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Linguistic Landscape as a Mirror: the Case of the Slovene Minority in Italy

Linguistic landscape studies represent a new approach in the research on multilingualism based on the analysis of the language(s) in signs. Linguistic landscape refers to linguistic objects marking the public space. The language used in writing reflects the status and social use of languages. This paper focuses on the linguistic landscape of the area where the Slovene minority in Italy is settled. Its aim is to analyse the visibility of the Slovene language and draw a comparison between the use of the Slovene language in the linguistic landscape and the official language, i.e. Italian. The empirical research follows the methodology developed by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) with some minor adjustments. The hypothesis is that in the case studied, the status of the Slovene language is visible throughout the linguistic landscape. The discussion focuses on the importance of the visibility of minority languages and the impact of language policies on the linguistic landscape.

Keywords: linguistic landscape, sociolinguistic situation, Slovene minority in Italy, language status, sociolinguistic context, language policies.

Jezikovna krajina kot ogledalo: primer slovenske manjšine v Italiji

Študije o jezikovni krajini predstavljajo novejši pristop k proučevanju večjezičnosti, ki izhaja iz analize jezika/-kov na napisih. Jezikovna krajina se nanaša na jezik/-e v javnem prostoru. Jeziki, ki se uporabljajo na napisih, odražajo status in družbeno rabo jezikov. V prispevku je zajeta analiza jezikovne krajine ozemlja, kjer je naseljena slovenska manjšina. Namen dela je proučiti vidnost slovenščine in primerjati njeno rabo v jezikovni krajini v primerjavi z uradnim jezikom – italijanščino. Empirični del sledi metodologiji Cenoza in Gorterja (2006) z nekaterimi manjšimi prilagoditvenimi spremembami. Preverja se hipoteza, ali se na izbranem primeru status slovenskega jezika zrcali v jezikovni krajini. V razpravi sta poudarjena pomen vidnosti manjšinskega jezika in vpliv jezikovnih politik na jezikovno krajino.

Ključne besede: jezikovna krajina, sociolingvistična situacija, slovenska manjšina, status jezika, sociolingvistični kontekst, jezikovne politike.

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1. Introduction

Linguistic landscape research is a relatively recent field of study that is rapidly expanding. A large number of research projects, scientific papers, journals and volumes (e.g. by Gorter 2006a, Shohamy & Gorter 2009, Backhaus 2007, Shohamy et al. 2010, Jaworski & Thurlow 2010, Gorter et al. 2012) indicate an increasing interest in applied linguistics in the use of written texts in urban spaces, especially in bilingual and multilingual settings (Shohamy & Gorter 2009, Gorter 2013). Backhaus (2007) presented a first detailed review of previous research in the field of linguistic landscape and listed 30 publications, while Troyer (2012) presented an updated bibliography of publications edited in English and listed 116 publications since 2007.

As can be inferred from one of the most prominent books on this topic called “Linguistic Landscape: a new approach to multilingualism” (Gorter 2006a), this is a new approach to multilingualism based on the analysis of the language in signs. The recent establishment of a scientific journal on this topic provides evidence to the growing interest in this field.

Multilingual contexts give the opportunity to analyze languages in context by focusing on the written information that is available on language signs in a specific area (Cenoz & Gorter 2006, 67). Furthermore “the study of linguistic landscape aims to add another view to our knowledge about societal multilingualism by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy” (Gorter 2013, 193).

A large number of researchers have recently investigated the presence and status of minority languages in linguistic landscapes (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Lado 2011, Coluzzi 2009, Marten 2012, Moriarty 2012, Shohamy & Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh 2012, Blackwood & Tufi 2012, Comajoan Colomé & Long 2012, Muth 2012, Salo 2012, Syabó et al. 2012).

The definition of linguistic landscape that has been used since the seminal paper by Landry and Bourhis is that “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (Landry & Bourhis 1997, 25). Therefore, linguistic landscape can be considered as an additional source of information about the sociolinguistic context (Cenoz & Gorter 2006).

