a critical, dynamic, nuanced, and non-essentialist view of Spanish culture.

Keywords Linguistic landscape · Academic tourism · Study abroad · City as text · Spanish culture · Cosmopolitanism

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1 Introduction

A look at the most recent 'Open Doors' report released by the Institute of International Education (2019) reveals that 341,751 students received academic credit for study abroad in 2017–2018. To put this data into perspective, the number was 205,000 in 2004–2005, and 84,403 in 1994–1995.[1] The steady growth of the U.S. study abroad industry runs parallel to the expansion of tourism both as a system of mobility and as a metaphor for contemporary life (Franklin 2003; Reid 2003). Tourism has become an omnivorous and omnipresent business, capable of occupying any space and infusing an ethos of leisure and adventure into any human activity that entails traveling, from study abroad to space exploration (Stasiak 2013).

Spain offers a vantage point to consider the conflation of study abroad and tourism. In fact, study abroad programs and, in particular, those that foreground language learning are part of an important industry developed since the 1990s, blending education and cultural tourism (Bruzos 2017).[2] This industry, known as 'language tourism,' is seen as a strategic sector for economic development (Carrera Troyano 2014), a view encapsulated in this brazen statement by Caffarel, director of the Instituto Cervantes[3] from 2007 to 2012:

> Every year, tens of thousands of foreign students come to Spain to learn Spanish here and, at the same time, enjoy our touristic amenities. This is an increasingly lucrative gold mine, one that we must exploit with intelligence to reap even greater profits. (Caffarel 2011, pp. 641–642; translated from Spanish)

The approach to study abroad as a business operating at the intersection between language education and tourism is not surprising in a country in which tourism represents 12.3% of the total GDP and 12.7% of total employment.[4] Since the 1960s, Spain's tourist industry has been a critical instrument of modernization and economic growth (Pack 2006), as well as a key factor in policy making (Moreno Garrido 2007; Murray Mas 2015). Accordingly, the discourses and images that construct Spain as an appealing touristic destination have always played a major role in the production of Spain's public image and national identity (Crumbaugh 2009). As Fuentes Vega (2017) has shown in her thorough study of the visual culture developed in Spain around tourism in the 1960s and 1970s, visual expectations,

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[1] For the 1994–1995 data, see Institute of International Education (1996). For the 2004–2005 data, see Comp (2010).

[2] With 32,411 students, in 2017–2018 Spain was the third preferred destination by U.S. college students, topped only by the United Kingdom (39,403) and Italy (36,945) (IIE 2019).

[3] The Instituto Cervantes was created in 1991 to centralize the field of Spanish language teaching in Spain and promote Spanish in the international linguistic market (Ley 7/1991). As noted by del Valle (2014, p. 363), "the institute also plays a significant role within Spanish cultural diplomacy and repeatedly states its commitment to promoting Spain as a brand name and securing the country's soft power."

[4] According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadística. See https://www.ine.es/dyngs/INEbase/es/operacion.htm?c=Estadistica_C&cid=1254736169169&menu=ultiDatos&idp=1254735576863 Accessed 22 March 2020.

defined as collective imaginaries of tourist destinations and, by extension, of the whole local or national culture, function as points of reference to which tourists will compare and evaluate their experiences.

It is not surprising, thus, that the rhetoric of tourism marketing is appropriated by Spanish language schools. For instance, in the catalog of the private language school Academia Internacional de Lenguas, Madrid is described as

> a historic city with a fresh cosmopolitan spirit (…) the number one destination for a Spanish study tour at any time of the year. (…) Whatever it is that you are looking for, Madrid has it all; breathtaking historical architecture, world-class museums, modern art galleries and extensive picturesque parks. Here you will enjoy a multitude of cultural events and leisure activities, vibrant nightlife with endless clubs and pubs as well as the delights of Spanish cuisine in the country's finest restaurants and tapas bars.[5]

Perhaps even more tellingly, "fun after class activities" in the same catalog include a mix of language learning activities ("pronunciation workshops, language exchange meetings with native speakers, colloquial Spanish, nonverbal language") and touristic entertainment ("tapas and drinks evenings, flamenco shows, Madrid guided tours, evenings out, chocolate con churros").

This chapter presents a collective assignment in which the study of the local linguistic landscape is conceived as an antidote to the influence of the discourses and practices of tourism on the subjectivities, expectations, and experiences of participants in a study abroad program. First, to situate this case study in the literature, I draw upon literature from international education, tourism studies, linguistic landscape studies, and critical approaches to language education. Then, I offer an overview of the course and detail an assignment in which students had to explore and contrast the linguistic landscape of five different neighborhoods in the center of Madrid. Finally, I discuss the data collected and presented by the students, evaluating the impact of the linguistic landscape project in the development of a critical, dynamic, nuanced, and non-essentialist view of Spanish culture. By using this case as an illustrative example, I argue that the linguistic landscape is a learning space with the potential to resist the commodification of the study abroad experience by positioning language learners as 'researchers' and not 'tourists,' and by situating language learning in a context that requires engaging with the political and social meanings reflected on it (Shohamy and Waksman 2009; Rubdy 2015a), thus mobilizing and fostering linguistic, critical, historical and sociocultural competences.

[5] Retrieved from http://www.ailmadrid.com/pdf/AIL-Madrid-Spanish-School%20-%20brochure.pdf. Accessed 18 June 2018.

2 Situating this Study in the Literature

Because this study is informed by different issues and approaches, I draw upon studies on international education, tourism studies and critical approaches to language education to consider the influence of tourism in study abroad programs and, more broadly, language teaching. From there, I turn to linguistic landscape studies, and describe the linguistic landscape as a learning space that makes possible a more nuanced and complex understanding of the target culture and society.

2.1 The Touristification of Study Abroad

The touristification of study abroad is evident through the influence of tourism marketing and business models. Having examined the discourses on the website of a U.S. program provider, Michelson and Álvarez Valencia (2016) found that study abroad was mainly represented as a tourist activity in an effort to persuade students through slogans and images that created expectations of pleasure and recreation. The representation of study abroad as a touristic and fun experience is better understood in the broader context of the commodification of higher education (Bolen 2001). More importantly, the touristification of study abroad shapes students' expectations and can hinder their ability and their openness to develop intercultural sensibility (Stanley 2015). In fact, the use of rhetorical devices and images proper to tourism in promotional brochures and websites is in conflict with the mission of promoting internationalization, cross-cultural dialogue and global citizenship set by many study abroad programs (Catón and Almeida Santos 2009).[6] Conversely, it makes of study abroad a type of "privileged migration," "educational consumption," and "academic tourism" that mainly serves to celebrate "American exceptionalism" (Breen 2012).

The impact of tourism on study abroad has been perceived as pernicious in study abroad scholarship, with Phipps (2007) being probably the most notable exception. To the studies mentioned above we could add Byram's (1997, pp. 1–2) classical contrast between "the tourist" (who remains essentially unchanged by the experience of travelling) and "the sojourner" (who "has the opportunity to learn and to be educated, acquiring the capacity to critique and improve their own and others' conditions"), as well as more recent works such as Thurlow and Jaworski (2010), Gao and Park (2015), Bae and Park (2016), Wolcott (2016), and Kubota (2016), all of whom agree on the need to consider study abroad in relation to globalization, mobility, and neoliberal ideology.

[6] U.S. universities have been criticized for preaching the gospel of "internationalization" while adopting monolingual, English-only approaches. The *ADFL Bulletin* (2015) has a good selection of articles on this topic, including Hart's (2015) lucid evaluation of the drawbacks inherent in this visible trend toward internationalization in English. I owe this reference to the editors of this book.

The impact of tourism on language education extends beyond study abroad programs. Recent studies have held tourism responsible for the focus on transactional language (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010; Kramsch and Vinall 2015) and the exoticization and glamorization of culture (Herman 2007; Hortiguera 2012; Vinall 2012; Ros i Solé 2013) in language teaching materials. The framework of tourism, whether as a discourse proposed by textbooks or as a set of practices embraced by study abroad programs, leads students to the kind of transient contacts and superficial relationships into which tourists enter wherever they go (Franklin 2003). The disengaged attitude of tourism, allied with the utilitarian approach of communicative language teaching, exerts a crippling force on students' subjectivities, limiting their ability to adopt diverse discursive roles and function in non-educational and non-transactional social contexts. As Kramsch and Vinall (2015) argue:

> By operating within predetermined power relations and expectations, it does not teach learners how to deal with the unpredictability of global relations. By flattening the tourist gaze to the here-and-now itemizable information, it does not teach learners how to take into account non-English speakers' memories and aspirations, nor does it make them aware of their subject position and how they are seen by others. (p. 23)

In order to counteract the touristification of study abroad and, more broadly, foreign language teaching, Kramsch and Vinall (2015) suggest that language educators should confront learners with the "larger political economy" and ideologies reflected by language teaching materials (p. 25). Similarly, Ros i Solé (2013) argues that language educators should avoid presenting "a single imaginary of a culture," and incorporate instead "competing versions of the target culture, while at the same time allowing space for reflective distance" (p. 162); they should not be afraid of "dealing with ethically controversial aspects of a particular territory such as language conflict, war and exile" (p. 168).

Along the same lines, and returning to international education, Stanley's (2015) examination of the Australian study abroad industry sheds light on the way in which touristic images and discourses shape students' expectations, compelling language education providers to "manufacture" experiences that correspond to what the students envision as local 'authenticity.' The result is "a circle of marketing-led, tourism-like imagery that is performed back to students and seldom disrupted, with deleterious effects on students' development of interculturality" (p. 25). To break this circle of self-perpetuating preconceptions, Stanley (2015) urges critical engagement with the discourses of national essentialism and cultural 'authenticity' operating in the intersection of study abroad and tourism.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape Studies

The assignment discussed in this chapter responded to concerns very similar to those mentioned above, perhaps even more pressing due to the pervasiveness and persuasiveness of touristic images and narratives in Spain. In order to resist

"tourism-like imagery" and question preconceptions about local authenticity, I decided to engage students in fieldwork in five areas in the center of Madrid. Taking the data collected by them as a point of departure, we reflected critically on the social relations and cultural meanings present in those neighborhoods, and how these relations and meanings are manifest in their linguistic landscape.

Blommaert and Maly (2014) draw a contrast between quantitative and qualitative approaches to linguistic landscape studies. The early quantitative approach is useful to map multilingualism, but "it [fails] to explain how the presence and distribution of languages could be connected with specific populations and communities and the relationships between them, or with the patterns of social interaction in which people engage in the particular space" (p. 3). A qualitative approach, in contrast, interrogates the linguistic landscape as a semiotic construct that embodies social values, meanings, conflicts and processes and that, therefore, requires knowledge of the 'local code' (including not only linguistic, but also political and sociocultural meanings) to be deciphered. This approach to the linguistic landscape can be a powerful tool for education and activism (Shohamy and Waksman 2009) in that it allows for the examination of a variety of social issues, such as gentrification and commodification of the urban space (Leeman and Modan 2010), mobility and transformation (Blommaert 2013), social conflicts, contestation and exclusion (Rubdy 2015a), and struggles over the meaning of national symbols and monuments (Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez 2016).

With regard to Spain, Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez (2016) deserves particular attention. This study examined the controversy regarding the removal of a sculpture honoring the founder of the Spanish Fascist movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, from a square in the historical center of Granada, an important city in the south of Spain. By using a mixed methodology that combined linguistic landscape analysis with ethnographic interviews and narrative analysis of media and archival sources, the authors looked at Granada's public space "as a set of signifiers, a multimodal text" (p. 252) that different memory regimes struggled to dominate. Guilat and Espinosa-Ramírez's (2016) eclectic methodology and highly contextualized approach are ideally suited to viewing the linguistic landscape as a site of "contestation and conflict" and "a place of affect" (Rubdy 2015a, p. 2) where displays of words and images frequently reveal the tensions between competing values.

A similar view is also present in Martín Rojo and Díaz de Frutos's (2014) study on the transformation and resignification of public space through the emergent discourses generated by the 15-M protests, which took place in Madrid in May–June 2011. Finally, although not strictly a linguistic landscape study, Labrador Méndez's (2014a) work on the circulation of two opposing constellations of food and food images in the symbolic landscape of Spain's economic crisis (2011–2014) also exemplifies the potentials of cultural studies and the necessity of using various types of evidence, data gathering techniques, and theoretical frameworks to construct and account for the complex, dynamic and interrelated meanings (social and personal, historical and anecdotal, political and poetical) inscribed in public space.

The literature on language learning and teaching in the linguistic landscape presents a similar dichotomy between formal and situated approaches. Malinowski (2015a) identifies two trends: while some studies see the linguistic landscape primarily as a source of authentic input to foster second language acquisition, develop pragmatic awareness, and acquire multimodal literacy skills (Cenoz and Gorter 2008), for others the linguistic landscape is a context and an instrument for "the cultivation of learners as critically aware, and active, social and political subjects" (Malinowski 2015a, p. 98). Within this second approach, the focus is not on formal language learning but on the development of critical awareness through the examination of cultural symbols, values and narratives.

Dagenais et al. (2009) is a compelling example of the approach in question. The authors reported on a longitudinal study carried out from 2005 to 2008 to document elementary school students' contacts with the languages present in their communities. As part of this study, the researchers examined how aspects of the linguistic landscape can serve both as research and pedagogical tools. In collaboration with students and teachers from two schools in Montreal and Vancouver, they gathered data on the linguistic landscape in different zones of the cities, which were the basis for developing classroom language awareness activities. We find here again the notion and operationalization of cities as texts, as intricate networks of "signs that must be deciphered, read and interpreted by citizens who participate in the consumption of the moving, literary spectacle of the metropolis" (p. 255). This approach is particularly stimulating because of the affinity with literacy-based approaches to language teaching (see, for example, Kern 2000; Paesani et al. 2015). Like other types of texts, "the texts of cities are not equally accessible to all; they are relatively cryptic and readers must be culturally and linguistically informed to decipher their meanings" (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 256).

Sabatier et al. (2013) explore the same notion of the linguistic landscape as a model and a context for a situated approach to literacy. This way to conceive the city echoes an approach to reading in which the reader (and, by extension, the researcher) can decipher the social reality of power relations in a text. The linguistic landscape, then, is also a privileged learning context for those who, in an educational context, want to address issues of linguistic and cultural diversity: "learners become aware that public signs in the city are also instruments of social marking that define linguistic territories and individual and group identities," as well as "the power dynamics between the different cultural communities that coexist on a definite urban space" (p. 152; translated from French).

It is worth noting that in both studies the children gaze is used to interrogate the articulation between the individual and society:

> We focus on children as researchers, readers and interpreters of symbolic meaning in their solitary or group movements around the city. They respond acutely to olfactory, tactile and auditory literacy cues in the city—such as signs on bakeries or garbage cans, etc. As they walk the streets of the city, children navigate through three dimensions of the linguistic landscape that include the geographical, the sociological and the linguistic aspects of the geosemiotic system. (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 262)

> Our theoretical perspective was based on keeping the articulation between the individual and society, as well as on focusing on the learner so as to put the language dynamics to which they are confronted on a daily basis at the service of learning goals; *in fact, the children's interpretation was prioritized over the researchers' interpretation*. (Sabatier et al. 2013, p. 144; translated from French; the emphasis is mine.)

The assignment described in this chapter draws on the same notion of cities as texts. Like in Dagenais et al. (2009) and Sabatier et al. (2013), the emphasis is on the way in which learners perceive and interpret the linguistic landscape, thus taking their perception as a point of departure for pedagogical intervention. Nevertheless, while the above-mentioned studies relied on the meanings attributed to the urban linguistic landscape by children who live there and, therefore, engage with it on a regular basis, I wanted to explore the same questions with language learners who were not confronted with their local environment, but with a new environment in which they were immersed as strangers, as study abroad participants.

Drawing on Urry's theory of the "tourist gaze" (Urry and Larsen 2011) as a culturally, historically and socially situated way of seeing, "a vision constructed through mobile images and representational technologies" (pp. 3) such as photography, I included in the course syllabus some materials that approached Spain through the subjective position of a "foreigner" (a traveler, a tourist, an immigrant (see 3.2)) and used the linguistic landscape as a subject of enquiry, a set of questions, and a site for the development of critical awareness and "intercultural competence" (Byram 1997).

As Urry and Larsen (2011) argue, "we can date the birth of the tourist gaze in the west to around 1840. This is the moment when the 'tourist gaze', that peculiar combining together of the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction, becomes a core component of western modernity" (p. 19). Urry and Larsen also highlight the role played by Kodak to promote the camera as an indispensable tourist object, establishing a network that "comprised families, consumerism and tourism" (p. 172). While in Tourism Studies there is no question that photography played a crucial part "in developing the modern tourist gaze and tourism more generally" (Urry and Larsen 2011, p. 186), recent studies try to go beyond the "tourist gaze" and the "visio-centrism" promoted by the tourist industry (Favero 2007) by focusing on photography as part of the "tourist habitus" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2011, 2014) or as an embodied practice or performance through which tourists produce "place myths, social roles, and social relationships, such as family life" (Larsen 2005, p. 417).

By turning the linguistic landscape into a learning context and photography into a research tool, I wanted to mediate students' gaze and make them assume the role of active researchers (instead of passive consumers) of the local culture, thus situating language learning in a context that required engaging with the political and social meanings reflected on it. Furthermore, the linguistic landscape project described in the following pages allowed us to focus on the dynamic, constructed and conflictual nature of cultural meanings. In that sense, it was a departure from the static and essentialist approach to national cultures prevalent common to

language teaching (Kubota 2003; Stanley 2015) and tourism (Thurlow and Jaworski 2014; Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen 2014).

Aside from the metaphor of cities as texts and the focus on the learners' gaze discussed above, the project discussed here was influenced by the pedagogical framework developed by Malinowski (2015a, b) around Trumper-Hecht's (2010) reinterpretation of Lefebvre's triadic spatial model.

Building upon Lefebvre's (1991) formulation of conceived, perceived, and lived spaces, this framework proposes three different approaches and types of learning activities:

1. *Conceived space* (which Lefebvre also calls "representations of space") is "tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations" (Lefebvre 1991, p. 33); it is "conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers" (p. 38). To explore this dimension of social space, Malinowski (2015a) suggests a set of learning activities that include working with "newspaper articles and websites covering nearby events, local census data, as well as maps and other documents" in order to "provide students with background into the competing histories and ideologies present in the urban landscape" (p. 106).
2. *Perceived space* is manifest in what Lefebvre calls "representational spaces": it embodies "complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or under- ground side of social life, as also to art" (p. 33); it is "space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'" (p. 39). For Malinowski (2015b), learning activities oriented towards *perceived space* involve an exploration of material linguistic landscape through "participant observation" and "photographic recording of languages, signs, buildings, scenes, neighborhoods", or by "counting instances of phenomena of interest: bilingual signs, code preference, visual elements, etc." or producing "written, audio-, or video-recorded descriptions of elements, scenes, or phenomena in/of the LL" (p. 2).
3. *Lived space* is realized as "spatial practice," a dimension of space that for Lefebvre "embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (p. 33); thus, "the practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction" (p. 38). In order to approach *lived spaces*, Malinowski (2015b) proposes activities that privilege personal interpretation, such as interviews to long-time residents or occasional visitors, LL journaling/self-reflection, or artistic/imaginative projects (p. 2).

Malinowski (2015b) introduces this triadic framework through the metaphor of a moving electric windmill in order to emphasize that the three spaces must be put into action by comparing, contrasting, and juxtaposing the knowledge gained "through activities grounded in more than one space – and, ideally, in all three" (p. 1). Although he does not favor any particular sequence, our project was

organized in three phases that moved from conceived space to perceived space, and then to lived space. This sequence was informed by Byram's (1997) work on "intercultural competence" and, more specifically, the dialogue between classroom and fieldwork. For Byram (1997), the classroom provides the place for systematic and structured presentation of knowledge, while fieldwork allows learners to apply their knowledge and skills on specific situations. Nevertheless, fieldwork is different from independent experience in that it "involves a pedagogical structure and educational objectives" (p. 68). Therefore, whereas in fieldwork students apply knowledge and develop skills in real time and in context, the classroom is the place for prospective teaching and learning of culture and processes of intercultural communication and also for retrospective critical reflection on learning in the field.

3 Overview of the Course

The project described in this chapter was the main assignment of Spanish 207-S: Studies in Spanish Language and Style, an advanced Spanish course offered in the summer study abroad program Princeton in Spain in June 2016. The new course was inspired by the confluence of different circumstances and preoccupations, including previous experiences and reflections on this program, conversations with colleagues and students, the escalating tensions around the impact of mass tourism in Spain, as well as my interest in linguistic landscape research and Spain's language tourism industry.

3.1 Setting and Participants

Spanish 207-S was a 4-week study abroad course for students with 3–4 semesters of Spanish or an equivalent competence in the language. The course met daily for 90 min. The location of the study abroad program was Toledo, a city of around 80,000 inhabitants, located in the autonomous community of Castile–La Mancha, 1 h drive from Madrid.

The course had an enrollment of 15 students, 11 of whom were female and four male. Most of the students were in their first or second year of university; only one was in her third year. For eight of them, this program was their first experience abroad; two were international students in the United States; the other five had already traveled abroad with their families or participated in a study abroad program before.

3.2 Course Content Overview: Engaging with Politically Charged Issues

Influenced by the call by Ros i Solé (2013), Stanley (2015), and Kramsch and Vinall (2015) to deal with politically charged issues in language instruction, class materials addressed issues and subjects normally omitted from the discourses and images that promote Spain as a touristic destination. They consisted of a variety of genres (fiction, press, academic essay, documentary, comic, travel guides, political pamphlets, TV advertisements) that considered different representations and conflicting views of the target culture, questioned ideas of national "authenticity," and made students aware of their complex subject position as learners and visitors. Specifically, they covered controversial issues that were central to Spain's political discourse at the time, such as the defunding of public education (Fernández-Savater 2016), violence against women (Irurzun 2014), child poverty (Borraz 2016), long-term unemployment (Filgueira et al. 2013), anti-tourism movements (Chibás 2014), and immigrants as workers (Junquera 2015). Each of the readings engaged students with Spanish topics and speakers in broader and more personal ways than just in transactional encounters. In order to contextualize the readings and make them more accessible to the students, a reading guide was circulated before each class. Reading guides were typically 4–10 pages long and included key concepts, additional documents and information, illustrative images, links to online resources, and questions to facilitate comprehension and foster critical reflection. Table 1 offers a schematic sequence of the course content and activities:

To set the stage for engaging with these current topics in the first week of the course, students worked with small set of materials that had been selected because of their appropriateness to make manifest the subjective position of a visitor (a traveler, a tourist, an immigrant). For instance, students read an excerpt from the memoir *3052: Persiguiendo un sueño*, in which Senegalese Mamadou Dia (2013) relates his boat journey along the west coast of Africa and his impressions and experiences as an undocumented immigrant in Spain. They also read the Spanish translation of an excerpt from the chapter devoted to Toledo in James Michener's 1968 travel book *Iberia: Spanish Travels and Reflections*.

These readings from the first week were an ideal introduction to the course for various reasons. From a linguistic point of view, they provided a model of travel memoirs written in the first person and with abundant description and narration in the past, which made them very appropriate to discuss and practice verb aspect (preterit/imperfect distinction). Although they represented very different points of view and experiences (the undocumented immigrant vs. the privileged traveler; the poor and anonymous black African vs. the affluent and famous white American; the 2000s vs. the 1960s), they both embodied the position of someone who sees Spain through a foreign gaze and who, in turn, is seen as a foreigner; moreover, they also expressed a sense of displacement, strangeness, and otherworldliness very similar to what many American students feel during their first week in Toledo. Being set in that very city and written by an American traveler visiting Spain in the 1960s,

Table 1 Sequence of course content and activities

	Course content	Activities
Week 1	Spain and Toledo seen by a tourist: Michener (1968)	Day trip to Alcázar de San Juan (La Mancha)
	Spain seen by an immigrant: Dia (2013)	
	Don Quixote as symbol: Excerpt of *Don Quixote*	
	Violence against women: Irurzun (2014)	
Week 2	Public education and child poverty: Borraz (2016)	Phase 1 of the linguistic landscape project (LLP)
	Second generation immigrants. Immigrants as workers: Junquera (2015)	
	Economic crisis and unemployment: Filgueira et al. (2013)	Day trip to Madrid: Phase 2 of LLP
	Defunding of public education: Fernández-Savater (2016)	
	Introduction to linguistic landscape studies: Muñoz Carrobles (2010)	
Week 3	Politics of memory and "memoria histórica":	First presentations LLP
	Graham: *The Spanish Civil War: A Very Short Introduction*	Day trip to the Valley of the Fallen and the Royal Site of San Lorenzo de El Escorial
	Roca: *Los surcos del azar* (comic)	
	Period materials and documents and current articles on the Valley of the Fallen	Day trip to Madrid: Phase 3 of LLP
Week 4	Touristification and anti-tourism movements: Chibás (2014)	Final presentations LLP
		Final discussion and conclusions LLP

Michener's text was particularly useful to contrast the past and the present, and to make visible the subjective position of the students as visitors. Besides, it considered and problematized tourism from the first paragraph:

> The city of Toledo, a bejeweled museum set within walls, is a glorious monument and the spiritual capital of Spain; but it is also Spanish tourism at its worst. Anyone who remains in this city overnight is out of his mind, and I was scheduled to stay for four weeks.[7] (Michener 1968, p. 95)

[7] Which, by the way, was exactly the length of our program.

