Typisch Frysk?

Stancetaking in the linguistic landscape of
Fryslân

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Abstract

Although Westlauwersk Frisian has an official status in the Netherlands, recent studies have revealed an ongoing decrease in the use of Frisian in the family context. At the same time, the language still has a central position in everyday life in the bilingual province of Fryslân. This thesis explores de facto language policies regarding Frisian. More specifically, by using a multimodal approach, it aims to identify stances toward this minority language, indexed in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân. As the linguistic landscape has been regarded as a powerful policy mechanism, both reflecting and influencing language ideologies, and eventually language practices, the study of beliefs beyond naïve signs in Frisian public space might be relevant to language maintenance questions.

Keywords

Contents

1. Introduction

This thesis studies the linguistic landscape of the province of Fryslân in the northern part of the Netherlands. More specifically, it examines in which ways the Frisian language appears in public signage, and how the use of the language in combination with other Frisian and non-Frisian elements indicates attitudinal stances toward the Frisian minority language. Moreover, the particular appearance of Frisian-ness in public space is discussed in relation to language politics, with language maintenance efforts in particular.

As a result of an over a century-long emancipation process, the Frisian language has gained a relatively strong formal position in the province of Fryslân. From the first official Frisian spelling in 1879 onwards, the efforts of individual citizens, organisations and the provincial government have among other things led to the establishment of the research institute the *Fryske Akademy* [*Frisian Academy*]. By the same token, Frisian became an obligatory subject in primary and the first year of secondary education. What is more, in 2014 Frisian was formally recognised as the second official language in the Netherlands (Klinkenberg 2017). Furthermore, except for more general developments in the field of status and corpus planning, such as the determination of a standard variety and the production of lexicons and grammars (cf. Haugen 1966), efforts of the *Fryske Akademy*, the province and other actors have in recent years brought several online language tools such as dictionaries and spelling checkers. Two years ago, Frisian was even added to Google Translate.

Despite all these policy developments, the educational researcher Geert Driessen (2016) recently presented a significant fall in the use of spoken Frisian among school children and their parents over the last twenty years. In Driessen's opinion the language may disappear within two generations (Klinkenberg 2017, De Galan 2016). Driessen's findings were not left undisputed. Edwin Klinkenberg, for instance, questioned Driessen's methodology and pointed out that half of the Frisian population still speaks Frisian (Van den Berg 2016, cf. Provinsje Fryslân 2015). It is Klinkenberg's belief that Frisian still plays an important role in everyday life in Fryslân (Klinkenberg 2017).

However, Klinkenberg's own report (2017) of a recently conducted, large language-sociological study also concludes that both proficiency and use of Frisian have decreased over the past fifty years, although his results present a less radical decline than Driessen's study (2016). According to Klinkenberg, some of the reasons why Frisian has lost ground in a society within which the use of the language has become more and more legitimate, are larger societal developments such as an improved infrastructure and a growing economy. Both have contributed to regional migration from and toward Fryslân, and the loss of the relatively isolated position of Fryslân and Frisian (2017). In other words, language contact between Dutch and Frisian has intensified over the last century.

All in all, Klinkenberg states that the situation for Frisian could have been worse without the policy efforts of the provincial government (2017, cf. Van de Velde 2016). He refers to the planning and implementation of formal policies within the provincial organisation itself, the financing of language projects and development of teaching materials. In the current

thesis, though, policy is regarded as not only covering such language *management* and planning efforts, but also the actual *practices* of a speech community, as well as collective beliefs or *ideologies* about a variety and its use (cf. Spolsky 2004, Shohamy 2006). Because "language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority" (Spolsky 2004: 8).

In relation to language shift, Spolsky writes that it is policies at the level of the family that eventually influence language maintenance and loss (2004: 42). Indeed, it is primarily within the family home a language is passed on from one generation to the next. Both Klinkenberg's report (2017) and Driessen's study (2016) indicate that Frisian is used less and less as a home language and that the position of Dutch in Frisian homes increases. This observation, however, cannot *only* be explained by the "import of Dutch speakers" as a consequence of the demographical and economic developments as described above (Klinkenberg 2017: 26). The growing position of Dutch within the home does not, for instance, answer the questions why some Frisian-speaking parents decide to raise their children in Dutch and why some children answer their Frisian parents in Dutch, issues that could be seen in the same line as why parents question the usefulness of Frisian in education, and that pupils seem to be more motivated to learn English and Dutch than Frisian (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2010). Rather, these choices could have to do with the *values* ascribed to each of these languages. Because beliefs that one language has a higher value than another can influence the behaviour or practices of a speaker (Spolsky 2014). Therefore, in order to get an idea of the real policies (Shohamy 2006) regarding Frisian, apart from studying *practices*, formal policies or *management*, research on *ideologies* or beliefs about Frisian is important in the language maintenance debate.

Current research about Frisian deals for instance with the number of "mother tongue speakers" and language proficiency in Fryslân (e.g., Provinsje Fryslân 2015), cognitive effects of Dutch-Frisian bilingualism in relation to learning (e.g., Günther-van der Meij 2018) and language variation and dialects (e.g., Van Sluis, Hoekstra and Van de Velde 2015). Although the "language attitude" factor is sometimes included in quantitative studies, for instance about Frisian writing practices among adolescents on social media (Jongbloed-Faber 2014), recent, more qualitative, sociolinguistic studies focussing on language attitudes and beliefs appear to be less common, let alone studies that concentrate on language practices in relation to underlying beliefs. A forthcoming sociolinguistic PhD project by Nika Stefan (cf. Stefan, Klinkenberg and Versloot 2015) that is related to the earlier mentioned language-sociological study (cf. Klinkenberg 2017) will include the language attitude of the speaker in relation to language use, the results of which might be interesting for language policy questions.

The current thesis aims to map a part of present de facto policies (Shohamy 2006) regarding Frisian in order to shed light on beliefs about the Frisian language and its speech community. For this purpose, the linguistic landscape of Fryslân is used as a resource, as it is both reflecting language practices and the ideologically-influenced values ascribed to them (cf. Shohamy 2006, Cenoz and Gorter 2006, Gorter, Marten and Van Mensel 2012).

Before the concept of linguistic landscapes and recent linguistic landscape studies in

Fryslân will be presented in chapter 2, the next section provides some background information about Frisian in the province of Fryslân, the Netherlands (chapter 1.1). Chapter 3 presents the methodology and analytical framework of this study. Subsequently, the analysis of the data will be presented in chapter 4. After the analysis, the results will be discussed in chapter 5. The thesis finishes with a conclusion in chapter 6.

1.1 Frisian in Fryslân

The Westlauwersk Frisian language is nowadays mostly spoken within the borders of the province of Fryslân in the northern part of the Netherlands (figure 2, cf. Gorter, Van der Meer and Riemersma 2008). In May 2017, the area counted 646,815 inhabitants (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2017). In 2015, around 55 percent of the population reported to have Frisian as their first language, while almost 76 percent spoke Frisian well or very well and almost 94 percent of the inhabitants understood spoken Frisian. The same report revealed that almost 52 percent read Frisian well or very well, while only a small group of 14.5 percent said to have good to very good writing competency in Frisian (Provinsje Fryslân 2015).

Frisian is not only the second official language in the Netherlands along with Dutch, but has also been recognised as a European minority language since the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages by the Netherlands in 1996 (Council of Europe 2018). Together with the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, ratified in 2005, the European Charter functions as a starting point for the most recent agreement between the state of the Netherlands and the Frisian government about the protection of the Frisian minority language (Provinsje Fryslân 2013).

The province of Fryslân has its own flag, as presented in figure 1. The so-called *pompeblêden* or water lily leaves represent seven historical parts of Fryslân and are frequently visible in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân. Two other relevant aspects of the current situation in Frisian that play a role in this study are the fact that the capital of the province, the town of Leeuwarden, is the European Capital of Culture in 2018, referred to as Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 below, and the *Praat mar Frysk* language campaign. Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 is relevant for the current thesis because the Frisian language and culture are central aspects of the project, which is also reflected in signage in the linguistic landscape (cf. figure 9, 18). The *Praat mar Frysk* [*Just speak Frisian*] campaign encourages the use of Frisian among companies and private persons. On their blog *Frysk op 'e dyk* [*Frisian on the road*], pictures taken by followers who have stumbled upon written Frisian "on the road" are published (Praat mar Frysk n.d., Frysk op 'e dyk n.d.). Mainly because this blog has played a role in the data analysis, the organisation is mentioned here.
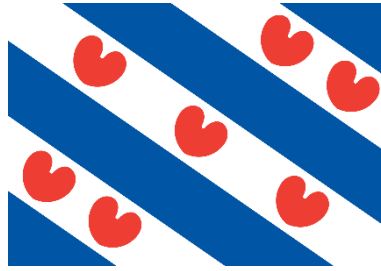
Figure 1. Frisian flag

Figure 2. The province of Fryslân in the Netherlands

2. Literature review

2.1 Linguistic landscapes: emergence of the field

From the 1960s onwards, sociolinguists have studied the role of language in society. In recent years, some of these scholars have focused on the way *written* displays of language are used, instead of the traditionally studied *spoken* language varieties in particular social contexts (Vandenbroucke 2016: 44). One of the essential advantages of studying written language practices is that these displays represent *factual* language practices, instead of speakers' interpretations of their language habits and competencies. The latter information is usually gathered through surveys and interviews (cf. Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

The interest in the role of written language on public signs such as billboards, street signs and place names arose among Belgian and Canadian language planners, who recognised the importance of "marking the boundaries of linguistic territories" through the language use on these signs (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 24). According to Landry and Bourhis, we owe the concept of linguistic landscape to language conflicts between the French-speaking and Dutch-speaking communities in Belgium, where a linguistic border was realised by the systematic use of unilingual signs in Dutch and French (1997).

Landry and Bourhis' own paper (1997) has played an important role for the theoretical foundation of linguistic landscape studies. Although the notion of linguistic landscape has expanded, many studies still build on their clear definition:

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> 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 (1997: 25).

Studying these linguistic displays in public space is especially helpful for understanding multilingual contexts in places which due to globalisation have become linguistically more diverse than ever (Blommaert 2010). In the complex web of towns, villages and neighbourhoods where traces of migration, language contact, the international exchange of goods and digital communication are visible "language or semiotic patterns may be one of the clearest and most sensitive indicators of globalization processes" (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck 2005: 206). It is against this background of multilingualism in a globalised era that the field of linguistic landscape studies has presented itself as "a new approach to multilingualism" (Gorter 2006), offering an innovative methodological *approach* by looking at language choices visible in this new *object* of empirical inquiry (Vandenbroucke 2016).

It is the goal of the researcher to "describe and identify systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces and to understand the motives, pressures, ideologies, reactions and decision making of people regarding the creation of public signage" (Shohamy 2012: 538). These patterns are not random, but rather, as Shohamy (2012) indicates, subjected to language ideologies, and related to identities, power relations and individual considerations (Shohamy and Gorter 2009, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

The linguistic landscape not only reflects the language choices of linguistic landscape authors or sign makers, but has also been considered to influence the reader. In their seminal study, Landry and Bourhis (1997) suggest that the visibility of the "in-group language" contributes to beliefs concerning the vitality of the studied francophone communities in Canada. French displays on public signs seemed to influence the way the French-speaking community perceived the position of French in terms of ethnolinguistic vitality. In addition, Landry and Bourhis pointed to a "carryover effect" of the linguistic landscape on language behaviour, implying that the presence of the in-group language in signs "may act as a stimulus for promoting the use of one's own language in a broad range of language use domains" (1997: 45). These two findings could be summarised in the notion of the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, as suggested by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and as explained below. For a still increasing number of studies concerning language ideologies and policy, minority languages and revitalisation, the view on a linguistic landscape as a "symbolic construction of the public space" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) serves as a starting point.

2.2 Symbolic construction of the public space

According to Landry and Bourhis, the linguistic landscape has both a symbolic and an informational function (1997). As the case of Belgium explained above, on the one hand, a basic informational function of the linguistic landscape is that it indicates the geographical territory of a particular speech community. Besides, it can reflect the predominance of one language over another in terms of power and status (Landry and Bourhis 1997). On the other hand, assuming that the inclusion of one's own language on public signs affects the feeling of

membership of a particular language group and that the in-group language has value and status, the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape is reflected in the presence or absence of a language. One could say that the symbolic effect of whether such a language appears in the landscape or not is most salient in multilingual settings, where the language concerned can function as a strong identity marker of ethnolinguistic groups (Landry and Bourhis 1997). In contrast, the exclusion of the in-group language, Landry and Bourhis suggest, can give the impression that it is not valued and has little status in society. This includes the idea that the language concerned is of small importance for conducting public affairs, through its absence "reinforcing a diglossic situation to the advantage of the dominant language" (1997: 28).

Landry and Bourhis' view (1997) on the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape resonates in later works by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). As to the first study, Cenoz and Gorter just like Landry and Bourhis (1997) assume that the linguistic landscape reflects "the relative power and status of the different languages in a specific sociolinguistic context" (2006: 67). Simultaneously, the display of written languages in public space contribute to the sociolinguistic context: because "people process the visual information that comes to them", the languages in which signs are written can influence the perception of the status of these different languages, and, in accordance with the carryover effect as described by Landry and Bourhis (1997), even affect the language behaviour of readers (Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 68).

Ben-Rafael et al. explicitly call the linguistic landscape of Israel "a symbolic construction of the public space" (2006). They argue that the linguistic landscape items they studied in Israel are not fully representative of the linguistic repertoires of the different language communities examined, but rather of only the resources used in the public sphere by a variety of actors. According to Ben Rafael et al., the use of these resources not necessarily implies knowledge of the language to which they belong. Instead, they argue, the use of linguistic resources that are responsible for the languages patterns in the linguistic landscape of Israel can be explained by three factors: (1) power relations, (2) the presentation of the self and (3) rational considerations (2006).

The first factor is inspired by a Bourdieusian field perspective and hypothesises that the relationship between different codes in the linguistic landscape can be explained by power relations between dominant and subordinate groups (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Secondly, a Goffmanian approach forms the hypothesis that social action in terms of language in signs is determined by the actors' drive to present oneself. Such "presentations of the self" can be expected to become visible when communities use a particular language to mark their linguistic identity. Finally, the third hypothesis is based on Boudon's view on social action, which assumes that actor choices are determined by rational considerations of alternates or interests vis-à-vis the audience, which Boudon calls "good reasons" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

2.3 Language policy and language ideology

Ever since the language planners mentioned above became interested in language in public space, language planning and policy have been one of the main topics in linguistic landscape

studies (Vandenbroucke 2016). A recurrent element in studies on language policy is language ideology, which can be described as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (Irvine 1989: 255). Language ideology both derives from and influences language practices, which makes it a decisive factor in the interplay between policy and practice: these sets of beliefs "can be a basis for language management or a management policy can be intended to confirm or modify them" (Spolsky 2004: 14).

In line with the power relations hypothesis as defined by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), one of the co-authors of the article, Shohamy, describes the linguistic landscape as one of the policy mechanisms that are used by mostly authorities in order to overtly and covertly perpetuate *de facto* language policies (2006). Thereby, one could say, she makes a connection between the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape as described by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and language policy:

> The presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice. Thus, the presence (or absence) of specific language items, displayed in specific languages, in a specific manner, sends direct and indirect messages with regard to the centrality versus the marginality of certain languages in society. This display of language transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages and the people and groups they represent (Shohamy 2006: 110).