This paper focuses on the relationship between linguistic landscape and the sociolinguistic context in the area where the Slovene minority in Italy is settled. As stated by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) the relationship between linguistic landscape and sociolinguistic context is bidirectional: on the one hand, the linguistic landscape reflects the relative power and status of the different languages in a given sociolinguistic context; on the other, it contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context, since people process visual information from the

surroundings and the language in which signs are written can influence their perception of the status of the different languages, affect their linguistic behavior and - in the writer's opinion - their ideology about languages.

The language used in signs has an informational and symbolic function (Spolsky & Cooper 1991, Landry & Bourhis 1997, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). With reference to the informational function, the writings and the language used reflect the social use of the languages spoken in a given area, the behavior towards languages, the borders between them, and the (un)balanced power relations among linguistic groups. On the contrary, the symbolic function refers to the use of different languages mainly when the language is a key factor of social identity in a linguistic group (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Minority languages are seen as important markers of identity. Therefore, their visibility is important for its members, as it helps to give visibility to and define the territory where the minority is settled.

While research on linguistic landscape and minority languages is spreading at European level (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Lado 2011, Coluzzi 2009, Marten 2012, Moriarty 2012, Blackwood & Tufi 2012, Comajoan Colomé & Long 2012, Muth 2012, Salo 2012, Syabó et al. 2012), in Italy only five pieces of research on autochthonous minorities settled in Italy have been conducted. The first one has been carried out in Bolzano/Bozen (Plank 2006), the second one in Cortina D'Ampezzo (Grazioli 2006), the third one in Formazza (Piemonte) (Dal Negro 2009), the fourth one in Udine/Videm (Coluzzi 2009) and the fifth one in Trieste/Trst (Tufi 2013). At a later stage, one piece of research analysing the linguistic landscape of Southern Carinthia (Austria) - an area where the Slovene minority is settled - was found (Rasinger 2014).

This paper outlines an extract of the research performed by SLORI (Mezgec 2015) in the linguistic landscape of the territory where the Slovene minority in Italy has historically been settled. A corpus of 3.879 scripts collected in the three provinces of Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica and Udine/Videm was analyzed. Main streets and squares, which are considered to be more representative, were included in the sample. All recorded scripts were analyzed in terms of languages used (monolingual/bilingual or multilingual signs) and the rule of one language over the other/s.

2. Background Information on the Slovene Minority in Italy

Slovenes in Italy are an autochthonous minority that is mainly settled along the border between Italy and Slovenia in three provinces of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region: Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica and Udine/Videm. In this area - also characterized by the presence of the Friulian and German minorities - Italian is the official and dominant language. Slovene is the language of the Slovene

national minority in Italy and the official language of the bordering Republic of Slovenia¹. Slovene minority members are considered bilingual, since they develop bilingual competencies in both Italian and Slovene, whereas majority members do not speak nor understand Slovene with few exceptions (Bogatec 2015, Jagodic & Čok 2013, Pertot 2011).

The current border was defined after the Second World War, when the Slovene community in Italy turned into a minority community within the political and socio-economic context of a different country (Čok & Pertot 2010, 66)².

The protection of the Slovene minority in Italy was defined by the post-war treaties, whereby minority members were granted specific rights by the State of Italy (see Vidau 2013, 2015). The right to use Slovene in public has been regulated by legislation arising from national and regional laws or municipal and provincial statutes (see Vidau 2015). These rights have been fully acknowledged by the Italian State with Law 38/2001 Regulations on the Protection of Slovene Linguistic Minority in the Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, also known as Protection Law. Articles 8³ and 10 provide for the obligation to give visibility to the Slovene language in the public administration.

The conditions and development of the Slovene language have always been influenced by a series of factors linked to the impossibility to use Slovene in public affairs. Even when legal measures have been adopted - even nowadays, fifteen years after the signing of the Slovene minority protection law, regulations have not yet been fully implemented - Slovene and Italian are not equal in public and private life (Čok & Pertot 2010). A recent study (Sussi et al. 2011) evaluating the implementation of the Protection Law confirms that public administrations have obligations in this respect but implementation is too slow.