3.3 Intervention in Tourist Practices: Photography

As a follow-up activity to examine Michener's first impressions and explore the continuities and discontinuities between the 1960s and the present, students were asked to walk through the streets of Toledo, take a photograph of some place, object or circumstance related to Michener's excerpt, and post it to a shared Google Photos folder. I then collected the photographs in a PowerPoint and, in class, I asked them to explain the relationship with the text and whether they identified with Michener's portrayal. This activity was the first in a series of assignments conceived to turn photography into a research and pedagogical tool.

To further illustrate this approach, in a subsequent unit on Don Quixote de la Mancha as an archetype and symbol, students had to explore Toledo searching for images, souvenirs and references to Don Quixote and his squire Sancho Panza. They photographed them and uploaded their pictures to a shared Google Photos folder (see Fig. 1).

Back in the classroom, we worked with the brief excerpt from Cervantes's novel in which Don Quixote takes windmills for giants, and attacks them.[8] The original text, which we read alongside an English translation, gave us the opportunity to consider aspect (preterit vs. imperfect). We also looked at diachronic variation, identifying some of the changes (vocabulary, clitic pronoun position, modes of second-person address) that Spanish language has undergone since the publication of *Don Quijote de la Mancha* in 1605.[9]

To develop a critical response to the text and understand its value as a cultural artifact, we examined the significance of Don Quixote as an archetypal character (Richardson 2001, pp. 88–92). We then used the images captured by the students to analyze the iconography of Don Quixote as a touristic symbol, which we compared to other representations in film, television, comic, cartoon, symphonic poem, opera, ballet, and hip hop. Finally, we identified other icons used by the tourism industry in Toledo, distinguishing strictly local icons or souvenirs (e.g., damascene work, marzipan, reproductions of El Greco, all sorts of swords, knives and daggers) from those used to signify Spain and Spanishness (e.g., bulls and bullfighters, flamenco dancers, hand fans). For the next session, I asked the students to interview Spaniards about the meaning of those symbols and whether they related to them. As I expected, they reported that bull fighting was a divisive issue for many of the people they had interviewed and, in particular, for Spanish youth, many of whom opposed it fiercely. They also found that, among Spanish youth, flamenco was less popular than pop or

[8] Part I, Chapter VIII. See https://cvc.cervantes.es/literatura/clasicos/quijote/edicion/parte1/cap08/default.htm Accessed 16 November 2017.

[9] Or even earlier. In fact, Cervantes often recurred to an affected and archaic variety of Spanish to parody the language typically employed in novels of cavalry, the type of books that drove Don Quixote mad. See Lapesa (1981), Penny (2000) and Pountain (2001) for details on the evolution of Spanish.

Fig. 1 Shared Google Photos folder with sample of student pictures

rock music,[10] and while most people confirmed the ‘authenticity’ of Don Quixote and Toledo artisan products and traditions, they also acknowledged that they had never read the book and that damascene work, marzipan and swords were mainly souvenirs “for tourists.” This led us to conclude that it is necessary to distinguish between “the reality of facts and events that constitute a nation’s history and culture” and the no less real cultural imagination, the image “formed by centuries of literary texts and other artistic productions, as well as by a certain public discourse

[10] That weekend, a student recorded a reflection along the same lines on the private travel journal that students had to keep in Blackboard Learn, our course management system: “Our last stop was the *discoteca*. I was surprised to see both cultural similarities and differences in the party scene. One of the first things I noticed was the amount of American music that was played, and the fact that all the locals knew them by heart” (posted on 5 June 2016).

in the press and other media" (Kramsch 1993, p. 207). As noted by Kramsch (1993), the subjective and impressionistic elements of culture cannot be discarded, since both facts and myths (objective and subjective truth) are essential to have an understanding of texts, illustrations, jokes, media, and everyday conversation.

This activity exemplifies how, from the beginning of the course, students could familiarize themselves with the cycle of (i) observation/photography, (ii) readings, (iii) interviews and (iv) group discussion that we would repeat in the linguistic landscape project (see 4). This cycle reflected the dialogue between classroom and fieldwork that, according to Byram (1997), is key to develop intercultural competence (see 2.2).

4 Linguistic Landscape Project in the Center of Madrid

4.1 Introduction to the Project

As part of the course, the students worked in groups of three to explore and contrast the linguistic landscape of five different areas in the center of Madrid. The purpose of this project was to engage students in fieldwork and, using their data and as a point of departure, reflect critically on the cultural meanings and representations manifest in their linguistic landscape. It is worth noting that the students had no familiarity with linguistic landscape literature other than a theoretically-light study by Muñoz Carrobles (2010) included in the course readings and a short slide presentation with examples from my personal fieldwork in Toledo.

To facilitate the work in this project, we organized two trips to Madrid, during the second and third weeks of the program (see Table 1). The students had 3 h each day to complete their fieldwork. Each group was in charge of documenting a different area to allow for both data combination and comparison at the end of their fieldwork, thus covering a larger sector of Madrid and activating questions of complexity, territoriality and contrast. Roughly, the five areas corresponded to (i) the shopping street Gran Vía and the Calle de Alcalá, from Plaza de España to Puerta de Alcalá; (ii) the streets in the center of Madrid surrounding the Teatro Real opera house (Zona Centro); and the neighborhoods known as (iii) Huertas, (iv) La Latina and (v) Lavapiés. I selected these areas because they are the administrative, geographical, emblematic, and touristic center of Madrid. In fact, along with Malasaña and Chueca, both north of Gran Vía, the areas explored by the students are those featured in the map of touristic areas that is distributed by Madrid's official tourism website and offices.[11]

[11] See https://www.esmadrid.com/sites/default/files/mapa_turistico_madrid.pdf. Accessed 17 June 2018.

4.2 Project Description

The project was sequenced following the pedagogical framework developed by Malinowski (2015a, b) around Trumper-Hecht's (2010) reinterpretation of Lefebvre's triadic spatial model. In phase 1, students approached the neighborhoods as "conceived spaces;" in phase 2, they documented their linguistic landscape, thus approaching them as "perceived spaces;" finally, in phase 3, they returned to the same areas to explore them as "lived spaces" by interviewing residents and visitors. Next, I describe the three phases, detailing the diverse steps and activities (for the full project guide, see Appendix).

4.2.1 Phase 1: The Conceived Space

Each group was asked to collect preliminary information about the neighborhood they had to explore, using exclusively online sources: official websites, travel magazines, touristic websites, etc. Each group had to write a 200-word introduction to their neighborhood, including some of this information:

- Name/s. What is the origin of this/these name/s?
- Location
- Brief history
- Culture and identity

4.2.2 Phase 2: The Perceived Space

Step A. First Trip to Madrid: Documenting the Linguistic Landscape In groups of three, the students followed the instructions in the project guide (see Appendix) and documented the linguistic landscape of their neighborhood. They were asked to photograph signage, advertisements, business signs, maps, posters, and any kind of text and drawings written in the public space of the city (urban art, graffiti, ads). They also had to take some photographs of the streets and observe people. Finally, they were asked to record brief (20–30 s) audio samples in different parts of the neighborhood. The students collected data for 120–150 min. Then, they gathered at a meeting point and took notes for 20–30 min, recording their fresh impressions of the area.

Step B. Analysis Each group organized and tagged their data in categories, depending on the most salient issues and aspects in their neighborhood. Some examples of the analytical categories suggested in the guide were "language" (English, Spanish, Chinese, etc.), "permanence" (permanent and temporary signs), "officiality" (official and unofficial signs), "intention" (commercial, protest, informative, etc.), and "audience" (locals, tourists, etc.) The students were encouraged to produce their own categories if necessary.

Step C. Presentations Each group presented their findings to the class, formulating hypotheses that addressed the following questions, which I formulated drawing

upon LL scholarship such as Dagenais et al. (2009), Sayer (2010), Leeman and Modan (2009, 2010), Sabatier et al. (2013), and Malinowski (2015a, b):

- What types of signs and messages were there? Who had placed them there? Why? To whom were they addressed?
- What languages were visible? What spaces occupied the different languages? What linguistic forms were more common?
- What do the signs and messages tell us about the society, culture, demography and history of each neighborhood? What kind of social relations and practices do they manifest?
- What was the ambient sound like? Was there a lot of noise, was there silence? Was there music, traffic noise, voices (in which languages)?
- Who was on the street? What did they do? How old were they? How were they dressed?

4.2.3 Phase 3: The Lived Space

Step A. Second Trip to Madrid: Interviews Exactly 1 week later, each group returned to the same neighborhood to conduct and record 8–9 interviews. The students were instructed to select different types of people (old and young, men and women, business owners and customers, Spaniards and immigrants, locals and tourists, etc.) so that they could provide different perspectives on the area. Their questions related to the hypotheses raised when analyzing and contrasting the information collected in the previous phases. In addition, the interviews also considered such issues as the history of the neighborhood, demographics, housing prices, resident needs and demands, reasons to (or not to) live there, and reasons why visitors would (or would not) go there.

Step B. Analysis Each group listened to their interviews carefully, classifying the information on topics such as commodification, tourism, gentrification, immigration, culture, politics, youth, (un)employment.

Step C. Final Presentations and Group Discussion Each group presented their findings to the class, contrasting the data from their initial observations (phase 2) with the information obtained through interviews. The final presentations were followed by a lively 45-min discussion between all the students and the professor. To conclude, each group had to produce an 800-word report including evidence from their fieldwork, analysis, and interpretation.

4.3 Discussion

In the following section, I discuss the data collected by the students and report on their analyses thereof. My account is based on the photographic images and sound recordings, the slides and audio recordings of the two rounds of presentations, and

the final written reports. To contextualize and enrich the discussion, I also took into account my teaching notes and the private travel journals that students kept in Blackboard Learn, our course management system.

4.3.1 Tradition Vs. Globalization

The students who explored Gran Vía, Zona Centro and Huertas, three of the main touristic areas in Madrid, observed a tension between the recreation of Spain's history and cultural legacy in the form of commemorative plaques and monuments, typically with information in Spanish (see Figs. 2, 3, 4 and 5), and the visible presence of English and, less frequently, other foreign languages in many restaurants, stores and businesses (see Figs. 5, 6, 7 and 8), some of which were in fact American companies (see Fig. 9).

The students interpreted the conspicuous presence of English signage as proof of the touristification and Americanization[12] of Madrid's urban center, as we can see in Excerpts 1 and 2:

Fig. 2 Huertas. Commemorative plaque of Ateneo de Madrid, private cultural institution founded in 1835

[12] "Americanization can be defined as the propagation of American ideas, customs, social patterns, industry, and capital around the world" (Ritzer 2004, p. 85).

Fig. 3 Huertas. Orthopedics shoe store with commemorative plaque: "Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra lived and died in this house"

Excerpt 1: Huertas Group, First Presentation
Cuando fuimos a este barrio, las calles principales tienen restaurantes en inglés y español o solo en inglés, pero las calles laterales que no eran en lugares turistas la mayoría del tiempo eran solo en español.

When we went to this neighborhood, the principal streets had restaurants in English and Spanish or only in English, but the lateral streets that weren't tourist places they were most often only in Spanish.

Excerpt 2: Gran Vía, First Presentation (See Fig. 9)
En cada edificio de esta calle hay una empresa de los Estados Unidos. Puede ver KFC, McDonald's, Starbucks, hay un restaurante de los cincuentas, y esto es malo por esta calle porque representa una invasión de industrias americanas, y esta invasión representa una pérdida de la identidad madrileña que muchas calles en Madrid tienen, y también porque no podemos ver la cultura madrileña que está en muchos de los barrios más pequeños adentro y alrededor de este barrio.

In every building of this street, there is a company from the United States. You can see KFC, McDonald's, Starbucks, there is a restaurant from the 1950s, and this

Fig. 4 Huertas. Pavement with excerpt from a famous poem by Luis de Góngora (1561–1627), Spanish Baroque poet

Fig. 5 Zona Centro. Jewelry store sign

Fig. 6 Gran Vía. Beachwear store window

is bad for this street because it represents an invasion of American industries, and this invasion represents a loss of the identity that many streets in Madrid have, and also because we can't see the Madrid culture that is present in many of the smaller neighborhoods within and around this neighborhood.

It is important to note the condemnation manifest in the second excerpt, which seems to be based on the desire for local experiences and 'authenticity' common to study abroad participants (Wolcott 2013; Stanley 2015) and tourists (MacCannell 1976; Salazar 2015). The following excerpt from the journals that the students kept on Blackboard shows a similar sense of disenchantment, and is proof of this particular student's ability to perceive and reflect critically on the way in which tourism deploys and commodifies cultural symbols:

Excerpt 3: Journal Entry Published by C. on 6/9/2016
Un hombre en la calle consiguió nuestra atención y nos dijo que había una exposición (no una exposición exactamente pero similar) de algunos artesanos que estaban trabajando en cosas (como trinkets y joyería) hechas a mano en la Iglesia Santa Isabel. Fuimos allí y en realidad fue muy interesante y podíamos mirar como

Fig. 7 Huertas. Restaurant menu in Spanish and English

Fig. 8 Huertas. Relax center

Fig. 9 Gran Vía. Slide from the first presentation

los artesanos crean todo hecho a mano. Me di cuenta de algunos Don Quixote souvenirs y me recordó al proyecto que hicimos. Aun en un lugar tan auténtico como la iglesia, donde todo está completamente hecho por artesanos que trabajan allí, nunca se puede escapar del efecto del turismo.

A man in the street attracted our attention and told us that there was an exhibition (not exactly an exhibition but something similar) of a few artisans that were working in handmade things (like trinkets and jewelry) in the Santa Isabel church. We went there and it was really very interesting: we could see how the artisans created everything by hand. I realized that there were some Don Quixote souvenirs and this reminded me of the project we did. Even in a place as authentic as a church, where everything is completely made by artisans who work there, one can never escape the effect of tourism.

A group of vacationing Puerto Ricans interviewed during the second trip to Madrid also expressed their disappointment, comparing Gran Vía to Times Square: *"es lo mismo que Times Square."* However, the perspectives of the interviewed locals were quite different. M., a hotel receptionist, considered that the commercialization of Gran Vía "does not make this street less *madrileña;* instead, it is what makes it unique." She did not see any problem with the Americanization decried by both tourists and students; for her it was "just a new lifestyle." Similarly, A. and N., two Spanish girls who were shopping in Pull&Bear,[13] welcomed tourism and globalization as driving forces behind the most distinctive qualities of this area: diversity, wealth and modernization.

To make sense of the tension between tradition and cosmopolitanism characteristic of those touristic areas in Madrid, in the final discussion (see 4.2.3., step c) I

[13] A retailer that focuses on urban-style clothing and accessories for young people, Pull&Bear is part of Inditex, the Spanish multinational clothing company that also owns Zara brand.

suggested that we turned to Williams's (1977) distinction between dominant, residual and emergent aspects of culture. Williams posits that society is always in a state of struggle and negotiation between three cultural forces. The dominant culture is the hegemonic 'ideology' or 'world-view' at a certain historical point. The dominant culture is not static; on the contrary, it has to be understood as a living process, in that it is not "the simple transmission of an (unchanging) dominance" (p. 113), but rather is alert and responsive to possible alternatives and oppositions, in order to neutralize, change, or actually incorporate them. The alternatives to the dominant culture exist in the form of residual and emergent cultural elements. The residual is a remnant from the past, "but is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are nevertheless lived and practiced on the basis of the residue –cultural as well as social– of some previous social and cultural institution or formation" (p. 122). Finally, there are always new meanings, practices, and values emerging in social life. From the beginning, the emergent cultural elements are subjected to a process of practical incorporation into the dominant culture, which will try either to actually assimilate or to co-opt the new meanings, values, and practices.

The decision to introduce Williams' (1977) framework was a response to students' tendency to essentialize Spanish culture in their analyses. Once I explained Williams' theory, some students tended to interpret the international elements documented in Gran Vía, Zona Centro and Huertas as emergent cultural meanings and practices, thus equating tradition (in the form of historical sites, folkloric representations and plaques commemorating the lives and deaths of artists, writers, political leaders and other public figures) with the dominant culture. But after a brief discussion, we agreed that tradition clearly corresponded to Williams's residual, while the globalized and cosmopolitan aspects of Madrid's linguistic landscape were reflections of the dominant culture.

Nevertheless, the most important point was the coexistence of competing cultural forms and trends, which called for a dynamic and more complex understanding of culture. As I explained to the class, this reading is consistent with the prevailing view in the field of Spanish cultural studies, which conceive contemporary Spanish culture and society as markedly heterogeneous. Thus, for Graham and Sánchez (1995), modern Spain "is a world where the archaic and the modern coexist; (…) a world where social and national boundaries dissolve or coexist with new emerging forms, accentuating the tendency towards cultural and social dislocation" (p. 410). Similarly, Labanyi (1995) stresses Spain's "culture of heterogeneity" and describes Spanishness as "a shifting concept, encompassing plurality and contradiction" (p. 397).

4.3.2 Immigration, Activism and Youth Culture

The groups who did their fieldwork in the diverse and bohemian La Latina and Lavapiés found also evidence of the transformation of these neighborhoods into multilingual and multicultural areas. But in contrast to the commodification prevalent in Gran Vía, Zona Centro and Huertas, the main cultural elements identified in La Latina and Lavapiés were related to the presence of mixed (local and immigrant) communities (see Figs. 10, 11 and 12), grassroots social and political activism (see Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17) and urban youth cultures (see Figs. 17, 18, 19 and 20). To be sure, these elements were also present in the other three areas, but it was only in La Latina and Lavapiés that they seemed to play a crucial role in shaping the identity of the neighborhood.

In Madrid, Lavapiés is one of the areas with a higher rate of immigrant population, a fact that is behind the multicultural and diverse air of this neighborhood and the proliferation of colorful immigrant businesses (Ávila and Malo 2007). The diversity and multiculturalism characteristic of Lavapiés, thus, could be seen as an example of 'cosmopolitanism from below,' as opposed to the type of planned or commodified 'cosmopolitanism from above' distinctive in areas like Gran Vía; whereas the former is the result of processes of migration and diaspora, the latter is an effect of global markets and practices like tourism. I am drawing here on the contrast proposed by Hall (2006) in his interview with Werbner:

> There are two ways of life associated with this [globalization, cosmopolitanism]. There is therefore a cosmopolitanism of the above, global entrepreneurs who can't tell which airport they're in because they all look the same, (…) there is a kind of global cosmopolitanism

Fig. 10 Lavapiés. Immigrant businesses

> there, and then people being obliged to uproot themselves and go across borders, and live in camps, and climb on the bottom of trains and airplanes and so on; both of them are forms of globalization. (…) These people have to become cosmopolitan: they have to learn to live in two countries, and learn another language, and make a life in another place. They have

Fig. 11 Lavapiés. Poster announcing Lavapiés African Festival 2016

> the same cosmopolitan skills as the entrepreneurs require in order to understand markets in different parts of the world.[14]

But Lavapiés's diversity is not only the result of people from different countries living together; it also reflects a population diverse with regard to social class, age and occupation (Sequera 2014). In fact, the official Madrid website portrays Lavapiés and La Latina as emblematic of the city's diverse, LGTB-friendly and progressive spirit:

[14] We can see the same idea in Salazar (2010, 2015), who considers local guides as models of cosmopolitanism from below: "They substantiate the idea that cosmopolitanism is by no means a privilege of the rich and well-connected (although, in comparison, the guides may be richer and more connected than many other people around them). Furthermore, they prove that physical or spatial mobility is not a necessary condition to become cosmopolitan" (2010, p. 67).

Fig. 12 La Latina. Multi-ethnic restaurant menu

Fig. 13 La Quimera de Lavapiés, self-organized squatter social center

Fig. 14 La Latina. Campo la Cebada, self-organized community. Porthole with stickers: "Coke (*farlopa*);" "Prosperit– (*prosperid*–);" "My cave is my temple (*mi cueva es mi templo*)"

> [Lavapiés and La Latina] are two adjoining and multicultural neighborhoods. (…) It is easy to see old-time neighbors living peacefully with Latino, African and Asian newcomers. They are two of the oldest neighborhoods in the city that, without losing their more traditional and '*castizo'* flavor, have become an example of integration thanks to the rich ethnic diversity in their streets.[15]

The progressive, tolerant, socially heterogeneous and civically engaged character of Lavapiés and La Latina was something that the students noticed and stressed in their analyses of the linguistic landscape in those neighborhoods.

Excerpt 4: Lavapiés, First Presentation
Otro aspecto muy relevante en este barrio es la combinación entre la política, el arte y los carteles. Caminando por las calles era muy evidente que en este barrio las personas son de clases socioeconómicas bastante bajas, y por eso es una manera

[15] See https://www.esmadrid.com/diversidad-madrid. Accessed 5 December 2017. See Sequera (2014) for a critique of the ways in which Madrid's multiculturalism and social diversity is commodified to promote certain residential areas and touristic destinations.

Fig. 15 La Latina. Handmade political sticker: "PP [Popular Party] corrupted and liar party"

en que las personas expresan sus sentimientos, porque no tienen una gran voz en las políticas reales y, por eso, sus mensajes políticos son mostrados a través de los carteles y graffitis. La mayoría de las palabras en los mensajes políticos tienen que ver con la injusticia, por ejemplo "libre", "contra la violencia de género." Era muy evidente que el graffiti tiene menos que ver con la belleza del arte y más un grito para compartir la injusticia que ellos sienten.

Another very relevant aspect of this neighborhood is the combination between politics, art, and posters. Walking through the streets, it was very evident that in this neighborhood, people come from rather low socioeconomic classes, and for this reason, it is a way that people express their sentiments, because they don't have a large voice in real politics; for this reason, their political messages are shown through signs and graffiti. The majority of the words in the political messages are related to injustice: for example, "free," "against gender violence." It was very evident that graffiti has less to do with the beauty of art and more was a cry to share the injustice that they feel.

By connecting urban art and political activism, a link that was evident in self-organized social centers and communal spaces like La Quimera de Lavapiés (Fig. 13) and Campo de la Cebada (Fig. 14), as well as by underlining the transgressive, performative and politically engaged nature of graffiti, the students were echoing, unknowingly, the view of authors like Pennycook (2009, 2010), Labrador Méndez (2014a, b), Rubdy (2015b), and Rodríguez Barcia and Ramallo (2015). I made them aware of the resonance between their analysis and the scholarship on graffiti, which sees urban art as a means of political expression and intervention. The aesthetics and practice of graffiti, an art globally espoused by marginal groups,

Fig. 16 Lavapiés. Political stickers: PCE Madrid (Spanish Communist Party, Madrid). "It is Memory. It is Present. It is Future." "Common task (*tarea común*)." "They leave us with no future (*nos dejan sin futuro*)"

serves Spanish youth to affirm their identity and engage in forms of contestation and protest, or, to put it in their own words, "enlightened vandalism" (see Fig. 20).[16] The fact that many of the graffiti photographed by the students were in English (see Figs. 18 and 19) attests to the imported origins of this practice, and also to the awareness that, being a global subculture, it promises membership in youth networks that go beyond national borders. Drawing on Sayer's classification of the social values of English in Oaxaca, Mexico (2010), the use of English in graffiti to express subversive identities would be another example of 'cosmopolitanism from below,' as opposed to the use of English to signify sophistication, fashion and

[16] See Fernández-Kelly and Konczal (2005) for a similar analysis of the adoption of graffiti and hip hop by young working-class Cubans in Hialeah, a working-class Miami district.

Fig. 17 La Latina. Handmade poster commemorating the 400th anniversary of Miguel de Cervantes's (1547–1616) death: "The result doesn't matter, only the effort is important" (above); "Trust time, it tends to give sweet exits to bitter difficulties"

coolness typical of areas like Gran Vía and Huertas, which would be an index of 'cosmopolitanism from above.'

While the 'DIY political activism' documented by the students in the form of stickers and handmade posters shared the same expressive, anti-establishment and identity-making values inherent in urban art, in them the message was always in Spanish. Furthermore, sometimes they incorporated traditional, residual elements of Spanish culture, as we can see in Fig. 17, whose romantic and spontaneous reference to Don Quixote clearly differs in affect from the more objective, detached and informative tone in Fig. 3.

When in the final class discussion (see 4.2.3., step c) we turned to Williams (1977) to distinguish between dominant, residual, and emergent aspects of culture, we concluded that the signs of alternative forms of expression and contesting ideas of social organization and citizenship visible in La Latina and Lavapiés could be interpreted as manifestations of Williams' emergent: "new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship" (p.123), "active and

Fig. 18 Lavapiés. Graffiti

pressing, but not yet fully articulated," and in some cases "facsimiles of the genuinely emergent cultural practice" (p. 126) partially or fully incorporated into the dominant culture.

