A Survey of The Linguistic Landscape of Stockholm University

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Abstract

There is a great prevalence of English in Swedish society, education as well as the research community. Recently, Stockholm University has revised its language policy in order to promote parallel use of Swedish and English. With this background, the current thesis aims to survey the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University in order to find out if there are any patterns that can be observed within it. Some inspiration was drawn from previous research into linguistic landscapes. The main discussion points of the current thesis are the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University, the relation between top-down and bottom-up signs as well as the relation between language use and language policy in light of the data gathered. In order to analyse and discuss this, data was gathered on two separate occasions in the form of signs placed into different categories. The first set of data was gathered in February and March of 2013 and the second set of data was gathered in October of 2015. There are visible patterns in the data, especially when making comparisons over time.

Generally, Swedish is the most prevalent language in the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University, the lowest instance being just over 70%, but this prevalence shows a small decrease along with an increase in English and mixed language items going from 2013 to 2015. Also, mixed and English items are more common in bottom-up signs than they are in top-down signs. These English and mixed signs also increase or decrease locally from 2013 to 2015. There was also a local anomaly in that there was one area with a majority of bottom-up signs when the other areas had a majority of top-down signs. Given that this survey was explorative in its nature, it is difficult to draw many firm conclusions based upon the discussion points. However, it appears that there is a difference between language practices and the language policy documents at Stockholm University. The communications policy appears more close to reality however. Swedish also appears to be the language associated with power at said university.

Keywords

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1. Introduction

Language is all around us. There are people speaking to each other on television, on the street and at work. Text is plastered across the walls of the bus stations, on directional signs, advertisements, shop windows, and so forth. Many refer to this latter part of language use the *linguistic landscape* (hereafter referred to as LL), and this is what the focus of this thesis will be. Landry and Bourhis (1997) are the first to coin this term but it is likely that Spolsky and Cooper (1991) were the first ones to carry out research within this specific niche. Landry and Bourhis define LL as the language that is used on any sign, be it advertisements, road signs or street names (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). The study of the LL is a new field of research: hence there is quite a wealth of data that has yet to be analysed and avenues that need to be explored.

Just as the LL is a part of society and its workings, it is also a part of the workings of universities in general and Stockholm University in particular. Language plays just as an important role here as everywhere else, and one only needs to visit the University campus in order to see the multitude of signs and posters that have been put up there by numerous organizations and individuals for a great variety of reasons.

It is the goal of this thesis to provide an insight into the LL of Stockholm University. It's LL will be surveyed and analysed in relation to the language policy documents at Stockholm University. It has previously been found by Shohamy et. al. (2010), that the LL of a certain area seems to be indicative of its inhabitants, their governing body, and also the relationship between them. Thus, the main goal of this thesis is to examine the LL of Stockholm University in order to see if any patterns or trends can be observed with respect to the languages on the signs and who is responsible for the signs.

2. Background

2.1. English in Sweden

English occupies a firm position in Sweden with over 70 per cent having a "very high proficiency" in English. There is also a positive trend emerging where the proficiency in English is rising slowly over time (Education first, 2015, p. 15). Also, as is also reported by Charlotte West on the official website of Sweden (West, 2015): "As a foreigner in Sweden, it's rare to be in a situation where you are forced to speak Swedish to be understood". Comically, it has also been stated by some personal friends of mine that it is a challenge to learn Swedish as a speaker of English in Sweden. This is because, as they say and that Charlotte West alludes to, Swedes are so proficient in English that they switch to English to alleviate communication, thus making it difficult to practice.

The English language also has a firm place in Swedish education. Children today begin learning it at an early age as part of their primary education, and by the time they finish they should "be able to communicate in English both orally and in writing […]" (Skolverket, 2011: 14, own translation). Not only does English have a firm place in the Swedish Education system, it also has a firm place in educational and academic

environments in general. It appears to be the case that there is an "on-going internationalisation of students and staff at universities all over the world" (Garcia-Yeste, 2013, p. 78). This results in greater use of English (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, p. 37) and, in relation to this, it is quite established that in order for academic articles to become known it is necessary for them to be written in English (e.g. Pecorari, Shaw, Irvine & Malström, 2011; Hultgren & Thøgersen, 2014; Fabricius et al., 2005). The English language functions as a lingua franca so as to ensure a common language for academic purposes (e.g. Ben-Rafael & Ben-Rafael, 2015; Björkman, 2014; Mauranen, 2013).

2.2. English at Stockholm University

Founded in 1878, Stockholm University is one of the major seats of learning in the country and is also ranked as 136 in the world by the Times Higher Education rankings of 2015/2016. It boasts being a "modern university with a multicultural environment" (Stockholm University, 2015a), enrolling nearly 70,000 students per year and employing over 5000 staff. It is located very close to the centre of Stockholm, the capital of Sweden and offers degrees, courses and programs within all major fields of study.

2.2.1. Admittance to university studies

In order to be admitted for university studies at Stockholm University, or any higher seat of learning in Sweden one needs to fulfil certain requirements. It is relevant for this thesis to provide this information due to English having a firm place in Swedish society as well as the education system. The applicant needs to have a "[k]nowledge of English equivalent to Course English B from Swedish Upper Secondary School" (Universityadmissions.se, 2015; Stockholm University, 2015b/2015c) in order to partake in studies there. It is also required to have a knowledge of Swedish equivalent to course "Swedish B" (Stockholm University, 2015b/2015c). This knowledge may be proven in a few different ways. For the English requirements students may provide a grade from upper secondary school or complete one of the many accepted standardised tests with a passing grade. For the Swedish requirements they may, likewise, provide a grade from upper secondary school or complete the TISUS (Test in Swedish for University Studies). The fact remains, however, that the applicant needs, at the very least, a fair command of the English language in order to be admitted to Stockholm University. Some higher courses are given in English, and thus do not require any proficiency in Swedish (Stockholm University, 2015b/2015c).

2.2.2. Exchange students and staff

According to the figures currently available on the website of Stockholm University, there were 1400 exchange students coming to study at the University in 2014. This equals about 2% of the total student population of 69723 individual students (Stockholm University, 2015a). According to the figures provided by administrative

staff at the exchange student office at Stockholm University, this proportion corresponds to the average number of exchange students at Stockholm University per term since the autumn term of 2010.

2.2.3. Language Policy

Concerning the rules, regulations and policy documents governing the actions of all institutions at Stockholm University, there are a few documents worthy of note. All of these documents are readily available on the website belonging to the university at http://www.su.se/regelboken/ (Stockholm University, 2015d).

The first and most prominent of the policy documents is the language policy. Firstly, this document was only available in Swedish at the time of writing. Its goal seems to be the affirmation that language plays an important part in competing with other universities in an international setting. As is explicitly stated, the university strives to be an attractive place of study for both Swedish and international students. It then goes on to say that this language must be of a high standard, and that the use of English is a requirement in order to participate in international research. Thus, the use of English should be parallel to the use of Swedish. It then goes on to define that parallel use is signified by an "adequate command of Swedish as well as an English of high quality" (Stockholm University, 2015d, own translation). This policy of parallel language was partly influenced by the "rapid internationalisation and an increasing use of English" (Kuteeva, 2014, p. 334) and also by a survey from 2009 (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012; Bolton & Kuteeva, 2009). The document further states that there is a focus on English-medium instruction at the "Master's and research levels" resulting in an even higher use of English at these levels than at lower levels (pp. 433-434).

It seems implied within the language policy document (Stockholm University, 2015d) that the positions of Swedish and English are not equal. It is clear that both languages play an important part but it is made quite clear that Swedish must not be left out while, at the same time, promoting the use of English for research purposes. Hence, one of the goals of the policy document is to strengthen international elements of education while developing Swedish in each respective area of research - this conclusion was also drawn by Kuteeva & Airey (2013, p. 536). Neither of the languages can be allowed to suffer from loss of domain or capacity in favour of the other. Furthermore, it states that it is important to have an on-going dialogue concerning language use and that the choice to use English should be a conscious one while bearing in mind the effects this use of language may have. Finally, it also mentions the fact that the backgrounds of many students and staff mean that they do not speak either Swedish or English as a first language, and that this is important to consider. This latter point, i.e. that many students and staff do not have Swedish or English as their first language, is an important point that is insufficiently elaborated on in the policy document. One should, ideally, expand on this further by pointing toward disciplinary differences (Kuteeva & Airey, 2013, p. 536) and the difficulties brought on by a parallel language use policy with only two languages considering that the linguistic reality across faculties and individual departments is not the same" (Kuteeva & Airey, 2013, pp. 545-546). Depending on discipline, language is used in different ways and for different purposes. Kuteeva &

Airey (2013) are quite harsh but possibly justified in their criticism of parallel language when they state that: "any 'one-size-fits-all' language policy for higher education will be detached from the actual practices" (p. 547). Risager (2012) also points critically to such practices and that this may "blind" universities to language diversity. She goes on to elevate the fact that the local languages are used more than English (Risager, 2012, pp. 112-113). Further, Risager points to the transnational flows of research, researchers and students leading toward the creation of very diverse linguistic environments and that these are subject to hierarchization (2012, p. 114). Kuteeva (2014) also questions the unrealistic goal of "nativeness" (p. 342) given that there is simultaneous pressure to perform within the academic context. It should not be a goal to strive for "nativeness" in terms of language use but rather communicative competence and academic literacy (Kuteeva, 2014). Björkman (2014) also points somewhat toward this when she discusses the importance of involving actual language practices in the making of language policy. Bearing all this criticism in mind whilst looking at the report written by Bolton & Kuteeva (2012,) paints a dire picture when cite one of their informants stating that "some guest lecturers or teachers [...] are catastrophically bad at English" (p. 435). It appears that a majority of the communication is essentially forced into either Swedish or English, depending upon discipline and level.

The communications policy and procedure for communication at Stockholm University (2015d) is also a large document of note. First of all, this document is available in both English and Swedish, highlighting its importance, since it is also stated within this policy document that not all of the policies, rules and regulations are translated into English. As it appears, the policy document at hand is directly translated from Swedish into English. In the document, it is defined by what parameters all communication is carried out at Stockholm University. Firstly, it is clearly stated that "all communications should be adapted to the target group, that is, be based on the intended recipient's interests, knowledge and experience" (Stockholm University, 2015d). It then goes on to state that internal communication is aimed at current staff while external communication is aimed at current and potential students as well as prospective researchers, "alumni, interested parties, policy makers in the public sector and industry, philanthropists, journalists, and Swedish and foreign universities and colleges". The span of internal communications thus becomes quite narrow in comparison to that of external communications.

As a complement to the language and communication policies of Stockholm University, there is the document outlining the plan for equal rights and opportunities (Stockholm University, 2015d). It is stated in this document that current information should be available in both Swedish and English. Generally, it is also stated, that information should be given in other languages than Swedish in order to make the best use of the resources brought in by students and staff of different backgrounds and abilities. Whether or not this guideline is carried out in practice within the LL, remains to be seen.

Another complement to the policy documents is the document concerning the overarching strategy, as well as the guidelines for, international cooperation (Stockholm University, 2015d). Sticking to the relevant parts and being very brief, this document

states that there should be an effort to increase the appeal of Stockholm University in order to attract foreign researchers from top foreign universities.