3. Aim of the Research and Research Questions

The aim of the research was to investigate the presence of the Slovene language and the wider linguistic landscape in the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, where the Slovene minority has been historically settled and acknowledged by Law 38/2001 (Protection Law). The main point was to determine whether Slovene is present in the linguistic landscape and to what extent it is used with respect to the official language (Italian). Public signs (such as street signs, signs on government buildings, announcements, plaques) and private signs (advertising billboards, shop names and other forms of writing such as graffiti, event announcements, etc.) were included in the sample. The corpus of data includes all the texts that can be seen in the streets of the sample areas.

Therefore the present study is not intended as an evaluation of the implementation of Protection Law regulations that provide visibility for the Slovene language in the public administration (articles 8 and 10), but in a broader

sense it investigates the visibility of Slovene in the linguistic landscape. Such landscape represents a public space and its linguistic features are determined by private and public entities.

This paper focuses on the Slovene language and its use in signs. The assumption is that the status of the language is visible through the linguistic landscape, which reflects power relations among the linguistic groups of the area.

The research questions were the following:

1. Which are the languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of the sample area and their relative weight?
2. What are the characteristics of bilingual and multilingual signs?
3. What does the linguistic landscape analysis show about the status of Slovene in the sample area?

The methodology adopted by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) was followed in this research. The overall concept of the methodology was maintained but some adjustments were made, as the analysis focused on each text as described below.

4. Methodology

4.1 Sample

The research considered the areas where the Slovene minority has been historically settled⁴ and acknowledged by law. For sampling purposes, different areas were selected according to their representativeness and sections of their main streets were taken into account. Such sections had to be representative and were chosen based on the availability of public and private services, such as shops, bars, restaurants, libraries, schools, supermarkets, etc. In the main settlements - i.e. the cities of Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica and Cividale/Čedad - two main streets were considered, each with a section of approximately 500m. In small settlements and villages the whole center was considered including the main street, square, locations with shops, bus station, notice boards and other services⁵ covering approximately the same length (Table 1).

Table 1: Sample Areas

Province	Place	Name of city and street or name of settlement	Number of texts/ units
Trieste/ Trst	Trieste/Trst city center	Trieste/Trst: Carducci Street	780
		Trieste/Trst: San Nicolò Street	404
		Trieste/Trst: Oberdan Square	75
	Village near Trieste/Trst	Prosecco/Prosek	244
	Village near Trieste/Trst	Aurisina/Nabrežina	124

Gorizia/ Gorica	Gorizia/Gorica city center	Gorizia/Gorica: Vittoria Square and Roma Street	341
		Gorizia/Gorica: Corso Italia	591
	Village near Gorizia/Gorica	Sant'Andrea/Štandrež	128
	Village near Gorizia/Gorica	Doberdò/Doberdob	91
Udine/ Videm	Valli del Natisone/Benečija	San Pietro/Špeter	180
		Cividale/Čedad	306
	Val Canale/Kanalska Dolina	Tarvisio/Trbiž	292
		Camporosso/Žabnice	110
	Valli del Torre/Terska Dolina	Lusevera/Bardo	37
		Taipana/Tipana	59
	Resia/Rezija	Stolvizza/Solbica	50
		Prato di Resia/Ravanca	67
Total			3.876

Source: Mezgec (2015).

4.2 Data Collection

Data collection was made in spring 2015. The field work was carried out with the support of a digital camera and a data collection form. Digital pictures of all the texts seen in the streets were taken. That resulted in a corpus of 3.879 units including the complete inventory of the linguistic landscape for the sample areas. Pictures in each settlement were taken on one day.

4.3 Coding

Codification of the units required making some methodological decisions, as reported by previous research in this field (see Cenoz & Gorter 2006, 71, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

For the purposes of this research, each text was the unit of analysis and the following items were included:

- all texts (on entrances, shop doors and windows including names), even small ones if visible and readable from the street;
- temporary texts such as renting, selling, etc.;
- road signs and place names;
- logos with texts.