The data collected by the students in their first visit to La Latina and Lavapiés led them to hypothesize that these highly politically-engaged and left-leaning neighborhoods were places where young Spaniards and newly arrived immigrants "lived between the relics of the past," as one of the students wrote in her journal, thus embodying the contrasts between the old and the modern Spain. However, the interviews conducted during the second visit to Madrid suggested a more complex picture: most of the people interviewed (and immigrants in particular) expressed a complete lack of interest in politics; besides, the few who claimed to be politically engaged ranged across the political spectrum from rightwing conservatives to leftwing socialists. These findings gave a new meaning to the 'diversity' characteristic of those neighborhoods and, in fact, the whole city. They were also a cautionary sign, a reminder that while our focus on diversity through the exploration of various neighborhoods aimed to avoid an essentialist and static view of culture, we could

Fig. 19 Lavapiés. Graffiti

still fall prey to essentializing and generalizing assumptions within each particular neighborhood.

4.3.3 Exposed to the Periphery

While Sect. 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. focus on the impact of the project on students' understanding of Spanish culture, and culture in general, as a battlefield of oppositional forces and a site of dynamic interrelations, it is also important to note that the interviews they conducted compelled them to engage willingly and genuinely with persons (see Excerpt 5) and issues (see Excerpt 6) that are normally excluded from mainstream representations of Spanish culture.

Excerpt 5: Journal Entry Published by T. on 6/17/2016
Fue muy interesante la oportunidad de hablar con la gente de nuestro barrio, Lavapiés. En nuestras conversaciones, hablamos con muchos inmigrantes que vinieron a España para una oportunidad mejor. Una de estas personas fue de Senegal,

Fig. 20 Zona Centro. Graffiti in Spanish: “Enlightened vandalism”

dejando atrás a su familia para venir a Lavapiés para trabajar por un año para ganar dinero para su familia antes de regresar con ellos. Sus palabras añadieron mucho significado a lo que estamos aprendiendo en clase.

The opportunity to speak with people from our neighborhood, Lavapiés, was very interesting. In our conversations, we spoke with many immigrants who came to Spain for a better opportunity. One of these people was from Senegal, having left behind his family to come to Lavapiés to work for a year to make money for his family before returning to them. This person’s words added a great deal of meaning to what we were learning in class.

Excerpt 6: Journal Entry Published by C. on 6/19/2016

En nuestras entrevistas en Gran Vía, entrevistamos a una prostituta (y también pensamos que ella es transgénero) y ella habló un poquito sobre la discriminación hacia la industria. Por eso cuando vi al artículo sobre la liberación de la menor explotada sexualmente en Toledo, supe que debía investigar más. Al principio estaba muy sorprendida que la industria de prostitución es tan próspera, pero más tarde me di cuenta que tiene sentido debido a la situación económica en España.

También me interesa mucho la regulación de la prostitución aquí en España porque las leyes no son muy claras y han cambiado mucho.

In our interviews in Gran Vía, we interviewed a prostitute (and we also think that she is transgender) and she talked a little about discrimination toward the industry. For this reason, when I saw the article about the liberating of the minor who had been sexually exploited in Toledo, I knew I had to investigate further. At first, I was very surprised that the prostitution industry is so prosperous, but later I realized that it makes sense, given the economic situation in Spain. I am also interested in the regulation of prostitution here in Spain because the laws are not very clear and have changed significantly.

The last sentence of Excerpt 5 suggests that the students were guided in their fieldwork by the subjects explored in class. Conversely, the journals and presentations provided for a way back to the classroom, where the observations and experiences in the field could be the object of critical reflection and expansion.

5 Conclusion

The influence of tourism discourses and practices on study abroad and, more broadly, foreign language education has been associated with a variety of detrimental effects. The use of tourism marketing and business models may turn study abroad programs into experiences of "educational consumption" for the economically privileged (Breen 2012). The propensity for unambiguous and normative notions of culture may restrain students from engaging with cultural issues and representations that do not confirm their expectations, thus hindering their willingness to engage with complexity and their ability to develop intercultural competence (Stanley 2015). Finally, the framework of tourism may constrain the subjective positions and discursive roles available to learners (Vinall 2012; Kramsch and Vinall 2015).

In the project described in this chapter, the students explored the cultural meanings found in five different areas in the center of Madrid through the study of their linguistic landscape and interviews with locals and visitors. The data (images of the linguistic landscape and oral testimonies) collected and interpreted by the students suggested a dynamic and conflictual understanding of contemporary Spanish culture and society, very different from the essentialist and normative approach common to language teaching textbooks and tourism discourses. Using the triadic system of dominant, residual and emergent aspects of culture posited by Williams (1977), we found a dominant consumerist culture shaped by the forces of globalization, 'cosmopolitanism from above' and tourism. In relation to this dominant culture, and largely incorporated into it, there were residual elements of tradition in the form of commemorative plaques, commercial souvenirs and literary references. Finally, there was also an unresolved tension with emergent elements of 'cosmopolitanism from below' in the form of multicultural and multilingual immigrant communities, urban subcultures, and political activism.

As a student wrote in her travel journal, the interviews posed challenges that she "never thought [she] would have to face in this trip".

> *Tuvimos que hablar con extraños en español. Para resumir, esta experiencia me dio mucha digna para mí porque estábamos en un barrio donde español no fue el principal idioma para los ciudadanos, por lo que la comunicación llegó a ser muy difícil. Mi grupo y yo tuvimos de explicar muchas de las preguntas en español muy básico. Uno de estos encuentros fue con un dueña de una tienda. Ella es de China y ella no habla a español con alguien de su familia. Esto se convirtió en un desafío al preguntarle sobre sus hijos y su traslado a España. Era muy difícil comunicarse hoy en día en español, pero sentí que este viaje creó mucho gratificante porque no podía ser miedo a venir a extraños y hablar en otro idioma con ellos.* (Journal entry published by I. on 6/17/2016.)
>
> We had to speak with strangers in Spanish. In brief, that experience gave a lot of pride: we were in a neighborhood where Spanish was not the main language, which made communication really difficult. My group and I had to explain many questions in a very simple Spanish. One encounter was with a business owner. This woman is from China and she does not speak Spanish with anyone in her family. This became a challenge when we had to question her about her children and her move to Spain. It was very difficult to communicate in Spanish today, but I felt that this trip was very rewarding because I could not be afraid of addressing strangers and speak with them in another language.

The combination of relevant course content on non-tourist topics and structured fieldwork made students abandon their comfortable position as academic tourists (Breen 2012) and cultural cosmopolitans (Block 2010) who consume and enjoy the local culture, encouraging them to develop instead a more detached viewpoint, one characterized by analysis instead of enjoyment.

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Taking the Foreign out of Language Teaching: Opening up the Classroom to the Multilingual City

Lourdes Hernández-Martín and Peter Skrandies

Abstract In this chapter we contextualise, describe and discuss a language learning and teaching project designed and implemented at the Language Centre of the London School of Economics and Political Science. The project entitled *En un lugar de Loñdres* is based on the use of London's linguistic landscape as a source of authentic input in second language acquisition. We explain the rationale and context for using the study of the linguistic landscape as learning input and outline the development of learning activities designed to facilitate the learners' understanding and engagement with the linguistic landscape and London's Spanish speaking communities. We conclude that the project succeeded in enhancing language learning and contributed to learners' political and social awareness.

Keywords Linguistic landscapes · Language learning and teaching · Curriculum design · Project-based learning · Spanish as a London language · Pragmatic ethnography

1 Introduction

London's cultural, ethnic and linguistic "super-diversity" (Vertovec 2016; Hall 2015), or that of any other multilingual city or environment, raises several challenging questions for language teachers in higher education: should we continue to identify and conceptualise the languages we teach as "foreign" when they are spoken by so many of our fellow "city-zens"? For how long does a language have to be spoken in a place for it to cease being perceived and treated as a "foreign" language? How should the university "foreign" language classroom relate to the "heritage" and "community" languages of the surrounding city? Why have the voices of local

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language communities not been more present in language teaching and learning in higher education? And why do we send student language learners on study trips and years abroad and do not to ask them to walk out into the streets to discover the language they are learning in their own city?

We decided to engage with these questions and issues not only in the form of academic research, but through the development and transformation of our teaching and learning practices. We wanted to enable our students, while they improve their linguistic abilities, to discover the presence of the language they are studying in the city they live and to encounter the individuals and communities who speak it. To achieve this, we have taken up suggestions that the study of linguistic landscapes "can be used as an instructive and constructive tool for developing awareness, understanding and social activism in current societies" (Shohamy and Waksman 2009, p. 327).

This has led us to the development of a project entitled *En un lugar de Loñdres* (In a certain place in London) which aims at enhancing language learning and increasing critical language awareness through the observation and contextualization of London's Spanish linguistic landscapes on-land and online. Learners are encouraged to wander the city and to engage with the people behind those linguistic landscapes. The project was designed for an intermediate Spanish Degree course (LN122 Spanish Language and Society) offered at the Language Centre of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), a London-based social science university where students can study languages as part of their degrees in a range of social science subjects.

We will start by outlining some of the sociolinguistic and language political contexts of London as a multilingual city, before describing some of the relevant theoretical and conceptual background which has guided our understanding of multilingualism and the linguistic landscape. This is followed by a discussion of the pedagogical potential and benefits of letting language learners engage with the linguistic landscape of their surroundings. Finally, we show how those opportunities can be implemented in teaching and learning via a description of *En un lugar de Loñdres*. We chart the context of the project, the activities undertaken by learners and its results. We will end with several conclusions focusing on our project and its possible contribution to opening the language classroom to the multilingual linguistic landscapes around it.

2 Contexts

2.1 London as a Multilingual City

Any attempt to record and describe the linguistic diversity and the various linguistic landscapes of London, a city with more than 8.5 million inhabitants, will be fraught with methodological difficulties and remain partial and preliminary (Block 2006;

Skrandies 2015). Notwithstanding the inherent limitations of any quantitative approach based on counting languages as if they were stable objects with fixed boundaries, census figures based on recording the first or main languages of the resident population of London can be a useful starting point for appreciating the extent of linguistic diversity in London. According to the latest available population census of 2011, 78% of Londoners reported that English was their "main language", while 22% (corresponding to around 1.7 million individuals) named other languages as their main language (ONS 2013). A look at the 20 most common languages of Londoners other than English, as illustrated in Fig. 1 below, reflects the pattern and scale of post-war and more recent global migrations to London and indicates the potential size of different ethnolinguistic groups and communities in London. At the same time, we do not wish to suggest that these data imply the existence of tight-knit linguistic communities. Rather we agree with Block (2006) who remarked "that it is difficult to gauge exactly what membership in […] communities actually means [and that] the borders around and the demarcations within ethnolinguistic groups are at best fuzzy" (p. 213).

[a] Including Sylheti and Chatgaya

Together these 20 languages represent the "main languages" of around 74% of those Londoners who reported that English is not their main language. The remaining 60 languages named in the census data account for 23% of speakers of "other languages," while the last 3% of numerically very small languages are not named in the published census data (Skrandies 2015).

Any attempt to quantify multilingualism in London based on the 2011 census data will, however, underestimate the degree of linguistic diversity in the city, since the census results depended on the respondents' interpretation of the term "main language." It is very likely that many plurilingual respondents with a first language other than English will have decided to name English as their main language, simply because it has become their "main language" (cf. Gopal and Matras 2013).

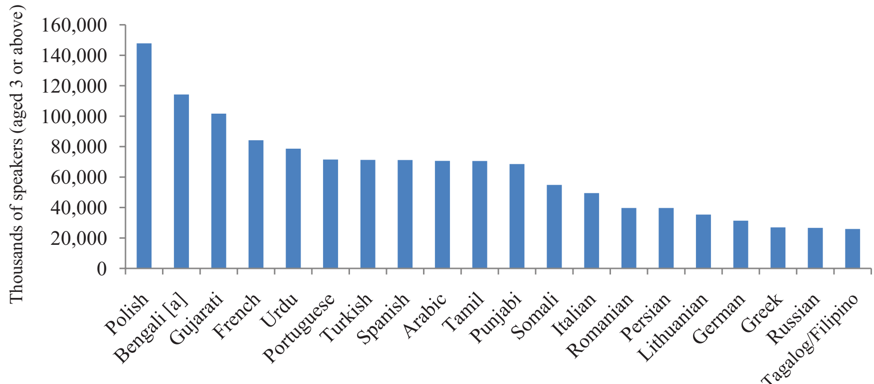

Fig. 1 The 20 most common "main languages" of Londoners excluding English. (Based on ONS 2013)

Going beyond quantitative data, the visual presence and representation of languages other than English in the public spaces of London contribute to a tapestry of rich and diverse local linguistic landscapes in the city (Harding-Esch 2015; Johnson 2017). Although it is difficult to generalise with regard to a linguistic landscape of London as a whole, a starting point may be to contrast the predominantly monolingual English character of the vast majority of official public "top-down" signage (e.g. streets, public transport, official announcements, etc.) with the multilingual nature of promotional private "bottom-up" signage in and around storefronts and shops designed to advertise products and services. As a rule, London's urban spaces become visibly multilingual due to the private economic and commercial activities of Londoners rather than through public policies. Exceptions to this trend can be found in areas where the strong numerical and/or commercial presence of one or two ethnolinguistic communities has led to an influence and presence in local politics (e.g. Bengali in Tower Hamlets). Here the main languages of local residents may be featured, for example, in advertising campaigns, as well as public building signs, street names, or other street furniture. It is important to note that these manifestations of linguistic diversity will usually be limited to the numerically dominant local language, confirming a link between political, linguistic, and economic capital.

Other important visual manifestations of multilingualism can be found on and around churches and other places of worship (Harding-Esch 2015; Souza 2016) and near cultural institutions and centres catering for specific linguistic groups and communities. In their variety and social contexts these multilingual cityscapes can be linked to what has been described as an "everyday urban multilingualism […] sustained by the activities of local organisations and NGOs" (Skrandies 2016, p. 115). This multilingualism is often linked to political activism and struggles for cultural and political rights and plays a central role in "organising the social lives of linguistic and ethnic communities" (ibid). As will be shown further below, it is this economic, political, and social situatedness of the urban linguistic landscape of London which the student language learners taking part in *En un lugar de Loñdres* are encouraged to research and document.

Alongside the visual manifestations of linguistic diversity, we also find fleeting impressions recorded by observers focusing on the linguistic soundscape of London, such as this recollection of a multilingual bus journey:

> I am speaking to my partner in Catalan […]. A man talking on his mobile […] is speaking rather loudly in Spanish. Two rows in front of us are two teenagers who are conversing in Russian. The bus stops. Among the many people getting on are two elderly men. As they pass us, I hear Greek spoken. My linguistic radar by now more than activated, I begin to listen more intently to the conversations around me. I hear two people conversing, half in what I think is Gujarati, half in English. I hear Spanish again. And I hear Arabic, but from where I really do not know. And I hear English. One conversation is between an older woman, speaking with a Caribbean accent, and a younger woman (her daughter?), who speaks with a London accent (Block 2006, p. vii).

Not all observers, however, listen with sympathy to the sounds of the multilingual city, as the example of Nigel Farage, former leader of Britain's far right pro-Brexit UK Independence Party, recounting a train journey from central London to the

suburban county of Kent, shows: "[I]t was the stopper going out. We stopped at London Bridge, New Cross, Hither Green. It wasn't until after we got past Grove Park that I could actually hear English being audibly spoken in the carriage. Does that make me feel slightly awkward? Yes." (Evening Standard 2014). Farage's discomfort with linguistic diversity points to the continued force of what has been described as "the linguistic ideology of the nation" (Jaffe 2012) or the "territorial principle," defined as "a collective belief that ties a particular abstract language to a particular place" (Piller 2016, p. 35) which can lead to the exclusion or invisibility of speakers of languages which are seen as "foreign" or "heritage" languages and therefore as not belonging to the nation-state in question.

2.2 Language Diversity, Hierarchies and Language Learning

This very brief and partial characterisation of London's linguistic landscapes and soundscapes highlights other important characteristics of the city's linguistic diversity, namely the geographical distribution of linguistic communities across the city, their social characteristics and stratification (cf. Piller 2016; del Percio et al. 2017). In his ground-breaking 1977 article on the "economics of linguistic exchanges," Bourdieu noted that "[l]inguistic competence […] functions as linguistic capital in relationship with a certain market" and went on to argue that therefore "a language is worth what those who speak it are worth," reflecting "the power and authority [of speakers] in […] economic and cultural power relations" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 652). In line with Bourdieu's analysis, we believe that any meaningful description and analysis of London's linguistic landscapes and sociolinguistic diversity must consider the relative socio-economic positioning of speakers of languages other than English, or more specifically the UK's and London's specific nexus of class, race, ethnicity, language and migration (Canagarajah 2017; Ndhlovu 2017; Skrandies 2016). London's current configuration of linguistic diversity and linguistic hierarchies reflects global divisions of labour and the integration of successive groups of immigrants in dual or segmented labour markets where political disfranchisement is linked to exploitation, precarious working conditions, and social stigma and discrimination. Specifically, the social exclusion of certain groups of migrants can be linked to racialisation and 'ethnification': "practices and forms of exclusion which affect migrants and new ethnic minorities [from] non-OECD countries in particular and which tend to be publicly rationalised and legitimised in ethnic, racial, and cultural terms" (Schierup et al. 2006, p. 11). One consequence are racist, xenophobic and anti-immigrant ideologies and discourses which delegitimise the presence of specific 'other', mainly non-European languages and cultures and call for linguistic and cultural assimilation (Skrandies 2016). At the same time, it is important not to think of speakers of particular languages as socioeconomically homogeneous and to keep in mind that ethnolinguistic affiliation as well as linguistic practices cut across socioeconomic stratification, as (not only) the example of Spanish shows where speakers may enjoy vastly different socioeconomic positions and may be subject to different migration and citizenship regimes.

In an article on “multilingual citizenship,” Hall (2013) contrasted the plurilingualism of LSE academics documented in the ‘Research and Expertise’ webpages of our university with the multilingualism present in “a multi-ethnic street in a comparatively deprived urban locality” of Inner London:

> Rye Lane in Peckham south London is a kilometre stretch of densely packed retail activity. One hundred and ninety-nine retail units […] are occupied by proprietors from over twenty different countries of origin [….] [W]e asked the proprietors to name the languages they spoke: 11% of street proprietors spoke one language; 61% spoke two to three languages; and 28% spoke four languages or more. […] The language proficiencies of proprietors on Rye Lane are as remarkable as those of the LSE experts, and in the proficiency category of four or more languages, the street excels (p. 2).

In her article, Hall (2013) demonstrates how plurilingualism can be presented as a highly prestigious form of social and cultural capital and a valuable skill, while it can also be portrayed and imagined as a threat to the social cohesion of the nation: “While there is broad political and cultural acceptance that universities, corporate boards and trading floors are ‘international’ in their outlook and composition, there is less inclination to engage with how a diversity of origins, languages and outlooks contributes to local life” (ibid., p. 3).

Ideologically hostile reactions towards linguistic diversity have been linked to a “monolingual habitus,” “founded on the basic and deep-seated conviction that monolingualism in a society, and particularly in schools, is the one and only normality, forever and always valid” (Gogolin 1997, p. 41). The “monolingual habitus” in educational settings reflects the historical link between nationalist ideologies and the creation from above of national languages on the basis of a “territorial principle” defining language practices as belonging or not belonging to a given territory: “The territorial principle not only obscures the actual diversity of everyday language, but also, sets some speakers up as legitimate “default” members of a society while excluding others. Those who are being excluded, delegitimized and subordinated are usually mobile speakers whose “historical” ties to a territory are contested” (Piller 2016, p. 62). We believe that both the monolingual habitus in educational settings and the delegitimization and subordination of the language practices of “mobile speakers” on the basis of the “territorial principle” are part of the explanation for why the plurilingual competencies and practices of speakers of local London languages seen as “foreign” or “heritage” languages have so far largely been ignored in the context of university language teaching.

Figure 2 below illustrates the relationship between university language teaching and the multilingual city by showing the overlap of the 20 most common “other languages” of London according to the 2011 census with the languages most widely taught in tertiary UK Language Centres as well as the language taught at our own institution.

The comparison demonstrates that seven central languages belonging to the group of most widely taught languages at UK universities (*Arabic, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish*) are also the main languages of a large number of London and UK citizens and residents (AULC/UCML 2017; ONS 2013). The nine languages which despite their large number of speakers in London and the

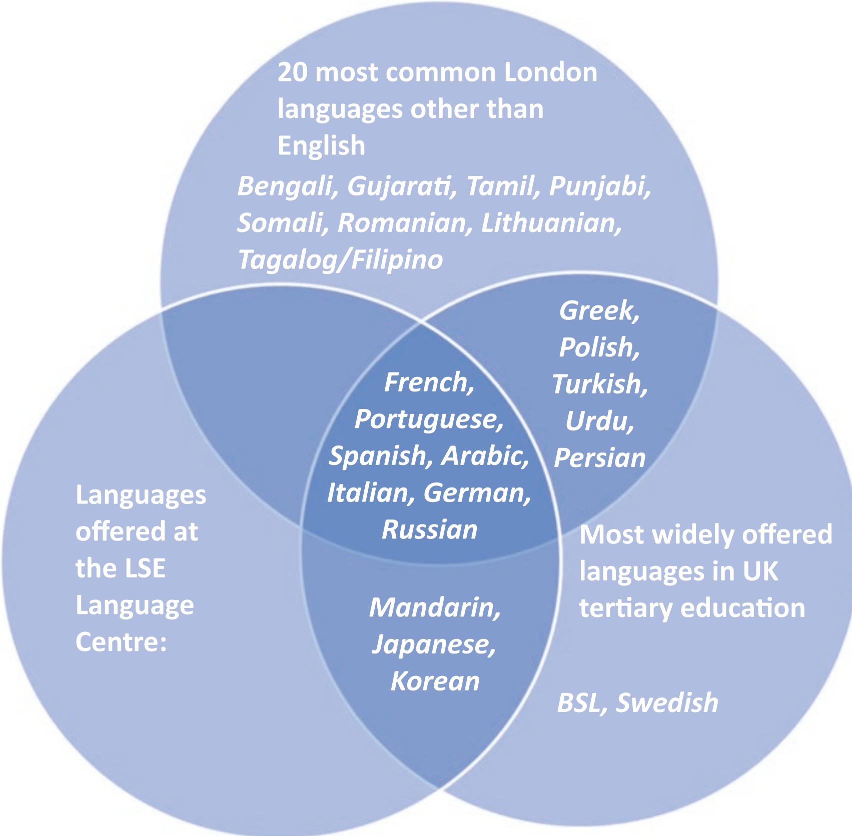

Fig. 2 Relationship between university language teaching and multilingual London

UK are not widely taught at universities (*Bengali, Gujarati, Tamil, Punjabi, Somali, Romanian, Lithuanian and Tagalog/Filipino*) are often identified as "community languages" or "heritage languages," implying that they might have a value for the communities in question, but are viewed as possessing limited economic and educational value. At the same time, the most widely taught languages in tertiary education are still predominantly seen as "foreign" languages and not as "community languages" despite the presence of a large number of speakers of these languages in the community. In terms of curriculum design, "mobile speakers" (of a "foreign" or a "community/heritage" language cf. Piller 2016) are ignored: once they have left the nation-states where their mother tongues are official, their linguistic capital is devalued, and they also seem to lose their pedagogical value as "native speaker" informants.

These quantitative data also indicate that -- despite a postulated multilingual turn in language pedagogy (May 2014; Conteh and Meier 2014; Meier 2017) – many university language classrooms, in terms of teaching practices, seem still largely

untouched by the linguistic diversity and local linguistic landscape surrounding them (cf. Pauwels 2014). We have outlined some of the ideologies and discourses which have led to the classification of some languages as "community" or "heritage" languages, while others are still and exclusively viewed as "foreign" languages. Many of the former are excluded from, or occupy marginal positions in, tertiary language curricula, while the classification of the latter as "foreign" means that speakers using these languages in our midst are regularly ignored in the higher education language classroom. We would suggest that much could be gained from integrating their presence and the multilingual linguistic landscape we find in our cities into our teaching practices.

2.3 Pedagogies for Multilingual Contexts: The Study of Linguistic Landscapes

The potential benefits of using the study of linguistic landscapes in language teaching and learning have been explored by several scholars (Cenoz and Gorter 2008; Sayer 2009; Thornbury 2012; Chesnut et al. 2013; Rowland 2013; Malinowski 2015; idem 2016). The starting point for many authors is that the guided observation of linguistic landscapes allows language learners to make connections between their classroom language learning and "real world" environments outside the classroom, while they may also become more familiar with the sociolinguistic situation and the local contexts of public language use in their immediate daily surroundings (Sayer 2009).

In their discussion of "the relationship between the linguistic landscape and second language acquisition," Cenoz and Gorter (2008, p. 271) outlined five main areas. They noted that the study of the linguistic landscape can provide "authentic linguistic input" where language use is observed in real-life contexts and can thus lead to incidental language learning alongside the "development of pragmatic competence." Furthermore, the reading of texts in multi-semiotic and multilingual environments may enhance the acquisition of "multimodal literacy" and "multilingual competence" in language learners, i.e. their ability to read multilingual texts alongside a variety of non-linguistic signs. Finally, the study of the linguistic landscape may alert language learners to symbolic and affective aspects of language use and positively influence their own attitude towards the language(s) they are learning. In additions to these benefits, other scholars have expressed the hope that interaction with linguistic landscapes may increase language learners' "critical awareness about power issues related to language" (Dagenais et al. 2009, p. 254). Ideally, the "language that is visibly and audibly present in public spaces is itself becoming a pedagogical object, available to the learner as input, demonstrating the contextualized pragmatics of speech acts, and provoking the learner to socio-political awareness and action" (Malinowksi 2015, p. 96). For language teachers, convinced of these potential benefits, the crucial question is how engagement and meaningful

interaction with the linguistic landscape can be integrated into language teaching curricula. In the next paragraphs, we would like to outline our approach of harnessing the pedagogical potential of studying the linguistic landscape which is linked to a socio-political contextualisation of the linguistically diverse city and the use of ethnographic methods.

