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Rosa-Marie Mann

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# 1. Introduction

The examination of the languages occurring in a public space is called linguistic landscaping and is an upcoming field of sociolinguistics. As a result of this field, various scholars have captured the relation between language policy and its reflection in the linguistic landscape (Kallen 2009, Blackwood and Tufi 2011, Landry and Bourhis 1997, Spolsky 2004, Shohamy 2006).

This paper aims to investigate the linguistic landscapes as well as the language policies of two universities, WU Vienna and CBS Copenhagen, in two different countries (Austria and Denmark), which have the same focus and a similar idea on academic internationalization. Both universities are universities of economy and are situated in countries of similar size and a similar number of inhabitants. Additionally, they contain a comparable number of students. The aim hereby is to study their similarities or differences in regards to the public use of languages. Additionally, this thesis examines the relation between the universities' linguistic landscapes and their language policies.

There are two main points of interest in this study. Firstly, it aims to determine in what density English, the 'lingua franca' of tertiary education, is present at the universities, since official voices of both academic institutions claim to focus strongly on internationalization. Connected to this aspect, it is of further interest to see whether local languages are still present in the linguistic landscapes and if so, to what extent. Secondly, this thesis will highlight the examination of the language policies and their implementation in the linguistic landscapes. As a result, the following research questions will be answered in this study:

- *How dominant is English in the universities' linguistic landscape?*
- *How far are the universities' language policies reflected in the linguistic landscape of the universities?*

The answers to these questions will be approached by initially examining what language policy is. Furthermore, several definitions for language policy as well as different kinds of language policy will be presented. Secondly, the aspect of the internationalization of tertiary education will be discussed, with special regards

to language policies at higher education institutions. Subsequently, the approach and the different kinds of methodology of linguistic landscaping will be introduced before giving background information of the study, such as the linguistic situation of Austria and Denmark, as well as the difference of the language policies of WU and CBS. The primary target of the theoretical background of this thesis is to draw a clear connection to the linguistic landscaping study.

This study is particularly interesting because the universities are situated in countries with a different significance of the English language. In both countries, this language is highly valued; however, Denmark has a law regarding 'parallel language use' (for more information see chapter 5.1.2.). Therefore, the question arises whether this becomes visible in the academic setting.

## 2. What is language policy?

### 2.1. Definitions of language policy

Language policy is a sub-field of sociolinguistics, and before investigating this field in more detail the term 'policy' will be clarified. A suitable definition can be found in the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary* ([www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policy](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policy), 25 February 2015). According to this website, the term 'policy' means:

- (a) a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions
- (b) a high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures especially of a governmental body

Using this definition, the term 'language policy' would describe a guideline and overall plan regarding future language decisions in a certain context. In addition to finding an appropriate definition, the detailed discussion of the term was based on the theoretical literature. However, finding one definite description of language policy was not possible, since many scholars interpret the term differently. Hence, a few definitions were selected due to their suitability for this thesis. These definitions will be elaborated on in this chapter.

Harold F. Schiffman (2012) defines language policy as follows:

[L]anguage policy is primarily a **social construct**. It may consist of various elements of an explicit nature – juridical, judicial, administrative, constitutional and/or legal language may be extant in some jurisdictions, but whether or not a polity has such explicit text, policy as a cultural construct rests primarily on other conceptual elements – belief systems, attitudes, myths, the whole complex that we are referring to as linguistic culture, which is the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious strictures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background. (Schiffman 2012: 276, my emphasis)

Bernard Spolsky (2004) approaches the term 'language policy' by dividing it into three elements:

A useful first step is to distinguish between the three components of the language policy of a speech community: (1) its **language practices** – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; (2) its **language beliefs** or ideology – the beliefs about language and language used; and (3) any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of **language intervention, planning, or management**. (Spolsky 2004: 5, my emphasis)

Spolsky (2004: 217) argues that language practices, language beliefs and language management do not have to be identical: "The way people speak, the way they think they should speak, and the way they think other people should speak may regularly differ." Furthermore, he states that in various nations, the language policy says that

the country is monolingual although there are various language practices happening among the people. (2004: 218) Therefore, Spolsky suggests that language management should be aimed at combining the actual practices as well as the ideology of a community. Spolsky further recommends that when looking at a language policy, all language varieties that are used within the community have to be taken into account. Moreover, it has to be realized “[...] that language policy exists in the wider social, political, economic, cultural, religious and ideological context that makes up human society.”

James. W. Tollefson (1991) offers a rather critical definition:

[L]anguage planning policy means the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes). That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use. (Tollefson 1991: 16)

Tollefson sees language policy as an instrument of power. According to him, language policy “institutionalizes language hierarchies that privilege dominant groups/languages and denies equal access to political power and economic resources.” (Johnson 2013: 7)

To sum up, Schiffman and Spolsky highlight that – although the term ‘policy’ is slightly deceptive since it is easily connoted with politics – there are different levels of language policies that can happen in any social construct (e.g. a family), as well as on governmental levels. Spolsky furthermore claims that ‘language policy’ contains language beliefs, ideologies and practices. Johnson (2013) on the other hand warns that it still has to be distinguished between language ideologies and policies and that they should be regarded as “distinct, albeit interconnected, concepts.” (2013: 7)

## 2.2. Types of language policy

Johnson (2013: 10) has summarized different types of language policy, which have been adapted for this thesis, which is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1. Types of language policies

<b>Genesis</b>	<i>Top-down</i> Macro-level policy developed by some governing or authoritative body or person	<i>Bottom-up</i> Micro-level or grassroots generated policy for and by the community that it impacts
<b>Means and goals</b>	<i>Overt</i> Overtly expressed in written or spoken policy texts	<i>Covert</i> Intentionally concealed at the macro-level (collusive) or at the micro-level (subversive)
<b>Documentation</b>	<i>Explicit</i> Officially documented in written or spoken policy texts	<i>Implicit</i> Occurring without or in spite of official policy texts
<b>In law and in practice</b>	<i>De jure</i> Policy “in law”; officially documented in writing	<i>De facto</i> Policy “in practice”; refers to both locally produced policies that arise without or in spite of de jure policies and local language practices that differ from de jure policies; de facto practices can reflect (or not) de facto policies

The terms ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ mean that language policy can either be written by a leading entity or “by and for the communities they are meant to impact.” (Johnson 2013: 10) What has to be kept in mind is that there are still different levels of policy making and one that is typically thought of being ‘bottom-up’ might be considered as ‘top-down’ for someone else. Thus, “[...] the terms top-down and bottom-up are relative, depending on who is doing the creating and who is doing the interpreting and appropriating.” (Johnson 2013: 10) In addition, Ben-Rafael (2009: 49) thinks that ‘top-down’ signs “serve official policies”, while ‘bottom-up’ signs “are designed much more freely”. In other words, the distinction between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ is essential, because there are different actors with different purposes

behind these two types. Language policy in education and language tests is “often applied in the top-down area by authorities” according to Shohamy (2006: 139).

Furthermore, these language policies need to be differentiated between ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’, which are categories defined by Shohamy (2006: 50). Schiffman (1996) uses different terms, namely ‘overt’ (explicit) and ‘covert’ (implicit) language policies. These terms are used to clarify whether a language policy is official or unofficial and whether it is written down in a document or not:

In some contexts, language policy is stated explicitly through official documents, such as national laws, declaration of certain languages as “official” or “national”, language standards, curricula tests, and other types of documents. In other contexts, language policy is not stated explicitly, but can be derived implicitly from examining a variety of *de facto* practices. In these situations language policy is more difficult to detect as it is subtle and more hidden from the public eye. Implicit language policies can occur also at national level as many nations do not have explicit policies that are formulated in official documents. (Shohamy 2006: 50)

In other words, implicit policies can be influential. To exemplify, the United States’ official language is not explicitly written down in a document, but nonetheless it is common knowledge that it is English. Yet, it is important to point out that Shohamy (2006) has a different interpretation of ‘covert’ than Schiffman (1996): she “uses the term covert to describe a policy with hidden agendas, which are intentionally and covertly embedded by policy creators” (Johnson 2013: 11) Schiffman (2012: 150) includes this idea, but further writes that covert language policies could also be “subversive”, for instance in the case if a social group actively opposes a language policy that is ‘overt’.

Lastly, ‘*de jure*’ and ‘*de facto*’ are terms translated from Latin, which mean “regarding law” and “regarding fact”. Hence, language policies that are described as ‘*de jure*’ are policies that are established because of laws. ‘*De facto*’ policies are based on what is happening in reality. An example would be Morocco, which has Arabic and Tamazight as ‘*de jure*’ official languages. However, a big number of Moroccans speak French ‘*de facto*’.

While the notion of *de jure* does seem to line up with overt and explicit language policies, all of which reference the “official-ness” of a policy, an activity that is *de facto* is not necessarily covert or implicit or even a “policy” in the traditional sense – it is an activity that occurs in practice despite whatever the *de jure* policy states. This does appear to imply that whatever happens in practice is somewhat different than what is officially stated as a *de jure* language policy. (Johnson 2013: 11)



In other words, 'de facto' means that policies happen in a social structure, which is different from what the law says.

The classification of the different types of language policy was necessary in order to base the analysis of the two linguistic landscaping cases in this diploma thesis on them. As a next step, the internationalisation of tertiary education will be discussed, including the emergence of language policies in higher education institutions.

### **3. The internationalisation of tertiary education**

In the twenty-first century higher education has become increasingly internationalised around the world, which is why the linguistic landscapes of universities have changed visibly within the last decades. The notion of internationalisation of tertiary education has also been referred to in the *Times Higher Education*:

In response to a more integrated world economy and improved travel and communication technology, almost every government around the world, from Canada to Gambia, is making an effort to internationalise higher education. (Gibney 2013)

This trend is eminently present in Europe, with the growth of the European Union (EU) – including 27 countries and containing more than 20 official languages and a number of 490 million people. Thus, the idea of multilingualism and multiculturalism has taken on a rising role in regards to educational politics in Europe. (Tudor 2008: 51)

Possible reasons for the internationalisation of higher education in Europe (EU as well as the European Council) are the opening of the borders and globalisation, which have both led to a rise of migration. Additionally, the *Bologna Process*, the development of the *European Higher Education Area (AHEA)* in 2010 as well as the introduction of the *Erasmus Programme* in 1987 led to a great number of student and staff mobility. (Lauridsen 2013: 128) Due to these developments within Europe, gaining knowledge of languages has increased in importance. (King et al. 2010; Williams 2009, found in Benedictus-van den Berg 2011: 137) The European Union itself follows a “policy favouring multilingualism and supporting language teaching and learning” (Zeiss 2010: 43), which is not obligatory, but only recommended. The policy is stated on the homepage of the European Parliament as follows:

As part of its efforts to promote mobility and intercultural understanding, the EU has designated language learning as an important priority, and funds numerous programmes and projects in this area. Multilingualism, in the EU's view, is an important element in Europe's competitiveness. One of the objectives of the EU's language policy is therefore that every European citizen should master two other languages in addition of their mother tongue. ([http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU\\_5.13.6.html](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/displayFtu.html?ftuld=FTU_5.13.6.html) 15 September 2014)

Hence, the rising importance of multilingualism in Europe has had an immense impact on European higher education and universities in Europe started contributing to "European integration and the necessity of maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe." (European Language Council 2001: 4) In other words, higher education institutions (HEIs) are expected to become "multilingual spaces, promoting plurilingualism as a value and a competence" (Beacco and Byram 2007), and taking part in the development of "an understanding and acceptance of the immense value of linguistic diversity and of less widely used languages." (Bergan 2002: 18)

### **3.1. Language policies in higher education**

One of the main steps to make the development of multilingualism work in higher education is the elaboration of institutional language policies (Beacco and Byram 2008; Mačianskienė, 2011 found in Kelly 2013: 18), which is also pointed out by Tudor (2008: 51):

A growing number of HE [higher education] institutions have adopted policies designed to promote language learning. It is thus possible to speak of the emergence of the concept of HE language policy, namely the strategic decisions of HEIs to equip their students, researchers and both academic and administrative staff with communicative skills in one or more foreign languages.

However, the language policies in higher education institutions have not developed at the same time, since every university has made a policy fitting its conditions. In addition, the development of language policies at the universities has not fully worked out without obstacles, which was found out in a study by Tudor (2008):

Language specialists frequently report the presence of obstacles to the development of a language policy in their institution. The most frequently mentioned obstacles were funding, attitudes (e.g. "A lot of people don't see any need for language policy", "Poor understanding of the role of languages by professors"), and organisational/institutional problems (e.g. Rivalries between departments", "The 'problem' of language credits crowding out other courses", "Each faculty develops their curricula and is more interested in the academic science related courses"). (Tudor 2008: 53)

Despite the problems or oppositions that occur or have occurred during the implementation of a language policy at a university, there have also been

suggestions concerning the effective implementation of language policies. Lauridsen (2013: 129) proposes that it is initially important:

(1) [t]hat the programmes offered should prepare HE [higher education] graduates for the – now global – labour market with the knowledge, skills and competences of the disciplines they have studied, and with cultural awareness, intercultural communication skills and a language repertoire that enable them to work both within and without their immediate local community; and (2) that researchers have the capability of sharing their knowledge through publication to the international scholarly community as well as to the national and local communities of non-expert stakeholders. In order for this to happen, not only the researchers, lecturers and students, but also the librarians, technicians and administrative staff must have the necessary language skills.

Kelly (2013: 19) advises institutions to meet up with policy makers in order to stress the importance of language at a national as well as an institutional level. Kelly (2013: 18) claims that there are various points that have to be included in institutional language policies. Firstly, the university has to acknowledge language as an academic discipline itself. In addition, the university should establish that languages are respected support for other study areas and lastly, it has to be recognized that language policies are important for endorsing the institution's mission:

In particular, languages can play a vital role in helping students to become more employable, by providing them with valuable life skills. Language can also play a key role in helping the institution to achieve its international ambitions, whether by providing language preparation for mobility of staff and students or by facilitating contacts with international partners. (Kelly 2013: 18)

Lauridsen (2013: 129) further suggests areas to be included in a university's language policy: the institutional language(s) of the university as well as the language(s) necessary for administration and communication; language degree programmes; language for non-language students; languages that are necessary for the mobility and further employment; the language(s) intended for instruction as well as the support for lecturers that are not teaching in their mother tongue; language help for researchers; language support for library workers; technical workers and staff of the administration and lastly languages for the broader community.

Moreover, additional aspects have to be considered including the students', faculty members' and lecturers' language proficiency and repertoire, the geographical position of the institution, the university's attitude towards student mobility and employability. When developing a language policy of a higher education institution, it is essential to take into account trade with other countries and cultures the students and staff might (have to) get in contact with. "The languages of such countries may be in increasing demand and might therefore be included in the range of languages

offered.” However, this also depends on the “geographical, economic and societal context” of the university.

In order to find a fitting language policy, “it is important to determine the relative status of the languages employed in any given HEI” since “they have widespread and significant implications for the language repertoire required from faculty, lecturers, students and staff” as well as for the external communication with the public, such as websites. (Lauridsen 2013: 131) Hence, it is crucial to discover whether a university is mono-, bi or trilingual and if there is an official language (such as the local language or another language, such as English) or two official languages or even multiple official languages. Therefore, the focus lies in these four main questions:

- (1)What is/are the official language(s) of the HEI?
- (2)What is/are the language(s) of administration and communication at institutional/departmental/research group/administrative unit and so on levels?
- (3)What is/are the language(s) of instruction?
- (4)Who is the target audience and what language is used with these audiences? (e.g. current or future students; current or future faculty members, the local community, etc.) (Lauridsen 2013: 131)

It is essential to bear in mind that this is only one possibility to approach the implementation of a language policy and thus, should not be viewed as the only option. With regard to the focus of this thesis, when looking at CBS’ and WU’s approaches to language policy, several of these aspects were taken into consideration and will be presented in chapter 4.1.3.

### **3.2. The role of English in tertiary education**

As already mentioned, multilingualism in education has been promoted since the *Bologna Process* in 2001. EU policy makers endorse multilingualism in education, but the actual practices contain a growing use of English as a medium of instruction, as a ‘lingua franca’. (Seidlhofer 2010: 358) The term ‘lingua franca’ describes “a way of referring to communication in English between speakers with different first languages” (Seidlhofer 2005: 339), and as a world language. Furthermore, there has been a growing use of English-medium instruction (EMI) in order to attract a global and diverse audience of students. The increasing use of English is also summarized by the project *Language Rich Europe* (Extra and Yagmur 2012: 60):

The international mobility of students and staff, and the desire to attract a global and diverse student body, appears to be making English the second language of many European universities and many textbooks are also being written in English.

EU's objective of students using two languages besides their mother tongue seems to be difficult to achieve. (Doiz et al. 2014: 345) Coleman (2006: 1) states that "even enthusiasts acknowledge the problem of implementing such policies in the face of an inexorable increase in the use of English". Coleman further claims that the Bologna process itself makes the situation worse with the *Diploma Supplement*, which displays the knowledge and competences European graduates should have and is "generally issued in English or in the language of instruction and English". (Eurydice 2005b, 27, cited in Coleman 2006:9) The rising use of English in tertiary education cannot be considered as balanced. Compared to northern European states, English is not as implemented as one may find in southern and eastern Europe. In France, for example, the Ministry of Education wants to oppose the feared bilingualism, which is why they focus strongly on EU's idea of multilingualism by making sure that the students learn two foreign languages. Furthermore, France is having a public debate regarding the influence of English, where they discuss the fear of focusing on English rather than their own language. (<http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22607506>, 1 May 2015)

One reason for the increasing use of English in tertiary education is certainly the economy, since the big English-speaking countries strongly benefit from the emerging internationalisation and the increasing number of foreign students. To provide an example, the USA as well as Australia were part of the Bologna process conferences as "observers", since higher education is a financial benefit for them. (Phillipson 2008: 260) A study conducted by the *British Council* in 2004 shows that the UK profits directly £11 billion and indirectly £12 billion per year from international tertiary education. Moreover, "[a] primary goal of the Bologna process is to make higher education in Europe as attractive to students worldwide as in the USA and Commonwealth countries." (Phillipson 2008: 260) Hence, there is a commercial, cultural and political reason behind the idea of English-medium tertiary education.

Another possible reason is the high status of universities in English-speaking countries. The *Shanghai Jiao Tong University Institute* published a ranking of the world's top universities. When looking at the ranking of 2014, it becomes obvious that the world's best universities are mostly placed in English-speaking countries, such as the United States of America or the United Kingdom. This phenomenon does not

show different results when looking at the special ranking of universities of economics, in which the first 26 places are situated in countries with English as the first language. The result of this ranking shows the rising importance of English, since English as a medium of instruction has become standard at the high-level universities. In order to reach the same standard, it is also important also for universities in non-English speaking countries to attract an international audience. This issue was also addressed in *The Economist*:

The top universities are citizens of an international academic marketplace with one global academic currency, one global labour force and, increasingly, one global language, English. They are also increasingly citizens of a global economy, sending their best graduates to work for multinational companies. The creation of global universities was spearheaded by the Americans; now everybody else is trying to get in on the act. (The Economist, 8 September 2005)

The issue of the rise of English in tertiary education has been criticized by various scholars (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Shohamy 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2008; Phillipson 2009, found in Doiz 2014: 346) who see the problem of the use of English at universities from a 'human rights point of view'. They claim that:

Today we are killing biocultural diversity faster than ever before in human history. Seriously endangered languages disappear with little trace, at the same time as other not-yet-endangered languages, though official, are undergoing domain loss in high-status areas when English is being extensively used in research, universities, business, media, etc. (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2008: 11)

Phillipson (1992, found in Kuteeva 2014: 333) has furthermore dealt with controversial issues such as the hegemony of English, linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992, found in Kuteeva 2014: 333), and the questions of diglossia and domain loss have been covered by various applied linguistics (e.g. Gunnarsson and Öhman 1997; Gunnarsson 2001; Teleman 1992, found in Kuteeva 2014: 333).