On the contrary, the following items were not included:

- texts on products (such as t-shirts, newspapers, magazines, etc.);
- short technical texts (such as number of light poles, etc.);
- texts inside shops and offices if not readable from outside;

- unreadable texts;
- flat-panel displays.⁶

Exceptions:

- shop windows (e.g. real estate agencies or supermarkets) full of small posters with announcements or promotions using the same corporate layout and linguistic features were considered as one unit;
- in small settlements road signs bearing place names were included; in bigger settlements they were not available in the sample section of the street;
- unclear names of shops or businesses were coded apart as not defined;

English terms used in Italian texts that have become common in Italian were not considered as foreign terms (e.g. wireless, club, etc.).

A coding scheme was developed including a series of variables related to the place where the sign was located, the type of sign, the number of languages in the sign, the language in the sign, top-down versus bottom-up signs, intrinsic features of multilingual signs revealing the predominant language (e.g. order of appearance of different languages in multilingual signs, amount of information in each language, or size and font used for each language).

4.4 Data Analysis

The SPSS software, descriptive statistics, the Anova test and the crosstab analysis were used for data analysis.

5. Results

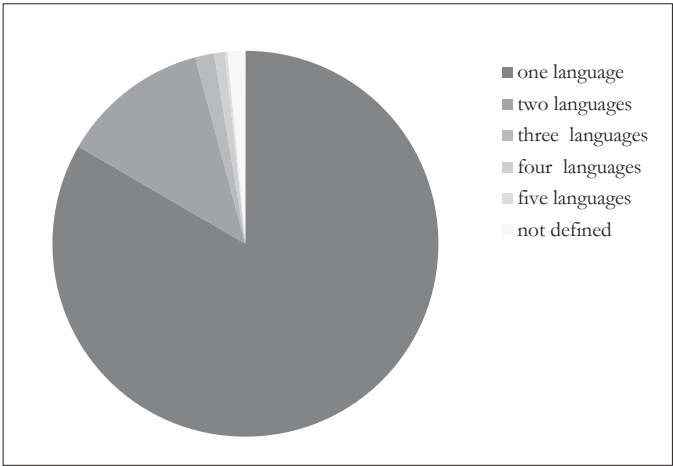
5.1 Presence of the Slovene Language

The following section shows the most significant data concerning the research questions above.

Out of 3,876 signs, the majority are monolingual (83.4 per cent), 15.1 per cent are bilingual or multilingual and for the 1.5 per cent were not defined (they were mainly names) (Figure 1). As for monolingual items, the majority are in Italian (91.4 per cent), followed by English (5.8 per cent), Slovene (1.4 per cent) and Slovene dialects in the province of Udine/Videm⁷ (0.5 per cent) values for other languages are low.

The signs where two or more languages are used were classified as multilingual (e.g. Picture 1 and 2). In that case Italian is almost always present (99 per cent of the cases), Slovene in over half cases (53.2 per cent), and the Slovene dialect spoken in the province of Udine/Videm in 6.8 per cent.

Figure 1: Number of Languages on Writings



Source: Mezgec (2015).

Picture 1: Examples of Multilingual Sign



Source: Mezgec (2015).

Picture 2: Examples of Multilingual Sign



Source: Mezgec (2015).