These de facto or "real" policies "fall in the midst of manipulations and battles" between language ideology and practice, in which groups and individuals have turned a free, dynamic means of communication into labelled, demarcated entities in order to "exercise control over the language space" (Shohamy 2006: xv). As the linguistic landscape as a policy tool reflects the ideologies beyond the implementation of these different de facto policies and the "battles" between them, language ideologies can (and should) be deduced through the practices created as results of policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006: xv).

In order to understand the ideological struggles between various actors expressed in their language policies, i.e. practices, in a large number of studies the dichotomy of official top-down and private bottom-up signs is used. According to Ben-Rafael et al. for instance, "the former are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture, while the latter are designed much more freely according to individual strategies" (2006: 10). However, this distinction is criticised for being too simplistic by for instance Kallen (2010). In his view, the linguistic landscape is not a single system in which official and private signs compete with each other, but a "confluence of systems, observable within a single visual field but operating with a certain degree of independence between elements" (Kallen 2010: 42).

Kallen's view on the linguistic landscape as one consisting of "parallel universes" results in a focus on different spatial frameworks (2010: 42). These frameworks include the civic frame, the marketplace and the community, and could be complemented by further categories, as the school, for instance, and portals, like harbours and airports. The civic frame comprises the organs of the state, while the marketplace includes signs belonging to the world of

commerce and business. The community consists of non-commercial actors such as sports clubs and other associations (Kallen 2010).

2.4 Discourses in place, indexicality and multimodality

Kallen's application of spatial frameworks (2010) highlights the discursive character of the linguistic landscape. That is, each of the categories above, including the governing civic frame, the marketplace and the community encompasses the discourses operating within these frames, entered into by interlocutors and their accompanying expressions in signs (Kallen 2010). Consequently, "each system can be seen as a separate answer to the fundamental question that Goffman (1974) poses in defining discourse frames: 'What is going on here?'" (Goffman 1974: 25, cited in Kallen 2010: 42).

Kallen's focus on discourses in linguistic landscapes correlates with Scollon and Scollon's work on "discourses in place" (2003). In short, their geosemiotics is based on the idea that signs only exist when they are located in the material world; language and other semiotic systems receive their social meaning through the interaction with this real world (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The connection between semiotic systems and the material world that gives signs their social meaning is constituted through indexicality. Like smoke indexes fire, signs index social events beyond their visual representation by their "semiotic property of pointing to other things" (Kallen 2009: 273).

Just like Kallen (2009, 2010) Scollon and Scollon regard signs as a form of discourse through which our social actions produce meaning (2003). Two fields that intersect with social action and which are helpful for understanding the social and political meaning of the composition and emplacement of signs are those of visual semiotics and place semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Scollon and Scollon's visual semiotics (2003) are in fact the equivalents of embodied forms of face-to-face discourse, which Goffman called the interaction order. The interaction order captures how we physically take up space, meet others, make movements or remain completely still; whatever we do, we "communicate *something* to those who are there to view us as objects in their worlds" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 45, original emphasis). The disembodied representations of the interaction order can be found in language and other semiotic systems in signs. When they are located in the real world, words, pictures and other visual forms can among other things index time and interpersonal distances (Scollon and Scollon 2003). For instance, the sense of interpersonal distance can be represented by the size of a picture within its frame: a close-up shot of a face can visually represent closeness (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Importantly, this example demonstrates that other semiotic systems than linguistic ones are used in interpersonal discourse. Indeed, "[i]n the era of multimodality semiotic modes other than language are treated as fully capable of serving for representation and communication" (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001: 46). For this reason, a number of studies uses the term semiotic landscape instead of linguistic landscape.

The grammar of place semiotics, then, offers systems for analysing the code preference, inscriptions and the emplacement of signs. Because "how and where [words are] placed, the

letterforms of those words, and the materials out of which they [are] made [are] a central part of their socio-political meaning" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: xi). The system of code preference, for example, is based on the fact that when multiple codes or orthographies are used, there is a system of preference because these elements cannot be in exactly the same location at the same time (Scollon and Scollon 2003). The visual choices as described in the systems of code and place semiotics, in turn, can index ideologies toward involved languages, because "the presence or absence of a language, in combination with the type (or genre) of signs, their contents and style, are indicative of public and private language ideologies" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 11).

By regarding the linguistic landscape as a form of discourse or "a speech act which takes place where the sign takes place" (Kallen 2009: 272), Kallen draws attention to the complexity of signage (2009). In a similar way to how multiple relationships are always going on simultaneously in the interaction order (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003), discourse in the form of signs is polysemous. Kallen (2009) suggests that our "pragmatic choices" displayed in signs are focussed on (1) deixis, (2) behaviour, (3) interaction and (4) cognition. When a (component of) a sign has a deictic function, it points to a particular place, time or person. A sign focussed on behaviour invites, regulates or exhorts; a sign with an interactional function can display greetings and leave-takings, humour and metalinguistic comments. The cognitive part of a message, finally, conveys information in the form of historical information, descriptions, legal notices, and so on (Kallen 2009).

Kallen's (2009) connection between the pragmatic choices behind speech acts and signage partly overlaps with the way in which other authors indicate the different functions of semiotic components of signs. Hult (2009), for instance, distinguishes between communicative or instrumental and metaphorical functions, where the communicative part of a message resembles Kallen's (2009) cognitive role. For example, the name of a store in Malmö called *Sun Shine Livs* [*Sunshine foodstuffs*], can be divided into the metaphorical "Sun Shine" in English and the communicative "Livs" in Swedish. The metaphorical function, in turn, correlates with Scollon and Scollon's (2003) symbolic use of a language, which indicates the sociocultural associations with the chosen code, rather than the local language proficiency (Vandenbroucke 2016). This distinction between symbolisation and geopolitical indexing can also be created or emphasised through the choice of fonts, code preference and other aspects of their visual semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Kallen's cognitive function (2009) and Hult's communicative or instrumental function (2009) are reminiscent of Roman Jakobson's referential function, as one of the six functions of language (1960). In Jakobson's theory, the referential, denotative or cognitive function of language refers to the context within which a message is conveyed, which in many cases is the most important task of a message. One of the other six functions of language according to Jakobson is the poetic function, which focusses on the message itself (1960). It is this focus on "the message for its own sake" (Jakobson 1960: 6) which the poetic function seems to have in common with the symbolic metaphorical (Hult 2009) or symbolic (Scollon and Scollon 2003) use of language, considering that the three of them are used for aesthetic

purposes or because of positive connotations, rather than referring to a (sociolinguistic) context like a communicative (Hult 2009) or cognitive (Kallen 2009, Jakobson 1960) function.

2.5 Minority languages, linguistic commodification and language revitalisation

With the words "[b]eing visible may be as important for minority languages as being heard", Gorter et al. introduced a volume focussing on minority languages in the linguistic landscape, expanding traditional research on minority languages (2012: 1). The central themes of the contributions to this collection are language ideologies and policy. As described above, these are common subjects in linguistic landscape research. However, studying signs through which "existing or presumed language prestige patterns and hierarchies [are confirmed or resisted]" may be extra relevant in a minority context because power issues, the struggle of speakers against structural disadvantages, and, ultimately, the maintenance or revitalisation of the language are central (research) topics for minority languages (Gorter et al. 2012: 1-2).

A subject related to language policy, ideology and revitalisation in a minority context is the commodification of language. Heller (2003) points out that the globalised new economy comes with shifts in language and identity, a process in which language has shifted from being understood as a marker of identity, to a marketable commodity in its own right, distinct from identity (Heller 2003). On the one hand, we see this transformation when linguistic proficiency becomes a commercial skill, for instance, in the form of a highly valued accent in call centres (cf. Blommaert 2010). On the other hand, and this is where especially ethnolinguistic minorities offer an insight into the processes of linguistic commodification, authenticity becomes a product in its own right, for instance, in the form of crafts or music in the tourism sector, sometimes accompanied by (symbolic) displays of the minority language (Heller 2003, Vandenbroucke 2016).

Regarding this latter form of linguistic commodification, Salo (2012) demonstrates where and how Sámi languages are used in the North Calotte region. Besides their visibility on institutional signs, politically emphasising the existence of an endangered language, and on festival signs, indicating a new type of multilingualism in which youths are involved, tourism is a lively domain in which Sámi languages play a role. Here, however, they are mostly used decoratively and with a small informative role; sometimes they seem even to be "more part of the visual expression than actual written language[s] with linguistic functions" (Salo 2012: 253). In relation to this, Salo puts the question to whom these displays are considered a language as opposed to just visual semiotics (2012). Regarding language vitality and revitalisation, she believes that on the one hand, the visibility of these images or parts of language with a new value is a step forward. On the other hand, it might "diminish the repertoire of functions for these indigenous languages and move them even further down in the local, national and global hierarchy of languages" (Salo 2012: 256).

2.6 Stance

In the sections above, we have followed the description of the linguistic landscape as a symbolically constructed space formed by power relations, "good reasons" and the expression of identities (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). As a language policy mechanism, it can be regarded as both influencing and maintaining language ideologies (Shohamy 2006, 2012). These ideologies, in turn, can become tangible when a certain language is present or absent (cf. Shohamy 2006), when it is ascribed or lacks a certain function (cf. Kallen 2009, Hult 2009) or when it does or does not appear in certain emplacements or situations, in a certain style or font, made of durable or temporary materials, et cetera (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003). The connection between the presence of a language, its function, emplacement, style, material, et cetera, and the language ideologies operating beyond the choice to (not) display a particular language can be crystallised in the concept of stancetaking.

In its basic form, the notion of stancetaking often refers to the way speakers position themselves in relation to their utterances (Du Bois 2007, Jaffe 2009). Du Bois (2007) defines stance as "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of value in the sociocultural field" (Du Bois 2007: 169). In other words, stance is realised by "a linguistic act which is at the same time a social act" (Du Bois 2007: 141), through which the stancetaker evaluates objects (*That's horrible*), positions subjects (*I'm glad*) and aligns with other subjects (*I agree*). In addition, this "linguistically articulated form of social action" has the power to "invoke presupposed systems of sociocultural value" (Du Bois 2007: 139). This means that taking a stance always entails some kind of evaluation, which in turn calls upon the value that is assigned to stance objects and referred to by the stancetaker through its particular stance.

Du Bois's (2007) explanation of stance concerns the value of a stance object or the position of a subject when indicated *through* a particular linguistic or non-linguistic code.[1] In a language ideology and policy context, however, the evaluative act (Du Bois 2007) of ascribing value to a particular code in the linguistic landscape takes place on a metalinguistic level. Here, the stance object *is* the code used.[2] How the choice to use or not to use a particular code in a particular situation indexes language ideologies is explained by Jaffe's notions of metasociolinguistic stances and patterns of choice (2009).

Metasociolinguistic stances refer to the display of an author position toward language

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[1] In the case of *That's horrible*, the object indexed by the deictic *That* is evaluated as *horrible*. Likewise, the subject *I* in *I'm glad* positions itself closely toward (the semantic content of) the word *glad*.

[2] The stancetaker positions itself toward a particular code when using it or not using it, using it in particular forms, functions and situations but not in other, simultaneously evaluating this code as highly-valued, authoritative, warm, informal, funny, et cetera.

ideologies and hierarchies. These attitudinal stances become noticeable when particular forms are more highly valued than others in particular situations and positions. Indeed, author stances are never neutral: every semantic option is selected among other possible codes (Jaffe 2009). By displaying a preference for a particular code over another, language hierarchies are challenged or left unchallenged, motivated by the underlying assumptions and associations with the linguistic variables concerned (Jaffe 2009). In other words, such patterns of (code) choice index stances through which authors align or disalign themselves with language ideologies (Jaffe 2009). As language ideologies both derive from and influence practices (Spolsky 2004), patterns of choice can be interpreted "as stances in which language ideologies are simultaneously a resource and an object" (Jaffe 2009: 25).

In short, the way in which a particular code is displayed in signs, or its absence in the linguistic landscape, indexes a metasociolinguistic stance toward this code, an attitudinal stance which in turn can be indexical of (an alignment with) particular language ideologies. In the current study, the concept of stance is used to identify language ideologies behind the choices for (not) displaying Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes in signs, in order to get an idea of Frisian de facto policies (Shohamy 2006). What stances are indexed when a Frisian code does or does not appear in a particular composition, font, style, size, material or place? Within the context of language policy, stances toward Frisian function as a connection between practice and ideology (Shohamy 2006), the sign as a form of practice indexing stances which point to particular beliefs about Frisian-ness. As signs in public space may have the potential to influence the perception of a language (Cenoz and Gorter 2006) and maintain language ideologies (Shohamy 2006), it may be worth paying attention to mechanisms behind innocent signs on the Frisian street.
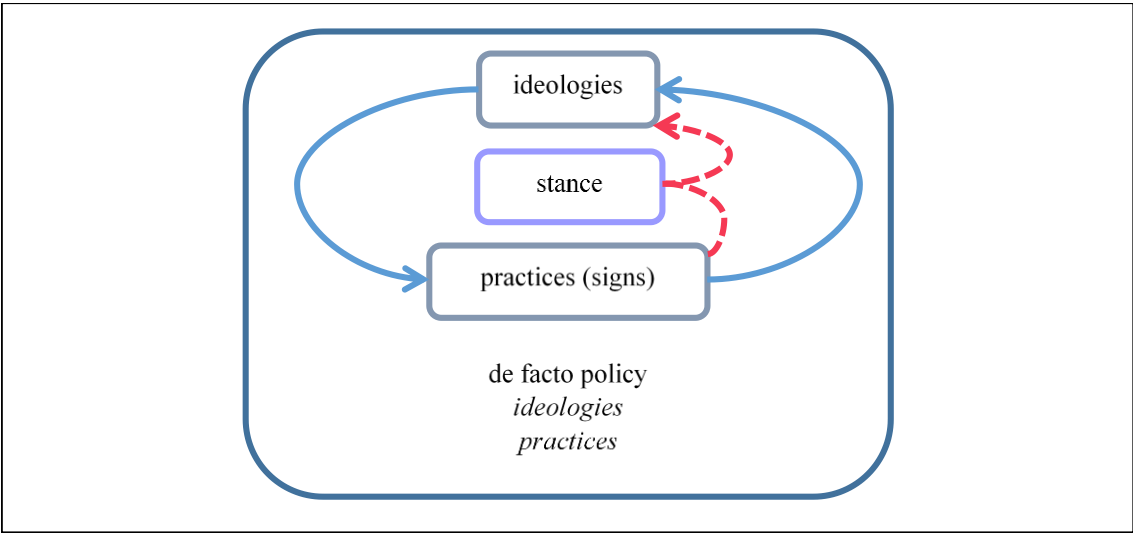

Figure 3. The interaction between ideology and practice and the function of stance. Based on model in Shohamy (2006: 58)

2.7 Linguistic landscaping in Fryslân

A handful of researchers has studied the linguistic landscape of Fryslân, among whom Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Edelman (2010, 2014) and Bierma (2008). Similarly, an early study has been conducted by Van der Ploeg-Posthumus (2003). What these four studies have in common is that they all have counted the presence of Frisian in one or more shopping streets.

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) compared the visibility of Frisian in a shopping street in Leeuwarden with the presence of Basque in a similar street in Donostia-San Sebastián, and connected their results to local language policies. They demonstrated that in both cities the majority languages Dutch and Spanish enjoyed the dominant positions in the linguistic landscape. As regards the visibility of Frisian in the linguistic landscape of Leeuwarden, only 3 percent of the studied signs were in Frisian-only. In additionally 2 percent of the cases Frisian appeared on bilingual signs along with Dutch. When a third or fourth language was involved, Frisian was never included.

