

COMMUNICATION IN A MOBILE SPACE:
A Geosemiotic study of mobility as a communicated item
and the use of English in emplaced signs

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Iikka Ålander

University of Jyväskylä
Department of Languages
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Tiivistelmä – Abstract Globalisoituva maailma nivoutuu monimutkaisella tavalla useiksi sosiaalisiksi tiloiksi ja tässä prosessissa liikkuvuuden kasvulla ja levittäytymisellä on merkittävä osa. Historiallisesti periferiset alueet liittyvät osaksi globaalia maailmaa lentokenttien, rautateiden ja tieverkkojen tuodessa mukanaan ihmisvirtoja, jotka aikaansaavat kulttuurisia ja kielellisiä muutoksia. Keskellä näitä muutoksia ovat sekä liikkuvuutta varten rakennetut ympäristöt, eli mobiilitilat, että nykyajan globaali kieli, englanti. Tätä taustaa vasten asettuvan tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on kartoittaa mobiileja tiloja kommunikatiivisina ympäristöinä tutkimalla näihin tiloihin sijoitettuja tekstejä sekä niiden välityksellä tapahtuvaa kommunikaatiota Jyväskylän Matkakeskuksella. Osana tämän kommunikaation tarkastelua tarkastellaan myös englannin roolia mobiiliuden viestimisessä. Tämän lisäksi tutkimuksen on tarkoitus testata geosemioottista lähestymistapaa ja sen soveltumista metodologian pohjaksi ja näin mahdollistaa tutkimuskentällä käytävään metodologiseen keskusteluun osallistuminen. Aineisto koostuu 128 valokuvasta sekä Matkakeskuksella observoidun sosiaalisen vuorovaikutuksen pohjalta tehdyistä muistiinpanoista. Tuloksien perusteella mobiili tila on kommunikatiivisena ympäristönä tiukasti kontrolloitu. Tämä oli nähtävissä niin rajoittuneessa sosiaalisen vuorovaikutuksen kentässä, sijoitetun tekstin tarkassa hallinnoimisessa, kuin mobiiliuden konventionaalisoituneessa viestimisessä. Englannin käyttämisen viestinnälliset funktiot eivät rajoittuneet pelkästään kommunikatiivisten tarpeiden täyttämiseen, vaan englantia käytettiin myös viestimään mobiiliutta luomalla konnotaatioita globaaliin liikkuvuuteen. Geosemiotikan käyttäminen metodologian perustana tuotti odotettuja tuloksia ja kykeni tarjoamaan riittävän laajan teoreettisen pohjan sijoitettujen tekstien tarkastelemiseen useista näkökulmista. Sijoitettujen tekstien metodologioita koskevan keskustelun kommentointi havaintojen pohjalta todettiin mahdolliseksi ja johtopäätöksensä todettiin, että metodologioiden tarkempi muotoilu mahdollistaisi uusien teorioiden muodostuksen.	
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1. Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, the world has been going through a process that is pervasive, complex and seemingly impossible to predict (Blommaert 2010:153); globalization. This process, it is said, will lead to the creation of a “global village”; a single social sphere spanning the globe, unified in its tolerance of the Other (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:188-189). However, what is said and what appears to be happening seem two very distant things, as the change seems to be towards a multiplicity of social spheres connected to each other in a complex manner (Blommaert 2010:1), and despite the ever growing economic interdependence and social familiarity, the global village seems not only distant, but the end result of an altogether different process. It is against this backdrop of growing complexity that this study is made, seeking to map the communicative aspects of the process of globalization on a local level.

The discourses related to global mobility, according to Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b: 43-48), paint a picture of freedom and ease of movement across the globe, all the while omitting the inequalities brought about by globalization and its side effects. As the Western World basks in unparalleled wealth and welfare (Blommaert 2010:153), its population living longer, healthier lives than ever before, the third world countries that are the source of much of that wealth seem to be locked in a state of misery and poverty. Decades of aid and support from the Western World have done little to ease the situation, leading some to claim that such intent has never even existed (Held & McGrew 2007:117).

This study seeks to examine the artefacts of mobility found at the Jyväskylä Travel Centre, or to be more precise, the signs and the environments emplaced and built to facilitate and to enable the movement of people and goods within a network of mobility that spans the globe on various levels, from local to global. Approaching those artifacts from the perspective of geosemiotics, a novel branch of researching emplaced language introduced by Scollon & Scollon (2003) in 2003, this study seeks to find out how mobility is communicated, and what kind of communicative environments are the spaces that have been built for mobility. Based on a data that consists of 128 photographs taken at the Jyväskylä Travel Centre and of notes taken while observing the

social interactions of people coming and going at various times of the day, this study approaches communication in a mobile space from the perspective of the visual shapes and forms that communication takes.

This study is divided into four interlinked parts: Theoretical Background, Methodology, Results and, finally, Discussion. Thus, I will begin by introducing and explaining the theoretical background of this study, followed by an introduction to the research questions this study seeks to answer and an explanation of the methods used in the data gathering and the analysis. I will then move on to a detailed description of my findings and finally, I will conclude by discussing those findings and how they relate to the theories used and what their possible implications are.

2. Communication in a mobile space

This study is largely based on the idea proposed by Scollon & Scollon (2003:2) regarding the nature of language as it appears in the physical world; the idea that emplaced language (meaning the language that appears on physical objects such as signs, billboards and screens that occupy a position on a wall or at a crossroads) does not exist or function in a semiotic vacuum. Instead, emplaced language derives much of its meaning from the surrounding in which it is placed, while also affecting the meanings interpreted of and in that physical surrounding. This property of emplaced language and the purpose of this study, which is to describe a space of mobility as a communicative environment by analyzing semiotic items emplaced and languages used in such a space, set the outline of the theoretical needs of this study.

While the analysis of emplaced signs (or other physical objects that are placed somewhere) requires an understanding of the theory of visual design, the interactive relationships those signs form with their surroundings (both physical and social) in the process of generating meanings requires an understanding of the larger whole of social action in any given area. The theoretical background of this study, in the case of these two parts, relies firstly on Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996), who provide much of the needed theory for the analysing the signs themselves, while Scollon & Scollon's (2003:166-197) notion of the larger wholes, which they call "semiotic aggregates", is used to examine the surrounding environments.

According to Scollon & Scollon (*ibid.*), these wholes are combinations of independent items that together form a whole that affects the meaning making processes (*semiosis*) taking place in the area and is, as a whole, in turn affected by the meanings generated in that area. These wholes are compounds of visual semiotics (the semiotic tools employed in signs, posters and other individual items), place semiotics (the semiotic elements present in the environment) and the interaction order (the types and units of human interaction) in a given area (Scollon & Scollon 2003:20-21). Understanding and analyzing a semiotic aggregate requires theoretical knowledge of how spaces are perceived, the basic theory of which is provided by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a), while the theory regarding emplacing semiotic elements in these spaces comes from Scollon

& Scollon (2003), with additions from Pavlenko (2009). Furthermore, in order to explain how, why and what languages appear in these spaces, background knowledge regarding both multilingual environments and, for the specific case of English, the communicative aspect of global mobility is needed. For these purposes, Thurlow & Jaworski's (2010b) works on mobility and language are used, in combination with a more comprehensive view of the process of globalization, as provided by Held & McGrew (2007) and Blommaert (2010) and the current status of the English language as explained by Crystal (2002, 2003).

Thus, the theoretical background of this study can be split into three parts. Firstly background regarding visual communication through signs, secondly background regarding emplaced language as a part of the larger whole of a semiotic aggregate. The third and final part of the theoretical background of this study is the background regarding the expansive use of the emerging global language, English, and its context as a part of the process of globalization.

In this chapter I will introduce and explain the theories upon which this study is based. To begin, I will cover the essential principles and fundamental assumptions of researching language as it is used in material forms in signs, and then go on to examine how these emplaced items convey meanings and prior research. I will continue by explaining the fundamentals of geosemiotic research, comparing it with more conventional approaches to researching emplaced language. Then, I will move on to the theoretics regarding the human sense of space, place and time, how these are formed and how they link to geosemiotic research and the research of emplaced language. I will continue with a short review of the process of globalization and how it has manifested in language use, focusing on the status of English as a global language. I will conclude this chapter by discussing how these aspects are relevant from the point of view of this study as they entwine in the mobile space, and by defining the key items of the terminology used in this study.

To conclude this introductory part of the theoretical background of this study, I will point out that as the research of emplaced languages is still in its inception, study in the field is still limited in quantity and thus the aim of this chapter is to examine and

evaluate the theories in depth, rather than in width as such a wide perspective is, for the time being, impractical. This is due to the small number of authors and the relatively large amount of crossreferencing between those authors, as both factors limit the possible width of the scope. Thus, the relatively small amount of references to different authors is considered acceptable, as adding more authors would add little width to the perspective of this study.

2.1 Emplaced language

The research of language as it appears in the physical world is a relatively new phenomenon, dating back only little more than fifteen years, to the end of the 1990's (Pavlenko 2009:248, Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:9) and the publication of an establishing article by Landry and Bourhis in 1997, regarding ethnolinguistic vitality and how it is made visible in what they called "linguistic landscapes" (1997:25). The term refers to the linguistic whole formed by all signs, billboards and other similar items that together form a 'landscape' of emplaced language. However, despite fifteen years of development it is still in its inception: no unified theories or methodologies have been formed and instead, an ongoing debate regarding both areas is ongoing, ranging from meaningfulness of different approaches to the research mechanics of how emplaced language could, and in some cases, how it should be researched (Pavlenko 2009:248, Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:9).

Regardless of this lack of unified theories, linguistic landscapes, as they are called, have received increasing attention, especially in the form of researching multilingual environments (Backhaus 2007:12, Gorter 2006:2). The studies that have been carried out share much in terms of the physical items that are analyzed: most studies follow the description of "linguistic landscape" given by Landry and Bourhis in 1997 and often the items being analyzed follow their definition of a multitude of signs (Landry & Bourhis 1997:25). These items are called "emplaced", due to their nature of existing in a single physical location, but also in order to draw attention to the fact that this emplacement is not without meaning, but rather plays a crucial role in how the item is interpreted (Scollon & Scollon 2003:4). In the past fifteen years, researching these items has focused mostly on the items themselves, and on the language that appears in them, but

divergent approaches, such as the geosemiotic approach proposed by Scollon & Scollon (2003) have also been discussed and employed in practice, as in the case of the present study as well.

2.1.1 The Sign

In this chapter I will map the theory of visual communication as it appears in signs in the Travel Centre area, basing much of this theory on the views of Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996) and on those of Scollon & Scollon (2003). For the definition of the object of analysis of this study, a certain category of signs found the Travel Centre area, I will follow what seems to be the commonly accepted norm in research of emplaced language by adopting the definition given by Landry & Bourhis (1997:25) regarding the items that make up what they call a “linguistic landscape” in that when referring to signs in general in the context of thist study, what is meant is:

“public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and signs on government buildings”

These items all share a common trait in that they all engage the viewer in a very similar manner, forming a relationship between what Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996:46) call “interactive participants”. That is, the participants who take part in the communication in either posting a sign or reading it, and in that all of these items either demand something of the viewer, or offer something to the viewer (1996:153). Furthermore, the relationships thus formed each are dependant on several aspects of both the sign and the viewer as such elements as social distance between the interactive participants and the attitudes generated through involvement, power of participants’ position in relation to the other participant(s) and orientation regarding action or knowledge (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:154).

What is noteworthy in these relationships formed between the sign and both the producing and receiving participants is that they are unique in terms of both the individuals engaged and the temporal aspect of when they engage in that relationship; the social actor encountering a sign may have encountered a similar, or even the same sign countless times, but the current particular situation is unique in that the social actor

brings into it his or her ever increasing and changing personal history and understands the sign in the context of that history (Scollon & Scollon 2003:15). As Pavlenko suggests (2009:253), albeit concerned with a longer frame of reference, the semiosis of a sign is not a one time event, which is to say that the meaning of a sign ‘evolves’ over time as it is read time and again, in the context of the current moment, which is unique to that particular time. For a simplified analogy, two people encountering a red light at a pedestrian crossing can interpret that sign differently; one stops to wait for a green light, the other sees no intervening traffic and crosses the street despite the knowledge of what a red light signifies. The two people, reading the same message, have thus interpreted different meanings from it and those meanings are reflected in the actions they take. To further emphasise the diachronic nature of semiosis as suggested by Pavlenko (*ibid.*), the example can be extended: the person who stopped at the red light may encounter a similar situation again at the very same crossing, but this time the person is nearly late for an appointment and decides to cross the street regardless of the prohibition. The meaning read into the sign changed, as the unique personal context brought by the social actor changed (Scollon & Scollon 2003:15). Another aspect that underlines the importance of personal context, is the fact that perception is selective (Van Leeuwen 2005:4-5), meaning that the importance social actors assign to signs differs from one person to the next (Norris 2012:175), causing the same landscape of signs to be interpreted in a myriad of different ways.

Thus, the sign, in order to generate meanings, requires the viewer. Furthermore, information is portrayed in a certain manner because certain characteristics (such as preexisting knowledge or understanding of the sign’s context) are expected of the viewer (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:120). This can be seen in how, in the case of the Travel Centre area, signs often provide directions to certain amenities necessary for the purposes of mobility, while not making any mention of the other services present in the area, such as restaurants or kiosks; it is probable that the author of the signs expected that the viewer requires knowledge of certain things, such as routes to train tracks, while others, such as an indian style restaurant, were expected to be largely irrelevant. At the same time, the signs are also communicating meanings through that choice of displayed topics in itself (which will be examined more thoroughly in Chapter 4).

Signs are emplaced items that communicate meanings through the formation of an interactive relationship between the viewer (receiving participant) and the author (producing participant) (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:119). Signs consist of a wide array of different physical items, from brightly-lit screens to brass plaques, of which an exact and all-encompassing listing would be both impractical and of limited usefulness, and instead, a descriptive list of typical items is sufficient, such as the one provided by Landry & Bourhis (1997:25). A unifying factor for the myriad of different signs is intentionality, meaning that all signs exist to achieve some communicative purpose, as explained by Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996:153), and this intentionality is what sets it apart from the physical surrounding in which it is emplaced. As, according to Scollon & Scollon (2003:23), all items are semiotic, meaning that meanings are “read” into all items, signs are not set apart from other items by their meaning-conveying nature, but by the intentionally shaped meaning they convey.

2.1.2 Emplacement

Where the focus of the previous chapter was on the sign as a medium of communication and the fundamental theories regarding its functions and basic principles, this chapter focuses on signs as emplaced items. In this subchapter, I will introduce and discuss, albeit in a brief manner, first the history of researching emplaced language and secondly the theoretics of that research.