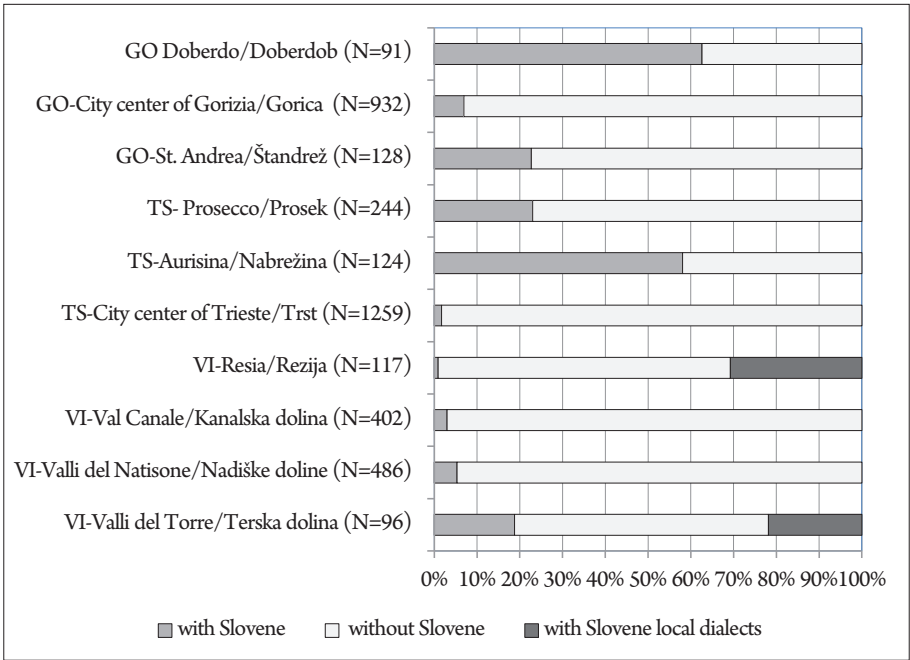
Data show that in the sample area the linguistic landscape is mainly monolingual Italian (84.7 per cent of signs are monolingual, out of which 91.4 per cent are in Italian only), although this is the area where the Slovene, Friulian and German minorities are settled⁸ and officially acknowledged. This situation results from the Italian monolingual language policy pursued in the state of Italy and in the Region of Friuli Venezia Giulia: though being a multilingual region, it has not been promoting its language diversity. The Italian nation state has never promoted ethnic or language diversity (Vidau 2015, 26). In the XX and XXI centuries major changes in the language policy were introduced providing for the use of minority languages in the public administration. However, *de facto* minority languages are not considered as regional or state official languages, although recent legislation on visible bilingualism has slowly been implemented. This progress can be seen in the local linguistic landscape as - by way of a paradox - plurilingualism is mostly made visible by the public administration and public entities. This phenomenon will be described in the paragraphs below.

As for Slovene, previous research has already pointed out its absence in Trieste/Trst city center (Tufi 2013, Kaučič-Baša 1997), as shown by our data. In Trieste/Trst city centre, Slovene is present only in 1.7 per cent of signs, while in Gorizia/Gorica in 6.9 per cent (see Figure 2). As Tufi stated (2013), Slovene is virtually absent in the linguistic landscape of Trieste, which leads to a visual silence where Slovenians are left invisible.

The limited presence of Slovene in signs is common in the whole province of Trieste/Trst (see Figure 3), where it accounts only for 9.2 per cent of the corpus although significant variances exist.

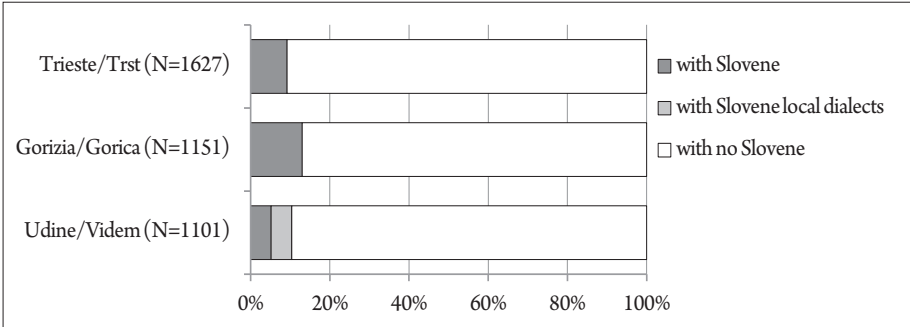
As Shohamy (2006) argues, the presence or absence of certain languages in the public arena sends a message that reveals the centrality versus the marginality of these languages in society.

Figure 2: Writings in Slovene by Place



Source: Mezgec (2015).

Figure 3: Writings in Slovene by Province



Source: Mezgec (2015).