Scholars question whether the rise of English should be considered a problem. King et al. (2011) view the leading position of English as an undeniable fact of being the international lingua franca, which has a superior role when it comes to language planning and language policy:

[T]here is a need to stop regarding English as the problem. We could instead welcome the emergence of an effective lingua franca which means that all educated, employable people have first language and a language for international communication. The question, then is not 'what should we do about English', but what are the implications of this (current) dominant role? How do we encourage real multi/plurilingualism? What does it mean for our present and future identities? (King et al 2011: 262)

Hence, this point of view shows that English should not be seen as a problem, but rather as a resource. The focus should lie in the advantages of bilingual education as the improvement of communication skills, larger sensitivity towards cultures and also a greater chance of employability. Regarding these aspects, Spolsky (2008) suggests that research should be done concerning the attitudes of the university community itself and its different areas:

Do they believe monolingualism is natural? Do they think a multilingual society is possible or desirable? What values do they attach to plurilingual proficiency? How do they value the languages potentially included in the policy? [...] At this point, one can usefully look for conflicts in values and attitudes. (2008: 31)

To conclude, English has an important position in higher education, especially as a 'lingua franca'. By using English as a language for communication universities around Europe try to attract an international audience. Since WU and CBS are international universities it was necessary to elaborate the position of English in universities before starting a linguistic landscaping study. Before presenting the background of the study and the linguistic landscaping study itself the following chapter will deal with linguistic landscaping, the different methodologies of linguistic landscaping and its relation with language policy.

## 4. Linguistic Landscaping

This chapter mainly aims at an overview of linguistic landscaping, which is the method chosen to discover the amount of English used at WU and CBS. In addition, the universities' language policies are reflected in their linguistic landscapes. Moreover, this chapter attempts at answering the following three main questions:

- What is linguistic landscaping?
- Which different approaches of methodology are there?
- What relation is there between language policy and linguistic landscaping?

### 4.1. What is Linguistic Landscaping?

Linguistic landscaping (henceforth LL) is a “sub-field of sociolinguistics and of language policy” (Spolsky 2009: 25) that has risen in popularity amongst scholars. Linguists “use the marking of the public space by different languages to analyse the linguistic ecology of multilingual communities across the world” (Blackwood 2010: 111). According to Gorter (2006: 1), related terms for LL could be “[...] linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, ecology of languages, diversity of languages or [...] linguistic situation.” This collection of synonyms stresses that the occurrence of a variety of languages is the main focus of LL. To put it another way, this sociolinguistic sub-discipline often deals with the topic of multilingualism.

Chronologically speaking, the study of language on signs started in the 1970s (Coluzzi 2009: 299). However, Landry and Bourhis (1997) were the first to use the expression ‘linguistic landscape’. They published a paper on public signs in provinces in Canada (Spolsky 2009: 26) and were the first to state that “signs function as both information and symbolic markers.” (Rasinger 2014: 580) Furthermore, Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) came up with a – subsequently – widely used definition of LL:

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

The focus of LL clearly lies in “language in its written form in the public sphere”. (Gorter 2006: 2) Further definitions of the centre of LL are offered by Ben-Rafael, Shohamy et al. and Barker et al. Ben-Rafael (2009: 40) writes that LL “refers to any item that marks the public item from road signs to private names of streets, shops or schools, and these items are an important factor in helping visitors and residents to



develop a picture of a certain place, and distinguish it from other places.” According to Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hetch, LL can be described as “linguistic objects that mark the public space” (Bruyèl-Olmedo 2009: 388). Barker et al. (2001: 8), find a simpler definition for LL, namely that it is “the visual evidence of language”.

As already mentioned, ‘multilingualism’ is one term that is highly associated with LL. Gorter (2006), for example, includes the matter of multilingualism and the term ‘multilingual cityscape’ in his study with the explanation that LL “is mostly an urban phenomenon and the frequent confluence of different languages in it.” (Bruyèl-Olmedo 2009: 388) Urban zones play an important role in LL due to the high possibility of culture- and “language contact” (Backhaus 2006: 9). Backhaus (2006: 9) connects the study of LL with sociolinguistics:

[S]ociolinguistics [...] is the study of language in urbanized settings, its proper object being the multidimensional distribution of languages and varieties in the city, as opposed to the regional distribution of varieties of language investigated in traditional dialectology.

Thus, LL is often associated with the term “cityscape” instead of “landscape”. (Spolsky 2009: 25)

A further aspect of LL that has already been indicated earlier is that it can offer a range of sociolinguistic information. LL “constitutes the very scene made of streets, corners, circuses, parks, buildings where society’s public life takes place” (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 8). A LL therefore represents societies and communities. In addition, Cenoz and Gorter (2012: 68) state that:

The linguistic landscape can provide information about the sociolinguistic context and the use of the different languages in language signs can be compared to the official policy of the region and to the use of the language as reported in surveys.

Schiffman (1996: 5, quoted in Gorter 2006: 32) adds that “[l]arge cosmopolitan urban centres are often culturally and linguistically diverse, composed of separate and identifiable neighbourhoods, each with its own linguistic culture.”

## 4.2. Methodology: different approaches

There are several aspects regarding the methodology of LL that have to be taken into consideration before and while doing the LL research and that have to be clarified by the researchers of a LL study in order to keep a clear structure.

First of all, **geographic borders** [my emphasis] of the survey have to be considered. The importance of identifying “(1) the geographic limits of the survey areas” is also stated at the beginning in Backhaus’ Tokyo survey (2006: 54). Gorter (2006) draws attention to this issue as well. He discusses whether:

[...] representativity for a certain city, an area or even a whole country should be considered. His own answer to this is that limitation is very well representative, since according to Huebner, the data are not meant to indicate the linguistic composition of the city as a whole, but simply as an illustration of the linguistic diversity. (Gorter 2006: 3)

Since every researcher limits his or her own survey area, a few examples will be given in this chapter. Backhaus (2003: 54), for instance, “select[s] 28 stations of the Yamanota Line, a circular line around the centre of Tokyo”, as his geographic limit. Huebner (2002: 34) “identifie[s] 15 neighbourhoods in central and suburban Bangkok”, which he lets students from Chulalongkorn University decide on, because they as residents would know best which areas of Bangkok would “reflect some of the linguistic diversity of the city (1)”. Huebner makes the students take pictures of every sign “within a given stretch of the main street of that neighbourhood (2)”. Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 70), who compare the use of English in two cities in Friesland and the Basque Country in relation to official languages as well as minority languages, also set a clear geographic area, namely two streets, which are both approximately 600 metres long.

There are also LL projects in which university campuses were involved. Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahaine (2012: 96), for example, examine the LL of a part of town and a university campus in Israel. Two areas are chosen for the data collection: the campus’ main buildings and the Arabic students’ housing area (in both areas on the outside as well the inside are taken into account). Another LL project is conducted at the University of Pittsburgh by Hanauer (2009: 291), who examines four areas of a microbiology laboratory: “[the] microbiology laboratory, office space, corridor space and a kitchen area.” Yavari (2012) does a comparative study of the LL of two universities, namely Linköping University and ETH Zürich, in which she

narrows down the geographic limits to “noticeboards at exchange and international offices, student organization offices, and where students hung their notices for job-searching, selling furniture [as well as] the areas around the noticeboards”.

As the second essential aspect regarding LL methodology Backhaus (2006: 54) mentions the “**clear determination of the survey items**” [my emphasis]. In other words, it has to be clearly defined which items should be included or excluded in the survey. Backhaus himself includes every sign found on a specific part of several streets and he defines a sign as “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...] including anything from handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards.” (2006: 55) For Backhaus (2006: 55) it is important that “[e]ach sign [is] counted as one item, irrespective of its size.” Cenoz and Gorter (2006), decide on not identifying one sign as one item when it comes to shops and other businesses, but “each establishment” as one sign, because they are of the opinion that:

[...] all the signs in one establishment, even if they are in different languages, have been the result of the languages used by the same company give an overall impression because each text belongs to a larger whole instead of being clearly separate. (Genoz and Gorter 2006: 71)

Concerning this issue, some scholars make an explicit list of excluded and included signs for their survey, such as Ben-Rafael and Shohamy in their LL project in Israel (2006: 10), who mention that “[they] include[d] [...] street signs, commercial signs, billboards, signs on national and municipal institutions, trade names, personal study plates or public notices.” Backhaus (2007: 66, found in Blackwood 2010: 115), for example, only includes fixed items and leaves out “newspapers, price tags and leaflets”. Blackwood himself (2010:116), includes non-fixed items “when they were considered to be semi-permanent items in the landscape”. He excludes items “whose presence [is] fleeting, such as logos on public transport, clothing or tattoos on passers-by or ephemera such as litter and shopping bags.” (2010: 116) Furthermore, Bruyèl-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009: 391) do not count in movable items and additionally, they do not consider “(1) international commercial brand names; and (2) repeated occurrences of commercial names in different branches” as suitable for their study. On the contrary, Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh (2012:96), claim not to exclude any sign in the conducted areas.

Gorter (2006: 3) uses the “**categorization of the signs**” as one of the further steps. One basic part of this is the analysis of the languages used on the counted signs as

well as how many of the signs are monolingual, bilingual or multilingual. These words are rather self-explanatory: 'Monolingual' is a sign "written or conducted in only one language". 'Bilingual' defines the sign as "written or conducted in two languages", and the term 'multilingual' refers to a text is written "in [...] several languages" ([www.oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com)). Approaches of the categorization of signs within LL surveys vary. In his Tokyo survey, Backhaus only includes "[...] those signs that [are] classified as multilingual (according to his definition) and thus sample[s] around 20% of the total of almost 12,000 signs that he count[s]." (found in Gorter 2006: 3). In their comparative Frisland-Basque country study, Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 72) first sample the number of languages on each sign, and then examine the use of the different languages on the signs in percentage.

Another common categorization of signs amongst scholars is the distinction between '**official**' and '**nonofficial**' signs [my emphasis], or the distinction between '**top-down**' and '**bottom-up**' [my emphasis]. Further designations are provided by Calvet (found in Backhaus 2006: 53), who comes up with the terms 'in vitro' and 'in vivo' parts of the LL and Huebner (2006: 39), who uses the terms 'government signs' and 'nongovernment signs'. Conforming to Calvet (1990: 75) – translated by Backhaus (2006: 53),

The two terms make an overall distinction between what is written by the authority (the names of roads, for instance, or traffic rules signs) and what is written by the citizens (the names of shops, graffiti, commercials, etc.). There are two different ways of marking the territory, two inscriptions into the urban space.

Landry and Bourhis (1997: 27) make a distinction between official (signs in relation with the government) and nonofficial (private) signs:

In some cases, the language profile of private signs and government signs may be quite similar and thus contribute to a consistent and coherent linguistic landscape. There are instances, however, in which the language of private signs is quite discordant with the language profile of government signs. More often than not, there is greater language diversity in private than in government signs.

Ben-Rafael (2006:10) distinguishes between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs, which is the difference between "LL elements used and exhibited by institutional agencies which, in one way or another, act under the control of local or central policies, and those utilised by individual, associative or corporative actors who enjoy autonomy of action within legal limits." According to Ben-Rafael (2006: 10), the main distinction between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' is that "[...] the former are expected to reflect a

general commitment to the dominant culture while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies.” However, both of the categories are accessible to the people who observe and read the LL.

The decision whether both ‘official’ and ‘nonofficial’ signs or only one category are included within the survey can lead to different outcomes. For example, Calvet (in Backhaus 2006: 53) writes that only looking at the ‘in vivo aspects’, Dakar – the city he is observing – “gives a considerably multilingual impression”, while the “in vitro’ image of the city gives a different picture” because apart from the official language, the other languages that are used in Dakar on signs are restricted.

As a sequence, a scheme has to be developed in order to **code the signs** [my emphasis]:

This scheme includes elements such as how language appears on the sign, the location on the sign, the size of the font used, the number of languages on the sign, the order of languages on multilingual signs, the relative importance of languages, whether a text has been translated (fully or partially). (Gorter 2006: 3)

Ben-Rafael and Shohamy (2006: 14), for instance, categorize their top-down items into signs of public institutions (religious, governmental, municipal/cultural and educational, medical), public signs of general interest, public announcements and signs of street names. Further, they classify their bottom-up signs into shop signs (e.g. clothing, food, jewellery), private business signs of offices, factories and agencies, and private announcements (e.g. ‘wanted’ ads, sale or rentals of flats or cars). Blackwood (2010) chooses 9 different categories for his research on Corsica. According to him, it is important to keep the number of categories as low as possible for reasons of practicality. Moreover, he claims that it is not possible to apply his definition of signs for other projects, but in his case, it fit very well. His categories are named:

1) business names, 2) business signs (which explain what an enterprise does, such as ‘baker’ or ‘jewellery’), 3) graffiti, 4) information (including advertisements, opening times, or details of services of offered), 5) instructions (such as ‘push’ or ‘pull’), 6) labels (on products), 7) legends [...], 8) street signs [...], 9) trademarks [...]”. (Blackwood 2010: 117)

Kallen (2009) writes that “signage usually focuses on one or more of these areas:

“*Deixis* (pointing especially to place, time, or person); *Behavior* (e.g., regulation, exhortation, invitation); *Interaction* (including greetings and leave-takings, humour, and metalinguistic comments); and *Cognition* (edification, description, legal notices, historical information [...])”. (Kallen 2009: 274)

Since LL is mostly about the analysis of multilingual signs, it is also necessary to make a distinction between them. Reh (2004), therefore, has developed a model consisting of four different kinds of multilingual texts: duplicating, complementary, fragmentary and overlapping signs. Duplicating signs are signs that “refer[s] to those practices in which exactly the same text is presented in more than one language.” (Reh 2004: 8). According to Reh, they are often found in terms of tourism and trade as well as in educational settings. Fragmentary signs are signs in which the “full information is given only in one language, but in which selected parts have been translated into an additional language or additional languages”. (Reh 2004: 10) Multilingual signs are described as overlapping “if only part of its information is repeated in at least one more language, while other parts of the text are in one language only.” (Reh 2004: 12) However, multilingual signs are described as overlapping “if only part of its information is repeated in at least one more language, while other parts of the text are in one language only” (2004: 12). The fourth category are complementary signs, in which “[t]exts in which different parts of the overall information are each rendered in a different language and are said to display complementary multilingualism, since knowledge of all the language involved is required to understand the whole message” (2004: 14). Yet, the distinction between fragmentary and overlapping signs is sometimes not clear, which is why several scholars, for example Huebner (2009: 78), takes one definition for both of the categories.

In conclusion, it is essential for every LL study to clearly and purposefully identify the methodology used. Nevertheless, one has to bear in mind that every methodology leads to a different result. In this LL study, the aim was to find a methodology with a clear thread, which will be introduced in the subsequent chapters.

### **4.3. The relation between language policies and the linguistic landscape**

As mentioned earlier, the field of language policy is connected with linguistic landscaping. Shohamy (2006: 112), for instance, states that linguistic landscaping is a “mechanism of language policy”.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) were the first to see a connection of LL and language planning, which is a term that can also be substituted by ‘language policy’. They (1997: 25) highlight that the regulation of the language on public signs has not been addressed enough in the field of language planning. They also conducted a study with the result that “language planners as well as language activists can ill afford to ignore the issue of the linguistic landscape as a tool to promote language maintenance or reverse language shift.” (1997: 46)

Based on Landry and Bourhis’ thinking, there are several scholars (e.g. Backhaus 2007) who describe the influence of language policy in the LL as a positive result of language planning, especially in regards to elevating a minority language. Spolsky (2004: 1), on the other hand, writes that LL is “evidence of language policy”. Shohamy (2006: 110) describes the LL as an instrument that has an effect on ‘de facto’ language policies and as “a major mechanism of language manipulation.” (2006: 123) She (2006: 140, found in Yavari 2012: 12) differs between many ways of how language policies can be expressed: they can be manifested “on public signage, the language of instruction in schools, language tests, the languages which are called the official language(s) of a country, and the languages in government offices.” Shohamy (2006: 110) further claims that language in public space is often used by authorities to “deliver symbolic messages”. She also “mentions that it is through the language policy in a given territory that one ascertains how in general certain languages should be used in society, and in particular, in the linguistic landscape, and on public signs.” (2006: 55, found in Yavari 2012: 12)

In regards to the terms ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’, Puzey (2012: 141) argues that “[w]hile the top-down domain of LL can demonstrate how authorities wish to portray a linguistic situation, the alignment of the bottom-up domain can certainly reflect how much that portrayal is accepted by the general population.”

One point of interest in the study of the relation between LL and language policy is the continuing change that is happening on the LL objects, which Backhaus (2005: 103, quoted in Du Plessis 2012: 266) calls a “diachronic development” of the LL, which is a result of a “language regime [...] in a state of transition.” (Backhaus 2005: 118, quoted in Du Plessis 2012: 266). Pavlenko (2008: 288) affirms that language shifts, which become visible on the LL items, are often intended by political entities. However, one big factor for this language change on LL object might as well be globalisation, be it in urban settings or in rural settings. (Salo 2012: 243)

Examples of scholars discussing the relation between language policy and the linguistic landscape of a certain area are Kallen (2009), Blackwood and Tufi (2012). Kallen (2009) study the relation between language policy and tourism in Ireland and Blackwood and Tufi (2012) examine the influence language policies have on the LL of towns in the French and Italian Mediterranean area.

To conclude, language management can either influence the linguistic landscape of a certain area or a language policy can be influenced by bottom-up factors of an area.



## 5. Background of the study

Before the actual LL study, the background information will be given, which comprises the situation of the official languages and language policies in Austria and Denmark, the basic facts of both universities (WU Vienna and CBS Copenhagen) and their (attitudes towards) language policies.

### 5.1. Languages and Language Policies in Austria and Denmark

In this chapter, Austria and Denmark's official languages, minority languages as well as their language policies will be discussed. At the end of the chapter, a table will display the key facts, which will summarize the comparison between the countries.