Researching language in as it appears in emplaced forms, conventionally taking the form of researching ‘Linguistic Landscapes’ (the wholes formed by signs in an area), has drawn an increasing attention to itself since its foundations were laid in the closing years of the 1990’s (Pavlenko 2009:247, Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:9). It had made sporadic appearances even before that, but without identification as a separate branch of research (Backhaus 2007:55). Most of this research has focused on studying those emplaced items (signs) and the landscapes they form, and thus signs as stand-alone items have seen much scientific interest in the form researching visual semiotics. This is, perhaps, due to the advanced level that the research of visual design has reached in other areas, where a level of understanding that enables the writing of ‘grammars’ of visual design (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:1) has been achieved. This is to say that

much attention has been given to the appearance of signs in terms of such aspects as materials used in their making, stylistic choices, such as fonts and decorations as well as the languages used and the manner in which visual elements are placed within the sign. In linguistics, a particularly noteworthy, if still emerging, branch of researching signs from the perspective of Linguistic Landscapes, is that of multilingualism (Backhaus 2007:10). Signs often appear in a multitude of languages and as such present an opportunity to examine how languages relate to each other in terms of attitude towards certain languages or the positions different languages are given in multilingual environments (Pavlenko 2009:248, Backhaus: 2007:10).

While the sign itself has been the focus of these studies, the context attributed the sign has been that of ‘landscapes’ formed by those selfsame signs. This context comes with some complications, since despite being a key part of the terminology in most studies regarding emplaced language, no generally accepted consensus seems to exist on its precise meaning. Leeman & Modan, in their study regarding the commodification of language in the Chinatown of Washington DC (2009:333), point out that most researchers do not form an exact answer on what is meant when they use the term ‘landscape’, but rather adopt to a “cover it all”-type of a definition. According to Leeman & Modan (ibid.) and Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:8), most researchers adopt the explanation of Landry & Bourhis (1997:25), according to which ‘linguistic landscape’ is formed by all the textual elements (of all types) present in a region:

”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. (ibid.)”

Thus, it is worth keeping in mind that while the word ‘landscape’ brings with it strong connotations to the physical characteristics of an area, Landry & Bourhis (1995:25) refer to the landscapes formed by the signs themselves, in conjunction with each other, not to the buildings, hills or whatever else it may be that surrounds the signs.

As noted at the very beginning of Chapter 2, the study of emplaced language is a relatively recent field of research, and as such much of the research into the field has, if not focused then at least handled in more detail than would be absolutely necessary,

such topics as methodologies and the meaningfulness of various approaches (Pavlenko 2009:252). Common points of critique have been research technical matters such as the seemingly random demarcation of study subjects, meaning that the choice of one sign or text over another is often either poorly justified or not justified at all (Backhaus 2007:59-62). Secondly, research of Linguistic Landscapes in general has been criticized for producing results that are descriptive, and not the results of a thorough process of analysis. These failings are criticized for limiting the possibilities of the research in the field of emplaced language, as sloppy methodologies are thought to compromise the ability to generate meaningful data and thus hinder the formation of new theories regarding emplaced language (ibid.).

However, while conventionally the research of emplaced languages has focused on the linguistic landscapes formed by signs (and other forms of emplaced language, such as tags or graffiti) emplaced in a certain area, other approaches towards the surrounding in which signs are emplaced have also emerged. Scollon & Scollon (2003:1-2) argue that while the sign itself draws much attention in terms of conveying meanings, the sign is understood within the larger context of its surrounding. This is to say that the meaning of the sign is augmented and altered by the surrounding in which it exists, not only by the presence of other signs in close proximity. The wall of the building in which the sign is emplaced is a part of the process when a person is deciphering the meaning of the sign, as is the alley in which the person is standing, and the people around that person. This larger whole is where the views of Scollon & Scollon (2003) and the geosemiotic approach they explain differs from conventional research of emplaced language.

2.1.3 Geosemiotics

This chapter continues to examine the study of emplaced language, but from a slightly different perspective. While previous chapters focused first on the sign as a medium of communication, and then on the interaction of signs with the physical surrounding in which they are placed, in this chapter the focus is shifted from the sign and the physical surrounding into the realm of human interaction and interpretation, the so called geosemiotics.

Geosemiotics differs from the conventional research of linguistic landscapes in that it expands the systematic analysis, which has previously mostly focused on the signs themselves, into both the physical entirety in which signs are emplaced and the myriad of social action taking place in that entirety. This expansion, as introduced by Scollon & Scollon (2003), is not as such a direct evolution of linguistic landscape research into a new field, but instead, it is rather a novel approach into the research of emplaced language from an altogether different point of view; that of critical discourse analysis. This is to say that the interaction of signs, surroundings and people and the historical aspects of all three play crucial roles in geosemiotic research, meaning that where, previously, the research of linguistic landscapes has focused on the sign and its surroundings, geosemiotics focuses on the interaction and the discursivity of signs (Scollon & Scollon 2003:23). However, an aspect of geosemiotics that one should keep in mind is that it is not to be contrasted or held completely separate from conventional research of linguistic landscapes, as the two have been used together in research (such as Agnihotri & McCormick (2010))

Despite the inclusion of the physical space around the signs into the focus of research, the perspective from which Scollon & Scollon (2003) approach both that physical space and the signs themselves, is where geosemiotics most prominently differs from other forms of linguistic landscape research. Where most researchers of linguistic landscapes identify signs (usually as they are understood by Landry and Bourhis (1997:25)) as items that generate meanings and analyze them in-depth and from multiple perspectives, Scollon & Scollon widen this perspective with their notion that all items in all landscapes are semiotic (Scollon & Scollon 2003:19). In other words, human beings 'read' meanings into all items in all landscapes they see, hear, smell and feel, not just the items that were emplaced to be read (2003:111). This, of course, is not to say that there would be no difference between an untouched wilderness and a full-fledged urban concrete jungle, but that the difference is not in that people would 'read' meanings in one but not the other, but in what meanings are 'read' into them (ibid.).

Perhaps the most significant difference between geosemiotics and more traditional forms of linguistic landscape research, as noted above, lies in the perspective from which the different types of emplaced language are examined. This is largely due to the

inclusion of the social interactions taking place within the analyzed semiotic space into the focus of systematic analysis. Geosemiotics, as Scollon & Scollon introduced it in 2003, incorporates the larger whole comprising of social interaction, emplaced items such as signs and the entirety of the physical surroundings into the field of interest, calling that whole a “semiotic aggregate” (2003:175). The term refers to the aggregated nature of that whole, which is to say that the items that form the context of a sign are independent yet mutually interactive. Typical research of linguistic landscapes tends to work from the inside out, starting with the emplaced sign and then incorporating further items from the sign’s surroundings into the analysis of the sign itself. Geosemiotics, however, starts with the larger whole and seeks to analyze the sign in the entirety of the context in which the sign exists, including the social interaction taking place around it.

Despite its differences to more conventional forms of researching emplaced language, Scollon & Scollon’s (2003) geosemiotics would seem to have become an important approach in the field, even in otherwise more conventional studies, as authors such as Pavlenko (2009), Backhaus (2007), Stroud & Mpendukana (2009) and Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a) discuss it alongside other approaches. Geosemiotics has, thus far, received its fair share of criticism: Pavlenko (2009:251) has criticized Scollon & Scollon’s model for disregarding cultural differences in some cases, while Backhaus (2007:60) notes that their work suffers from the same methodological problems that the research of emplaced language is prone to. However, semiotics and critical discourse analysis (both of which play a major role in geosemiotics) are highly relevant from the point of view of researching emplaced language as they offer tools for analyzing language as a part of social interaction.

2.1.4 Space, place and time

In this chapter I will examine and discuss the theories regarding the human senses of space, place and time, contrasting different approaches that have been adopted in previous research in order to explain the approach I have chosen for the current study. I will begin by discussing how the human sense of space is formed and the factors that are at work in the formation of it. I will continue by discussing how the sense of place relates to the sense of space. From there I will continue by examining the human sense

of time, before concluding with a short summary of the different senses that are at work in the process of spatialization, and how they are relevant for the purposes of this study.

As was previously noted, our sense of the physical world around us is based on the interpretation of sensory input, the result of which is a sense of that world through spatialization (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:7). In recent research the human sense of space is typically divided into three main components: conceived space, perceived space and lived space. This commonly accepted view is built on the notion that people live and act in a myriad of overlapping spaces (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:152). However, the human perception is not that of infinite space stretching out, but rather that of a more or less organized whole within a sphere of “lived space” that is created and recreated through social action in it. According to Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a: 153), this lived space is not something that is inhabited, but it is something that is done, thus explaining the interactive nature of lived space; it sets boundaries on the social actions that can take place there, while it is itself being created by those predetermined social actions taking place within the space (and which have taken place there previously) (ibid.).

However, “space” is neither a term without controversy nor free of the need for clarification; multiple meanings are attributed to it depending on the perspective of the context of the research in which it is dealt with. For where Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a: 6) examine space as a social construct, the term is linked to geographics by Scollon & Scollon, attributing it to the measurable, physical reality:

“(Space) refers to the objective, physical dimensions and characteristics of a portion of the earth or built environment; often defined by sociopolitical ideologies and power; contrasted by geographers with place” (Scollon & Scollon 2003:216).

This view focuses on the physical reality, strongly contrasting the objective space with the “human experience” of place (Scollon & Scollon 2003:214). Sociopolitical ideologies and power are mentioned, hinting at the non-physical nature of the space we experience, but only in the sense that those ideologies and power demarcate spaces, not in the same essential constructive role as in the approach that Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a) have taken.

In the context of this study the term “space” is used to refer to the socially constructed sense of space, which is seen as constituting of the interpretations of sensory input regarding the olfactory aspects of a space and of the continuous social interaction between social actors and emplaced items within that space. Through those aspects, much of both the perceived purpose of that space and modes of behaviour that are acceptable in that space are defined, as explained by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:153). This process is seen as akin to that of the process of the semiosis of a sign in that it is diachronic (Pavlenko 2009:253), meaning that is never complete, but continual and that it is dialogical (Scollon & Scollon 2003:23) in that it takes place through social interaction in a reciprocal manner.

Often contrasted with the term ‘space’ (Scollon & Scollon 2003:214), ‘place’ as a layman term is relatively simple. ‘Place’ is typically understood as a location in the physical world that is by some means set apart from other locations that exist near it. From a scientific point of view, however, the term becomes problematic; a quick glimpse into the concept of ‘place’ reveals that ‘place’ conforms more easily to the concept of a sense of ‘place’ than to a clearly defined location or a neatly demarcated area in space (ibid.). As Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:7) point out, place is a socially constructed sense people have in or near a certain location in space, not something that is neatly bounded and purely physical. Lou (2007:174) describes ‘place’ as something space is turned into through human interaction, using the term in a slightly different manner than either Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a) or Scollon & Scollon (2003), also stating that place is something that can affect the meanings interpreted in within it, while a similar view is presented by Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364). In this study, the concept of place is examined in terms of a sense of place. As, while each individual partaking in social interaction in an area has their own ideas regarding the demarcation of the “place” they are in, it is assumed that they are likely to share, at least partially, a sense of that place and the places adjacent to that with other people acting within the bounds of the semiotic aggregate at work in that area. Thus, in this study, ‘place’ is understood as a socially constructed sense people have near a certain location in space, and as a key factor that affects the types of interactions that are considered possible within that ‘place’ (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009:364).

The third and final sense people have of the physical world they traverse that will be discussed in this chapter, albeit very briefly, is the sense of time. This study approaches “sense of time”, not as an internal feeling regarding the passage of time, but rather as the sense of time things and people give or give off as those aspects that we see and hear affect the meanings we attribute to those things and people (Scollon & Scollon 2003:50-52). Often, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 4, this giving off or giving a sense of time is accomplished through references to time either through measuring its passage or by referring to a precise moment in time (typically in the immediate future).

Thus, the three senses covered in this chapter, sense of space, sense of place and sense of time, are each continuously present for all social actors. For the purposes of this study, the latter two senses, the sense of place and the sense of time, are viewed as crucial, but hyponymous parts of the formation of a sense of space.

2.2 English as the language of mobility

In this chapter I will discuss mobility as a part of the so-called globalization, and the use of English as the language of both mobility and the new, global world. Globalization, as it is commonly understood today, refers to the ongoing process of ever-increasing entwinement of economies and cultures across the globe (Held & McGrew 2007:1-2), and it is one of the most salient characteristics of the global development of the end of the 20th century (ibid.). On the field of linguistics, the “shrinking world”, or the process of technology gradually rendering place and physical distance less and less meaningful (Held & McGrew 2007:3) has opened up new fields of research as unprecedented volumes of communication between historically and regionally distant cultures has become a reality in a remarkably complex manner (Blommaert 2010:1). With unprecedented levels of communication, has come the unprecedented spread of English, and its emergence as, perhaps, the first truly global language, providing a “linguistic infrastructure” that facilitates the spread of cultures and ideas across the globe (Held & McGrew 2007:39). Thus, English has risen to a position of a global language, a language that is used in large volumes as a go-between between non-native speakers in both unofficial and official ways (Crystal 2003:4), so that the mere act of using it has

become a commodified item that can be and is used to refer to the larger, global context in which English is used (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36-40).

I will begin this chapter by summarizing globalization as a phenomenon from the perspective of communication, language and mobility, before focusing more deeply on the position of English as, what has previously been called ‘Lingua Franca’, but has more recently been titled an emerging ‘global language’; a universal, worldwide language that is used as the language of mobility.

2.2.1 The Global background of mobility

The world is growing smaller, meaning that places once nigh-unreachable are closer than they were (Held & McGrew 2007:3), and are accessed more in terms of both quantity of people and the variance of their backgrounds. This entwinement is far from being clearly defined or without controversy. According to Held & McGrew, critiques of globalization argue that it is “intellectually bankrupt” in that it does not accurately describe or explain the social reality of the current world order (2007:7), in that there is simply no evidence of the world changing from clearly defined geopolitical actors, also known as nation states, into a unified social space (ibid.), while Blommaert (2010:1) does not question, but outright renounces the idea of a ‘global village’. Instead, the current global situation seems a complicated, contradictory process of a partial return to the political struggle of geopolitical actors (Held & McGrew 2007:7)). An uneven process, globalization has never achieved or, according to the sceptics who blame the neoliberal Washington Consensus (Held & McGrew 2007:117), even attempted to achieve, an evening out of the distribution of wealth, education or welfare. Blommaert (2010:153) points out that while globalization has unarguably brought about vast economic growth, it has also brought about vast social and economic inequalities both within the old “nation states” and between them.

One of the hallmarks of globalization is the widespread use of English, forming what Held & McGrew (2007:39) call a “linguistic infrastructure”. This infrastructure, however, is relatively inaccessible to a vast majority of the worlds population, as, according to David Crystal (2002:10), only a quarter of the world’s population was able

to communicate using the English language at the beginning of the millenium, meaning that 13 years ago, English had roughly one point five billion speakers. Since then, human population has increased to its current estimate of numbering over 7.2 billion (United Nations 2013:XV), while according to Held & McGrew (2007:7) globalization has taken a step back towards traditional geopolitical struggle and a world of competing nation states. Blommaert (2010:153), however, sees a different development, not back towards nation states, but towards states that are not defined by any nationality of population, arguing that the capitalist globalization is reliant on the existence of states, but would not be able function under the control of strong traditional political actors, namely nation states as they used to be (ibid.). Thus, it would seem that there is no consensus regarding exactly where the process(es) of globalization is (are) headed. Blommaert (2010:153) sees this ambiguity as a result of a lack of means to analyze globalization as a historical development, instead of simply observing its results in a synchronic manner, without the ability to project the outcomes of this development.