In the surrounding area of Trieste/Trst and Gorizia/Gorica, there are settlements where the Slovene population is larger in number or belonging to bilingual municipal administrations. The latter settlements are located in areas where the Slovene population is or used to be the majority. However, data show that even in this case the linguistic landscape is not predominantly Slovene nor completely bilingual (e.g. in the village of Aurisina/Nabrežina, signs with Slovene writings

account for 58.1 per cent), and Italian is still predominant. This is evidence of the inferior status of the Slovene language and reflects the sociolinguistic situation: Slovene is mainly an in-group language (Kaučič-Baša 1997) used for oral communication only. When it comes to writing and official writing, its use becomes troublesome. Italian is traditionally used as an official language, while Slovene is used in official communication only by public authorities and only when its use is defined by law or other regulations. Slovene-only signs are more of an exception (45 items).

If only multilingual signs are considered (585 items), Slovene is not present in approximately one third of multilingual signs in the province of Trieste/Trst and Gorizia/Gorica (30.6 per cent respectively Gorizia/Gorica and 36.6 per cent for Trieste/Trst). That means that even when signs are not only Italian monolingual, Slovene is not present by default. Therefore, the linguistic landscape is mainly monolingual - Italian only - and when multilingual signs are used Slovene is not necessarily included, which again might be a clear sign of the status of the Slovene language. In the current language policy, multilingual signs are addressed to the readers who do not understand Italian and are not designed to recall the presence of other language communities in the area. Actually, the Italian language policy tries to deny the symbolic value of the presence of minority languages.

Moreover multilingual signs where Slovene is also used were analyzed. In that case Slovene has the same status as Italian: the font and size of letters are the same as Italian (94.2 per cent and 91.4 per cent), the contents and length of the text are the same⁹ (81.9 per cent and 82.6 per cent). In any case, the predominant position of Italian is obvious due to the order of appearance: Italian always comes first.

5.2 Private versus Public Signs

The types of institutions using signs were also analyzed. Two main categories were considered: public and private institutions. Slovene is more present in signs of public institutions (among writings by public administration is present in 17.8 per cent of cases, among writings by public authorities in 21.8 per cent of cases) than in private ones (5.1 per cent).

If a distinction is made between bottom-up and top-down signs¹⁰ (see Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, 14, Cenoz and Gorter 2006, 71, Coluzzi 2009, 303-304 and Tufi 2013, 399), results are still the same: Slovene is more rarely present in bottom-up signs (6.5 per cent) than in top-down signs (17.8 per cent) (Figure 4) (see e.g. Picture 3 and 4). Data show that public administrations (i.e. municipalities, provinces, region and State) are more consistent in using the minority language and play a major role in shaping a multilingual linguistic landscape, although they lag behind in the application of minority rights as established by Law 38/2001,

and especially by Article 10 on visual bilingualism (Sussi et. al. 2011). Evidence shows that there are conflicting trends between the public and private sectors (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Coluzzi 2009, Lado 2011). Official top-down signs are the result of the legislation introduced in 2001 (Law 38/2001), which however has not had [or only partially had] an impact on the linguistic landscape of Trieste (Tufi 2013).

That means there is still room for improving the presence of the Slovene language in the linguistic landscape by promoting its use in the private sector.

Picture 3: Example of Top-down Sign with Slovene



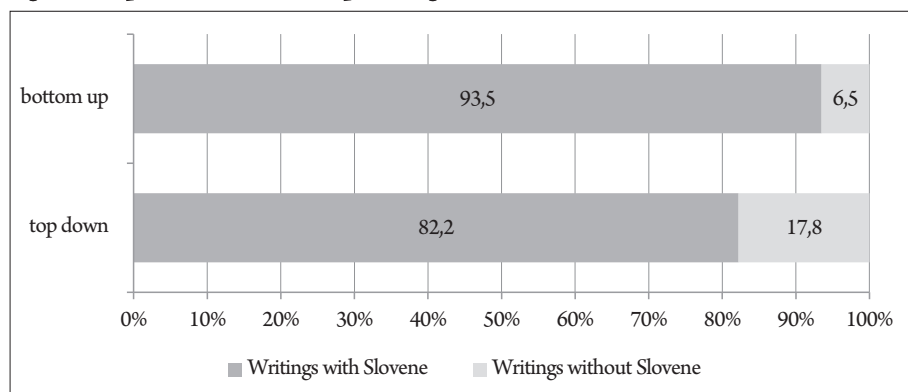
Source: Mezgec (2015).

