ФУНКЦІОНУВАННЯ СЛОВ'ЯНСЬКИХ МОВ. СОЦІОЛІНГВІСТИКА

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UPPER SORBIAN IN BUDYŠIN / BAUTZEN: EXAMPLES FROM BAUTZEN'S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

This article investigates the frequency of Upper Sorbian, an endangered Slavic minority language, in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin / Bautzen. The analysis in this article focuses on the languages used in specific functions (hours of operation, operational instructions, and street names) on signage along a major street in the center of Budyšin / Bautzen.

Key words: Linguistic Landscape, Upper Sorbian, Budyšin / Bautzen, Saxony, Signage.

1.0 Introduction. Upper Sorbian is an autochthonous Slavic language spoken in the Lusatian area of the eastern German state of Saxony. The use of this language has declined steadily and at present there may be fewer than 10,000 speakers of the language in the whole country. The German federal government has recognized Upper Sorbian as a minority language and the Saxon state government has guaranteed Sorbs the right to their language as well as the right for Upper Sorbian to appear on public signage in the Sorbian areas of Lusatia. Linguistic landscape analysis, or in other words, the analysis of language in public space is a practical method to assess where and in what contexts a language or languages are used in public space. Such analyses are frequently done in multilingual areas to examine the relationship between dominant (and often official) languages and unofficial, minority, or immigrant languages. This article examines the languages used on signage in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape with the following functions – *hours of operation*, *street names*, and *operational instructions*. Section one provides background information on the concept of linguistic landscapes and the history of the Upper Sorbian language as wells as its current situation in Germany. Section two delves into relevant linguistic landscape research both in a more general context and relating specifically to Upper Sorbian as theoretical groundwork for this analysis. Section three details the methodology of this article's analysis, clarifying terms important to this research such as *sign* and *function*, and gives an example of the methodology in practice. Section four presents and analyzes the findings of the research. Section five summarizes and discusses the findings before final

conclusions are drawn and the future outlook of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape is presented in section six.

1.1 The Concept of Linguistic Landscape. In comparison to other linguistic disciplines, the study of language on signs has a relatively short history. Rosenbaum et al. (1977) analyzed the languages on signs along Keren Kayemet Street in Jerusalem and later, in 1991, Spolsky and Cooper examined language on signs in Jerusalem further, analyzing not only the languages on the sign but also types of signs. Although linguists have used the term in other disciplines, the term linguistic landscape was first used to describe written language in public space by Rodrigue Landry and Richard Y. Bourhis in their 1997 paper *Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality an Empirical Study*. In this study, Landry and Bourhis examined the effects of French in Canada's linguistic landscape on the perception of the vitality of Canada's francophone communities. In the abstract of the paper, the pair define linguistic landscape as «[…] the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 23). They later elaborate on this by stating: «The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25).

This definition of linguistic landscape serves as the basis for many analyses of linguistic landscapes, including this one. While Landry and Bourhis's definition is the most frequently cited in linguistic landscape studies, some scholars have suggested other definitions for linguistic landscapes. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) for example, proposed the idea of linguistic landscape as a *Gestalt*, the collection «[…] of physical objects – shops, post offices, kiosks, etc. – associated with colours, degrees of saliency, specific locations, and above all written words that make up their markers.» (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006. p. 8). This suggestion provides interesting implications but has not been frequently cited in linguistic landscape research.

1.2 Upper Sorbian in the context of Germany. Upper Sorbian is one of two closely related West Slavic languages spoken in the Lusatia area of Germany. The history of Sorbian and the Sorbs can be traced to the sixth and seventh centuries CE, during which much of the land around and east of the Elbe and the Saale rivers in what is now northern and eastern Germany was settled by Slavic tribes (Herrmann, 1970, p. 10). After defeating the Slavic tribes between the Elbe and the Oder, colonization of those lands by Germans began in the mid-12th century CE and lasted until around the year 1300 (Herrmann, 1970, p. 407). The influx of German settlers led to cultural and linguistic contact which can be seen in loan words, such as Upper Sorbian *štom* (tree) from German *Stamm* (trunk/stem), but also in loan structures such as the use of the verb *wordowaś* (itself a borrowing of the German verb *werden* 'to become') in the passive construction of Lower Sorbian (Šrejdaŕ & Zakar, 2017, p. 48).[1]