The one thing all seem to agree on, however, is the fact that globalization is a highly unequal process (Held & McGrew 2007:117, Blommaert 2010:153,). This inequality is visible in both the distribution of wealth and welfare (Held & McGrew 2007:117, Blommaert 2010:153) and global mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:5-6). While the world has indeed become smaller and more accessible for the people living in the Westernized world, developing countries have seen the other side of the coin; misery, breakdown of traditional livelihoods and ever-increasing marginalization (Blommaert 2010:154). Thus, it is worth keeping in mind that the mobility discussed in this study, while discussed in a very everyday form, is, from a global perspective, the province of the mobile elite, as described by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b:5-6), meaning mostly Europeans, who have the ability to access, however temporarily, the immense network of transportation that spans the globe.

2.2.2 English as a mobile language

At the beginning of the 21st century, the English language had reached a status that borders on something that could be described as a global language: a language that no longer 'belongs' to any one nationality, but is used as a go-between in situations where

it is expected that people from multiple cultural backgrounds are present and a common language is required (Crystal 2003:4). With more than a quarter of the world's population able to communicate in English, the language, while being far from being a universal language spoken by all, has achieved a spread rivalled by few, if any other languages.

The current spread of English, by number of speakers, is roughly comparable to that of Chinese, which has twice as many native speakers, but less people who use it as a second language (Gil 2011:52). The two, despite reaching a similar number of speakers, differ vastly in terms of both geographical spread and international political position; where Chinese is mainly used in China, with a relatively small, albeit growing number of foreign speakers (Gil 2011:53-54), English is spoken by a number of native speakers that is dwarfed by second and foreign language users (Crystal 2002:10). Crystal (2003:7) points out that being a global language has very little to do with the actual number of speakers, and is, instead, entirely about who those speakers are. This difference in the two languages is represented also in the official positions (whatever they are) that the languages hold across the globe: where English holds an official position in more than 70 countries, Chinese holds a comparable position only in four distinct political entities. Chinese, it would seem, is still very much a national language, while English has quickly developed towards a language no longer tied to any one nation or geopolitical actor. However, as Crystal (2003:7) notes, language dominance is closely related to economic, technological and cultural power, and China's growing influence in all three areas in combination with the growth of the number of speakers (Gil 2011:56), would imply that English's dominance might be contested in the future.

For the time being, however, English stands alone as a global language, and as the language of mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36). Blommaert (2010:151-152), too, marks English as one of the key sociolinguistic resources of globalization that are used to invoke histories of meaning and function, and while those meanings and functions invoked differ from place to place, English is often employed in surroundings of global mobility, such as tourist resorts (Blommaert 2010:149). Blommaert's findings are in line with Thurlow & Jaworski's (2010b) work on mobility in the Western world, which describes an aspect of mobility that links closely to the theme of this study; mobility as

a communicated phenomenon. Perhaps the most crucial of their findings, from the point of view of this study, regards the nature of the discourses of mobility: mobility appears in highly conventionalized discourses (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:23-27), following similar lines in style, topics and worldview whenever it is either discussed directly or factors in the immediate context of another topic that is directly discussed. What is also noteworthy, and closely linked to the present study, is the fact that those discourses take place in English more often than in the readers' native languages (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36), underlining the function of English as a means to communicate mobility beyond the explicit mention and into the implicit, albeit strong, reference, which is in line with Blommaert's findings regarding the use of English as a sociolinguistic resource that is often employed in (and to evoke) a context of tourism and mobility (Blommaert 2010:149).

To summarize, English is, thus far, the only language approaching a status as a truly global language both in that it is used all around the world in both official and unofficial circumstances (Gil 2011:53-54), and in that the vast majority of its speakers consist of second and foreign language speakers (Crystal 2003:4, Crystal 2002:10). It is also a language that is used to denote mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36), which is to say it is a sociolinguistic resource that is used to communicate meanings in itself (Blommaert 2010:149), beyond the information content of the words that are used.

2.3 The mobile space

In this chapter I will sum up the theoretical background of this study and discuss how the different aspects are linked. Aiming to both summarize and further explain the roles and functions of the previously discussed theories, I will attempt to underline the relevance of each item for the specific purposes of this study. Furthermore, I will link those theories to various aspects of the mobile space in the Jyväskylä Travel Centre, thus illustrating the interconnectedness of the methodology and theoretical background of this study, as they are, in part, indistinguishable from each other. This is due to the current state of the research of emplaced language, and more precisely, the attempt to partake in the methodological discussions that are ongoing (Pavlenko 2009:252). I will begin by defining what is meant by 'mobility' and 'space of mobility' within the context

of this study, and will continue by examining the mobile space as a theoretical concept from the points of view of both the social actor and the emplaced sign, two of the main elements of the semiotic aggregate as explained by Scollon & Scollon (2003:166-197). From there, I will continue by discussing the presence of multiple languages within the Travel Centre area. I will conclude this chapter by reiterating the theoretical requirements of researching emplaced signs in the mobile space in the Travel Centre area, and by briefly summarizing the theories this study is based on.

Mobility, as it is examined in this study, is a process of movement. It revolves around the movement of social actors, physical goods and vehicles such as trains and busses, but does so in more than the present tense, which is where the processive nature of mobility is exposed. Mobility takes place over time (Held & McGrew: 2007:1-2), and it is built on a progressive sense of time, in which the “now” is progressing through a predetermined sequence of actions, which are displayed, explained and referred to in signs emplaced in the mobile space, as I will show in Chapter 4. It is this process and how it is portrayed and discussed in emplaced signs in the Travel Centre area, and how it shapes the communicative environment of the Travel Centre area that this study seeks to examine.

Closely related to the concept of mobility, the term ‘space of mobility’ or ‘mobile space’ is used, within the context of this study, to refer to the socially constructed “lived space”, as described by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:152), that exists to enable mobility. This means that mobile space is not seen simply as a social construction, nor is it seen as a purely physical entity, but a complex amalgamation of the two, that is created and recreated through social interaction which takes place within that space (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:152) in a reciprocal relationship with other elements of the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197) functioning there. The space thus formed, in turn, affects both the identities that are and the interaction that is available to social actors within it, thus having some characteristics that Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364) attribute to a sense of place. Hence, a “space of mobility” is a space that has some characteristics of a place (ibid.) that exists for the purpose of mobility and in which social interaction is centered around mobility, place semiotics (as explained by Scollon

& Scollon 2003: 116-142) are most prominently shaped by mobility and visual semiotics serve to facilitate mobility.

This study examines mobility as a communicative element in both that it is examined as a communicated item and in that it is examined as a part of the context in which communication takes place within the Travel Centre area. Thus, the field of interest of this study covers both the media that are used to communicate and the meanings that are communicated. The geosemiotic approach towards examining emplaced language, as explained by Scollon & Scollon (2003) was chosen as the basis of the theoretical background, as it provided theoretical knowledge of how meanings are formed in signs beyond the obvious and provided tools for analyzing the spaces in which those signs are emplaced. This is necessary, I propose, because a study of the signs themselves, regardless of how careful and thorough, could not provide the necessary data to assess mobility as a communicative element beyond direct mentions. Thus, geosemiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003) provides the basis for approaching emplaced language in a manner that allows the inclusion of all three, the sign, its environment and the social actor into the analysis. Furthermore, it is supplemented in all three areas by additional theories, thus taking into account diachronic change (Pavlenko 2009), the effects of the physical surrounding (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a) and the larger cultural context (Held & McGrew 2007 and Blommaert 2010).

The Travel Centre area is a sizable piece of cityscape in that its extent cannot be taken in at a glance. This means that the signs posted throughout the area provide social actors within the area with the information they require to access the services provided within the area and to understand the nature of the space they are traversing and the identities that are available to them. As an area with a very specific purpose, it was thought that the identities available to social actors would be limited by that purpose, as proposed by Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364). Furthermore, taking into account that same purpose, it was thought that a person entering the area might very likely have little or no pre-existing knowledge of how the area is composed and would thus require extensive guidance in accessing the services provided in it and that signs would bear the brunt of that need. These assumptions rely on Scollon & Scollon's view (2003:130) that inscription, or the physical appearance of signs conveys a large part of their meaning

and are further bolstered by Kress & Van Leeuwen's (1996:39) views on the meanings of visual images being compounded of multiple modes of communication, all of which convey meanings. However, this study takes a step towards discourse analysis in that while Kress & Van Leeuwen handle each mode as a separate and independent layer (ibid.), this study sees that while separate and independent, they are also aggregated into a single semiotic (or interpreted) item, in which all present modes of communication affect the meanings read into the others, thus existing in a discursive relationship within the item. Signs in the Travel Centre area convey the purpose of the area in multiple modes, providing the social actors with the visual cues they need in order to interact within the area. In other words, the social actors' interpretation of the space around them is augmented by the signs emplaced there, affecting the spectrum of social actions that are deemed appropriate based on both what the signs explicitly state and what the other aspects, such as materials or sign emplacement imply. What is stressed in this study is that these modes of communication are not limited into the sign itself, but also contain another, very important aspect of a sign: emplacement (Scollon & Scollon 2003:142).

According to Scollon & Scollon, signs derive much of their meaning from both the physical location in which they are emplaced (2003:142) and from the manner of their emplacement (2003:135). Within the Travel Centre area, signs share much in terms of how signs are emplaced, but vary more in terms of where they are emplaced, and while the manner and location of emplacement affects the meaning of the sign, they also affect how the area as a larger whole is viewed and understood; the steel frames, heavy bolts and durable materials that dominate the signs speak of a very controlled environment and, if one is interested in looking at it from the perspective of a linguistic landscape (Landry & Bourhis 1997:25), forms a landscape in which uniformity, minimalism and high permanence are predominantly expressed. Taking into account the views of Scollon & Scollon (2003:23) regarding the dialogical nature of signs in that their meanings are augmented by each other and thus how their positions relate to those of others is meaningful, the signs in the Travel Centre area seem to be formed into a hierarchy of officiality over commerciality, which is visible in both locations of signs and the manner in which different types of signs are emplaced.

Thus, the purpose of the area is underlined in both the content and emplacement of signs, and the message of what this place is for is made even stronger, which, according to Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364) limits the identities and actions that are available to social actors. This, in turn, affects the socially constructed, “lived space” (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:152), in that the social actions that can take place in a space affect how it is interpreted by others, whose subsequent actions shape further possible social actions (ibid.). The measure of control and purpose displayed in the signs in the Travel Centre area is expected to be reflected onto the actions of social actors, which in turn affect how people interpret the area as a whole, and the signs emplaced there, as all elements exist in a reciprocal relationship as parts of the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:175) within the Travel Centre area.

Scollon & Scollon’s work (2003), in combination with Thurlow & Jaworski’s (2010a) notions of how spaces are perceived with additions from other authors (Backhaus 2007, Gorter 2006, Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996, Leeman & Modan 2009, Lou 2007, Pavlenko 2009, and so forth) form the theoretical background of how a mobile space is expected to function as a communicative environment. However, the mechanics of a space, devoid of the context in which it exists, is only able to illustrate, not to explain. In other words, while the workings of the semiotic aggregate in the Travel Centre area can be described in technical terms, a wider knowledge base is required in order to examine the underlying motivations. The former answering the question how while the latter seeks to examine the why.

The Travel Centre area is a key point of movement in and out of Jyväskylä, with multiple modes of transportation available, and on many scales from local to domestic and up to a hinted sphere of global connections. Thus, while the area is situated in the middle of a small Finnish university-town, it also exists against a backdrop of global mobility. This can be seen in multiple aspects of the area, the most prominent being the clearly multilingual environment and the presence of three languages in the travel signs, while a few languages hold a smaller presence in the area. The views of Held & McGrew (2007) and Blommaert (2010) regarding globalization as a process and the impact it has had on the globe provide one view into the context in which the Travel Centre area exists, as a part of a larger network of mobility. In this complex network

(Blommaert 2010:1) the English language plays a significant role as the “linguistic infrastructure” (Held & McGrew 2007:39) that such a globe-spanning network requires, and would seem to be present at the Travel Centre as well, in the role of the language of mobility.

The mobile space at the Travel Centre is a multi-faceted social construction, the studying of which requires a multi-directional approach in that any attempt to disentangle mobility from the complex system of meaning-making there will have to deal with a multitude of different aspects that affect or are affected by mobility in the Travel Centre area. The aim of this chapter was to localize the theories covered previously in Chapter 2 into the context of the Travel Centre of Jyväskylä, and to illustrate how they are relevant for the purposes of this study.

3. Research questions and methodology

In this chapter I will describe the methodology of this study. This includes introducing the research questions, a description of the data gathered and used in this study and a description of the methodological tools and the process of analysis. The methodology of this study is based largely on the propositions of Scollon & Scollon (2003) regarding the elements through the analysis of which knowledge and understanding of geosemiotic systems can be gained, with some additions and adaptations. As the focus of this study is on the communication of mobility in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area and on the effects mobility has on the area as a communicative environment, the analysis of the different aspects of the semiotic aggregate (interaction order, visual semiotics and place semiotics) was intentionally shifted towards a perspective from which the emplaced signs could be analyzed in terms of their interaction with other elements within the Travel Centre area.

The previously discussed lack of set, agreed-upon methodologies, or even propositions for methodological wholes for researching emplaced language, invariably leads to the need for creating a methodology based on the ongoing debate regarding how this type of research could be carried out (Backhaus 2007:59-62, Pavlenko 2009:252). Thus, the methodology of this study is aggregated from multiple sources in order to meet the needs for incorporating emplaced signs, their surroundings and the social interactions taking place within the Travel Centre area into the analysis. However, the choice of geosemiotics as the methodological foundation of this study is not arbitrary. It was chosen due to the fact that it has played a part in the approaches of many studies (such as Wohlwend, Vander Zanden, Husbye & Kuby 2011, Agnihotri & McCormick 2010 and Nichols & Rainbird 2013), even if not factoring directly into their methodologies.

3.1 Research questions

The aims of this study are to map and to explain the resources used to communicate mobility in the Travel Centre area, and how mobility affects the semiotic aggregate at work within that area. The main goal is to deepen the understanding of the communicative means that are employed in emplaced items in order to affect the

conceptions social actors form of the spaces they traverse. Thus, the questions I seek to answer in pursuing this understanding relate more to the ‘mechanics’ of the emplaced items than to the social actors or the relationships they form with their physical surroundings or each other.

This study seeks to answer two questions, which are as follows:

- 1) How is mobility communicated in travel signs in the Travel Centre area?
- 2) How is English used in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area?

