

POSTPRINT

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Linguistic landscape under strict state language policy: reversing the Soviet legacy in a regional centre in latvia

Introduction

This chapter will present results of a linguistic landscape (LL) project in the regional centre of Rēzekne in the region of Latgale in Eastern Latvia. Latvia was *de facto* a part of the Soviet Union until 1991, and this has given it a highly multilingual society. In the essentially post-colonial situation since 1991, strict language policies have been in place, which aim to reverse the language shift from Russian, the dominant language of Soviet times, back to Latvian. Thus, the main interests of the research were how the complex pattern of multilingualism in Latvia is reflected in the LL; how people relate to current language legislation; and what motivations, attitudes and emotions inform their behaviour.

The Linguistic Situation in Latvia and in Rēzekne

For centuries, the area of today's Latvian State has had a high level of multilingualism. Before Latvia became independent in 1918, Latvian and Latgalian were the vernacular languages of the overwhelming majority of the rural population, while Russian and German were the languages of the elite, and other languages such as Livonian, Polish or Lithuanian were spoken in smaller rural communities. This pattern changed during the Soviet occupation as large numbers of Russians migrated to Latvia from other parts of the Soviet Union and Russian became the main language. The percentage of Latvian speakers fell from 77% before the Second World War to 52% in 1991 (Ozolins, 2003: 218). The dominance of Russian in public life as the language of the occupying power led to a high degree of asymmetric societal multilingualism, as Russians were usually monolingual and Latvians were mostly bilingual Latvian-Russian. Since Latvia regained its independence, Russian has lost its official support and can be considered to be the most widely spoken minority language. At the same time, it is stigmatised as the language of the former Soviet occupying powers, and this results in a climate of

partly parallel societies and latent ethnic tensions. In addition to the roughly 60% of the population who speak Latvian as their first language (L1) today and the almost 30% with Russian as their L1, 10% of the population of Latvia speak a different minority language such as Polish, Ukrainian or Belorussian as their L1 (Council of Europe, 2006: 3). Unlike Russian, the smaller minority languages are not stigmatised, but the number of speakers of them is constantly falling. Alongside the other native languages of Latvia is the regional language of Latgalian, spoken in the region of Latgale. Central Latvian attitudes frequently consider it to be a dialect of Latvian, but many speakers are today striving for it to be recognised as a separate language.

The regional administration, culture, business and education centre of Latgale is the town of Rēzekne, which has 36,345 inhabitants (2007). In Rēzekne, Latvian is the high variety and Latgalian the low in a traditional diglossic relationship, although Latgalian today can occasionally be heard in, for instance, the local university. Russians total 49% of the population, outnumbering the 44% who are Latvian/Latgalian L1 speakers. In addition, 2.6% of the town's population are Poles, 1.7% Belorussians and 1.4% Ukrainians (numbers from 2007, Rēzeknes pilsētas dome). The recent *Ethnolinguistic Survey of Latgale* (Lazdiņa & Šuplinska, 2009), based on the self-assessment of more than 9000 respondents, provides a more detailed picture of linguistic competence in Latgale as a whole. As Table 7.1 shows, more than 90% claim competence in both Latvian and Russian, but knowledge of Latgalian is also high. On the other hand, competence in the traditional minority languages and in international languages is quite limited, with only 30% claiming competence in English.

Language Policy in Latvia

As a consequence of the dominant role of Russian in Soviet Latvia, language legislation since the 1990s has aimed to reverse the language shift by reversing language prestige and functions (cf. Schmid, 2008 for an overview of language policy; for language legislation development: Ozolins, 2003). Latvian is the State Language and the only language to be used in all public domains. The only other languages mentioned in the State Language Law are the almost extinct language of Livonian, and Latgalian, which is rather vaguely labelled as a 'historical written variety of Latvian' (Republic of Latvia: State Language Law). The Latvian State takes measures to spread the Latvian language to the non-Latvian parts of the population through language planners, text-books and other teaching material, and is today in the process of integrating Russian and Latvian schools with the aim of ensuring that all students have a reasonable knowledge of Latvian (Ozolins, 2003: 230).