To summarise, both Swedish and English, appear to be held in equal regard when it comes to language use. It is made quite clear in the policy documents that neither of these languages should be put before the other. The motivation for having this equal stance is in order to appeal to foreign students and researchers and to stay relevant within the international research community. It is also in order to keep Swedish relevant and to prevent the loss of linguistic capacity in different domains. In principle, Swedish and English are to be kept equal but there seems to be a favouring mentality toward Swedish, and this is easily justified considering the fact that Sweden is the location of Stockholm University. However, there is legitimate criticism to the policy documents in that they are somewhat unrealistic and do not account for disciplinary differences or language practices in the different fields of research. Concerning the LL, it seems reasonable to expect that the policy documents would have an effect upon the communication from the institutions and staff of Stockholm University. It also seems reasonable to expect a difference between the signs produced by Stockholm University and signs from other parties.

2.3. Language hierarchies and languages of power

Language use is dependent upon the social relations among speakers, the identity of the speaker as well as the surrounding individuals. Using Stockholm University as an example, there are two languages that can be classified as important above others. These are Swedish and English considering what is stated in the policy documents of Stockholm University (Section 2.2). Swedish appears to be an important language of power (Björkman, 2014, Kuteeva referencing Josephsson 2004 in Kuteeva 2014; Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2015). English, however, remains important throughout the policy documents and as a lingua franca within the academic community, as well as for communication purposes among students and staff at Stockholm University in parallel with Swedish. Kuteeva (2014) referencing the Swedish Language Council and Salö (2010) also notes a specifically high increase of English use within natural sciences (p. 335)

The hierarchies that have been established between languages, in this case Swedish and English, are a result of the accumulated practices and policies at the university as well as the goals and motivations of individuals (Negretti & Garcia Yeste, 2015, p. 114). Language can be used as an element of power over certain individuals by others as an expression of their goals and motivations by excluding or including others within informal, as well as formal, situations. Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2015) bring this up in their article and put emphasise that language is not always used as a form of communication but that individuals use language to secure or change a current social hierarchy. Language then, is not simply a tool used to communicate but it is also a social tool (Negretti & Garcia-Yeste, 2015). Thus, language becomes symbolic of power and status among the staff and students.

Another element to consider is the dimension of language use by second language users. For some, this language may be Swedish, English or another language. This may have effects upon many aspects such as the quality of lectures and seminars or the ability to participate in such events. Language use is also related to power and is highly relevant when it appears to be quite common for professors, students and staff to be from other countries. Further, it becomes difficult for many foreign students and staff who want to learn and practice Swedish to do just this due to the level of English being so high among the native speakers of Swedish.

To summarise this section, one can see the importance of the language in use in that certain languages are used to enforce a policy or a social status quo. English is one of the important languages but it also seems to stand below Swedish. Lastly, it is important to bear in mind what languages language users are able to use, what they wish to use and what they should use.

2.4. Previous research on linguistic landscapes

Examining previous research on Linguistic Landscapes in general has provided me with an overview of a field that is diverse and used for many different purposes. One aspect that many studies and surveys in LL have in common with each other is that they are, in fact, different with respect to purpose and methods, while examining approximately the same things. Reviewing the special issue of the International Journal of Multilingualism (hereafter IJM 2006) dedicated to the topic of the Linguistic Landscapes provides some initial basis for this multitude of differences.

The authors of the four main articles in the special issue all have common reference points in Spolsky & Cooper (1991), Landry & Bourhis (1997), Reh (2004) as well as references to each other (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al, 2006; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Huebner, 2006). However, it needs to be stated that they also refer to others depending on the place of their research, the amount of previous research carried out by themselves, and the specifics of the research being carried out. The previous research that needs mentioning thus appears to be research concerning the very basic issues such as what the field (i.e. LL) actually is and what purpose it serves. It appears to be common practice to refer to the origin of LL and then to specify the research background by drawing upon relevant sources for specific issues.

Another interesting aspect concerning the articles in the special issue of IJM is what they seem to disagree upon and what they seem to agree upon on. As will be shown below, this aspect is relevant for the current survey. Firstly, the unit of analysis needs to be discussed, as the four articles in IJM define units of analysis (i.e. signs) differently or not at all. The most clear definition is offered by Backhaus (2006) and this is the definition that is used for the current survey (clearly defined below and in in section 4.1.). Another definition is also offered by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006). A defined unit of analysis is not, however, offered by Huebner (2006) or Cenoz & Gorter (2006). Other than the unit of analysis, the four authors seem to, at least conceptually, agree upon the use of top-down and bottom-up as categories of signs. Finally, they all agree upon English being a language associated with a measure of prestige.

Despite the common factors shown by Backhaus (2006), Ben-Rafael (2006), Cenoz & Gorter (2006) and Huebner (2006), there does not appear to be much consensus in terms of methodology. Hult (2013) brings up this issue and points out that there "is not a unified methodology with an established orthodoxy" within the LL research (p. 510). He does however point to "a common objective" within this field - that "is to investigate relationships among different languages in specific places", examining how they manifest themselves and which ones are dominant (Hult, 2013, p. 510). Hult also points to the connection between LL and discourse analysis. Essentially, LL research is a form of discourse analysis. The manner in which it is carried out may vary but Blommaert (2005) points to an interesting concept that appears to be used by many researchers within the field of LL. He draws attention to attribute "functions" to the "linguistic forms", thereby enabling detection of "phenomena of inequality" (Blommaert 2005, p. 96).

It is relevant to ask what the LL of an area can be used for. Looking at what has been done in terms of previous research, as mentioned above in this section and coupling it with Coluzzi (2009) where he essentially uses the same methods as Cenoz & Gorter (2006) while adapting it to his own purposes, one can draw the conclusion that it is common practice to choose a method that suits one's purpose. This purpose may vary so as to focus upon individual choices, language policy, marketing, education (Barni & Bagna, 2015, p. 9). After choosing a method one then carries out the research. Then the LL becomes a tool that is used in order to achieve a goal, and the way one uses it may vary according to situational specifics. For the purposes of this thesis, much inspiration has been drawn from Yavari (2012) who examines two universities and defines categories according to language and origin quite similar to what will be defined below in section 4. In terms of methodology there are also some similarities to what is described by Barni & Bagna (2015) in their description of a survey of Rome where they gather a bounty of data from different areas and use modern tools in order to gather a lot of data in an effective manner. The current survey is also similar in terms of the possibility of comparing diachronic (comparison over time) and synchronic (comparison of different areas) analysis of data (Barni & Bagna, 2015, p. 9-10). The methodology they describe allow for comparison of quantitative data as well as a qualitative analysis of this data, something that Blackwood (2015) argues strongly for in what he calls a "marriage of two methodologies - often divorced from one another in LL research" (p. 51). This serves to avoid drawing "impressionistic conclusions" (Blackwood, 2015, p. 38).

Before proceeding to the aims of this thesis it is necessary to summarise what will be the main concepts of this thesis in light of the previous research. It should be clear, bearing in mind the title of this thesis that this is an investigation into a LL. More specifically, four separate indoor areas will be analysed in terms of their LL. The investigation will be in the form of an explorative survey where data concerning signs will be gathered much in the same way as seems proper in light of previous research, i.e. photographing and categorising signs. For clarity, a sign in itself is, as Backhaus (2006) defines it: any and all text within a "spatially defined frame" (p. 55). The categorised pictures will then be analysed with relation to both language policy, i.e. guidelines for official language use, and language practices, i.e. how language appears

to be in use. In order to do this it is necessary to divide the categories so as to identify signs originating from those governed by policy and those who are not.

3. Aim

3.1. Research questions

1. What is the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University?
2. How has the linguistic landscape changed from 2013 to 2015?
3. What patterns can be observed in terms of top-down and bottom-up signs?

4. Method

The choice of the areas at Stockholm University marked in the figure below was based on the idea that the main campus surrounding the Stockholm metro would be an area representing as many departments and students as possible. It is important to point out, however, that a measure of guesswork was involved in this selection due to the exploratory nature of the current survey. The aim, as stated, for the area of collection was for the data to be as representative as possible of the four main disciplinary areas: the humanities, the social sciences, law and the natural sciences.

Figure 1 – A map of the main University campus with the areas of collection named.

4.1. Data collection and categorization

All empirical data used in this survey were collected in two different years (2013 and 2015), using somewhat different methods. The first set of data was collected in 2013, between February 27 and March 4, while the second set of data was collected in 2015 on October 27. It was decided to use the definition offered by Backhaus (2006, p. 55) where he essentially states that all text within a "spatially defined frame" counts as a sign. This is a broad definition but each item matching this definition was collected.

For the collection of the first set of data in 2013, a compact digital camera was used. Pictures were taken of all signs, posters, notices, etc. and then sorted according to within which building they were taken. Having pictures of each categorized sign enabled a detailed analysis and categorization of each sign as well as the possibility to revisit the pictures for different analyses at later points in time.

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Using the first collection period as a learning experience, a smartphone with a counting app was used for the collection of the second set of data from 2015. Being familiar with the categories and the criteria for categorizing each sign into each category, due to the work done in 2013, it was possible to categorize the signs as they were counted by having one separate counter per building and category. However, this left the raw data for 2015 without pictures and thus with no possibility of re-examining the 2015 data. Using this new methodology, it was possible to be exponentially more efficient in counting the signs. For reference, gathering the first set of data as well as categorising it in 2013 took an estimate of well over one week as each individual sign had to be photographed, downloaded onto a computer and then examined before placement into an appropriate category. Due to the high efficiency of the method from 2015 it would be a trivial matter to revisit the surveyed locations to verify the data at a later date. Potentially, more data from a larger area could be gathered using the same method as was used in 2015, meriting this method as a preferred one for gathering large quantities of data.

Regarding the collection of data within a large area such as a University, the aspect of duplicate items becomes an issue. For this survey, duplicate items were not omitted. Yet this was not a simple choice. When examining the LL, an item that occurs multiple times will skew the results somewhat in favour of the language on the duplicated item. One must also take into account signs that are a commonly recurring part of any public building. Examples of this can be emergency signs; warning signs; signs on doors signalling which way they open; public safety signs; fire extinguishers; etc.. Signs such as these are primarily in Swedish, and thus skew the results toward Swedish, but this is not always the case. The motivation for including duplicate signs was, firstly, a choice of convenience. It would have been incalculably time-consuming to keep track of each unique item due to there being just less than 3000 items that are a part of the data. Additionally, some signs, especially those detailing the possibility of escape in the case of fire are very much alike each other but not identical. The issue then arises of where to draw the line between what would count as a duplicate and what would not. Finally, there appears to be some methodological support for including all signs in Backhaus (2006) where he follows exactly this procedure (Backhaus, 2006, p. 55).