After initial contact and colonization, the German speaking ruling class seemed relatively uninterested in imposing German on the Sorbian peasantry until the 17th century (Stone, 2016, p. 76), at which time the Duke of Saxony-Merseburg and Margrave of Lower Lusatia, Christian I, through his supreme consistory enacted a policy of Germanization (Stone, 2016, p. 145). Likewise, in Upper Lusatia,

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[1] Take for example the sentence *Ježa wordujo zjěžona* [The food will be eaten.] (Šrejdaŕ & Zakar, 2017, p. 48)

Sorbian authors were censored by Saxon authorities (Stone, 2016, p. 152), although by 1702 the first Upper Sorbian translation of the bible was printed (Stone, 2016, p. 159). The suppression of the Sorbian language intensified after Lower Lusatia and much of Upper Lusatia passed from Saxony to Prussia after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Prussian authorities forbade the use Sorbian as the language of instruction for older students and allowed its use amongst younger students only in a role secondary to German (Stone, 2016, p. 225). Church services in Sorbian were also initially reduced until backlash from Sorbian parishioners forced authorities in 1845 to allow them to continue (Stone, 2016, pp. 225-227). Even in Saxon Upper Lusatia, where authorities were more tolerant of Sorbian, the German language became the language of instruction in elementary schools and beginning in 1836, increasing amounts of German church services were held in the traditionally Sorbian (since 1619) St. Michael's church in Budyšin/Bautzen (Stone, 2016, p. 227). The Germanization of the Sorbs continued into the nation building period of the late 19th century, and after the creation of the German Empire in 1871, «[…] the German state actively sought to restrict the use of Sorbian and tolerated it only when the use of German blocked communication» (Marti, 2007, p. 34). After the First World War, the situation for the Sorbs improved slightly. Article 113 of the constitution of the Weimar Republic recognized the right of non-German speaking minorities within Germany, including the Sorbs, to use their native language in education and in internal administration as well as in the administration of justice (§ 113 Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs).[2]

This improvement was short-lived, however, and by 1937 Sorbian use was banned and Domowina[3] disbanded by the Nazi regime. Shortly after the Red Army entered eastern Germany, Domowina was reestablished and in the first two decades of the GDR, an attempt was made to give Sorbian co-official status in Lusatia (Pech, 1999, p. 71). Unfortunately, this attempt never came to fruition as efforts to develop German-Sorbian bilingualism in Lusatia were rejected primarily by the German population (Pech, 1999, p. 74). In the 1950s and 1960s the GDR planned to develop the lignite, energy, and chemical industries in Lusatia (Pech, 2012, pp. 194-195). These plans notably culminated in the construction of Großkombinat Schwarze Pumpe (Sorbian *Čorna Pumpa*), a massive coal and energy production center, which was described as «[…] *row Serbstwa*. […the grave of the Sorbs]» (Pech, 2012, p. 195).[4] Cities such as Chóśebuz/Cottbus in Brandenburg and Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda in Saxony experienced intense urbanization and the populations of both cities increased significantly (Pech, 1999, pp. 164-165). This increased urbanization led to a population shift, causing the Sorbs to become the minority in many Lusatian cities. For example, in 1880/84 58.2% of the population of Wojerecy/Hoyerswerda's administrative district was Sorbian, but in 1955/56 Sorbs accounted for only 24.8% of the population (Pech, 1999, p. 167). At this time, schools in Lusatia were divided into A-type schools, in which all subjects including German were taught in Sorbian and B-type schools, in which classes were taught in German but Sorbian courses were compulsory (Stone, 2016, p. 335). In 1962, however, German replaced Sorbian as the language of instruction in science courses A-type schools (Pech, 2012, p. 200) and Sorbian classes at B-type schools, which had been compulsory, became optional in 1964 (Pech, 2012, p. 203). As a result of these changes, the numbers of Sorbian

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[2] Verfassung des deutschen Reichs. (2022, January 15). In *Wikisource*. Last updated 2021, May 15. https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Verfassung_des_Deutschen_Reichs_(1919)#Artikel_118

[3] Domowina is a registered association which acts as an umbrella organization for the Lusatian Sorbs representing the Sorbian people and protecting the Sorbian languages and culture.