#### 5.1.1. Austria

Austria, a country that is mainly considered as monolingual, has German as the official language. According to the government's official homepage – German plays a big role in working life, the economy, as well as the social life. (<http://www.migration.gv.at/>, 8 September 2014) Burgenland-Croatian, Croatian, Czech, Hungarian in Burgenland, Hungarian in Vienna, Burgenland-Romani, Slovak, Slovene in Carinthia and Slovene in Styria are defined as languages of autochthonous minority ethnic communities and are hence acknowledged as official languages in certain areas of the country. (Nagl et al 2012: 83) English is not an official language, but is taught as a first foreign language in most of the Austrian schools. (<http://www.migration.gv.at/>, 8 September 2014)

In general, Austria appears to be a country of a very diverse 'linguistic landscape', which might have derived from several external influences, of which one of the most striking is immigration. Most of the current immigrants come from EU countries and the number of German citizens in Austria has more than doubled between 2001 and 2011. The latter is obviously not a factor for the linguistic diversification of Austria's linguistic landscape. However, Serbians, Montenegrins and Kosovars form the second largest group of immigrants, followed by Turkish immigrants. However, as reported by *Statistik Austria*, the number of Turkish people coming to Austria has

dropped by 10% between 2001 and 2011. Immigration also leads to a “significant language diversity, especially among children and young people”:

The share of pupils using a language other than German in everyday life is highest in Vienna (41.8%) and lowest in Carinthia (8.9%). The group of bi- or multilingual young people is characterised by heterogeneity in terms of their migration history, affecting also an individual's language and education profiles (Biffi/Skrivanek 2011:1 found in Nagl et al 2012: 83)

An additional factor that has an impact on Austria's linguistic diversity is the emphasis on “the importance of acquisition of language skills mainly through education for children and young people, particularly referring to English [...]” (Republik Österreich 2008: 206, found in Nagl et al 2012: 90) As stated in Nagl et al (2012: 89), society realizes that further language skills besides German, which is regarded as “the most important language for successful integration”, do have benefits, “at least when they are seen to be ‘useful’, for example in the economy for specific export-oriented trade and business.” Thus, regarding foreign languages, a survey of the *Eurobarometer* (2012: 21) shows that 73% of the Austrians asked said that they were able to have conversation in English, followed by French with 11%. Furthermore, 76% thought that English was the most essential language for their development.

Regarding the topic of **language policy** in Austria, a survey was conducted by *Language Rich Europe*. (2012: 29) In the analysis were two questions posed: (1) *Is there national or regional/federal legislation which contains articles on language(s)?*, (2) *Do official language policy documents exist aimed at promoting language learning and teaching in your country or region?* When it comes to question one, legislation containing articles regarding national and regional/minority languages does exist in Austria. Concerning the second question about language policy documents, it was observed that Austria only supplied language policy documents concerning national and regional/minority languages, leaving out foreign or immigrant languages.

In conclusion, although there is significant language diversity in Austria, German is still the main and only official language, but autochthonous minority languages are acknowledged in the official legislation. Furthermore, English is regarded as useful for the Austrian citizens' development.

### 5.1.2. Denmark

Denmark's official language is Danish, since it is the first acquired language of 90% of its inhabitants. In a small part of Denmark – South Jutland – German is acknowledged as an official minority language. On the Faroe Islands as well as Greenland an autonomy law exists, which assures the “official status of the Faroese and Greenlandic languages.” (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 104) However, in these areas Danish must still be taught as an obligatory subject in schools.

*Language Rich Europe* (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 104) has come up with some key findings of the general use of languages within Denmark. They state that within the last 150 years, it has been a “mainly monolingual country” (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 104), having Danish as the primary language. People used to have quite good knowledge of German as well as French. After 1945, English could be added to this list. Moreover, for Danes, other Scandinavian languages are easily comprehensible, since they are “mutually understandable.” (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 104) Within the past ten years, English has become very important in Denmark – at the expense of German and French.

The parallel Danish/English language strategy of the Danish government has strongly supported this development. Language skills in foreign languages including the Scandinavian languages are decreasing, and the command of immigrant languages such as Arabic and Turkish has not been promoted as an asset. (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 110)

As regards of parallel Danish/English language strategy, in 2006, “Denmark has [...] ratified the Nordic Language Declaration [...], which is a joint policy document of the *Nordic Council of Ministers*:

It states that both national and minority languages should be supported and protected, that universities should use a **parallel language strategy** ensuring the use of English alongside the use of the national languages, and that the citizens of Nordic countries should be given the opportunity to learn their mother tongue and acquire skills in a language of international importance and skills in another foreign language (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 110, my emphasis).

Parallel language use is regarded as an aim especially in tertiary education, which refers to the use of the local language in some occasions and partly the use of English in other occasions. Hence, students as well as teachers have to be proficient in both languages, which is not always the case, since English is also used as a lingua franca at the universities and the levels of the speakers vary. However, it is still unclear to what extent the parallel language use is happening in reality. (Kuteeva 2014: 333)

At universities, the interest in other languages apart from English has been stagnating. “The recent recommendations to introduce English at the beginning of primary school will probably further accelerate this development.” (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 110) According to *Language Rich Europe*, Denmark will face a severe challenge if the country “wants to live up to the language policies of the EU and the Council of Europe,” (Kirchmeier-Andersen 2012: 110), who favour a policy of multilingualism, which has been mentioned in chapter 3.2.

As in Austria, Language Rich Europe has conducted a study about Denmark’s **language policy** (Language Rich Europe 2012: 29), containing the same two questions: (1) *Is there national or regional/federal legislation which contains articles on language(s)?*, and (2) *Do official language policy documents exist aimed at promoting language learning and teaching in your country or region?* Concerning question one, it was ascertained that Denmark had a legislation concerning national, foreign, minority languages as well as the languages immigrants would speak. However, in order to answer the second question, *Language Rich Europe* found out that there is only a language policy document existing that is about the national language, which would be Danish only.

The comparison of the linguistic situations of Austria and Denmark is displayed in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Language situation Austria-Denmark

	<b>Austria</b>	<b>Denmark</b>
<b>Official languages</b>	German, but also official minority languages	Danish (Faroe Islands, Greenland: autonomy law, but Danish is a compulsory school subject)
<b>Minority languages</b>	Croatian, Slovene, Hungarian	South Jutland: German
<b>The status of English</b>	Not an official language, but taught as a first foreign language	Not an official language, but parallel Danish/English strategy of the government, and taught as a first foreign language

<b>Language policy:</b> (1) <i>Is there national or regional/federal legislation which contains articles on language(s)?</i> (2) <i>Do official language policy documents exist aimed at promoting language learning and teaching in your country or region?</i>	(1) legislation containing articles regarding national and regional/minority languages (2) only language policy documents concerning national and regional/minority languages	(1) legislation containing national, foreign, minority languages and languages immigrants would speak (2) only language policy document regarding Danish
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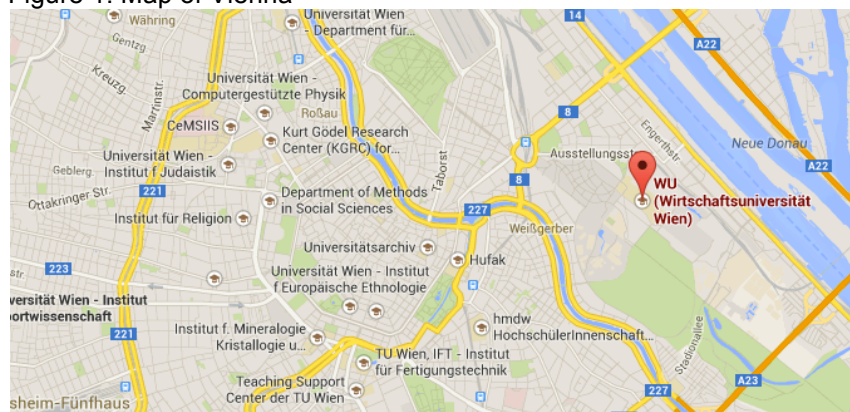
## 5.2. Basic facts of the study sites

### 5.2.1. Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU)

The Vienna University of Economics and Business (henceforth WU) is “the EU’s largest educational institution for business and economics, business law, and social sciences.” ([www.wu.ac.at/structure/en/about](http://www.wu.ac.at/structure/en/about) , 12 September 2014) WU is found in several online business school rankings. For example in the *Financial Times* business school ranking of European economy universities, WU was number 37 in a three-year ranking from 2010 to 2013. (online: <http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/vienna-university-of-economics-and-business> , 12 September 2014)

By using a map, it is possible to see that the distance to the city centre is approximately 2 kilometres:

Figure 1. Map of Vienna



Regarding the number of students, in total there were 22,781 registered in the academic year 2013/2014, of which 6,231 were international. In other words, approximately 27% of the total number of students was foreign. (<http://www.statistik.at>, 7 November 2014) However, in the course of this study, there were no statistics found regarding the amount of German students at WU.

Concerning the aspect of internationalization, WU officially aims to realize this intention by 'international orientation', 'international mobility' and 'international infrastructure'. 'International orientation', is the term defining WU's aim to be part of international rankings as well as the increase of international faculty members. 'International mobility' connotes that students of any academic level should be encouraged to study abroad. 'International infrastructure' means:

Financial support for strategically important internationalization activities is one aspect, further activities include improved quality control systems for academic programs and increasing professionalism in the various WU service facilities. In addition, **WU is working hard to realize the vision of a completely bilingual campus, with all signage and important information available in both German and English.** WU's goal is to become one of Europe's leading universities in business and economics education and research, with an international perspective and a global reach. (online: <http://m.wu.ac.at/start/about/strategy/en/international> , 7 November 2014, my emphasis)

### **5.2.2. Copenhagen Business School (CBS)**

Copenhagen Business School (henceforth CBS) is one of Denmark's largest academic institutions. CBS performs successfully in some business school rankings found online, for example in the *Financial Times* business school ranking of European economy universities (<http://rankings.ft.com/businessschoolrankings/european-business-school-rankings-2013> , 20 June 2014), CBS was number 38 in a three-year ranking from 2010 to 2013. Additionally, according to the UTD Top 100 Business School Research (average) Ranking (<http://jindal.utdallas.edu/the-utd-top-100-business-school-research-rankings/>, 20 June 2014) between 2009 and 2013, CBS is in 76<sup>th</sup> place worldwide.

Regarding the amount of students at CBS, there were 20.819 enrolled in 2013, of which 3.636 were foreign. To put it another way, 17.5% of the total amount of students were foreign. These numbers included BA students as well as MA students. PhD students were not involved within the statistics. (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover->

[cbs/facts-and-figures](http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures), 20 June 2014) The latest detailed official chart about international students who attended CBS is from 2012. In total, there were 4,343 international students registered at the university (exchange students as well as full-degree students). 3,483 were European, 287 came from North America and 367 were from Asia and Australia. There were only 84 Latin American students and 122 coming from Africa and the Middle East. (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures>, 20 June 2014)

CBS is located in Frederiksberg, which is geographically part of the city of Copenhagen, but has its own local self-government. (<http://www.frederiksberg.dk/>, 20 June 2014) The buildings of CBS are distributed over Frederiksberg, however, “all parts of CBS Campus are within walking distance” (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures>, 20 June 2014) and the Copenhagen metro connects most of them. According to the university, “CBS is primarily located in four modern buildings in Frederiksberg, close to the heart of Copenhagen” (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures>, 20 June 2014): *Solbjerg Plads*, *Dalgas Have*, *Kilen*, and *Porcelænshaven*. The total area of the campus is 118,550 square metres. The distance to Copenhagen’s city centre (approximately 3.5 kilometres) is shown on the map below:

Figure 2. Map of Copenhagen

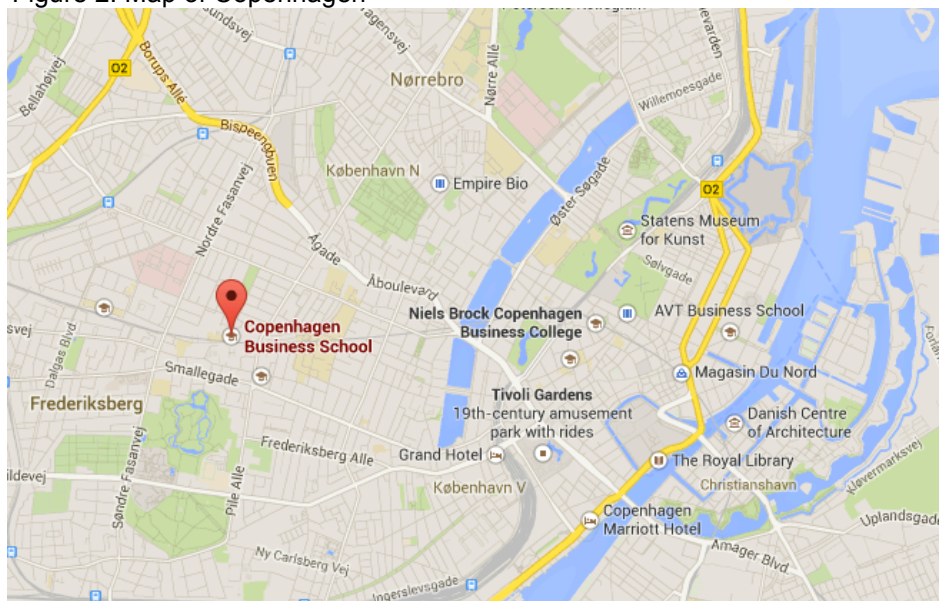


Table 3: presents the findings and facilitates the comparison between WU and CBS:

Table 3. Basic facts: WU-CBS

	<b>WU</b>	<b>CBS</b>
<b>When was it opened?</b>	New campus: Fall 2013	Solbjerg Plads: 2000 Dalgas Have: 1989 Kilen: 2006 Porcelænshaven: 2006
<b>Number of buildings</b>	6 buildings, 100,000 m <sup>2</sup> floor space	4 buildings, 118,440 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Number of students in total</b>	22,781	20,819
<b>Number of international students</b>	6,231 (1,000 incoming exchange students, 1,000 outgoing exchange students)	3,636
<b>Number of staff in total</b>	1,043	2,285

### 5.3. Language policies at the universities

In this chapter, the universities' language policies will be presented, which were categorized according to 'top-down', 'overt' and 'de jure' language policies. In order to gain information about the policies, interviews were conducted at WU as well as CBS. At WU, Kathleen Knaus and Benjamin Schmid were interviewed, who were in charge of the translation of the signage at WU. At CBS, Ole Helmersen, who was responsible for the proposal of a renewal of the university's language policy was willing to give an interview. The interview guides can be found in the appendix of this paper.

#### 5.3.1. Language Policy: WU

On WU's homepage, it is stressed that its "goal is to become one of Europe's leading universities in business and economics education and research, with an international perspective and global reach." (<http://www.wu.ac.at/strategy/international/en>, 18 September 2014) WU aims to "realize the vision of a completely bilingual campus, with all signage and important information available in both German and English." (<http://www.wu.ac.at/strategy/international/en>, 18 September 2014) Consequently, the terms internationalization and globalization are an essential part of the university's philosophy.



According to Kathleen Knaus and Benjamin Schmid, who were willing to give an interview on the issue of WU's language policy and who are responsible for German-English translation matters at WU (signage as well as internal translation), there is no 'explicit', official written language policy at the university. Nonetheless, they said that the university has been following a clear strategy of the implementation of bilingualism (with German and English as the main languages). As stated by Knaus and Schmid, the development plan ("Entwicklungsplan der WU") that contains a paragraph about the aim to become a bilingual university, as well as the plans on how to achieve that aim. Thus, important documents (such as protocols of sessions of the senate or curricula) are certain to be found both in German and English. However, Knaus and Schmid informed that the concept of the development plan, as for instance the possibility to create a bilingual university, has only been partly implemented.

When it comes to research and publication, no information has been found on guidelines of language choice. Regarding the language used in courses, WU only offers courses in English to students who are Erasmus or exchange students from partner universities on a BA level. Yet, there are eight MA programmes with German and seven with English as the language of instruction. (<http://www.wu.ac.at/programs/master/> , 18 September 2014) WU does not require an English certificate from teachers, but students either have to prove that English or German (depending on the program) is their mother tongue or they have to bring a language proficiency certificate. For their staff, WU offers a variety of advanced training that is sometimes held in English for non-German-natives. For new staff, there is an obligatory trainee week, containing English lessons as well.

WU's official website ([www.wu.ac.at](http://www.wu.ac.at)) provides an overview of the university, its programmes and the research done and is important for external communication. Most of the essential information is written in both languages – English and German – but the English versions are sometimes shortened. As an example Knaus gives the information page about the BA programmes, which is not relevant for people who do not understand German, since the knowledge of German is a basic requirement for all of the BA programmes at WU. An extensive internal campaign in 2009 offered the chance for all branches of the university to have an English version of their

respective departmental websites. Most departments chose to take advantage of this opportunity.

Regarding internal communication at WU, German is the language used most frequently. However, English is the default choice if there is an employee who is not proficient in German. If there are any important internal circular notes, however, they will always be sent bilingually. Knaus and Schmid further estimate that there are certain departments that use English internally more frequently, for instance the demographic institute. Yet, Knaus and Schmid do not have an explanation for this occurrence.

All official signs are the most obvious outcome of WU's bilingualism strategy. Nearly all of them have been made bilingual since the construction of the new buildings. As reported by Knaus and Schmid, who were part of the translation committee for the signage, WU's concern is to consistently check on the persistent use of bilingual signs. Additionally, there is also braille to be found on the signs.

Lastly, both Knaus and Schmid stated in the interview that they had the impression that the use of English on campus varies. In summer – during the international summer courses – German is 'de facto' hardly used. Nonetheless, during the regular semesters, German is widely used, but also other languages can be heard on campus, such as various Slavic languages.

Seeing that the topic areas suggested by Lauridsen (2013) in chapter 3.1. are covered in WU's language policy, her main four questions for constructing a HEI language policy will be answered:

- (1) *What is/are the official language(s) of the HEI?* There is a German/English strategy. Official documents and administrative information as well as external communication are in both languages.
- (2) *What is/are the language(s) of administration and communication at institutional/departmental/research group/administrative unit levels?* The main language used is certainly German, however in some situations English might be used.

- (3) *What is/are the language(s) of instruction?* The language(s) of instruction depend on the programme. BA courses are held mainly in German, except for the courses intended for international students. Regarding MA courses it depends on the programme, in some MA programmes the language of instruction is English.
- (4) *Who is the target audience and what language is used with this audience?* WU highlights that the university's aim is to be international, which is why it is concluded that besides the German-speaking audience, a broadly international audience is certainly the target, which is mainly addressed with English.

### **5.3.2. Language Policy: CBS**

CBS's homepage repeatedly stresses that the university "pursue[s] a strategy of global development and internationalisation." (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures>, 20 June 2014) For this reason, the university has "exchange and cooperation agreements with more than 360 universities and business schools around the world, half of which are European." (<http://www.cbs.dk/en/discover-cbs/facts-and-figures>, 20 June 2014) CBS claims to offer roughly 200 courses with English as instruction and teaching language. In 2012, CBS had 333 exchange agreements and 29 programmes taught in English. Additionally, CBS offers an International Summer University Program.

As a business university CBS "operates on an increasingly global market." (Helmersen 2013: 1) The term *internationalization* is very essential in CBS' "strategy development", since firstly, there was an increase in the number of non-Danish staff (most of them belonging to the faculty) and secondly, the number of non-Danish students got higher.

Currently 37% of faculty (including PhD-students) are non-Danish nationals, with approximately 60 different nationalities represented. Among the approximately 20,000 students at CBS, 3,500 are non-Danish full-degree students. In addition CBS attracts approximately 1,500 foreign exchange students each year. At the same time, however, more than 90% of managers, study board members, Academic Council members, heads of department, CBS Board members etc. are Danish, suggesting that there may exist an imbalance when it comes to the full participation of non-Danish nationals in a number of functions at CBS. (Helmersen 2013: 1)

CBS is defined as “a Danish university under Danish law” (Helmersen 2013: 1) by the *University Act*. It is further stated that the university must “disseminate its research to and provide educational programmes for ‘society in general’.” (Helmersen 2013: 1). CBS therefore focuses on attracting a Danish audience as well as internationals. Mostly, the latter happens by using English as a language of communication.

CBS’ language policy was firstly developed in 2006, when Danish and English were established as equivalent working languages. “CBS attaches importance to being able to operate professionally at all levels of the university in both Danish and English, although competences and requirements will vary.” (Helmersen 2013: 2) In an interview, Helmersen said that CBS did not have a “consistent practice”, but the policy was made to “address problems”. Helmersen also mentioned that “the number of students had grown a lot since 2006”, which has made the “challenges of operating in both languages [...] more acute.”