In comparison, Basque appeared more frequently in the linguistic landscape of Donostia-San Sebastián than Frisian in Leeuwarden: 12 percent of the signs in the shopping street were in Basque only and Basque was visible in combination with Spanish on another 22 percent of the signs. Unlike the case of Frisian, Basque appeared together with both Spanish and English in 10 percent of the cases and even alone with English on 2 percent of the studied signs. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) concluded that the effect of a strong language policy to protect the minority language in Basque was reflected in the linguistic landscape of Donostia-San Sebastián, whereas the absence of such a policy in the Netherlands explained the marginal position of Frisian in Leeuwarden. More generally, the study demonstrated that the linguistic landscape is not necessarily an indicator of the vitality of a language, considered that Basque appeared more frequently in signs than Frisian, although the latter is stronger as an everyday oral language (Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

Cenoz and Gorter (2006) also looked at the particular positions of the minority languages on the studied signs. For instance, Frisian was in 2 percent of the cases regarded as the first or most prominent language on bilingual signs, and was observed to have a larger size than Dutch on 3 percent of these signs. By the same token, in 3 percent of the bilingual displays Frisian was considered to convey more information than the Dutch text, compared to 72 percent in the opposite situation. Moreover, in no less than 94 percent of these signs the Frisian text was displayed in another font than the Dutch text.

Even though the numbers above imply that the function of Frisian in most cases differed from the role of Dutch, the nature of the visual differences between Frisian and Dutch in both prominence, size and design were not discussed in the article. However, as mentioned earlier, the particular form in which an utterance appears is important when studying the relationship between language policy and the linguistic landscape because the style and genre of the languages presented are indicative of the particular language ideologies operating in the interaction between policy and practice (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010, Shohamy 2006).

Whereas Cenoz and Gorter (2006) only studied the commercial landscape of Leeuwarden, in Edelman's (2010, 2014) and Bierma's (2008) studies a larger town, and in the first

additionally a "rural village" are included, which might explain why the amount of Frisian in signs in these cases was somewhat higher: as mentioned above, Cenoz and Gorter (2006) encountered a Frisian text in 5 percent of the counted signs, compared with 10 percent and 9 percent respectively in Edelman's (2010, 2014) and Bierma's (2008) studies. Van der Ploeg-Posthumus, who studied one side of the same shopping street as Cenoz and Gorter (2006) but three years earlier, did not find a single Frisian word in the research area concerned (2003), suggesting that the time factor could be an additional explanation why the later studies by Edelman (2010, 2014) and Bierma (2008) demonstrate a higher amount of Frisian in signs. Anyhow, the four studies point to a modest position of Frisian in the commercial linguistic landscape.

The quantitative studies of the shopping streets by Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Bierma (2008) and Edelman (2010, 2014) particularly concern areas with commercial signs. Because of the diversity of "good reasons" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) behind the display of a language, one would expect different applications of Frisian outside the commercial field. A broader view on the linguistic landscape in Fryslân is already provided by Van der Ploeg-Posthumus (2003), who examined the presence of Frisian within what Kallen (2010) would call the civic frame, the marketplace, the community and the school in Leeuwarden and a number of surrounding villages. Within the first framework, covering the provincial government, water boards and some municipalities, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus (2003) observed that Frisian was used in signs indicating names and shorter texts, while longer, informing texts mostly were in Dutch. As to the marketplace, the community and the school, Frisian was visible in names of shops, schools, health facilities, in shorter texts and greetings from commercial concerns, in texts on memorial stones, art pieces and statues, and in the form of poem lines on garbage trucks. Frisian was also present on gravestones, which in the past had been referred to as a "language mirror" by Zondag and Zondag (1994). The results of the counted signs in three shopping streets, two in Leeuwarden and one in a larger village, demonstrated a very low visibility of Frisian (Van der Ploeg-Posthumus 2003).

Van der Ploeg-Posthumus (2003) also paid attention to the policy contexts in which government signs appeared, as well as to the motivations of private actors behind language choice. Moreover, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus inspected the particular use of Frisian. For instance, as mentioned above, she made a distinction between names or shorter indications and longer, informational texts. She even noticed the decorative role of Frisian in the commercial field and the use the language "as a means for offering an added value" in tourism (2003: 28, my translation). However, although Van der Ploeg-Posthumus points to the role of language in signs in processes of language maintenance and change, the question whether a particular (symbolic) use of Frisian affects the position of the language in society is left undiscussed in her early study (2003). Rather, she seems to promote the visibility of Frisian in any form. For instance, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus recommends an increased use of Frisian "in the display of Frisian cultural values, […] with an emphasis on history, poems in public spaces, inscriptions on art pieces and historic buildings" (2003: 35, my translation). In another example, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus seems to value the use of a "catchy" Frisian

phrase in a national TV advert, and the observation that it was adopted and repeated even by people outside Fryslân (2003: 28).

Furthermore, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus studied the motives behind shop owners' language choice, the results of which correspond to Bierma's (2008) interview results. For her master thesis, Bierma interviewed linguistic landscape actors in the shopping street in the smaller town that was later also studied by her supervisor Edelman (2010, 2014). The results explain why shop owners and managers decided to use Frisian or leave the language behind. Main reasons for including or excluding Frisian in signs were identity-related and commercial motives, diverging from "I don't have a bond with Frisian" to "We feel closely connected to the language" and from "It [appears as] unsophisticated […] to Dutch people, they might avoid the shop for it" to "It is good for the business too, it makes us stand out" (Bierma 2008: 30-31). Also aesthetic motives played a role in using or not using Frisian: in the cases where Frisian-only was not an option, including the language on multilingual signs was neither regarded positively because that would result in chaotic and "ridiculous-looking" layouts (Bierma 2008: 32). Bierma's findings (2008) could be seen in the broader context of Van Langevelde (1999, 2001), who found that references to the minority language in business names, as well as the use of Frisian in the workplace and in customer contact have a positive effect on the companies concerned and the economy of Fryslân in general.

2.8 Research questions

In short, the above studies pointed out a modest position of Frisian in the (commercial) linguistic landscape of Fryslân, which can be explained by Ben-Rafael et al.'s hypothesis of power relations (2006). Dutch is the dominant and unmarked language, even in Fryslân (Gorter 2001). To some degree, the reviewed papers shed light on motivations behind shop owners' language choices, correlating with Ben-Rafael et al.'s presentation of the self and good reasons hypotheses. Also, the role of the Frisian linguistic landscape "in processes of language maintenance and change" (Van der Ploeg-Posthumus 2003: 35) has only been discussed to some degree. Although Bierma (2008) points out that "[t]he current linguistic landscape of Fryslân reinforces the dominant position of Dutch" and that "[i]t may be worth considering the [linguistic landscape] as an instrument in Frisian language planning" (2008: 3), based on the limited visibility of Frisian and author motivations behind their language choice, the link between research results in the above studies and language policy, planning and ideology remains there. Moreover, the question in which way Frisian *does* appear in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân has only been discussed to a limited extent, let alone the question what this particular use means for the position of Frisian in terms of language policy. Finally, even if every now and then a water lily leaf is included in the above studies "Frisian" mainly refers to the language, thereby overlooking the ways in which "Frisian-ness" can be conveyed through semiotic codes other than linguistic ones, and the ways in which a multimodal approach can contribute to an understanding of language ideologies operating in Fryslân.

The aim of the current thesis is to broaden the view on Frisian in the linguistic landscape of

Fryslân as provided by the studies mentioned above. Firstly, this study builds on the previous studies by using a qualitative approach, in order to specify in what ways Frisian is (not) used in signs, where (not) and by whom (not). Thereby, the focus of the observations will neither be limited to the commercial landscape, nor to a small demarcated area, so that even non-commercial displays can be included in the picture. Secondly, the current study aims to clarify the relationship between Frisian-ness in the linguistic landscape, on the one hand, and Frisian language policy and ideology, on the other, in order to be able to intensify the discussion about the use of the linguistic landscape in relation to language maintenance questions. In the discussion about policy, not only official policy documents, but rather de facto policies covering ideology and actual language use need to be taken into consideration (Shohamy 2006). In order to reach these policy questions, through particular stances toward Frisian indexed in signs, this study will not concentrate on linguistic displays only, but apply a multimodal approach, including the role of non-linguistic visual and place-related aspects of signs (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003) when identifying ideology-influenced author stances.

This thesis aims to answer the following questions:

1. Where are varieties of Frisian used in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân and by whom? Where are they absent?
2. In which ways do these Frisian codes appear in the landscape? What stances do they index?
3. What could the particular shape of the Frisian linguistic landscape mean in terms of language ideology and policy, and eventually, to language maintenance questions?

3. Methodology

The province of Fryslân became the research area for this qualitative linguistic landscape study. During the three weeks I was there to collect data, I took pictures of signs that either displayed a written text in Frisian, an image, emblem or colour pattern that reflected Frisian-ness, or signs that combined such linguistic and non-linguistic codes. In addition, because I was interested in how Frisian was used by authorities and private actors, and initially aimed to compare their respective policies with their practices, I kept Kallen's (2010) framework of discourse layers in mind and made sure to include signs belonging to the civic frame, the marketplace and the community. While my data collection grew, I realised that a fourth category was needed, namely one for the many signs displayed by private actors.

In addition to the "discourse category" of the signs, I took into account their locations and exact emplacements (Scollon and Scollon 2003) so that I would be able to approach each of them with the questions who had "uttered" the sign, who the viewer could be, in what social situation it appeared and whether the specific part of the material world in which it was placed was relevant to its meaning (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 3). Indeed, it could be the case that the use of Frisian on the main square in the less-Frisian capital of Leeuwarden would be different from a sign in a meadow in a thoroughly Frisian part of the countryside that is mainly viewed

by Frisian-speaking villagers.

I also took pictures of signs on which Frisian was not visible, because the absence of a language also conveys messages regarding its position in society (cf. Shohamy 2006). Within the civic frame, for instance, a sign belonging to the Council for the Judiciary and the Public Prosecution Service was entirely in Dutch, even though it is allowed to speak Frisian in court. Importantly, this example illustrates that I did not only take pictures of the signs, but also regarded them within their sociolinguistic and legal context. In order to get a picture as complete as possible of the position of Frisian in society, I explored policy documents concerning the legal position of Frisian in society and education, as well as the activities of language institutions, in addition to the knowledge and experiences that I have been gaining since my own childhood in Fryslân.

I clearly did not photograph every Frisian sign I encountered during my stay in the field, mainly because many signs have similar features. When you have seen one official Frisian street name, for instance, you have seen most of them. Indeed, there was no counting of signs in my approach, since my aim was to conduct an exhaustive qualitative analysis within the context of quantitative studies that preceded this one. As Blackwood (2014, 2015) has argued, such a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches forms an ideal methodology for linguistic landscape studies, in which "a quantitative data collection contextualizes language use, [while] a subsequent qualitative examination, along several vectors, avoids impressionistic conclusions about the correlation between visibility and vitality" (Blackwood 2015: 38). In the current case, a qualitative approach was necessary in order to identify attitudinal stances toward the languages used in signs on the basis of their appearances.

In the current study, the province of Fryslân represented the research area, as the borders of this region more or less coincide with the West Frisian language area (Gorter et al. 2008). It was not feasible to study the entire are in detail. However, a focus on a smaller field within the language area, such as a neighbourhood, would have excluded a lot of relevant material, because Frisian has another position in mainly Frisian-speaking communities compared to the centres of larger towns; therefore, I expected it to have varying functions in signs in each context. Considering the relatively low frequency of Frisian signs, concentrating on several small areas would not solve the problem: for instance, it would be hard to find a sign belonging to the discourse frame (Kallen 2010) of the national government and one belonging to the community within the same neighbourhood or municipality. For these reasons, I decided to explore the use of Frisian in the linguistic landscape of a larger area. The major part of my data comes from the former municipalities of Menameradiel, Franekeradeel, Boarnsterhim and Leeuwarden. The percentage of "mother tongue speakers" in these communities lies between fifty and seventy percent in the first three areas, and around thirty percent in the latter (Provinsje Fryslân 2011, 2015).

When people heard about my project, they sometimes sent me pictures of Frisian signs they had happened upon themselves and told me where they had found these examples; subsequently, I studied them in relation to my own data and included them in my data set. In a similar way, I monitored the ever-growing collection of photographs on the *Frysk op 'e dyk*

[*Frisian on the road*] blog, displaying pictures of Frisian signs taken by followers of the *Praat mar Frysk* language campaign (Frysk op 'e dyk n.d.). In the end, from my own collection of approximately two hundred and fifty pictures and a lot more signs − one picture often contained several signs − I selected those pictures for the analysis which best represented the pattern found in my photographs and observations.

I expect the results to be generalisable to all other communities in Fryslân in which Frisian-ness plays some role in daily life, not in the least in the form of a daily language. In my view, there is no reason to believe, that the Frisian in signs is used in another way in other regions in Fryslân than the ones included in this thesis. In the areas where less people have Frisian as a first language than in the municipalities studied in the current thesis, I expect that *if* Frisian appears in signs, it will be in a symbolical way in the first place, for instance in the context of tourism.

3.1 Analytical framework

When I started to analyse my data, it appeared that a focus on Kallen's discourse frames (2010) would not be the most relevant: it turned out that the way in which Frisian codes were used in signs were quite similar across all discourse layers. Nonetheless, I kept these categories in the analysis in order to substantiate where and by whom Frisian was used in signs, and in the discussion chapter to be able to discuss a particular use of Frisian in relation to language policies. My "map" of the distribution of Frisian signs within each discourse category (Kallen 2010) turned out to correspond with similar (earlier) observations made by Van der Ploeg-Posthumus, whose linguistic landscape study (2003) I encountered only after I had started to analyse my data.

A focus on the location of the signs did not form a striking pattern either: although a certain type of signs might be more likely to be found in one area than in another, "location" did not seem to work as a distinctive factor in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân in itself. In order to "get access" to the language ideologies behind the studied signs, I consequently started to focus on their visual and place semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) instead, of which a sign's emplacement is one aspect, and on the pragmatic functions (Kallen 2009) of the codes used. As described in section 2.4, visual semiotics refers to the ways in which signs and images represent the "real world" in which they are placed and in which we see them. The pictures, texts or persons (participants) visible in a sign, how they are related to one another (composition) and to the viewer, and their colours (modality) all communicate *something*, from for instance "new information" (on the right side of a composition) to "credibility" (a picture in "natural" colouration) and "intimacy" (a close-up shot of a face) (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 45, 84, 98).

Place semiotics includes (1) the code preference system, (2) the inscription system and (3) the emplacement system. In the first system, the main interest is the problem of several codes within one and the same sign: what happens when multiple codes appear within a single picture as in multilingual signs? Scollon and Scollon suggest that the preferred code is placed on top or on the left side of the secondary code, or in the centre of a composition with the

peripheral code around it (2003: 119-120). Secondly, the inscription system provides a system for analysing the role of fonts and material for their social meaning. For instance, a handwritten letterform can convey an informal, personal expression, and material can index gradations of durability and quality. The third system focuses on how the meaning of a sign can be influenced by its emplacement. The meaning of a garment price label, for instance, changes when it "transgresses" by leaving its "original place" and falling down on the street (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 146).

Next to visual semiotics and place semiotics, Kallen's earlier mentioned notion of pragmatic choices (2009) is used here to analyse Frisian signs: which codes express (1) deixis, (2) behaviour, (3) interaction or (4) cognition? When does Frisian, for instance, have a cognitive role? Is such a cognitive function associated with particular materials, fonts or emplacements? How is an interactional function of Frisian expressed? What stances do these functions indicate?