Following the often-quoted definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997), the linguistic landscape is for many authors, predominantly a visual landscape:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration (p. 25).

In our approach, we would like to suggest that students should be encouraged to pay attention also to the linguistic soundscape of urban environments (cf. Scarvaglieri et al. 2013). Focusing only on activities which observe the visual presence of languages might fail to recognise the fact that today we find diverse groups of plurilingual speakers in our cities: "classical immigrants, refugees, transmigrants, middling transmigrants, expatriates, flexible citizens, invisible labour migrants" (Block 2010, p. 489) who behave differently and whose languages are not equally present visually.

This is the case, for example, for many speakers of Spanish who have come to London from Spain since 2009. The impact of this group of speakers on the visual linguistic landscape of in London is almost non-existent and, to appreciate their presence, it becomes necessary to listen to the city. Therefore, activities aiming at raising awareness of the urban soundscape need to be integrated into the study of the urban linguistic landscape. In addition, students should also be encouraged to "walk online" and discover the virtual linguistic landscape of web pages and social media. These virtual meanderings can bring them into contact with groups, activities, or issues that are difficult or impossible to find during their exploration of on-land landscapes. Difficult because some groups stay in particular areas of the city or impossible because today some newspapers are only published online, some campaigns are only run via Twitter, or some advertisements to rent a flat are published only via Facebook.

Wandering on-land and online are today necessary practices to encounter the whole variety of communities that speak the languages we are teaching. Our choice of using "on-land/online" instead of the more familiar "on-line and off-line" reflects the need of capturing the intrinsic dynamics of the reciprocal relationship between physical and virtual worlds, and awards them equal status, rather than foregrounding the internet (cf. Huc-Hepher 2017, p. 10).

For the reasons just outlined, we suggest using the following definition of the linguistic landscape for our teaching practices: *the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration is the language displayed visually or/and audibly in public spaces on-land and online*.

2.3.1 Contexts: Knowledge to Interpret the Linguistic Landscape

In our pedagogical approach, we also want language learners to gain a critical, socio-politically, and historically informed understanding of London's linguistic landscape "in which signs are seen as traces of multimodal communicative practices within a socio-politically structured field which is historically configured," thus moving beyond "a synchronic, static and quantitative approach" of describing public language use (Blommaert 2016, p. 1). As a consequence, the study of the linguistic landscape as implemented in the present project includes activities which encourage language learners to contextualise the linguistic landscape, to meet the people behind those linguistic landscapes, and to listen to their (hi)stories.

Dagenais et al. (2009) tell us that the texts of cities are not equally accessible to all; they are relatively cryptic, and readers must be linguistically and culturally informed to decipher their meanings. If they are going to be understood, the linguistic landscapes need to be politically, socio-economically, and historically situated and contextualised (Malinowski 2010). So, once language learners have become aware of the presence of the language they are studying and of the communities who speak it, the second stage is to support them to acquire the necessary knowledge to interpret the social, political and economic contexts of the presence (or absence) of the language in the city. With this in mind, a variety of activities can be designed which focus on the migration experience and histories of ethnolinguistic communities as well as their present political status and socio-economic situation. Students, for example, could learn about the origins of the different groups who speak the language they are learning, their migration (hi)stories and motivations for coming to the city, as well as their current social situation, political engagements, and impact on the city. These activities of contextualization increase the comprehensibility and background of linguistic landscapes which might appear cryptic to learners at the beginning.

2.3.2 "Awakening the ethnographic eye": Meeting the People behind the Linguistic Landscape

To enhance the description and contextualisation of the linguistic landscape, language learners should also be given the opportunity to meet the people and communities behind the linguistic landscape.

> You get out and about, meeting people unlike yourself. The pleasures of relaxed chat, of casual conversation, like a stroll down an unfamiliar street, encourage the ethnographer in everyone (Sennett 2012, p. 23).

In our approach, the people and communities behind the linguistic landscape should not only be conceived of as those "who concretely participate in the shaping of LL by ordering from others or building by themselves LL elements" (Ben Rafael et al. 2006 in Malinowski 2009, p. 108), but include all groups and individuals who are linked to the visual and audible public presence of a language. Human agency and

authorship behind the linguistic landscapes in cities remain on many occasions unnamed and are linked to all those who "read, write, and conduct their lives amongst [its] signs" (Malinowski 2009, p. 124). The addition of the audible and online dimensions to the linguistic landscape means that every speaker is a potential contributor to the linguistic landscape of the city.

Sending students outside the classroom to interact with people for academic purposes requires a set of tools which can be obtained from other disciplines. In *Language Learners as ethnographers,* Roberts et al. (2001) highlighted that, in the same way that the ethnographer goes out into "the field" to participate in the lives of a specific group, language learners who visit a country where the language they are learning is widely used, also encounter a field in which to participate and observe. The authors proposed "using such periods abroad as an opportunity to develop cultural learning by undertaking an ethnographic project" (2001, p. 4). We would suggest that ethnography is equally useful for language learners exploring the multilingual city closer to home.

In their study, Roberts et al. (2001) dedicated "45 classroom hours to the teaching of basic anthropological and sociolinguistic concepts combined with an introduction to ethnographic method" (p. 13) to prepare their students. Such amount of time is not available to most language classes; for that reason, our suggestion is to follow the direction of Damen's (1987) "pragmatic ethnography." One could say that "pragmatic ethnography" differs from ethnography used as a research method in that it is undertaken for "personal and practical purposes and not to provide scientific data and theory" (Damen 1987, p. 63). As Hall (2012) explains:

> "Conducting a pragmatic ethnography entails having learners gather information on the group of interest through observations of and participation in the group's communicative practices, interviews with members of the group, collection of pertinent documents related to the group and the practices, and so on. The gathered data form the basis for learner reflections and enhanced understandings not only of the cultural practices of the group under study but of the cultural dimension of their own practices" (p. 124).

Therefore, the activities designed for the project encourage students to pursue "pragmatic ethnography" as a way of encountering and getting to know the people behind the linguistic landscape.

3 *En un lugar de Loñdres:* A Project on Teaching and Learning Spanish as a London Language

3.1 Teaching Context and Participants' Profiles

The project has been developed for a language module entitled *LN122 Spanish Language and Society.* The entry level is A2.2 and the exit level corresponds to B1.2- B2 of the Common European Framework of Reference (Intermediate Mid to Advanced Low/Mid), taught over 22 weeks in two terms for 5 h per week. The

course programme deals with social, political, and economic issues related to Hispanic societies. No textbook is used, and the course is delivered via content-based units and a research-based project. Each unit involves 4–5 h of in-class work, and documentary films are an essential part of these units. From 2008 to 2015, the research-based project was a global simulation called "An NGO in Latin America" which aimed at replicating the process and stages needed to create a London-based NGO working on Latin-American issues (Coca et al. 2011). All materials are tailor-made for the course and have been developed jointly by the Spanish Section of the LSE Language Centre.

Depending on degree regulations, undergraduate students may select this course in their first, second, or third year. The disciplinary backgrounds of the students reflect the whole range of Social Science BSc degrees offered by LSE encompassing Sociology, Anthropology, Mathematics, Philosophy, Accountancy, International Relations, and many others. The student population at LSE comes from many different countries. For example, in the academic year 2016–2017, there were nine students on the course from five different nationalities including the UK. Since the students from the UK are not necessarily from London, the city may not be familiar to many of them.

3.2 The City Context for our Project: Spanish-Speaking Communities[1] in London

The immigration of Spanish-speaking communities to London can be traced back to the nineteenth century and even the sixteenth century when Spanish and Portuguese Jews started to arrive in London. However, the main bulk of arrivals to the city from Spanish-speaking countries occurred from the 1930s onwards. The main reasons were political (1930s from Spain due to the Spanish Civil War; 1970s to 2000s from Latin American countries due to dictatorships and armed conflicts) and economic (1960s from Spain, 1990s and early 2000s from Latin American countries) (Pes 1993; Block 2008; Román-Velázquez 2017).

Although members of the Spanish section at the LSE Language Centre were aware of the presence of those Spanish-speaking communities in London, two episodes had an important impact on how, as language teachers, we started to perceive Spanish and its speakers in the city.

The world-wide economic crisis hit Spain especially hard from 2009 onwards. Unemployment and lack of a professional future in Spain forced thousands of people to leave the country, and many of them found their place in London. The Spanish immigrants are predominantly (but not only) young people between 23–30 years

[1] We decided to use the term "communities" in plural to describe the speakers of Spanish in London. Those speakers may perceive themselves as part of groups based on country of origin (i.e. Spaniards, Colombians, Argentinians, etc.) or larger geographical references (e.g. Latin Americans and Ibero Americans).

old who found themselves unemployed at the end of their studies. They came to London to improve their linguistic abilities hoping that this will add value to their resumé once they go back to Spain. According to the Spanish Consulate, in 2009 there were 57,000 Spaniards registered in the Consulate; in 2016, there were more than 120,000. The reality could be twice or three times that number.[2] These recent immigrants have not settled in a particular London area, and live in different parts of the city, predominantly in areas further away from the centre where rents are cheaper.

The second event took place in 2011, when the Department of Geography of Queen Mary University London, the NGO Latin American Women Rights (LAWRS), and the Trust for London published the most comprehensive research on London's Latin American community to date in a report entitled "No Longer Invisible" (McIlwaine et al. 2011). The report estimated that around 250,000 Latin Americans are living in the UK, of which 145,000 are residing in London. The report highlighted that this community is "fast emerging as an important segment of the capital's diverse population" (p. 4). The findings of "No Longer Invisible" also provided a picture of considerable hardship, discrimination, and social exclusion. The report had an important consequence: in 2012, twelve Latin America charities created a coalition named Coalition of Latin Americans in United Kingdom (CLAUK) to "work together to pursue the implementation of the recommendations contained in 'No Longer Invisible'." CLAUK is a very active organisation which "came together to work towards achieving recognition for the Latin American community as an ethnic category in its own right" (CLAUK 2019). By 2017, five London boroughs had recognised this community as an ethnic category and there are now three councillors in different boroughs from Latin American origin.

The Latin American communities have a strong visual presence in two London areas: South-Centre (Southwark, Lambeth) and North East (Seven Sisters). In those areas, it is easy to detect a rich and varied Spanish linguistic landscape and soundscape. Interestingly, both areas are at the centre of one of the main issues London is facing today, gentrification. As a consequence, the Latin American communities have created organizations such as *Latin Elephant* or have organised long-running political campaigns such as "Save Pueblito Paisa" to defend their presence in the area, which have brought them both national and international attention (Dearden 2017). The Latin American communities also have a strong social media presence.

[2] Author's interview with Vice Consul of Spanish Consulate in London, summer 2016.

3.3 Aims and Description of the Project[3]

As outlined in the introduction, the central aims of the project have been to let students discover the presence of Spanish and its speakers in the linguistic landscape of London, to let them explore the spaces where Spanish-speaking communities settle and work, and finally to ask them to engage with and interview members of those communities. By pursuing these aims, the project helps students reflect on the political dimensions of languages and gain a better understanding of the city where they live. The learning of Spanish goes hand in hand with the development of their intercultural competence and sociolinguistic awareness.

We were looking for a project which could replace the project-based simulation *An NGO in Latin America*, aiming for a practice which was learner- and knowledge-centred. We did not want to lose the advantages of project-based learning such as "students' investment in the topic, skills of working in groups, and increased autonomy and willingness to take responsibility for their own learning" (Hall 2012, p. 123). On the other hand, we needed to offer activities appropriate to the linguistic level of students which were attractive to students from different subject areas, and included both individual and group activities, in-class and outside-class activities, and research and production (written and oral) activities.

From the beginning, we were clear that the project should result in tangible outcomes. After working with a simulation for several years, we had witnessed the frustration of students at the end of the project. We decided that, in the new project, the research and productions of students were going to be used to create an information page about the Spanish speaking communities in London. The web page entitled *En un lugar de Loñdres* is regularly updated and can be found at https://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/.

3.4 Project Activities

The project activities follow the linguistic progress of students very closely and they move gradually from controlled activities, via the use of worksheets allowing for structured input, to free activities. The project's written, oral, or visual student productions are part of the summative assessment of the course which makes up 40% of the final mark. The productions include, amongst others, oral presentations, debates, reflective written pieces, field notes, interviews, and blog entries.

At the beginning of the project, students are provided with a booklet including the aims, the structure, the worksheets, and a basic bibliography. The booklet is supplemented with material in Spanish and English uploaded onto LSE's online learning platform. Students also read English sources to support their understanding of the topics.

[3] See Appendix for a detailed plan of activities.

The project starts with a two-hour content unit which sets up the context of the project, "London as a super-diverse and global city." In the first activity, students are encouraged to reflect and talk about the London they know and to share their perceptions about people and places. They are also asked to reflect on their perceptions of the Spanish language and the presence of Spanish-speaking communities in the city. In the following activities, students are given some details of London's past as a destination of migration and some data on the linguistic communities in the city. They are also introduced to notions like "language status," "super-diversity" (Vertovec 2016), the "global system of languages" (De Swaan 2001), and "global city" (Sassen 2001), amongst others. From this point onwards, students are also advised to keep an individual diary where they can collect information, reflections, and pictures which later will be used as the base for the later reflective pieces of the project.

3.4.1 Observing Linguistic Landscapes on-Land and Online: Activities Aimed at Discovering Spanish and Spanish-Speaking Communities in London

To facilitate the discovery of Spanish and Spanish-speaking communities in London, two activities were designed. Activity 1 ("Your linguistic landscape in London") encourages students to observe and listen to the sights and sounds of the linguistic landscape of their neighbourhoods and journeys and to record these in their diaries. They are encouraged to pay particular attention to Spanish and the contexts in which it appears. This activity, guided by a questionnaire, increases students' awareness of the different languages they encounter and, when students present their linguistic landscape observations in class to their peers, this brings different cities to the class. As Solnit (2010) affirms, "no two people live in the same city. Your current surroundings exist in relation to your other places, your formative place and whatever place shaped your ethnic heritage and education" (p. 5). London presents itself differently to each student and, depending where they live and travel, Spanish can have a strong presence for those living in areas such Elephant and Castle or Seven Sisters (see Fig. 3); while for others it might be barely noticeable.

As part of this activity, students are asked to pay equal attention to the linguistic soundscape. Some of the speakers of Spanish have a very thin visual presence in the city. However, their soundscape in public spaces is noticeable depending on which areas of the city you move through. As mentioned in Sect. 3.2, this is the case for the Spaniards who came to London in the aftermath of Spain's most recent economic depression from 2009 onwards. Activity 1 takes place at the beginning of the project in week 4 (out of 22 weeks) of the course. For this reason, the tasks are essentially descriptive, and the results are delivered in the form of oral student presentations. For this initial activity, we realised that it is important for students to explore their own neighbourhoods and journeys while they get used to activities taking them outside the classroom. As many of our students are not from London, it is also a good opportunity for them to become more familiar with their own surroundings.

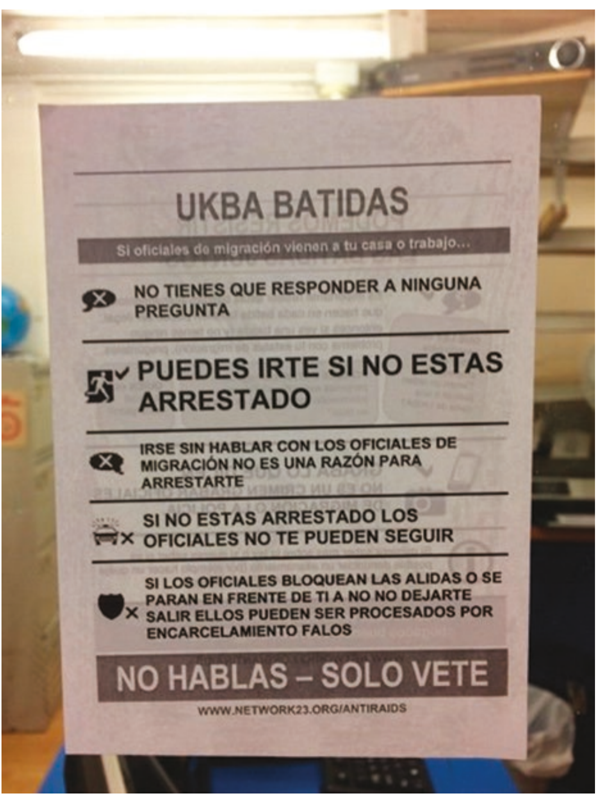

Fig. 3 Picture by Mandana Ghanadzadeh (student of LN122/2017) taken in the Seven Sisters area in North London where there is a Latin American market, Pueblito Paisa. In the picture we can see a poster in Spanish explaining the rights of migrants in case of being stopped by the police. The note allowed for comments, in the classroom, on the different nature of the status of Spanish-speaking migrants, and on the use of Spanish in the poster

Activity 2 ("Walks online") involves exploring the virtual linguistic landscape of Spanish-speaking communities, including social media such as Facebook (see Fig. 4) and Twitter. The students wander online and thereby gain information and get into contact with groups, activities or issues which would be difficult to find during their exploration of on-land landscapes. Examples include reports on a football match between Spanish-speaking teams or the fight against gentrification by the Latin American communities mentioned earlier. Occasionally, online data may replicate and reflect information obtained during on-land journeys, but it regularly leads to the collection of new evidence, for example, on the presence and activism of Spanish political parties in London.

Activity 2 is essentially a research activity. After a general "walk" online, each student chooses an area of his/her interest. The aim is to develop a section of the web page entitled "Walks on-line" where students document different aspects (associations, political parties, meet up groups, schools, religious events, cultural

Fig. 4 Screenshot of a Facebook conversation by Lauri Ojala (student of LN122/2017). In the exchange, the first post is from a person explaining her intention of migrating to London and asking for advice. The reply provides advice on where to stay, how to write a CV for the London market, etc. Lauri became interested in the group of Spaniards who arrived from 2009 onwards very early in the project. His individual piece deals with this group (In Spanish, at https://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/2016/11/24/no-nos-vamos-nos-echan-y-que-pasa-entonces/#more-1156) (see later Sect. 3.4.3)

activities, history, etc.) of the Spanish speaking communities. This section of the web page is co-constructed with the teacher of the course.

3.4.2 Contextualising: Knowledge to Interpret the Spanish Linguistic Landscape

For this phase, we designed three activities (Activities 3–5) to enable students to learn about the origins of the different Spanish-speaking groups, their migration (hi) stories and reasons for coming to London, and their current socio-economic

situation and impact on the city. The three activities are based on the premise of sharing knowledge among the members of the LN122 group.

In Activity 3 ("Local press in Spanish") students, in class and in groups, undertake an analysis of two local Spanish newspapers published in London, *El Ibérico* and *Express News*. Among linguists and discourse analysts there is an increasing acceptance that meaning is communicated not just through language, but also through the visual language of images and signs (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Kress 2010; Machin and Mayr 2012). For that reason, we asked our students not only to focus on the content of the texts, but also to reflect on the use of pictures and types of advertisement in the publications, and specifically on the interaction between text and images. This activity is designed to allow students to gain a better understanding of the variety of social profiles of Spanish speakers in London and to make students aware of their practices and their needs in the city. This activity also offers learners an excellent tool for observing some uses of London Spanglish in writing.

In Activity 4 ("In detail") students are asked to research different aspects of the migration histories and presence of Spanish-speaking communities in London (numbers, time of arrival, reasons for migration, places of settlement in the city, challenges, social and political participation, etc.). In groups, LN122 students prepare oral presentations which they present to their peers in class. Video interviews with experts on and from Spanish-speaking communities were carried out to provide students with audio-visual material adapted to their linguistic needs and with the basic information and content students need for this activity. Students are also provided with a basic bibliography which includes some pieces written by previous LN122 students (see later Sect. 3.4.3). Students are also encouraged to enhance the given material with their own research.

For Activity 5 ("Guest speaker in the classroom"), experts on Spanish-speaking communities or members of those communities are invited to the classroom. The activity may be a talk followed by Q&A or an interview of the speaker by the students. The format depends on the timing of the activity (before or after the workshop on interview techniques, see below Workshop 2).

By the end of these three activities, students are required to write their first reflective piece following a questionnaire which focuses on the interesting aspects learnt, their reflections of Spanish as a "foreign language", and their opinion on the inclusion of the project in the LN122 course. At this stage, students are also asked to propose topics reflecting their personal interests.

3.4.3 Awaking the "Ethnographic Eye": Visiting and Interviewing the People behind the Spanish Linguistic Landscape

During this stage of the project, the activities encourage students to pursue "pragmatic ethnography" as a way of meeting the people behind the Spanish linguistic landscapes in London.

Workshop on Documentary Photography, and the Visit

In London, there are few areas where Spanish-speaking communities have a strong and noticeable presence (see Fig. 5), so if we were going to ask students to undertake one or more visits, it was necessary to establish practices which were not "invasive." On the other hand, some of the places Spanish-speaking communities have settled in London are marginalized areas and we were aware of the ethical debates about researching marginalized people and places, notably the debate between doing ethnography versus "poverty tourism" (Mah 2014, p. 3). Therefore, ethnographic practices of observation, field notes and reflexivity were extremely useful in drawing up the guidelines for this activity.

During their visit (or visits), students are encouraged to use a notebook to collect field notes including not only information about what they witness "but even more important how they witnessed it- amazed, outraged, amused, factual and neutral, puzzled, curious, not understanding, confident about their own interpretations"

Fig. 5 Group visit to the area of Elephant and Castle in South London. Elephant and Castle is the site of a vibrant Latin-American community threatened by the process of gentrification in London. (Picture by Rupi Thin (student of LN122/2017))

(Blommaert and Jie 2010, p. 37). Students are encouraged "to be subjective and impressionistic, emotional or poetic; to use the most appropriate ways of expressing what they want to express. They do not need to write for an audience. Their field notes are private documents and they will decide what they want to release from them to their peers" (ibid, p. 38).

It is important that students record the elements which amaze, surprise or make them feel out of their comfort zone during the visit(s). Agar (1996) called these moments the "rich points" in ethnography and they could be seen as "the boundary of what is really understandable" for them, the boundaries of their cultural and social conventions (Blommaert and Jie 2010, p. 40–41). For LN122 students who undertook true ethnography, those instances could be the start of their ethnographic investigation and sometimes marked the beginning of their individual projects. One such moment is depicted in Fig. 6 below.

The students are also encouraged to take photographs. We consider that in ethnographic research the camera may act as a "can-opener," while taking up the role of a photographer "can put researchers in an ideal position to observe the culture or groups they are researching. And, although it is not always appropriate to use photography, ethnographers often find that photographing and photographs provide a

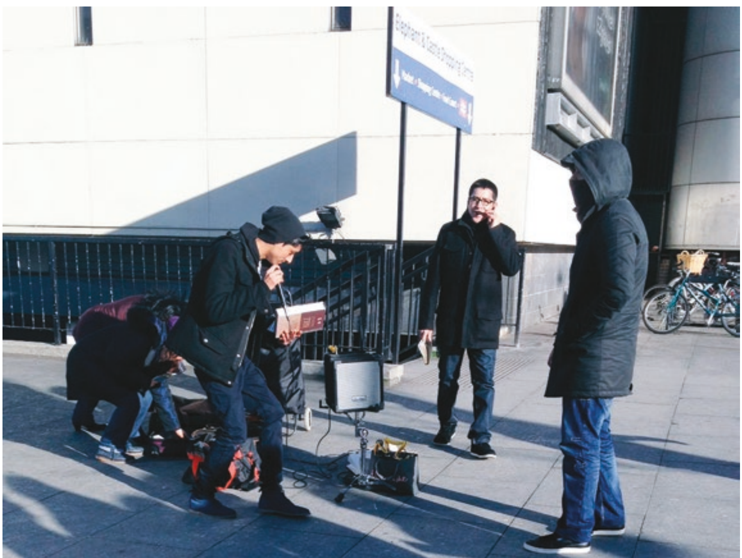

Fig. 6 In this picture, we can see some young people speaking and singing in Spanish in the area of Elephant and Castle. They were preaching. This picture was taken by Waqar Yunus (student of LN122/2017) who observed the scene and took notes about it to share them later, in the classroom, with the rest of his peers and the teacher. The role of religion in social integration would be the topic chosen by Waqar for his individual piece (see later Sect. 3.4.3) which brought him to attend a mass in Spanish in Southwark Cathedral and to interview the Chaplain of the Latin American community (In Spanish, at https://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/2017/04/26/la-iglesia-como-plataforma-de-integracion-social/)

useful method of communicating with informants at the early stages of fieldwork" (Pink 2007, p. 73). For this reason, a workshop in Spanish on documentary photography was integrated in the project. The workshop takes place before the visit and students learn the basis of a "good picture" together with the necessary permissions to photograph spaces and people in the UK. The workshop allows us also to present to students some ethical considerations to be borne in mind when working "in the field".