[4] The full phrase reads «*Čorna Pumpa je row Serbstwa.*»

speakers and learners dropped. By the 1960s, the use of Sorbian in public was no longer encouraged (Pech, 2012, p. 202).

Since reunification, Upper and Lower Sorbian have been recognized as a minority languages within the Federal Republic of Germany. Additionally, the German federal government has signed and ratified both the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework for the protection of National Minorities. Since signing however, «[…] the German state has repeatedly been criticized in the official monitoring reports for not taking care sufficiently of the Sorbian language, in particular with regard to Lower Sorbian» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 84). Rather than creating policy concerning the protection of the Sorbian languages at the federal level, the German federal government has instead delegated responsibility to the states in which Upper and Lower Sorbian are spoken. In Saxony, Sorbian and the Sorbs are mentioned in the state constitution (§6 of the Verfassung des Freistaates Sachsen) and the rights of both language and people are spelled out in detail in the *Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen* (hereafter SächsSorbG) which came into effect in 1999.[5] In the SächsSorbG, the right most pertinent to this research is the right to bilingual signage (§10 SächsSorbG). The first paragraph of this section requires public buildings and institutions, streets, paths, squares, and bridges to have bilingual signage and the second paragraph states that the Saxon government is working toward labeling other buildings in both languages, provided that they have importance to the public. Through this law, Upper Sorbian is legally required to appear in the linguistic landscape of Sorbian municipalities in Saxony.

Presently, it is unclear how many speakers of Upper Sorbian there are. An estimate frequently given, even on the Upper Sorbian Wikipedia page, is 20,000 – 25,000 (Howson, 2017, p. 359). An unofficial estimate from 2012 dropped this number to 12,000 (Dołowy-Rybińska, 2012, p. 47) and in 2014, T. Lewaszkiewicz went as far as to estimate that there were at most only 9,000-10,000 speakers of Upper and Lower Sorbian in all of Germany (Lewaszkiewicz, 2014, p. 44). Due to low numbers of speakers, Upper Sorbian is deemed «Definitely Endangered» by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010).

This lack of a definitive number can be traced to the irregularity of German censuses and the apparent lack of interest in language data by the German federal government. Prior to German reunification in 1990, censuses were taken in 1981 in the GDR and 1987 in the FDR[6] but since reunification there has only been one census, in 2011, with a second census coming in 2022.[7] In the sole census in the last three decades, respondents were not asked about what language was spoken at home. This has been partially addressed in the micro census – a census of around 1% of the German population (~810,000 people) which began in 2017.[8]

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[5] *Gesetz über die Rechte der Sorben im Freistaat Sachsen (Sächsisches Sorbengesetz – SächsSorbG)* (1999). https://revosax.sachsen.de/vorschrift_gesamt/3019.html
[6] Liste der Völkerzählungen in Deutschland. (2022, August 27). In *Wikipedia*. Last updated 2022, May 13. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_der_Volksz%C3%A4hlungen_in_Deutschland
[7] Additionally, there was a census test taken in December 2001, conducted in order to audit civil registers for multiple entries. However, the census test was limited to residents born on January 1, May 15, and September 1 of any year as well as residents who provided only partial birthdates. *Gesetz zur Vorbereitung eines registergestützten Zensus (Zensusvorbereitungsgesetz)* (2001). http://www.bgbl.de/xaver/bgbl/start.xav?startbk=Bundesanzeiger_BGBl&jumpTo=bgbl101s1882.pdf (accessed 28.08.2022)
[8] *Was ist der Mikrozensus?* https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Gesellschaft-Umwelt/Bevoelkerung/Haushalte-Familien/Methoden/mikrozensus.html