4.2. Categorisation

It is relevant to briefly explain some terminology that will be used in this survey as well as what it means in this context. When categorising signs, it is first necessary to establish what exactly is to be considered a sign. For the purpose of this thesis, both item and sign are to be used interchangeably here so as to aid in creating a more varied text and in defining what a sign/item is, Backhaus (2006) has played a defining role. A sign is thus "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" (Backhaus, 2006, p. 55). It was also necessary to establish clear lines between what should be placed in one category and what should not. For the purpose of categorising signs in this thesis, three categories have been defined:

- Swedish - for signs that are purely written in Swedish.
- English - for signs that are purely written in English.
- Mixed Swedish and English - for signs that are mixing Swedish and English language.

Further categorisation is achieved by dividing the signs of each language category into top-down (hereafter TD) or bottom-up (hereafter BU) signs, depending on their authors. TD signs are signs that have their origin among administrative staff and employees working directly for Stockholm University and its institutions. This is something that was decided for this particular survey and thus may not always be the case. For the purpose of this survey, however, TD signs are categorised as such. The remainder of the signs were categorised as BU. Although this is somewhat problematic, the reasoning behind grouping together so many signs as BU stems from a desire to isolate the signs governed by the policy documents of Stockholm University. Other terms that will be used are *signs* and *items*. These two words will be used interchangeably and signify one specific sign.

Examples of the language categories defined above in this section are provided in the figures below along with a comment concerning their placement in each respective category. For each figure describing a language category, there will be one example of a TD sign and one example of a BU sign.
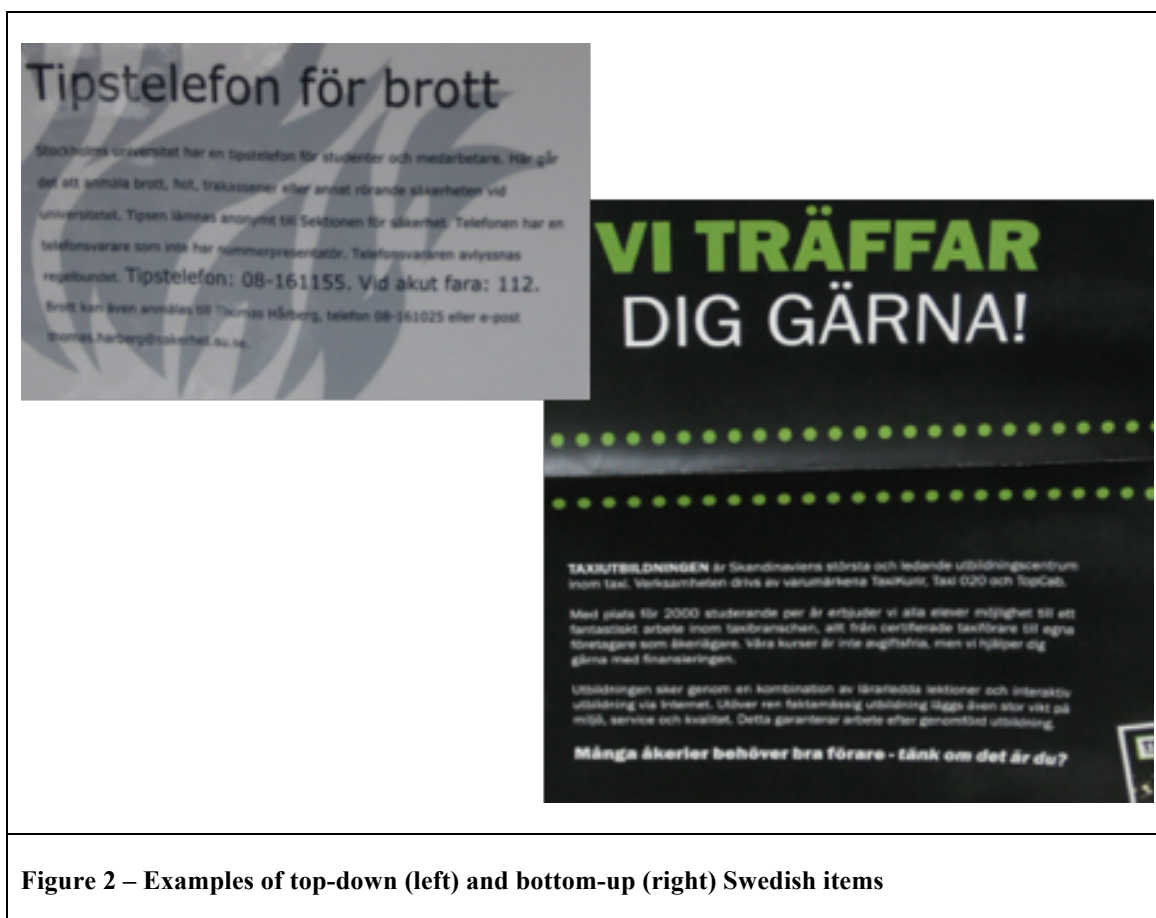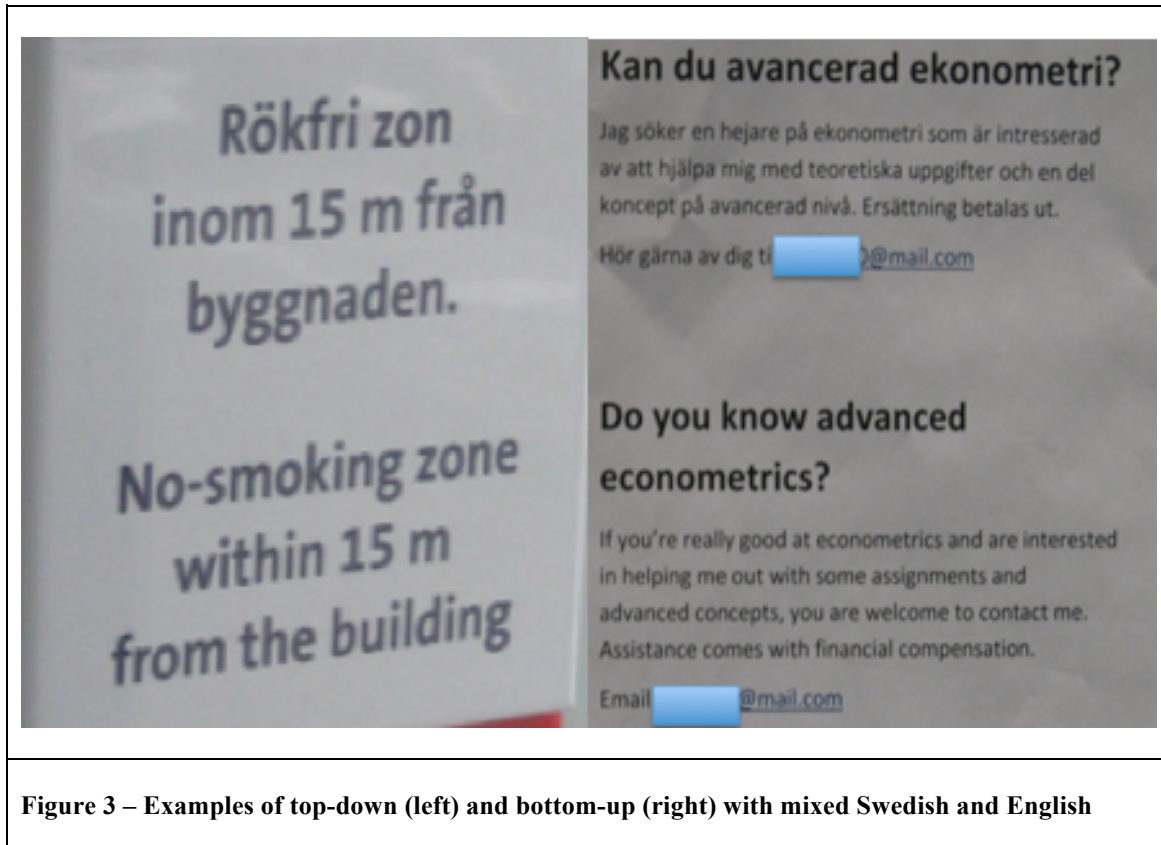

Figure 2 – Examples of top-down (left) and bottom-up (right) Swedish items

In figure 2 above are two examples of TD (left) and BU (right) signs categorised as Swedish. They both have writing exclusively in Swedish on them and are thus categorised as Swedish. The TD sign was categorised as such due to it clearly being associated with the university, while BU sign above was categorised as such because it has its origins with an external organisation, reaching out to potential taxi drivers.

Figure 3 – Examples of top-down (left) and bottom-up (right) with mixed Swedish and English

Figure 3 provides two good examples of mixed Swedish and English items. The sign on the left is also further categorised as a TD sign due to it being a sign enforcing the official campus rules, and thus being associated with the university as an organisation. It has the same message in both Swedish and English, though this is not a criterion of this category. In order to be placed in this category, an item must have both Swedish and English writing on it and no other languages. The sign on the right in the same figure is an example of a very similar type of sign except, this one is categorised as BU due to it seemingly being an item put up by an individual not associated administrative functions at the University. It is relevant here to ask where the line is drawn between mixed language signs and signs belonging to one language or the other, especially considering that it is common practice to borrow words from the English language in Swedish. In this case the line is drawn subjectively according to the categorising researcher at the point where he/she observes independent use of each language, not necessarily to convey exactly the same message but at least to convey a message.
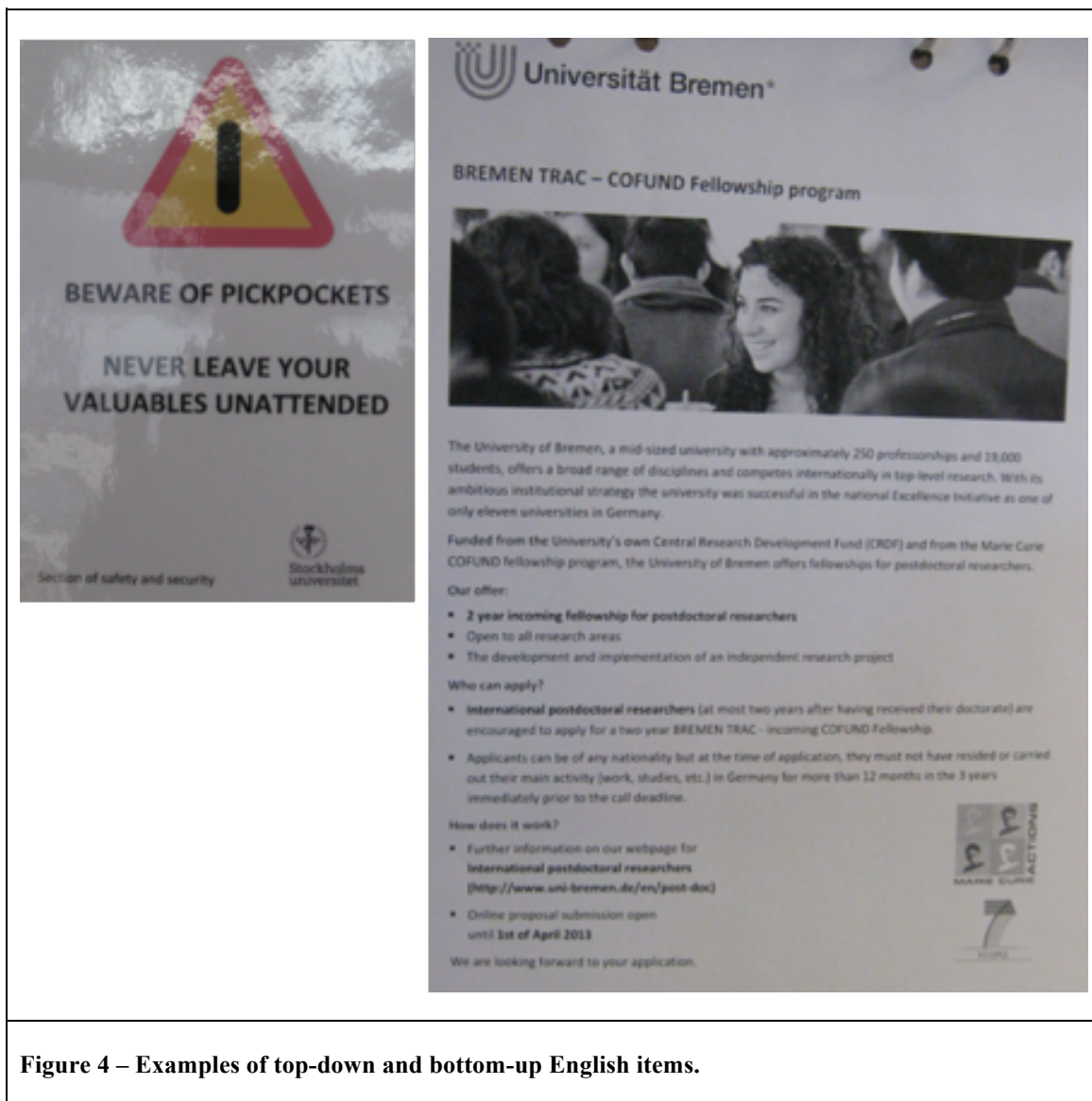
Figure 4 – Examples of top-down and bottom-up English items.