Workshop on Field Work and Interviewing, and the Interview

During their visit(s), students get to know members of Spanish-speaking communities and their task is to design and conduct an interview om a topic chosen by themselves. Some students will choose from issues raised in class, but others bring new ideas which will be integrated into the project the following academic year. In this way, students contribute to the development of knowledge about London's Spanish-speaking communities and linguistic landscapes (Fig. 7).

Before conducting their interviews, the students take part in a 2-h workshop in Spanish on working outside the classroom and interview techniques. Ethnographic (Blommaert and Jie 2010, pp. 42–58) and oral history (British Library 2016) practices form the basis of this workshop in which students learn how to initiate contact with informants, use different interview types, structures and questions, and how to organise and prepare the actual interview, including dealing with technical issues involved in the interview process. The workshop is also an opportunity for students to learn more about the ethics of field work. This element is particularly important

Fig. 7 Some of the people behind the Spanish linguistics landscape interviewed by LN122 students

Fig. 8 Elliot Emery (student of LN122/2016), instead of an interview, decided to spend the day with members of the *Podemos* (political party in Spain) branch in London. Elliot attended the first demonstration in his life with members of the branch, and this is also one of the aspects he analysed in his published piece

because, on some occasions, students have chosen individual projects which are based on participatory observation practices (see Fig. 8).

Following the interview(s), students are required to produce in Spanish a piece of writing of their choice (e.g. opinion, interview) or a multimedia essay for the blog on the project website. The publication of the students' pieces in the public domain has had a positive impact on students' motivation. The participants know that the blog entries are going to be read by others, and they themselves read entries by students from previous academic years at different stages of the project.

Since the interview and writing processes are an individual activity, it is important to run some group activities, such as the peer review of the first draft of the piece to continue the practice of producing shared knowledge. Since students are working independently, one-to-one meetings with the teacher are offered to give adequate support to each student.

The project ends with a reflective piece based on a questionnaire in which students are asked to consider how the project has changed their perceptions of the Spanish language and London, and to come up with proposals and suggest changes concerning the different activities they have undertaken during the project.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Results

After running the project for 3 years, we can claim that it has fulfilled many of its original aims linked to language acquisition, enhanced research skills as well as increased sociolinguistic and political awareness.

Our students have left the classroom for the city and for many of them it has been an opportunity to discover unknown aspects of London: "as someone who does not originate from London, I always knew that it was an international city but not to the extent that it truly is superdiverse. Our exploration and study have given me a whole new outlook and appreciation of the city."[4] In their reflective feedback, students also commented on their discovery of Spanish in the linguistic landscape of London and their encounters with Spanish-speaking individuals and communities. As one student noticed, "I have lived all my life in London, but I did not know that there are so many Spanish speakers in Elephant and Castle." They have also become aware that "the geography of their presence is fascinating. Depending on the area of London you visit, the Spanish language and its speakers exist or are totally absent."

Many students have begun to reflect on the role and status of so-called foreign languages in a multilingual city like London: "I think Spanish should not be considered as a foreign language, especially in the context of such a multilingual city as London where there is a mixture of people from different cultures. Due to the number of Spanish speakers in the city, we should recognise their language as part of the city culture." For another student, "Spanish is a foreign language because it is not considered official in the United Kingdom. However, even if it is foreign, it has a great impact on the culture and on the politics of the city."

The use of Spanish in authentic communicative contexts has given students increased motivation to work on their fluency and structural knowledge of Spanish. One anthropology student decided to do his individual piece for LN122 and his ethnography coursework for an anthropology course in *Pueblito Paisa*, a Spanish speaking market in Tottenham, North London. In his account he tells us how apprehensive he was before his first visit: "I had read a lot but did not feel ready for the real experience." At the beginning of the visit, he only wanted to observe but not to talk. However, at the end of the visit, he became engaged in a conversation in Spanish with a Colombian lady. However, he left frustrated: "My problems with the past tenses created some confusion." Before the second visit, he worked on the linguistic issues he had had faced during his first visit and arrived with solutions. "I went back to the market with questions, I had prepared phrases and had reviewed

[4]All comments have been translated from written feedback given by students at the end of the project, from their reflective pieces, and from texts published on the website. Currently, we are carrying out a qualitative analysis of those materials looking for themes related to the core aims of the project (awareness about Spanish and Spanish-speaking communities, language categories, second language identities, language and citizenship, etc.)

the past tenses. I arrived with a new attitude. I decided to talk to everyone in the market."[5]

Regarding the link between the linguistic quality of student production and motivation, it was found that the consideration of personal choices, e.g. in letting students choose their own individual projects, as well as the prospect of publishing their work online on the project website, resulted in pieces of considerable quality and originality. Commenting on their engagement and sense of achievement, one student observed that he completed "three drafts [only two are required], and between the interview, revision, and drafts, spent quite a lot of hours on the individual part of the project. I am excited to see it published,"[6] while another stated that "I really like the idea of having an individual project as it gives the student a way to direct their learning in an area that interests them." Topics chosen by students included the gentrification of London and its impact on the Spanish-speaking communities, working rights of Latin Americans in London, the history of the Spanish community in London through a football team, theatre in Spanish in London, Spanish political parties in London, a web-series portraying the fate of Spaniards in the city, the work of NGOs such as the Indoamerican Refugee and Migrant Organization (IRMO) or of the Latin American chaplaincy. This wide variety of themes demonstrates the strong link between the study of urban linguistic landscapes and socio-political issues.

Through their visits and interviews with Spanish speakers, students have been able to participate in authentic communities of practice, thereby leaving the role of "learners" behind and taking up the role of "speaker/social actors" themselves (cf. Liddicoat and Scarino 2013, p. 29). Their interactions with authentic speakers also exposed them to a variety of real-life linguistic repertoires and abilities in Spanish complementing the idealised competence presented to them in textbooks. The interviews and engagement with Spanish speakers and communities active in political organizations and in social struggles, e.g. to resist gentrification or to defend the rights of migrants, has also led students to an understanding and critical appreciation of some of the wider social and political issues of the city in which they study and where many of them will go on to live and work.

As shown above, our positive evaluation of the project has been reflected in the feedback received from students. In their responses, all students have expressed their support for continuing the project and for keeping the different activities. Different students have enjoyed different activities such as "the workshop and getting us to go explore London" or "browsing websites about the Spanish-speaking communities, reading and analysing Spanish newspapers, and engaging with the Spanish-speaking community in areas." However, all students expressed that all activities should remain part of the project because "all the activities bring knowledge from different [perspectives] and there has been a notable takeaway from each

[5] Published in its original Spanish at https://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/2018/02/13/mi-diario-de-campo-en-seven-sisters/#more-1837

[6] https://enunlugardelondres.wordpress.com/2018/11/15/el-trabajo-de-podemos-en-londres/

activity." Students have highlighted, inter alia, the positive links between their ethnographic research on linguistic landscapes and language acquisition, as exemplified by the experience of one student who expressed that the project "showed me how to apply my knowledge of the language in the real world and gave me a field in which to practice doing this through activities outside the classroom."

Another tangible result of the project is its website which documents the work completed by project participants together with the teacher throughout the years. It has also been conceptualised as an opportunity "to give back something" (Pink 2007, p. 57) to the members of the Spanish-speaking communities who helped us. No comparable online resource for Hispanic London exists currently, and it has become a resource used by Spanish speakers in London as well as other researchers and activists. At the moment, the web page documenting *En un lugar de Loñdres* consists of three key sections:

- *Paseos en la red* (Walks online): a collection of resources relevant to the Spanish-speaking communities in London with a brief explanation for each of them. These pages are collected through the Activity 2 ("Walks online") and Activity 4 ("In detail") of the project. Each academic year, students curate particular areas of *Paseos en la red*.
- *Video interviews* in which members of Spanish speaking communities or experts provide topical information and thus help students understand the history communities, their political and social situation and impact on the city, etc. The videos are produced by the teacher and are used for the research part in Activity 4.
- A *main page* where the work of students is published alongside further contributions by experts.

4.2 Limitations and Issues of Implementation

Replicating projects designed in one institution and, in this case, in a particular multilingual context needs to be thought through carefully. In this section, we would like to consider some practical issues which should be taken into consideration if the project is to be implemented in other contexts.

En un lugar de Loñdres was conceived, from the beginning, as an extended project. As mentioned before, after having run for several years another long-term project, we did not want to lose the experiences we have gained when students invest time and dedication to a topic. However, due to syllabus constraints, it is not always possible to implement longer projects, and we have also experienced these constraints in our institution. When we decided to include *En un lugar de Loñdres* in shorter courses, we were unable to include all activities. Therefore, we decided for a partial implementation and we selected some activities depending on the duration of the course and the linguistic level. Students in these programmes do not reach the same knowledge and understanding as students of LN122, but they do become aware of the presence of Spanish in London and of some of the issues related to the Spanish speaking communities in the city.

The idea behind *En un lugar de Loñdres* can be translated to other multilingual contexts and to the teaching of other language present in those contexts. However, the design of *En un lugar de Loñdres* was based on the presence of the Spanish-speaking communities in London, and not all activities might be relevant for other contexts and languages. In this light, the activities of *En un lugar de* … (In a certain place of…) should be always adapted.

Another consideration concerns the type of course for which the project is implemented. LN122 is a degree course and the students´ productions are part of the continuous assessment which contributes 40% to the final mark. For that reason, it was essential to pilot it before full implementation. We needed to adjust the designed activities to the linguistic level of an Intermediate course, and the timing of the activities (particularly those outside campus) to fit with other students´ commitments.

Finally, we also needed to produce, criteria of assessment for activities which are less present in traditional teaching such as Twitter entries, reflective diaries or online blogs. Research and consultation with other colleagues[7] were an essential part of this process.

5 Concluding Remarks

In the UK and elsewhere, the curricula of the majority of tertiary language courses continue to be based on textbooks and curricula focusing on the teaching of "foreign" languages and the linguistic practices of "native" speakers living in nation states where these languages are official, national languages (cf. Pauwels 2014; Duarte and Gogolin 2013). And while we acknowledge that Spanish can and should also be seen and taught as a language spoken in "foreign" countries and societies, we believe that there are several distinct advantages and benefits in going beyond traditional foreign language pedagogies by integrating the observation and understanding of the local linguistic landscape into language teaching and learning practices.

In our introduction, we posited that the linguistic diversity of the contemporary global(ised) city poses a challenge for a tertiary language teaching community still used to conceptualising the languages they teach as well-defined bounded entities primarily linked to foreign national or ethnic communities. In this chapter we have tried to demonstrate that studying multilingual diversity, and in particular the urban linguistic landscape, is an opportunity for enhanced language learning which may inspire language learners to become more socially and politically aware of their immediate environments. In an article on the "Open City," Sennett (2018) observed that

> Today's city which is big, filled with migrants and ethnic diversities, is a city in which people belong to many different kinds of community at the same time. […] the problem of citizen participation is how people can feel connected to others, whom, necessarily, they

[7] We would like to thank Dr. Reyes Llopis-García, from Columbia University, for sharing the activities and criteria of assessment of her project ÑYC

> cannot know. […] The problem of participation cities face today is how to create, […] [a] sense of relatedness among strangers. (p.71)

While Sennett talked about the physical design of urban spaces, taking the foreign out of language teaching and opening the classroom to the multilingual linguistic landscape of the contemporary city and the speakers behind it, is contributing to the creation of relatedness and understanding amongst strangers in the multilingual city.

Appendix: Overview of Project Activities

First Term

Phase 1: Observing Linguistic Landscapes Online and on-Land: Discovering Spanish and the Spanish-Speaking Communities in London

Title	Description	Location, format & duration	Material provided	Activities & formative/ summative assessed productions
Setting up the context: London as a global and "super-diverse city"	Students learn about the demolinguistic profile of the city. They 7rganizatio themselves with different concepts.	In class Pairs/ small groups and whole group 120 min	Available demolinguistic statistics and descriptions, literature on concepts (ONS 2013; Skrandies 2015; Sassen 2001; Vertovec 2016)	None Students start a journal where they collect reflections relevant information throughout the year.
Activity1: Your linguistic landscape of London	Observation and reflection on their linguistic landscapes outside campus. Students create a map of their movements and they collect evidence by taking notes and photos. The activity asks students to look and listen, focusing on their encounters with Spanish.	2. Outside the class Individual 2. In class Individual and whole group 60 min	Worksheet	1. Individual notes and written reflection, photos 2. Oral presentation and whole group conversation
Activity 2: Walks online	Students explore the presence of Spanish-speaking communities in London on the internet and in social media. Students start using Twitter as an archive for the pictures of the Spanish linguistic landscape (#LN122)	2. In class Small groups and whole group 60 min	Worksheet and instructions for the use of twitter	1. Research in groups, oral presentation of collected data and then whole group conversation
	Students become familiar with the section *Paseos enla red* on the project webpage	2. In class/Outside class Individual/ Pairs 2 weeks		2. Curating "Paseos en la red" What is missing? Do we need to add something new?

Phase 2: Contextualising: Knowledge to Interpret the Spanish Linguistic Landscape in London

Title	Description	Location, format & duration	Material provided	Activities & formative/ summative assessed productions
Activity 3: Local press in Spanish	Students analyse local newspapers (*Express news; El Ibérico*): type of news, 1rganization, format, pictures, use of language, etc.	1.In class Small groups and whole group 60 min	Worksheet	1. Taking notes and whole group conversation.
	Then, individually, analyse the online version of the other newspaper.	2.Outside the class Individually		2. Written analysis of *online* or print newspaper
Activity 4: In detail	Students research, read and prepare an oral presentation on the Spanish-speaking communities in London. They are asked to focus on the past and present of those communities.	1.Outside the class 2 groups 2 weeks	Worksheet, initial bibliography and video-interviews created for project	1. Preparation of an oral presentation
		2. In class 2 groups and whole group 60 min		2. Oral presentation in groups and whole group conversation
Activity 5: Guest speakers in class	Members of the Spanish-speaking communities or experts on different areas come to the classroom to present or to be interviewed by students in Spanish.	2. In class Whole group 60 min		1.Talk and Q&A or interview
		2. Classroom Whole group 15–20 min		2. Summary of the talk or interview
		3.At home Individually/Pairs or small groups		3. Depending on the nature of the talk or interview, e.g. a joint text or an online blog
Activity 6: Reflection	Students reflect on the knowledge they acquired about the use of Spanish in the city, the Spanish-speaking communities and the place of Spanish in the linguistic landscape of London. They start to reflect on their individual interviews/topics of interest (Activity 9)	1.In class Individually and Whole group 60 min	Worksheet	1. Written piece and whole group conversation

5.1 *Second Term*

Phase 3: Awakening the "Ethnographic Eye": Visiting and Interviewing the People behind the Spanish Linguistic Landscape in London

Title	Description	Location, format & duration	Material provided	Activities & formative/summative assessed productions
Workshop 1: Documentary photography	Workshop on documentary photography which includes techniques and the ethics of taking pictures in public spaces in UK.	2. In class Whole group 60 min	Video and worksheet	
Activity 7: The visit	Visiting meeting and getting to know members of London's Spanish-speaking communities	2. Outside classroom Individual, pairs/small groups	Worksheet The guideline includes a letter from the teacher explaining the project and release forms for the pictures (if needed)	Taking pictures + publishing 3 or 4 pictures and captions on Twitter. Pictures to be used later on the webpage.
		2. In class Individually and Whole group 120 min		2. Oral presentation of one picture and whole class conversation
Workshop 2: Interviewing outside the classroom	Students become familiar, with: research ethics outside the classroom, interview techniques and consent form.	In class Whole group 120 min	On research ethics, interview techniques, form consents, etc.	1.Practice of interviewing among students 2. Transcribing
Activity 8: Interview proposal		1.Outside class Individual 2.In class Individual and Whole group	Worksheet	1.Written text 2.Presentation in class and then whole class conversation
Activity 9: The interview	Students make contact with, meet and interview their chosen interviewee/s	Outside class Individually		
Activity 10 first draft of blog entry		Outside class Individually		Written text
Activity 11 review of first drafts		In class Pairs/Small groups	Worksheet	Notes to be handed to other students. The first draft is also reviewed by teacher
Activity 12: Second draft of blog entry		Outside the classroom Individually		Second draft is reviewed by teacher
Activity 13: Final production of blog entry	The final product including: all necessary consent form to be published in the blog evaluation questinnaire	Outside the classroom Individually	Questionnaire	
Activity 14: Closing the circle	Final reflection	Outside the classroom and classroom Individually and the whole group	Worksheet	Multimedia piece and whole group conversation

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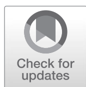
Ethnographic Language Learning Projects Through the Linguistic Landscape



Peter Sayer

Abstract Study of the linguistic landscape (LL) has significant pedagogical potential in additional language classrooms. This is particularly true in English as a foreign language (EFL) settings, where the perception is that the target language is remote and not immediately relevant to the everyday lived experiences of learners and teachers. Educators recognizing that environmental print in English provides more than incidental L2 exposure have looked at how to harness the LL as a pedagogical resource in EFL contexts (Rowland L. The pedagogical beneifts of a linguistic landscape project in Japan. Int J Biling Educ Biling, 16(4), 494–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2012.708319, 2013; Sayer P. Using the linguistic landscape as a pedagogical resource. ELT J 64(2): 143–154, 2010) by engaging students in community- and project-based learning. This chapter presents a framework for using the linguistic landscape as the basis for developing ethnographic language learning projects. These projects prompt students to become analysts of language use, paying careful attention to linguistic and cultural elements of the English used in environmental print.

Keywords Ethnography and L2 teaching · Linguistic landscape · Pedagogical resource · Environmental print · Literacy walk · Mexico · Social semiotics

1 Ethnographic Language Learning Projects

Ethnography can be described broadly as the study of a group's social and cultural practices from an insider's perspective. Ethnography is a basic method of anthropological fieldwork. It utilizes participant observation, the ethnographer's direct engagement with the people she is studying. The use of ethnography amongst language education scholars includes work on first and second language literacy (Heath

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and Street 2008; Grenfell et al. 2012), language policy (McCarty 2015), and in language teacher education (Sayer 2012). The hallmark of these ethnographies is the goal of understanding the social meanings people attach to activities in their everyday lives on their own terms, called the *emic perspective*.

Ethnography as second language (L2) pedagogy has been developed by Roberts et al. (2001), who emphasize the active role of students in formulating questions, and collecting and analyzing data from an (inter)cultural perspective (and cf. Barro et al. 1998). Building on this approach, this chapter will provide a framework for designing *ethnographic language learning projects* drawn from the linguistic landscape of students' communities. An ethnographic language learning project (ELLP) is defined as a collaborative, self-directed effort by a group of students which focuses on exploring some aspect of language use through a cultural lens and results in a tangible product.

The linguistic landscape (LL) of the students' own community provides a natural context for carrying out an ethnographic project for additional language (L2) learning. Blommaert and Maly (2014) argue that ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis allows us to study the dynamic and complex features of language diversity in a particular community. Within public spaces in global multilingual contexts, the display of English often indexes underlying social and cultural meanings (Hult 2009). In fact, Sayer (2010) argues that in many international contexts, the "intracultural" use of English in the LL amongst locals is actually more prevalent than its cross-cultural use intended for international tourist or expatriate audience. These local meanings of English may index a general cosmopolitan identity (Billings 2014) by referencing an ideological connection of English to fashion, sexual appeal, technology, or may give voice to social and political resistance. As individuals, L2 learners have various types of motivations or investments in learning English, and an ethnographic language learning project of the LL of their community prompts them to reflect on the broader implications of language learning, and the semiotic connection between linguistic forms and the cultural meanings they encode.

Two key dimensions of ethnographic language learning projects through the linguistic landscape are emphasized in this chapter, an analysis of *linguistic elements* and of *cultural elements*. On the one hand, they should engage students in describing and analyzing authentic L2 use (Gilmore 2007) and, on the other hand, through this analysis from an ethnographic perspective they should have an explicit focus on promoting students' awareness of the sociolinguistic purposes for English in their local communities. In this chapter, I will begin by reviewing some of the previous linguistic landscape-inspired work for teaching English. I will then present a heuristic model for organizing ethnographic language learning projects, and give five practical examples of how students can carry out their own projects based on my own work with English as foreign language (EFL) students in Mexico.

2 Language Learning Through the Linguistic Landscape: Pedagogical Approaches

Linguistic landscape as a lens through which to examine multilingual contexts has been developed quite recently (Gorter 2006), but scholars quickly recognized its pedagogical potential for L2 classrooms[1] (Gorter and Cenoz 2004). Malinowski (2010) observes that the conceptual shift to paying attention to texts in the surroundings by scholars in literacy studies predates the popularization of the term *linguistic landscape* in applied linguistics[2]: "Since at least the 1970s, literacy theorists and practitioners have recognized the importance of the 'environmental print' of billboards, food packages and street signs for the emergent reading skills of children and adults" (p. 201).

I will review several studies which focus on the aspects of LL as a source of L2 input, and others which leverage the LL as a means through which to engage students in the social and cultural aspects of language use. Both approaches harness the pedagogical possibilities of LL as a resource to extend L2 learning beyond the classroom. As well, both approaches – the LL as L2 input and LL as sociocultural practice – entail the crucial first step of keying students in to the ubiquity of English in the environmental print and training them to be keen observers of the LL around them (cf. Dageneis et al. 2009).

2.1 Linguistic Landscape as L2 Input for Language Awareness

The most apparent potential of the linguistic landscape for most English teachers is as an additional source of L2 input for their students. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) connect this approach to LL to research done in second language acquisition (SLA) on incidental L2 learning (cf. Hulstjin 2013). Although research on incidental learning in SLA has produced mixed results because many language forms are not salient enough for learners to notice, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) argue that LL for SLA should take an explicit approach to make learners aware of L2 features. They also stress that the LL provides input that is authentic and highly contextualized both because signage is *in situ* and is often evocative and multimodal. They identify three areas of SLA that are especially pertinent to LL: the development of pragmatic competence, the acquisition of literacy skills, and the development of multicompetence based on the ability to decode complex hybrid and multimodal texts.

[1] Although, surprisingly, two otherwise solid recent volumes on L2 learning beyond the classroom (Benson and Reinders 2011; Nunan and Richards 2015) do not include chapters on L2 learning through the linguistic landscape.

[2] My own "discovery" of the concept of linguistic landscape came from my early attempts to apply ideas of environmental print (Silvern and McGee 1986) to my teaching of EFL in Mexico.

An example of the use of LL for development of literacy skills comes from Chern and Dooley (2014). They describe an *English literacy walk* activity on the streets of Taipei, Taiwan. A literacy walk is a physical tour through the streets in order to catalog and describe the types of texts students encounter along the way. The approach they lay out is particularly appropriate for younger learners and beginner-level students, as its focus is on making students aware of basic aspects written language in a multilingual context where various writing systems, alphabetic, syllabic and ideographic, co-exist in the LL. While the focus is on building learners' awareness of L2 linguistic aspects, what it does share with the ELLP approach is that students must get out into the community and carefully document how language is being used in the public sphere.

2.2 Linguistic Landscape as Sociocultural Practice

The second approach to using LL in L2 teaching is to examine the cultural aspects and social functions of languages in the students' community. Dageneis et al. (2009) call this a "language awareness approach" to LL, and maintain that it "provides a promising avenue for teaching about language diversity and literacy practices from a critical perspective" (p. 266). Malinowski (2015) connects this approach to growing recognition in L2 teaching that language study should extend beyond the classroom and include the connection of cultural and linguistic practices, as acknowledged by the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages (ACTFL 2006) standards of *connections, community,* and *cultures,* and the model of intercultural communicative competence (Baker 2012; Byram 1997).

One limitation of some early LL studies is that they were concerned mainly with a quantitative description of which languages were represented where and for what functions (Horner and Weber 2018). The LL as sociocultural practice approach, on the other hand, is highly interpretive.[3] Shohamy and Waksman (2009) argue that LL scholars should apply their work to language education, and that there is a "need for students to be aware and *notice* the multiple layers of meanings displayed in public spaces" (p. 326, emphasis in original). The premise here is that all language use, and perhaps most especially the production of public signage, is a form of sociocultural practice. These practices, in turn, make sense to us because they connect to, or *index,* commonly shared social meanings. This approach is therefore consistent with an ethnographic perspective, which foregrounds the creation and interpretation of meaning by local social actors.

This view of LL follows the language-as-practice (Pennycook 2010), languaging (Swain 2006), or social semiotic (Blommaert 2010; Horner and Weber 2018) turn in

[3] Blommaert (2018) refers to his related approach as *ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis*, and insists that linguistic landscape work must be theorized from the community in which is the signs are found, and therefore needs an ethnographic perspective in order to adequately locate the LL within the social context.

the field of applied linguistics. The ‘practice turn’ places less emphasis on language as a set of linguistic structures and instead highlights language as a semiotic means for mediating locally-situated social action. Curtin (2009), for example, explains that authorities in Taipei, Taiwan have taken steps to make the city more accessible to English speakers, and more bilingual signage has been created. Besides this official language policy enacted through the LL, however, she also describes how the unofficial use of English in Taipei indexes local meanings related to being fashionable, cool, and cosmopolitan. Huebner’s (2006) study in Thailand found English use connected to tourism, but he goes on to consider what LL studies tell us about permeability of the boundaries of speech community, and the changing nature of Thai English amongst the younger generation.