Table 7.1 Language competence in Latgale

<i>Language</i>	<i>Percentage of respondents claiming competence</i>
Russian	93.5
Latvian	90.9
Latgalian	62.1
Belorussian	7.2
Polish	5.2
Ukrainian	3.5
Estonian	0.4
Romany	0.4
English	30.9
German	15.0
French	0.8
Others	1.2

Source: Lazdiņa and Šuplinska (2009)

Latvia has not signed the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages, and the ratification of the Framework Convention for National Minorities in 2005 contained explicit reservations about languages, stating that no language other than Latvian or Livonian (perceived as the only autochthonous language on Latvian territory besides Latvian) may be used in administration and on topographic signs (Council of Europe, 2006/2008). This shows the general attitude of the Latvian State to written language in the public space. According to the State Language Law, signs, posters, etc., must be in Latvian if they concern State affairs, but in exceptional cases they may also be in other languages. In practice, this rule is used, for instance, for signs showing Latvian traffic regulations for drivers who enter Latvia by road – these signs are notably in Latvian and English, but not in Russian. For private signs, by contrast, the rule is ‘at least in Latvian’ – signs may additionally be in other languages if the Latvian version is not less prominent than the version in another language (cf. Latvian Language Law §§21.4–21.6, and Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, 2000).

This shows that, despite the strong focus on overcoming the marginalisation of Latvian during Soviet times, Latvian language policy does not entirely ban the use of other languages. Private oral language use is unrestricted, and private companies may use other languages alongside

Latvian for both oral and written functions, including signage. This rule covers not only languages of international business or tourism, but also explicitly includes the minority languages such as Russian. Only in the state sector is a monolingual State language policy enforced.

The Linguistic Landscape in Rēzekne: Linguistic Hierarchies in the Process of Turning

Rēzekne is of particular value for LL research because its balance between speakers of Latvian and other languages reflects Latvian society in miniature, with Latgalian as an additional interesting component. Research was carried out throughout 2008 using the LL method used by, for instance, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in Ljouwert and Donostia and Edelman (2009) in Amsterdam. The project outline and the interpretation of the results were also influenced by studies of the relation between language policies and the LL, such as Backhaus (2009) on Tokyo and Québec. All instances of written language were collected with digital cameras in clearly defined spaces in five areas of Rēzekne. *Atrbrīvošanas aleja*, the main shopping, tourism and administration street of Rēzekne, served as the point of departure and as the focus. For comparison, two other central roads, the area around the railway station and a small shopping area in a residential district were used. The quantitative research consisted of spontaneous conversations with shop assistants, service staff and passers-by.

Quantitative Results

The quantitative analysis counted 830 signs (124 government, 702 private, 4 unassigned), 504 of which were identified in *Atrbrīvošanas aleja*. Of these, 72.5% were monolingual, 19.5% bilingual, 6.0% trilingual, 1.6% quadrilingual and 0.4% featured more than four languages (Table 7.2).

The first result from the languages displayed – the dominance of Latvian, which is present on 86.4% of all signs – is quite unsurprising. The second result, however, is more unexpected, given that 30.9% of the

Table 7.2 Signs by number of languages displayed

<i>No. of languages per sign</i>	<i>No. of signs</i>	<i>%</i>
1	602	72.5
2	162	19.5
3	50	6.0
4	13	1.6
More than 4	3	0.4

population of Latgale claim linguistic competence in English and 93.5% claim it in Russian: English is used on far more signs (28.9%) than Russian, which appears on only 7.7%. Traditional minority languages are hardly displayed at all, with Lithuanian used on 1.9% of signs, Polish on 0.4% and Ukrainian and Belorussian not used at all, while Latgalian appears on only 0.8%. International languages are used more frequently, with, for example, German on 2.3%, French 1.9%, Norwegian 1.6%, and Estonian and Italian on 1.5% of signs, but all these languages appear far less often than English or Russian (Table 7.3).