CBS developed some “guiding principles” concerning the use of languages. (Helmersen 2013: 2) The first principle says that Danish and English are considered as parallel languages. “CBS does not rank the national languages, Danish, as a first language, and the international language of communication, English as a second language or vice versa”. However, it is clearly written down that the use of each language is dependent on the situation and the context. Principle number two states that English is seen as a ‘default language’ due to the great number of international students and staff members. Logically, Danish will be still “used as the natural choice in many contexts.” The third principle says that “[d]ocuments/communication with ‘rights or duties’ implications must be in Danish or English depending on the recipient(s).” Principle number four is called “inclusion and equal opportunities”. In other words, international, non-Danish students and staff members should not get the feeling that their “[l]anguage use [is a] barrier, formally or informally, against full participation in activities and work assignments at CBS”. The fifth principle is named “cultural integration”. By this means, CBS wants to state that on the one hand it is important that Danish people include foreigners by using English, and on the other hand internationals are encouraged to learn Danish in order to be more integrated culture-wise. According to the next principle no special variety of English is preferred at CBS. However, “correct, lucid and effective ‘international standard English”, is the

prerequisite. The last principle is about the quality. In other words, “[a]ll staff has a responsibility to ensure the highest possible quality and professionalism in their language use.”

When it comes to research and publication, the major language used at CBS is definitely English. This fact differs within the various “research disciplines”. In addition, CBS focuses on the people that are addressed. If research output is clearly for a Danish audience, it must be written in Danish. Sometimes, also other languages than English or Danish are used for publishing, since the “diversity of language choice in research is a strength that should be encouraged and supported.” (Helmersen 2013: 3)

Regarding the language used in courses, CBS has been tending to use English more frequently within the last ten years. “CBS currently offers 11 different bachelor programmes taught in Danish and 7 taught in English; 10 master programmes taught in Danish and 9 taught in English.” (Helmersen 2013: 3) CBS further claims that it depends on the subject and again on the audience which course language is being used. Yet, since CBS wants to “attract more full-degree students from abroad” (Helmersen 2013: 4), English courses are being further encouraged. For CBS, the term “internationalization” is essential, which is why the university states that “the quality of English Medium of Instruction (EMI) should be continuously developed and supported”, CBS does not require an English certificate from the teachers.

Helmersen (2013: 5) states:

Just as CBS makes quality demands on teachers when it comes to teaching in English, students should also be required to actively work on the quality and professionalism of their competences in English, both their receptive and productive skills.

For students, a certificate is needed, since their level of English varies immensely depending on which countries they come from.

Helmersen (2013: 6) additionally writes about the idea of “the intercultural classroom”:

Since CBS’ first language policy was adopted in 2006, it has become an increasingly recognized reality that university language policy is not just a matter of purely linguistic competences; it is not merely a question of switching from Danish into English. Instead, the concept of ‘the intercultural classroom’ is acquiring increasing importance in the international research community about internationalization strategies.[...] The main one of these is, as mentioned, that it involves important intercultural components.

There is a difference between internal and external communication at the university. While internal communication within CBS is sometimes difficult to observe, the choice of language regarding external communication is often obvious, since it is mainly written.

CBS' official website ([www.cbs.dk](http://www.cbs.dk)) "serves as the organization's primary and largest communication channel". (Helmersen 2013: 7) It is designed to give an overview of the university, the programmes and research done at the CBS and is important for external communication. There are also style guides to be found at the website, including a CBS Terminology List "to support staff who produce English or Danish material intended for publication" (Helmersen 2013: 7). In the interview, Helmersen said that he could not reassure that everything on the homepage is written in Danish and English, but "most of the important information for people from outside is written in both languages, which is part of the ambition". Regarding internal communication at CBS, the term 'inclusion' is emphasized. Thus, it is advised to use English in formal as well as in informal settings, especially with interlocutors who have no knowledge of Danish participates.

CBS' target is to consider Danish and English as parallel languages, which becomes very difficult to realise in terms of CBS administration.

As a Danish university under Danish legislation, it is clear that CBS is legally bound also when it comes to language use in a number of cases, e.g. as specified in the Danish Administration Act (*Forvaltningsloven*). It is also clear and well-known that all administrative cooperation with Danish authorities takes place in Danish. This makes Danish the predominant language for CBS' administration, but at the same time it creates major difficulties for administrative units, which have to juggle a parallel language reality inside CBS. (Helmersen 2013: 8)

CBS' focus also lies on other languages than English and Danish, particularly languages which are important for the European and global labour market. Additionally, the Danish ministry announced a new internationalisation strategy, underlining that additional language skills are very essential. Furthermore, Helmersen highlights the importance of Danish courses for international students in order to feel more included and to have more chance to stay in Denmark for work after university.

When it comes to labelling, what Helmersen admitted in the interview was that as far as he knows there is no person who is responsible for it. According to him, the language policy of labelling was still a grey area. Helmersen acknowledged that he

has not really thought about “this fairly obvious aspect”, which would be interesting to include in the language policy of CBS. According to Helmersen, there is nothing such as language policies of noticeboards, stating that they are informal and any student can put up a note, no matter which language is being used.

In the interview, Helmersen commented on having the impression that English was ‘de facto’ very dominant within the university’s linguistic landscape in formal as well as in informal settings.

Before comparing the universities’ language policies in a table, the questions suggested by Lauridsen (2013) will again be answered:

- (1) *What is/are the official language(s) of the HEI?* There is a parallel language use strategy. Danish and English are treated as two equivalent languages..
- (2) *What is/are the language(s) of administration and communication at institutional/departmental/research group/administrative unit levels?* English is advised to be used whenever there is someone who does not speak Danish.
- (3) *What is/are the language(s) of instruction?* The language(s) of instruction depend on the programme. BA as well as MA courses are either held in Danish or in English. EMI (English-medium instruction), however, is being continuously developed due to the high number of international students.
- (4) *Who is the target audience and what language is used with this audience?* Also CBS stresses the high focus on internationalization of the university. So, besides Danish students, the target group is definitely international students, mostly from European countries.

Table 4 below visualizes differences and similarities of WU and CBS. In order to make an adequate comparison, The ‘guiding principles’ that Helmersen mentions in CBS’ language policy have been presented to Knaus and Schmid, who commented on the differences to WU’s linguistic situation. This juxtaposition can also be found in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Language Policies CBS-WU

	<b>CBS</b>	<b>WU</b>
<b>Written document of language policy</b>	Yes, firstly developed in 2006 → 'explicit' language policy	No, but written document of a development plan that contains a passage about bilingualism → 'implicit' language policy
<b>"Guiding principles":</b> <b>1) Parallel languages</b> <b>2) English as a default language</b> <b>3) Danish and/or English</b> <b>4) Inclusion and equal opportunities</b> <b>5) Cultural integration</b> <b>6) British/ American English</b> <b>7) Quality</b>	1) Danish and English considered parallel 2) English is seen as 'default language' 3) General communication should be written in one language to avoid confusion, except documents with 'rights or duties' implications that are in Danish 4) Language use should not be a barrier for full integration 5) Non-Danish nationals should be integrated as much as possible by the use of English 6) no particular version of English is prescribed 7) All staff have a responsibility to ensure the highest possible quality and professionalism	1) German and English not considered to be parallel, at least the obligation to use them as parallel languages is not explicitly stressed 2) German is still the default language, the use of English is still being developed 3) WU's idea is the opposite of CBS: bilingualism strategy, only using one language would not make sense for Schmid 4) Language use should not be a barrier for full integration 5) Non-Austrian nationals should be integrated as much as possible by the use of English 6) American English is the preferred version, but Schmid believes that there is no written policy about that 7) all staff have a responsibility to ensure the highest possible quality and professionalism
<b>Language of research</b>	English mostly used, but of course dependant on the various research disciplines	not found out
<b>Course language</b>	1) BA levels: 11 different	1) BA levels: 3 different



<b>1) BA level</b> <b>2) MA/PhD level</b>	programmes in Danish, 7 in English 2) MA level: 10 in Danish, 9 in English	programmes in German, 0 in English 2) MA level: 15 different programmes: 8 in German, 7 in English
<b>Internal communication</b>	German most widely used, depending on if there is a person who does not speak German	‘inclusion’ is emphasized → change to English if someone does not understand Danish
<b>External communication</b>	Depending on the purpose and the audience of the text	Depending on the purpose and the audience of the text
<b>Website</b>	Most of the information in English and Danish	Most of the information in both English and German

Hence, for both universities the use of English for students as well as for university staff and administration is important on the internal as well as external level. However, while at CBS English is clearly the default language, WU chooses German. Furthermore, while CBS sees Danish and English as equal languages, WU does not. The university has a bilingualism strategy, but still views German as its main language.

Reviewing the universities’ language policies was fundamental for the study, since one of the main questions was whether the language policies were reflected within the universities’ LL. The LL study of WU and CBS will be presented in the next chapter.

## 6. The study

Throughout this study, the three guiding questions that Backhaus (2007: 57) used in his study will in general be the base of the study:

- Linguistic landscaping by whom?
- Linguistic landscaping for whom?
- Linguistic landscape *quo vadis*?

To keep it short, “[t]hese questions draw attention to the authors of the signs, their audience and indications of future linguistic directions.” (Macalister 2010: 60)

The following questions, however, will sum up the aim of the study more directly:

- How dominant is English in the universities’ linguistic landscape?
- How far are the universities’ language policies reflected in the LL of the universities?

### 6.1. Limitation of the area

One of the first steps in this study was based on Backhaus (2003: 54). According to him, an LL survey should involve the identification of “(1) the geographic limits of the survey areas”. This approach, however, has already been discussed in chapter 4.2. In a wider sense, the geographic limits in this LL study were the two universities: WU Vienna and CBS Copenhagen. Due to the huge amount of data that could be collected on the campuses, the geographic limit had to be narrowed down. Hence, the survey area was reduced to a few buildings. Since the focus of the study was the aspect of internationalization and English as a language representing internationalization, certain buildings were chosen that contained the exchange and international offices as well as student service areas. There were also areas included that were not specifically intended for an international audience, such as the entrance halls of the main buildings as well as the surrounding hallways.

#### 6.1.1. WU

At WU, there was only one single building selected as a geographical orientation marker, which was called *Library & Learning Centre* (LC), since this building comprised the survey areas that were intended for this study.

The map of the WU campus is shown below, with the LC highlighted in a red circle:

Figure 3. Campus map: WU



LC is the 'main building' of the campus. First of all, it is situated in the middle of the campus. The idea behind this building is that WU students should "[...] have access to all academic services in one location: from admissions, enrolment, and IT services, all the way to graduation ceremonies and career support services." (<http://www.wu.ac.at/campus/architecture/lc/en/>, 16 September 2014) Furthermore, it has a big entrance hall (compared to the other WU buildings), which is open for several official university events. The total floor space of the building is approximately 41.000 m<sup>2</sup>. Units that could be found in the LC are the Student Services, the IT Services, the International Office, the WU ZBP Career Centre (<http://www.wu.ac.at/campus/architecture/lc/en/>, 16 September 2014), the library, computer rooms, the ceremony hall, a café, a bookstore and a copy shop. However, not all of these areas were selected for this survey.

### 6.1.2. CBS

At CBS, the delimitation of the survey area was based on the selection made at WU. Thus, the target of the research was to find equivalent units of the LC at CBS.

In the end, there were two buildings included in this survey: the main building - called *Solbjerg Plads* – and a further building called *Dalgas Have 15*. *Solbjerg Plads*

comprises 34,000m<sup>2</sup> of floor space containing auditoriums, faculty office space, a café, the main library, the bookstore, the student services, and the career centre. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Copenhagen\\_Business\\_School](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Copenhagen_Business_School) , 16 March 2015). *Dalgas Have 15* has 20,000 m<sup>2</sup> of floor space and enclosed classrooms, study areas, offices, the international office, language learning areas, IT-rooms and a cafeteria.

The map of the CBS campus is shown below. The two buildings that are highlighted in red are *Soldbjerg Plads* (right circle) and *Dalgas Have 15* (left circle).

Figure 4. Campus map: CBS



As already mentioned, the choice at CBS was based on the survey areas found in WU's LC. This decision of the geographic limit was quite difficult, since it was not always possible to find an equivalent with a similar size at CBS. Finally, there were four survey units selected in order to compare the LL of the two universities:

Table 5. Survey areas

WU	Where?	CBS	Where?
<b>The main entrance hall</b> (and the hallways in close proximity) (LC)	LC	<b>Entrance hall + campus desk</b>	Soldbjerg Plads 3
<b>International Office/Zentrum für Auslandsstudien</b> (LC)	LC	<b>International Office</b>	Soldbjerg Plads 3

<b>Student Service Centre</b> /Study Service Centre (LC)	LC	<b>Study Service Centre</b>	Soldbjerg Plads 3
<b>Career Centre</b> /WU CPB Career Centre (LC)	LC	<b>Career Centre</b>	Dalgas Have 15

To sum up, the aim was on the one hand to examine some areas of the university in which English was already expected to play a big role, such as the international offices. On the other hand, however, it was also intended to include areas that were open to a wider audience (be it Austrian/Danish or international students and guests). For this reason, the main entrance hall, the hallways, the student service centres and the career centres were taken into account.

## **6.2. Data Collection**

### **6.2.1. Data Collection at WU Vienna**

Sampling was carried out at WU Vienna on 28 March 2013 between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. A total of 231 pictures were taken in one building (LC – Learning Center). Any written item that was found was included in the survey. All pictures of the items were taken with a digital camera.

In order to take pictures in areas that were open to the public at WU Vienna, it was obligatory to get permission from the marketing department. This authorization led to the only problem that occurred during the data collection, which was the restriction of taking pictures in LC's library, since it was a unit defined to be not open to the public, but only to WU students and staff.

### **6.2.2. Data Collection at CBS Copenhagen**

The data at CBS Copenhagen were gathered on 4<sup>th</sup> April 2014 between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. The data collection at CBS included two problems, namely the decision of which areas should be taken into account in the end. Therefore, there were a lot of areas to be photographed, however only those that were deemed equivalent to the areas at WU were included in the survey. The second problem was a technical one, namely the breakdown of the SD-card of the camera that was used. However, all of the pictures already taken could be saved and the rest of the data collection had to

be done with the camera of an iPad. The quality of those pictures was not excellent, but acceptable for the data evaluation.

### **6.3. Determination of the survey items**

In his Tokyo survey, Backhaus (2007: 54) makes “(2) a clear determination of the survey items” his second point of his approach, which will be done in this chapter.

Generally, it was intended to take one photograph for one sign. For this survey, the definition for the sign was taken from Backhaus as “any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame [...] including anything from the small handwritten sticker attached to a lamp-post to huge commercial billboards” (2007: 66). Also, for Backhaus (2003: 55), it is important that “[e]ach sign [is] counted as one item, irrespective of its size”, which was the approach applied in this survey. In other words and contrasting with Cenoz and Gorter’s (2006: 71) view, one sign will be counted as one item here.

Furthermore, signs were only counted once in each area. If they were repeated twice or more often in one area, they were not taken into account. Moreover, if the mutual translation of a sign was on a different sign in the vicinity, they were counted as two monolingual signs. These decisions were made in order to keep a clear thread throughout the study.

#### **6.3.1. Included and excluded signs**

As already stated, some scholars make an explicit list of ‘excluded’ and ‘included’ signs for their survey (Ben-Rafael and Shohamy 2006: 10, Backhaus 2007: 66, Blackwood 2010: 116) This survey will be based on Backhaus’ (2007: 66, found in Blackwood 2010: 116) and Blackwood’s (2010: 116) approaches. Backhaus included fixed items and left out non-fixed items, such as “[...] newspapers, price tags and leaflets.” Blackwood (2010: 116) included signs when they:

[...] were considered to be semi-permanent items in the landscape; although it is expected that newspapers, postcards and leaflets are removed from the landscape, it is also the case that stocks are replenished on a frequent basis.

Also for this thesis, a list of included as well as excluded signs was made, which is displayed in Table 6 below:

Table 6. Included/excluded signs

Included signs	Excluded signs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Readable texts</li> <li>• Screens (advertisement, information)</li> <li>• Posters, postcards, means of decoration</li> <li>• Pieces of art</li> <li>• Labelling (room labelling, direction signs)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-readable texts</li> <li>• Texts with only partly of the information open to eyesight</li> <li>• Signs without written text, braille</li> <li>• Flyers, leaflets</li> <li>• Proper names of companies on the items, website-addresses on the items</li> </ul>

#### 6.4. Categorization of the data

The analysis and categorization of the data was conducted in Windows Excel. Every sign was counted separately and the first step which was again based on Backhaus' Tokyo approach (2006: 55) was to count the signs and subsequently identify the languages that were found on the items and how many languages could be found on the signs. In case of doubt about the languages, a Langenscheidt dictionary (English-Danish) and a spelling dictionary (Duden) were used. Thus, if the words sounded English, but were found in the German/Danish section of the dictionaries, they were counted as German/Danish.

Subsequently, the multi- as well as bilingual signs were identified, which was a step included in order to examine the status of English in comparison with the languages German (at WU) and Danish (at CBS). For this examination, Reh's (2004: 8-14) distinction of the four types of multilingual signs was taken (see chapter 4.2.) and the data were distinguished according to complementary, duplicating, fragmentary and overlapping multilingual writing.

After having observed the distribution of the languages in the four survey areas, the signs were divided into 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs, as discussed before in chapter 4.2. As a first step, they had to be defined specifically for this thesis. Hence, every sign that was provided by the university was seen as a 'top-down' sign, including labelling, warning notes, technical signs, house rules, schedules, directions etc. Easy indicators for 'top-down' signs were the universities' logos. Signs that were obviously not put up by university staff were defined as bottom-up. Examples for that would be job offers, event posters, advertisement, graffiti or stickers. However, during

the evaluation, some problems occurred, because there was not a clear distinction that could be made between top-down and bottom-up. Most of the problems occurred in the evaluation of the international office at CBS. Here, there were a lot of ad posters of other universities from different countries which were most probably sent to the international office in order to be hung up on the notice boards. The reason for this problem was the uncertainty about who was responsible for hanging the posters up, since the notice boards were publicly accessible. Finally, the decision was to count them as 'bottom-up' unless they were ads for CBS itself. A similar case was job ads by big businesses, such as Nivea, which was problematic since the perspective on such companies can vary. Students could perceive such job ads as 'top-down' while university staff could view them as 'bottom-up'. In this study, any job ad – for a small or a well-known company – was considered 'bottom-up', unless it was for a job at the university. One more problem that occurred was the items by student organizations, such as the ÖH (*Österreichische HochschülerInnenschaft*) at WU. The issue here was that again, these organizations could be viewed and interpreted differently, depending on the audience. In this thesis, it was decided to view these signs as 'top-down', since most of the organizations seemed to be an official part of the university structure.

The final step of the study was to assign the items to different categories and consequently explore the distribution of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs within the categories. In both regards, the categories used by Spolsky and Cooper in their LL survey in the Old City of Jerusalem were a great model. They (1991: 76) divide the signs into eight different categories, which were "street signs, advertising signs, warning notices and prohibitions, building names, informative signs (directions, hours of opening), commemorative plaques, objects and graffiti". The categories in this study, however, had to be changed according to the different field of research to that of Spolsky and Cooper. Hence, the next step was to find categories that fit to this study. Yavari's (2012: 29) division of signs was used as the ultimate model for this study, since she also conducts her LL study in an academic setting. The table below shows the different categories that were defined for the data of her – and hence also this - LL study. The categories will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters.