Picture 4: Example of Bottom-up Sign with Slovene



Source: Mezgec (2015).

Figure 4: Top-down and Bottom-up Writings with Slovene



Source: Mezgec (2015).

6. Discussion

The study of the linguistic landscape is particularly interesting in the context of minority languages as it mirrors their use and their status. "The linguistic landscape can provide information about the sociolinguistic context and the use of the different languages in signs can be compared to the official policy of the region / ... /" (Cenoz & Gorter 2006, 68). Moreover, the linguistic landscape provides double feedback on the impact of the language policy: on the one hand, it shows its will to promote and make minority languages visible, as reflected in top-down writings; on the other, it shows the impact on individuals and society as a whole, as reflected in bottom-up signs (Landry & Bourhis 1997, Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Coluzzi 2009).

Data confirm a clear predominance of the national language and that the minority language must struggle for visibility. This is why a language policy is highly needed and must be fully implemented. If no action is taken the linguistic landscape tends to be monolingual.

The predominant position of Italian was also highlighted by Coluzzi (2009) and Gorter (2007, 21 cited in Coluzzi 2009, 306). Both authors conclude their research stating that the Italian linguistic landscape is basically monolingual, with a limited presence of English. Coluzzi (2009) mentions that some areas such as Friuli Venezia Giulia (where the Slovene minority is settled), the province of Bolzano (where the German and Ladin minorities are settled) and Aosta Valley (where the French minority is settled) should be excluded from the predominance of Italian. However, collected data show that Italian is still predominant even in the area where the Slovene minority is settled and its status recognized by law.

Data also confirm previous findings for Trieste/Trst (Tufi 2013), whereby the Slovene language does not enjoy a high status. An unbalanced situation was detected: Slovene is often present only where it is required by law, while its spontaneous use (e.g. in private and bottom-up signs) is very limited.

Rules and regulations - in particular Law 38/2001 - provide for the use for the public entities, but not for the private one. Consequently, it is not compulsory to use Slovene in public signs of private entities. Even in bilingual municipalities by statute, there is no obligation for private players to use Slovene (whereas it is compulsory for municipal administrations). This research shows that legislation is lacking in this respect, as shown by Coluzzi (2009) with reference to the Friulian language. Slovene would be much more visible if legal provisions were adopted to urge the private sector to use it, at least partially. Kaučič-Baša (1997) also highlighted that public written communication in the minority language needs to be developed with institutional support. This would have a number of positive effects on the perceived status of the Slovene language amongst both Slovenians and Italians.

The truth is that current legislation does not provide for the use of Slovene in private business. Nor has Slovene such a high status that would encourage its use in public signs, nor there is sufficient cultural awareness¹¹ on the symbolic importance of minority languages in public writings. Such lack of awareness is present even among Slovene entrepreneurs. Additional research would be needed to further investigate this phenomenon, which is supposedly related to the perception that the minority language is of little use for conducting public affairs. To quote Landry and Bourhis:

Exclusion of in-group language from public signs can convey a message to the effect that one's own language is not valued and has little status within society. Further, such exclusion conveys the notion that the in-group language is of little use for conducting public affairs / ... / (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, 28).

To conclude, the private sector has an interesting potential to promote the use of Slovene, which has to be considered in order to shape a more bi- or multilingual environment.

7. Conclusions

As already stated by Cenoz and Gorter (2006), the study of the linguistic landscape is limited to the analysis of linguistic signs that does not necessarily reflect the use of languages in oral communication, though providing information on their written use. Therefore, the relationship between the linguistic landscape and the languages spoken is not straightforward (Coluzzi 2009, 307). In this paper, the linguistic landscape reflects the impact of the language policy implemented in

the area where the Slovene minority is settled. When considering the results of the study, we would like to stress two important limitations of the study: firstly, the research is limited to sample areas and gives a picture of the *status quo*. Further research could include e.g. writings on streets outside inhabited centers. Secondly, the current status quo might change in future, as regulation about visible bilingualism for public authorities has not been fully implemented, yet.