On bilingual signs, Latvian is present on 150 of the 162 signs, which means that only 12 (7.4%) signs do not feature Latvian. English appears on 125 (77.2%) of the bilingual signs, and by far the most frequent combination is Latvian-English on 70 (43.2%); when added to the 45 English-Latvian signs, this comes to 71% of all bilingual signs. Latvian as

Table 7.3 Languages on signs in Rēzekne

<i>Language</i>	<i>Appearances (on 830 signs)</i>	<i>%</i>
Latvian	717	86.4
English	240	28.9
Russian	64	7.7
German	19	2.3
Lithuanian	16	1.9
French	16	1.9
Norwegian	13	1.6
Estonian	12	1.5
Italian	12	1.5
Latgalian	7	0.8
Spanish	6	0.7
Polish	3	0.4
Swedish	3	0.4
Danish	2	0.2
Finnish	2	0.2
Latin	2	0.2
Japanese	1	0.1

the State language thereby appears more frequently than English as the L1 in this combination. Russian appears on only 26 bilingual signs (16%), of which there are 2 Russian-English and 4 English-Russian signs, and 13 Latvian-Russian and 7 Russian-Latvian signs. No bilingual signs were found with Russian and a language other than Latvian or English, whereas there are a few signs with English and one language, German or Italian, other than Latvian or Russian.

Similarly, Latvian appears on 63 of the 66 signs with three or more languages, followed by English on 55 signs. Of the 11 signs that do not feature English, 8 display the combination of Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian. Russian was found on 25 signs, while 24 signs had the combination of Latvian + English + a language other than Russian.

Particularly revealing was the investigation of languages on signs published by the Latvian State or a state organisation. By law, these should be in Latvian only, with some limited exceptions. Latvian is indeed present on all state signs, and at 80.6%, the percentage of monolingual Latvian signs is higher than the average of 72.5%, but not nearly all the signs are in Latvian only (Table 7.4).

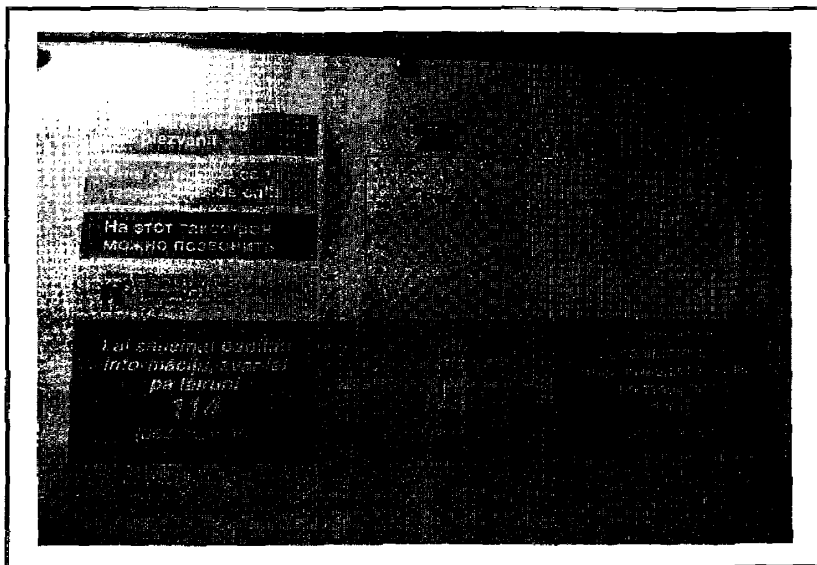
The exceptions, however, can be explained by looking at the type of signs, most of which are issued by the State but do not concern core state powers. For instance, information from the state tourist agency is frequently in Latvian, English, Russian and German, while instructions in telephone booths of the state-owned telephone company are in Latvian, English and Russian, which are probably in this order so as to avoid the impression that Latvian and Russian might be languages of equal status in Latvia. New road signs are always monolingual Latvian, but occasionally run-down Latvian-Russian signs from Soviet times have not yet been replaced, while some street signs are bilingual because they indicate a company with an English name.