By answering these questions I expect to establish a basic understanding of the space of mobility as a communicative environment, how communication between emplaced items and social actors works in it and what kinds of meanings is communicated within it. With the ever deepening entwinement of the globe into a complex network of linked spaces (Blommaert 2010:1), the importance of understanding that process and how it shapes the world we live in also grows. As Blommaert points out, researchers have thus far been unable to explain and to predict global developments, and have thus been forced to evaluate outcomes instead of examining globalization as an ongoing process (2010:138). In order to evaluate the consequences of the process of globalization and perhaps eventually to control it, an understanding of the process must first be achieved, and the shapes it takes in communication are crucial for forming such an understanding. Thus, this study seeks to test new approaches in order to see whether through them, some of the conceptual tools that Blommaert called for (*ibid.*) could be acquired.

3.2 Methodology

Researching emplaced language, and furthermore, such systems of meaning making as semiotic aggregates, is a relatively new field, and as such has had little time to formulate, and even less success in trying to, generally approved methodologies (Backhaus 2007:59-62, Pavlenko 2009:252). How does one select data? Is random selection thorough enough, or must one attempt to dissect the semiotic entirety of an area? For the purposes of this study, the latter approach was adopted, as the aim of this

study is to generate precise knowledge of how meanings are communicated in certain types of signs, and random samples were thought to be better suited for more quantitative approaches.

From a methodological point of view, the focus of this study is multifold, as it focuses on emplaced items within a semiotic aggregate, the presence of multiple languages in those items and the communicative functions those languages have, and so too is the analysis divisible into multiple parts: the analysis of the travel signs and their functions within the semiotic aggregate from multiple points of view and the analysis of various aspects of the multilingualism present in those signs. The first part of the analysis is based on analyzing the travel signs by examining them through the theoretical framework of geosemiotics as introduced by Scollon & Scollon (2003) with additions from Pavlenko (2009) and Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996), while the second part approaches multilingualism in the travel signs through the background knowledge regarding globalization and the linguistic characteristics that have been attributed to it by Blommaert (2010), Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b) and Held & McGrew (2007).

It is worth keeping in mind that the lack of unified, generally accepted methodologies (Backhaus 2007:59-62, Pavlenko 2009:252) and the inherent flaws that have been pointed out in many of those already applied (Backhaus 2007:59-62) leads to the necessity of operationalizing theoretical concepts into methodologies for each individual study. This, in the case of the present study, has led to the amalgamated analysis, which incorporates analysis of social interaction, multimodal communication and perception of physical spaces; Scollon & Scollon's (2003:45-81) notion of interaction order is used as a basis for examining the social actions encountered, while the multiple modes of communication are assessed based on both Scollon & Scollon's views regarding inscription (2003:129-141) and Kress & Van Leeuwen's (1996) theory of communication through visual elements. The physical space of the Travel Centre area, as it is visible in the data, is analyzed based on Thurlow & Jaworski's (2010a:153) theory regarding the human sense of space, as it is expected that semiotic items emplaced in a space have an impact on the sense people form of that space. These tools are, in my view, suited for geosemiotic research as they all have similar focus on the social actor and share an understanding in that meanings are something that are

generated by the social actor through a continuous process, not by the signs or spaces themselves. Furthermore, the diachronic interest of this study is well backed by the geosemiotic approach, as Norris (2012:175) notes that geosemiotics as proposed by Scollon & Scollon (2003) is well suited for examining meanings through their links to time and space. A similar view is presented by Agnihotri & McCormick (2010), who employ a geosemiotic approach to analyze the physical and temporal situatedness of signs.

As the theories employed as analytical tools in this study are not specifically formulated for use in methodologies, all conclusions are based on multiple observations of recurring elements in the data, thus focusing on ensuring that any conclusion is justifiable and well-founded, regardless of the methodology untried in its present configuration.

3.2.1 Data

Consistent with the majority of research of emplaced language (Pavlenko 2009:248), the data of this study is mainly photographic, consisting of 128 photographs taken from the site in December 2012 and notes made during four observation sessions that took place in late December 2012. The location, the Travel Centre of Jyväskylä, was chosen due to two factors favoring it over one other possible location, Tikkakoski Airport, for studying the previously described and defined spaces of mobility: position within the town and availability of multiple modes of travel. First factor, position within the town favored the Travel Centre area, as it presented me with the opportunity of making comparisons between differences in the indexing of locations based on proximity with greater differentiation between possible indexable locations than Tikkakoski Airport, which is located outside walking distances from townships and attractions (and thus is expected to treat them with smaller distinction on the near-far axis). In this regard the Travel Centre area presented me with the possibility of differentiating between “within area”-locations, close proximity locations and locations that require some form of transportation to reach in examining how locations are indexed. I regarded the second factor, multiple modes of travel available at Travel Centre, as a strong factor for choosing the Travel Centre area as the location for my study, as this allowed me to study

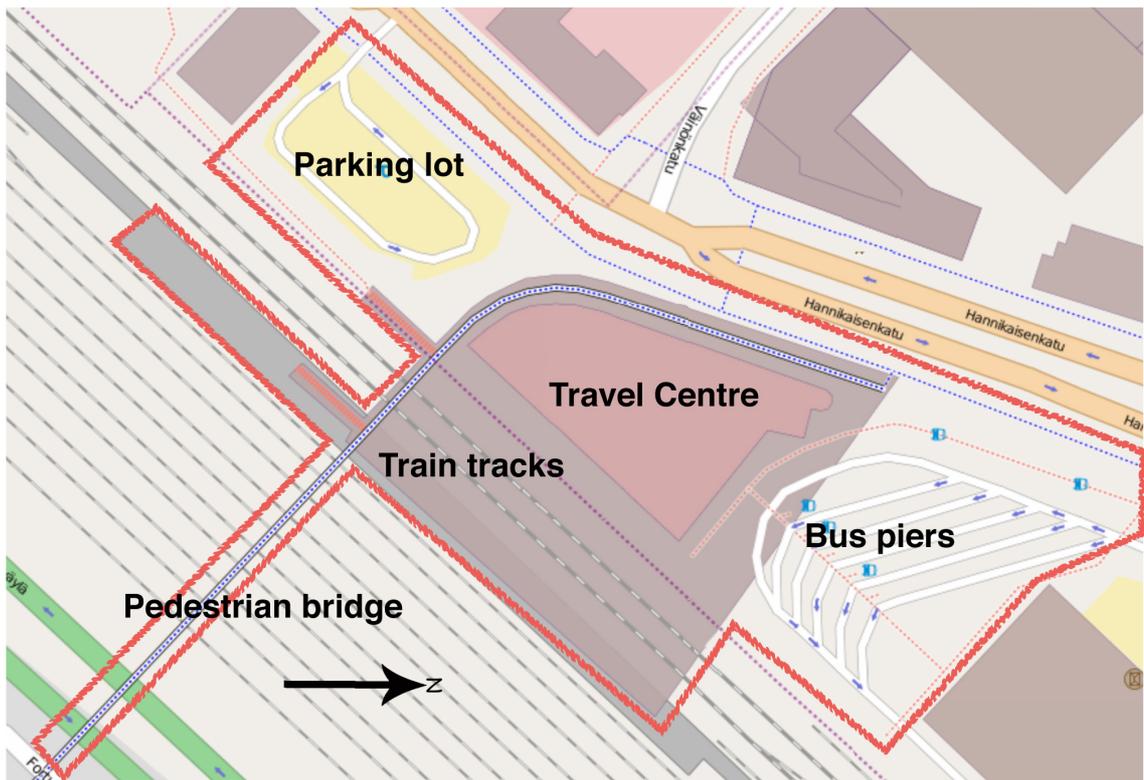


Figure 1. Approximate boundaries of the demarcated area marked with red, notable locations marked in writing. ©OpenStreetMap.

a space of mobility that was not as such a bus station or a railwaystation or an airport, but a combination of the two first mentioned, and offered me the possibility of observing spaces made for travelling in general, and not for any single form of travel, further widening the possibilities for analysis.

After the initial decision of the general area to be studied was made, I then set to demarcating the area. This demarcation was artificial, and even though it follows what I would characterize as, if not intuitive, then at least justifiable boundaries for the general Travel Centre area, they are not concrete, physical boundaries, but were drawn simply for the sake of defining and limiting the research to a manageable area. I decided to include areas that a person traversing the mobile space might use in moving around, in and from the Travel Centre towards their destinations. Thus, the demarcated zone was limited within the following bounds: the end of the bus piers in the North, the South/Southwestern edge of the walkway between tracks 2 and 4 (with the exception of the pedestrian bridge, which is limited by the Lutakko side elevator and top platform at the Lutakko end of the bridge), the Southwestern end of the parking lot next to the Travel Centre and finally, limited by Hannikaisenkatu sidewalk on the Southeastern side of the

street. This demarcation was necessary due to the nature of the human concepts of place and space, which do not correspond exactly with features of the physical world (Thurlow & Jaworski 2009:152-153) and the difficulty this poses for studying the geosemiotics of the Travel Centre area without first defining where the area I refer to actually exists and what is meant by “Travel Centre area” in the context of this study.

The area was then mapped, by both photographing and taking notes. Photographs focused on the signs (of all kinds: traffic signs, advertisements, timetables etc.) emplaced in the area, with the aim of enabling the cataloguing of most, if not all, signs in the area. This was done so that during the analysis, the place semiotics of the Travel Centre area could be analyzed in as great detail as possible, with no intentional omissions of signs of any kind. Thus, the data consist of 128 photographs, taken with a Nikon Coolpix P5100 camera on the 20th of December 2012. The images are of all signs emplaced in the area and of other objects of clear communicative relevance that could be found. That is to say, that while all elements of the area take part in the process of semiosis within the Travel Centre area, the images focused on those elements which were likely to be intentionally placed to convey meanings (and to generate certain kinds of response). I made the assumption that including the immediate surroundings of a sign in the photograph would usually give a viewer adequate contextual information to draw conclusions and to carry out an analysis without being on-site personally. This is important for two separate reasons: firstly, it serves the purpose of enabling a thorough evaluation of my conclusions and, secondly, the research needs of possible further study. Signs were photographed with a repeating pattern from sign to sign and location to location within the demarcated area: signs were photographed with as much of their immediate surroundings in the picture as possible, while retaining a focus that would enable detailed analysis of individual signs. In some cases more cropped photographs were taken as well, when the shape of the sign or the lighting conditions were such that both of the criteria mentioned above were not met. The photographs were taken in a single session, after mapping the typical social interactions taking place in the Travel Centre area through observation, as the aim was not to record changes in the larger whole of the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197), but rather to record the physical, rather static stage on which that semiotic aggregate was working in. Thus, I deemed that a single set of photographs would suffice.

In the very beginning of the process of gathering data, it was noted that pictures, while working well for illustrating typical social actions, would not be able to capture or display the temporal aspects of social actions: movements, durations, velocities and vectors of movement are not visible in a still photograph, even if one can see hints and cues of them as described by Scollon & Scollon (2003:51). Thus, it was deemed necessary to observe and take notes of the social action taking place within the Travel Centre area. For this, four one to two hour sessions of observing and taking notes were carried out; two in early afternoon between noon and 14.00, one during late afternoon between 15.30-16.30 and one later in the evening between 18.00-20.00. This was done based on Pavlenko's (2009:253) ideas of diachronism; the idea that semiosis is never a one time event, but is an ongoing process which is subject (and indeed wholly dependent on) change. One session of careful observation would have produced enough data to analyze the semiotic aggregate in action at that specific time, but multiple observation sessions, taking place during different times of the day over a course of two weeks provides data for analysis of the more constant elements of the semiotic aggregate and of the elements that are subject to change, enabling a far wider perspective into the semiotic aggregate that exists within the Travel Centre area. Moreover, multiple sessions provided insights into the diachronic nature of the semiosis of the semiotic elements employed in the general Travel Centre area, providing a viewpoint from which I could observe how the process of semiosis itself changed with changes taking place in the workings of the semiotic aggregate. This is to say that with multiple sessions, I aimed to observe how the interpreted meanings of signs change when there is a pressing crowd in regards to those interpreted during a lull in the flow of people at Travel Centre. I use the term "interpreted meaning" to differentiate it from the meaning the sign was put there to convey as two separate entities altogether.

Thus, as explained in detail above, the data consists of photographs and notes, and it was gathered with the intention of enabling a process of analysis that could produce information when analyzed through operationalizing the theoretical approaches described by Scollon & Scollon (2003). I did not view the data gathering as a plan to be executed, but rather as a dialogical process that takes place over time and adapts to the needs of the research as they arise or change. Most markedly this affected the process of analysis as the option of returning to gather more data on specific subjects that might

arise during the analysis was kept open throughout the process, even though it proved unnecessary.

3.2.2 Analysis

The methods of analysis in this study are twofold: the first part being an operationalisation of the framework provided by Scollon & Scollon (2003) and the second part being a similarly constructed analysis of observable qualities of travel signs from the perspective of multilingual aspects. For the first part of the analysis an operationalisation was necessary, as despite providing ample tools for analyzing the different aspects of the type of data that was gathered, Scollon & Scollon (2003) do not as such provide methodological tools for conducting what I would call a geosemiotic research. By “operationalizing”, I mean to say that the theoretical, albeit based-in-practice framework provided by Scollon & Scollon (2003) was formatted into suiting the needs of this study; the theory provided was examined in relation to the data gathered from the Travel Centre area in order to identify both the meaningful aspects of the data and the parts of the theory provided by Scollon & Scollon that could be used to examine those aspects. This “fitting” also revealed the areas of analysis that required auxiliary theories to be included, as Scollon & Scollon’s work could not provide the necessary tools for analyzing perceptions of space or the cultural context in which the area exists.

The analysis consisted of two parts: processing and arranging the data into a shape and form that could be worked on with greater ease and the process of analyzing the elements found in the photographs by examining them from the point of view of various aspects as both defined by Scollon & Scollon (2003:20-21) with additions from other authors (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a, Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996) and from the point of view of global mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b, Blommaert 2010, Held & McGrew 2007).

Analysis of the Travel Centre as a communicative environment

Firstly, aspects of the interaction order were analyzed, namely interpersonal distances, personal fronts of social actors, formation of interactive units and the sense of time social actors gave and gave off. These were analyzed based on the notes taken while gathering data (with supplements from the photographic data that were used to further examine the findings based on the notes taken), the majority of the analytical tools supplied by Scollon & Scollon's work (2003), but also supplemented by other authors (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a, Lou, 2007, Stroud & Mpendukana 2009).

Secondly, an analysis of visual outlook of the Travel Centre area was done, meaning that the signs in the photographic data were examined in detail from the point of view of the internal structure of the individual sign and its surroundings, based on the works of Scollon & Scollon (2003) and Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996). In practice, each sign encountered in the data was examined in terms of composition, placement of items, materials, fonts and imagery used and emplacement location, both on a very local level and in the context of the whole Travel Centre area. This was done with an additional emphasis on the interactive participants in addition to focusing on modality and composition, as that element was considered an important aspect for this particular study.