The visual semiotics, place semiotics and pragmatic functions of signs serve as analytical tools in the current study. In other words, the linguistic and non-linguistic codes used, the use of images, colours and font types, as well as the location and emplacement of a sign are regarded as those aspects of the language practices (Shohamy 2006) or speech acts (Kallen 2009, Malinowski 2009) that point to the beliefs about and associations with a Frisian language and culture. The concepts of stance and indexicality, in turn, function as connections between these visual aspects on the one hand, and ideology on the other. That is, each of a sign's visual and physical characteristics is considered to *index* a certain metasociolinguistic stance (Jaffe 2009), which points to beliefs about the language used in the composition of the sign.

ideologies

stance

practices (signs)

de facto policy
ideologies
practices

visual semiotics
participants, codes, elements
modality
composition

place semiotics
code preference system
inscription system
emplacement system

pragmatic functions
deixis
behaviour
interaction
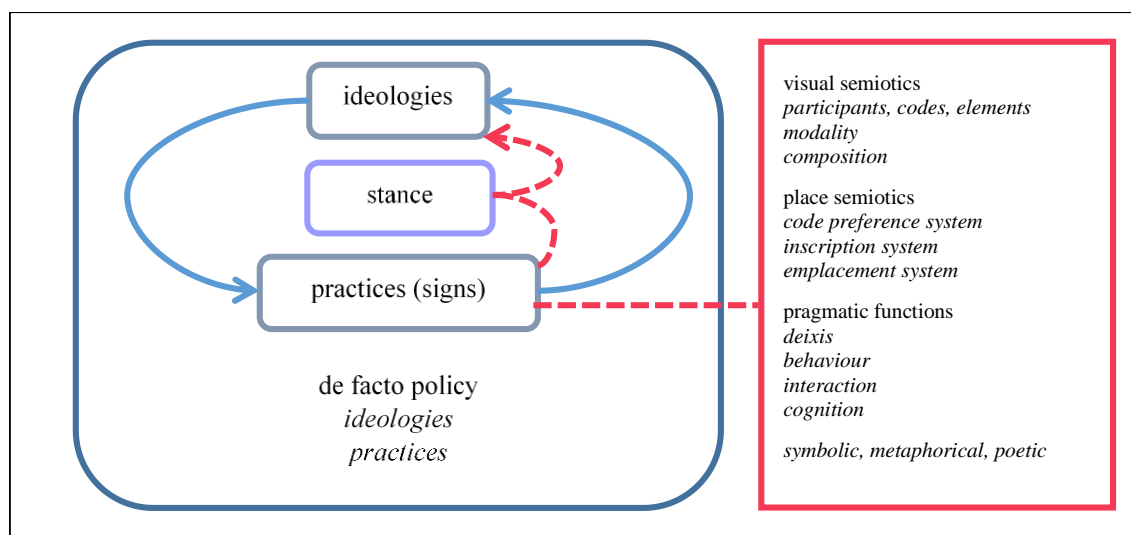*cognition*

symbolic, metaphorical, poetic

Figure 4. The visual and place semiotics of a sign and the pragmatic functions of elements in signs as indicators of stance. Based on model in Shohamy (2006: 58)

An important question is how to interpret this connection between sign and stance: how do we know to what extent a sign actually conveys the stance of the author or sign maker toward

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Frisian? Drawing a parallel between speech acts and signs in linguistic landscapes, Malinowski (2009) highlights "a view of the authors of signs as a complex, dispersed entity who is only somewhat in control of the meanings that are read from his or her written 'utterances'" (2009: 108). On the one hand, drawing on John Austin's idea that all speech is performative, he suggests that an utterance "[carries] with it an illocutionary force underwritten by the speaker's sincerity of intention" (Malinowski 2009: 115). Following Bourdieu's critique of Austin, on the other hand, Malinowski relativizes the influence of individual choices or intentions by emphasising the role of social conventions behind an utterance. From this point of view, we follow Malinowski's suggestion that "linguistic landscape authorship [is] mutually constituted by individual intention *and* social convention" (Malinowski 2009: 116). In the present study, this would mean that the stances indexed by a particular use of Frisian only partly reflect personal intentions to convey a certain impression *through* Frisian and *of* Frisian-ness itself, and that a part of these impressions are constituted through an already existing idea about how Frisian could or should be used in signs.

Another "filter" between the intention of the sign maker and the author stance that is deduced from a sign, is formed by the interpretation of the reader, or more relevant here, the researcher. While analysing my data, I strived to evaluate each aspect of a sign in relation to the other elements in the composition, as well as to the social context in which it appeared. However, when I had to interpret the impression of a particular text or image, I had to give my own interpretation, which inevitably is influenced by my own experiences as a Frisian speaker. Overall, I have aimed to continuously evaluate my position as a Frisian-speaking observer and interpreter toward my research subjects, in order to collect, select and analyse my data as independently from hypotheses, assumptions and earlier experiences as possible.

4. Analysis and results

This chapter elaborates on the research questions as formulated in chapter 2.8, aiming to explain how variations of Frisian are used on public signage in Fryslân and how they index particular author stances. Before proceeding with the analysis of individual signs that represent the observed pattern in the use of Frisian in public signage, the results of the observations will provide an overview of where Frisian is used in the linguistic landscape and by whom. After this chapter, the results will be discussed in the light of Frisian language policy and planning.

Dutch is the dominant language in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân, in which Frisian takes a modest position (cf. Cenoz and Gorter 2006, Edelman 2010, Bierma 2008, Van der Ploeg-Posthumus 2003). Still, variations of Frisian are visible within every discourse frame, from the civic frame to the community (Kallen 2010, cf. Van der Ploeg-Posthumus 2003). To start with the civic frame, covering the bodies of the national government, the Frisian provincial government and Frisian municipalities, Frisian is least often encountered at the national level: government agencies seldom seem to adapt their language choice in signs to the official bilingual situation in Fryslân. One of the few examples of Frisian within this

category is the Frisian water board, which carries the Frisian name *Wetterskip Fryslân*. This comes as no surprise as the Frisian water board is a regional body responsible for water management in Frisian (and a part of the province of Groningen) only. In contrast, water lily leaves and Frisian words are frequently visible in signs belonging to the provincial government, from *pompeblêden* [*water lily leaves*] on busses to written information in Frisian on the house of the provincial government; in a similar way, municipalities use their Frisian here and there, in signs ranging from permanent memorials to temporary posters and banners, even though one will encounter more Frisian-ness in some communities than in others.

As will be shown further down, actors in the marketplace use all types of Frisian on both products and shop facades; especially in tourism it is raining water lily leaves. At the community level, then, Frisian is often used in signs related to temporary local festivals and theatres, as well as in names of clubs and associations, on art pieces and signs with geographical or historical information. Private persons, too, display Frisian texts and *pompeblêden* on their houses, vehicles, banners on sport events, and so forth; moreover, a significant number of gravestone inscriptions are in Frisian (cf. Zondag and Zondag 1994). Last but not least, signs indexing geographical information form a special group in which the official names of a large number of municipalities, places, streets and waters are in Frisian. These names are officially recognised by all "discourse layers", also by the national level of the civic frame (Kallen 2010). Since 1997, the only official name of the province has been the Frisian name Fryslân. However, in non-Frisian contexts, both written and spoken, the Dutch name Friesland is still commonly used, even in local newspapers (cf. Gorter et al. 2008).

The majority of all of these signs seems to share, or maybe we should say lack, a common property. That is, their messages rarely express power or authority. Rather, they convey impressions of authenticity, familiarity, pride, et cetera. This claim is based on the observation and analysis of the data, as described in chapter 3, of which a selection is presented below. The analysis of signs focusses on their visual semiotics and place semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) and on the pragmatic functions of the different linguistic and non-linguistic codes used (Kallen 2009). The "pragmatic" elements in the different compositions are considered to index several metasociolinguistic stances (Jaffe 2009) toward Frisian and other languages, which in turn help to understand beliefs about Frisian, whether or not in relation to other languages, as a part of de facto policies regarding the language (see figure 3).

The following sections explain how author stances toward Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes give signs cheerful characters in the linguistic landscape. The data selection is divided into four groups. The first section discusses signs in which Frisian is used together with other languages, represented by four examples. The second group also consists of multilingual signs but particularly emphasises the role of the Frisian community within signs, through four examples. The three signs in the third group only contain Frisian codes. Finally, elements of the signs in fourth group, in contrast to the three first categories, demonstrate how language norms in the landscape are transgressed by indicating more serious stances toward Frisian. This group is represented by four examples.

4.1 Group 1: Frisian within a non-Frisian context

The first collection of signs shows how the pragmatic functions (Kallen 2009) of the Frisian elements, codes or participants (Scollon and Scollon 2003) index cheerful stances toward Frisian and, considering them in relation to non-Frisian codes, simultaneously value this language lower than Dutch, English, French and German. The example of *Priuw* in figure 5 is taken as a starting point and compared to the position of Frisian in the subsequent three signs. Within this first group of signs, it is primarily the contrast between cognitive pragmatic functions on the one hand and behavioural, interactional, deictic (Kallen 2009) and symbolical (Scollon and Scollon 2003) or metaphorical (Hult 2009) functions on the other hand. Besides, modality in relation to the use of colours (Scollon and Scollon 2003) plays a role in the interpretation of the signs.

   The sign in figure 5 on the facade of a shop selling Frisian local food products, beers and souvenirs in the city centre of Leeuwarden contains several elements that can be regarded as Frisian. These are the six coloured Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 logos in the left and right upper corners, the name of the shop *Priuw* [*Taste*], the word "Frysk" in the phrase "Typisch Frysk" [Typically Frisian], all separate water lily leaves and the flag patterns on each side of the doors.

Figure 5. *Priuw* [*Taste*, fy]

The yellow strip with red deer in the flag and the Oldehove icon above the house number sign could be regarded as a contrasting Leeuwardian participant: this yellow-red element refers to a Leeuwardian soccer club, which is the arch enemy of another Frisian club whose shirt is covered by water lilies, and the Oldehove is an unfinished church tower in Leeuwarden; both items symbolise the city in the same way as the Frisian flag and *pompeblêden* symbolise Fryslân. The Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 logos indicate *Priuw* sympathising with the project.

   All other codes could be regarded as Dutch. These are the lines "De Friese Streekwinkel" [The Frisian Local shop] and "Verkozen tot gezelligste winkel van Friesland 2013-2014" [Elected as cosiest shop of Fryslân 2013-2014], and the separate words "Streekproducten"

[Local products], "Boerenkaas" [Farm cheese] "Delicatessen" [Delicacies] and "uit Fryslân" [from Fryslân] on the doors.

The division between Frisian (and partly Leeuwardian) and Dutch comes with a division of pragmatic roles. Whereas the Dutch texts are responsible for the cognitive (Kallen 2009) function in the composition, the roles ascribed to Frisian are several. The cognitive function of Dutch means in the case of figure 5 an informative descriptive role: *Priuw* is a "Frisian local shop" which once was "elected as the cosiest" and which sells "delicacies" and more. In addition, it is "typically" Frisian.

The function of the Frisian codes is more complex. To start with the linguistic part of the Frisian elements on the facade, the name of the shop, *Priuw* [*Taste*] serves a symbolic or metaphorical role, obtained by its position. That is, on the one hand, *Priuw* is chosen as the name of a store; naming could be regarded as naturally symbolic. On the other hand, it is contrasted with the Dutch text, which clearly describes further characteristics and services of the shop.

The observable preference for Dutch in the longer, cognitive texts, could be explained by the "good reason" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006) of the wish to reach an audience as large as possible, without losing the Frisian-Dutch authenticity or identity of the shop by using for example English. This reason does not explain the decision to use a Frisian name. Rather, the Frisian display indicates the choice to *add* an authentic, local element to the cognitive body of the composition. The appearance of Frisian in this symbolic position indexes a stance toward Frisian as particularly suitable for these purposes, while the absence of the language in informative roles indexes the devaluation of Frisian in these positions.

Regarding the non-linguistic Frisian components of the facade, flag patterns and water lily leaves are used by actors across all discourse frames and as emblems of Fryslân, as we will see, serve different purposes. In the case of *Priuw*, their role is symbolic, and both deictic and behavioural, that is, inviting (Kallen 2009). Through their symbolic position, the emblems index the Frisian authenticity of the products. Simultaneously, they index a place in which tourists can buy authentic products or experience a typical Frisian milieu. As a result of the fact that many tourist-oriented places use water lily leaves or Frisian flags to mark themselves as tourist-friendly, these signs have become welcoming acts. The heart-shaped appearances of the *pompeblêden* contribute to the warmth of such a welcome sign. By the use of the flag patterns, the facade is enriched by an extra, lively, positive[3] element. Moreover, the implementation of a Leeuwardian emblem in the Frisian flag together with the display of the Oldehove icon implies that the Frisian flag pattern and the separate water lily leaves are not just interpreted as decoration, but are still associated with a Frisian identity. The inclusion of Leeuwardian elements indicate an affinity with the city inhabitants, welcoming them too.

In short, the sign in figure 5 shows that only Dutch is valued high enough for serving a

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[3] In relation to the analysis of signs in this thesis, the word *positive* does not express an opinion, but refers to the friendly, including, inviting expression of Frisian signs.

cognitive role. Even though Frisian-ness visually takes the upper hand, this does not happen through high-valued linguistic codes in a cognitive function. Frisian is particularly suitable for any role that adds a flavour of Frisian authenticity and locality to the composition.

Figure 6. *'t Pannekoekschip* [*The Pancake Ship*, du]

In a similar way as the case of *Priuw* in figure 5, the signs in figure 6 and 7 illustrate that a composition in which Frisian only serves symbolic purposes and does not have a cognitive role along with other languages within the same collection of signs, is not an uncommon sight.

Figure 6 presents a restaurant in Leeuwarden called *'t Pannekoekschip* [*the Pancake ship*], in front of which flags and a sidewalk sign implicitly perform a welcoming act (Kallen 2009). Unlike the previous example, Frisian has no linguistic position within the signs. Through the Dutch, German and English words for pancakes in the sign, each with a cognitive role, readers are informed about the services of the restaurant. Frisian codes, in contrast, only symbolically appear on the flags, just like the pancake icons fulfilling a deictic role, in which the pancakes index the food that can be eaten in the boat and the flag-pattern indexes the location of an authentic service. Simultaneously, the flag-pattern invites customers by indexing a warm and tourist-friendly place. Again, the Frisian elements are added for creating an authentic impression and serve as an extra indicator of a tourist-friendly restaurant. Observing the exclusion of Frisian on the cognitive sign, the use of Frisian elements indexes stances toward Frisian as being valuable for an interactional and deictic role, and superfluous for an informative function, or even a linguistic position.

Figure 7. *Bjusterbaarlik recreëren* [*Recreating wonderfully*, **fy-du**]

Frisian returns as a linguistic code in the next sign. Just like in the signs at the pancake restaurant, foreign languages play a role in the sign in figure 7, where readers are welcomed to the renewed holiday park *Waadhoeke Resort* in Dutch, German, English and French. The sign is located in a municipality in which the amount of Frisian-speaking inhabitants is high; nevertheless, Frisian is not a part of the interactional part (Kallen 2009) of the sign, in contrast to the German, English and French greetings. Although the sign does not necessarily exclude Frisian-speaking readers as future guests, considering that they are used to reading Dutch, or even might be familiar with the resort already, the exclusion of the Frisian language from the interactional message becomes striking when noticing that Frisian codes *are* used in other positions in the sign. That is, next to *Waadhoeke* in *Waadhoeke Resort*, referring to the name of the newly formed municipality in which the sign is located, the word "Bjusterbaarlik" in the slogan "Bjusterbaarlik recreëren" [Recreating wonderfully] is in Frisian.