Table 7.4 Signs issued by the State

<i>No. of languages</i>	<i>Government signs</i>	<i>Percentage of government signs</i>	<i>For comparison: Percentage of all signs</i>
Monolingual	100	80.6	72.5
Bilingual	18	14.5	19.5
Trilingual	4	3.2	6.0
Quadrilingual	2	1.6	1.6
More than 4	0	0	0.4
Total	124	100	100



A rare example of Russian-Latvian bilingualism with a Lithuanian element: an advertisement for a telephone company with a Lithuanian name in Rēzekne



Trilingualism used to avoid the perception of a bilingual society: Latvian, English and Russian in Latvian telephone booths



An increasingly rare example of a bilingual Latvian-Russian public sign in Rēzekne from Soviet days



An exotic touch as a selling point: an advertisement for an Italian restaurant in Rēzekne featuring Latvian, English, Italian and Spanish

While the low frequency of Russian on governmental signs is most probably due to language legislation, it is more difficult to account for its absence on private signs. In this context, it is notable that Russian is more frequently found in locations at the border between the public and

private spheres, such as in the stairwells of apartment buildings. People apparently feel safer using Russian when it is not as visible as on the streets. There is also a discrepancy between the inside and the outside of shops and other institutions such as banks, which often use Latvian-only signage in their windows but have multilingual information inside, mostly featuring Russian, but sometimes also with English. This applies more frequently to leaflets and brochures than to information displays about products, which are mostly in Latvian only.

This picture of Russian is confirmed when the overall data from Rēzekne are compared to the data from the most residential district researched, the area around the streets of Maskavas iela and Blaumaņa iela, where 83 (10%) signs were found (Table 7.5). This area has Soviet-style housing blocks that rarely attract tourists or business from outside Rēzekne. The general LL pattern of Rēzekne is confirmed here – Latvian is the strongest language by far, and English is more frequent than Russian. However, Russian is much stronger than in the town in total, with 6 of the total of 12 monolingual Russian signs found in this area, and with Russian appearing on 15.7% of all signs, more than double the 7.7% for the whole of Rēzekne.

English is very frequently used in Rēzekne in advertisements, and sometimes also in the names of shops. Specific information in English, on the other hand, is much less common. Similarly, romance languages enjoy high prestige and are seen as exotic and glamorous. Given the low spread of competence in French, Italian or Spanish, it cannot be assumed that these signs are meant to inform. German, by contrast, is used less for creating a prestigious image, and the quadrilingual tourism information plates reflect the economic potential of German-speaking tourists as well as historical links. Nevertheless, German appears in rather unexpected places, for instance at newspaper stands. It can be assumed, however, that most magazines in German are bought for their illustrations rather than for their language, as visual topics such as interior decoration or gardening predominate.

Table 7.5 Languages in the area of Maskavas/Blaumaņa iela

<i>Language</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Percentage in all Rēzekne</i>
Latvian	68	81.9	86.4
English	30	36.1	28.9
Russian	13	15.7	7.7
German	2	2.4	2.3
Spanish	1	1.2	1.9



English for prestige purposes in advertisements and company names in Rēzekne

The presence of Scandinavian languages can be explained in yet another way, as they are found mainly in company names or advertisements. The languages of Latvia's neighbours, Lithuanian and Estonian, are found surprisingly rarely, and often feature on advertisements or products by international companies that only have one version for the three countries.

Finally, it is worth noting that there is hardly any written presence of Latgalian in the LL of Rēzekne, as it only appears on seven signs or 0.8%, despite the fact that 62.1% of the population of Latgale report competence in Latgalian (cf. Table 7.1) and that it can frequently be heard in oral use. The instances where Latgalian does occur, however, are often highly marked, such as at a local radio station, a traditional café, a stone commemorating the deportation of part of the local population to Siberia in the 1940s and, very infrequently, in graffiti.