The 159th question of the micro census asked «Welche Sprache wird in Ihrem Haushalt vorwiegend gesprochen? [Which language is predominantly spoken in your household?]». In addition to German, several other languages are listed as potential responses, Upper Sorbian was not one of the options given. Instead, if Upper Sorbian is spoken at home, it would have to be listed as «…eine sonstige europäische Sprache [another European language]».[9]

2.0 Theoretical Framework. In 2006, several linguistic landscape studies were published in one volume, including those of Cenoz and Gorter, Ben-Rafael et al., and Backhaus. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) applied similar methodology to Rosenbaum et al. (1977) by documenting and analyzing multilingualism along an individual street in a larger urban area. Their research, however, documented the linguistic landscape in two cities Donstia – San Sebastian and Ljouwert – Leeuwarden, focusing on minority languages Basque and Frisian, and their relationships to the dominant languages spoken in Spain and The Netherlands. This study differs notably from other linguistic landscape research, in that, instead of focusing on individual signs, they chose to focus on storefronts as their unit of analysis. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) examined Hebrew, Arabic, and English in the linguistic landscapes of multiple locations within Israel and East Jerusalem and how the choice of language or languages reflected the dynamics (rational considerations, preservation of self, or power relations) present between Israeli Jews, Palestinian Israelis and non-Israeli Palestinians. As part of this research, Ben-Rafael et al. distinguished between top-down signs and bottom-up signs, a distinction also made by Landry and Bourhis (1997).[10]

Top-down signs were coded according to their belonging to national or local, and cultural, social, educational, medical or legal institutions. Bottom-up items were coded according to categories such as professional (legal, medical, consulting), commercial (and subsequently, according to branches like food, clothing, furniture etc.) and services (agencies like real estate, translation or manpower) (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 11).

This distinction has been used in other linguistic landscape research including Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Backhaus (2006). Backhaus focused on multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of largely monolingual Japan. His analysis centered on Tokyo subway stations, places where there could be large numbers of foreigners in need of multilingual signage. In his analysis, Backhaus gave a definition of what would be considered a sign in his research, instead of relying on the reader's inherent understanding of the term sign or naming the specific signs he was going to be investigating. In his research «A sign was considered to be any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame» (Backhaus, 2006, p. 55).

In 2010, Sebba pointed out that previous research had focused on static objects in the linguistic landscape and identified newspapers, T-shirts, books, currency, stamps, and tickets as mobile linguistic objects that exist within a place and should also be taken into consideration when analyzing a location's linguistic landscape (Sebba, 2010, p. 61). Sebba then applied this to his examination of the linguistic landscape of the Isle of Man, noting that on mobile objects in the linguistic landscape «Manx is largely 'marginal', confined to symbolic spaces such as headers» (Sebba, 2010, p. 73).

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[9] *Mikrozensus 2017 und Arbeitskräftestichprobe 2017 der Europäischen Union.* [Questionnaire] https://www.forschungsdatenzentrum.de/sites/default/files/mz_2017_eu_zusatz.pdf
[10] Landry and Bourhis, cited Leclerc's (1989) distinction between government and private signs. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 26).

Although Scarvaglieri et al. (2013) used the term «sign» as their unit of analysis in their examinations of the linguistic landscapes of the *Lange Reihe* and *Steindamm* areas of Hamburg, they also discuss an important basis for understanding the function of a sign: «From a communicative point of view, each sign documents a unit of textual linguistic action according to the systematic conditions of topological and chronical dislocation and serves its own purpose: it seeks to influence, or to generally activate the reader in a way determined by its linguistic and semiotic form-function-nexus and the communicative constellation in which it is used». (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013, p. 55).

Specifically in relation to Upper Sorbian linguistic landscape research, Marten and Saagpakk (2019) conducted a qualitative analysis of the linguistic landscape of Bautzen, analyzing the Sorbian elements of the physical and digital landscapes of the city, conducting interviews with inhabitants of the city concerning the perception of Sorbian by the populace, and examining the effects German language policy has had on the language. They found that Sorbian exists only in limited contexts in both the physical and digital linguistic landscape, the language is often used in only a symbolic sense in those contexts, and that people in the city were either aware of the language's existence but unbothered by its lack of spoken and visual use, totally unaware that Sorbian existed, or even firmly against its use because «they all know German […]» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 96).