Table 7. Categories

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Typical examples</b>
<b>advertisements</b>	events, buying and selling, job vacancies, universities
<b>information</b>	course information, university information, warning notices and prohibitions miscellaneous information, information about university events
<b>instructions</b>	printing, forms, how to apply, how to behave in case of emergency, instructions on garbage
<b>services</b>	career services, services offered by different offices, information stands
<b>signage</b>	building signage, direction signs
<b>decoration</b>	printed out jokes, newspaper cutting, posters
<b>technical labelling</b>	stickers with technical instructions

## 7. Findings

### 7.1. Languages on the signs

This chapter comprises the quantitative dimension regarding the number and variety of the languages found in the LL of WU and CBS.

At WU, a total of 231 items was collected, whereas at CBS the number was more than twice as high, with a ratio of 544 items. The diverse outcome of the quantity of signs might have partly been the year of construction of the buildings. As mentioned earlier, WU's campus was less than a year old at the time of the survey, while the CBS buildings had existed for more than a decade.

All in all, there is a total of seven languages found at both universities (see Table 8). The common foreign languages at both universities are English, German, French and Italian. However, regarding foreign languages, English is certainly the most dominant one. At WU, English occurs on 143 of the total of 231 items, i.e. on 61.9% (mono-, bi-

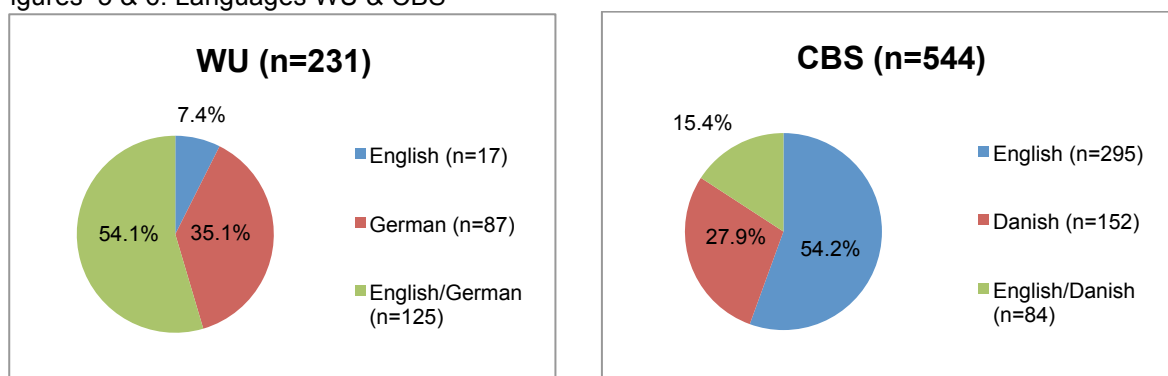
and multilingual signs). At CBS, the outcome of English on the signs is slightly higher. Here, 385 of the total amount of 544 signs contains English, which are 70.8% of all of the mono-, bi and multilingual signs at CBS. Further common foreign languages found at both of the universities are French (WU: 0.4%, CBS: 0.7%) and Italian (WU: 0.4%, CBS: 0.2%). Additionally, items with foreign languages discovered only at CBS are German with 1.8%, Spanish with 0.2% and Japanese with 0.2%.

Table 8. Languages on signs

	<b>WU (n= 231)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>CBS (n= 544)</b>	<b>%</b>
English	143	61.9	385	70.8
German	205	88.7	10	1.8
Danish	0	0	240	44.1
French	1	0.4	4	0.7
Italian	1	0.4	1	0.2
Spanish	0	0	1	0.2
Japanese	0	0	1	0.2

Dominating languages at the universities are thus both English and the countries' official languages (i.e. German and Danish). In other words, at WU German and English dominate the linguistic landscape while at CBS, Danish and English are present most frequently. Because of this fact, the distribution of mono- and bilingual signs containing English and/or German at WU and English and/or Danish at CBS will be examined as a next step. Multilingual signs were left out in both pie charts due to the low number of multilingual items found, which would not have been visible to the eye.

Figures 5 & 6. Languages WU & CBS



Comparing these two pie charts, the linguistic landscapes of the universities differ quite a bit. As already mentioned, English as the most frequent foreign language is the aspect the universities have in common. However, the distribution of the languages varies. At WU, more than half (54.1%) of the counted items are bilingual English/German, followed by monolingual German signs (35.1%) and monolingual English signs (7.4%). In contrast to this outcome, at CBS, monolingual English signs are the most dominant ones with 54.2%, followed by monolingual Danish signs (27.9%) and bilingual English/Danish signs (15.4%).

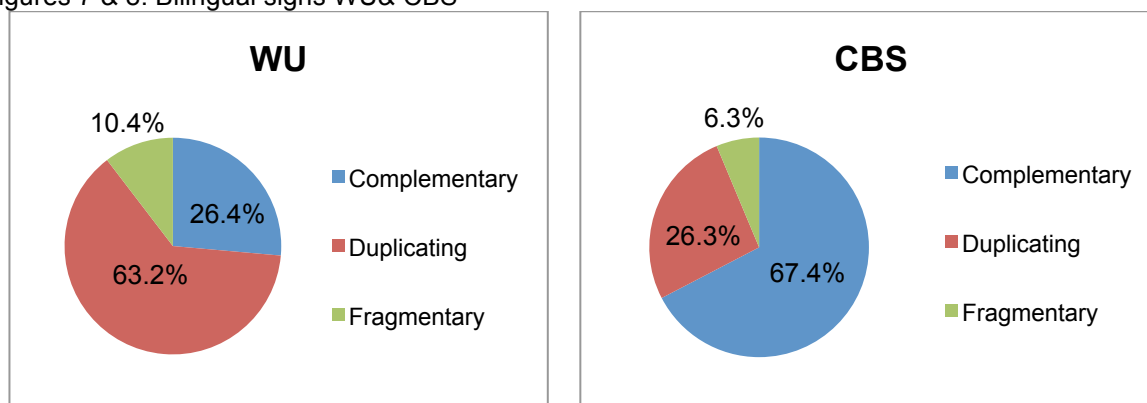
Both the table and the pie charts clearly reflect on the dominance of English and of German/Danish at both universities. While at CBS, the dominance of monolingual English signs is striking, at WU, bilingual English/German signs form the majority. Connecting these outcomes to the first research question of this thesis, which is “(1) How dominant is English in the universities’ linguistic landscapes?”, the answer that can be drawn from these findings that English certainly is a prevalent language in the linguistic landscapes of both of the universities.

## **7.2. Types of bilingual signs**

In this part of the survey, bilingual signs will be examined. This approach is included in the survey because it is a way to study the status of English on the items. The bilingual signs were examined according to Reh’s (2004) distinction between multilingual signs: complementary, duplicating, fragmentary and overlapping. In this study, however, only a distinction was made between complementary, duplicating and fragmentary signs, since the differentiation between fragmentary and overlapping signs was often unclear, which has already been discussed in chapter 4.2.

Figures 7 and 8 below demonstrate the distribution of the different types (complementary, duplicating, fragmentary) at WU and CBS. The visualization comprises both multilingual signs and bilingual signs. However, due to the low number of multilingual signs found in the study, the pie charts mainly represent the distribution of bilingual signs.

Figures 7 & 8. Bilingual signs WU& CBS



The pie charts show the different distribution of bilingual signs at WU and CBS. At WU, duplicating signs form the majority, with 63.2% of the total amount, followed by complementary signs with 26.4% and fragmentary signs with 10.4%. At CBS, however, the highest percentage of signs is complementary (67.4%), followed by duplicating signs with 26.3% and fragmentary signs with 6.3%.

Duplicating signs are found more than twice as often at WU than at CBS. This outcome can be connected with the universities' language policies (and hence also with the second research question of this thesis). While WU explicitly follows a policy of bilingualism at the university, CBS states that Danish and English should be treated as parallel languages. The outcome therefore was to be perfectly expected: the majority of the signs at WU had mutual translation – an obvious indicator of WU's official bilingualism strategy.

What has to be kept in mind, however, is that in this interpretation, the distinction between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs has not been included yet. Hence, the question whether the language policy is reflected in the LL of the universities will be answered more explicitly after the this distinction has been done, which is an approach that facilitates the interpretation of the connection between the universities' language policies and their linguistic landscapes.

Figure 9 displays an example of a typical duplicating sign found at WU.

Figure 9. Duplicating sign (WU)



At CBS, however, complementary signs form the majority (67.4%), which is why the assumption is made that mutual translation was not too essential. This outcome indicates that CBS treats Danish and English as parallel languages, since the students are obliged to understand both of the languages.

Figure 10. A complementary sign (Danish: Studievejledningen, English: lounge sponsored by)



Fragmentary signs form the minority at both universities. At WU, only 10.4 % and at CBS, 6.3% of the signs are assigned to this category. Reh (2004) writes that “texts in fragmentary and overlapping multilingualism reflect a hierarchy of languages and the knowledge of languages among the target readership, since the type and amount of information obtainable in the languages used differ.” (2004: 28) An example for that can be seen in the picture below (Figure 11), in which the same text is written in German and English, but one sentence is written only in German. WU might therefore implicitly state that they follow a policy of bilingualism, but it is still a university in a German-speaking country. (This assumption was also supported in the interview with Kraus and Schmid about WU’s language policy). However, there are not many fragmentary signs, which is why it was difficult to draw a conclusion.

Figure 11. Fragmentary sign



To sum up, WU and CBS differ in terms of bilingual signs. While bilingual signs at WU are strongly represented by a high number of duplicating signs, complementary signs are mostly present at CBS. Additionally, the outcomes could be connected to the universities' language policies.

### 7.3. Survey areas

One of the main criteria for this survey was to find equal areas at WU and CBS, which in the end were divided into four:

- The main entrance hall (and the hallways in close proximity)
- International Office
- Student Service Centre
- Career Centre

The figures below show the distribution of the languages in the different areas, which should serve as an overview. Each of the areas will subsequently be described separately.

Figure 12 . Languages in different areas (WU)

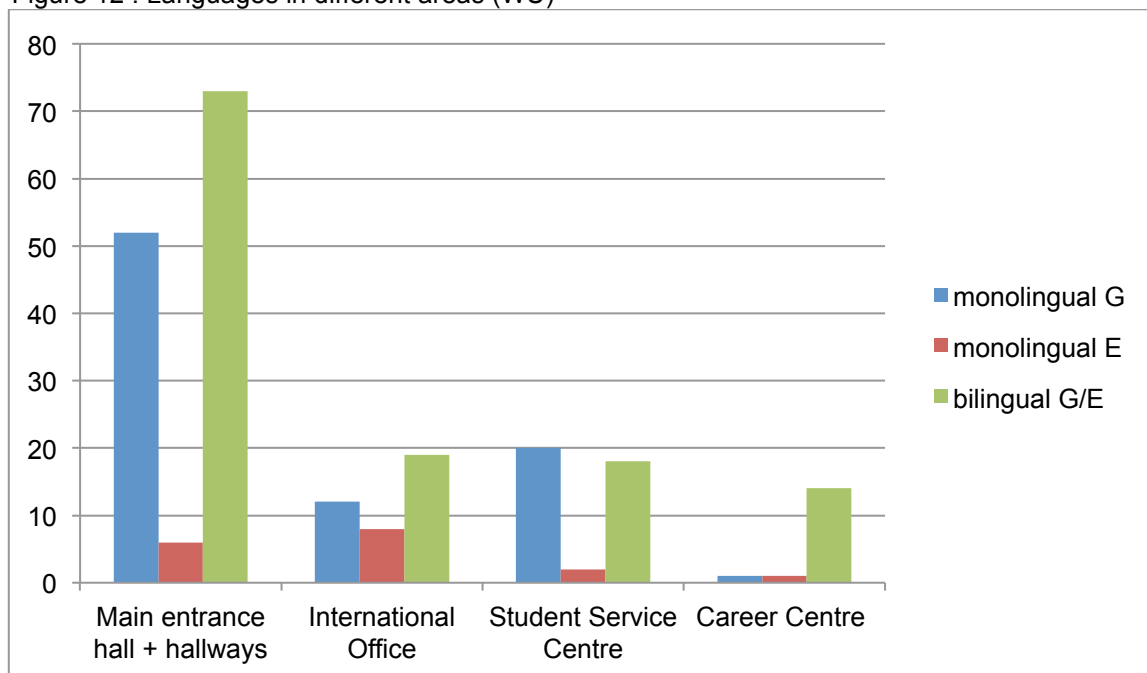
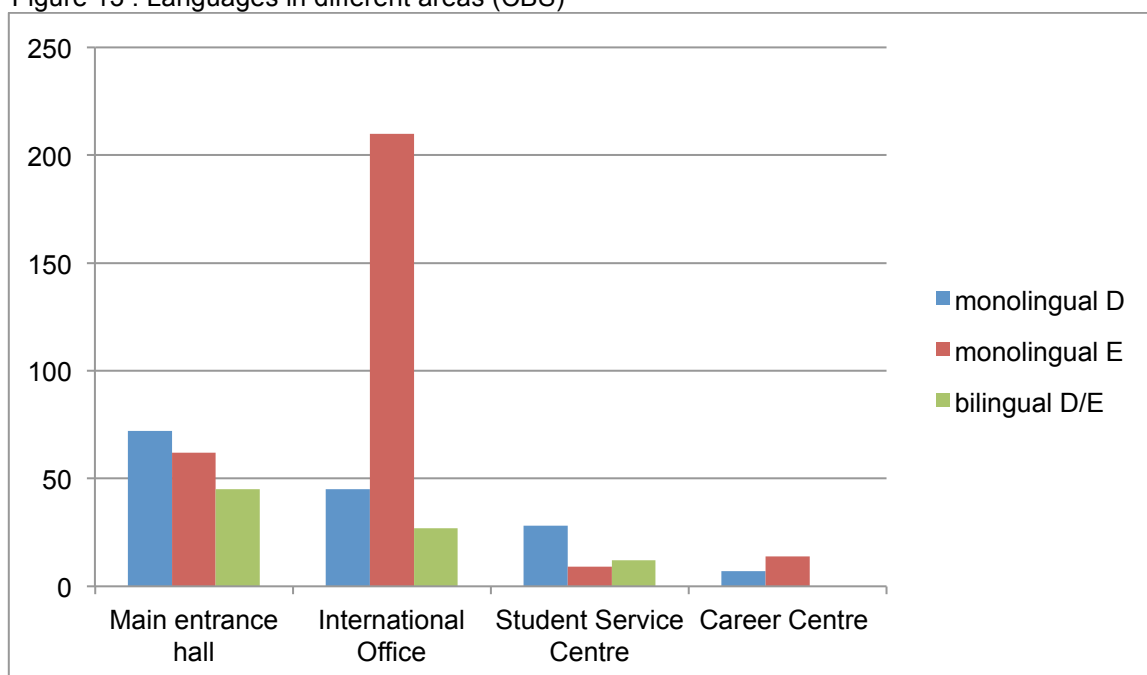


Figure 13 . Languages in different areas (CBS)



### 7.3.1. The main hall and the surrounding hallways

The findings of the main entrance hall and the surrounding hallways are displayed in detail in Table 9 below:

Table 9. Main hall + hallways

	<b>WU</b> (n= 131)	<b>%</b>	<b>CBS</b> (n= 179)	<b>%</b>
Monolingual (national language)	German: 52	39.7 %	Danish: 72	40.0 %
Monolingual Eng	6	4.6 %	62	34.4 %
National language + Eng	73	55.7 %	45	25 %

The outcome in the entrance halls and surrounding hallways is different between the universities. The majority of signs at WU is represented by bilingual German/ English items (55.7%), followed by monolingual German signs (39.7%). Monolingual English signs, however, are not found repeatedly in this area. At CBS, on the other hand, the discrepancy between the languages on different signs is not striking. Monolingual Danish signs are still the ones found most frequently (40%), immediately followed by monolingual English signs (34.4%) and Danish/English signs (25%).

### 7.3.2. *International offices*

The findings of the international offices are displayed in detail in the table below:

Table 10. International offices

	<b>WU</b> (n= 39)	<b>%</b>	<b>CBS</b> (n= 282)	<b>%</b>
Monolingual	German: 12	30.8 %	Danish: 45	16 %
Monolingual Eng	8	20.5 %	210	74.5 %
Bilingual Ger/Eng & Dan/Eng	19	48.7 %	27	9.6 %

The outcomes show that English is certainly the most dominant language on the signs of the international offices of WU and CBS. This result has already been expected beforehand, since English is needed as a common language –a ‘lingua franca’ – for international communication. In WU’s international office, English occurs on 27 signs (monolingual English and bilingual English/German) – thus, on 69.2% of the total amount of this area. In CBS’ international office, English is identified on 237 of the signs (84%). However, there is still a divergence between the distribution of mono- and bilingual signs containing English. At WU, monolingual English signs are rather rare in comparison to CBS: 20.5% are monolingual English signs, while at



CBS, monolingual English signs make up 74.5% of the total amount in this area. Therefore, the outcome of this section is that WU addresses international students with bilingual signs, which can again be connected to WU's bilingualism approach. CBS, on the other hand, uses a lot of monolingual English signs in order to address international students, which can be connected to one of the language policy's main principles discussed earlier, namely: "English is the language of default".

The outcome of monolingual German/Danish signs is outstanding, since the number of monolingual Danish signs at CBS is twice as high as the number of monolingual German signs at WU. This might again have a relation with the universities' language policies as well as the year of construction of the buildings. For example, a lot of signs (e.g. toilet) are still in monolingual Danish that were bilingual German/English at WU.

### 7.3.3. Student service centres

The findings of the student service centres are displayed in detail in Table 11:

Table 11. Student service centres

	<b>WU</b> (n= 40)	<b>%</b>	<b>CBS</b> (n= 49)	<b>%</b>
Monolingual National language	German: 20	50 %	Danish: 28	57.1 %
Monolingual Eng	2	0.5 %	9	18.4 %
Bilingual national language + Eng	18	45 %	12	24.5 %

The outcomes of the student service centres do not disperse considerably in this area. At both universities, the national languages of the countries hold the strongest position. In WU's student service centre, 50% of the items are classified monolingual German and in CBS' student service centre, Danish items represent 57.1% of the total number of items. However, regarding the signs containing English, there is a notable difference again. Bilingual signs are second strongest in both universities. Still, the number of bilingual signs at WU is twice as much as at CBS. The occurrence of English signs at WU is small (0.2%) as well, compared to the number of monolingual English signs at CBS (18.4%). In connection to the universities'

language policies, this outcome fits on the one hand, but is quite surprising on the other hand. The fact that many bilingual German/English signs are found at WU fit into WU's internationalization strategy. However, the high number of bilingual signs compared to monolingual English signs at CBS has not been expected beforehand and also differs from the other survey areas.

The striking aspect about this survey area is that the national languages of the universities are situated in was strongly represented. A reason for this outcome could be the audience the student service centres might be aiming to attract. The target group could thus supposedly be students with German or Danish as a mother tongue. International students would rather address the international offices if they had requests or needed any information.