Qualitative Results

The more qualitative results of the research and their interpretation are drawn from spontaneous conversations and loosely pre-structured interviews with people in shops, cafés and other locations, and from the reactions and observations noted during the photographing. The questions asked in these conversations and interviews were related to our main research aims and the concepts underlying them, but were open-ended and didn't initially offer any information about our project, so that they would influence the answers as little as possible. If further asked, however, we were, of course, more than happy to explain our project.

As a point of departure, we were interested in four main categories of linguistic research:

- Linguistic competence – ways in which the signs reflect the linguistic competence of the population as a whole and of the people dealing with the signs.
- Usage/functions – which languages appear in which contexts.
- Attitudes – what opinions of languages and their use the signs reflect, including attitudes to our research.
- Legal provisions – where laws influence linguistic behaviour.

Throughout the research, several reactions reoccurred that may be summarised as follows:

- Significant differences between oral and written language use.
- Positive attitudes, often without further reflection, to a language, reinforcing a positive marketing image.
- A lack of knowledge about legal provisions and the language laws.
- Ignorance of the language(s) on display or a lack of written skills in that language.
- A lack of interest in the linguistic situation or a perceived inability to influence it.
- Anxiety or even hostility, to various degrees, towards us and our research.
- Interest in our research, expressed in open or hidden ways.

Table 7.6 provides an overview of these reactions, with typical situational examples, quotations and a suggested interpretation.

When these categories of reaction are put together with the quantitative results displayed above, the general dominance of Latvian over Russian can be explained by the legal provisions, the insecurity about what they allow, and sometimes directly by negative experiences with the language police, which have caused anxiety and hostility. On several occasions, the researchers were literally chased away when taking pictures of a shop. In many situations, an initially hostile reaction relaxed when we explained our aim and our background as scientists. The ignorance of the rules also explains the difference between oral and written language use. At the same time, occasional genuine interest in the research – such as from local radio and television stations, which were interested in the results for Latgalian – showed that there is a desire for more active discussion of linguistic issues among parts of the population and a desire to raise the currently low-level usage of Latgalian.

One conclusion of the research is that there is very little awareness of linguistic behaviour among the general public. Other answers displayed a superficial perception of languages and names: an employee of a beauty parlour called 'La Femme' reported that the shop owner thought that French was a 'beautiful language', and considered any further contemplation unnecessary. This perception is an instance of the use of

Table 7.6 Qualitative research categories with typical reactions and examples

<i>Research category</i>	<i>Feature</i>	<i>Example of research situation</i>	<i>Quotation</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
Functions	Difference in oral and written languages used	Oral use of Russian, or Latgalian in a shop – written signs only in Latvian with some English	'Russian shouldn't be visible'/'Latgalian is for oral, but not for written use'	Official language attitudes on 'good' written language are shared and followed more strictly than necessary
Functions/attitudes	Lack of interest/influence	Multilingual advertisements, products, company logos or similar	'I have never thought about which languages are used, why, and what they mean – advertisements are sent by the headquarters'	Lack of interest in language questions because of perceived lack of influence
Competence	Lack of language knowledge	English on display – no awareness what is written	'I don't know what is written there'	Lack of linguistic competence – English used for prestige
Competence/attitudes	Lack of written competence	Latgalian used orally – no knowledge and/or desire to write it	'I would write Latgalian but I am not sure how to'	Latgalian seen as an oral variety – in line with state ideological traditions
Attitudes	Positive attitudes to a language (marketing)	A French name of a beauty parlour – even if it cannot be understood by many customers	'The owner of the shop thinks that French is a beautiful language'	Exotic languages for prestige/marketing purposes only – whether the text can be understood is of little importance
Attitudes to research	Open interest in our project	Interest by Latgalian radio and TV station	'How can your research be beneficial to Latgalian?'	Desire to share experience of how to promote a language