Thirdly, an analysis of the Travel Centre area as a semiotic environment was carried out, in which both photographic data and the notes taken were examined, as I deemed that photographs alone would not have provided a sufficiently broad perspective for analyzing the processes taking place in the Travel Centre area. This is true for both long and short term processes; an individual travelling through the TC often goes through multiple social (inter)actions before leaving, all of which could not be captured in photographic data and the long term changes in the workings of the semiotic aggregate such as changes in the amount of people, the time of day and so forth, were easier to approach through notes and observations rather than through photographic material. In practice, the ongoing social processes in the Travel Centre area were initially mapped and examples noted in the notes taken. These were used in conjunction with the social actions shown in the photographic data and analyzed together by identifying points of

correspondence between the mapped social processes and the previously mentioned aspects of the interaction order. This was done for the notes from each observation session separately and, by comparing the differences, forming the basis of the diachronic changes taking place in the social processes within the Travel Centre area.

Analysis of multilingualism in signs in the Travel Centre area

The multilingual aspects of the signs were analyzed through a similar process of examining them as emplaced communicative items through analysing the positions, relations and the differences in the usage of the three languages, while examining the findings in relation to the cultural background of globalization and the role of English as a global language. Thus, the analysis of the multilingual aspects of the signs was a separate, but similar process as the first part of the analysis, as it corresponds to the methods of the first part of the analysis, but differs in aims.

The signs in the photographic data were first examined and their contents mapped in terms of languages present, the position of those languages both within the sign and in relation to each other and finally in terms of content and grammatical aspects of the language content of each sign. These were then analyzed by making comparisons between the languages present in each sign. First in terms of placement within the sign, then in terms of content and language use and finally in relation to the cultural context of the languages in terms of official position in Finland and relevance from the point of view of (global) mobility.

4. Communicating mobility

This chapter, and the whole study, examines the forms mobility takes as it is communicated in travel signs in the Travel Centre area and the impact mobility has on that area. How is mobility given a textual form? What words are used, and what is written in travel signs? What shapes and symbols are used to convey mobility? In this chapter I will form answers to my research questions with detailed examples from the gathered data, with the aim of illustrating as well as explaining the answers. I will begin with a description of the media that is at the locus of this study; the travel sign. From there, I will move over to answer the first research question and examine the communication of mobility in travel signs, before moving on to the second research question and examining the Travel Centre area as a multilingual environment through the multilingual aspects of the travel signs.

4.1 The Geosemiotics of the travel sign

In this study, mobility is examined as it is expressed in specific types of signs in the Travel Centre area; the travel signs. Positioned around the Travel Centre area in ample quantities, these signs take up various forms, which I will describe later, and they all share a likeness in that they deal with all things mobile, be it instructions for travellers, routes to key services, freight, or timetables of trains and busses.

Most people in the Western World recognize a railwaystation for what it is through the highly conventionalized discourses of mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:23-27) they are accustomed to, and have come to expect the signs that tell them where to go and what to do in order to travel to other places, and it is those signs that I have dubbed “travel signs” for the purposes of this study. It is worth mentioning that by no means is this category a natural one, but created for the purposes of this study. There are two types of signs that I will focus on: the white-on-blue overheads that can be found in all but the most remote corner of the Travel Centre area, and the timetables placed in the main hall of the Travel Centre building. These two types represent half of the signs emplaced in the Travel Centre area, with the other half consisting of advertisements and regulations and prohibitions. In the following pages I will describe, with examples, the

travel signs in the Travel Centre area, beginning with the content of the sign, and working my way outwards through the semiotic aspects of these signs and concluding with the possible roles these signs play in the interaction order (Scollon & Scollon 45-81) and the grand scheme of things that is the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197) in the Travel Centre area.



Picture 1. The iconic "stick man" that is often used to depict humans engaged in various activities. The use of the stick man is not limited to travel, and it is used in other contexts as well, such as sports.

The signs themselves seem simple enough; typically a restricted number of symbols, ranging from stick-people standing in a box that depicts an elevator to arrows and simple one or two word directions. There is, however, a complexity in simplicity. What seems simple is not simple in the least, as "simple", in this case, refers to the form the presented information takes, not the contained information itself. The stick-people inhabiting these signs are poor depictions of the people that traverse the Travel Center, and reading the message embedded into the pictures in which they appear is a skill unto itself. These stick-people seem to fall into the "highly conventionalized"-category of discourses of mobility described by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b:23-27), regardless of the change in the medium. One of the key characteristics of the travel signs in the Travel

Centre area is that they sacrifice size for salience: as the information is packed into a very compact form, these signs can be easily fitted above most walkways and where a more thorough explanation of the topics would require thrice the area, the overheads rely more on another aspect that they share: uniformity.

Uniformity, which in this case means visual similarity in terms of colors, fonts and materials, is shared by the two categories of signs examined in this study, with the overheads clad in blue and white, and the timetables in grey metal and bright yellow text in electronic screens. Both of these rely on high salience in communicating meanings, even if, for the overheads, this is true to a far greater extent as they convey a more varied array of types of information in a far smaller space. The overheads that are spread throughout the ceilings work in groups. A traveller that needs to find his or her way from the tracks to ticket sales is guided there by as many as three or four such signs, thus limiting the amount of information that is necessary for one overhead to provide. Uniformity is important in that the traveller need but see the second overhead, and already the uniformity of both information presented and the form which it takes can be recognized as the “same” as in the first sign seen, hinting at the dialogical nature of signs as described by Scollon & Scollon (2003:23). Thus, each sign relies on the other signs to convey enough information for that particular sign to become meaningful. Travel signs in the Travel Centre area are built to last. This is to say that they are made from materials that are durable, such as thick plastic and metal, and that they are usually permanently attached to the structure with bolts and screws, which also both conveys meanings about the area and alters how the sign is read (Scollon & Scollon 2003:129-141). High permanence in signs seems to coincide with another factor in signs in the Travel Centre area, which is high salience. Travel signs, as well as other signs emplaced in similar manner, seem to enjoy a relatively high salience in terms of both quantity and emplacement in highly visible locations. This seems to contribute to the formation of a hierarchy of signs in the Travel Centre area, in that signs seem to be emplaced according to their role and function, with travel signs emplaced in the most visible locations and being most prolific while advertisements and the like are emplaced more peripherally.

Visual uniformity, uniformity of topics and visual language as well as uniformity in permanence in terms of build materials and uniformity in salient emplacement are all characteristic of the travel signs found in the Travel Centre area, with the overheads creating more of a “genre” of their own due to higher number of individual signs, and while the timetables found in and around the main hall follow roughly the same principle of repetition, the limited number of iterations would seem to decrease the effect. However, the two categories of travel signs differ much in terms of intensity. While the overheads give simple instructions, readable with no more than a glance, the timetables provide information in a much more complex form. In this, the differing functions of the signs are visible in the manner of presenting information, as while the overheads are emplaced and convey information so that they can be read “on the go”, the timetables are both emplaced and convey meanings in a way that caters to a different type of action altogether: waiting.

Social action in the Travel Centre area seems to revolve around mobility. While not the focus of this study, examining social action yields important information regarding the reading and the roles and functions of signs in the Travel Centre area. Travel signs, it would seem, convey both the set on the stage and the lines to the social actors partaking in social (inter)actions in the area, which could be seen as a part of the socially limiting aspect mentioned by Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364). In other words, travel signs convey information regarding the Travel Centre area as a setting for social action to social actors within it, providing them with information about the area beyond the directly conveyed information, hinting at the importance of context as explained by Scollon & Scollon (2003:1-2).

4.2 Communicating mobility in travel signs

The Travel Centre area is built for mobility. That is, it is intentionally constructed for the purpose of facilitating travelling from one place to the other, while providing a setting for services required in that process. The same is true for travel signs emplaced in the Travel Centre area; they have been emplaced in order to facilitate the flow of people within and from the Travel Centre area. This mobility is visible in both implicit

and explicit forms, which range from the textual characteristics (in the broad sense of the word) into the physical forms of the signs, as I will illustrate later.

4.2.1 Explicit mobility

When discussing explicit and implicit mobility, the error of imagining them as bipolar extremes is easy to make, when instead they would seem to be more akin to opposite 'directions' on a multidimensional scale. In this study, I will use the terms to refer to direct mentions and depictions of mobility, such as direct mentions of services related to mobility or the depiction of mobility through symbols in travel signs (explicit mobility) and to items that in their context have connotations to mobility, but are not directly used to communicate it (implicit mobility). For example, the large quantity of clocks in the Travel Centre area is an example implicit mobility, as keeping track of time is important when trying to catch a train and to maintain a certain sense of time in order to affect social actions within the Travel Centre area (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:152), while the timetables that displays when that train is scheduled to leave is an example of explicit mobility. One is made a part of the mobile space through context and emplacement, while the other directly addresses mobility.

Explicit mobility manifests itself in a multitude of ways in the Travel Centre area. From the point of view of this study, whenever a travel sign depicts a train or a taxi or a person supposedly in motion, mobility is explicitly expressed. The two types of travel signs examined in this study, however, express mobility explicitly in a very different manner. While the overheads all over the Travel Centre area focus on delivering directions within a space, the timetables in the main hall focus on the temporal aspect of mobility. As defined in chapter 2.3, mobility in the context of this study is a process of movement through space, and the process that is ongoing in the Travel Centre area follows a strict, progressive timeframe, which is made visible in the timetables, alongside with a multitude of clocks. Overheads provide information regarding movement in the space that is the Travel Centre area, whilst timetables convey the order in which things proceed within that space.

As the term implies, explicit mobility handles movements within (and from) the area directly, and it is as such more akin to a choice of topic than to the language in which the conversation is held (which I will cover later on). The range of direct mentions of mobility spans icons, symbols and writing, and combinations of these, depending on the sign. Typical example of explicit mobility is the archetypical stick-person depicted in an elevator. What is noteworthy in these preliminary observations is the tendency of communication dealing with mobility to form repetitive patterns in both topics and means of presenting those topics, not unlike the conventionalized nature of discourses of mobility as explained by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b:23-27).

The Overheads

The white-on-blue overheads form the most numerous of the two categories of travel signs, with a greater variety in terms of emplacement and a greater level of direct involvement with their surroundings. Direct involvement, in this case, means that where the timetables are concerned with the larger whole of the area, and do not directly address people's experience of the space around them as their content does not discuss the immediate physical surrounding of the signs themselves, whereas the overheads do so with their entirety. The overheads resemble complex, if vague road signs, with a similar logic of function in their content, which goes to say that they address locations and directions based on where they are from the sign, and how they relate to the "trajectory" one can follow from the sign, giving an example of how immediate the relationship between emplaced items and their contexts can be (Scollon & Scollon 2003:1-2).

The overhead signs create trajectories in combinations with each other. Some signs are able to use arrows to indicate the direction to the service or location mentioned next to it, but most of the overheads work by giving initial direction that leads to another overhead which repeats the process, in a dialogical process similar to the one explained by Scollon & Scollon (2003:23) until one is at the location, showing where the path lies, rather than showing where the services are. The services themselves are typically marked with overhead signs themselves, and thus the direction towards the service is more a general direction than a set path. This vagueness of communication direction is a



Picture 2. The overhead near the second floor exit to the pedestrian bridge. The overhead in the sign depicts the typical distribution of items present in overhead signs, with the "traffic sign" logic of the positioning of the arrow shapes visible.

compound of several factors; the signs incorporate extremely simplified instructions, with an arrow with a crook in it representing the complex end of the spectrum, and the quantity of the overheads is, while large in relation to other signs in the Travel Centre area, still small enough for the overheads to be placed only in conjunctions or starting points, such as a door leading away from the main hall or the Travel Centre end of the pedestrian bridge. This spacing of the overhead signs creates little room for error when following a trajectory set out in the signs, but still contributes to a vagueness of the trajectories in that the path itself is not marked, merely suggested by signs that are sometimes tens of meters apart.

Where do these trajectories lead, then? The overheads provide directions to services directly related to travel and mobility, such as routes to bus piers and train tracks. They do not contain any mention of the other services present, such as ATMs, which, while facilitating the fulfillment of needs, are not a necessity for travelling to or from the Travel Centre area. Services that are mentioned are ticket sales, train tracks, bus piers,

nearby locations and the routes to these locations and services. The overhead signs seem to be making a distinction between official and commercial in excluding the latter entirely, with the only hint at services other than those afore mentioned is hidden behind the “Matkakeskus” text and the passing arrows symbol used in conjunction with it and the extremely rare fork-and-knife symbol hinting at a restaurant.

The overhead signs follow the uniformity of the ultimately minimal in symbols and icons as well as in their written output. A typical sign contains one or two words, which are either place names such as “Paviljonki”, town parts such as “Keskusta”. When translatable and not proper nouns the word appears in three languages, Finnish, Swedish and English, typically in a descending order. The words are always either services, such as ticket sales, locations within the Travel Centre area, as is the case with train tracks or locations outside the Travel Centre area, such as the aforementioned Paviljonki. Thus, the textual elements of the overhead signs in the Travel Centre area contain little or no mention of mobility as such, but form connotations of mobility through the context of both emplacement and other information presented in the signs along with the written text. That goes to say that the written texts in the overhead signs is read in conjunction with the arrows and other symbols and icons, indicating a trajectory leading to the place mentioned and thus the process of mobility.

Timetables

The timetables in the main hall of the Travel Centre building were chosen as the second category of travel sign to be analyzed. This was due to the manner in which they harness time into the use of the ongoing process of mobility in the Travel Centre area, and affect both the sense of urgency (Scollon & Scollon 2003:50) people seem to have and the timeframe in which social actions take place. The signs share many characteristics with the overhead signs spread throughout the area, but are different from them in how they manifest these characteristics into a physical form. Where the overheads are conservative in their use of space, the timetables are one of the largest individual signs in the Travel Centre area, but both share the same level of permanence as signs that are emplaced into the building itself. Both overheads and the timetables convey information necessary for moving to and from the Travel Centre area, but do so



Picture 3. An example of the timetables emplaced in the Travel Centre mainhall. The overhead sign emplaced below it gives an image of the differences in both size and style between the two categories.

on a different scale; where the overheads provide directions within the area, the timetables provide directions to travelling away from the area. Also they differ in the aspect of mobility they convey; overheads give directions to moving within a space, while the timetables are much more concerned with the when of mobility, than the where of that process.

The signs themselves are very different in appearance. Where the overheads are made of plastics framed in metal, with the distinctive white-on-blue coloring, the timetables are all made of gray, brushed metal with black text on the frames and yellow-on-black digital displays. This difference in appearance manifests itself also on the level of the means of communication employed in the sign, meaning that where the overheads provide much of their information content in a nonverbal form, creating meanings in conjunction with the few written elements in the signs and the surrounding in which they are emplaced, the timetables provide information mostly in written format, and do not directly involve their content with the surrounding in which they are emplaced. In

other words, while the timetables do provide directions as to where a person travelling to Helsinki can board a bus or train and when that transport is scheduled to leave, they do not provide trajectories for reaching that location at that time. One could say that if the overheads are the gears in the mechanism of the Travel Centre area, the timetables are the hands showing what time it is. Timetables seem to be telling the when and where, while the overheads seem to be providing the how.