#### **7.3.4. Career centres**

The findings of the career centres are displayed in detail in the table below:

Table 12. Career centres

	<b>WU (n= 16)</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>CBS (n= 21)</b>	<b>%</b>
Monolingual national language	German: 1	6.3 %	Danish: 7	33.3 %
Monolingual Eng	1	6.3 %	14	66.7 %
Bilingual national language + Eng	14	87.5 %	0	0 %

The results in the universities' career centres vary. Mostly all (87.5%) of the items found in WU's career centre are bilingual German and English, followed by an equal number of monolingual German and monolingual English signs (6.3%). Contrarily, the items with the highest percentage (66.7%) are monolingual English signs, followed by monolingual Danish signs (33.3%) and 0% bilingual Danish/English signs at CBS.

Again, the universities language policies might have been reflected in the areas of the career centres. Bilingual English and German signs dominate WU's career centre, which indicate the universities approach of bilingualism. Monolingual English

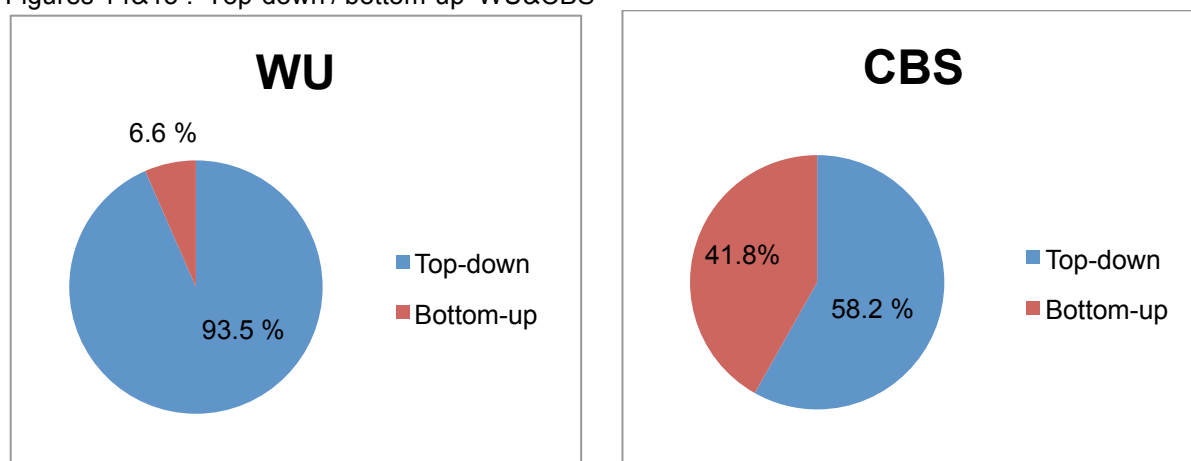
signs dominate CBS' career centre, which indicates the university's choice of "English as a default language".

In this chapter, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs, which is a classification that makes the reflection of the language policies in the LL even more explicit, have still not been elaborated. 'Top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs will thus be discussed in the next chapter.

#### 7.4. Top-down/bottom-up

Shohamy (2006: 122) writes that 'top-down' items are an "[...] expression of official policy", which is why this chapter is very essential in order to answer the research questions. The results of this classification are shown in the pie charts below:

Figures 14&15 . 'Top-down'/'bottom-up' WU&CBS



'Top-down' signs are certainly dominating WU's LL. In numbers, 93.5% of the signs are classified as 'top-down' while 6.6% are identified as 'bottom-up'. There are two possible answers for this clear outcome. Firstly, the age of the buildings might again play a big role, since 'bottom-up' items might rather arise gradually, in contrast to 'top-down' items. Secondly, it is possible that strict WU authorities controlling which signs should be put up also affect the outcome.

The table represents the outcome of 'top-down'/'bottom-up' signs at WU in more detail: It shows the distribution of the languages on the 'top-down'/'bottom-up' signs:

Table 13. WU: 'top-down'/'bottom-up'

<b>Top-down</b> (n= 212)	German	80 (37.7 % of top-down)
	English	15 (7.1 % of top-down)
	German/English	117 (55.2 % top-down)
<b>Bottom-up</b> (n =14)	German	7 (50 % of bottom-up)
	English	2 (14.3 % of bottom-up)
	German/English	8 (57.1 % of bottom-up)

German/English signs form more than half of 'top-down' signs, with a percentage of 55.2%, followed by monolingual German signs (37.7%) and monolingual English signs (7.1%), again reflecting WU's strategy. The outcome of the 'bottom-up signs' is quite similar in terms of relation. 57.1% of the signs are bilingual German/English, 50% are monolingual German and 14.3% of the signs are monolingual English. Therefore, it can be concluded that the university's bilingualism strategy might also have an effect on 'bottom-up' signs. However, it still has to be kept in mind that there is only a total of 14 'bottom-up' signs found at WU.

The following table presents the outcome of 'top-down'/'bottom-up' signs at CBS in more detail:

Table 14. CBS: 'top-down'/'bottom-up'

<b>Top-down</b> (n= 312)	Danish	88 (28.2 % of top-down)
	English	165 (52.9 % of top-down)
	Danish/English	59 (18.9 % of top-down)
<b>Bottom-up</b> (n =214)	Danish	61 (28.5 % of bottom-up)
	English	129 (60.3 % of bottom-up)
	Danish/English	24 (11.2 % of bottom-up)

Monolingual English signs have the strongest position regarding both 'top-down' (52.8%) and 'bottom-up' (60.3%) signs, followed by monolingual Danish signs ('top-down': 28.2%, 'bottom-up': 28.5%) and lastly bilingual Danish/English signs ('top-down': 18.9%, 'bottom-up': 11.2%). These outcomes, 'top-down' as well as 'bottom-up', again reflect the university's language policy twofold: First of all, Danish and

English appear to be parallel languages and secondly, English seems to be the language of 'default'.

To summarize this chapter and to answer one of the research questions, it becomes quite obvious that the language policies relate to the LL of both universities, because the policies are visible in regards to 'top-down' signs, but also in terms of 'bottom-up' signs, since language policies seem to influence both groups.

## 7.5. Categories

In chapter 6.4. the categories for this LL survey were already introduced. In this chapter, they will be discussed in detail. Additionally, examples of signs of the categories will be shown. The pie charts below present the outcomes of the appearance of the different categories in both universities.

Figure 16 . Categories (WU)

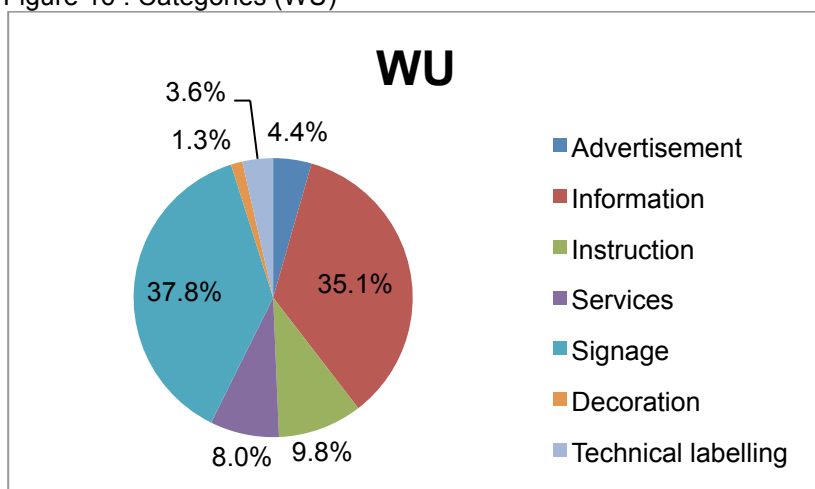
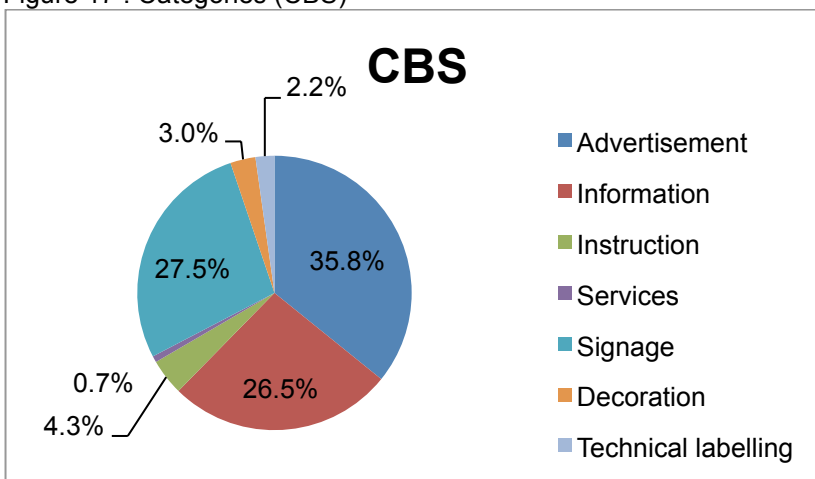


Figure 17 . Categories (CBS)



Again, the categories are distributed differently at WU and CBS. The most striking difference between the universities is the number of advertisement signs found in the survey areas. While at WU only 4.4% of the items are assigned to the 'advertisement' category, the percentage at CBS is higher (35.8%). Since most of the advertisement signs are bottom-up, which will be explained later in the chapter, the interpretation for this discrepancy could be again WU's stricter laws on which posters would be allowed to be attached by private people, which is, however, only an assumption. The amount of 'information' signs differs by roughly 10%. At WU, there are 35.5% 'information' signs found and at CBS, 26.5% of the total number of items is counted to that category. The findings of 'instruction' signs are more than twice as high (9.8%) at WU than at CBS (4.3%). Also, the number of 'services' signs differs quite a lot. While 8.0% of the total amount of signs at WU belongs to this category, only 0.7% at CBS is identified as 'service' signs. Regarding the 'signage' category, there is also a difference of around 10%. At WU, 37.8% of the signs fall into this category, while at CBS, 27.5% of the signs are part of this group. Obviously, every university needs 'signage' in order to give the audience the possibility of orientation. However, the general observation is the rather high number of signage without written texts (e.g. toilets) at CBS, which might contribute to this outcome. Regarding the 'decoration' signs, the outcome at CBS (3.0%) is more than twice as high than at WU (1.3%). Again, the age of the buildings and hence the collection of several 'bottom-up' decoration signs (which will be discussed later) could be a factor for this outcome. The last category, which is 'technical labelling', differed slightly: at WU, 3.6% and at CBS, 2.2% of the total amount of signs are technical labelling.

After this overview of the distribution of the signs, the categories will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. They will be defined once again and furthermore, the outcome of the number of 'bottom-up' as well as 'top-down' signs will be discussed.

### **7.5.1. Advertisements**

Advertisement include formal as well as informal signs, such as advertisements for events, jobs, products, etc.

The pictures below are some examples for signs of this category. The two on the left were found at WU (left: 'top-down', right: 'bottom-up') and the two on the right were discovered at CBS (left: 'top-down', right: 'bottom-up'). The 'top-down' poster at WU

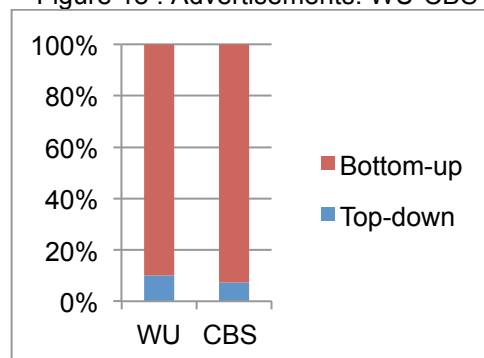
was one by ÖH (the official students' representative organization), the 'bottom-up' poster at WU was an event ad by a private organization. At CBS, the 'top-down' advertisement found was an ad for CBS itself without promoting a specific event. The bottom-up sign at CBS was an ad for a dance school.

Figure 20 . Advertisement: examples



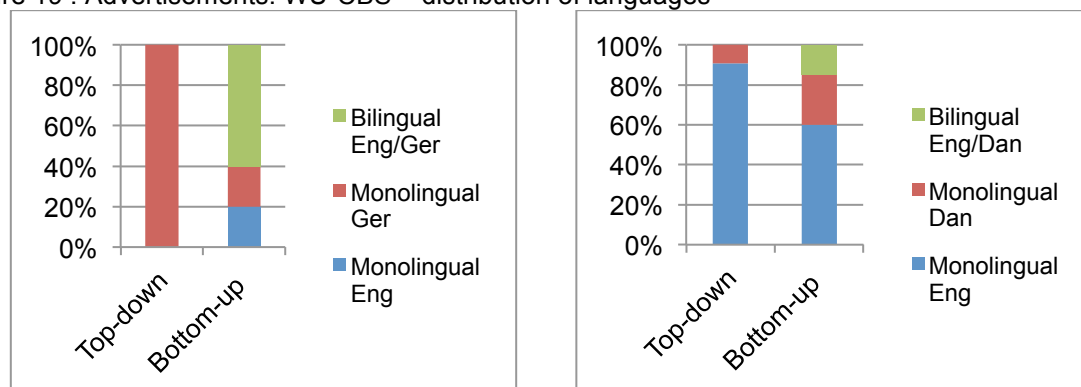
At WU, as can be seen in Figure 18, 90% of the items found are classified as 'bottom-up signs', while 10% of the signs are 'top-down'. At CBS, the relation is quite similar: 92.7% of the signs are 'bottom-up' and 7.3% are 'top-down'. These findings have been expected beforehand, since most of the advertisement (such as job ads or ads for other higher education institutions) has been regarded as 'bottom-up', as explained earlier. Advertisement items that are perceived as 'top-down' are ads by the WU or CBS that do not give any specific information about events or lectures, but only promote the universities themselves or official student organizations. There are not many ads for the universities discovered that do not have a specific content, which is why the percentage of the 'top-down' signs is so low, which can also be seen in Figure 18.

Figure 18 . Advertisements: WU-CBS



The next two bar charts show the distribution of the various languages within ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ signs in order to examine the realisation of the language policies in detail. Here, the outcome is quite different. Although the distribution of ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ signs at the universities is quite similar, the distribution of the languages differs. Looking at the ‘top-down’ advertisement items, 100% of them are monolingual German at WU, while at CBS, 91.0% are monolingual English and the rest monolingual Danish. However, there is not a lot of ‘top-down’ advertisement to be found, which makes the outcomes of the ‘bottom-up’ signs slightly more dominant in the evaluation. At WU, most of the ‘bottom-up’ advertisement is bilingual English/German (60%), followed by monolingual German and monolingual English (both 20%). At CBS, the majority is represented by monolingual English signs (58.2%), followed by monolingual Danish signs (24.9%) and bilingual English/Danish signs (17.0%). From this comparison, it becomes visible that at WU, German and English are quite present regarding advertisement, while at CBS, English only is dominant.

Figure 19 . Advertisements: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



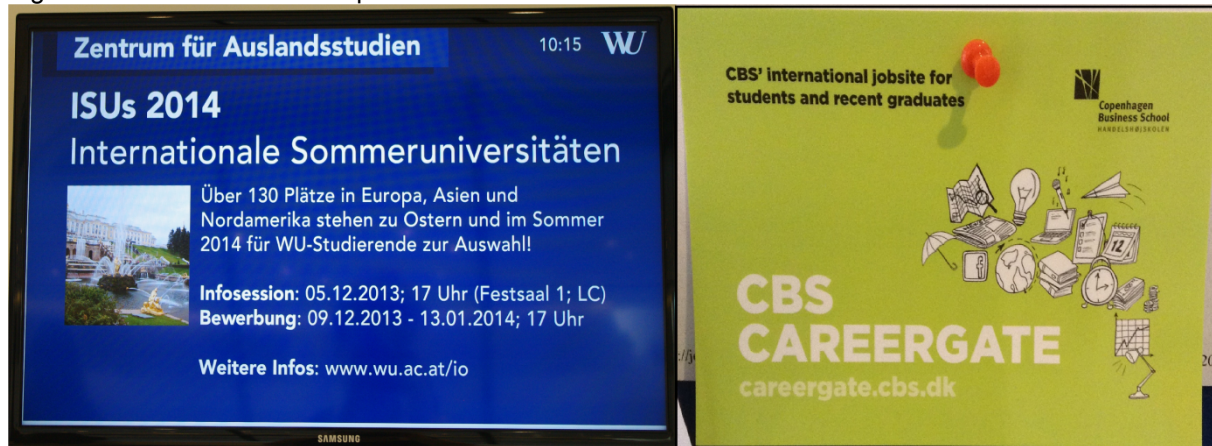
### 7.5.2. Information signs

The next category in this study is named ‘information’. This section includes any kinds of informative notices, such as course information, warning notices and also prohibitions, information about university events and miscellaneous information. Regarding the university events, it is not easy to decide whether they should be considered as advertisement or information. However, they are regarded as information, since they have a different purpose than advertising, namely rather to inform students about possibilities at the respective university.



The examples below show two top-down information signs. The left one is found at WU and the right one is found at CBS. These two examples display the problem whether those items should be counted as advertisement or information signs. Yet, it is decided to view signs like these as information signs, since they are not necessarily ads, but the possible aim is to give the students an input about their opportunities at the universities rather than to advertise.

Figure 23 . Information: examples



At WU, 98.3 % of the signs are regarded top-down, while 1.3 % are counted as bottom-up. At CBS, the number of bottom-up signs is slightly higher, namely 18.9 % and 81.2% of them are considered top-down (see Figure 21).

Figure 21 . Information: WU-CBS

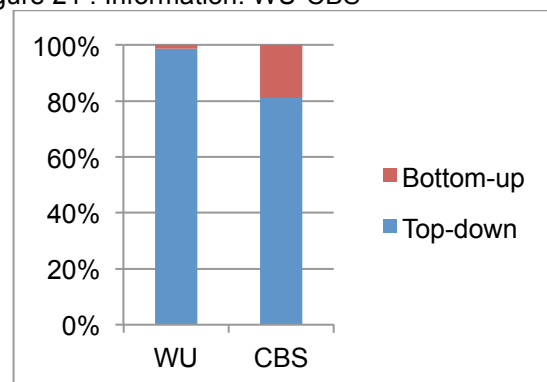
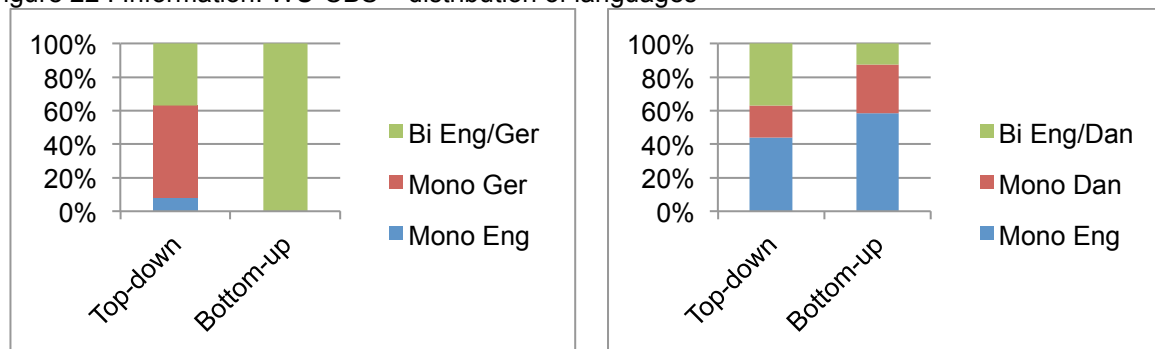


Figure 22. shows the distribution of the various languages within top-down and bottom-up signs. Again, the outcome is quite different at the universities. Looking at the top-down signs at WU, the majority is represented by monolingual German signs (54.9%), followed by bilingual English/German signs (37.0%) and monolingual English signs (8.2%). At CBS, monolingual English signs are mainly defined as ‘top-

down' (44.0%), followed by bilingual English/Danish signs (37.1%) and monolingual Danish signs (19.0%). As can be seen at the table chart above and as mentioned earlier, the majority of the signs are 'top-down', which is why in this category, the distribution of languages on 'bottom-up' signs is not too representative. However, at WU, 100% of the 'bottom-up' information signs are bilingual English/German. At CBS, 58.3% are monolingual English, 29.2% are monolingual Danish and 12.5% are bilingual English/Danish. Comparing the two graphs, it is again obvious that at WU, German is quite present (be it in monolingual German signs or in bilingual German/English signs), while at CBS, English as well as bilingual English/Danish signs are dominant. This outcome shows the focus on the languages each of the universities have.