Most recently, Müller (2020) illustrates current issues in linguistic landscape research, focusing primarily on the lack of uniformity concerning the unit of analysis, and suggests her own definition of a unit of analysis. In doing so she identifies four aspects of linguistic landscape research methodology that require clarification, since they, especially the last two, can vary significantly from investigation to investigation. The four aspects she names are: «*Methode, Repräsentativität, Festlegung der auszuwertenden Kategorien*, und *Definition einer Analyseeinheit* [methods, representativeness, determination of the categories to be evaluated, and the definition of the unit of analysis]» (Müller, 2020, p. 91). Müller proposes her own definition of a unit of analysis that differs from the physical sign used by Backhaus (2006) and collective storefront used by Cenoz and Gorter (2006): «Hier soll eine Einheit in der LL deshalb funktional als ein mehr oder weniger prototypisches Mitglied einer gefundenen Kategorie definiert werden: Eine grundlegende funktionale Einheit ist eine Analyseeinheit für eine qualitative oder quantitative Untersuchung der LL. [Here, therefore, a unit in the LL is to be defined functionally as a more or less prototypical member of a found category: A basic functional unit is a unit of analysis for a qualitative or quantitative study of LL.]» (Müller, 2020, p. 105).

By her definition, signs can be grouped into categories based on the functions they express. However, they must also adhere, more or less, to a prototype, a mental representation of the meaning of the category. Essentially, this is the association of certain characteristics with certain signs and if a sign is a prototypical member of a category, it must display at least some characteristics that all members of the category share. She gives examples of opening times and door stickers. Signs that conform to the category *business hours*, have the name of the shop, the days that it is open, the opening times on those days, and the label "business hours" or some derivation thereof (Müller, 2020, p. 102). Signs that conform to the category *door stickers*, have physical similarities, i.e., generally small, hard to read, and stuck to the entry door of a business, that communicate information about acts possible

in the shop (e.g., paying with specific credit cards) or information about the shop's connections to other businesses, websites, or institutions (Müller, 2020, pp. 102-103).

These studies provide a firm basis upon which to conduct further linguistic landscape research. The research presented in this article has two objectives; first, to provide quantitative data on the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin/Bautzen, second, to analyze the languages present on signs within a given area in that linguistic landscape with the following functions: *street names*, *hours of operation*, and *operational* instructions. To achieve these objectives, the following research questions are given.

(1) What languages and which language combinations are present in the functions on the signs analyzed?

**(2) Are the functions on the signs analyzed monolingual or bi/multilingual?**

(3) Do the functions analyzed appear on top-down or bottom-up signs?

3.0 Methodology. The methodology of this research is largely based on those studies discussed in the previous section, particularly Cenoz and Gorter (2006), Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), Backhaus (2006), and Müller (2020). Before detailing the exact methodology of this research, the four aspects of linguistic landscape research as discussed by Müller (2020) will be clarified as they pertain to this research and an example of the methodology in practice will be given.

In terms of method, the research in this article is intended to be a quantitative study of the presence of Upper Sorbian on signs in Budyšin / Bautzen. However, in the analysis of the data collected, qualitative assessments will be made. In far as representativity is concerned, this research analyzes visible language on static objects along one street within a larger urban setting - following the precedent set by Rosenbaum et al. (1977) and Cenoz and Gorter (2006). Budyšin / Bautzen was chosen because it serves as the cultural hub of Upper Sorbian housing various Sorbian institutions including the Serbski Institut/Sorbian Institute, Serbski Dom the headquarters of Domowina, and the Serbski Ludowy Ansambl / Sorbian National Ensemble amongst others. The focus area of this study is along Außere Lauenstraße / Innere Lauenstraße / Hauptmarkt / Fleischmarkt / An der Petrikirche between Dom St. Petri and Lauengraben/Friedensbrücke (ca. 350m see Map 1) in Budyšin / Bautzen. This area was chosen due to its central location in Budyšin / Bautzen and its inclusion of municipal buildings, religious institutions, and ample mixed consumer and residential space.