A sociocultural or language-as-social-practice approach to LL, then, refers to a consideration of the local social meanings indexed through the choice of a particular language/code. This was exemplified in two EFL contexts with direct connections to pedagogy: Mexico (Sayer 2010) and Japan (Rowland 2013). The authors explain how this approach was used to engage students to explore the local meanings indexed through various types of language use in the linguistic landscape. Sayer (2010) explains that this “cast[s] the learners as language detectives” (p. 144), and illustrates six different local meanings that English indexes in a city in southern Mexico. Importantly, he distinguishes between the *intergroup* uses of English, such as bilingual signage for services for tourists, and *intragroup* uses, where Mexicans are using English with other Mexicans through advertising, mom-and-pop shop signs, graffiti, and even wrestling posters and slogans on car windshields. The meanings cataloged partially correspond to Curtin’s (2009), suggesting that English indexes global culture, but also quite particular local meanings, such as for anti-American political statements or to suggest a shop owner’s identity as a successful migrant returnee (see examples in Sect. 3.2 below).

Rowland (2013) follows the same students-as-language-detectives method with a group of university-aged EFL learners in Japan. His students likewise showed gains in several areas, including pragmatic competence and literacy skills. However, although Rowland’s students were young adults with relatively high level of English proficiency, he points out several challenges he encountered in implementing LL as pedagogy. While his students were able to analyze English signage in Japan in a way that supported various aspects of L2 literacy and pragmatics, he found that it was much more difficult for them to engage with the “connotational aspects” of language (p. 501). He reported that besides identifying the link between English and “coolness”, his students struggled to find other sorts of social meanings. Since he did not want to point his students towards the meaning but rather have them discover them on their own, he devised a list of questions as a heuristic to scaffold their attempts to do the type of qualitative content analysis of their photos described in Sayer (2010).

Dageneis et al. (2009) report on an action-research LL project carried out with fifth graders enrolled in French immersion programs in two schools in Canada. They solved the difficulty of having students step into the role of analysts, in part, by extending their project over 2 years and embedding it within the learning

objectives in other content areas (such as a mapping lesson for social studies). After a significant period of "data collection" where students collected photos of the LL from carefully organized areas of their respective cities (Montreal and Vancouver), they asked students to organize their photos. Through extended discussion, they guided the children to consider the geographical location, the social meaning, and the linguistic function of their photographs.

The key feature of the sociocultural approach to LL pedagogy is that it attempts to position the students as researchers with an ethnographic orientation to language use in the community (cf. Burwell and Lenters 2015). While the notion of language as a social semiotic for many students is fairly abstract and complex, the basic challenge is how to get students to become aware of linguistic forms and begin to think deeply about what cultural meanings and social identities are being enacted through those forms. The ethnographic perspective attempts to understand what local meanings are indexed through various types of language use. As we see from the studies cited above, the social meanings of English in international contexts are often both global (cool, fashionable, cosmopolitan) and local (migration, politics).

3 Pedagogical Dimensions

3.1 A Project-Based Approach to LL and L2 Learning

This section describes the organization of ethnographic language learning projects. As defined at the outset, an ELLP is a collaborative effort directed by the students themselves that explores the sociocultural aspects of language use in the linguistic landscape. ELLPs draw on the principles of project-based pedagogy in language learning. While assigning projects to students is common in L2 classrooms, project-based pedagogy derives from a constructivist or experiential theory of learning, the Deweyan notion that students learn best by doing (Kessler 1992). In K-12 settings, science fairs and history projects usually adopt this approach, and in higher education, project-based approaches are common in engineering and information technology, where collaborative problem-solving skills are valued. The movie *School of Rock* starring Jack Black[4] illustrates a project-based approach. In the film, a new teacher arrives and re-organizes the whole curriculum around the class becoming a rock-and-roll band and performing in a "battle of the bands" concert. The students' learning was organized around preparing for the music concert, and other subject areas (history, language arts) were connected to the goals of the project. Also, importantly, not all students were expected to learn the same thing. Each student's participation – hence learning – stemmed from her or his particular interests and role in the project, as one student was in charge of costume design, another was the manager, and other were in charge of setting up the technology.

[4] The name of Black's protagonist was Dewey, a nod to the American philosopher of education John Dewey (1859–1952), whose theory for inquiry-based learning was illustrated in the movie.

Similar approaches to L2 teaching have been articulated as *cooperative language learning* and *inquiry-based approach* (Richards and Rodgers 2014). They emphasize that learning should be student-centered, meaning that students have (to an age-appropriate degree) control over the decision-making process of the project, and that making decisions about how to develop the project is indeed an important part of the critical thinking and learning that derives from engagement in the project (Stoller 2002). Projects therefore naturally fit with strategies for differentiated instruction, and are appropriate for groups with mixed levels of proficiency. Likewise, learning will likely extend beyond the linguistic and cultural elements of the ELLP itself, for example, how to transfer pictures from a cell phone to a PowerPoint to create a poster. ELLPs are also aligned with the *funds of knowledge* pedagogy (González et al. 2005) which sees the everyday social practices of students' own families and communities as valuable resources for learning, and the starting point for developing inquiry units. Working with Mexican-American children in the U.S. Southwest, they state that "our claim is that capitalizing on household and other community resources, we can organize classroom instruction that far exceeds in quality the rote-like instruction these children commonly encounter in schools" (Moll et al. 1992, p. 132).

It should be noted that a project-based approach has certain limitations, especially in traditional L2 classrooms. As with other student-centered pedagogy, the approach requires the teacher to step back from her usual role as knower and explainer, and for the students to assume a higher degree of autonomy and responsibility for their learning (Stoller 2002). This may conflict with historically- and culturally-constructed roles for students and teachers in classrooms in some international settings (cf. Butler 2011 on the challenges implementing communicatively-oriented pedagogies in the Asia-Pacific region). Furthermore, projects are often time-consuming, as students will need extended periods to be able to collect data and prepare their final product. Also, as Cenoz and Gorter (2008) observe, the L2 learning that occurs within the context of LL study is generally incidental; like other sources of highly authentic L2 input, it is impossible to specify target forms or vocabulary. For these reasons, a project-based approach does not lend itself to use in a course that is highly structured or relies on a sequencing of textbook.

The main source of data for students should be the linguistic landscape. Students should go out onto the streets to take their own pictures. I encourage them where possible to take two photographs of each sign: one close-up where the words are clearly legible, and one wide-angle shot that captures as much of the physical context of the sign as possible. The number of photos and methodology for collecting is flexible. Dagenais et al.'s (2009) study was carefully coordinated so groups of students were given disposable cameras and each assigned a specific quadrant of the city radiating out from their school. In my own projects done with students in Mexico, I encourage them to collect at least 25 signs, and either focus on one area of town (e.g. their own neighborhood), or a comparison across two or more different areas (keeping careful track of where each photo is taken). These primary data can be combined with other sources of data. In ethnography, researchers will often combine interviews or community surveys with observational data (see Example 2 below).

The ethnographic language learning project should culminate in a tangible product. Ideally, the projects themselves should be multimodal, combining visual, written, and oral elements. Depending on age and proficiency levels, these can range from photos with simple written descriptions, to presentations from PowerPoints. One format I have used that was quite successful with university undergraduates is having them preparing research posters and organizing a small colloquium, where each group has 5–10 min to present their project. An example of the rubric used to evaluate these projects is included in the appendix. Barni et al. (2014) describe a multi-sited linguistic landscape language learning project across several countries which generated products using video story-telling, also called digital storytelling, where the final product is a short video, usually 3–7 min, that can be posted on YouTube.

In sum, the pedagogical dimensions of ethnographic language learning projects include:

Dimension 1: Students have (an age-appropriate amount of) control over the theme and content

Dimension 2: Students can have different roles and decide on their own ways of participating

Dimension 3: Focuses both on process (conceptualizing project, collecting data, analyzing data) and product (developing final presentation)

Dimension 4: Teacher's role is to set guidelines, model, provide guidance, and get out of the way

Dimension 5: Tangible product with visual, written and oral components

Figure 1 represents the general steps the teacher can follow to guide students through the project. In what follows, these dimensions and the application of the ELLP approach are illustrated through five examples of different types of ELLPs.

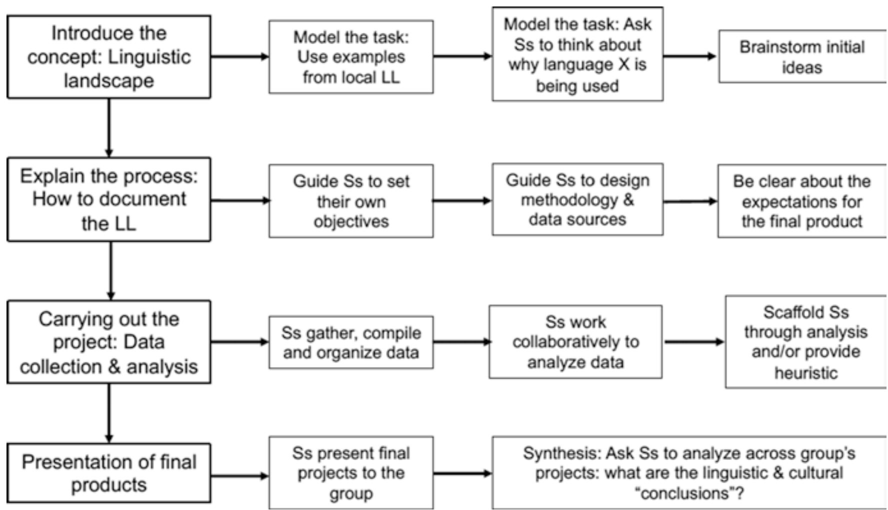

Fig. 1 Organization of ethnographic language learning projects

3.2 Examples of Ethnographic Language Learning Projects

The parameters of the ELLP should be as flexible as possible. However, for students not accustomed to doing self-directed project work, it may be challenging to figure out how to organize their project. By the same token, as Rowland (2013) observed, students will likely be unfamiliar with how to analyze the meanings of signs. Therefore, providing examples and modeling the activity is important, as well as working with each group to provide guidance with the qualitative analysis. Once they have collected enough photos, I ask students to look for the *themes*, and to use these themes to organize their dataset into *categories,* emphasizing that a single sign can belong to several categories, and can be related to particular features of the language (linguistic), social function (e.g., advertising, information for tourists), and sociocultural meanings. The sociocultural meanings are the most difficult for students to grasp, since it requires them to think through the semiotic purpose of the sign, which in turn is shaped by the local language ideologies. However, the teacher can scaffold this by asking them to start by talking concretely about how they interpret the sign (*"it's a business of a person [who] returns from United States"*) and then moving them to articulate the underlying meaning (*English indexes the migrant dream of success*).

To illustrate the possibilities of ELLPs, I provide five examples below. Example 1 was the general project that I started with (Sayer 2010) focused on the students' exploration of the social meanings of English in public spaces in Mexico. I show how the project is organized along the principles of the five dimensions listed above. The other projects are variations on this theme, generated by me (Examples 4 and 5) and my students (Examples 2 and 3).[5] Initially, I framed the project completely open-ended, but depending on the age or background of the students, presenting students with a "menu" of project options may help them get started. For older or more advanced students, scholarly articles such as Hult (2014) or Burwell and Lenters (2015) can be assigned prior to starting the project as background reading to familiarize students with the idea of how to carry out an LL project.

Example 1: The Social Meanings of English
The goal for this project is for students to analyze the linguistic, functional, and semiotic elements of signs. A main premise of linguistic landscape work is that public signage, like other language practices, reflects and constructs our social relationships and identities. This is a basic sociolinguistic insight, but one that most students have not had the opportunity to explore. As explained above, this entails complex thinking on their part, since language ideologies operate far below our

[5] I want to acknowledge and thank students at the Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca and the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla in Mexico for their contributions to my thinking about ethnographic language learning projects.

Fig. 2 Cell phone advertisement on billboard (Mexico)

consciousness, and they are essentially building a theory of local language practice based on the LL.

To start brainstorming about the project, I start with the question "What is English used for on signs here?" As mentioned above, it is important for the teacher to model the project and scaffold students to start thinking about the LL from an ethnographic perspective (Dimension 4).

Usually this question initially elicits more obvious answers: English is used on shops for tourists or to give information to foreigners. Then I prompt with a photo like Fig. 2.

Hopefully, this leads the discussion to the recognition that many of the uses of English have less to do with conveying information, and more with the sense or emotion that is meant to evoke. In other words, students begin to realize that sometimes *the medium is the message*, or what Sadeghi and Richards (2015) refer to as "the idea of English" (p. 419). The questions posed by Rowland (2013) to his students in Japan serve as a useful heuristic for pushing students' thinking towards the underlying social meanings and ideologies of the LL (adapted from Rowland 2013, p. 498):

- *Function:* What type of sign is it (e.g. advertisement, road sign, menu, etc.)?
- *Location:* Where is the sign located (e.g. residential area, near a train station, etc.)?
- *Producer:* Who made the sign (e.g. shop owner, the police, a private citizen, etc.)?
- *Audience:* Who is the intended audience of the sign?
- *Purpose of English:* Why do you think English is used on the sign?

- *Code choice:* Why do you think [language] is not used in place of English on the sign?

With one group of lower-intermediate level EFL students I did this project with in Mexico, after the concept of a "social meaning of language" was fairly clear, I tasked them with documenting the use of English in their local neighborhoods. Students were free to work individually or in groups, and decide how they would organize their data collection (Dimension 2). I emphasized that they should imagine that they were entering the community as an anthropologist, and seeing everything for the first time. The basic ethnographic questions that guided this project was *Why did the person use English here in this way? What does it mean to use English for this purpose?*

After collecting the photos for a week, the following class was a data organization session. Students brought their photos (most groups found that it was easier to organize using their laptops with photos set as thumbnail pics and organizing into folders labeled with themes), discussed how to categorize them into themes, and what they wanted their final product to look like (Dimension 3). Most groups chose to do a Powerpoint presentation (Dimension 5), and picked one or two exemplar photos to demonstrate the categories they chose. Having a guided discussion session while students are organizing their photos is important to help move from the concrete or descriptive level to the more abstract, interpretive level of the sociocultural meanings being indexed through English. As Rowland observes (2013), this is a challenging task for most students. Figure 3 illustrates a successful example of how one group of students (undergraduate TESOL majors at a public university in Mexico) eventually decided that the use of English on a sidewalk hamburger stand suggested that the owner of the stand had migrated to the U.S. and made enough money there to buy the stand:

> HAPPY BOY HAMBURGUESAS
>
> Function: Name of little restaurant *puesto* [food stall]
>
> Producer: Owner of *puesto*
>
> Audience: People who is hungry
>
> Code choice: Because uses Spanish can't show owner was lived in USA.
>
> Purpose of English: It's a *puesto* for to buy hamburgers near in front of the school on [Street name] near of the bus stop. It's says the name in English because the food hamburgers is from the USA. Also I think it is a bussiness of a person, he returns from the United States. I think this way because a lot of people does that, [they] works alot and save his money in USA and return to México and put a little bussiness sell something. So maybe the name of *puesto* HAPPY BOY is in English because to show he lived in USA but also because now he's a happy guy because he is home with his family and he has owner [his own] business.

The ethnographic perspective, therefore, attempts to understand what local meanings are indexed through various types of language use. The analysis of the photo acknowledges that hamburgers are typical American food (connection to big-C Culture, Byram 1997), but the student also recognizes the symbolic connection that English has in Mexico to migration to the U.S., and the dream that many

Fig. 3 ENGLISH = MIGRATION Happy Boy Hamburger Stand (Mexico)

working-class Mexicans have of going to the U.S. for several years, working to save money and learn English, and then coming back to Mexico to open a small shop and buy a car (Sayer 2012). The discovery of the category of "English and U.S. migration" led other students to re-analyze their photos, and to a discussion in class about why someone would want to use English to index their status as an emigrant returnee. While other students claimed that there is no way to know if the use of English on the hamburger stand was really connected to migration, this led to a productive discussion about how they could gather additional empirical evidence (e.g. interviewing the owner) or about the nature of interpretive work (e.g. maybe it doesn't matter if the owner was actually a migrant, because the use of English conveys the *idea* of being successful in the U.S.). Hence, the LL project provides an aperture for students to engage from an ethnographic perspective in thinking about how to link concrete language practices to the value placed on those practices by the community.

Example 2: Graffiti

Graffiti is a part of the linguistic landscape. Like other types of public signage, it is often multilingual and multimodal, creatively combining various linguistic and visual elements. While graffiti has been characterized as encompassing a range of artistic expressive forms, including publicly sanctioned street art and murals (Halsey

and Pederick 2010), this example focuses on graffiti as subversive speech or what Pennycook (2009) calls transgressive semiotics.

Subversive graffiti is often produced by those in marginalized positions who do not generally have the authority to produce the officially sanctioned texts that comprise most of the signage in the LL. For this reason, graffiti is a compelling locus of LL study, and one that lends itself to an ethnographic language learning project.

Like Example 1, general guiding questions orient the students' analysis, while still giving the students control of the content and development of ideas (Dimension 1):

- Where is the text located?
- Who produced this text?
- What is the social function of the graffiti?
- Why is English being used?

One of my students who analyzed graffiti in urban spaces in Mexico identified two distinct types of authors of graffiti. The first he called "taggers" and the second he called "resistance graffiti." The functions of the taggers' texts included identifying themselves as members of a gang, romantic expressions to a girlfriend, or just writing their own names. For taggers, the student interpreted the use of English to indicate coolness or toughness, and sometimes referenced well known gangs in the U.S. such as The Latin Kings of 18th Street Gang. The second type, as in Fig. 4, is stylistically different, often using stencil-art and incorporating an English slogan. This type of graffiti often had an anti-establishment political message. The use of stencils, he argued, echoed the work of British activist/graffiti artist Banksy, and the use of English in the slogans seemed to index broader international popular resistance movements. One student extended his ethnographic investigation by interviewing several famous local taggers and asking them to comment on the photos he'd taken (Dimension 2). Also, students noted that graffiti artists often use creative language forms, such as Fig. 5. On other locally-produced signs, students noted that there were frequently errors, mistakes with spelling and use of the possessive [‘s] were common, whereas with graffiti it was done intentionally. One student said: "Maybe because the graffiti artists are non-conformists, they want to break the rules of the language too."

Example 3: T-Shirts

In many contexts, English is also ubiquitous on clothing. The notion of linguistic landscape can be extended to include the many expressions found on t-shirts, bags, and blouses. Clothing choices are quite individual, but can also convey many of the social meanings described in Example 1. Students may discover that many examples of English on t-shirts are brand names and slogans, but are also connected to international cities and places (New York City), global popular culture (such as Disney figures) and to a certain self-image the person wants to project. For example, Lawrence (2012) observes that English is prevalent on clothing in Korea, and often indexes the wearer's affinity with a Konglish identity. Caldwell (2017) locates language use on t-shirts within the social semiotic approach to linguistic landscape,

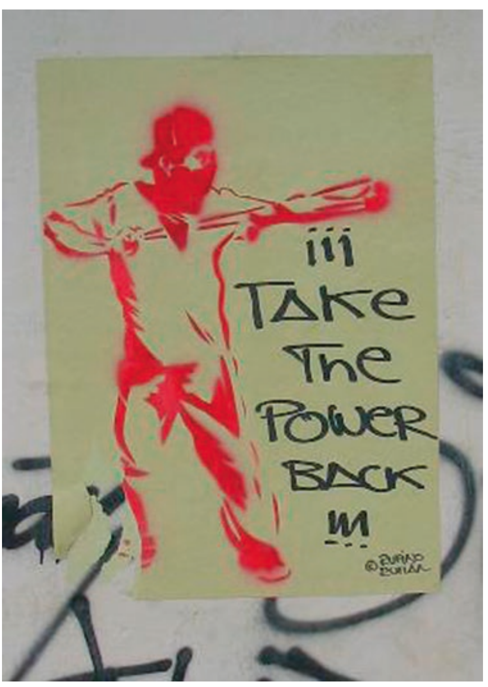

Fig. 4 Stencil art with a political message (Mexico)

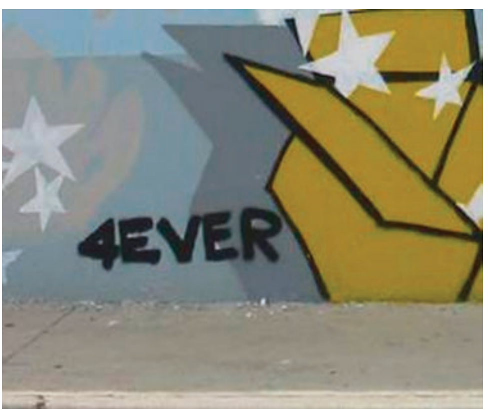

Fig. 5 '4Ever' – creative English spellings in graffiti (Mexico)

and offers a detailed functional linguistic analysis of t-shirt messages. Students can be encouraged to think about the gender and age dimensions of English on clothing: Do women prefer English t-shirts more than men? How does English on clothing vary across children, adolescents, young adults, and older people?

Example 4: Environmental Print in the Home
The idea of LL can be stretched a little further, and the basic method of LL analysis applied to the household. Even in EFL contexts, modern homes are filled with electronic appliances, DVDs and video games, clothing, and innumerous product labels in English, and students will be surprised at the quantity of English in their houses (Fig. 6). This option can be especially appropriate for younger learners who may not be able to go out on the streets unsupervised, and provides an excellent opportunity for students to make an inventory of English words and taxonomy of what products they found. Because the use of English on household appliances is almost exclusively functional (e.g. ON/OFF button), this project does not lend itself to the same sort of analysis of social meanings and purposes such as in Example 1, but it can be an excellent awareness-raising task, and can serve as an introduction to the idea of examining environmental print in English.

Example 5: Virtual Linguistic Landscape Walks
As on-line mapping applications have improved, the potential for doing virtual linguistic landscape walks has opened up. The Google Maps street view allows any

Fig. 6 English on home electronics

student with an internet connection to explore the linguistic landscape of a city anywhere (see Fig. 7, a screen shot of downtown Puebla, Mexico). Here, the teacher can introduce the project by showing photos and asking the students to conjecture where it might be by looking at the clues. This will include what languages are represented, as well as other LL elements, such as the traffic signs (are distances in metric or standard?), car license plates, and other visual elements (what are people in the picture wearing?). Malinowski (2010) gives an example of the virtual linguistic cityscape project in Korea that was mediated through an on-line discussion board.

For older learners or students with strong computer or research skills, the LL analysis can be further enhanced with the use of advanced mapping software such as ArcGIS Online (http://www.arcgis.com/index.html). This allows students to create highly visual representations of their data by plotting locations of photos onto maps (Dimensions 4 and 5).

3.3 *Discussion of Ethnographic Language Learning Projects*

The process represented in Fig. 1 follows the basic steps of qualitative empirical research: students start with guiding questions, go out and collect data, analyze the data by organizing into themes, and then interpret by connecting back to the guiding questions. Although the projects are student-directed, with as much control given to students' decision-making throughout, the teacher's role is crucial along the way at

Fig. 7 A street view screenshot from Google Maps

the stages of introducing the concept of linguistic landscape sociocultural meanings of language by modeling, guiding the students as they figure out how to design their projects, and scaffolding discussion during the analysis and interpretation phase. Because self-directed nature of projects, students may bring ideas that do not match the teacher's idea of what LL should be. Examples 2 and 3 above came from the students setting their own goals; when one group said their goal was to look at English on t-shirts, I initially had to resist shutting down the idea because it didn't fit what I considered linguistic landscape, namely signage in public places. Likewise, there was sometimes heated disagreements within groups about aspects of how best to organize their projects. These disagreements, however, are productive when they evidence students' engagements with becoming aware of the multiple layers of meanings in the LL (Shohamy and Waksman 2009). Perhaps more to the point, they are also productive because students are engaging research problems as social scientists, and engaging with questions of language use as ethnographers and sociolinguists (Barro et al. 1998; Dageneis et al. 2009; Roberts et al. 2001). As emphasized at the outset, this constructivist view of learning – examining the world through the eyes of a discipline-area expert (here, ethnographer/sociolinguist) – is at the heart of project-based learning (Kessler 1992; Stoller 2002).

4 Conclusions

This chapter has proposed the use of the linguistic landscape as a pedagogical resource in English as an additional language classrooms. This approach conceptualizes L2 learning through LL as a project-based pedagogy drawing on ethnographic principles to engage learners to examine the linguistic and sociocultural elements of the language of public spaces. An ethnographic language learning project is defined as a self-directed effort carried out through collaboration by a group of students which focuses on exploring some aspect of language use through a cultural lens. Students follow the steps of qualitative empirical research to organize the project, collect and analyze data, and their work results in a tangible final product. ELLPs follow the interpretivist approach to LL study (Horner and Weber 2018), and challenge students to examine the social semiotics of multilingualism (Blommaert 2010) in their own communities. I have explained how this approach to LL is coherent with the principles of ethnographically-oriented project-based pedagogy. I also addressed the practical issues of implementing ELLPs in L2 education, including outlining the process and teacher's role, and have given examples that illustrate variations on ethnographic language learning projects through the linguistic landscape.