The signs in figure 4 above are signs that have been categorised as English. As can be seen, they are both written wholly in English. The sign on the left is further categorised as TD due to it seeming to originate from Stockholm University staff, and the sign on the right is further categorised as BU due to it having its origins with an external organisation not directly associated with Stockholm University.

Figure 5 – Examples of items omitted from the survey.

In Figure 5 are three of the items that were not categorised and thus omitted from the survey. The language in these items is neither Swedish or English. The origins of the sign on the right is also unclear. On the left, on the other hand, is a sign with a company logo accompanied by a string of letters and numbers with no apparent linguistic meaning. Signs that do not fit into any of the categories defined above are not analysed as part of the results. Other examples of signs that were omitted from this survey are signs with languages other than Swedish or English. These signs were omitted regardless of whether or not they also had either Swedish or English (or both) writing on them or not. This may seem like an odd decision but these signs were very few in comparison to how many signs are used. Thus, they will have a visible effect upon the patterns more strongly visible in the LL in section 5.

The placement within the different categories can be problematic at times. In the case of the sign in figure 3 above, it is not obvious that the individual responsible for the sign is not a part of the administration of the University but one would assume that, given the e-mail address provided, the sign is not official in its purpose. Another aspect to bear in mind considering categorisation into TD and BU is the simple criterion for belonging to one or the other. This distinction may be too simple for a deep analysis where the origin of the sign, as well as its target group are brought in as factors. Factors such as these (origin and target group) could enable a deeper understanding of patterns concerning the LL. Analyses on this level will not be possible with the current available data as this

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would require a more detailed look at the signs than has been done for the purpose of this survey.

Finally, categories as sharp as the ones used may be a bit too oversimplified. As an example, it may be the case that some signs in the data are categorised as mixed language signs when they really should be categorised as Swedish considering the fact that Swedish borrows considerably from English vocabulary. Another example relates back to the categorisation of TD and BU signs. An individual acting on behalf of an institution could put up a poster as a means of disseminating official information. Yet, if it is not clearly marked as official in its purpose, it will not be placed in its proper category without analysing the contents of the sign. The view of the researcher carrying out the survey and the available ties that are visible on this poster determines the category rather than the reality of the situation.

4.3. Method of analysis

The categories defined in the previous section played an important part in the analysis of the available data. Data concerning the signs and their categories were entered into a spreadsheet in order to facilitate sorting and categorisation into tables. These tables were then used to create the diagrams shown in the figures below. The raw data that was used when generating these diagrams is available for review in Appendix A.

4.4. Quality criteria

In light of the current thesis and the previous research on linguistic landscapes, it is necessary to bring up the quality criteria of reliability, validity and subjectivity. The latter criterion, subjectivity, is perhaps the most important to bear in mind considering the subjective nature of the process that is involved in categorising signs. Naturally, the categories may have not been exactly the same had another person done the same task. In fact, it may even be the case that the process of categorisation was impacted by the difference in time between gathering data in 2013 and 2015. This aspect of my research cannot be ruled out and may have an effect on the reliability of the survey. The effect is such that it would be reasonable to assume a reliable process if the same researcher were to repeat the survey at a later date. It would also be reasonable to assume a slightly different outcome from another researcher.

The reliability of the current survey is also very sensitive to context in that the results and conclusions are dependent upon the location of the survey. Were this survey to be carried out at another university or another place entirely, there would be different language policies and different populations acting upon and being affected by the LL of that place. The validity of the survey is also impacted by this sensitivity to context. Bearing in mind the subjectivity of the researcher, it would still be reasonable to assume that the validity of the conclusions drawn should be fair within the context of the LL at Stockholm University. Finishing off, it is important to restate the exploratory nature of this survey. This entails that repeated surveys of this nature need to be done in order to ensure valid results.

5. Results and analysis

In this section the results will be presented in relation to the research questions posed in the third section of this thesis.

5.1. What is the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University?

The reality of the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University is likely more complex than this survey is able to show. For the purpose of this thesis, however, it will be examined with the use of the categories defined in the previous section.

Figure 6 - Location and proportional distribution of collected signs at Stockholm University in 2013 and 2015.
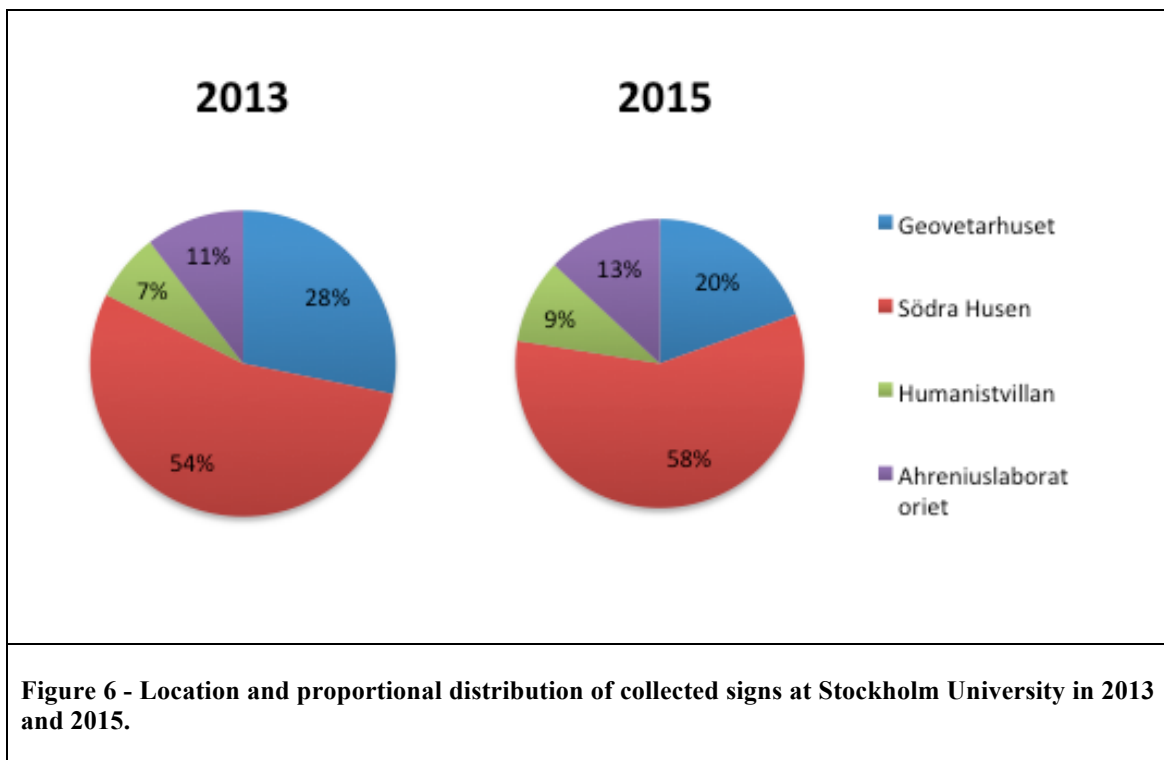
The general distribution of signs on the campus is a good starting point when trying to describe the current linguistic landscape. Figure 6 above shows the proportional distribution of collected signs used in this survey and also which area of the campus they are located in. The two diagrams show a clear picture of where most of the signage is located. A clear majority of the signs used as items in this survey are from Södra Husen on the university campus. This area is a large building full of lecture halls and seminar rooms, as well as administrative offices. Most notable of the spaces in this building is the main corridor on the third floor. This corridor spans the whole length of the building and is full of spacious message boards for signs both from the university staff and the students. The area with the second most signage, Geovetarhuset, is also a building with many message boards, though not as many as in Södra Husen. Lastly,