Comparable to the way the name *Priuw* in figure 5 receives its symbolic role, both *Waadhoeke* as a part of a name and "Bjusterbaarlik" as a part of a slogan are placed in symbolic positions. In addition, *Waadhoeke* serves deictic functions, as it indexes both the administrative area in which it is placed and the location of the resort itself, the latter accompanied by the arrow on the bottom of the sign, pointing to the entrance of the park.

The appearance of "Bjusterbaarlik" is not only remarkable because of the absence of Frisian codes in the cognitive content of the composition, but also because "bjusterbaarlik" [wonderful] is a characteristically Frisian word, which with its initial consonant combination does not resemble any Dutch word with a similar meaning. Moreover, although it is a typical,

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powerful[4] Frisian expression, it may not be used very frequently among Frisian speakers; it might even sound too Frisian or too expressive to an average speaker, which an anecdote about Frisians naturally speaking in understatements might confirm. Therefore, the use of exactly this term reinforces its symbolic, somewhat forced usage.

The background picture of the sign "confirms" that the word "bjusterbaarlik" is a strange bird here, used symbolically rather than having a connection with a Frisian reader. The modality (Scollon and Scollon 2003) of the picture and the interactive participant (Scollon and Scollon 2003) within it are factors that can explain this. In terms of modality, firstly, the picture can be described as having a lower degree of modality than for instance the pictures in figure 9 and 10 in the next section. The *Waadhoeke Resort* sign conveys a relatively low degree of naturalness, credibility, modality, due to of the high saturation and the use of bright colours, as well as to the lack of a recognisable background. This high saturation and brightness conveys an impression of summer and "resort-luxury", which could be found in, say, an advert for a summer holiday in Southern Europe, but is not necessarily associated with the muddy clay soil of Northwest Fryslân. There is no recognisable background that suggests that the girl in the picture is celebrating the summer at *Waadhoeke Resort.* Therefore, the composition in which the Frisian "bjusterbaarlik" appears, does not have a Frisian impression.

Secondly, there is no interaction between the participant, in this case the girl with the sunglasses, and the reader, because the girl does not look at the viewer. She does not seem to speak Frisian, which, again, indicates that "bjusterbaarlik" has a symbolic function rather than an interactional role, let alone that it would serve a cognitive role. For the non-Frisian tourist, the term adds an exotic feeling of foreign-ness (cf. Kallen 2009) to the composition. It indexes a stance toward Frisian as suitable for contributing to a bright, positive atmosphere, but as unnecessary for informing purposes; moreover, Frisian seems to be taken out of its context, not even having an interactional role in the place where the sign is located, where Frisian is an everyday language.

If we have another look at figure 5, it becomes clear that the phrase "Typisch Frysk" [Typically Frisian] on the facade of *Priuw* summarises a frequently occurring pattern of choice (Jaffe 2009) in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân. The Dutch adverb "Typisch" could be seen as the instrumental (Hult 2009) part of the phrase, whereas the Frisian adjective "Frysk" colours the characteristics of the service it indexes; in a similar way, "recreëren" in figure 7 functions as the instrumental part of "Bjusterbaarlik recreëren", in which "Bjusterbaarlik" spices the phrase and the rest of the composition. Likewise, the flag-patterns and *pompeblêden* in figures 5 and 7 both decorate and add a lively, Frisian flavour to the shop and restaurant, while Dutch as well as English and German stand for the instrumental or cognitive part of the larger wholes. In other words, all these Frisian elements only serve symbolic purposes through which they add a positive spirit to the signs on which they appear,

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[4] In the analysis of signs in this thesis, the word *powerful* refers to the energetic tone of Frisian signs, rather than to *power* in the sense of authority and control.

supported or not by other visual elements. From this perspective, the element "Frysk" in "Typisch Frysk" represents as a stance object other Frisian elements in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân, indexing stances toward varieties of Frisian as suitable for linguistically contributing to an increased positive impression of the larger whole, or for merely practically adding a place-indicating marker. In contrast, the absence of Frisian in cognitive roles indicates stances toward the language as evaluated unnecessary or inappropriate for conveying an informative message. The latter is reflected in the Dutch "Typisch" [Typically]; although the Frisian equivalent "typysk" may be just as comprehensible, the Dutch version is preferred over the Frisian word.

In addition, from the perspective of language in tourism and language commodification, the term "Frisian" could be regarded as a commodified piece of language (cf. Heller 2003). That is, this Frisian code does not specifically address a Frisian-speaking reader. Rather, just like the water lily leaves, it has a symbolic function, through which it indexes the Frisian-ness of the services, experience and products offered by the shop. From the same perspective, the appearance of non-linguistic Frisian *pompeblêden* in commercial contexts can be regarded as the commodification of Frisian authenticity (cf. Heller 2003), in which a "genuine" Frisian place, experience or product is indicated and exposed for sale. Hereby, the Frisian code both indicates and *is* the product. Another example of commodified language encountered in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân is the well-known shibboleth "Bûter, brea en griene tsiis, wa't dat net sizze kin is gjin oprjochte Fries" [Butter, rye bread and green cheese, whoever cannot say that is no genuine Frisian], which appears both in tourist shop interiors and on the products they sell.

Figure 8. *Daar zit je bêst* [*There you sit well / There you are at the right place*, **du-fy**]

The fourth and last sign within this category demonstrates that the use of separate Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes in public space is not limited to tourist-oriented signs. The saddle cover in figure 8 belongs to a Leeuwardian shopping park with the Dutch name *De Centrale* [*The Central*], which attracts customers from both Leeuwarden and the surrounding communities. Flags outside the shopping centre invite customers with Frisian shopping-

related words, the role of which is comparable to "bêst" [good, fine, best] on this saddle cover. This Frisian word stands out in the otherwise Dutch phrase "Daar zit je *bêst*" [There you are at the right place].

"Bêst" could be regarded as the Frisian standard answer to the question "How are you?", regardless of whether the one who replies is doing just okay, fine or fantastic. In the light of this anecdote, the typical understatement "bêst" can be seen as adding a sense of familiarity or recognisability to the commercial advertisement, which is reinforced by the personal handwritten font. If the same sans serif font would have been used for this particular code, it would have been harder to recognise "bêst" as a Frisian element, considering that the Dutch word "best" [best] is almost identical.

One could say that Frisian is used to make the Dutch body of the slogan more exiting and visually more attractive, possibly in order to show affinity with Frisian customers, or to convey a reliable impression by speaking like those down-to-earth Frisians. "Bêst" decoratively adds a positive Frisian expression to the message without making it too Frisian, and does barely change its semantic content. From this point of view, Frisian is evaluated as valuable for adding an energetic tone to the composition, as long as it does not take the upper hand.

4.2 Group 2: A Frisian community

The following four signs in this second group also represent multilingual signs in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân. Additionally, they show that Frisian participants in such a composition often contain a reference to the Frisian community behind a sign. The pragmatic roles (Kallen 2009) of the elements, as well as the modality of pictures and the representation of interactive participants (Scollon and Scollon 2003) help to explain this.
The poster in the first sign in figure 9 belongs to the Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 project, which has distributed posters with pictures of participants and volunteers throughout the city. From left to right and from the top down, it includes the Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 logo, the text "Meedoen? Jawis!" [Participate? For sure!] and a web address; thereafter, information about the person in the background picture: "Simon, vrijwilliger / Frij-Stiper" [Simon, volunteer / Free-Supporter].

The logo represents a water lily leaf with eyes and is accompanied by two other circles with the texts "Leeuwarden Fryslân 2018" and "Culturele Hoofdstad van Europa" [Cultural Capital of Europe]. The emblem in the first circle and the red-white-blue colour pattern of the dots index the Frisian-ness of the project, which could be summarised as the inclusion of and affinity with the Frisian countryside and the activities that will take place there; after all, not only Leeuwarden, but also Fryslân will be Capital of Culture. Likewise, the Frisian elements "Jawis!" [For sure!] and the for the occasion invented "Frij-Stiper" [*lit.* Free-Supporter] indicate the involvement and support of the communities on the countryside and their language in the project.

Figure 9. *Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018. Meedoen? Jawis* [Participate? For sure! du, fy]

The background picture shows one of those supporting Frisians, a person named Simon. His Frisian answer "Jawis!" to the question whether he is participating in Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 implies that Simon is Frisian-speaking, or at least belongs to a Frisian-speaking community, which gives the content of the sign a sense of familiarity. Through the recognisable Frisian text, the connection between the Frisian reader and the signs becomes closer; this is reinforced by the appearance of Simon, and the way he visually communicates with the audience. That is, by looking into the camera, he looks into the eyes of the reader and demands a reaction (Scollon and Scollon 2003). In this case, he invites or encourages the reader to become a volunteer just like him. The natural colours of the photograph, combined with a recognisable background, gives the composition its high modality, which further strengthens the familiar impression of the sign.

The content of this poster should be seen within the context of the Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 project, the main theme of which is indicated with the Frisian word "mienskip" [community based on solidarity]. The appearance of a Frisian-speaking person in relation to a call for support for this community-focussed project as in figure 8 indexes a stance in which Frisian is regarded as inseparable from this community; moreover, this relationship between the language, Fryslân and even Leeuwarden have been evaluated as being useful for the promotion of Leeuwarden as a future Capital of Culture, which is also reflected in the application, resting on the notion of "iepen mienskip" [open community] itself (Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 n.d.). In contrast, the absence of completely Frisian versions of the posters and related signs indexes the stance in which Frisian is not eligible for promoting Leeuwarden and

Fryslân by itself. From this perspective, "Jawis!" and "Frij-Stiper", as well as the water lily in the Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 logo, function in the same way as for instance "Bjusterbaarlik" in figure 7 and "bêst" in figure 8, topping the Dutch linguistic base with a Frisian touch.

Just as the use of "mienskip" in Leeuwarden's application for European Capital of Culture, the water lily logo and single Frisian words on the poster and other 2018 material also index the way Fryslân and Leeuwarden are promoted. For instance, the organisation that is responsible for the marketing of the province and Leeuwarden as Cultural Capital aims to put Fryslân on the map as an area in which everything is done a bit differently compared to the rest of the Netherlands. Although their campaign "Fryslân Style" (Fryslân n.d.) in which this originality is particularly accentuated started just after the picture in figure 9 was taken, the use of Frisian stamps on Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 stickers and posters reflect the emphasis on the peculiarities of the province and its inhabitants. The well-known *pompeblêden* fulfil a special role and are perfectly suitable to present Fryslân as a whole, as they emerge everywhere throughout the province. Just like the tulip, wooden shoe or windmill are used in marketing to index the Netherlands or Holland, the *pompeblêd* is used to indicate Fryslân. In other words, separate Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes are suitable for branding, the goal of which is "to produce universal and decontextualized recognition of their names and products, so that their symbols become as instantly recognised as the Christian cross, the red cross, the Islamic crescent, or national flags" (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 145).

The relation between the Frisian language and the speakers beyond the language is also expressed in the second sign in figure 10. This construction project sign belongs to the provincial government and is located in the village of Minnertsgea. Next to the pragmatic functions of the several codes on this sign, as well as its modality and participant interaction, font size and the use of colour contribute to the particular roles of Frisian.

As in the compositions of similar project signs of Provinsje Fryslân, the upper text "'Wy sjogge út nei in fernijd Minnertsgea!'" ["We are looking forward to a renewed Minnertsgea!"] is in Frisian, while the subtitle of the larger project "Veilige wegen in Fryslân" [Safe roads in Fryslân], the indication of the current project "Een mooie en veilige weg door Minnertsga" [A beautiful and safe road through Minnertsga] and the more factual information on the bottom of the sign are displayed in Dutch. Both the red-white-blue colour pattern, inspired by the colours of the Frisian flag, and the fact that the Frisian text in the separate label is in Frisian, are in accordance with the guidelines for the corporate identity of the provincial government (Provinsje Fryslân 2010). Again, the clear division of the Frisian and the Dutch text entails a division of pragmatic roles. Whereas Dutch stands for the cognitive part, Frisian has an interactional role.

Figure 10. *"Wy sjogge út nei…"* [*"We are looking forward to…"* fy]

Just as in the previous sign in figure 9, the interactional Frisian text is made even more interactional by the people in the background picture and by the large font. Firstly, the participants look directly into the camera, through which they contact the viewer. Moreover, the "wy" [we] in the Frisian text on the separate label indexes these children, implying that the participants speak Frisian. Whereas the sign maker already has connected the children with the Frisian-speaking reader by addressing him or her in Frisian, this relation is strengthened by looking for eye contact. The bond is tightened even further through the natural setting in which the picture is taken: the colours of the picture are close to the "real" view; furthermore, the children are in Minnertsgea. Secondly, the large font, comparable with a close-up picture, makes that the Frisian text comes even closer to the reader (cf. Scollon and Scollon).

We know that the provincial government is actually behind the sign in figure 10, using the Frisian-ness in the composition to express its Frisian identity to the viewer, also highlighted by the red-white-blue colour scheme. By showing that the author positions themself closely toward Frisian, the province conveys a feeling of familiarity and unity. Simultaneously, Provinsje Fryslân takes up a stance toward Frisian as suitable for communicating with its citizens, as long as non-Frisian readers are not excluded from the cognitive message (cf. Provinsje Fryslân 2010).

Another element that expresses the identity of the province is the government logo in the upper right corner of the separate label, which comprises the Frisian and Dutch indication of the province, with the Frisian on top and both using the official Frisian name Fryslân. The

names are accompanied by a water lily leaf, which indexes the Frisian identity of government. This identity is further emphasised by the fact that the Frisian version of the province name is positioned on top of the Dutch one, indexing a preference (Scollon and Scollon 2003) for the Frisian code.

The next sign demonstrates that an emphasis on the Frisian community is not always indicated by the presence of Frisian faces. The pragmatic roles of Frisian and Dutch respectively and the background picture clarify this in the sign in figure 11. This poster belongs to the in 2013 opened new *Fries museum* [*Frisian museum*] in Leeuwarden, which now is located in a completely new building in the main square in the city. The new building came with a new logo, displayed in the upper right corner of the background picture, in which the Frisian pronoun "ús" [our, us] is implemented in the Dutch name of the museum. The logo comes in different colour combinations, depending on the background.

Figure 11. *Fries museum* [*Frisian museum*, **du**]

The Frisian element "ús" indexes the Frisian identity of the museum by pointing to the community behind the pronoun and the language in which it is written: "It is the museum of *ús* Frisians", according to the designer of the logo (Logo Fries museum 2013, my translation). He explains that "ús" is a natural concept in Fryslân and hard to describe. Giving it a try, he continues and says that "'ús museum' could be seen in the same line as 'ús Abe, ús Foppe and ús mem'" ["our Abe, our Foppe, our mother"] (Logo Fries museum 2013). That means, it indexes the Frisian family or the Frisian community with which the accompanying substantive is strongly connected, while at the same time indicating the "own" identity of that group. The "own" identity associated with the pronoun "ús" is also reflected in the Frisian

idiom "it Frysk eigene" [*lit.* the own Frisian], used to indicate a part of a Frisian identity, a Frisian characteristic or peculiarity.