Appendix A

Rubric for evaluating ethnographic language learning projects

Criteria	5		3		0
Quality of project: Data collection	The quantity of photos is excellent.	↔	The quantity of photos is somewhat insufficient.	↔	The quantity of photos is somewhat unacceptable.
	The quality of photos is excellent.		Some of the photos lack quality.		Most of the photos lack quality.
	The organization and labelling of photos is excellent.		The organization and labelling of photos can be improved.		The organization and labelling of photos is poor.
	The methodology for collecting photos is good (choices of locations, etc.)		The methodology can be improved.		There was little thought given to the methodology for collecting photos.
Quality of project: Analysis of linguistic elements	The language functions are clearly identified.	↔	Claims are somewhat supported by relevant research.	↔	Claims are not supported by relevant research.
	Linguistic features have been analyzed.		Conclusions are somewhat clear and are logically connected to the development of the topic.		Conclusions are unclear and/or not logically connected to the development of the topic.
Quality of project: Analysis of sociocultural elements	Themes and categories have been identified and clearly explained.	↔	Some themes and categories have been identified and explained, but are somewhat unclear or unorganized.	↔	Themes and categories have been not identified or are not explained.
	Claims are clearly supported by data.		Claims are somewhat supported by data.		Claims are not supported by data.
Final product: Visual presentation	Title and topic clearly identified.	↔	Title and topic are unclear.	↔	Presentation is disorganized, or basic information from the study is missing.
	Layout and visual elements (font, graphics, colors) are effective.		Some layout and visual elements are lacking or less effective.		
	The information is organized effectively. Sections are clearly identified. Data are clearly presented.		Some information is unclear or not well organized. The presentation of data is confusing or data are absent.		Presentation lacks basic elements, or elements are not identified.
Final product: Oral presentation	Presenter explains study clearly (coherence, voice projection), including all elements of the research.	↔	Presenter has some problems explaining the study.	↔	No presentation, or presenter is completely unprepared.
	Presentation conforms to time limit.		Presenter is not audible.		
	Presenter answers questions effectively.		Presenter does not include all elements of the study in her/his explanation.		
			Presenter does not respect time limit.		
			Presenter does not answer questions well.		
Project meets guidelines	The project is completed on time.	↔	The project is completed somewhat late.	↔	The project is very late.
	The project follows the format guidelines in the assignment description.		The project partially follows the format guidelines, lacking:		The project does not follow guidelines, lacking:
Total points					

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Investigating Bulletin Boards with Students: *What Can Citizen Science Offer Education and Research in the Linguistic Landscape?*

Helle Lykke Nielsen, Tove Rosendal, Johan Järlehed, and Christopher Kullenberg

Abstract This chapter reports on a citizen science project which investigated the role and function of analog bulletin boards in public space. The project involved 96 classes from 46 primary to secondary schools across Sweden. The students photographed bulletins, transcribed, coded and uploaded them using a mobile app. The project had a clear learning perspective on research: By participating in data collection and discussions on issues related to their project, the students would get insights into research methods and scientific thinking. Simultaneously, the participating researchers would obtain new and unique linguistic landscape data. In this chapter we describe and analyze the project from an educational and research perspective. Drawing on questionnaires from students and teachers, and retrospective interviews with teachers, we investigate how bulletin boards can be used as a site for project-based learning, and what citizen science can offer education and research in the field of linguistic landscape. We examine how this educational potential was put into practice and point to methodological, technological, administrative and ideological challenges and impediments of the project's design and implementation.

Keywords Citizen science · Analog bulletin boards · Student-based research · Learning perspective on research · Linguistic landscape · Project based learning

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1 Introduction

In 2015, Swedish researchers in the humanities were invited by Public & Science *(Vetenskap & Allmänhet)*, an independent Swedish non-profit membership organization, partly financed by the Swedish Ministry of Education and Research, to take part in a citizen science experiment aiming at investigating the role and function of analog bulletin boards in public space, that is, physical boards with announcements which can be found in libraries, schools, supermarkets, and other businesses, both indoors and outdoors (see Fig. 1). These messages might consist of, for instance, job postings, flyers advertising products to buy or sell, invitations, or lost-and-found notices. The project which took place in the autumn of 2016 documented and analyzed bulletin boards across Sweden by involving students from primary and secondary schools around the country. The students were tasked to take photos of the bulletin boards, code the images according to context and content, and then upload them to a server by means of a special mobile app which placed and displayed the boards on an interactive map. The involved researchers, who belonged to four research groups from four different universities, later analyzed the received data asking questions like “How are analog bulletin boards used in today’s digital society?”, “Which languages are used, by whom, and for which purposes?” and “How are text and images interacting?” The project ended in April 2017 with a report

Fig. 1 Example of public bulletin board used in the guide sent to the participants in the project. (Brounéus 2017, p. 7)

describing the preliminary results in a language accessible for the young participants (Björkvall et al. 2019). A fuller scientific account of the role of analog bulletin boards within contemporary digitalized media ecology was later published together with the codified data, making it publicly accessible for further research (Kullenberg et al. 2018). The latter publication also contains a detailed description of the content and form of the board messages, their senders (see Fig. 2), and the types of technologies used to refer to other media.

The bulletin board project is the first citizen science project initiated by Public & Science in the field of the humanities since they started organizing such projects in 2009. It is also, as far as we are aware, the largest mapping of public bulletin boards to ever have been carried out (Public & Science 2017). For researchers in the field of linguistic landscape studies the project provided an excellent opportunity to get a country-wide panoramic picture of the use of a particular LL genre, as well as to collect data on multilingualism. In a multicultural and globalized country such as

2. VAD?

Mer än en tredjedel av anslagen är **inbjudningar** (37 procent). Det kan till exempel handla om konserter, möten, föredrag och firanden (se figur 3).

Lika vanligt är det med **köp- och säljannonser av varor och tjänster**. Bland *varorna* finns cyklar, bilar, husdjur, och *tjänster* kan vara massage, stubbfräsning och hundrastning. Anslagstavlorna skapar alltså små marknader för varor och tjänster.

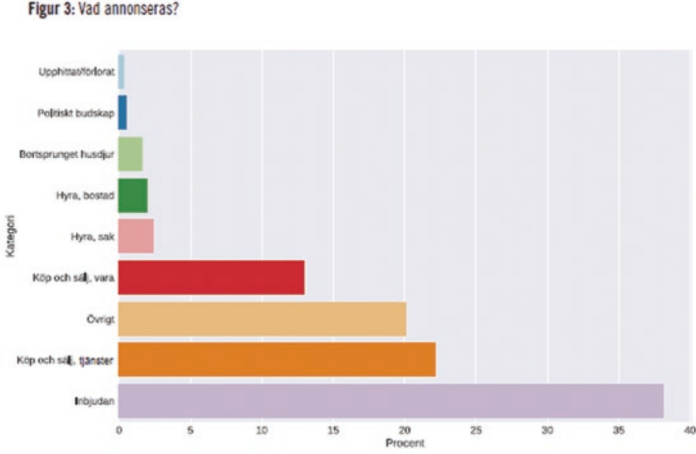


Fig. 2 What is communicated by whom? A short description from the final report explaining content distribution in an easy-to-understand language. The text above the figure summarizes and exemplifies the content of the two largest categories of notices: Invitations and Buy–and-sell notices. (Brounéus 2017, p. 12)

Sweden, with five officially recognized minority languages[1] and a population out of which in 2015 more than 16% were born outside the country,[2] the project offered an organizational frame for examining to what extent multilingualism had spread across the country: How widely used is English on public bulletin boards? Are immigrant languages found mainly in urban areas? To what extent are minority languages used for writing in the public sphere? Due to the top-down nature of the initiative, not only did the project offer relatively easy access to data which would be close to impossible to collect in a smaller research project, it simultaneously provided a technical and logistic infrastructure with staffing that provided access to digital resources and contacts to schools on a national level. This would have been very time consuming to organize for individual researchers.

Public & Science has an explicit learning perspective on research and innovation. By participating in data collection and ongoing discussions on issues related to their project, students get insights into research methods and scientific thinking. This educational dimension played a pivotal role in the development, adaptation, and implementation of the bulletin board project. The invitation to participate was distributed to primary and secondary schools across the country, and a website and a research-based teacher's guide were prepared with instructions and suggestions about how the bulletin board project could be used within education. 96 classes from 46 schools engaged in the project. 14 classes were grade 1–3, 48 were grade 4–6, 12 were grade 7–9 and 15 were grade 10–12 (secondary school). Additionally there were 7 mixed classes that spanned several grades. The ages of the students thus ranged from 6 to 18 years, but the majority of the participating students were between 9 and 12 years old. The participants were relatively balanced in terms of gender with a slight majority defining themselves as female.

In this chapter we will describe and analyze the bulletin board project from an educational and linguistic landscape research perspective. The chapter has a dual aim as it sets out to investigate the following questions: 1) How can bulletin boards be used as a productive site for project-based learning,[3] and 2) What insights can citizen science projects provide to education and research in the linguistic landscape? The two questions are intertwined in the sense that the first one examines how the educational potential of the bulletin board project was put into practice and points to inherent challenges and impediments of the project, while the second one looks at the project from a methodological perspective. The aim of this chapter thus differs from many LL studies in the sense that it does not pretend to present and analyze physical visual data from a particular geographic site but rather to reflect upon the design, implementation, and outcome of a citizen science project as well as its value for education and research in linguistic landscapes. In the chapter we

[1] Recognized minority languages in Sweden (since 1999): Finnish, Meänkieli (also known as Tornedal, Tornionlaaksonsuomi or Tornedalian), the Sami languages, Romani, and Yiddish.

[2] https://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/

[3] Project-Based Learning is here defined with Bell (2010, p. 39) as "a student-driven, teacher-facilitated approach to learning", where learners "drive their own learning through inquiry as well as work collaboratively with peers to research and create projects that reflect their knowledge."

will give a few examples of the actual notices found on the Swedish bulletin boards and illustrate questions that they incite, but for a description of what the students and we found in the linguistic landscape, we refer to the publications by Kullenberg et al. (2018), Björkvall et al. (2019), Järlehed (2019) and Nord et al. (2019).

The chapter has four parts: In the first section we describe the role and aims of the involved participants. Then we outline the educational design of the project and map differences and similarities compared to other educational projects in the field of linguistic landscape studies, as reported in the literature. In the third section, we examine the practical implementation of the bulletin board project, drawing on questionnaires from students and teachers as well as retrospective interviews with teachers. In the fourth section we discuss affordances and constraints when using citizen science as a method within education, and in the concluding section we evaluate what insights citizen science projects can provide to education and research in the linguistic landscape.

2 Role and Aims of Participants

To understand and assess the potential of citizen science projects for education and research in the LL we first need to outline the intended aims and roles of the different parties involved in the bulletin board project.

Public & Science works with and promotes dialogue and openness between researchers and the public. One of its annual activities is to organize citizen science projects where researchers and students from primary and secondary schools across Sweden cooperate to generate new knowledge by using scientific and authentic research methods, where students get insight into research processes and scientific thinking. Earlier projects have dealt with issues such as food science, climate change, and other natural science-related issues.[4] Public & Science supports its projects administratively and technically, by providing access to relevant networks, distributing materials to primary and secondary schools, financing development of technical resources such as digital applications and maps, providing free online access to data and results, and assisting in dissemination of results in simple language, in order to make the research process as open and transparent as possible. This makes their citizen science projects an exemplary case of what has been termed Research 2.0 (Koltay et al. 2015). Ideally, it contributes to the democratization of research in which researchers not only communicate, but also collect data and construct knowledge in collaboration with groups outside university – in this case students from primary and secondary schools in Sweden.

[4] The focus of the earlier projects were questions such as: Is food stored at the right temperature in different parts of the refrigerator? What can tea bags and soil decomposition rates tell us about climate change? For a more detailed list, see Public & Science: https://v-a.se/english-portal/projects/activity-projects/researchers-night/mass-experiments/

The choice of public bulletin boards as a basis for the citizen science project in 2016 was motivated by an interest in the consequences of digitalization of everyday life. Today, much communication has moved to social media and the internet, which is both faster and in many ways more efficient than traditional media. The question emerges then: what happens to old media such as printed books and newspapers, and analog bulletin boards? Thus, the study of bulletin boards is a project about the role of an old medium of communication in today's digitalized society. These analog bulletin boards have significant pedagogical potential in such a project because they form part of a local, daily reality with which the students can identify, and at the same time provide a relevant pedagogical tool for analyzing communication from a wide variety of perspectives.

For primary and secondary school teachers and students, participation in the citizen science project offered an excellent opportunity to get familiar with research methods and scientific thinking. The students learnt about important parts of the research process through their data collection and data processing. By integrating this work with ordinary classroom activities, the students could discuss the data they had collected, as well as observations and reflections they had made, in relation to the overall aims of the project. At the end of the project, students and teachers received a final report written in an easy-to-understand language, which not only presented results (see example in Fig. 2) and explained how the researchers had reached their conclusions, but also gave examples and illustrations of how researchers more generally work and gain knowledge, raising questions such as: What is theory and method? How can data be analyzed? And which conclusions may be drawn from the analysis of the data? (Brounéus 2017, p. 22–23). Following this feedback, interested students could continue working with themes that they found especially interesting, given that all data were made available via an open access database.[5] As for the teachers, they benefited from access to data, teaching material and methods based on state-of-the-art research which could inspire to use new pedagogical approaches.

Participating in the project offered a different but equally promising perspective for the involved researchers. As researchers in the field of linguistic landscape, our group was mainly keen on getting data on multilingualism, as explained above, whereas other researchers took an interest in the use of text and genre analysis (Nord et al. 2019), Swedish cultural heritage (Järlehed 2019), and research about what kind of learning activities that were announced and offered through the public boards (Björkvall et al. 2019). Generally speaking, we all had good hopes to find relevant data, but as the project was explorative, we did not know exactly what to find.

To sum up, the citizen science approach instigated by Public & Science not only stimulated scientific literacy and an interest in language and communication for specific purposes. It also invited teachers to consider learning processes from new

[5] The database can be found at https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0202077.s001 The data is of course also open to further research for the scientific community.

angles and generated research output which benefited the involved researchers. In short: The bulletin board project had the potential of effectively linking education and research in a way that created a win-win situation for all parties involved.

3 Educational Design

From an educational perspective, the bulletin board project consisted of three phases: 1) a preparatory phase (3 months) in which schools across the country were informed about the project, and where teachers who chose to participate were given the opportunity to acquaint themselves with the project by using the teacher's guide and integrate the activity as a part of their curriculum; 2) an implementation phase (1 month) during which each single class collectively prepared the activity, collected data, and reported their findings to the researchers, and discussed issues related to the findings; and 3) discussion of the final report in the classroom and evaluation of the project (both teachers and students) during the following term.

To achieve a successful outcome, we needed generic methods and guidelines that guide data collection and support reporting practices while simultaneously providing a sound pedagogical approach. A teacher's guide with suggested readings and themes related to language and communication as well as a variety of thematically relevant questions for discussion was therefore collaboratively produced by researchers and Public & Science as a preparation for carrying out the project and sent to the participating classes.[6] The teacher's guide was complemented with a step-by-step guide on how to download and install the mobile application, report bulletin board messages, transcribe and classify the content.[7] During the implementation phase, the participants could also ask questions and chat with researchers via a closed Facebook-group and ask Public & Science for support. Only a few took this opportunity.

During the data collection, students took photos of boards, transcribed the written content, and coded the images according to context, following the guidelines provided by the researchers, (e.g. 'indoor'/'outdoor', 'free access'/'restricted access'), and content (e.g. 'sender', 'topic', 'language'), and then uploaded them to a server. The students collected 1516 photos of notices/announcements in total, which rendered 1167 messages after a quality check. Each message on the bulletin board was photographed individually by using the app Public Boards produced by Spotteron, which placed and displayed the bulletin boards on an interactive map (see Fig. 3). The participants' transcriptions and classifications were later checked by two of the researchers and a proofreader to validate that the transcribed text corresponded to the image, that the transcriptions preserved misspellings and errors in

[6] The teacher's guide can be found at https://forskarfredag.se/filer/ff-anslagstavlan-lararhandledning2016.pdf

[7] The step-by-step guide can be found at https://forskarfredag.se/filer/AnslagstavlanPRAKTISKhandledning2016.pdf

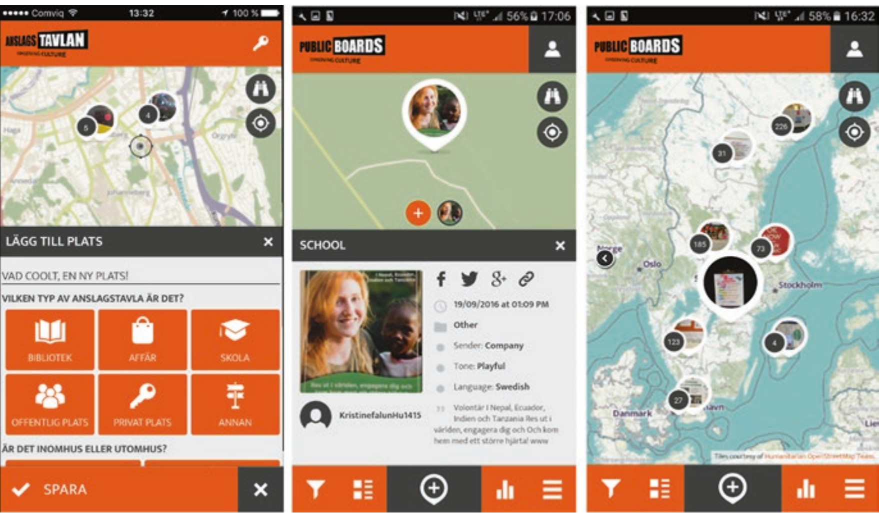


Fig. 3 Different interfaces of the app *Public Boards* on cell phone. *On the left* the possible choices when encoding the location of a new bulletin board: Library, shop, school, public place, private place, other (in Swedish). *In the middle* an encoded notice from a bulletin board in a school: a company looking for volonteers in developing countries. *On the right* a digital map of Sweden showing the distribution of encoded bulletin boards (https://www.spotteron.net/blog-and-news/bye-bye-anslagstavlan-public-boards-2)

the posted messages, and that the classification followed the instructions in the step-by-step guide. During this process all personal data (telephone numbers, email addresses, street addresses, personal social media usernames, vehicle registration plates and names) were removed.

In the third phase, some five months later, schools and students received feedback from researchers in the form of the final report mentioned above. 45 pupils and 22 teachers also answered an online questionnaire about the project. The questionnaires targeted attitudes towards research and the project work, surprising results, and learning outcomes (both self-estimations by students and estimations of learning outcomes made by teachers). Additionally, interviews about how the work was organized, the potential of citizen science within education and the students' reactions to findings about language use, were conducted retrospectively with four primary and one secondary school teachers.

To illustrate and discuss the educational challenges, we refer to theories of educational research, which typically make a distinction between a) intended learning goals, that is, the requirements of what students should learn, or the desired outcome; b) realized learning goals, that is, the educational activities which are actually presented to students in class and which are based on the teachers' understanding and interpretation of the intended learning goal; and c) what students actually acquire, or the learning outcome, which is based on student's individual capacities, earlier exposure, knowledge, and motivation, etc. It is not uncommon to find a

discrepancy between the intended and the realized learning goals as well as between the realized learning goals and the student's actual learning outcome (Dolin 2006, p. 115–118).

In the bulletin board project, the intended learning goals were reflected in Public & Science's ambition to give the students insight into research processes and scientific thinking as well as in the questions posed by the participating researchers. The realized goals were seen in the data collected by the students, their transcriptions of announcements, and the questions in the questionnaires which explicitly targeted learning, such as (for students) "Did you learn anything from participating in the project?" (mostly yes/no answers, some comments), and "Have you learnt anything about being a researcher?" or (for teachers) "Do you think that the students have acquired a more realistic picture of what it implies to be a researcher?" and "Do you think that the students' ideas about researchers have changed through their participation in the project?". Consequently, our means of analyzing the students' learning outcome is limited. In addition to these few broad questions about learning goals in the questionnaires, it was only through the retrospective interviews with the five teachers and their reflections about the students' learning that we can analyze the learning outcomes of the students. This implies that in this chapter we will mainly discuss the relationship between the intended and the realized learning goals and only to a limited extent touch upon the students' actual learning outcomes. In this way, the bulletin board project belongs to the range of educational analyses that see the field of linguistic landscape as a useful and relevant arena for educational activities, but that lacks solid empirical evidence to indicate if the desired learning outcomes have been met (Gorter 2018, p. 84).

Although the bulletin board project shared many features with other educational LL projects – e.g. its focus on multilingualism and multiliteracies (Burwell and Lenters 2015; Shohamy 2012), meaning making of multimodal texts (Cenoz and Gorter 2008), and the importance of authenticity (Malinowski 2016; Rowland 2013) - there were also distinct differences. Unlike many LL projects which typically are one-time, experimental, and small-scale course settings (Malinowski 2016, p. 110), and which can best be described as bottom-up processes where the teachers freely design projects which suit their various pedagogical goals, students, and contexts (Rowland 2013, p. 503), the bulletin board project was a top-down project and, within linguistic landscape research, a big-scale project (see Svendsen 2018 for a similar sized sociolinguistic citizen science project). With its 96 participating classes from 46 different schools and eight researchers, our project required a different kind of project management and coordination compared to small-scale projects. However, it is important to stress that the results of the bulletin board project, despite the significant number of participating schools and students and their geographical spread, indicate that in socioeconomic and demographic terms it did not cover Sweden as a whole. The participating schools typically turned out to be situated in residential, middle-class areas close to towns with many resourceful teachers and only few immigrants. This was reflected, among other things, in the amount of multilingual data provided in the project. These observations make us reflect on two sides of representativeness. On the one hand, the low number of multilingual signs

may be seen as not very representative of the entire Swedish linguistic landscape. The lack of such representativeness, which in this project probably resulted from the free and voluntary participation in combination with uneven distribution of socio-economic and technological resources, indicates a challenge for all citizen science projects. On the other hand, the results may be seen as representative in showing how participation in projects like this is likely to be unequally distributed across regional, economic, and social circumstances, and thus revealing a social/societal dimension of participation which needs to be taken into account when designing citizen science projects.

One of the major advantages working with the linguistic landscape in an educational context is that it can be used with any age group (Gorter 2018, p. 83), and although the literature primarily focuses on university students and adult EFL learners (see Chesnut et al. 2013; Malinowski 2010, 2015, 2016; Rowland 2013; Sayer 2010 among others), there seems to be a growing number of studies which focus on students in elementary schools such as first graders (Clemente et al. 2012), fifth graders (Dagenais et al. 2009, Pakarinen and Björklund 2018) and tenth graders (Burwell and Lenters 2015).

As opposed to these relatively clearly delimited age groups, we targeted a wide age range, from first grade in primary schools to the final grade in secondary school, even if almost half of the participating students were grade 4–6 students. Our project also differed from other projects regarding the role of both teachers and researchers. Generally, the same physical person had both these roles (Malinowski 2010, 2015, 2016; Rowland 2013; Sayer 2010) and, if not, both teachers and researchers participated side-by-side in the project and interacted with the students (Burwell and Lenters 2015). In our project, the functions and roles were not only clearly distinct; they also were serial, in the sense that the involved researchers did not have contact with the students or followed them during the project work. Thus, they could not observe how the students worked or analyze processes which could detect affordances or difficulties. The fact that the researchers came from four different universities and four different research groups also challenged the necessary coordination. The lack of personal contact with the students and the use of a basic questionnaire as the primary source for feedback from students and teachers implied that we did not get insight into the students' interpretations or access to qualitative feedback from student blogs, teacher journal entries, or other teacher/student products (Burwell and Lenters 2015, p. 214; Malinowski 2016, p. 101). However, the bulletin board project resulted in an open source database in which all project data were open to everyone. This seems to be an unusual, but very promising practice which will benefit education and research in the linguistic landscape.

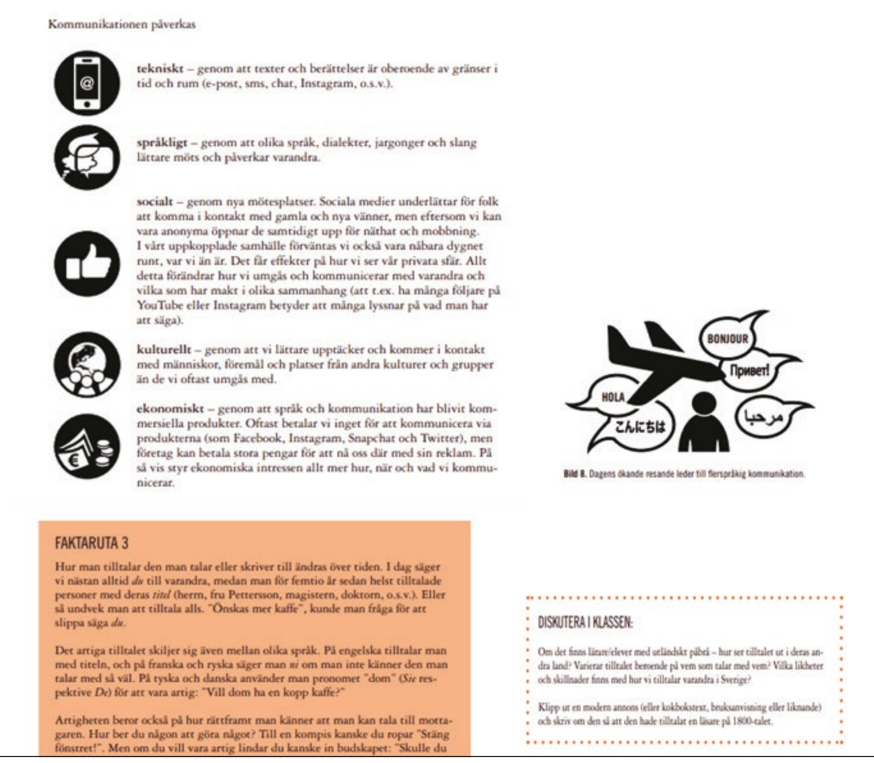
4 Implementing the Curriculum

To answer the question of how bulletin boards as a genre within the linguistic landscape can become a productive site for project-based learning, we first need to describe how the curriculum was put into practice. In this part, we draw on questionnaires from students and teachers as well as on retrospective interviews with five teachers who responded to our call for feedback about the project, about five months after the project had ended. This section is structured in four parts, each from a unique perspective: 1) an organizational perspective: How the teachers worked with the bulletin board project; 2) a technological perspective: If there were any challenges caused by using new media and technical devices; 3) a learning space perspective: Which spaces were activated during the learning process; and 4) learning outcomes: How students benefited from the project, based on the available data.