there is Ahreniuslaboratoriet and Humanistvillan. These two buildings do not have many message boards. Humanistvillan is also quite a small area compared to the others. Most of the signs in these two areas are not posted on message boards but rather on the walls and doors. In terms of size, Ahreniuslaboratoriet is the area that most resembles Södra Husen. There are long corridors, but these are not even remotely close to as populated by message boards as Södra Husen.
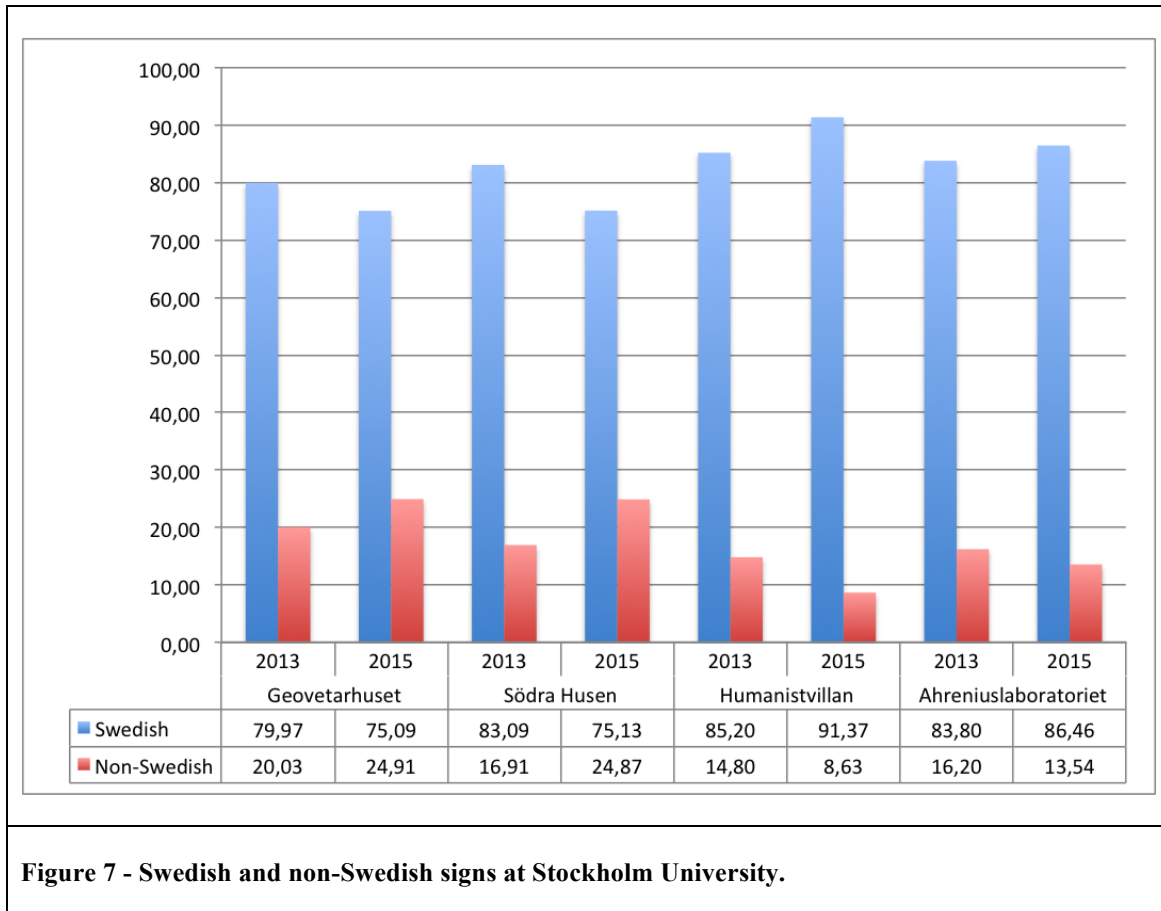
Figure 7 - Swedish and non-Swedish signs at Stockholm University.

In figure 7 above, one can see the rough composition of the signs for each respective area in both 2013 and 2015. The diagram shows the total percentage of Swedish as opposed to non-Swedish signs. The label, non-Swedish, warrants a clear definition before examining the possible patterns in the figure. Considering the clear majority of mono-lingual Swedish signs as opposed to all other signs, it was decided to include a figure where only these two groups are separated. The category non-Swedish can be further categorised into the categories: English and mixed Swedish and English. In figures 8, 9, 11 and 12 below, the category defined here as non-Swedish is broken down into these two separate categories.

It is clear from the diagram that a majority of the signs in all areas of Stockholm University are in Swedish. One can, however, see a certain variation in the proportions between the percentage of mono-lingual Swedish and non-Swedish signs. Generally, one can say that Södra Husen and Geovetarhuset have the highest percentage of non-

Swedish signs and that Humanistvillan and Ahreniuslaboratoriet have the lowest percentage of non-Swedish signs.

Generally, looking at the average percentage of Swedish signs in relation to the non-Swedish signs in figure 7, there is a relationship of roughly five to six Swedish signs per non-Swedish sign on average. This could be a sign of the importance of the Swedish language in the LL of Stockholm University. The variation in the percentage of Swedish and non-Swedish may, then, signify the variation in the importance of Swedish or non-Swedish

5.2. How has the linguistic landscape changed from 2013 to 2015?

With two sets of data from separate years one is able to compare the linguistic landscape of Stockholm University at two points in time. This provides insight into the changes that have taken place and the possibility of finding patterns of change.

	2013	2015
Swedish	82,43	78,13
English	11,26	14,02
Mix	6,31	7,84

Figure 8 - General language distribution of signs for 2013 and 2015
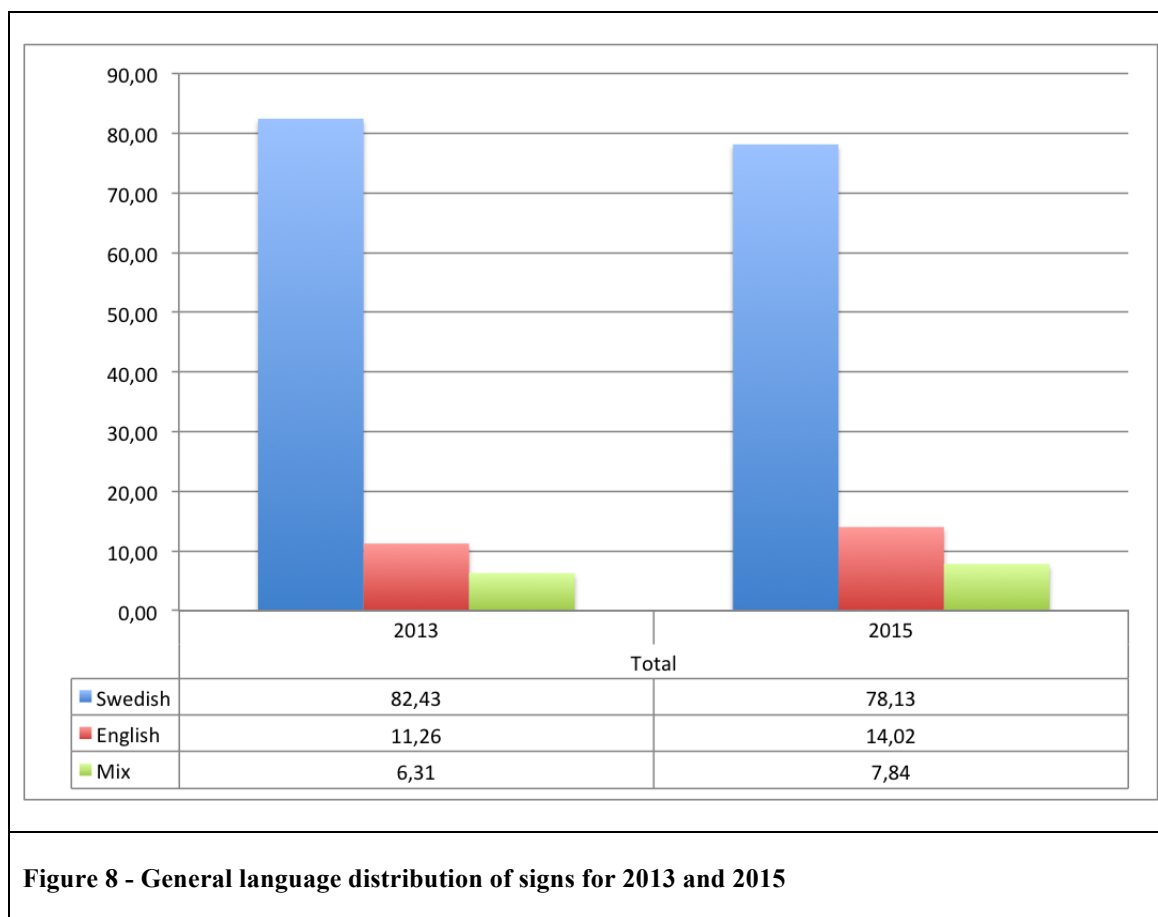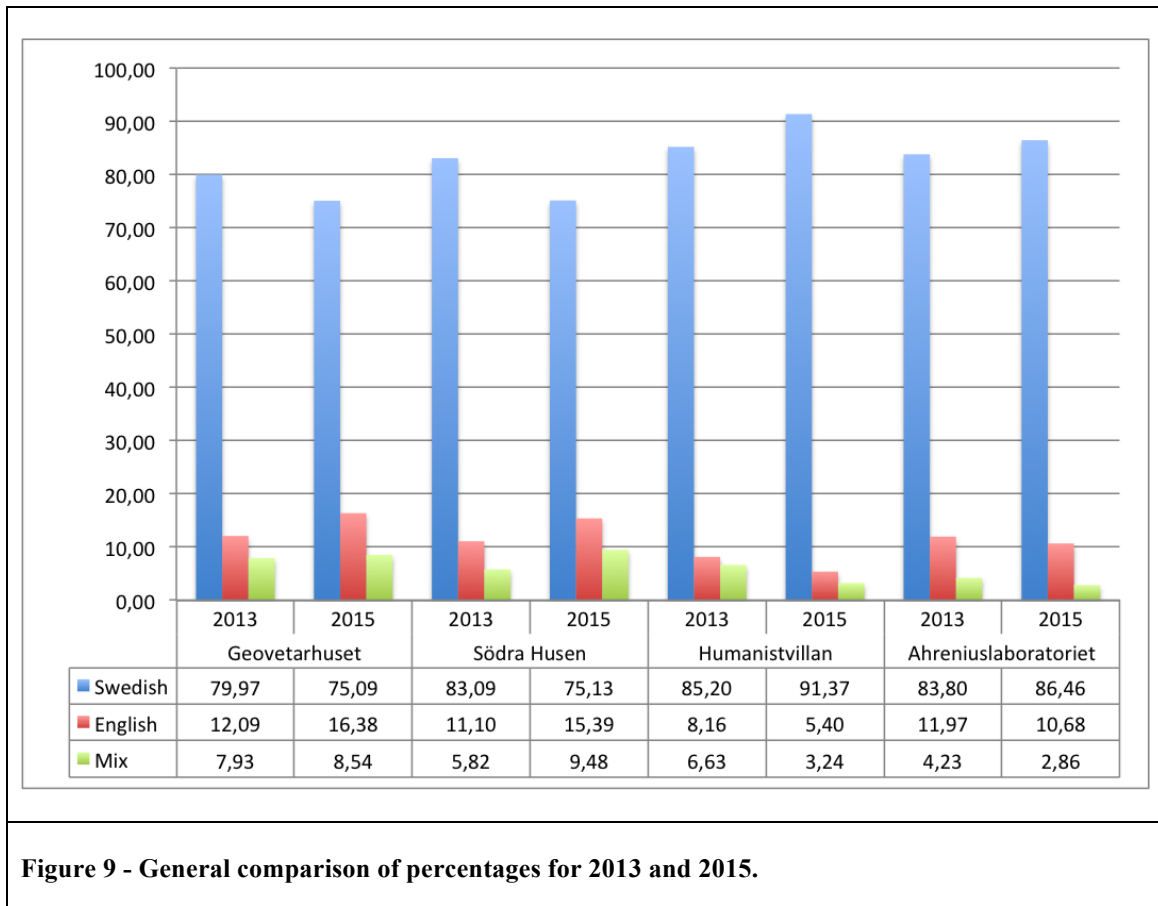
Figure 8 above shows the percentage of signs within each language category that is examined in this survey. It is interesting to note the change in percentages over time. One clear change that has occurred is that the percentage of Swedish signs has decreased by 4,3% from 2013 to 2015. This change has been accompanied by a change

in the percentage of English and mixed language signs where the percentage of these two categories has risen. However, this general change is overly simple when using figure 7 in comparison to figure 8. Although it is lowered in general, changes in percentage of the Swedish category (as seen in figure 7) have shown a rise in Ahreniuslaboratoriet and Humanistvillan. However, this rise is not as great as a decrease in percentage at Södra Husen and Geovetarhuset (shown in figure 7). Thus, the percentage of Swedish signs in general is lower in 2015 than in 2013 (figure 8) but there are local variations that can be observed through figure 7.