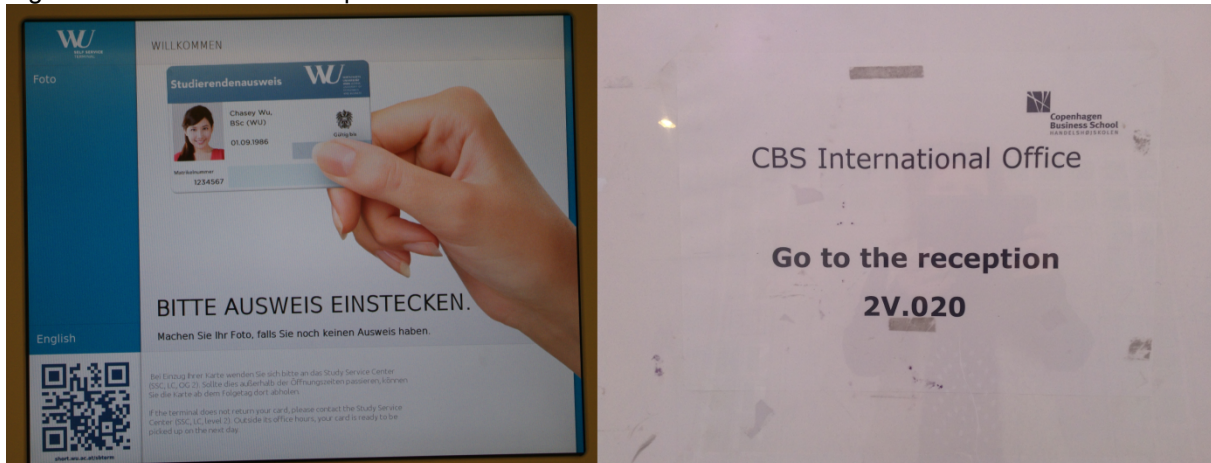
Figure 22 . Information: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



### 7.5.3. Instruction signs

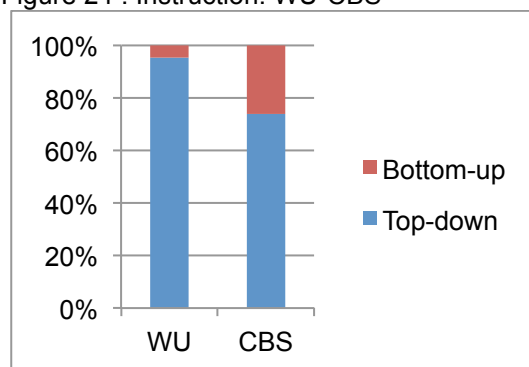
'Instruction signs' are the third category chosen. By that selection, all the signs that instruct the reader 'what to do' are regarded as part of this category. Examples for that are guidelines on how to print, any forms that had to be filled out, descriptions how to behave in case of emergency and instruction on how to throw away garbage. The pictures below show two top-down instruction signs, the left one found at WU and the right one found at CBS. These pictures should serve as examples for what kinds of signs were defined as of instructional kind. Since the majority of the signs of both universities were 'top-down', only examples of that category were chosen.

Figure 26 . Instruction: examples



At WU, 95.5 % of the instruction signs are ‘top-down’, while 4.5 % are considered ‘bottom-up’. At CBS, 73.9% are counted as ‘top-down’, while 26.1% are interpreted as ‘bottom-up’. These outcomes have been expected beforehand, since it is obvious that forms of instructions mostly come from the universities’ side. In other words, it has been clear that the majority of signs should be ‘top-down’.

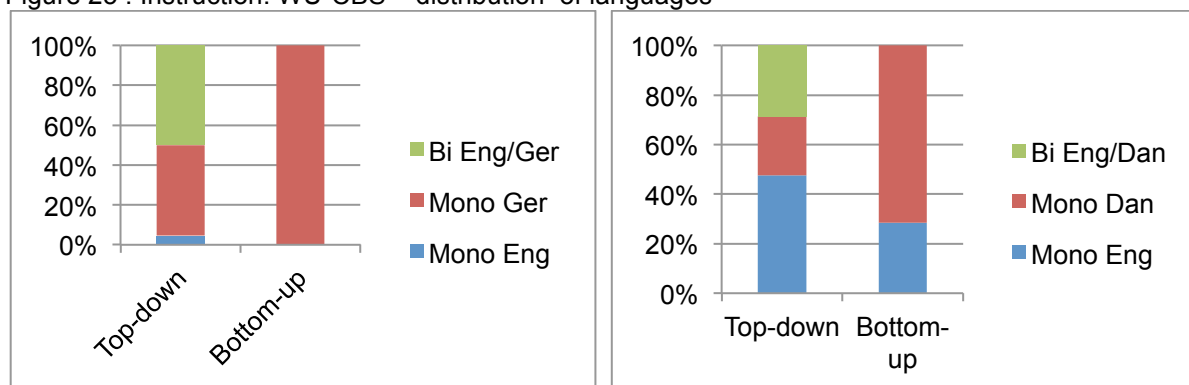
Figure 24 . Instruction: WU-CBS



The next two bar charts show the distribution of the various languages into ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ signs. Most of the instruction signs are ‘top-down’ signs. At WU, the most dominant ‘top-down’ items are bilingual English/German signs (50%), directly followed by monolingual German signs (45.5%) and 4.5% of monolingual English signs. At CBS, the majority of ‘top-down’ instruction signs is represented by monolingual English signs (47.6%), followed by bilingual English/Danish signs (28.6%) and monolingual Danish signs (23.8%). Looking at the ‘bottom-up’ instruction signs, 100% of them are monolingual German at WU, while 71.4% are monolingual Danish at CBS, followed by 28.6% monolingual English signs. Looking at the graphs, it becomes visible that at WU, German is very dominant (on

monolingual German and bilingual English/German signs), while at CBS, English dominates the LL regarding top-down instruction signs. Again, the ideas of the universities' language policies becomes quite obvious when looking at the distribution of languages.

Figure 25 . Instruction: WU-CBS – distribution of languages

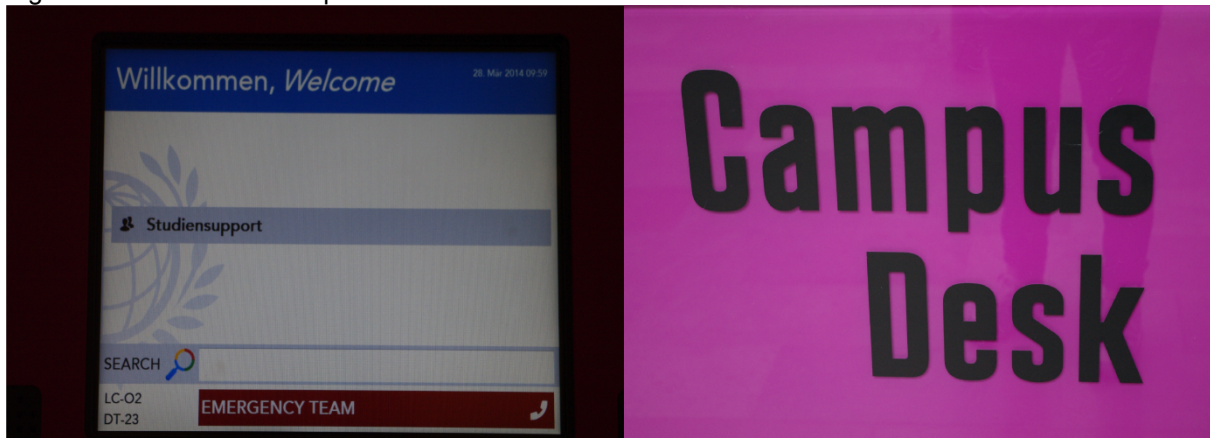


#### 7.5.4. Services

The fourth category is called 'services' and comprises any kind of services offered to the students, mainly by the universities, but also by other organizations or by different offices. Information stands are also considered as part of the 'services' section.

The pictures below are two examples of 'service' items at WU (left) and at CBS (right). Of course, there are different kinds of 'service' items, since this category is quite manifold. Nonetheless, the following two photos were chosen as an example of the types of items in this category. The left picture shows a screen that was there in order to ring the Study Service Centre staff in front of its office. Clearly, this was considered as service for the audience in order to find the right person in charge in the office. The right picture shows the labelling of the campus desk of CBS. Of course, this could have also counted as a 'signage' item, however, the decision was made to count it as a 'service' sign. The reason for this was that the audience would expect service from the university's side, such as information or guidelines. Also, labelling of information stands were counted as parts of the 'service' category.

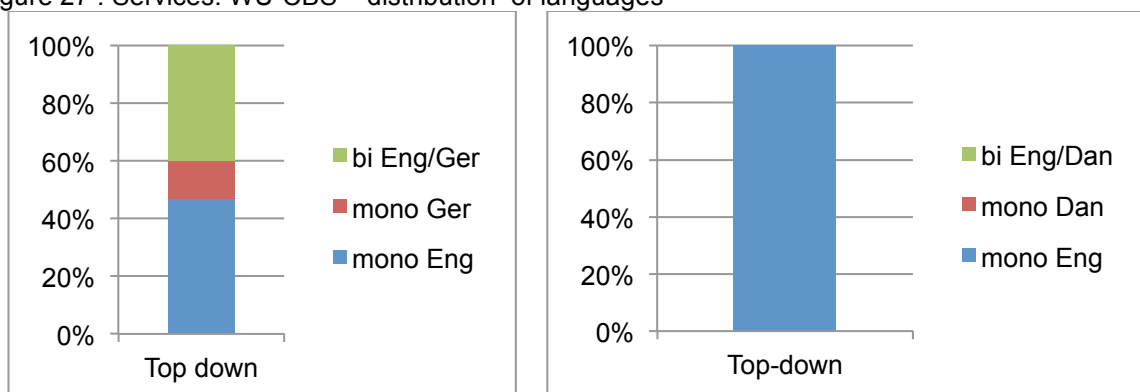
Figure 28 . Services: examples



At both universities, 100 % of the items defined as ‘services’ are top-down signs, which is why the outcome will not be shown on bar charts.

On the next two bar charts, the difference between the distributions of the languages within this category becomes visible. While at WU, monolingual English and bilingual English/German signs are very dominant (46.7% and 40.0%), in contrast to monolingual English signs (13.3%), the only language that can be found on CBS service signs is monolingual English. The comparison of the two bar charts makes it clear that CBS focuses on English. What is striking is that monolingual English signs are also quite strongly represented at WU.

Figure 27 . Services: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



### 7.5.5. Signage

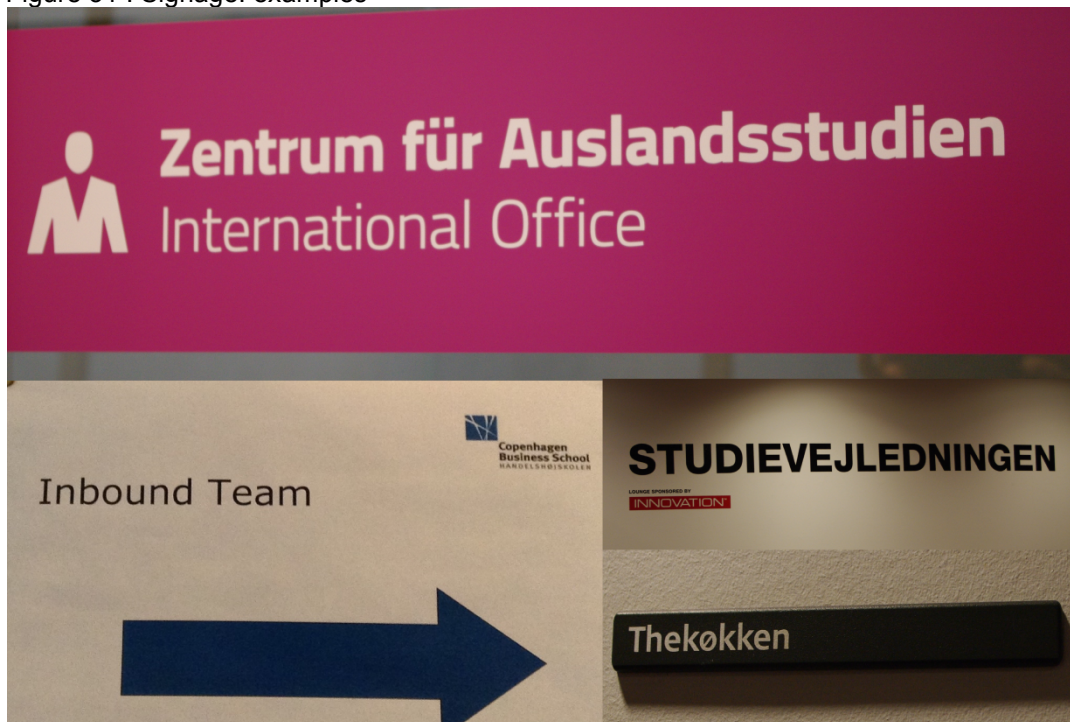
‘Signage’ is a category that was frequently found at the universities. This kind includes direction signs and building signs. Backhaus writes that signs are here to “disseminate messages of general public interest, such as topographic information,



directions, warnings, etc” (2007: 5). This statement therefore serves as a guideline for the identification of this category.

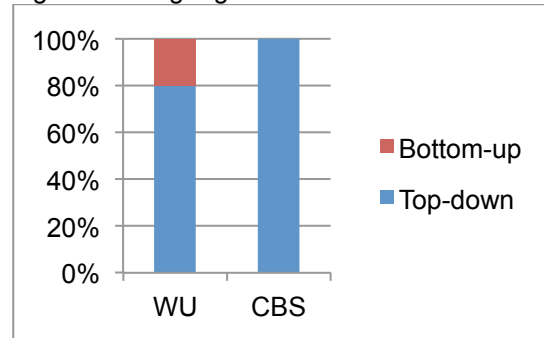
The pictures below show a selection of some top-down ‘signage’ items found at WU (upper picture) and CBS (lower pictures). This selection was made, because most of the signage items found were either room or office labelling or direction signs, which these example pictures should exemplify.

Figure 31 . Signage: examples



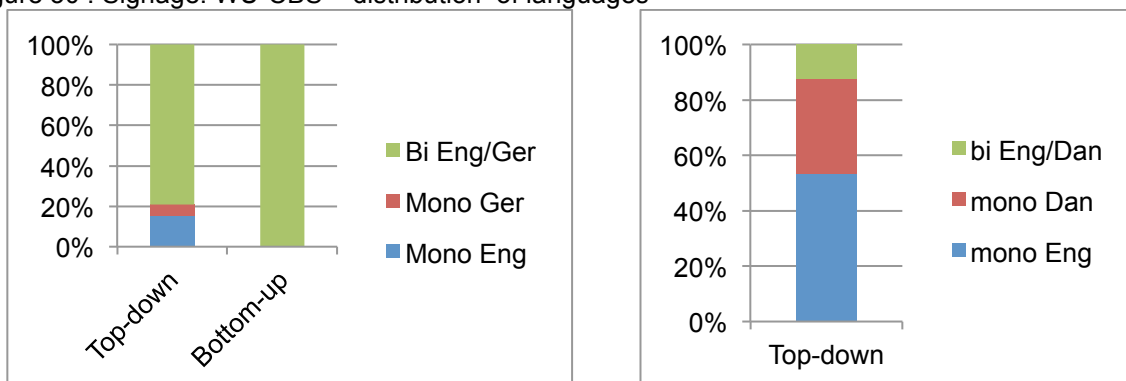
At WU, 98.8 % of the signage is seen as ‘top-down’, while 1.2% is defined as ‘bottom-up’. At CBS, 100% of this category is defined as ‘top-down’. These outcomes, which are shown in the bar chart below have been expected beforehand, since obviously, the universities are in charge of the signage. Therefore, the majority or the entirety of the signs is defined as ‘top-down’. The reason why WU comprises a certain percentage of bottom-up ‘signage’ items is that there is a café in the main entrance hall which is regarded as a ‘bottom-up’ entity, since it does seem to be a private entity renting rooms in the WU buildings.

Figure 29 . Signage: WU-CBS



The bar charts below indicate that the distribution of the languages on the 'signage' items varies between the universities. At WU, all of the 'bottom-up' signage items are bilingual English/German. Also within the classification of the 'top-down' signs, bilingual English/German is very dominant (79.1%). The other languages are only discovered to a small percentage (monolingual English: 15.1% and monolingual German: 5.8%). At CBS, more than half of the signs are monolingual English (53.5%), followed by monolingual Danish signs (34.0%) and a small amount of bilingual English/Danish signs (12.5%). This outcome clearly represents the universities' language policies regarding the usage of languages. At WU, which focuses on bilingualism, this is clearly the group that is found the most on signage items. Both monolingual English signs as well as monolingual Danish signs are used at CBS, therefore supporting CBS's statement to use English and Danish as parallel languages.

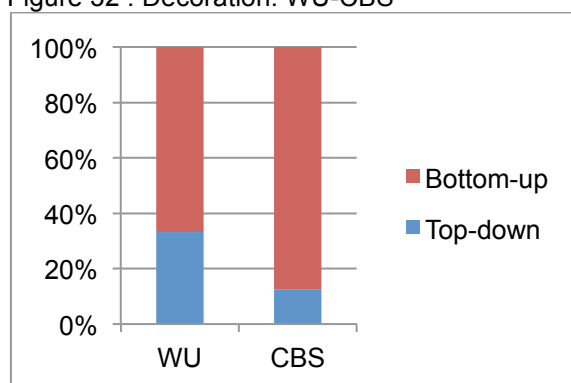
Figure 30 . Signage: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



### 7.5.6. Decoration

The following category is named 'decoration' and comprises any kinds of decoration with a written content on them. Examples for this category are printed-out jokes, posters, postcards and magnets. At WU, 33.3% of the signs are considered 'top-down', while 66.6% are defined as 'bottom-up'. At CBS, 87.5 % of the decoration signs are 'bottom-up', while 12.5 % are 'top-down'. The possible reason for this outcome is that most of the decoration is most probably hung up by private people (including staff of the university), but not intended by the universities themselves. The results are displayed in the bar chart below.