Mobility is explicitly handled in the timetables especially in the form of a progressive timeframe. While also mentioning trains and busses in a direct manner, the most notable element of the signs is their depiction of time to pinpoint events in the immediate future in the Travel Centre area and relate them to the advancing “now”. This seems to be achieved in conjunction with the ample quantity of clocks in the Travel Centre area and the callouts for busses and trains, which provide an even more pervasive means of creating a progressive timeframe within the Travel Centre area. Timekeeping in the Travel Centre area can be roughly divided in two, with the clocks spread throughout the area forming an implicit means of affecting the sense of time in the semiotic aggregate, while the callouts and timetables forming the explicit expression of the progressive timeframe in the Travel Centre area. This depiction of time seems to be crucial in the semiotic aggregate, as it seems to be playing a large role in the social action in the Travel Centre area, and as such, the timetables, with their extremely prominent positioning in the main hall, are in turn crucial in creating and maintaining that timeframe and affecting the inner psychological states people have regarding time (Scollon & Scollon 2003:50).

The explicit timeframe, which serves to create a progressive sense of time, is built through a conjunctive display of the present moment in clocks, and through the contextualization of that present moment into the time frame displayed in the timetables in and around the main hall of the Travel Centre building. Progressive sense of time, so called due the diverting of attention into the fact that time is continually passing and with the passage of time, the process of mobility is going forward, seems to be shared by the social actors in the Travel Centre area, and is made visible in the social actions that take place there (Scollon & Scollon 2003:51). Awareness of one’s relation to both



Picture 4. An example of the second type of timetable incorporated into the analysis. Similarities in both style and emplacement between the two types, while limited, are still visible in both texts, materials and the usage of digital displays.

space of the Travel Centre area and to the passage of time and what they, in conjunction, mean in the context of the semiotic aggregate one is acting in, would seem to be a major aim for explicit expressions of mobility in the larger whole of the semiotic aggregate in the Travel Centre area. This goes to say that actively knowing where one is and when one is, and relating this information to where one is going is what the explicit expression of mobility seems to be aiming at.

4.2.2 Implicit mobility

Travel signs in the Travel Centre area communicate mobility on more than one level. That is to say that while the signs themselves discuss mobility in open terms, that is not the only aspect of mobility that is present in them, and read by the social actors in the Travel Centre area. Metal frames, fonts, colors and emplacements all convey meanings (Scollon & Scollon 2003:129-141), whether intended to do so or not, and in the case of travel signs, the implicit message is that of mobility as well. If compared with explicit



Picture 5. The clocks emplaced throughout the travel station, often in the immediate vicinity of travel signs communicate mobility implicitly through connotations.

mobility in travel signs, implicit mobility is the manner in which mobility is explicitly communicated. In other words, while explicit mobility is what is said, implicit mobility is how it is said (and by whom and where it is said).

The aspects of implicit mobility are not easily divisible into different categories, as the whole of the context is what makes the meaning, and the divisions I use to describe them are more choices of perspective that enable the examination of singular elements than naturally occurring, self standing aspects. As such perspectives for examining implicit mobility in travel signs in the Travel Centre area, I chose the following: control of environment, level of permanence, choice of topics and emplacement. These represent the most prominent cases of where mobility is communicated in a subverted manner, meaning that mobility is communicated through means that by themselves have no more than weak connotations to mobility, but in the context of emplacement, materials and the whole semiotic aggregate of the Travel Centre area form strong connotations to mobility.



Picture 6. A typical crowd in the Main hall of the Travel Centre building. The limited actions in which social actors partake can be seen in the static postures those social actors have and the uniformity of where and how they are situated in the space.

Control of social actions

Travel signs throughout the Travel Centre area focus on communicating directions for social actors within the area, and while these instructions tend towards the explicit in the sense that they usually consist of directions to a service or location, or the schedule of trains in the next few hours, the effects of these suggestions seems to go beyond that explicit. Repetition of similar themes from sign to sign seems to contribute towards an interaction order in which the social actions that are socially acceptable are limited, which could work to explain a part of the socially limiting aspect of places as explained by Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364). The social actions and interactions of people in the Travel Centre area reflect a very limited set of acceptable roles for social actors within the area, and this can be seen in how and what kind of information is presented in the travel signs.

The overheads, while limited in what they communicate, communicate possible actions, which is to say that they convey to the viewer a set of possible trajectories that they can follow to reach the services or locations mentioned. These services and locations are very limited in terms of representing services available in the Travel Centre area, or the locations one could reach within or without the area. Thus, the limited space of the overheads draws attention, not so much to what is omitted from or included in the signs, but the lopsided representation of services in the signs that seems to expand to social actions as well, which work to further reinforce the socially limited aspect of the Travel Center area (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:153). In other words, by naming only a few services of a single branch of services located in the Travel Centre area, the overhead signs also label the entirety of the area, and this labelling affects people in that area. It is worth bearing in mind that while the word “control” has rather malevolent undertones to it, no such undertones are implied when used in this study. It is used to convey only that the signs emplaced in any area would seem to exert a measure of control over that area. This is simply more prominent in the Travel Centre area than in many other areas, as it not common for a uniform category of signs to be as prominent as the travel signs in the Travel Centre area, which could amount to an emphasized effect, especially when taking into account both the dialogical aspect of signs (Scollon & Scollon 2003:23) and the socially constructed nature of the sense of space social actors have (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:153).

If overhead signs control social actions through giving examples of possibilities, the timetables in and around the main hall have a different, but no less prominent effect; presenting a progressive timeframe in a pervasive manner through both explicit expression and implicitly through representing the passage of time with both a large quantity of clocks and constant callouts seems to create a sense of urgency in the social actors, affecting the sense of time one has while in that area. The creation and upholding of a progressive time frame exerts a level of control over the social actions that people engage in while in the Travel Centre area; as awareness of the passage of time grows, social actions that rely on a loose and relaxed sense of time would seem to dwindle. While shopping malls might aim at people spending as much time within the premises as possible, the representation of time in the timetables seems to aim at a very different outcome; a smooth flow of people in and out of the Travel Centre area, with no

interruptions from leisurely activities that might cause social actors to misbehave by, for example, missing their trains.

Thus the control of social actions that the travel signs exert seems to be built on two elements: suggesting what social actors might or should do, and creating an environment in which social actors are not comfortable in partaking in social actions that might interfere with the social action that is supposed to be taking place in the space of mobility. Thus the travel signs implicitly communicate mobility both through amassing suggested actions related to mobility and limiting possibilities for social actions that are not strictly relevant for mobility.

High permanence

Perhaps the most prominent feature of both categories of travel signs is their permanence, which, according to Scollon & Scollon (2003:135) is a major aspect in how a sign is interpreted outside of its explicit intent. The signs are bolted in place and require electricity to remain lighted, thus further increasing their level of permanence. Emplaced in the ceiling structures (or in some cases on metal framing that exists simply for the purpose of holding the sign) or high on the walls, the signs are out of reach of the grasp of the average person and both their emplacement into those locations and the sheer size of the signs is such that they could neither be easily moved from one place to the next or even removed entirely.

In an area such as the Travel Centre area, in which the emplacement of signs seems to be carefully controlled, a sign that is not bolted in place, such as the regular A-shaped stands that are frequently seen outside most businesses seem almost flighty and transient, despite weighing more than one could comfortably carry. It is this permanence that communicates one aspect of mobility; mobility, while enabling the free movement of people and goods, would seem to be quite immobile, authoritative and controlled itself. A sign bolted in place is easily read to mark high on the scales of authority and officiality. The same is true for the materials used; steel, thick plastics and electronic displays all speak of a high level of authority and officiality in that they are both expensive and highly durable.

Choice of topics

Travel signs in the Travel Centre area, unsurprisingly, focus on discussing mobility. Overheads focus on mobility of individual social actors within the Travel Centre area, while the timetables concern themselves with the larger mobile units, such as trains and busses. While the chosen topics handle mobility explicitly, the choice of those topics is implicit. As a result, overheads have been covered with predetermined routes to services and locations, while the timetables are literally alight with the times and connections that enable mobility to other places. The choice of these topics for those particular signs seems obvious, the area is a centre for travelling, after all. That obviousness, however, seems to be the result of the context that is created, in part, through those choices that in combination with the amassed mobility (both implicit and explicit), seem obvious. The chosen topics for the travel signs communicate something of the area in which they are emplaced, as their focus on mobility is understandable only within the context that they work to create, thus social actors interpret this focus of chosen topics and attribute meanings to the area accordingly, further reinforcing their interpretations by expressing them in their social actions (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:153). The choices of topics in travel signs in the Travel Centre area form a clear and strong implicit connotation to mobility.

As mentioned previously, the travel signs in the Travel Centre area function as larger groups, not individual signs, albeit that this is more so with the overheads than the more independent timetables (as their information is less dependant on additions from other signs emplaced in the area than an individual overhead). The sequencing of information that is done by the overheads and the general choices of topics in travel signs both build up to a strong context of mobility for the whole Travel Centre area. Encountering the same topics in the signs time and again would seem to lead to expecting to encounter that topic and the previously encountered way of presenting it, not unlike forming expectations of a certain genre of literature based on previous experience. The high salience of mobility would seem to create strong connotations to mobility in signsemplaced in the Travel Centre area, even when the signs themselves contain no mention or self-standing element that communicates mobility, other than those that are



Picture 7. The overhead emplaced above the entrance to the main hall shows the typical selection of topics in an overhead, with services strictly necessary for the purposes of mobility, such as taxis and ticket sales being favored over other, less important amenities, such as food and drink.

read as such in the context in which the signs appear, which is partly explained by the dialogical nature of signs, as explained by Scollon & Scollon (2003:23).

Emplacement

Travel signs in the Travel Centre area are emplaced both similarly and dissimilarly as other signs. This is to say that while some adverts are just as stable in their permanence, bolted in place, self-luminescent and covered in thick plastic or may be emplaced right next to large doorways or in extremely visible locations, only travel signs enjoy both high permanence and salient emplacement simultaneously. This is to say that while salient emplacement is acquirable by adverts and other non-travel related signs, it would seem to be acceptable only through sacrificing permanence to do so. A fast food restaurant's advertisement can be placed right where a busy corridor joins into the main hall of the Travel Centre building, but not with similar emplacement as the travel signs

in the immediate vicinity; where the travel sign in that busy location is bolted in place in the ceiling, above the heads of the crowd, the advert emplaced there is a stand placed on the floor, and is markedly less permanent in terms of both materials and manner of emplacement.

This division of signs would seem to imply two things: firstly, to an existing hierarchy of signs within the Travel Centre area, with the travel signs being at the top of the “food chain” of emplacement, and perhaps more importantly, a division between the permanent and the transient, which seem to correspond to the important and the unimportant in the signs emplaced in the Travel Centre area. The latter division is where emplacement, and more precisely the manner in which travel signs are emplaced, communicates mobility in an implicit manner. Not mobility of the sign, or mobility related services, but mobility of the social actors in the area. This seems to be achieved through the division between the permanent and the transient, with permanence communicated, in part, through the manner in which travel signs are emplaced.

The services that can be found in the travel signs all seem to be built into the structure or otherwise irreplaceable; where the fast food restaurant can be replaced by another or an altogether different type of a business, the ticket sales cannot start selling other types of tickets and the train tracks cannot alter their function. The uniformity of emplacement in travel signs in the Travel Centre area seems to communicate this division of permanence in a very thorough manner.

Represented participants

Mobility, as already noted, is an authoritarian process. This is to say that in order for the trains to leave on time and for the flow of people and goods to continue unhindered, a high level of coordination is necessary, and in the Travel Centre area this coordination is achieved through top down instructions. The travel signs in the Travel Centre area reflect this authoritarian side of the process in a manner that is akin to road signs in that the signs themselves indicate no author, nor is a “speaker” established, creating an interesting relationship between the viewer (receiving participant) and the author (presenting participant) (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:119). While this may seem a

weaker position than that of an identifiable author, it would seem to be quite the opposite; information presented in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area is presented in a manner that offers no clue as to who (or what) is giving that information. With the omission of that information, what is also omitted are the aims that social actor is pursuing, the values that social actor has and how that social actor relates to the person viewing the signs. This leaves the social actor with no one to participate in interpreting the signs, thus closing the possibility of discussing or arguing against the information in the travel signs, a position that is akin to that of the unarguable position of the traffic sign.

The travel signs seem to follow a uniform logic in the presenting participants in the signs; of the authors (or who is the company, state or agency that is responsible for this signs existence) no mention is made, whereas the receiving participants (the people reading the signs) are either explicitly shown as the stick-person engaged in a multitude of activities, or likewise left unmentioned. It would seem that the travel signs in the Travel Centre area aim at two things through establishing participant relationships: unhindered communication of directions and maintaining order in the Travel Centre area through a powerful position, with the first being, in part, the result of the second.

Through omission of the authors from the signs the travel signs are made “voiceless” in the sense that the information presented in this manner gives no clues as to who is speaking. The travel signs, thus present their information in a manner that offers a set of participant relationships in which the travel signs contain “true” information that is not subject to either discussion or argument, which, while not a exactly communicating mobility, communicates an aspect of it that would seem to be essential; control.

4.2.3 Summary

The aim of this chapter was to answer the question “how is mobility communicated in travel signs in the Travel Centre area?”. While I have previously provided detailed descriptions regarding individual aspects of how mobility is communicated, the aim of this summary is to bring those individual aspects together and display how they work together in communicating mobility in the Travel Centre area.

The distinction between explicit and implicit mobility is, as was already stated earlier in this chapter, is an artificial one, and made for the sake of both facilitating analysis of different aspects of travel signs and to emphasize that there are multiple levels of communication taking place, each of which merges and blends with the others. Mobility, when communicated in travel signs, would seem to take on such forms as explicit directions for moving within the Travel Centre area as well as directions for travelling away from it, implicit control of emplacement of signs, implicit hierarchies of services in the area formed through uneven representation and so on. Together, these seem to provide social actors the boundaries within which their social actions acceptable, which seems to play a major role in the socially limiting aspect that Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364) attribute to place and Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:153) attribute to socially constructed sense of space.

Mobility is communicated through directions to social actors as well as it is communicated through materials and emplacement. It would seem that explicit mentions are less prominent in setting the scene for the process of mobility and for communicating such things as purpose of the area or how a social actor is supposed to behave in the area, than implicit forms of communication, the depth and complexity of which seem to reflect the process they are there to convey.

4.3 Multilingualism in travel signs

In this chapter I will describe in detail the use of English in travel signs in the Travel Centre area, with the aim of forming an answer to the second research question of this study:

How is English used in travel signs in the Travel Centre area?

Following a similar structure as in the previous chapter, I will approach the question from multiple perspectives and provide detailed descriptions of the use of English in travel signs in terms of communicative functions (e.g. "what is it there to accomplish?" as it has been attributed multiple functions (Blommaert 2010:151-152), both direct and indirect, and how English relates to other languages in the area, especially to Swedish,

as the two languages form an interesting pair as language minorities, where only one has a strong official position based on legislation. The sign categories of analyzed items are the same as for the first research question, with similar comparisons to other items that are found in the area, such as advertisements or callouts and to areas of the semiotic aggregate in which the signs themselves play a peripheral role, namely the interaction order. I will begin by describing English as a self-standing element of communication and continue by examining English as a part of a set of multilingual signs, and how it relates to other languages in the area. Lastly, I will sum up the findings and by doing so, form a definitive answer to the second research question.