	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015
Swedish	79,97	75,09	83,09	75,13	85,20	91,37	83,80	86,46
English	12,09	16,38	11,10	15,39	8,16	5,40	11,97	10,68
Mix	7,93	8,54	5,82	9,48	6,63	3,24	4,23	2,86

Figure 9 - General comparison of percentages for 2013 and 2015.

Figure 9 above shows a more detailed picture than figure 7 does in terms of the language on the signs. Here we are able to compare both Swedish with non-Swedish signs as well as English signs with mixed language and Swedish signs, and also mixed language signs in relation to Swedish and English signs. The same pattern of Swedish signs being in clear majority can be seen in figure 9 in the same way as in figure 7. In the same way, one can see the same change in the percentage of Swedish and non-Swedish from 2013 to 2015.

Generally, for figure 9, one can observe the general pattern that the percentage of Swedish signs is roughly 8 times greater than the percentage of English signs on average. The percentage then, of mixed language signs is roughly equal to half of the percentage of the English signs. This differs from the general pattern observed for

figure 7 in section 5.1. due to the separation of non-Swedish signs into two different categories (English and mixed language signs).

Inspecting the percentages of the English signs, it is clear that the proportions shown in figure 8 are replicated in terms of which category is in the majority and which category is in the minority, as well as the category in between. Delving deeper into this category then, one can see the general pattern from figure 7, where non-Swedish signs decrease or increase from 2013 to 2015, being replicated in figure 9 for each of the buildings.
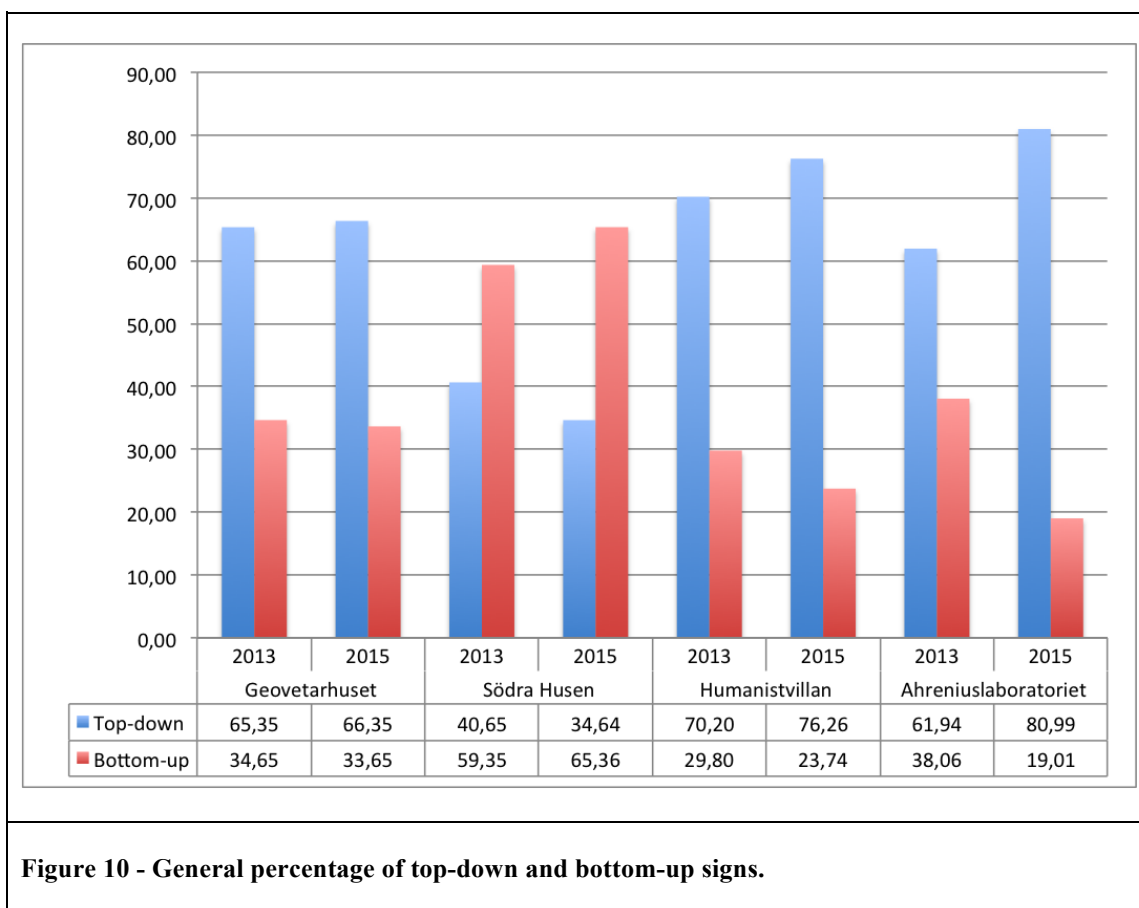
Similarly, the pattern being replicated for the English signs in figure 9 as compared to figure 7, as described in the paragraph above, is also replicated for mixed language signs. The percentages show an increase for Geovetarhuset and Södra Husen but a decrease for Humanistvillan and Ahreniuslaboratoriet. This is a pattern that recurs in the figures below. Hence it will be discussed below in light of the figures that have yet to be presented.

A more detailed look at the percentage increase in figure 9 of English and mixed language signs reveals one interesting anomaly from the general pattern. For Södra Husen, Humanistvillan and Ahreniuslaboratoriet, the increase or decrease in English is roughly the same as the increase or decrease in mixed language signs. Geovetarhuset however, only shows a small increase of 0,61% for the mixed language signs in comparison to the increase of 4,29% for English signs.

Still looking in detail, one can observe that the percentage of English and mixed language signs are quite similar in Humanistvillan, though the English signs remain in majority. Also diverging from the general pattern but in a different way, Ahreniuslaboratoriet has the highest proportional difference between English and mixed signs of all areas observed in this survey. An interpretation of why this may be the case in Humanistvillan and Ahreniuslaboratoriet could stem from the importance of using English to communicate with the students and staff populating the area. The LL of Humanistvillan may signify that it is important to also express things in Swedish along with English whilst the LL of Ahreniuslaboratoriet signifies that this is not so important here. Another interpretation of this difference may be that the signs at Ahreniuslaboratoriet simply are separate from the Swedish signs. A detailed examination of the contents of each sign for each area would be necessary to draw this conclusion however.

5.3. Are there any patterns that can be observed in terms of top-down and bottom-up signs?

Examining the percentage of signs that are categorised as TD and BU provides another dimension to analyse in addition to language. Here, the diagrams showing the general status quo of TD and BU signs, as well as diagrams showing language distributions for TD and BU respectively will be analysed.

	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015
	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
■ Top-down	65,35	66,35	40,65	34,64	70,20	76,26	61,94	80,99
■ Bottom-up	34,65	33,65	59,35	65,36	29,80	23,74	38,06	19,01

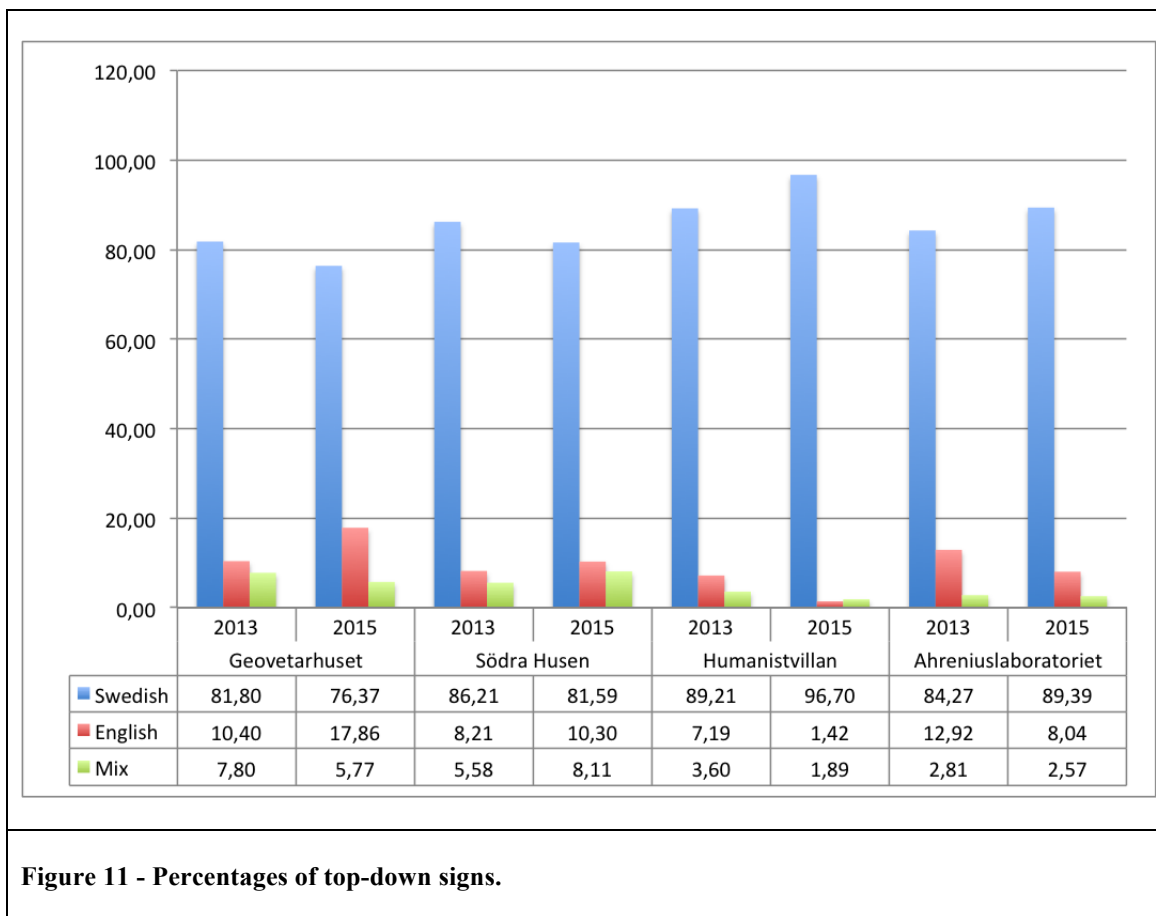**Figure 10 - General percentage of top-down and bottom-up signs.**

Figure 10 above shows the general percentages of TD and BU signs, and one trend stands out. Södra Husen shows a higher percentage of BU signs than TD signs. Its linguistic landscape is unlike all other areas but it is likely connected to the nature of the area itself. As has been explained above, the third floor of Södra husen is full of message boards, both general and subject specific, where all manner of people, students and staff included, can put up signs. It is a place for personal advertisements as well as for parties, events and external recruitment. Considering that the only signs categorised as TD are official signs from institutions and university staff, the fact that BU signs appear to be in majority is not so odd.