Picture 5: Example of Actors Shaping the Linguistic Landscape that are not Acting Coherently



Source: Mezgec (2015).

To conclude, Slovene certainly does not enjoy a high status in the linguistic landscape where the Slovene minority has historically been settled. This is particularly highlighted by the small number of writings in Slovene among private players, that are neither obliged nor willing to use it. Special efforts to promote Slovene in the private sector might bring about changes in the linguistic

landscape. As can be inferred from the case of the Basque Countries presented by Cenoz and Gorter (2006), a language policy promoting the minority language has an important impact on its visibility in the linguistic landscape, with both top-down and bottom-up signs.

As Lado (2011) shows for Valencian, the visibility (of lack thereof) of the minority language in the streets seems to be a reflection of the socio-historical, linguistic, political and ideological factors, which favor the use of the majority language.

Literature on the linguistic landscape (e.g. Backhaus 2006, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Gorter 2006b, Huebner 2006, Coluzzi, 2009, Lado 2011) shows that the linguistic landscape reflects discrepancies between top-down and bottom-up signs due to ideological or political considerations. Linguistic landscape is not static, but a complex dynamic entity subject to changes and shaped by vast numbers of actors that participate in molding it (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). A large variety of actors shape the linguistic landscape: public institutions, associations, firms, individuals, etc.¹² Such actors do not necessarily act harmoniously, nor even coherently (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, 8) (e.g. Picture 5). Using Bourdieu (1991) considerations on social reality, each typology of agents is to be analyzed in terms of its power dynamics and unequal power relations between linguistic communities in the local linguistic market.

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Notes

- ¹ For further reading about legislative and sociolinguistic issues on the Slovene minority in Italy see Mezgec 2012, 65-80, Vidau 2015, 129-227, Brezigar 2007, Bogatec 2004, Stranj 1992.
- ² For a thorough historical analysis of the legal framework of the Slovene minority in Italy see Bajc (2004).
- ³ Article 8 defines the use of Slovene in the public administration; Article 10 defines the use of Slovene in public writings and place names. The decree of the president of the region Friuli Venezia Giulia n. 346 from 2008 (decree of the president of the region Friuli Venezia Giulia n. 346/2008) define the territory for the implementations of article 10. The city centre of Trieste/Trst and Gorizia/Gorica are not included in the area where these regulations have to be adopted and implemented.
- ⁴ Including the provinces of Trieste/Trst, Gorizia/Gorica and Udine/Videm.
- ⁵ Following the approach adopted by Dal Negro (2009).
- ⁶ An exhaustive description of all the methodological details is available in Mezgec 2015.
- ⁷ By effect of regional law n. 26/2007 (Regional law 26/2007), rights acknowledged to Slovene language by regional regulations are acknowledged to Slovene dialects in the province of Udine as well.
- ⁸ The Friulian minority is officially present in the province of Udine/Videm and partly in Gorizia/Gorica; the German minority is settled in the northern part of the province of Udine/Videm.
- ⁹ Reh (2004) identifies different types of arrangements: duplicating multilingualism, fragmentary multilingualism, overlapping multilingualism and complementary multilingualism.
- ¹⁰ Top-down linguistic landscape items included those issued by public and national bureaucracies, such as public institutions, signs in public sites, public announcements and street names. Bottom-up signs included those issued by social players (shop owners and companies) such as shop names, business signs and personal announcements (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, 14).
- ¹¹ That can be seen as a consequence of a language policy.
- ¹² Gorter refers to the distinction made by Itagi and Singh (2002, cited in Gorter 2013) between linguistic landscape and linguistic landscaping, suggesting that the gerund form means the planning and implementation of actions, while the noun form includes the final results of the landscaping activity.