4.3.1 What is English used to communicate?

The first aspect of English in travel signs in the Travel Centre area I will analyze is the things that it is used for. What is said in English? What kind of language is used? Language use in travel signs in general seems to follow the same minimalistic principle of concentrating information into as small a format as possible as other visual means of communication, meaning that texts in travel signs consist of phrases of one or two words, and in this English makes no exception.

Thus, English appears on the travel signs as short pieces of writing, one or two words in length. These words are typically nouns, and contain neither verbs, adjectives or prepositions. Thus, English is used at an extremely low level of complexity in terms of grammatical structures, with clear tendency to avoid forming sentences. However, the vocabulary used in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area, is specialized, focusing, as one might expect, on travel, but reflecting a higher level of complexity, with such words as “freight” and “departing” being used. While the words themselves are commonplace travel vocabulary, and one might expect to find them in travel hubs such as airports or, as in this case, the Travel Centre area, they are commonplace within that specialized area of vocabulary, not commonplace in everyday speech as such. This feature, combined with the communicative norms of simplicity that seem to apply to mobile spaces, would seem to imply that the simple structures are used in order to conform to those norms rather than to facilitate reading the signs through using simple language.

English is used to directly mention the same services and locations that the travel signs communicate, with an emphasis being on textual clarification given for locations and services that cannot be easily depicted through stick-person icons, as is the case in the “Centre” in signs giving directions towards the town centre, and “Ticket sale” in the overhead marking the location of that service. Appearing in similar formats in both the timetables and the overheads, English seems to be used for marking locations and services that are instrumental and typical for the process of mobility, such as the aforementioned ticket sale. It would seem that whenever either international symbols, such as the “i” for information, do not exist and where symbolic depiction is impractical, language is used. It is noteworthy that while an arrow symbol can communicate both a direction and a sense of movement in that direction in smaller space than words, more complex notions seem to require the use of words, either as a self standing method of communication (such as the “centre”-overheads) or as clarifying additions to symbols (such as the train track-overheads).

English, just as other items appearing in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area have connotations beyond the immediate information they contain, as suggested by both Blommaert (2010:151-152) and Held & McGrew (2007:39). Where emplacement and materials communicate mobility in an indirect manner through telling something about the area in which they are emplaced, English does the same through connotations; the use of English in the Travel Centre area carries meanings in itself, as its presence in the area alters the semiotic aggregate. English is a language of mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36), arguable even the language of mobility (Gil 2011:52), used in worldwide travel, and the social actors reading the signs in the Travel Centre area, even if not explicitly aware of that aspect of the English language, are for the most part from the “Western” world, and as such usually well familiarized with mobile spaces such as airports and train stations and are accustomed to encountering English in these specific types of environments. Thus, the use of English brings with it the larger whole of world wide mobility, and labels the Travel Centre area as a part of that whole. Through the use of English, the Travel Centre area is marked as a space that is both multilingual (in at least three languages) and built for mobility.

English, as it is used in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area, conforms to the communicative norms of mobility in that it appears in very simplified grammatical forms but requires an understanding of the specialized vocabulary peculiar to travel and mobility, thus expecting a level of expertise from the social actors reading the signs. The use of English also affects the workings of the semiotic aggregate by bringing with it connotations to world wide travel and a multilingual environment.

4.3.2 How does English relate to other languages in the Travel Centre area?



Picture 8. The typical order in which the three languages appear in descending order: Finnish, Swedish, and English.

English is, from the point of view of language relations, an oddity in the Travel Centre area. This is due to the dualistic nature of English as, from one point of view, the most spoken language on the globe, with speakers numbering over one billion, while from a local perspective, it is an international language emplaced in the middle of a small, rather monolingual Finnish town, placed alongside two official languages without explanation. The assumption of English having a similar position in peripheral travel hubs around the world seems logical, as the language itself often holds no attachments

to the locations in which it is used, but finds its way to the travel signs, booklets and magazines due to the extremely widespread of English speakers, to the point that its use would seem to communicate meanings in itself, as suggested by Blommaert (2010:151-152). This spread of English contrasts with the official position of Swedish, as it seems unlikely that Swedish would make an appearance in Jyväskylä based on pragmatic reasons.

The travel signs in the Travel Centre area seem to follow a hierarchy in which languages are positioned, although this order is not always followed as some signs contain only two of the languages, one being always Finnish, while the other language in the signs is either Swedish or English. Regardless of whether the other language present is Swedish or English, Finnish is always placed in the most salient position, either on top of the other languages, or as the first one from the left and as such the first to be read if following a left-to-right reading direction, which is also the preferred location in a horizontally aligned code (Scollon & Scollon 2003:120). In some cases the Finnish text is also written in larger letters, with Swedish and English stacked on top of each other next to the text in Finnish (with Swedish on top and English below). The hierarchy, despite possibly omitted languages, follows the same format each time in all travel signs, even if the overheads and the timetables differ in both style of inscription and in how much text is on the signs.

Contrasting the powerful position of the Finnish language, texts in English are usually placed in the least salient position, either below texts in the other languages or as the rightmost (and as such last to be read), or in some cases, omitted entirely. The position of English in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area reflects a weak position in relation to the other two languages, regardless of possible usefulness to travellers in the area, as could be expected (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36). The general position of English in the travel signs is reflected also in the callouts, which follow the same order of languages, with callouts in Finnish first, followed by Swedish and lastly by English. Thus, the English language has both a low salience in comparison to Finnish and Swedish, and a high salience in the sense that it has an unofficial position in the area, likely based on the sheer usefulness of using English instead of either using simply bilingual signs or choosing another language in its stead. The position which is allotted

to English in the travel signs does not seem to reflect the number of speakers of English pass through the area when compared to the number of speakers of Swedish, but the cultural significance of English as the language of popular culture, of the internet and, especially in the case of the Travel Centre area, the language of travel (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36) does affect the meaning the use of English, even in the less salient positions it is used in, has on the semiotic aggregate. One could say that English seems to function as a type of a grey eminence in that while it has no official status, its unofficial status as a global language puts it in a position of power nonetheless, which is reflected on its inclusion in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area, which, typically, contain as little “unofficial” information as possible.

Even if the three languages used in travel signs in the Travel Centre area differ in terms of placement within the signs and are always placed in an “order of preference” in which languages have set positions from highest to lowest (reflecting their position on the preferred-least preferred axis, according to Scollon & Scollon (2003:120)), all three languages are near identical in terms of both grammatical structures and vocabulary. This is true to the point that the phrases in the signs directly translate to the corresponding words in the other languages in the sign; where a word is inflected to a plural in Finnish, it is in plural in Swedish and English as well. Thus, the overheads giving directions to the train tracks may read “Raiteet, Spår, Tracks 2-4” when the sign directs to a plurality of tracks, but reads “Raide, Spår, Track 1”, changing the inflection in all three (even though the form is identical in Swedish), with the words being direct translations of each other. None of the languages are used with the aim of creating sentences and the texts, regardless of language, consist of nouns, with few exceptions. This extreme similarity of use between the three languages in grammatical terms was to be expected, and works, in my view, to underline the importance of the differences in the cultural contexts of the languages. Furthermore, as Agnihotri & McCormick (2010:65) noted, such a direct translation and similarity between languages is not a given, and can be seen to convey implicit meanings in itself.

4.3.3 English in the Travel Centre area

I will conclude this chapter by summarizing the different aspects of how English is used in travel signs in the Travel Centre area and by considering those aspects in how they relate to and in themselves communicate mobility in the Travel Centre area. As explained previously, communication in a space of mobility through emplaced items, such as signs, seems to be highly moderated, and as has been demonstrated in this chapter, the same level of control is reflected in language use as well. Texts in travel signs consist of uniformly inflected words, that stand for uniform meanings and appear in uniform styles.

English makes no exception, and it would seem to follow the same, simplified style of communicating meanings as both other languages and travel signs in general. One or two word phrases seem to be included in most signs as clarifications to the symbols for services and locations, although in some cases those phrases themselves form the core of the communicated meanings. Increasing complexity in the communicated meanings seems to push signs towards using more text and less symbols. The short English texts in the travel signs form few, if any, grammatical structures as the words do not form sentences and contain only noun phrases, with some attributed by verbs in present participle. This extreme simplicity, however, is not reflected in the word choices in the travel signs, and would thus seem to serve a different communicative function than ease of deciphering the signs' message. As the trend towards minimalistic expression seems to apply to all aspects of travel signs in the Travel Centre area, the minimalistic use of English seems to correspond to that aspect of communication in a space of mobility.

The three languages present in travel signs in the Travel Centre area, Finnish, Swedish and English, all follow as identical forms and vocabulary as seems possible with three separate languages; the vocabulary used in each language is a direct translation from the others in both meaning of the individual word and it's inflection. This, while not surprising in itself, is somewhat contradictory to the otherwise uneven use and placement of different languages within the travel signs; while the forms and vocabulary are as similar as to be identical, the languages are placed in a strict hierarchy in which Finnish is placed in the most salient position, Swedish next to it and English in

the least salient position (Scollon & Scollon 2003:120). The low salience in English's placement would seem to reflect its status as a foreign language in Finland, as it is the sole language in the travel signs that it does not have a strong position as an official language. The presence of English, in this context, would seem to imply both that English has a position as the language of mobility (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010b:36) and that it is used as a sociocultural resource to communicate meanings beyond the explicit (Blommaert 2010:151-152).

5. Discussion

Where the previous chapters have first focused on the existing theories brought into use for this study and then described the data from the perspective of those theories, the aim of this chapter is to reverse the process. That is to say that this chapter examines those theories from the perspective of the findings described in Chapter 4, with the aim of both presenting those findings in the context of the previous research carried out in the field of researching emplaced language and of providing a framework for taking part in the ongoing methodological debate regarding researching emplaced language (Pavlenko 2009:252, Backhaus 2010:59-62).

I will begin this chapter by following a similar path from sign to emplacement to mobile space to multilingualism as has been followed in Chapters 2 and 4, widening the sphere of interest step by step, from pin-point to area to cultural context. After discussing each step from the point of view of both the findings and the theories linked to them, I will conclude this chapter by assessing the current study as a methodological experiment, and further discuss the ongoing methodological debate from the perspective of practical applications and repercussions of both offered critique and propositions.

5.1 Signs in the Travel Centre area

As shown in Chapter 4. Analysis, the travel signs in the Travel Centre area rely heavily on communicating meanings through repetitive visual appearance, emplacement and inscriptive aspects. Although by no means a unique aspect in signs, within the relatively small Travel Centre area, those repetitions form into a commanding part of the visual appearance of the entire area. Working in a largely different field, Thurlow & Jaworski's findings regarding the conventionalized nature of communication in a medium unified by its link to mobility, the in-flight magazine (2010b:26), would seem to be applicable to other areas in which mobility plays a major role as well. While Thurlow & Jaworski (2010b) discuss the discourses of mobility in in-flight magazines, the language and other forms of visual communication emplaced in the physical places those magazines are thematically connected to also seem to form conventionalized discourses. It would seem that the topics that are discussed, the manner in which those topics are discussed

and the items that are referred in travel signs in the Travel Centre area, to belong to a limited set of styles and topics that seem to be used in a normative manner, very similar to how the in-flight magazines are structured and the topics they contain (2010b:26).

Where the signs form and function through conventionalized discourses, the highly organized nature of the Travel Centre area offered a prime example of the principle of dialogicality as discussed by Scollon & Scollon (2003:23); while in most areas signs form relatively vague dialogues, such as shop signs adding to and altering the meanings of each other without any deeper level of interconnectedness, the travel signs in the Travel Centre area, especially the white-on-blue overheads, are wholly dependant on each other in order to form the meanings that they do. In other words, their ability to communicate meanings is dependant on their dialogical nature, which seems not only to coincide but also to reinforce the views of Scollon & Scollon (*ibid.*). This is not to say that there would be any inherent difference between the travel signs examined in this study and the shops signs used in the previous example, but merely to point out that Scollon & Scollon's principles (2003:23) seem to correspond to real-world phenomena when examined through analyzing emplaced language within the Travel Centre area. The findings of this study, namely the aforementioned reliance on dialogicality to convey meanings, would seem to imply that the dialogicality of signs is not merely something that simply happens, but that it is something that can also be purposefully sought and utilized as a sociolinguistic resource in an explicit manner, which does not, of course, remove the implicit co-existence that the sign shares with other signs emplaced in its vicinity.

Another aspect of all signs, one largely ignored by Scollon & Scollon (2003), is the mutable nature of the meanings embedded in them. Pavlenko (2009:253) discussed this diachronic nature of the process of semiosis as an aspect of a very long timescale, examining the changes in the linguistic landscapes in post-soviet Eastern Europe. This study, however, was interested in seeing whether that diachronism is a characteristic encountered in long-term timescales only, or could it be noted in a very short timescale as well, perhaps as fluctuations in the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197)? The findings described in Chapter 4 would certainly imply that this is the case: the meanings read into signs and into the the larger whole of the mobile space

would seem to change as social (inter)actions within that space changed. This is not to say that people would interpret the intended meaning of a STOP-sign differently depending on the traffic conditions, but most certainly that how that interpreted meaning affects the behaviour of those people does change as the unique personal context of the reader changes (Scollon & Scollon 2003:15). The philosophical question arising from this change regarding the nature of meaning is whether the meaning of the sign changed, or simply the interpretation of it, and what is the difference between the two?

Putting philosophical ponderings aside, the changes in the semiotic aggregate that were described in Chapter 4 provide a useful insight into the nature of the diachronic change in the process of semiosis. As the crowds thickened, the social actions that were acceptable within what Scollon & Scollon (2003:55-57) call “backstage” moved into the “front stage”, thus widening the possible identities and social actions available to social actors within that front stage space (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009:364), altering the position of the social actor within that space. This widening, I propose, makes it possible for new interpretations of signs emplaced in the space to be made, as the relationship between the represented participants (Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:46) changes. This process of diachronic change within the semiotic aggregate is, of course, reciprocal in nature: a change in one aspect invariably and unavoidably leads to a change in all the other aspects as well: as the interaction order (Scollon & Scollon 2003:46) is altered by the change in the amount of social actors present, the meanings interpreted by the social actors that are a part of that interaction order change as well, which provokes further change in the interaction order as the concept of the space within which that interaction order is situated changes, and so on. Thus, based on the findings of this study, I find it justified to say that the process of semiosis is diachronic on a shorter timescale as well as a longer one, but do not claim to have enough evidence to make any projections of the exact mechanics of how that diachronism functions.