The Frisian pronoun is a recurrent element in the linguistic landscape. For instance, in Leeuwarden a Frisian-named restaurant called *By ús* [*At our place*] is located, which except for the accent (´) is completely identical with the English combination "by us". In the same way as the visual similarity between the Frisian "bêst" [good, best] and the Dutch "best" [best], a small difference between Frisian and Dutch or English allows the author to make use of the cosy impression of a Frisian element, without making the larger composition too Frisian (cf. figure 8).

Figure 12. *Us útblinker* [*Our luminary*, **fy**]

Before revisiting the *Fries museum* poster, the fourth and last example in this group that uses the familiar, homey connotation of "ús" is the sign in figure 12, in which the combination of a Frisian text with the high modality of the background picture conveys an impression of familiarity and reliability. The car of this player of Frisian handball is sponsored by a local damage repair company. The text "ûs (sic) útblinker yn keatsen" [our Frisian handball luminary] is accompanied by the picture of the *keatser* himself. The appearance of this local hero, combined with the Frisian phrase and the name of the personality himself, creates a familiar sight for the reader. The recognisability is reinforced by the use of "ús", which indexes the "we" of the company and almost turns it into a family by implying that "ús útblinker" [our star] belongs to them. The spelling mistake in "ús" (spelled with û instead of ú) is not relevant in the current analysis, but this literacy-related question will be discussed in chapter 5.4 and 6.

If we take another look at the poster of the *Fries museum* in figure 11, it becomes clear how "ús" expresses the Frisian identity of the museum by referring to the humans of the Frisian community, without a cognitive text (Kallen 2009) in Frisian or pictures of people. The background picture on the museum poster enlarges the association with a Frisian community by displaying "ús" [our] typical Frisian landscape, representing a part of "it Frysk eigene": wide, flat, green meadows under a broad horizon; farms with red roofs and sailboats

in the water. However, as for the name of the museum, the fact that the Frisian identity of the museum is indicated by an emblematic Frisian element instead of a completely Frisian name indexes the stances toward Frisian and Dutch, represented in the pattern of choice (Jaffe 2009) in the logo: on the one hand, Frisian is regarded as being suitable or even necessary for marking the identity of the museum, functioning as an "inside conversation" between the author and the Frisian reader, and an aesthetic detail. Dutch, on the other hand, is evaluated as suitable for addressing a larger audience.

4.3 Group 3: Frisian-only

The previous signs have all demonstrated how their use of Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic components add a colourful ingredient to the signs concerned, while the fundamental linguistic message is often in Dutch. The author stances represented by this pattern of choice (Jaffe 2009) indicate a hierarchy of languages in the Netherlands and Fryslân in particular, in which semiotic codes that can be regarded as Frisian are highly valued in symbolic, interactional and decorative roles, whether or not indexing a Frisian identity; in the same signs, Dutch codes are valued higher than the Frisian ones in cognitive positions (Kallen 2009). In contrast to the signs discussed above, Frisian functions in the following three signs as a cognitive language on its own. Still, the impression they convey is not authoritative, but rather humorous or indicative of a part of Frisian history or a Frisian identity. Signs with an even more serious stance toward Frisian will be presented in the subsequent section.

The first sign in this third group in the sign in figure 13 reads "hikke ticht / hûn fêst / stront opromje" [close gate / fasten dog / clean up shit]. It is attached to a gate at the beginning of a walking path through a meadow, just outside a village. Unlike signs with an emblematic use of Frisian as in figure 8, it does not have a tokenistic flavour, indexing an author stance toward a language different than the signs above. However, although the message is demanding, the content of the Frisian text gives it a humorous rather than authoritative impression. Factors that explain this claim are code choice, the pragmatic function of the text, the font size and the further layout of the sign. Also its emplacement plays a role.

Figure 13. *Hikke ticht* [*Close gate*, **fy**]

The choice for Frisian-only indexes a close stance toward the language, an author position which can be further explained by the emplacement of the sign in a community with a high amount of people with Frisian as a first language. Moreover, because the Frisian codes function as a text with an exhorting function (Kallen 2009) instead of an ornamental element, it indicates a more genuine stance toward Frisian than the commercial signs in Leeuwarden as the ones in figure 8 and 9.

The choice for Frisian also contributes to the authoritative potential of the sign: considering that the majority of authoritative signs in Fryslân is in Dutch, the text might draw more attention than a standard warning sign. Besides, by using the marked home language of many of the passers-by, the sign establishes a close connection between the author and the reader in a casual but very direct way. This directness is reinforced by the shortness of the message, the use of imperatives and lack of euphemisms. In addition, it is hard not to notice the text because of the sign's prominent emplacement against an almost empty background. Combined with the large font, the text literary comes close, as if it looks the reader in the eye and demands (Scollon and Scollon 2003, cf. figure 9) that it cleans up after his or her dog.

However, despite the close connection between the author, the text and the reader, and despite the demanding message, the content of the text itself and the further layout undermine its authoritative potential. That is, the informal language use, lack of capitals and points, combined with the unusually large font emphasises that it is the only one of its kind; also, it lacks an official layout or authority logo. Because its lack of real authority it keeps its familiar impression, although it winks to other community members *through* Frisian, instead of playing *with* the language (cf. figure 8).

Figure 14. *Te keap hearlike jerappels* [*For sale delicious potatoes*, **fy**]

In the next example, displayed in figure 14, the author also positions themself in a close relation with Frisian. The pragmatic role of the Frisian text, the material and the appearance of the non-linguistic Frisian flag pattern explain why this cognitive text still has a non-authoritative impression.

The content of the message "Te keap / "hearlike" jerappels" [For sale / "delicious" potatoes] is less straightforward or humorous than the previous sign in figure 13. Rather, it seems to be a genuine "presentation of the self" through the language with which the author wishes to be identified (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Spolsky and Cooper 1991). Its emplacement, in addition, in a rural area with a relatively high number of Frisian speakers affirms the close author stance toward Frisian. Thereby, it borders on the next range of signs, where the choice for Frisian results in signs in which the use of Frisian does not stand out, in terms of their visual semiotics, compared to signs in, for instance, Dutch.

What makes that the current sign still shares a cheerful impression with the majority of the previous signs is the material and the combination with a Frisian flag. The text is written on a chalkboard, which signals less authority than high quality manufactured signs (Scollon and Scollon 2003, cf. figure 17). Also the appearance of the Frisian flag contributes to the atmospheric impression of the whole, here indexing the Frisian identity of the author and, in a similar way as the signs in figure 5 and 6, fulfilling a deictic role: many similar stalls are accompanied by a small Frisian flag, indexing the place where potatoes, eggs, onions, et cetera are exposed for sale.

Figure 15. *Piter Jelles, trou soan fan ús folk* [*Piter Jelles, faithful son of our people*, **fy**]

The third sign within this group, displayed in figure 15 displays Frisian in a more formal context, on the statue of the Frisian lawyer, politician and writer Pieter Jelles Troelstra. The text conveys a serious impression, partly through its cognitive function, but points only inwards, towards the Frisian community. Also the material, context and text form explain the symbolic function of this sign.

On the back of the pedestal, under his Frisian author's name Piter Jelles, the text "trou soan fan ús folk / sjonger fan ús liet / strider foar ús rjocht" [faithful son of our people / singer of our song / warrior for our right] is engraved. The choice for Frisian here indicates the Frisian identity of Piter Jelles himself, as well as that of "our" folk. Even though the text has a cognitive role, referring to the person represented by the statue and the Frisian people, it remains a symbolic display of Frisian. This symbolic position is not only received through the connection to the symbolic act of honouring an important person, but also reflected in the form of the text itself: without verbs and punctuation. The Frisian text does not exclusively index the presence of a Frisian-reading speech community as in for instance figure 16 further down, but also points to the Frisian identity, reinforced by the earlier mentioned pronoun "ús" [our]. This "layer" of identity, *added* through the poetic character (cf. Jakobson 1960) of the text and the reference to a Frisian people, indexes a stance toward the Frisian language as an essential means to express a historical identity (cf. May 2010).

4.4 Group 4: Frisian as an unmarked language

The collection of signs above has demonstrated how Frisian codes in signs add a positive, colourful aspect to the composition and make visible the speaker behind the language. These signs containing Frisian elements index author stances toward Frisian, through which linguistic and non-linguistic Frisian codes are evaluated as powerful, positive, humorous, exotic, authentic, et cetera and as belonging to the humans of the Frisian community. However, the analysis of the pragmatic functions (Kallen 2009) and place semiotics and visual semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) has shown, in short, that Frisian often serves a

symbolic and interactional rather than cognitive role or that it reflects the linguistic identity of the author or community as a "presentation of the self" (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). The "pattern of choice" (Jaffe 2009) that becomes visible when Frisian is used in one position but not in another indicates metasociolinguistic stances through which authors align themselves with the lower position of Frisian in the hierarchy of languages. Moreover, the data shows that when Frisian *is* used in a cognitive position it still *adds* a humorous tone (cf. figure 13) or a symbolic reference to a common Frisian identity (cf. figure 15), rather than that the Frisian codes subtly constitute an authoritative or unmarked message.

The following four signs index a stance toward Frisian in which Frisian is valued as a language suitable for cognitive (Kallen 2009) purposes, instead of, or along with, Dutch and other languages. Authors behind the following signs thereby disalign with author stances toward Frisian as eligible for symbolic and interactional purposes but unnecessary, unsuitable or superfluous for an unmarked, cognitive position. In terms of language policy, they consciously or unconsciously enter the battle (Shohamy 2006) against the ideologies reflected in others' language policies. Not only the pragmatic function of Frisian, but again, several aspects of the signs' visual and place semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003) contribute to the stances they index. A first shared characteristic by the following four examples is that they often lack emblems or a red-white-blue colour pattern. Also font size, material and emplacement play an important role.

Signs that form an exception to the pattern discussed above are well-represented by the cultural sectors (cf. Gorter 2003) and clearly Frisian-oriented domains, such as the Frisian academy and local Frisian open-air theatres. However, not all cultural institutions reflect stances that consistently equate Frisian with Dutch and other languages or their signs. For instance, the Frisian-named centre of Frisian history and literature *Tresoar* [*Treasure*] displays its opening hours and information about camera surveillance in both Frisian and Dutch; however, a movable sign next to the entrance containing information about study places only uses English and Dutch. Besides, although Frisian frequently appears on statues and memorials, it often keeps its symbolical layer by indexing a Frisian identity or community (cf. figure 15). Similarly, art pieces with Frisian texts could be regarded as symbolic displays of the language. From this perspective, the two latter both index a stance toward Frisian as a convenient representative of cultural heritage, connected to a Frisian identity.

A first example of exceptions is displayed in figure 16. This sign belongs to a cultural bicycle route through the former municipality of Menameradiel. The Frisian cognitive (Kallen 2009) has exactly the same function and content as the Dutch one. There are no emblems that undermine its serious role, nor do the texts have different fonts or font sizes. The appearance of this Frisian text is not as prominent as the interactional text in figure 10 due to the small font size, modest emplacement and because it is part of a series. Furthermore, it is located in a community in which Frisian is frequently spoken, thus offering information in Frisian to the Frisian speaker, thereby valuing it as an unmarked alternative, equal to Dutch, and suitable for informative roles. It could be argued that due to the font type of the headings, uncommon for official signs, the sign still has a sense of "locality", but that also applies to the Dutch text.

Figure 16. *Cultuurhistorische fietsroute Menaldumadeel* (fy, du)

Frisian also serves a cognitive role in signs belonging to the Frisian-oriented research institution the *Fryske Akademy* [*Frisian Academy*] in the second example in figure 17. The lower sign reads "Main entrance at Doelestreet 8" in Frisian and Dutch. The preferred (Scollon and Scollon 2003) Frisian equivalent is placed on top, indexing the identity of the institution and a stance toward the language as valued in cognitive positions and regarded as at least equal to Dutch. The fact that practically all signs attached to the building are completely or partly in Frisian confirms this stance; for instance, even a permanent prohibition sign against bicycles is in Frisian only, due to its small font and similarity with Dutch equivalents conveying an authoritative impression.

Credibility is also conveyed by the signs in figure 17. The position of the *Fryske Akademy* as a recognised academic institution as well as the emplacement and material of the signs influence this impression of authority. For instance, they are attached to a monumental building in the historical city centre of Leeuwarden. Besides, the name *Fryske Akademy* is written in gold-coloured letters on a heavy wooden sign (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003), expressing status and durability.

Figure 17. *Fryske Akademy* **(fy)**

A different stance toward Frisian is conveyed by the next two signs in figure 18 and 19. They belong to the Frisian-named project *Lân fan taal* [*Land of language*] as a part of the European Capital of Culture. Signs that belong to this programme either use a Frisian text only, or place Frisian among national and international dialects, minority and majority languages, like the one in figure 18, reading "Let language live" in Frisian, Dutch and Town-Frisian. Signs in these series indicate the multilingual theme of the project and suggest the global position of Frisian. The modern layouts of the signs with a black, straight font on a white background, or combined with photographs in pastel tones and models with different looks and skin colours (figure 19), index a stance toward Frisian as a modern, international minority language, valued equally as any other linguistic variety.
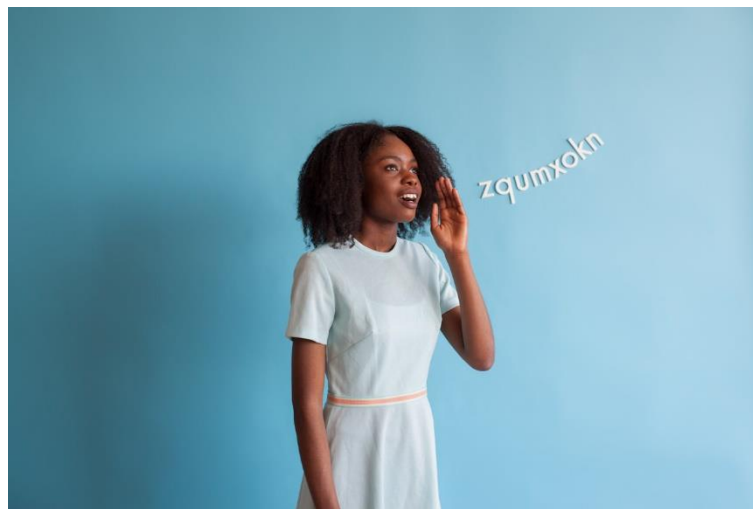
Figure 18. *Let language live* **(fy, du, tfy)**

Figure 19. *Lân fan taal.* **Credits: Tryntsje Nauta**

Finally, the poster in figure 20 belongs to the theatre group *Tryater*, which performs in and with the Frisian language (Tryater n.d.). Except for the name of the Leeuwardian theatre *De Harmonie* in the web address on the bottom of the sign, the poster is completely in Frisian, from the name of the opera "Ien dei út it knisterjende libben fan in pûdsje" [One day in the crackling life of a little plastic bag] to the small letters placed vertically on the right side of the poster, indicating the name of the illustrator. It is the combination of the choice for Frisian-only and a layout that could be the layout of a poster presenting an opera for children

in *any* language that indexes a serious stance toward both written Frisian in public space and Frisian as a performance language.

Figure 20. *It libben fan in pûdsje* [*The life of a plastic bag*, **fy**]

These last four examples break the pattern of *adding* an extra, humorous, positive, colourful edge or identity-related layer to a message through Frisian. Instead, the Frisian codes used *are* the basic message.

5. Discussion of the results

This chapter will summarise the answers to the following two questions, as formulated in chapter 2.8:

1. Where are varieties of Frisian used in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân and by whom? Where are they absent?
2. In which ways do these Frisian codes appear in the landscape? What stances do they index?