Looking at the specific areas then, Geovetarhuset does not appear to change much at all between 2013 and 2015 in terms of TD and BU signs. Humanistvillan changes somewhat in the form of a 6,06% rise in TD signs and a corresponding fall for BU signs. The biggest change can be observed at Ahreniuslaboratoriet where TD signs show an increase of 19,05% with a corresponding decrease for BU signs. A common denominator among Geovetarhuset, Humanistvillan and Ahreniuslaboratoriet is that there is a greater percentage of TD signs than there is of BU signs.

Comparing figure 10 to figure 9 provides some interesting points to analyse. Especially examining the decrease or increase of Swedish signs and the different buildings. Swedish signs show a decrease over time in the same buildings as the buildings that show an increase in bottom up signs or that remain stable over time. There also appears to be a connection between TD signs and the amount of these items that are in Swedish

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in that the higher the percentage of TD signs there are in one area, the higher the percentage of Swedish signs is.

	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015
	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
■ Swedish	81,80	76,37	86,21	81,59	89,21	96,70	84,27	89,39
■ English	10,40	17,86	8,21	10,30	7,19	1,42	12,92	8,04
■ Mix	7,80	5,77	5,58	8,11	3,60	1,89	2,81	2,57

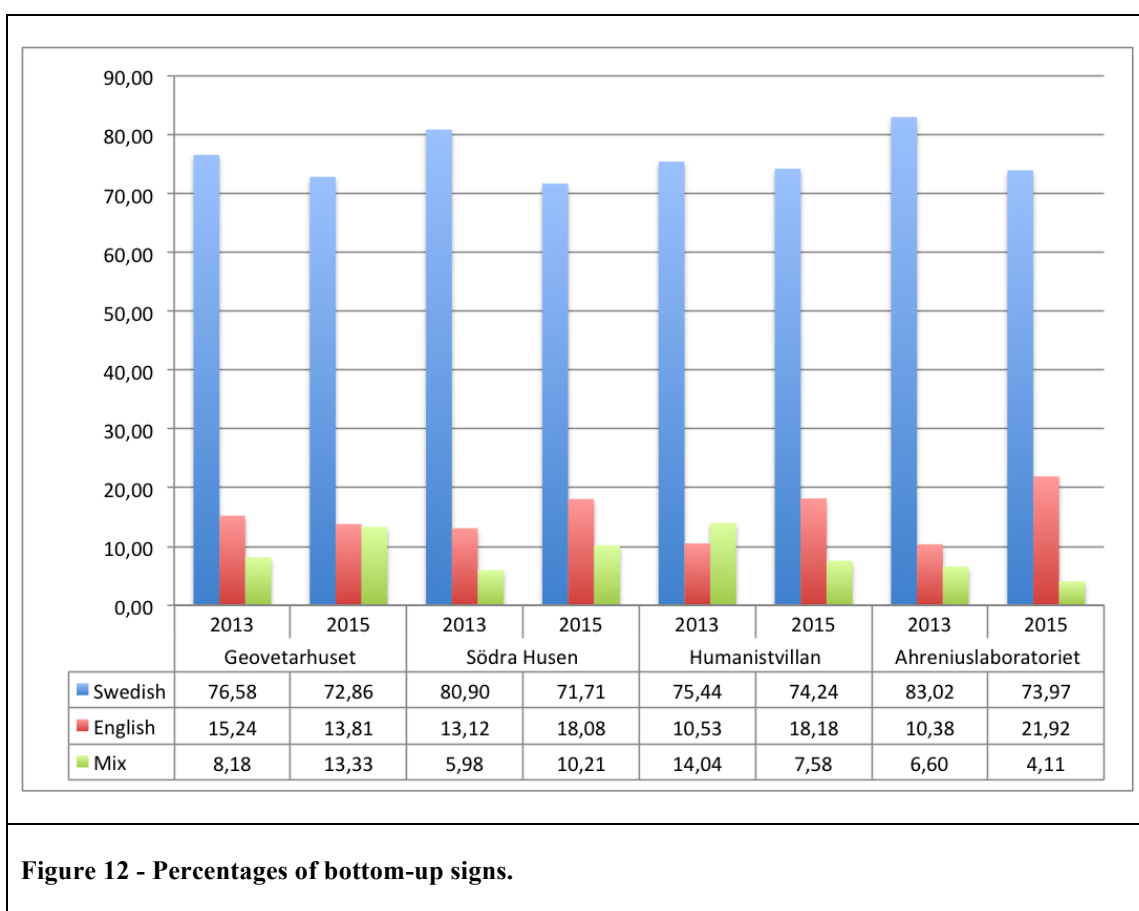**Figure 11 - Percentages of top-down signs.**

In figure 11 above one can see the percentages for each of the three language categories. However, this is only for the signs categorised as TD. There are some interesting observations that can be made in general based on the analysis of this diagram. If one is to look at the percentage of Swedish signs, a decrease from 2013 to 2015 can be observed for Geovetarhuset and Södra Husen. For the other buildings there is an increase in the percentage of Swedish signs at the expense of English and mixed language signs.

Looking at each building separately, we can see some more interesting changes. Starting with Geovetarhuset, we can observe a fair increase of 7,46% in English language signs from 2013 to 2015 but a decrease in the percentage of mixed language signs. For Södra Husen there are only small changes but it is relevant to note that while the percentage of Swedish signs decreases, the percentages of English and mixed language signs increase in parallel by 2,09% for English and 2,53%. Moving on to Humanistvillan, we can see a near elimination of English and mixed language signs in 2015 compared to 2013. The signs in these categories go from 7,19% for English and 3,60% for mixed language signs to below 2%. Considering the low amount of signs counted in this area this is equal to less than 5 signs in total. Lastly, at Ahreniuslaboratoriet there seems to be a

consistent percentage of mixed language signs with a change of 0,24%. However, there is a change in the percentage of English language signs of 4,88%. This change is mostly caught up by the rise in the percentage of Swedish signs considering the stability of the percentage of mixed language signs.

Figure 11 provides further support to the conclusion drawn from comparing figure 10 with figure 9: it seems quite clear that there is a connection between the percentage of Swedish signs and the percentage of TD signs. However, it also interesting to compare the proportions of English signs as compared to the mixed language signs. Although the percentages may not be as high, the proportions of these categories toward each other is similar in Ahreniuslaboratoriet and Geovetarhuset, especially for the 2015 figures. For these two buildings there appears to be a separation between Swedish and English in terms of the sign space, i.e. signs are either in Swedish or English and not both.

	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015
	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
■ Swedish	76,58	72,86	80,90	71,71	75,44	74,24	83,02	73,97
■ English	15,24	13,81	13,12	18,08	10,53	18,18	10,38	21,92
■ Mix	8,18	13,33	5,98	10,21	14,04	7,58	6,60	4,11

Figure 12 - Percentages of bottom-up signs.

Figure 12 is similar to figure 11 except that it shows the percentages of BU signs instead of TD signs. Generally speaking, there appears to be a pattern where the percentage of Swedish signs decreases from 2013 to 2015. There is also a general increase in English signs over time. One can also see a correspondence to the general proportional pattern visible in figure 8 above where Swedish is in a majority, mixed language signs are in a minority and English signs are somewhere in between.

Examining each respective area here also provides some interesting observations. Contrary to the general pattern where Swedish signage decreases and English signage increases, the percentage of English signs decreases at Geovetarhuset. This trend could be connected to the increase in mixed language signs. Looking at Södra Husen then, one can see that the percentage of Swedish signs decreases, corresponding with the general pattern. There is also an even increase in the percentage of English and mixed language signs. An anomalous figure appears at Humanistvillan for the mixed language signs from 2013. Contrary to the general pattern and for BU signs in particular, the percentage of mixed language signs is greater than the percentage of English signs. This also changes from 2013 to 2015 when the mixed language signs decrease by 6,46% and most of this change is taken up by the English signs that show an increase of almost 7%. Finally, Ahreniuslaboratoriet shows an interesting change from 2013 to 2015 in the form of a sizeable increase in English signage by 11,54%. This area goes from having the lowest percentage of English signs in 2013 to having the highest in 2015.

Comparing the percentages of TD signs and BU signs also shows some interesting patterns. A general observation that can be made is that a larger percentage of the TD signs are in Swedish. This trend corresponds with the fact that the percentages of English and mixed language signs are greater among the BU signs. There is one exception to this however, and that is the percentage of TD English signs for 2015 at Geovetarhuset. This is the only instance where this is the case. This comparison seems to reinforce the conclusion drawn above where it was described that there is a connection between TD signs and Swedish signs.

It is difficult not to mention Ahreniuslaboratoriet again considering it was previously stated above that there appears to be a separation between the English and Swedish in signs, i.e. signs are either in Swedish or English. This seems to gather further support from figure 12 where one can see a clear fall in mixed language signs and a rise in English signs. This separation of English and Swedish may be an indication of a trend across both TD and BU signs.

Concerning the high percentage of mixed language signs at Geovetarhuset in 2015 and at Humanistvillan in 2013 it is quite difficult to draw conclusions as to what may have caused this situation. It could be the result of at least one of three different factors. It could be that the methods for gathering or categorising signs are at fault here. Or it could also be an anomalous result stemming from a certain part of the population inhabiting the area, feeling a need to put up signs in both Swedish and in English.

	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015	2013	2015
	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
■ Top-down	19,33	23,63	13,79	18,41	10,79	3,30	16,20	10,61
■ Bottom-up	23,99	27,14	20,74	28,29	25,86	25,76	20,00	26,03
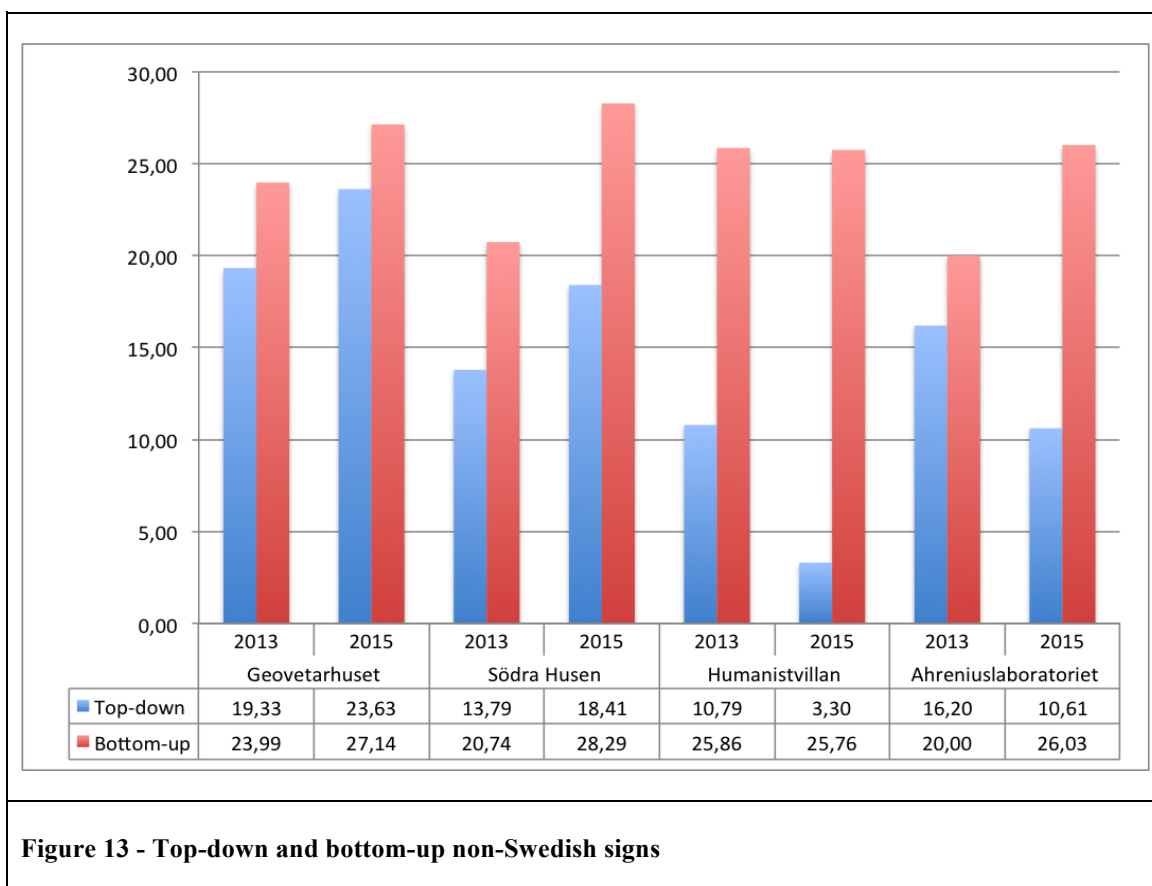
Figure 13 - Top-down and bottom-up non-Swedish signs