5.2 The mobile space

One of the aims of this study was to examine the Travel Centre area as what Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:153) call lived space, a socially constructed and upheld sense of space

within an area, and to create a theoretical model for such a space based on the findings made by analyzing the data. This mobile space, it would seem, is indeed constructed through social action set into an environment that supports it, the evidence for which is visible in the fluctuations of social actions taking place within the space of the Travel Centre building main hall. Those fluctuations were dependant on the amount of people present; too few, and backstage actions (Scollon & Scollon 2003:55-57), such as talking loudly or eating became acceptable in the front stage-space, while overcrowding had a similar effect. Both extremes seemed rare based on the observations made, and typically the people within the Travel Centre building main hall seemed to follow a similar set of behaviour in regards to both division between front stage/backstage actions and roles and identities available to the social actors, which would seem to be in line with Stroud & Mpendukana's (2009:364) observations regarding the socially limiting nature of places, which are, within the context of this study, seen as parts of space within which a sense of place is formed (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:7). This would suggest two things: firstly that constructing a lived space (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a:153) is a dialogical process between the social actors taking part in social interaction within the area, and secondly that that process is the method through which the restriction of identities and possible actions within that space (Stroud & Mpendukana 2009:364) are communicated and upheld. Both of these aspects that were discussed in Chapter 2 would seem to be affected by changes in the amount of social actors present in the area, the crucial change seeming to be the diminishing and the expansion of interpersonal distances, and how it affects social actors' ability to form "withs", or units of social interaction (Scollon & Scollon 2003:61). However, further study is required in order to determine the exact relationship between the physical surrounding in which the social action takes place and the said social action in determining how the roles, actions and identities that the social actors choose are made available (or how others are restricted). Regardless, it seems clear that the socially determining characteristic attributed to "place" by Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364) is directly linked to, and perhaps the result of the sense of space that is created through social interaction taking place within that space, as explained by Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:153).

When examining the physical surrounding in which the mobile space is situated, the views of Scollon & Scollon (2003:111) regarding the semiotic nature of all items within

a given area rise to prominence; the Travel Centre area is highly cohesive in terms of visual appearance, which is achieved through use of uniform color schemes, uniform emplacement and a seemingly extreme control of sign emplacement. All communicate meanings, both implicit and explicit as explained in Chapter 4, and together form a space in which social interaction is focused on mobility. While the focus of this study was not on explaining or assessing the social interactions taking place in the Travel Centre area, those interactions were observed in order to map the larger whole of the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197) and while definitive causalities are beyond the reach of the current study, some conclusions can be drawn.

Studying the Travel Centre area from the point of view of examining the emplaced signs and the visual aspects of the area, the following observations could be made: firstly, the emplacement of signs is tightly controlled in the Travel Centre area, secondly, the signs emplaced seem to follow a strict hierarchy in terms of combining salience and permanence and thirdly that the emplaced items commit much of their resources to communicating a progressive sense of time. These findings, when examined in conjunction with the knowledge regarding the mobility focused social interactions within the Travel Centre area, especially within the main hall of the building, lead to one of two possible conclusions: either there is a strong reciprocal relationship between the social interactions thought possible within a space and the aggregate of visual, physical and emplaced items in that space, or the limitedness of social interactions and the controlled communicative environment exist coincidentally within the same space in the Travel Centre area. The former is considered far likelier, even if the relationship between social interaction and the other aspects of the semiotic aggregate (Scollon & Scollon 2003:166-197) cannot be explained. Thurlow & Jaworski (2010a:153) note that the human perception of space is a social construct, and Stroud & Mpendukana (2009:364) state that place is something that limits the identities and possible actions and both views would seem to support a conclusion in which different aspects of the space in which social interaction takes place has a strong impact on that social interaction. However, I propose that that impact is not definite, but highly dependant on the personal context brought into the interaction by individual social actors, as can be seen in the diachronic changes in the workings of the semiotic aggregate as explained in Chapter 4.

One of the aims of this study was to construct a theoretical model for a space of mobility, based on the findings and on the individual theories used as the theoretical background of this study. Thus, I will conclude this chapter by presenting such a model, which is by no means a complete display of all factors, but a summary of the aspects of a space that is highly purpose-oriented; a mobile space is a space that is purposefully built to facilitate the process of mobility and marked as such in a pervasive manner, which relies heavily on conventionalized ways of communicating meanings. It is recognized by social actors, who modify the social actions they partake in so that those actions are aligned with the actions of other social actors in their vicinity. These social actors communicate their identities within that space through social actions, which turn into interactions when other social actors respond to them, thus forming a dialogical relationship between social actors, who, through that interaction, form the sense of space particular to the mobile space. What sets the mobile space apart from other public spaces is not that signage in other public spaces would not seek to direct social interactions towards certain goals (as all signs do, according to Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996:153), but only in the manner in which the signage in a mobile space does so; hierarchical emplacement of signs, strong emphasis on managing the timeframe social actors have and control of social actions through explicit suggestions of both movement and services available all shape the mobile space into a unique, purpose-oriented space.

5.3 Multilingualism

The Travel Centre area is a multilingual space in a manner that can be seen to reflect some of the views expressed regarding the process of globalization. This is to say that in the use of multiple languages, the relationships of which are complex and in many parts unclear to the social actors encountering them in their everyday activities, the Travel Centre reflects the complicated and uneven process of globalization (Held & McGrew 2007:7, Blommaert 2010:1). In other words, the multilingualism within the Travel Centre area does not reflect a 'naturally' occurring state of coexisting multiple languages that are integrated into the society in that area. Instead, the multilingual environment seems to be purposefully constructed to meet the specific needs of mobility, and thus the use of multiple languages, especially English, has other

implications than simply catering to the needs of a set of social actors with varying cultural backgrounds. I propose that multilingualism is utilized as a sociolinguistic resource, which is in line with the observations of Blommaert (2010:151-152) regarding the use of English in just such a manner; while the use of the English language is without a doubt meaningful and necessary from the perspective of foreign travellers, using it also conveys meanings and creates connotations beyond the immediate message.

The presence of English in a largely monolingual area carries meanings, and despite being a national language in many places, the meanings that are closely knit into using the English language in the Travel Centre area are those of international culture, travel and business, reflecting strongly the view presented by Held & McGrew (2007:39) of the English language as the linguistic infrastructure of globalization. It seems reasonable to assume that the English used in the travel signs in the Travel Centre area is not there to cater to the needs of the English people, or to the needs of the Americans, but to a wider spectrum of nationalities, most of which can participate in communication through the use of English, and thus the use of English in the Travel Centre is not the use of anyone's native language, but rather a use of the global language that is common property, bound to the culture of global trade and travel, not to any one nationality (Crystal 2003:4).

The co-existence of the three languages (Finnish, Swedish and English) within the Travel Centre area offers interesting contrasts between the different languages, when observed within the context of the different backgrounds of the languages; Finnish is the only language with a strong presence outside the Travel Centre area, Swedish has a strong official status through its legal status and English is a very pragmatic choice in a mobile space given its global usage (Gil 2011:53-54). Furthermore, as all of the languages follow near identical patterns of usage in that language use in the travel signs is extremely compact and compressed, as shown in Chapter 4, I propose that the connotations rising from the presence of each language are emphasized; as the explicitly conveyed meanings are limited, the symbolic value of the presence of the language is increased, which would seem to be in line with the findings of Thurlow & Jaworski regarding the use English as a means to communicate mobility beyond the explicit

(2010b:36) and Blommaert's view of how languages (namely English) is used to evoke a context of mobility (Blommaert 2010:149).

The interesting counterpoint between Swedish and English in the Travel Centre area lies in the historical differences the two languages have from the point of view of the Finnish culture; one has a centuries old, yet declining presence in Finland, while the other is a relatively new addition in the Finnish linguascope, but has already established itself across the populace. This offers, in my view, interesting possibilities for future study, as it represent a possibility to examine both the effects of globalization from the point of view of change in the relationships between languages in the Western World, while also offering possibilities for examining language policies in situations where officiality and practicality are at odds.

5.4 Methodological debate

One of the goals of this study, which centers on a field of research that is subject to ongoing methodological debate (Pavlenko 2009:248, Thurlow & Jaworski 2010:9), was to partake in that methodological debate by first operationalizing theories regarding emplaced language and then evaluating the arguments used in the discussion regarding different methodologies in the light of the experience gained from that process. Thus far the debate regarding how research of emplaced language should be conducted has seen both heated arguments and successful research, albeit the formation of new theories and further development of existing ones has been slow. Part of the slowness, according to Backhaus (2007:59-62), is due to sloppy methodologies resulting in descriptive results, which offer little grounds for synthesizing new theories. However, while Backhaus (ibid.) offers important insights into the nature of the failures, he does little to offer remedies, and thus the aim of this study is to seek answers to some of the problems pointed out by Backhaus and others (such as Pavlenko 2009:252).

To begin my input into the debate, I will make the first observation regarding the formation of methodologies for researching emplaced language, which holds true in all language research; the methodology must support the aims of the study, and I propose that no single way of researching emplaced language can, nor should, be formed. This is

due to the differences in the tools required for examining language from different perspectives; the amount and demarcation of data (the problematics of which were pointed out by Backhaus (2007:59-62)) depends on multiple variables: the area, the depth and the items of interest each vary depending on what one is examining. Research of emplaced language, in my view, is no different from researching mass media, such as newspapers in that qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches are as viable, and have different requirements as to the type and amount of data required. Thus, to comment on Backhaus's critique of sloppy methodologies (*ibid.*), I would add that any study seeking to research emplaced language should pay attention to justifying the demarcation of data, methods used and how these relate to the aims of the study. The problematics in different methodologies, it is worth noting, are not in any one method, but in avoiding the proper care when devising means for exploring a new field of research.

Pavlenko's idea of diachronism (2009:253) plays a crucial role in the current study in that it provides a perspective into researching emplaced language not previously discussed; the larger wholes in which emplaced languages are interpreted, what Scollon & Scollon (2003:166-197) call "semiotic aggregates", are not static, but subject to constant change. While Pavlenko studies diachronism from a long term perspective, the current study sought to examine it in a much shorter timeframe. As described in the findings in Chapter 4, diachronic change is an integral characteristic of the semiotic aggregate in the Travel Centre area, and I propose that this is the case in any such an aggregation. This diachronic change, I further propose, is due to the manner in which signs convey meanings. As Kress & Van Leeuwen (1996:119) point out, all images convey meanings through the relationship between the viewer (receiving participant) and the author (producing participant). The signs themselves, of course, create nothing more than the viewer reads into them, and thus the relationship between the author and the viewer is a thing that is formed based on the personal context brought into the situation by the viewer. This, I propose, when examined in light of Scollon & Scollon's (2003:15) views regarding the unique personal context each social actor brings with oneself, would imply that diachronic change is inevitably a part of every semiotic aggregate for the simple reason that no social interaction (between people or between a social actor and a sign) is replicable, because people change. Thus, I propose that future

studies should not commit resources into whether or not diachronic change, as the concept that was modified from Pavlenko (2009), takes place, but rather into the specifics of how that change occurs.

This study, as noted multiple times, is largely based on the idea proposed by Scollon & Scollon (2003:2) regarding the nature of language as it appears in the physical world; the idea that emplaced language does not exist or function in a semiotic vacuum. As this study focuses on how mobility is communicated through various aspects of signs, it is worth bearing in mind that without the inclusion on the modern glass-and-steel context in which those signs are emplaced, the multiple modes on which mobility is communicated could not have been assessed. Thus, the adoption of Scollon & Scollon's geosemiotics (2003) for the starting point of this study was both necessary and provided most of the tools necessary for conducting a research into the larger scheme of emplaced language. The geosemiotic approach into emplaced language, in which all items are considered semiotic (Scollon & Scollon 2003:23), functioned well when operationalized into a methodological tool and, aside from the previously discussed lack of diachronism in the theoretical framework, it could provide means for analyzing the data from multiple perspectives. The methodological value of Scollon & Scollon's (2003) work lies, in my opinion, in the undetachable nature of emplaced language. Emplaced language, I propose, does not function in a separate system from the rest of the elements present in a space and as such it cannot be examined separately from that context without an inherent loss of meaning.

In order to summarize my input regarding the ongoing methodological debate regarding the research of emplaced language, I will reiterate the main arguments I have presented. Firstly, the width of the field of research that is being explored is such that seeking a single methodology that would suit the needs of all types of research would seem to be futile, as different approaches require different tools. However, oversights in methodological issues (Backhaus 2007:59-62) are severely hindering the formation of new theories, as the findings produced through such an analysis are not reliable. Secondly, omitting the aspect of diachronic change, as in both as described by Pavlenko (2009:253) and as adapted from Pavlenko in the present study, seems difficult to justify, given the seemingly rapid fluctuations observed in the Travel Centre area. This is not to

say that all research should focus on diachronic aspects of emplaced language, but simply to state that as crucial an element as diachronic change cannot be totally omitted. The third and final point regarding methodological issues of researching emplaced language is the importance of the context in which signs are emplaced. The findings of the present study strongly suggest that the importance placed on context and emplacement by Scollon & Scollon (2003:111) is justified, as the analyzed signs were highly dependant and deeply involved with their surroundings. Further study into emplaced language is required in order to begin forming more precise theoretical frameworks, and for that purpose, methodologies should remain a key element of studies into the field.

6. Conclusion

I will begin this conclusion, the purpose of which is to summarize the previous seventy pages, by overviewing the contents of those pages in cursory manner. I began this study with an introduction into the theoretical side of researching emplaced language, with an emphasis on the geosemiotic approach introduced by Scollon & Scollon (2003), while also expanding their theories into the study of conceptions of space (Thurlow & Jaworski 2010a, Stroud & Mpendukana 2010) in order to accommodate more of the social interaction into the field of research. The sociocultural background of this study is the process of globalization from the Western perspective, and bearing that in mind, the inclusion of multiple perspectives into globalization were examined. From there, I moved on to detailing the methodology of this study and introduced my research questions, the final form of which was formed in a process of definition and redefinition in dialogue with the process of analysis as it took form and started yielding results. Thus, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 were not conceived separately, but as mutually supporting elements of this study. As a conclusion for the input of this study, I discussed my findings and their relation to the theories employed and operationalized for methodological use and as a finale, attempted to contribute to the ongoing methodological debate regarding how emplaced language has been researched, how it could be research and even how it should be researched.

This study was able to reach its aims in that enough data could be produced to begin the forming of a theoretical model of a space of mobility; a space that is purposefully constructed for the purposes of mobility. The aim of testing the geosemiotic framework as provided by Scollon & Scollon (2003) as a method for researching emplaced language was also met, and the ability of that framework to explain and to model both the process of semiosis of emplaced languages (and signs) and the different elements at work in that process is, I propose, for the large part, confirmed. What was also mapped were the means that are used to communicate meanings in a space of mobility; mobility is communicated in multiple modes in the Travel Centre, both explicit and implicit, and the manner of that communication observed in the travel signs places much emphasis on controlling the environment in which it is emplaced.

To conclude, I will state my own view regarding the lack of tools for analyzing and researching globalization as expressed by Blommaert (2010:153); it is true that linguists have been unable to produce conclusive results and perspectives of what is happening to languages and the social spheres that may or may not be entwining into larger wholes on a global scale. I argue that the key to understanding the ongoing changes in the world around us is in the formation of new methods and in the adoption of new perspectives and ultimately, in leaving the desk and perhaps, as was done in this study, going to the trainstation.

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