In relation to each of these two questions, the third research question will be discussed:

3. What could the particular shape of the Frisian linguistic landscape mean in terms of language ideology and policy, and eventually, to language maintenance questions?

Section 5.1 shortly gives an answer to the first research question, of which the results are based on the observations made in Fryslân. Thereafter, 5.2 provides a summary of the

common features of signs that include Frisian codes, indicating stances toward the language. In 5.3 the question what this frequent pattern in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân could mean in relation to language policy is discussed. Finally, section 5.4 elaborates on explanations of the particular shape of the Frisian linguistic landscape.

5.1 The presence and absence of Frisian

Even though Frisian has a modest or even marginal (Bierma 2008) position in the (commercial) linguistic landscape of Fryslân, Frisian codes appear throughout the language area and in all discourse frames (Kallen 2010). That is, both in signs belonging to the different layers of the government, also called the civic frame, in signs in the marketplace and signs belonging to the community (cf. Van der Ploeg-Posthumus 2003).

Variations of Frisian least often appear in signs belonging to national government agencies. For instance, the tax agencies or police stations do generally not include Frisian on their signs. When Frisian does appear in signs of the national government layer, it often concerns a locally operating organisation with a Frisian name. For instance, the Frisian water board *Wetterskip Fryslân* bears a Frisian name. The provincial government, as the second layer in the civic frame, "guardian of the Frisian language" (Provinsje Fryslân 2010), marks its Frisian identity in communication with citizens (cf. figure 10), in co-operations with other companies, or projects "stipe troch" [subsidised by] them, both with linguistic and non-linguistic codes. On the municipal level, Frisian also appears in communication with citizens on posters. Besides, linguistic and non-linguistic variations of Frisian are found in for instance municipality logos in the form of slogans or emblems, on memorials and other information signs.

Signs belonging to non-profit associations and private actors within the community framework (Kallen 2010) also represent different uses of Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic signs. Common signs displaying Frisian are those which reveal a name or description of an association, club or building, semi-official traffic signs and warning signs with messages to the community (cf. figure 13), gravestones (Zondag and Zondag 1994) and private signs such as banners and signs attached to houses, vehicles and other properties, displaying names and water lily leaves.

5.2 The particular use of Frisian in the linguistic landscape

The four groups in the data analysis in chapter 4 above have demonstrated how Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes have particular functions (1) when Frisian appears in signs together with other languages, (2) when Frisian codes are used to indicate the Frisian community and (3) when Frisian codes are displayed by themselves. The last group showed how (4) Frisian is used in a way that diverges from the first three groups.

Although the data included signs from both the civic frame, the marketplace and the community, the results of the analysis suggest that the use of Frisian is quite similar across these layers (Kallen 2010). For instance, as group 1, 2 and 3 have shown, both signs belonging to the provincial government and signs within the marketplace give Frisian an

interactional function (compare for instance figure 10 and 9). As a consequence, both signs indicate stances toward Frisian as suitable for precisely these communicative and inviting purposes, and thereby both convey a similar familiar, friendly, non-authoritative impression. Similarly, as group 4 has demonstrated, both signs within the marketplace and the community can indicate a more serious stance toward Frisian conveying a more authoritative impression (compare figure 20 and 16). In other words, it is not the discourse frame within which a sign appears that determines a particular author stance toward Frisian and as a result the impression of a sign. Rather, the interaction between the pragmatic functions of different codes and the further visual and place semiotics of a sign determine the impression of Frisian (Kallen 2009, Scollon and Scollon 2003).

Based on the different combination of pragmatic roles and visual characteristics of group 1, 2 and 3 on the one hand and group 4 on the other, the signs from the data collection can be roughly divided into two categories. The first category is represented by group 1, 2 and 3 and covers compositions in which Frisian aspects *add* a positive, powerful, colourful edge to the whole, giving the sign an authentic or, to Frisian speakers, a recognisable, familiar impression. Within this category, Frisian displays are mostly symbolic or emblematic (Scollon and Scollon 2003) and interactional (Kallen 2009); also, the use of Frisian codes is visually emphasised. Even texts completely in Frisian, such as poem lines on buildings or texts on memorial stones can be included here. Although they obviously are linguistically independent, they are still symbolic, as the focus lies on the language itself, through which a shared Frisian identity or history is indexed, thus also *adding* a layer to the cognitive (Kallen 2009) function of the message. Altogether, Frisian codes in the signs within this first category, covering group 1, 2 and 3, could be regarded to have a poetic function, focussing on "the message for its own sake" (Jakobson 1960: 6), or maybe rather, on the Frisian codes for the sake of their connotations.[5] Furthermore, what these signs have in common is that they rarely convey an authoritative impression.

Impressions of authority and seriousness are, in contrast, expressed by signs in the second category, represented by group 4 from the analysis. This can be authority in the sense of power or prestige, as conveyed by signs attached to the building of the *Fryske Akademy* in figure 17, or seriousness in that a message does not stand out as a *Frisian* message, but rather as one that could have been displayed in any language but "happens to be" in Frisian, just because of the addressed audience or the identity of the author. The Frisian-ness of the signs in the second category is not *added* to the composition, but the Frisian codes naturally *are* the message, as a self-evident, inherent property. Moreover, the choice for Frisian in signs in this group is not reinforced by their visual appearances. However, as the results of the analysis reveal, the visual aspects of the studied signs can explain why signs in the second category are different from the ones in the former, indexing authoritative or less authoritative stances.

To summarise, it is primarily the following aspects of signs in the Frisian linguistic

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[5] These connotations or associations with Frisian codes have been explained in terms of stance.

landscape that have shown to influence their position within the continuum from non-authoritative (group 1, 2 and 3) to more authoritative (group 4) stances: the pragmatic roles (Kallen 2009) of Frisian in relation to the functions of other codes, code preference, font type and size, material, emplacement as parts of place semiotics, and the use of colour patterns, pictures and their modality as a part of visual semiotics (Scollon and Scollon 2003). Along the same lines, the use of emblems is discussed. The interaction between each of these elements demonstrates how signs in the first group index stances toward Frisian as positive, cheerful, powerful, exotic, authentic, etcetera, suitable for symbolic purposes but unsuitable or superfluous in cognitive positions, and convenient for making visible the Frisian speech community behind an utterance. The overview below is based on the observations made in the current study, but also aims to draw generalisations to other signs in Fryslân.

5.2.1 Code choice, code preference and pragmatic functions

Code choice and code preference (Scollon and Scollon 2003) most clearly index stances toward Frisian. They indicate how Frisian *linguistic* codes are valued through their pragmatic function and position in relation to other codes, belonging to other languages like Dutch. Frisian linguistic codes appear both in single elements such as names in the broadest sense of the word, single words, phrases like slogans, and in longer texts. When Frisian has one of the first forms, it often concerns symbolic or emblematic language use, as a result of the position of a separate Frisian code within a mostly Dutch context, or simply due the symbolic nature of a name or slogan (cf. figure 5). Sometimes separate Frisian words are used for interactional purposes, such as greetings.

A distinction between the use of Frisian and the composition in which it appears comes with a division of pragmatic function, where Frisian often has the symbolic role, whereas the (Dutch) context in which it appears supports the symbolic function of Frisian with a cognitive role (Kallen 2009) (cf. figure 7). This "pattern of choice" (Jaffe 2009) represents the stances toward Frisian on the one hand, and Dutch, English, French and German on the other hand: the first valued as suitable for symbolic and atmosphere-creating purposes, the latter for a serious, informative function (cf. Van der Ploeg-Posthumus). On a metasociolinguistic level, it indexes the ideologically influenced hierarchy of languages.

When a longer text is displayed in Frisian, its role can be cognitive, symbolic, exhortative or interactional. When Frisian has a cognitive function, the signs concerned often have an informative role with a more or less authoritative impression, as for instance on the sign in figure 16; in these cases, close stances toward Frisian are indexed, evaluating it as a language qualified for these purposes. Longer texts are ascribed a symbolic or emblematic role when appearing in the form of poem lines or texts on memorials, art pieces or statues (cf. figure 15), or when appearing in commercial contexts, for instance in the form of Frisian sayings as commodified pieces of language (Heller 2003) on products or shop interiors; here, authors evaluate Frisian as suitable for atmosphere-creating, decorative purposes and for reminding readers of the Frisian cultural heritage, indicating a Frisian identity and showing the human faces behind the language. Also, the choice for Frisian in commercial contexts indicates that

the language is highly valued for the creation of products and ambiences with an authentic impression, such as souvenirs and tourist shops.

Both in the form of single linguistic items and in the form of longer texts, Frisian can, in addition, have an interactional role (Kallen 2009). Signs with this function often convey greetings or exhortations (cf. figure 10 and 13). By speaking Frisian, the author establishes a close connection with the Frisian reader, sometimes making this relation even more personal or interactional by displaying pictures of Frisian speakers. Author stances indexed in signs with interactional Frisian elements point to Frisian as an intimate, personal, familiar language, essential for a speaker of Frisian for expressing oneself in the easiest, most natural and comfortable way, and for communicating with other Frisians.

In short, when Frisian conveys a humorous, colourful, familiar atmosphere, the Frisian linguistic codes probably have a symbolic, emblematic or interactional function, *adding* a particular positive element to the composition. When the use of Frisian has a more authoritative expression, it appears probably in a cognitive role and without bells and whistles. Factors that are able to emphasise the cognitive, symbolic or emblematic and interactional roles of Frisian are font types and sizes, the use of colour patterns and pictures, the particular material of a sign and its emplacement, also reinforcing the humorous, familiar or authentic impression of the signs.

5.2.2 Font types and sizes

Font types and sizes possess the power to distinguish the function of one code from another, and to modify the degree of legitimacy of a linguistic element. For instance, by giving a Dutch code a straight font and a Frisian code a handwritten font, the Frisian code will stand out as being different, because of which its symbolic position is reinforced (cf. figure 8). Conversely, when two codes have the same font and even the same size, their equality is implicitly confirmed (cf. figure 16). As to the size of a font, this can, in a similar way as the font type, distinguish between two codes, the largest as the preferred one. However, font size also seems to have the capability to determine the implicitness and authority of a message: the data showed that a Frisian code often draws attention by its large size, interacting with the Frisian reader (cf. figure 10) or in the form of a name or decorative item. In contrast to names and phrases with an interactional function, small letters often belong to informative texts, such as opening hours or prohibition signs, conveying important and authoritative impressions. When observing that a Frisian text has a small (cf. figure 16) or very small size (cf. figure 20), it often concerns a cognitive text, indicating a serious stance toward Frisian.

5.2.3 Colour patterns, pictures and modality

Colour patterns, then, can support the particular use of Frisian codes with which they are combined. For instance, the typical red-white-blue combination, used by many actors, from the provincial government to tourist shops and the marketing organisation responsible for the image of Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 and Fryslân in general, indicates the unitary, partly commodified, *brand* Fryslân. Texts appearing in such a context often index a positive stance

toward Frisian, valued as suitable for symbolic, cognitive and interactional purposes, although the impression of even the cognitive messages precisely because of the association with the emblem Fryslân could be regarded as not as authoritative as utterances appearing in black and white contexts. Moreover, trendy pastel tones can emphasise a new, modern context, supporting the stance toward Frisian as an international minority language (cf. figure 19).

Pictures, combined (or not) with Frisian texts and contributing to the Frisian-ness of a sign, display participants looking right into the camera, famous Frisians and the Frisian landscape. The first type supports the familiar impression conveyed by the interactional role of Frisian by demanding a reaction from the reader (cf. figure 9). The second sort of pictures also conveys a feeling of recognisability or familiarity and reliability or the quality of the related service (cf. figure 12). The landscape pictures as a third type index a part of the "own" Frisian identity as well as expressions of familiarity and pride, and connotations of reliability and quality. In addition, the colouration of a picture can further influence the grade of modality, naturalness or credibility of a sign, and thereby strengthen the (dis)association with Fryslân.

5.2.4 Emplacement and material

As also mentioned in chapter 3, the emplacement or location of a sign only partly explains the stance toward Frisian expressed through the Frisian codes on the sign. Both on the Frisian countryside (cf. figure 7) and in the less Frisian-speaking city of Leeuwarden (cf. figure 8) signs were found on which Frisian plays a symbolic, decorative role. Simultaneously, signs with a more serious stance toward Frisian are also located in the city (cf. figure 17) and in the surrounding municipalities (figure 16). However, the emplacement of a sign can provide an extra explanation of the particular stance indexed by the other aspects of the sign: for instance, the authoritative impression of the signs attached to the building of the *Fryske Akademy* (figure 17) is reinforced by its emplacement on the old brick wall of a stately house. The other side around, would a phrase like "hikke ticht" [close gate, gate closed] (figure 13) have appeared on that same wall, the casualness and humour of that phrase would probably have been less striking than on the wooden gate in a meadow (cf. Scollon and Scollon 2003).

The material of a sign also plays a role for the impression of the sign and can explain the stances indexed by the signs. A message on a heavy wooden sign generally conveys a more authoritative impression (cf. figure 17) than a handwritten message on paper or a chalkboard (cf. figure 14). Although both actors may regard Frisian as valuable in cognitive positions, the first confirms its stance by "setting it in stone" while the latter accepts the informal context in which the sign appears.

5.2.5 Non-linguistic codes

Finally, Frisian *non-linguistic* semiotic codes play a significant role on signs indexing Frisian-ness. Particularly water lily leaves and flag patterns have several functions: they index the authenticity of a product, service or experience. They index a tourist-friendly place. Water lily leaves index the warmth and welcome of a place with their almost heart-shaped appearance. They index the identity of the author. They index the way Frisian and Leeuwarden as

European Capital of Culture are marketed and index in this way the *brand* Fryslân. Altogether, they add a cosy, familiar, authentic edge to the context in which they appear.

5.3 The particular use of Frisian in relation to language policy

In the previous sections, the shape of the Frisian linguistic landscape has been defined, in terms of *if* and where Frisian is present (5.1) and *how* Frisian codes appear in signage (5.2). The purpose of this chapter is to discuss each of these two previous sections in relation to the third research question: What could the particular shape of the Frisian linguistic landscape mean in terms of language ideology and policy, and eventually, to language maintenance questions? First, we will shortly go back to the function of the linguistic landscape as regards language policy. Thereafter, the relative presence of Frisian in the linguistic landscape will be discussed in relation to the third research question in section 5.3.1. Subsequently, we will address the meaning of the particular use of Frisian for maintenance questions in 5.3.2. When speaking about language policy issues in this chapter, it is important to remember that it is not just about official paper documents, rules and legislation, or *management*, but also about the *ideologies* and *practices* that are part of a de facto language policy (Shohamy 2006, Spolsky 2004).

As a member of the Council of Europe the Dutch state together with the provincial government of Fryslân has been in charge of the protection of the Frisian language and culture after having "entered into the obligation to protect Frisian by ratifying the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" (Provinsje Fryslân 2013: 2). The function of the linguistic landscape with regard to language maintenance politics in general could be described as a policy mechanism with the power to maintain certain language ideologies (Shohamy 2006). As a symbolical language practice, it can affect the perception of the reader of a particular language, and eventually its linguistic behaviour (Cenoz and Gorter 2006). Language politics, influencing both practices and ideologies, can thus send ideological signals through the linguistic landscape by using or not using a particular language in a particular position; from this perspective, a formal language maintenance policy in Fryslân could make use of the linguistic landscape in order to affect the perception of Frisian.