Table 7.6 (Continued)

<i>Research category</i>	<i>Feature</i>	<i>Example of research situation</i>	<i>Quotation</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
Attitudes to research	Hidden interest in our project	Bus stops – reading explicitly what we took pictures of	At first non-verbal observation – interest but also distance when academic research is explained	Lack of openness/conflict avoidance and distant attitude to open discussion of language questions
Attitudes to research/legal provisions	Anxiety regarding our agenda	Spontaneous reactions about fulfilment of legal requirements	'Everything here is in Latvian'	Bad experience with language police; little awareness of language laws and how they allow non-Latvian signage
Attitudes to research/legal provisions	Hostility to the research	Threatening and chasing away when taking pictures	'You have no right to investigate what we are doing'	Bad experience with language police
Legal provisions	Lack of knowledge of provisions	Reaction to question why Russian is spoken in a shop but not in advertisements	'But we are not allowed to use other languages!'	Language laws and their underlying ideologies are successfully implemented

languages for prestige purposes – often initiated by central company decisions taken outside the region or even outside Latvia, so that local shop assistants have little influence on the languages on display. This tendency explains the high presence of English and more ‘exotic’ languages for marketing or prestige purposes, for example in most cases of signs featuring Norwegian. Equally, the few Polish or Lithuanian signs were almost exclusively put up by international companies and were not signs with local information – they can therefore be interpreted as a consequence of globalisation rather than evidence of the presence of these traditional minorities in the region. Russian, on the other hand, features mostly in its local rather than in its global function or as a language of international marketing, as it is mainly used for local private messages, with some exceptions such as for tourist information.

The fact that Russian is more common in situations where specific information needs to be transmitted, i.e. in bilingual job advertisements or in the Maskavas/Blaumaņa iela district, shows that people do want to write in Russian where they can. However, the overall picture remains that people are scared and suffer from a lack of knowledge about the regulations, otherwise Russian might be used much more regularly. This perceived lack of influence might also account for the limited use of Latgalian, and possibly of some local minority languages. Similarly, the lack of knowledge of the legal provisions also corresponds with the lack of Latgalian in the LL, and is in line with attitudes and the limited knowledge of written Latgalian.

Conclusion

From the results presented in the previous sections, it is possible to draw the following conclusions on the hierarchy of languages in the LL of Rēzekne:

- (1) Latvian has quantitative and qualitative dominance that is beyond doubt.
- (2) English is clearly the second language in frequency, despite relatively low general competence, but it is used mainly for symbolic functions.
- (3) Russian is the third language in frequency, and tends to be more present in residential areas and for informative rather than symbolic functions.
- (4) Other international languages are present either for prestige purposes or as the result of international marketing.
- (5) Latgalian is very rare but is used in some very prestigious contexts like the commemoration stone and the café.
- (6) Local minority languages are hardly present at all.

The main conclusions of the qualitative data may be summarised in the following points:

- Language use underlying the LL in Rēzekne is frequently determined by people's attitudes and emotions, including a complete lack of interest in languages.
- Attitudes are also reflected in the reactions to the researchers, both positively in the interest of promoting Latgalian, and negatively in the anxiety or hostility towards language legislation.
- A lack of linguistic competence is typical in other parts of the LL and in reactions to it, i.e. when people don't know the languages that they see in their everyday work.
- In general, the language policy of the State is well reflected in the LL, in particular the dominance of Latvian over Russian and Latgalian.
- The avoidance of 'undesired' varieties as a result of strict language laws and low linguistic awareness resembles the notion of hypercorrection and may therefore be labelled 'legal hypercorrection'.