4.1 The Role of the Teachers

Teachers were the key actors in the bulletin board project in the sense that they were responsible for planning and organizing activities to suit the daily routines of the school. According to the questionnaires, it was the teachers who chose to work with the project, not the students. They chose to participate mainly because they wanted to take part in a research project, and because they found the themes and questions interesting. Of the 22 teachers who answered the questionnaire, only three reported that they participated because the students wanted to. This is not surprising, as most of the participants were primary school teachers working with children aged 6–12 years, who might well be able to express their interest in a suggested subject, but who were not at a stage where they fully understood the implications of such choices. Most teachers appreciated the teacher's guide - 15 of them gave it the best rating in the questionnaire – and evaluated the practical instructions as well as the app as 'good' or 'quite good' (16 and 14 respectively). Figure 4 shows a page from the teacher's guide, to be used to raise students' awareness about communication. The teacher's guide suggests themes and activities.

Before starting the practical work of collecting data, most teachers reported that they worked with themes provided in the teacher's guide, such as communication, different modes of written communication, different media, and multilingualism. The data collection process was organized in diverse ways. Some teachers identified bulletin boards in their local neighborhoods, while others asked the students to find them. The students either biked or walked in pairs or small groups. Some teachers organized a common walk from bulletin board to bulletin board, where they took photos together. Some preferred to make the transcriptions on the spot and uploaded these directly, while other groups did the transcriptions in the classroom or as homework. The interviewed teachers said that the data collection led to a positive social



Kommunikationen påverkas

tekniskt – genom att texter och berättelser är oberoende av gränser i tid och rum (e-post, sms, chat, Instagram, o.s.v.).

språkligt – genom att olika språk, dialekter, jargonger och slang lättare möts och påverkar varandra.

socialt – genom nya mötesplatser. Sociala medier underlättar för folk att komma i kontakt med gamla och nya vänner, men eftersom vi kan vara anonyma öppnar de samtidigt upp för näthat och mobbning.
I vårt uppkopplade samhälle förväntas vi också vara nåbara dygnet runt, var vi än är. Det får effekter på hur vi ser vår privata sfär. Allt detta förändrar hur vi umgås och kommunicerar med varandra och vilka som har makt i olika sammanhang (att t.ex. ha många följare på YouTube eller Instagram betyder att många lyssnar på vad man har att säga).

kulturellt – genom att vi lättare upptäcker och kommer i kontakt med människor, föremål och platser från andra kulturer och grupper än de vi oftast umgås med.

ekonomiskt – genom att språk och kommunikation har blivit kommersiella produkter. Oftast betalar vi inget för att kommunicera via produkterna (som Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat och Twitter), men företag kan betala stora pengar för att nå oss där med sin reklam. På så vis styr ekonomiska intressen allt mer hur, när och vad vi kommunicerar.

Bild 8. Dagens ökande resande leder till flerspråkig kommunikation.

FAKTARUTA 3

Hur man tilltalar den man talar eller skriver till ändras över tiden. I dag säger vi nästan alltid *du* till varandra, medan man för femtio år sedan helst tilltalade personer med deras *titel* (herrn, fru Pettersson, magistern, doktorn, o.s.v.). Eller så undvek man att tilltala alls. "Önskas mer kaffe", kunde man fråga för att slippa säga *du*.

Det artiga tilltalet skiljer sig även mellan olika språk. På engelska tilltalar man med titeln, och på franska och ryska säger man *ni* om man inte känner den man talar med så väl. På tyska och danska använder man pronomet "dom" (*Sie* respektive *De*) för att vara artig: "Vill dom ha en kopp kaffe?"

Artigheten beror också på hur rättframt man känner att man kan tala till mottagaren. Hur ber du någon att göra något? Till en kompis kanske du ropar "Stäng fönstret!". Men om du vill vara artig lindar du kanske in budskapet: "Skulle du

DISKUTERA I KLASSEN:

Om det finns lärare/elever med utländskt påbrå – hur ser tilltalet ut i deras andra land? Varierar tilltalet beroende på vem som talar med vem? Vilka likheter och skillnader finns med hur vi tilltalar varandra i Sverige?

Klipp ut en modern annons (eller kokbokstext, bruksanvisning eller liknande) och skriv om den så att den hade tilltalat en läsare på 1800-talet.

Fig. 4 Page from the teacher's guide about how communication is affected by technical, linguistic, social, cultural and economic factors, and how increased globalization leads to multilingual communication. The text box bottom left informs on forms of address in different languages while the text box bottom right suggests a related class room activity. (Teacher's guide, pp. 10–11)

interaction between the students and stated that the major obstacles which they experienced during the process were of technical nature. They also said that they experienced lack of time for the task.

Overall, the teachers highly appreciated participating in the project: 20 of the 22 responding teachers (91%) found that it added advantages compared to traditional school work, stressing especially the link to" real life" which not only allowed students to realize that the acquired knowledge was useful, but also promoted the students' interest in learning more about research. Furthermore, the teachers found that the students appreciated being part of the project: 59% of the teachers indicated that the students found the project exciting, 46% estimated that the students found it interesting, and 32% that the project was fun. As we shall see below, the students' answers gave a similar picture. More than half of the teachers did not think that the work generally was too hard for the students, but 33% stated that the project was hard for the students to understand and quite demanding, especially when it came to transcribing the texts of bulletin board messages. Almost all teachers thought that

students learnt something new about communication through participating in the project, and 68% of the teachers said that most students were motivated, even if they acknowledged that some students lacked interest and motivation.

Not all teachers and classes completed the project. 14% of the teachers who answered the questionnaire stated that collecting the data was too time-consuming to fit into their curriculum, and a few others deemed the reporting procedures too complicated, though they proceeded with the data collection. But the main challenge seems to be related to the final phase of the project, which implied reading and discussing the final report. Many teachers did not engage in this part, and none of them participated with their students in the follow-up Facebook chat with researchers. This may be due to one of two reasons (or both): Either the project took longer than initially planned, and therefore teachers chose to save time by eliminating the final phase; or the educational interest in the project was more linked to the out-of-class activities and the use of mobile technology than to the actual content of the project. Nevertheless, in the questionnaires some teachers asked for more educational products, such as YouTube videos and power point presentations, to complement the report.

4.2 Choice of Medium and Technology

Citizen science projects have been extremely well served by mobile technology, such as smartphones and tablets with camera and access to the internet. This was also true for the bulletin board project, where it was of major importance for the teachers in order to reach the intended learning goals. The use of media and technology had two conditions: The availability of these technical devices and the ability to use them for the planned project work. Regarding the first condition, there were apparently no problems. In most cases, the students used their own mobile phones, but some teachers preferred to use class tablet sets. In practice, this implied, as far as we could read from the questionnaires and the interviews, that no student was excluded from the project due to lack of available technical devices. The major obstacles of the project, according to 12 teachers answering the questionnaire, were of technical nature (unfortunately not specified). The students, however, did not report such technical obstacles: Most of them (58%) stated that it was fun to take photos, 27% said that they appreciated using the app, some also liked to transcribe the texts of the board announcements and to translate texts into Swedish. However, not all students agreed on this. About one fourth stated that it was hard to use the app and to transcribe the texts of the bulletin boards, some argued that it was difficult to translate texts into Swedish, and half of all students claimed that it was challenging to be forced to be very precise.

It became clear in the retrospective interviews with teachers, where we could go into more depth about how the students worked, that the implementation varied considerably. One class, for example, chose to take photos, categorize and transcribe the texts, and then upload them directly on the spot, thus using only the

device for all steps, even if they sometimes lost texts in the process. Another class chose to do the transcriptions and categorizations in the classroom by using paper and pen, while a third, a secondary school, decided to work in pairs when taking the photos and then to meet and discuss a joint transcription. This procedure proved to be problematic, as nobody turned up for the meeting, but rather decided to deal with the tasks individually. Moreover, neither teachers nor students reported on problems with categorization of the bulletin board messages in their feedback, even if we know from the literature that this can create problems. Rowland describes the process of categorization as a challenge for the students which resulted in confusion (2013, pp. 497–8) and Burwell and Lenters portray" the process of categorization (…) as nonetheless daunting" with their tenth graders (2015, p. 214).

4.3 Learning Space

It is often argued that the linguistic landscape is "an easy and enjoyable way of involving students into field work" (Lazdina and Marten 2009, p. 212). Furthermore, if such fieldwork is organized in a local neighborhood or an urban area in the vicinity of the school, it is seen as an easily manageable and logistically appealing activity, be it as a core or supplementary school activity. According to the interviewed teachers in our study, moving the learning activity outside the classroom, which made it possible to explore how language is used in society, was extremely motivating for both teachers and students and contributed considerably to students' general learning about communication. This is hardly surprising, given that the pedagogical benefits of authentic language activities often have been highlighted in earlier studies (e.g., Malinowski 2016; Sayer 2010). What interested us was rather the discursively constructed distinction made by the interviewed teachers between the classroom and "reality as it takes place outside school" (teacher interview 1) – as if what happened in the classroom was not a genuine part of real life. This reflects Gruenewald's distinction between "abstractions and simulations of classroom learning" and examination of real places (Gruenewald 2008, p. 317), a distinction which has been noticed for years within communicative foreign language education and sought to be overcome, for example by sending foreign language students abroad (Malinowski 2016; Nielsen 2002).

Seeing bulletin boards as a site of contextualized, authentic language use enables students to understand how language and place are intertwined, which is an example of what Malinowski calls localization (2016, pp. 100–101). However, whereas most educational projects focus mainly on a one-site localized perspective of the linguistic landscape, the bulletin board project paves the way for including a multi-site learning perspective, through its citizen science approach. By instantly visualizing all announcements that are uploaded through the app onto a digitized map that can be accessed on an open webpage, the technology expands the students' learning space through this multi-sited dimension (see Fig. 5). Interestingly, neither teachers nor students reflected on this expansion of the learning space, perhaps because the

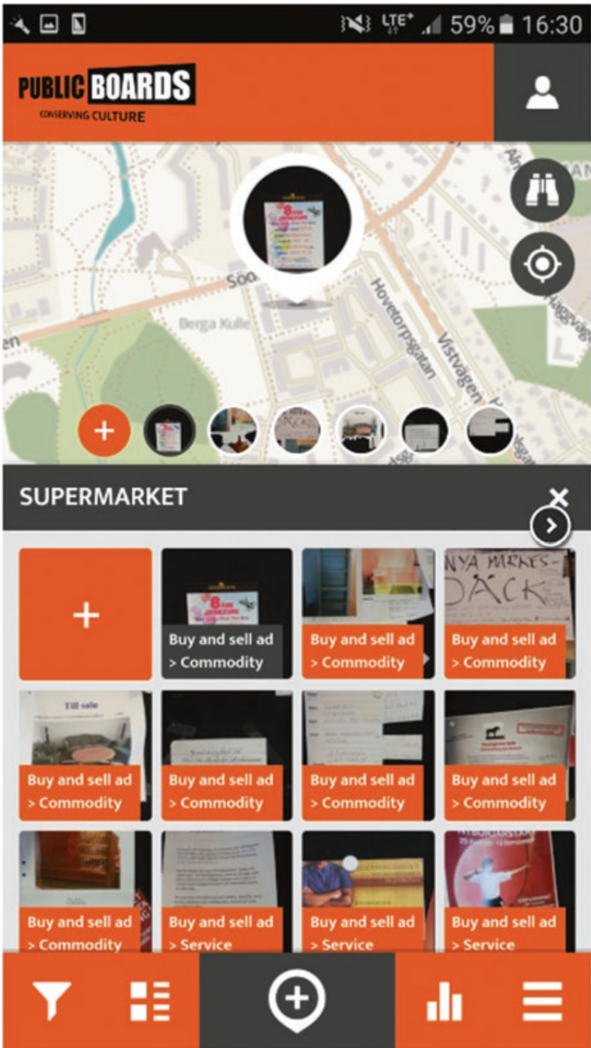


Fig. 5 Screenshot from cell phone showing the easy access to buy and sell adds in supermarkets which allows students to look for similarities and differences, new language features across space, etc. (https://www.spotteron.net/blog-and-news/bye-bye-anslagstavlan-public-boards-2)

questionnaires only asked questions about technical aspects of using apps and websites, perhaps because the internet has become such an integrated part of the learning space that even teachers no longer consider this a novelty. Even though nothing in our data explicitly showed that the interactive map played an active role in the educational process, it is obvious that this multi-sited learning space has an educational potential. It allows students and teachers to get access to the postings of other

students, look for similarities and differences in language use and content, find new language features across space, etc.

4.4 Learning Attitudes and Learning Outcome

As stated in the description of the project's educational design, it is hard to draw any conclusions about students' actual learning outcomes, based on the questionnaire data. From the questionnaires, we can only infer how they experienced the project. About half of the students thought that looking for public bulletin boards was fun. Slightly less than half of them (40%) also said that the project generally was fun, 25% said that it was easy, 33% that it was interesting, and another 33% that it was exciting**.** Some also enjoyed reading about the results in the final report and said that they liked to be part of a research activity. But only five students (11%) stated that they learnt something about being a researcher and ten (22%) that they would like to become a researcher when they grow up. Not all students, however, were as enthusiastic about the project. The multiple-choice options showed that 33% of the students found it hard to find bulletin boards, 50% of the students claimed that working with the project was boring, 33% stated that it was weird or strange, 25% that it was complicated and another 25% that it was difficult. And 31% of the students found it difficult to understand the results of the final report.

The issue of multilingualism was central to our initial research interest, but as mentioned above, practically all announcements which were collected and uploaded as photos, turned out to be written in Swedish - only 5% were written fully or partly in other languages than Swedish, primarily in English, but also Finnish, Arabic, Kurdish and Somali were used. This was an unexpected result, both because more than 16% of the Swedish population are born outside the country, but also because Sweden attracts a considerable number of tourists and exchange students. This result was surprising to the students to some extent, since 27% of them stated that they had found fewer foreign languages than they had expected, while 18% had found more foreign languages than expected. The limited number of announcements in foreign languages (see Fig. 6 as an example) made the students reflect on the validity of the collected data: 64% of the students believed that they would find more foreign languages in other places, that is, they realized that their own data were not representative of the language situation in Sweden. Also, some of the teachers observed this bias and mentioned in the interviews that they should have put more effort into finding multilingual public bulletin boards.

Nevertheless, the feedback we received from the teacher interviews shows that the language situation led to interesting reflections among some of the students, especially those from a participating school situated in the southeastern part of Älvdalen municipality in northern Dalarna, Sweden. Students here are exposed to an old and still ongoing discussion about the status of Elfdalian (*Älvdalska),* which is considered by many locals to be a language distinct from Swedish, and thus not a dialect. The teacher in Älvdalen described how the project made her students

Fig. 6 A multilingual English-Swedish-Korean announcement from a school in southern Sweden with pedagogical potential, e.g. for a classroom discussion on the role of semiotic resources in communication: What is the link between the pictures to the left and the cakes to the right ("Bonus: cake")?

become aware of the bulletin boards as an important site not only for announcing various activities, services and products, but also and more importantly as an arena for negotiation and contestation of language policy and visibility. Once her class started paying attention to the boards, the students saw them as an easily accessible and vital resource for language policing from below, potentially increasing the visibility of the local language variety, Elfdalian, and this insight further incited discussions about language status and linguistic rights, not least among immigrants in Sweden. This example shows how the project offered a tool for developing the students' awareness about language use and triggered a desire to actually change the local linguistic landscape in order to make it more inclusive.

5 Affordances and Constraints

When assessing if public bulletin boards as a genre within the linguistic landscape is a productive site for project-based learning, it is conducive to start by analyzing the relationship between the intended and the realized learning goals, followed by an analysis of the students' learning outcomes. Starting with the intended learning goals, we see that many of Public & Science's intended learning goals were fulfilled. The organizational top-down process, combined with how the involved teachers worked with the project, made the implementation of the project relatively successful, especially regarding the preparatory phase, the data collection phase,

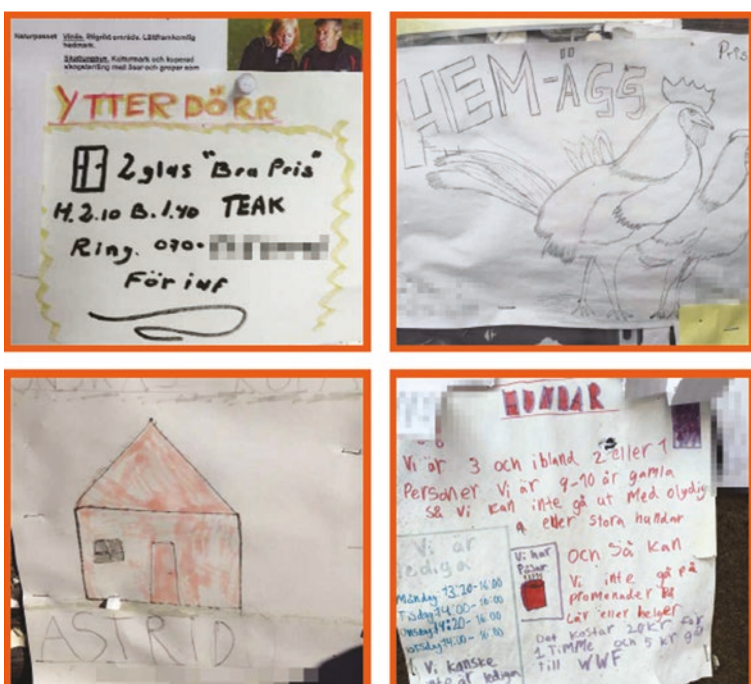


Fig. 7 Hand drawn images on buy and sell adds: Selling a front door (upper left), eggs (upper right), buying a playhouse (lower left) and offering a service of walking dogs (lower right). Are children's pictures more exciting than adults'? (Brounéus 2017, p. 21)

and the production of the final research report – a process which led to the fact that in December 2016 the bulletin board project was awarded The Open Knowledge Award as Best Open Science Initiative in Sweden.[8] At the same time, however, the process was an illustrative example of a project where not all intended goals were reached. Many of the involved teachers did not use the final report as part of their teaching, nor did they explore the photos uploaded to the interactive map by other school classes, and they did not participate in the Facebook chat which ended the project. In short, many teachers did not use the full potential for teaching and learning which the project offered.

If we look at the intended versus the realized learning goals from the perspective of the students, many of them found the learning activities motivating and appreciated the kind of learning which took place outside the classroom. Compared to traditional teacher-oriented classroom activities, the project activities activated learning styles which are not often catered for, and we believe that this was

[8] The Open Knowledge Awards have been launched by the non-profit organization Open Knowledge Sweden and were awarded for the first time in a ceremony at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm on 2 December 2016.

conducive for achieving the students' learning outcomes. Simultaneously, however, a considerable number of the students found the tasks both difficult and boring. Given the limited data we have obtained from the questionnaires, it is not possible to analyze these responses further. Nevertheless, such polarized patterns are documented by other experimental digital projects in which resourceful students were strengthened by such learning activities, while weak students withdrew from the activities, claiming that they were boring (Nielsen et al. 2005; Nielsen 2012). Despite these facts, we claim that bulletin boards form a productive site for project-based learning, because, as also stated by Burwell and Lenters, we realized that linguistic landscape pedagogy "can spark engagement, agency and community participation in the lives of urban youth" (2015, p. 210). For example, this was demonstrated by students at the earlier mentioned school in Älvdalen who, because of their increased language awareness, wanted to engage in social change by actively working for establishing more communal bulletin boards in their community.

Another area where the intended goal of the project was not reached *at first sight* was related to the collection of multilingual data as input to our research in the linguistic landscape, which was why we chose to participate in the project in the first place. As mentioned above, only 5% of the bulletins which were collected in the project were written in a language other than Swedish. Even though this result is not representative in correlation with the national demographics, it may well be that the documented locations are more monolingual than the national average, or that they are monolingual in their linguistic practices despite of their multilingual population. This is a well-documented fact within LL studies and would need more research in our case. In any event, these results reflect a major principle of citizen science, namely, that all participation is voluntary and that the collected data therefore risks being biased. However, both students and teachers reflected upon this methodological problem which contributed to the intended learning about research processes. Furthermore, the monolingual character of the documented data worked in the way we wanted in that it spurred the students and teachers to reflect on issues of visibility, representation, multilingualism, and nationhood.

Citizen science research can thus be seen as dependent on the number of participants, who the participants are, where they live and also their social background. This raises the question of how valid citizen science research is, not least within the humanities and the social sciences. Natural sciences has a longer tradition of using citizen science for data collection. Nevertheless, lack of experience does not imply that citizen science is not suited for research within the humanities - it only poses new and different requirements regarding the research process (see Purschke 2017a, b; Svendsen 2018). This lack of experience was demonstrated in our project. For instance, we were not explicit enough in the instructions and questions supplied to our target group, and therefore did not receive the kind of data we wanted. At the same time, such outcomes urge us to reflect upon the different 'ways of seeing' (Berger 1972) of 'real' versus citizen scientists: How is the culturally and scholarly trained and socialized perception of the world around us influencing what we as researchers expect both us and citizens to see, and what we and they *de facto* see?

In sum, a successful citizen science project within the field of linguistic landscape places higher demands on a thorough and detailed planning and project management, compared to small, individual research projects. This is especially important regarding geographical distribution, preparations, and specified instructions on how to transcribe and how to use specific categories for labelling and uploading the data. Likewise, the teacher instructions must be precise, as the teachers are the crucial link between researchers and students. In the same way, the construction of the questionnaire must be carefully designed if we want to assess the effects of the project on students' learning outcomes. Additionally, considerable time should be allocated to check and secure the quality of the data. Such proactive measures can never totally eliminate all the methodological and epistemological problems of citizen science projects, but will minimize many of them. Ideally, they will bridge the many ways of seeing that are entangled in citizen science projects.

6 Conclusion

Is a citizen science format like the one we have conducted on bulletin boards a promising way forward for linking teaching and research in the field of linguistic landscape? In other words, is there a genuine educational and research potential in citizen science research? Despite the above reservations, our response is clearly affirmative. The citizen science format has the potential of integrating education and research in a new way, at least in the field of languages, in which students are trained and gain insights into scientific thinking, where students and teachers step out of the classroom and into a real life-setting which is very much appreciated by both, and where researchers can gain access to large amounts of data. In other words, the citizen science format creates a cycle in which research and education mutually benefit from each other, but which at the same time cannot be clearly separated. Where does the implication of pedagogy begin and where does it end? When does pedagogy turn into nascent research and when does reporting of research drift into educational efforts? Thus, the citizen science format provides an example of a knowledge ecology or knowledge ecosystem where diverse types of knowledge and learning are integrated for mutual benefit. Such a knowledge ecology that blurs the distinction between research and education corresponds well to the modern globalized society's need for blended learning and knowledge forms, as has been pointed out in the management literature (Shrivastava 1998, among others). Citizen science also benefits from economies of scale in the sense that it can generate much larger quantities of data than the small-scale studies which usually characterize the field of linguistic landscape. But it comes with a price: Citizen science projects must be coordinated, managed, and quality assured to a much greater degree than small-scale studies, and this is time consuming. The considerable educational potential in generating generic didactic courses also sets specific requirements for the development of learning materials and instructions, which are not based on knowledge of the individual school or neighborhood. Furthermore, researchers must be prepared to work within

a top-down approach that requires a lot of infrastructure – which is a great support when things work out fine – but which also requires active engagement throughout the project. In return for these efforts, the citizen science format contributes with its premises of openness and accessibility in collecting and accessing data to a democratization of research that benefits both education and the research community.

We firmly believe that the citizen science format represents a research approach which will be used more extensively in the years to come, as already demonstrated by projects such as *Lingscape* in Luxemburg (Purschke 2017a, 2017b) and *Ta tempen på språket!* in Norway (Svendsen 2018). We see this as a great strength for education and research in the field of linguistic landscape in the sense that the technological innovation with its digital solutions and capacity of handling big data opens up for new directions and perspectives which in a helpful way will complement the many small-scale projects that are already taking place today.

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