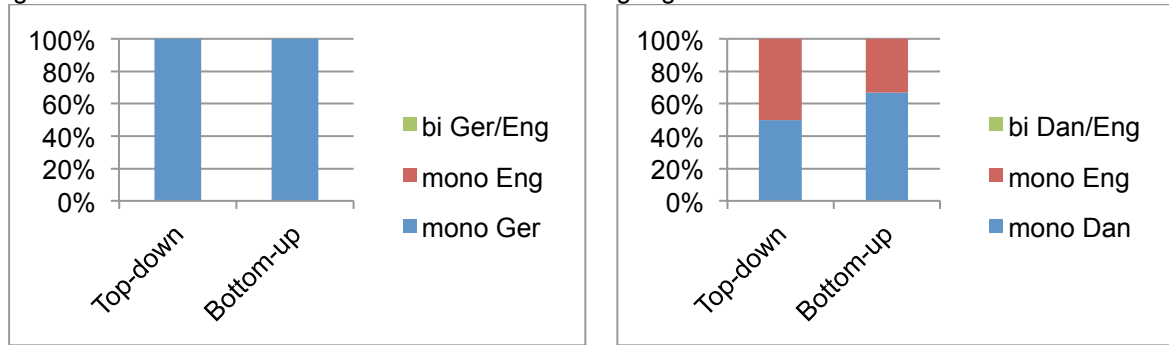
Figure 32 . Decoration: WU-CBS



Comparing the two bar charts below, the results of 'decoration' signs regarding the distribution of languages at WU is obvious. 'Top-down' signs as well as 'bottom-up' signs are monolingual German. At CBS, the two dominant items in both categories are monolingual English ('top-down': 50%, 'bottom-up': 66.7%) and monolingual Danish ('top-down': 50%, 'bottom-up': 33.3%). Comparing the charts of WU and CBS, it becomes obvious that German is the dominant language at WU, while at CBS, both English and Danish are both represented. This outcome might have to do with the general frequent usage of English in the Danish society rather than with the language policies of the universities.



Figure 33 . Decoration: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



In order to show why the assumption for most of the ‘decoration’ signs is that they are fixed and selected by individuals, a few selected examples are displayed below. The left one was found in WU’s international office and the two right ones were found in CBS’ international office and student service centre. Most probably, those items were attached privately by university staff, which was why they were viewed as ‘bottom-up’.

Figure 34 . Decoration: examples



### 7.5.7. Technical labelling

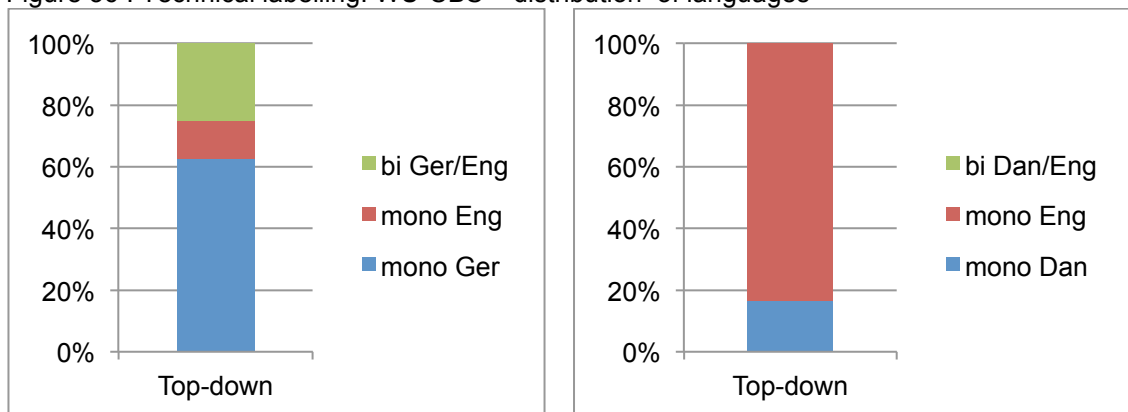
The last category is called ‘technical labelling’. Examples for that would be stickers on elevators with a technical content. Most of the signs of this category do not seem to be intended for a different audience than technicians themselves and they are all counted as ‘top-down’. To illustrate what is meant by technical labelling, the pictures below should serve as examples.

Figure 35 . Technical labelling: examples



The distribution of languages on the technical labelling differs at the two universities, which one can see in the bar charts below. At WU, the majority of the signs consists of monolingual German signs (62.5%), followed by 25% bilingual German/English signs and 12.5% monolingual English signs. At CBS, monolingual English technical labelling is very present (83.3%). The rest consists of monolingual Danish signs (16.7%). The comparison of the two bar charts shows that German is still very common at WU, while English is central at CBS. This again could have to do with the presence of English within Danish society rather than with the universities' language policies.

Figure 36 . Technical labelling: WU-CBS – distribution of languages



## 7.6. Summary and interpretation of findings

Table 14. summarizes below the main findings of the linguistic landscaping study:

Table 14. Summary

	WU	CBS
Language	German (88.7%)	English (70.8%)
Types of multilingual signs	Duplicating	Complementary
Top-down signs	German and English	English
Bottom-up signs	German and English	English
Category	Signage	Advertisement

At WU, 'top-down' signs as well as 'bottom-up' signs were mainly bilingual German/English, which is a clear reflection of WU's bilingualism strategy. Contrarily, 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs at CBS were both mainly monolingual English, which shows that English is the 'language of default' at CBS. Moreover, the outcome of the multilingual signs is a further proof of the reflection of the universities' language policies. At WU, 'duplicating' signs dominate, which means that the signs are mutually translated, which again underlines the university's bilingualism strategy. The outcome of 'complementary' signs, which means that some part on the signs are written in English and some in Danish, is a reflection of CBS' parallel languages strategy.

There were also further significant findings made that are summarized in the bullet points below:

- The number of languages other than English and the native language of the university, German at WU and Danish at CBS, is extremely small. At CBS, there is a presence of a few German signs, which have not been taken into account of the study due to the small number.
- The national languages are not dominant at both universities. While at WU, German is dominant, English is the language that mostly found at CBS.
- The majority of signs at WU are bilingual English/German, opposing to CBS, where the majority is formed by monolingual English signs.

- English is mostly observed in the international offices. At WU, international students are addressed by bilingual German/English signs, while at CBS, more monolingual English signs are used.
- The national languages are dominant in the student service centres at WU as well as at CBS.
- The language policies are reflected in nearly all different categories chosen for this survey ('bottom-up' as well as 'top-down').

### **7.6.1. Limitations**

The field of linguistic landscaping is broad and various points could be discussed in more detail than in this thesis. Suggestions for further research would be the placement of the text, or the font type and size of different languages. Backhaus (2006) analysed his signs looking at code preference. In other words, he considers "points such as the order of appearance of languages on signs, placement of text (left, right, up, down, and margin), font type, font size, and colour [...]" (Yavari, 2012:58). Here, in further research, a point of interest, for instance, would be whether there is one language highlighted on WU's bilingual duplicating signs.

## 8. Conclusion

This thesis has examined the linguistic landscapes and language policies of two different universities, WU (Vienna) and CBS (Copenhagen), with both institutions situated in different countries. The aim of this study was to answer two research questions:

- *How dominant is English in the universities' linguistic landscape?*
- *How far are the universities' language policies reflected in the linguistic landscape of the universities?*

The first part of this paper provided a theoretical basis for the subsequent empirical study. Firstly, the term 'language policy' was examined before different kinds of language policy were listed. Further, the aspect of internationalization of tertiary education was discussed, focussing on language policies at higher education institutions. Finally, the study of linguistic landscaping was introduced, supplied with different kinds of its methodology. Before describing the actual study, background information regarding Austria and Denmark's linguistic situation was presented, specifically for WU and CBS and the difference of their language policies.

In the linguistic landscaping study, written signs that were found on the campuses of WU and CBS were collected and counted in order to answer the research questions. Hence, the aim was to determine the number and variety of languages at the universities, the different types of signs, whether or not English was included on bilingual signs, the different concentrations of the study as well as the visible languages there, the findings of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' distribution, the different categories of signs and the distribution of languages and 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' signs in the categories.

After completing this comprehensive study, the following answers were found out: in regards to the first question, English is certainly dominant in the universities' linguistic landscape. At CBS, English was found on the majority of signs, while at WU, German was present on most of the signs. However, the majority of signs at WU consisted of bilingual English/German signs, which leads to the conclusion that English was often apparent in both universities in different forms. In terms of the research found in

response to the second question: while CBS had an 'explicit' (written document) language policy, WU's language policy was 'implicit' (no written document). However, in the study, it was determined that both language policies were reflected in 'top-down' as well as 'bottom-up' signs in both universities. Thus, the findings show the importance that the universities place on 'internationalization'. Through the frequent use of English, which is an academic 'lingua franca', the universities aim to address a broad international audience.

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## **Maps:**

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## 10. Appendix:

### 7.7. Interview Language Policy WU

- 1) **Erklärung:** warum bin ich hier, worüber ist meine Diplomarbeit, welche Fokus habe ich, welche Erwartungen habe ich, warum ist es so wichtig in meiner Diplomarbeit, das Thema „Language Policy“ miteinzubeziehen

**Warum bin ich hier und wovon handelt meine Diplomarbeit:** Ich schreibe gerade meine Diplomarbeit, in der ich zwei „linguistic landscapes“ von zwei Universitäten (Linguistic Landscaping = eine Subkategorie von Soziolinguistik, in der alle beschriebenen Schilder in einer bestimmten Gegend gezählt und klassifiziert werden → es wird also herausgefunden, welche Sprachen oft verwendet werden)

**Mein Fokus:** zwei Wirtschaftsuniversitäten mit einer ähnlichen Studierendenzahl und einer ähnlichen Größe → WU Wien und CBS Kopenhagen

**Meine Erwartungen meiner Recherche:** als ich in Kopenhagen studiert habe (KU), hatte ich den Eindruck, dass English viel häufiger im täglichen Leben verwendet wurde als in Wien, was ich mithilfe von Linguistic Landscaping beweisen wollte. Um ein LL Projekt durchzuführen, musste ich ein gewisses geographisches Limit setzen, was mich dazu führte, zwei verschiedene Universitäten zu wählen. Natürlich änderte sich hiermit meine Forschungsfrage, da ich zwei Wirtschaftsunis gewählt hatte, und dadurch meine Erwartungen des Gebrauchs von Englisch sich schlagartig änderten. Da beide Universitäten die Wichtigkeit der Internationalisierung in einem akademischen Rahmen betonen, bin ich neugierig, wie meine Outcomes aussehen werden, sobald ich die Schilder gezählt habe.

- 2) **Warum bin ich hier:** um Ihnen einige Fragen über die Language Policy der WU zu stellen, da die Language Policy eine Sprachlandschaft sehr beeinflusst. Im E-Mail haben Sie mir bereits geschrieben, dass keine wirkliche geschriebene Policy gibt, aber Bilingualismus ein Teil der Internationalisationsstrategie wäre. Warum gibt es noch keine geschriebene

Language Policy und wie versuchen Sie diesen Bilingualismusaspekt zu erreichen?

- 3) Gibt es eine gesamtuniversitäre Regulierung bezüglich der Bilingualismus Strategie oder variiert sie zwischen den Departments?
- 4) Wurde mit dem Bau der neuen WU eine neue Regulierung erschaffen?
- 5) Bezüglich des „Labellings“: gibt es eine Grauzone für einige Beschriftungen? (z.B. Pinnwände, an denen StudentInnen selbst etwas aufhängen können)
- 6) Die Homepage der WU: gibt es eine Regulierung auf der Website? Ist alles 1 zu 1 übersetzt oder gibt es einige Informationen nur auf Deutsch?
- 7) Welches Publikum versucht die WU anzusprechen? Hilft der hohe Anteil des Englischen, das favorisierte Publikum anzusprechen?
- 8) Ist Englisch äquivalent mit Deutsch? Ist das Ziel der WU, Deutsch und Englisch als parallele Sprachen zu verwenden?
- 9) Kurssprachen: zwar wahrscheinlich eh auf der Website, jedoch wie viele Englischsprachige Kurse gibt es im Bezug auf Deutsche Kurse?
- 10) Verlangt die WU ein Sprach- oder Englisch Zertifikat von den Professoren oder Studenten?
- 11) Gibt es einen Unterschied zwischen der internen und externen Kommunikation an der Universität? Bezüglich der internen Kommunikation an der Universität, gibt es eine Tendenz zum Deutschen hin?
- 12) CBS Principles: auf der WU ähnlich?

1. **Parallel languages:** CBS conducts research, teaches and administers in both Danish and English and has an obligation to communicate with staff and students in both languages; sometimes in both languages simultaneously and often in only one of these, depending on purpose and context. CBS does not rank the national language, Danish, as a first language, and the international language of communication, English, as a second language or vice versa. Danish and English thus co-existing, are of equal status and the choice of one or the other or both depends on situation, purpose and context. In a few programmes (BLC, ASP and study programmes offered by the Department for International Business Communication) also other languages are used for teaching.
2. **English as default language:** Danish is the largest native language at CBS. English is the largest common language at CBS. In order for communication to reach and be accessible to the largest number of staff and students at CBS, English must be regarded as the language of default in an increasing number of contexts and situations, even though, of course, Danish will be used as the natural choice in many contexts.
3. **Danish and/or English:** Documents/communication with 'rights or duties' implications must be in Danish or English depending on the recipient(s). General communication addressed to all 'citizens' at CBS, or to large groups, should as far as possible only be disseminated in one language, Danish or English, depending on context and purpose, in order to avoid unnecessary duplication and use of resources. In practice this means English in most such cases. Documents/communication in both languages alongside each other communicating precisely the same should be kept to the minimum required by e.g. the legal requirements ('rights and duties' communication) laid down in the Danish Administration Act or by explicit political decisions at CBS.
4. **Inclusion and equal opportunities:** Non-Danish staff and students need to know that language use at CBS will not be a barrier for their full integration and career development. Language use acting as a barrier, formally or informally, against full participation in activities and work assignments at CBS should thus be systematically addressed and eliminated.
5. **Cultural integration:** This language policy should contribute to integrating non-Danish nationals at CBS to the fullest extent possible. Both through accommodating non-Danish nationals through the use of English, but also through an institutional policy that encourages and supports non-Danish nationals at CBS to learn Danish.
6. **British/American English:** CBS does not prescribe one particular version of English for its students and staff, but aims at correct, lucid and effective 'international standard English', essentially based on British and American variants in its written products, whereas more variation can be expected and is acceptable in spoken English.
7. **Quality.** All staff has a responsibility to ensure the highest possible quality and professionalism in their language use. This implies that competence development becomes an important and continuous focus area across CBS.

## 7.8. Interview Language Policy CBS

- 1) **Explanation:** why am I here, what is my thesis on, what will my focus be and what are my expectations for my research outcomes, why is it so important for me to include language policy in my thesis:

**Why am I here and what is my thesis on:** I am currently writing my thesis in which I am comparing the linguistic landscapes of two universities (What is LL? It is a subfield of sociolinguistics in which all of the written signs of a certain area are counted and classified → therefore you can see which languages are often used)

**My focus:** two economy universities with an equal number of students and a similar size → WU Vienna and CBS Copenhagen

**My expectations for my research outcomes:** when I was studying in Copenhagen (KU), I felt that English is much more used in daily life in Copenhagen than it is in Vienna, which I wanted to prove with the help of LL. In order to do a LL project, I needed a geographic limit, which led me to choose two different universities. Of course, by choosing two universities with focus on economy, my expectations of the use of English changed completely. Since both of the universities emphasize the importance of internationalization within the academic context, I am very curious about how my outcomes will look like once I have counted the items.

- 2) Why am I here: to ask you some questions about the language policy of CBS, since language policy plays an important role for the linguistic landscape, since it would have an effect on the official CBS signs and labels. I read that CBS' language policy was firstly developed in 2006. **Have there been any significant changes made since then? If yes, which changes have there be made?**



- 3) **Is there a special policy regarding the signage and labelling at your university?** Is there one regulation concerning the labelling or has each department got its own rules? **Who is in charge of the labelling?** Is there one regulation for all of CBS or has each department or building their own rules? Is there a “grey area” for certain labelling regulations?
- 4) Has the **university’s website also got a “language policy”**? Is there anything written about the language policy on your website?
- 5) Is there any regulation or language policy regarding the **notice boards** students can put up notes or requests on?
- 6) Do you have the impression that **English is very dominant in the “ (either spoken or written) linguistic landscape”** of the university?
- 7) Do you have any records where most of the **international students and faculty members (Europe) come from?** Do you have the impression that the languages they speak have any influence on the “ spoken linguistic landscape” of the university or are Danish and English the only languages that are dominant?

## 7.9. Abstract (deutsch):

Unter dem Aspekt der Internationalisierung und der Rolle der Sprache Englisch im Tertiärbereich wurde eine Studie für diese Diplomarbeit durchgeführt, in der die ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ zweier Universitäten (WU Wien (Österreich) und CBS København (Dänemark)) untersucht wurden. Die beiden Universitäten hatten beide einen wirtschaftlichen Schwerpunkt und für sie beide stand Internationalisierung im Mittelpunkt. Der Fokus der Diplomarbeit war es, zwei Fragen zu beantworten: 1) Wie viel Englisch und wie viel Deutsch/Dänisch wurde in den ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ der Universitäten gefunden? 2) Inwiefern wurden die Sprachpolitiken der Universitäten in den ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ widerspiegelt? Vor der Beschreibung der Studie wird der Begriff ‚Sprachpolitik‘ eingeleitet, gefolgt von einer kurzen Diskussion über die Internationalisierung der Hochschulbildung (mit einem Fokus auf Englisch als *Lingua Franca* der Hochschulbildung). Anschließend wird der Begriff ‚Linguistic Landscaping‘, der ein Teilgebiet der Soziolinguistik ist, erklärt, sowie einige Aspekte seiner Methodik. Weiters wird die Beziehung zwischen der ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ und der Sprachpolitik diskutiert, was für die Studie selbst essentiell ist. Noch vor der eigentlichen Studie werden die Länder der Universitäten, die Universitäten, sowie deren Sprachpolitik präsentiert. Für die Datenkollektion wurden hier hauptsächlich Interviews verwendet. In der ‚Linguistic Landscaping‘ Studie werden die zwei Recherchefragen beantwortet: 1) Englisch ist führend in den ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ beider Universitäten und 2) die Sprachpolitiken beider Universitäten werden in den ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ der Universitäten reflektiert. Somit unterstreicht die Studie die Bedeutung der Auswirkungen der Sprachpolitiken auf die ‚Linguistic Landscapes‘ und das erhöhende Auftreten von Englisch im Tertiärbereich.

## **11. Curriculum Vitae**

### **Persönliche Daten**

Vorname: Rosa-Marie

Nachname: Mann

### **Ausbildung**

1997-2001 Volksschule Leopoldskron, Salzburg

2001-2009 Humanistisches Gymnasium BG9 Wasagasse, Wien

2009 Matura mit ausgezeichnetem Erfolg

2009-2015 Lehramtsstudium Anglistik/Amerikanistik an der Universität Wien

2009-2015 Lehramtsstudium Geschichte und Politische Bildung an der Universität Wien

seit 2012 Kunstgeschichte Studium an der Universität Wien

### **Auslandsaufenthalte**

Sommer 2004 England, Worthing: Sprachkurs für Jugendliche

Mai 2008 USA, San Francisco: Besuch einer High-School

Juli 2008 Italien, Perugia: Intensiv-Sprachkurs an der Universität Perugia

2013/14 Auslandssemester an der Universität Kopenhagen

### **Berufliche Tätigkeit**

seit 2012-2015 Lehrkraft in der Maturaschule Lernen 8

2010-2014 Assistentin der Kursleitung auf Englisch-Sprachreisen (SFA Sprachreisen)

2011-2013 Tätigkeit als „Residence Assistant“ bei IES Abroad Vienna

### **Sprachkenntnisse**

Deutsch fließend in Sprache und Schrift

Englisch fließend in Sprache und Schrift

Italienisch sehr gute Kenntnisse

Französisch sehr gute Kenntnisse

Dänisch Grundkenntnisse