I will now explain what I mean when proposing the concept of legal hypercorrection. As can be seen from the statistics, Russian is present far less in the LL of Rezekne than might be expected given the linguistic composition of society and the positive attitudes to the language displayed in the oral behaviour of large parts of the population. Taken alongside the quantitative results, the categories of linguistic behaviour identified in the research indicate that anxiety, hostility and ignorance of the law influence this behaviour. However, as already noted, language laws in Latvia do not prohibit the use of Russian entirely, as language policy and legislation allow the use of languages other than Latvian on any sign that does not concern the immediate sovereign functions of the State, if these languages are not more prominent than Latvian. This means that any information by a private business or any personal note may be in other languages in addition to Latvian. As a conclusion, it is therefore possible to state that the lack of written usage of Russian is the result of people's reaction to the laws rather than of the laws themselves.

The fact that language laws on written language in public in Latvia are followed to a higher degree than necessary may lead to a definition of the concept of legal hypercorrection, in analogy to the classic notion of 'hypercorrection' in sociolinguistics as introduced by Labov in the 1960s, which Bright (2002: 86), for instance, summarises as the way that speakers go 'beyond the highest-status group in adopting new prestige features'. Legal hypercorrection therefore shall denote the fulfilment of linguistic legal norms by language users to a higher degree than required by those who have created the laws.

So, to what extent does this term shed light on the issues discussed here? It contributes to explaining the phenomenon that, although they have the competence and a generally positive attitude to it, people don't use a language because language policy discourages them from using it. This is linked with a lack of knowledge and notions of anxiety and hostility towards legal provisions. In the context of Rēzekne and the post-Soviet reversal of language shift, Russian is regularly used for oral communication, but not in the written LL, although the overwhelming majority of the population received formal education in Russian and is literate in the language.

At the same time, legal hypercorrection in Rēzekne affects not only the use of Russian, but it also applies to Latgalian: because of ignorance about the status of Latgalian in language laws that recognise it but not in a clearly defined way, people feel insecure about using it in the written public space. In contrast to the lack of use of Russian, however, this is more difficult to interpret, since the misperception of the regulations is compounded by a lack of written competence since literacy in Latgalian has not been systematically promoted since the 1930s.

A major reason for the remarkable lack of consciousness about language legislation is a prevailing Soviet-legacy attitude among parts of the population that decisions are taken from above, as is reflected by those respondents who claimed a lack of influence, interest or knowledge of provisions about languages. At the same time, for historical reasons, State language policy neither openly encourages the use of Russian or Latgalian, nor explicitly spreads information about how languages other than Latvian may be used in public signage. The defensive attitude of the population to State authorities is a main explanation for the fear of the language police, as experienced through the hostile reactions during the research. It may therefore be concluded that legal hypercorrection in Latvia is based both on the desire to participate in prestigious domains that are associated with English and other Western European languages rather than with Russian, Polish or Latgalian, and on a lack of knowledge about the law and a fear of punishment by the authorities.

Finally, it may be assumed that the linguistic behaviour as identified through the LL research actually corresponds to the interests of official Latvian language policy, as life without knowledge of Latvian is made difficult. The results regarding the use of Russian beyond public signs show that the shaping of the LL does not prevent the speakers of Russian using Russian in less exposed contexts. At the same time, because of the use of English mainly for prestige purposes and the population's relatively low competence in English, there is currently little fear that English might take over any domains from Latvian. Additionally, as concerns Latgalian, centralised language planning authorities in Riga are arguably not unhappy to see that there is a certain level of confusion

about how it may be used on signs and that its speakers have not started to use their language more frequently in the written public domain. Traditional patterns of prestige and of people's insecurity in using the oral language of their choice in written signage thus prevail, despite the language legislation being more favourable towards such use.

Acknowledgements

A warm 'Thank you!' to Sanita Lazdiņa for her help in planning and conducting the research, to the students of the Master's of Philology course at Rēzekne University College for their interest and for making the research excursions very enjoyable – in particular to Solvita Pošeiko, Sandra Murinska, Reģina Paegle and Daina Rutkovska – and to Rēzekne University College for its financial support. I am also deeply grateful to Loulou Edelman (Amsterdam) for sharing her list of LL parameters with us.

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