Figure 13 is the final figure that will be examined here. This figure shows the percentage of TD and BU signs that are non-Swedish, i.e. that are written in either English or a mix of Swedish or English. The purpose of this figure is to more clearly show possible patterns concerning non-Swedish signs in relation to TD and BU signs.

There is a predominant pattern clearly visible in this diagram that shows BU signs having a greater percentage of non-Swedish signs in all observed areas both in 2013 and 2015. Another observation is that there is a clear increase in non-Swedish signs in Geovetarhuset and Södra Husen while the status of the other two areas is different. At Humanistvillan one can observe a percental decrease in the TD non-Swedish signs while the BU signs remain about the same in 2015 as in 2013. Lastly, Ahreniuslaboratoriet shows a decrease in TD non-Swedish signage while the BU signage shows an increase. This decrease and increase are rather sizeable considering they are over 6% in both cases.

Generally, we can observe a clear connection here between non-Swedish signs and whether or not the sign is TD or BU. Without exception one can see that there are more BU than TD signs that are non-Swedish.

In comparison to figure 10, we can also draw some interesting conclusions. Both of these figures are concerned with TD and BU signs. Firstly, at Geovetarhuset we can see an increase in the percentage of non-Swedish signs along with a mostly unchanged distribution of TD and BU signs in general, indicating a general favouring of mixed and English TD and BU signs. The same pattern can be observed for Södra Husen, although

there is a slightly larger change in the distribution of TD and BU signs there. Humanistvillan provides a more dramatic change in that there is a sizeable increase of TD signs along with a decrease in BU signs, coupled with a large decrease in non-Swedish TD signs to a minuscule level. This could signify a reduced effort to use languages other than Swedish at Humanistvillan. However, the BU signs remain at roughly the same percentage, thus there is support from the bottom but not from the top. A similar situation appears to be happening at Ahreniuslaboratoriet. A majority of the signs there are TD but there is a significant majority of BU signs among the non-Swedish signs. Much like at Humanistvillan, this could indicate low support from the top but high support from the bottom, for non-Swedish signs.

6. Discussion

The following discussion will be focused on how the findings of this survey can be interpreted in relation to the language policy and the communication policy of Stockholm University. Reiterating and summarising what the policy documents say concerning language use, there should be parallel use of English and Swedish. The emphasis seems to lie on lifting up Swedish so as not to let it lose domains of use to English. Language use should also, according to the communication policy, take into account the potential receiver of the message by taking interests, previous knowledge and experience into account. This final point may be quite important in that messages in the LL should appeal to their target audience if they are to be noticed, read or acted upon. Thus it would be reasonable to assume that this appeal to a target audience plays a role in the forming of the LL at large. Support for this kind of appeal can be found in the form of figures 7-13 above where it appears that certain areas show larger proportions of certain languages either from the top or from the bottom. The fact that the proportions of different languages differ from area to area, as well as depending on whether they are TD or BU, could signify that they are appealing to a certain group of individuals. Reflecting on the principle of parallel language use concerning Swedish and English, it seems clear that parallel use is not something that is applied consistently to the LL of Stockholm University. There seems to be little or no support for this within the LL, simply by the fact that there is a very large proportional difference between the percentages of Swedish and non-Swedish signs. This difference between Swedish and non-Swedish signs could be an indicator of a language hierarchy. It is clear that a command of Swedish would be advantageous within the LL of Stockholm University.

As it appears, most signs are in Swedish, indicating that this language is placed highly in this hierarchy. English is also placed very highly as the second most common language appears to be English. This high status of monolingual English could be explained by the common practice of using English as a lingua franca within academic circles, especially within natural sciences. It is somewhat understandable that Swedish would, as it appears, be the language most associated with power considering the location of the University. Relating back to the policy documents it is difficult not to notice an inherent conflict in their goals. While it is a goal to be an attractive university for international students, an effort is made to keep the Swedish language in parallel

with English in academic pursuits. As has been discussed by many previously (Björkman, 2014; Kuteeva & Airey, 2013; Kuteeva, 2014; Risager, 2012;) it is important to involve practices in the formation of policy and as far as can be investigated through the data in this survey, this has not been the case.

Disregarding random variation and a local effort to appeal to a certain group of individuals, one is left with the possible scenario of using Swedish, English or both as a means of reaching out to a large group. This is what appears to be the goal of the policy concerning communication. Swedish is then used due to there being many native speakers in the area considering the student population, and English is used as a lingua franca to reach those who do not have a command of Swedish. Regarding motivations for language use upon signs within the LL there should ideally be an effort to appeal to a large group when signs belong to the TD category. This is not always the case, especially considering the percentage of signs at Humanistvillan that have languages other than Swedish on them in 2015 (figure 13). BU signs however, may vary more considering they do not have any obligation to follow language policy guidelines. This may provide some explanation for the variation between BU and TD signs with regard to language use.

A second point of discussion is the theoretical basis for comparing policy documents with the LL of an area and analysing said LL in terms of languages used within it. Based upon previously mentioned research, there appears to be a basis for using the LL as a tool to aid in the analysis of languages as well as dominant parties within a geographical area. Hence, the LL was surveyed as part of the current thesis in order to compare language use on signs to the policies in place. However, the current survey is not without fault or beyond improvement. In order to draw more solid conclusions concerning the LL and its connection to the inhabitants of the area along with the language policy documents, it would have been advantageous to further categorise the collected signs into more categories. These categorical groupings could be any or all of the following: origin of the sign; intended audience; languages used on the sign. This information would have enabled deeper, more solid conclusions to be drawn as well as enabling more a qualitative analysis of the LL of Stockholm University. For example, it would have been possible to examine the prevalence of BU signs at Södra Husen as well as the anomalous percentages of BU mixed language signs at Geovetarhuset in 2015 and Humanistvillan in 2013 (figure 12). The reasoning behind not exploring additional categories was due to this not being within the scope of the current thesis, though they would be very interesting as avenues for further research.

Somewhat related to the analysis of data is the human factor involved in the data collection and categorisation of signs. This is a factor that Cenoz and Gorter (2006) bring up briefly and that has likely had an effect upon the results of the current survey (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006, p. 71). The subjectivity of the researcher categorising the signs affects the reliability and the validity of the survey. One way around this issue would be to have clearly defined categories and to invite interraters to help with categorising. The researcher and the invited helpers can then double check each other and confer about their disagreements if there are any. In hindsight, it would have been advantageous to enlist the help of an interrater to aid in the process of categorising signs.

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Also attributed to the human factor are the choices that were made during the process of gathering data. The fact that this process took place in two different periods enables comparisons of the data over time and the possibility of deeper conclusions to be drawn following analysis. However, this also has an effect upon the general reliability of the survey and possibly also its validity in that there may be different types of signs being put up depending upon the time of year. In all likelihood, there should be more advertisements for living quarters and new courses during the autumn term since this is when most of the students begin their studies.

Finally, the current survey could possibly be expanded upon in a few different ways, some of which have been touched upon briefly above. First of all, more data could be gathered using the same method as for the gathering of data in 2015. This method was very effective in terms of time spent and would have made it possible to analyse the complete linguistic landscape of Stockholm University, had sufficient foresight been used. Doing this would have also made the conclusions more reliable. Also touched upon briefly is the possibility of gathering more information about the signs, such as their origin and target group, for deeper analysis and thus more valid conclusions. Another interesting point of analysis would be to pick small areas within the LL (one message board for example) and examine the percentages of TD and BU signs locally. Possibilities to do such things would be quite high, although time-consuming, considering modern smartphone technology and geographical tagging of photographs.

7. Conclusion

Few firm conclusions can be drawn without the support of more detailed data from the LL of Stockholm University. There are however three conclusions that can be drawn: First of all, there appears to be a difference between the practices shaping the LL and the practices mentioned in the language policy. This is not the case for the communications policy however. Secondly, it appears to be the case that Swedish is the language associated with power at Stockholm University. Support for this conclusion can be found in the form of a clear majority of all the signs in the LL being in Swedish. Lastly, English is more commonly used in BU signs, lending support for the indication of a detachment of practices governing BU signs from those governing TD signs.

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Appendix A

Total signs				
	Geovetarhuset	Södra Husen	Humanistvillan	Ahreniuslaboratoriet
Total All Swedish	4310	1284	254	332
Total All English	940	263	15	41
Total Swedish and English Mix	490	162	9	11
Total signs	5740	1709	278	384

Comparison of percentages				
	Geovetarhuset	Södra Husen	Humanistvillan	Ahreniuslaboratoriet
% All Swedish	80,68	75,13	91,37	86,46
% All English	12,70	15,39	5,40	10,68
% Swedish and English Mix	6,62	9,48	3,24	2,86

Percentage Top-down and Bottom-up				
	Geovetarhuset	Södra Husen	Humanistvillan	Ahreniuslaboratoriet
% Top-down	66,35	34,64	76,26	80,99
% Bottom-up	33,65	65,36	23,74	19,01

Comparison of Percentages - Top-down and Bottom-up and language categories								
	Geovetarhuset		Södra Husen		Humanistvillan		Ahreniuslaboratoriet	
	TD	BU	TD	BU	TD	BU	TD	BU
% All Swedish	76,37	72,86	81,59	71,71	96,70	74,24	89,39	73,97
% All English	17,86	13,81	10,30	18,08	1,42	18,18	8,04	21,92
% Swedish and English Mix	5,77	13,33	8,11	10,21	1,89	7,58	2,57	4,11