5.3.1 The presence and absence of Frisian from a language policy perspective

Although our question was where variations of Frisian *are* used and by whom, it is important to mention that even though variations of Frisian appear in all discourse layers (Kallen 2010) throughout the language area and especially in the specific contexts mentioned above, they are *not* visible in the majority of signs. This observation, together with the results of earlier studies (i.e. Bierma 2008, Cenoz and Gorter 2006), strongly suggests that Frisian is often not considered as a natural option in a linguistic composition, unless the author wishes to express its Frisian identity or has other personal (commercial) reasons for including Frisian (cf. Bierma 2008, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Although the exact nature of the motivations behind

the choice to abandon Frisian is beyond the reach of the current study, one could say that the low visibility of Frisian *generally* indicates an attitudinal stance (Jaffe 2009) toward Frisian as less valued and less necessary than for example Dutch. Consequently, these stances point to an ideology that the dominant language is sufficient.

If we take a look at the presence and absence of Frisian in signs, more specifically, within the civic frame, we could say that the de facto language policies of the parties responsible for securing Frisian do not completely coincide with the de jure policies concerning Frisian language planning. That is, roughly said, on the one hand, the State of the Netherlands and the province of Fryslân have both recognised Frisian as an official language along with Dutch and have together taken on the task to secure its position, but, on the other hand, do not value these languages equally. Considering the low visibility of Frisian, the linguistic landscape of Fryslân as a reflector of the relative power and status of a language obviously bears witness to these differences; moreover, if we consider the role of the linguistic landscape as a policy mechanism with the power to maintain certain language ideologies, the potential to influence speakers' perception of a language and eventually as a means for language maintenance politics, one could say that the Frisian linguistic landscape is not taken full advantage of for the purpose of strengthening the position of the language (Landry and Bourhis 1997, Shohamy 2006, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

What do the language policies of each of these governing actors look like? As to the role of the national government in Frisian language policy, the state clearly does not make use of the linguistic landscape to improve the status of the minority language, which the almost complete absence of Frisian on government signs indicates. Except for indicating the power differences between Dutch and Frisian (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), the absence also indicates the stance of the national government toward written Frisian as unnecessary on official signs within the area in which the language is actually spoken. Or is the possibility to include Frisian in signs completely overlooked?

As to the role of the provincial government for securing the position of Frisian, the province of Fryslân partly takes advantage of the possibility to make language visible in public space (cf. figure 10). However, an example demonstrates that, if we regard the serious inclusion of Frisian on public signage as a part of a language maintenance policy, this policy is not always implemented when new investments are made: a place where Frisian could have been displayed in the same cognitive way as Dutch, is the new bus station in Leeuwarden, the renovation of which was led by *Provinsje Fryslân* and the municipality of Leeuwarden, among other parties. Although Frisian codes appear symbolically on the busses that drive back and forth on the station and all new Frisian place names are integrated on the new digital and non-digital information signs on the station, the language is not visible in a cognitive position in information signs here alongside Dutch. Also here, these practices indicate an author stance toward written Frisian in signs as unnecessary, superfluous or undesirable in a context in which Dutch is already sufficient, despite the Frisian identity of the provincial government and its investments in the language. Even among signs belonging to the Frisian government a dominant language ideology is visible.

If we turn away from the language policies of the national and provincial government and continue to the municipalities, the marketplace and the community, we see that their displays of Frisian are strongly related to collective and individual Frisian identities – which they have in common with the provincial government, in contrast to the national government. On the municipal level, for instance, Frisian is often used in relation in memorials and statues. Within the marketplace, as Bierma (2008) also has indicated, the shop owners who decide to include Frisian in signage are often those who feel connected to Frisian and Fryslân. This could also apply to the community, which seems to be the category in which Frisian displays are least affected by "top-down" influences. Both the positions and content of the texts as well as their material and emplacements indicate this: personal messages and identity expression such as names of houses and messages to friends, often meant for a small, local, Frisian-speaking audience and therefore not subject to strict spelling rules. The more durable the material, the more probable that the spelling has been double-checked.

Considering that the use of Frisian on the level of the municipality, in the marketplace and in the community mainly seems to be identity-related, this could mean that the sign makers within these discourse frames act independently from the actors in the civic frame. It seems like they use Frisian when they wish to express themselves in a language that is closest to the heart, actually in the same way as the provincial government does. In relation to the carryover effect that has been discussed by Landry and Bourhis (1997) and Cenoz and Gorter (2006), it would be interesting to see what happens when the national government includes Frisian on government signs and when the provincial government were to take the lead in placing signs with a more authoritative impression, that is, in Frisian-only or combined with Dutch in the same style, with a straight font type and small font size, a subtle emplacement and without their own red-white-blue signature. Would that affect the practices of actors in the discourse frames of the municipality, the marketplace and the community, in accordance with the carryover effect? At least such signs would convey a more serious stance toward Frisian, at least gradually increasing its status within the linguistic landscape.

5.3.2 The particular use of Frisian in terms of language policy

Whereas the section above has discussed the *presence and absence* of Frisian in the linguistic landscape, the current section discusses the *particular ways* in which varieties of Frisian appear in the linguistic landscape in relation to language maintenance questions. Because in relation to language policy and ideology, at least as important as the language in which an utterance appears might be its form, indicating particular language ideologies, revealed through the stances taken up toward the linguistic and non-linguistic codes used.

Interestingly, as suggested in section 5.2 above, the results of this study have indicated that the majority of the public signs in Fryslân conveys a non-authoritative impression, and that these non-serious expressions come from actors across the civic frame, the marketplace, the community and private actors (represented by group 1, 2 and 3 in chapter 4), although they index different types of stances, ranging from close positions toward Frisian as a strong part of the author's identity to positions toward the language and its speakers as merely a useful resource for commercial purposes. Both of these extremes, for example, can result in a

sign with water lily leaves or a picture of an implied Frisian speaker, whether or not combined with a Frisian text.

The extent to which different types of authors with diverging interests and identities are included in the data collection of the current thesis is not the most important question. What is important here, is that Frisian signs with non-authoritative impressions index stances toward the language as only relevant in symbolic positions. Whereas spoken Frisian serves as an *instrument* to talk about both Frisian and non-Frisian topics, from family-related subjects to world politics, the use of Frisian in signs seems to be limited to symbolic and emblematic *entities*, often pointing back to the Frisian context itself. Therefore, in order to answer the questions what the particular uses of Frisian elements could mean for the position of the language and for language maintenance efforts, in contrast to the previous section, the roles of Frisian codes on the collection of signs and the stances expressed through their visual aspects can be used, instead of the language policies of each discourse layer.

What could the observation mean that Frisian displays more often than not convey a non-authoritative impression for the position of Frisian in society? On the one hand, one could suggest that more is more: the more displays of Frisian, whether in the form of symbolic elements or longer cognitive texts, the better. Indeed, an increased visibility of Frisian could result in a carry-over effect (Cenoz and Gorter 2006, Landry and Bourhis 1997) and strengthen the awareness of the meaning and spelling of Frisian words among readers, simply because they are exposed to them and process the linguistic information. The transgression of language norms by displaying Frisian, in any form, could also be seen as a statement, asking for attention for the language. From this perspective, the form in which Frisian appears is of lesser importance.

In addition, the use of written Frisian in any form could advance the use of Frisian in general: when people notice that a social actor uses written Frisian, or simply expresses its identity, the reader might be more inclined to start a conversation in Frisian.

Even the commodified forms of Frisian in tourism and marketing might have positive effects for the language as a result of the positive connotations of these linguistic and non-linguistic displays. The (economic) attention payed to Frisian authenticity might activate a sense of pride among speakers or the spread of Frisian words, symbols and products around the globe could arouse interest in Fryslân and Frisian. Recently-launched free online language courses and the attention for Frisian and multilingualism from the European Capital of Culture project, especially *Lân fan taal*, could contribute to increase the national and international interest for Frisian.

On the other hand, the particular use of Frisian in terms of functions and layouts different from those of other languages may have less positive consequences for the perception of the language. Considered the potential of the linguistic landscape to perpetuate language ideologies, and eventually the perception of a language by readers, the marked position of Frisian in signs not only reflects existing stances and ideologies toward Frisian, but may also maintain them. As we have seen, the striking appearances of many Frisian codes in signs index stances toward Frisian as a different, humorous, original language, but pointing to an ideology that it has a less-important status in society. Especially when pieces of a minority language such as names and slogans are turned into fixed entities on products, walls and flags, its status in relation to other languages may become even lower (cf. Salo 2012).

However, this impression of Frisian as original, different, funny, lovely, welcoming, etcetera is not only conveyed by signs belonging to authors who use the language and water lily leaves for commercial purposes. As suggested above, also pro-Frisian authors seem to emphasise the originality of the language and the flag to affirm the *ús* and the love for the language, the linguistic and non-linguistic codes often pointing back to the identity of the Frisian community and the uniqueness of the language. Signs within this group could be seen in a larger context of identity processes. For example, the local broadcasting company *Omrop Fryslân* has started to spread memes on social media, emphasizing the official status of the Frisian language (including physical actions against those who have not understood that) and what it means be a Frisian. Such "inside jokes" may strengthen the solidarity among members of the Frisian community, but do not necessarily improve the status of the language among those who do not see the humour. Although most Frisian signs in the linguistic landscape are less extreme than this example, their effect on readers could be similar: the humorous impression or poetic function (Jakobson 1960) of the signs might generate a feeling of unity, but still stand in contrast to the many serious ways in which the dominant language is used.

An interesting question, though, is to what extent these unifying expressions just reflect a common language policy regarding Frisian. The observation that the majority of the Frisian signs serves as an expression of identity, or at least conveys a non-authoritative impression, could be seen as a reflection of the policy of the majority of Frisian sign makers: Frisian may or should be used when we want to emphasise our beautiful language and culture, but we do not feel the need to endeavour to write something in Frisian when we just can write it in Dutch. Besides, why would we bother non-Frisian readers with this language? Such a view on Frisian might represent a more general policy regarding Frisian: why learn Frisian in school when we will be fine without?

Before one can even begin to formulate an answer to the question above, more extensive studies on language attitudes and ideologies would be needed. For now, once again considering the influential function of the linguistic landscape, it might be worth for authorities and private actors comparing the role of the non-authoritative impressions conveyed by the mainly symbolic and poetic functions Frisian signs in public space to the cognitive role of primarily Dutch. Because:

> if majority languages are consistently constructed as languages of 'wider communication' while minority languages are viewed as local(ized) languages, useful only as carriers of 'tradition' or 'historical identity', it is not hard to see what might become of the latter. Minority languages will inevitably come to be viewed as delimited, perhaps even actively unhelpful languages − not only by others, but also often by the speakers of minority languages themselves (May 2010: 152).

5.4 Further explanations

Other factors that may explain the limited visibility of written Frisian in public space are the following. Firstly, Frisian does not have a long modern writing tradition: although Frisian was widely used in writing during the 14th and 15th Century, a shift toward Dutch took place when Fryslân politically became a part of the Republic of the Low Countries during the 16th and 17th Centuries. It was not until the 19th Century that a language revival movement began (Zondag 1993) and not until the 20th Century that it regained a position in the Dutch-

dominated government, education and media (Gorter et al. 2008). Secondly, although Frisian legally can be used in nearly every official situation in Fryslân, Dutch is still regarded as the formal language and common language for everyone (Gorter 2001).

A third explanation, related to the first one, concerns the actual writing competencies in Frisian, as shortly mentioned in the analysis. Considering that language users' uncertainties about Frisian spelling rules keeps them from using Frisian on social media (Jongboed-Faber 2014), one would expect that in an even more open space as the landscape the threshold is even higher. Whereas the spelling problem on social media is partly solved by using a phonetic spelling, in the linguistic landscape Dutch seems to be an even safer choice. Spolsky even mentions literacy as one of the "problems" of signage: an often ignored consideration is the "actual state of literacy in the various languages involved" (2009: 29). Only 14.5 percent of the inhabitants of Fryslân sees itself as a competent "writer" (Provinsje 2015). Finally, aesthetic reasons seem to play a role in rejecting Frisian in signs: two languages explaining one and the same thing is regarded as unnecessary visually chaotic; therefore, displaying the common language Dutch is sufficient (cf. Bierma 2008).

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine de facto language policies regarding Frisian by studying metasociolinguistic stances (Jaffe 2009) in the landscape the province of Fryslân. By using a multimodal approach, the particular functions of Frisian linguistic and non-linguistic codes on signs and the further layouts of these signs were studied, in order to identify ideologies operating behind those signs.

The analysis of the data indicates that Frisian is used in a similar way across all discourse frames (Kallen 2010). That is, both in the governing civic frame, within the commercial marketplace and in the non-commercial layers of the community and private actors, Frisian codes in signage convey non-serious, cheerful or humorous, rather than authoritative impressions. Often, the Frisian codes had functions and forms different from those of dominant languages like Dutch, English, French and German. Thereby, the use of Frisian indexed stances toward the language as highly valued or even essential in a symbolic or interactional function, adding a special flavour to the cognitive framework, but unsuitable or superfluous in a more cognitive position (cf. Kallen 2009). Even when Frisian constituted a longer text, it was often the Frisian-ness of the message that was emphasised, pointing back to a Frisian identity or historical context.

In relation to language maintenance questions, these results could have different meanings. On the one hand, it could be seen as a positive development that the Frisian language, as a minority language in the Netherlands and after a long period of language struggles, *is* actually visible in the landscape. It could be argued that more is more: the higher the visibility of Frisian, in any form, the more attention it will receive, both nationally, internationally and among inhabitants of Fryslân. The launch of several online language courses and the centrality of the Frisian language in the Leeuwarden-Fryslân 2018 might contribute to the attention to the language. Also, considering the function of the linguistic landscape as *shaping* the sociolinguistic context in which it appears, the display of Frisian text, in any form, may

contribute to the language proficiency of the Frisian population, just because the people are exposed by linguistic information (Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

When taking the *reflecting* and *influencing* functions of the linguistic landscape into account, reactions on the particular use of Frisian on signs might be less positive. Firstly, the linguistic landscape of Fryslân seems to reflect a sociolinguistic context in which sign makers belief that Frisian is unnecessary in linguistic positions that, roughly said, not have to do with an expression of identity. Of course, literacy questions form an obstacle here; therefore, the position of Frisian in education remains important to improve written language proficiency (cf. Jongbloed-Faber 2014). Because when the writing competencies of linguistic landscape authors do not reach beyond words like "bjusterbaarlik" [wonderful] and "Frysk" [Frisian], the current pattern of Frisian in public space may remain unchanged. And that, secondly, might be problematic when considering the influencing role of the linguistic landscape. That is, as a language policy mechanism, the linguistic landscape has been regarded as possessing the power to maintain certain language ideologies (Shohamy 2006). When signs convey impressions of Frisian as only non-authoritative, humorous, colourful, the linguistic landscape might not contribute to the serious status of Frisian. Therefore, it may be worth for actors in the civic frame to reconsider the layout of their signs. Because even when a carryover effect on linguistic landscape actors in the marketplace, the community and the private sphere does not work, a serious impression of signs may positively affect the status of Frisian, at least in the linguistic landscape.

This study might have revealed a part of de facto language policies regarding Frisian, and might create some awareness of the non-serious stances toward (written) Frisian that are indicated by the majority of Frisian signs in the linguistic landscape of Fryslân. In order to get a deeper understanding for ideologies concerning Frisian, and in order to be able to take appropriate policy measures in order to meet the de facto policy, more research on attitudes toward spoken varieties would be needed.

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Images

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All other photographs are taken from the data collection of the researcher.