This research has three categories of evaluation: (1) which languages and language combinations were present, (2) whether the signs were monolingual or bi/multilingual, and (3) whether the signs were top-down or bottom-up. Top-down and bottom-up designations in this research follow the model presented by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), in that signs from governmental, religious, educational, and cultural institutions are considered to be top-down whereas signs from private businesses or individuals are considered to be bottom-up.

As seen in section 2, defining the unit of analysis has been tricky and far from universal in linguistic landscape research. The unit of analysis for this research were those signs with the following functions: *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, or *street names*. This unit of analysis requires two clarifications, what is meant by sign and what is meant by function.
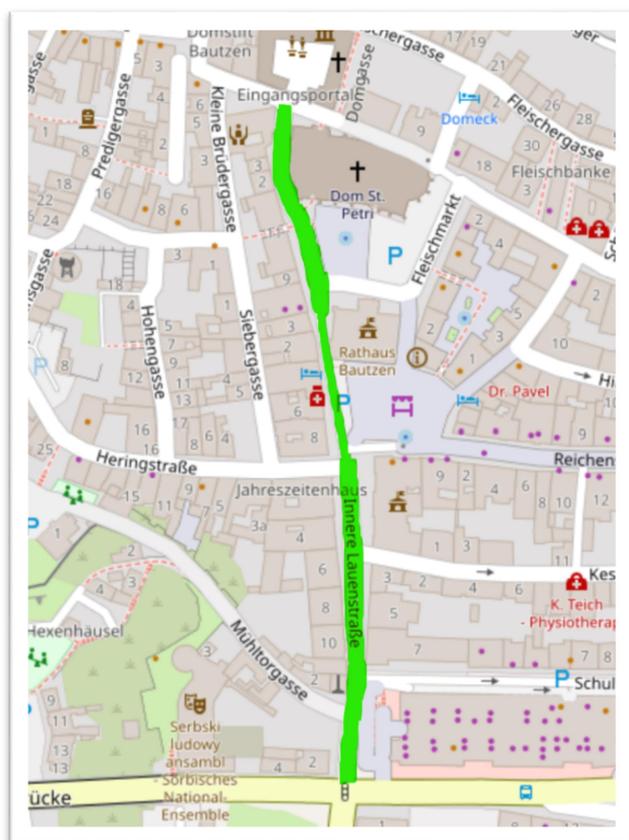
Map 1. Focus Area of the Study

Linguistic landscape researchers tend to focus on specific types of signs or rely on the readers inherent understanding of what a sign is. Backhaus (2006) breaks this mold by giving a concrete definition of a sign. However, Backhaus uses of the phrase «…spatially definable area…» in his definition, which is problematic. The term spatial refers to anything that occupies space. This can be understood to mean both the physical sign itself as well as the space on it. According to Backhaus' definition, if a sign had multiple spatially definable areas, perhaps defined by color or shape, it could theoretically consist of multiple signs. Due to this lack of clarity, a definition for a sign was created for this research. In the scope of this research, **a sign is written or printed text designed for public consumption within a definable physical area that exhibits a function or functions**. This definition emphasizes the physical nature of a sign, its existence within a frame, the body or side of a vehicle, or the edge of a piece of paper, wooden board, or metal sheet, as well as the fact that it communicates a minimum of one function.

Function in this case is based on the definition of text function, «[…] der Zweck, den ein Text im Rahmen einer Kommunikationssituation erfüllt. [… the purpose that a text fulfills in the scope of a communicative situation]» (Brinker et al., 2018, p. 87). Functions describe the purposes of individual texts on a sign (as defined above) in the scope of the greater communicative purpose of the sign. At times, a sign may only have one function, which equals its communicative purpose (e.g., street signs, 'push' signs on doors), but when a sign

has more than one function, the individual functions are subordinate and together they form the greater communicative purpose of the sign. In this research, three functions have been selected for closer analysis, *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, and *street names*. Included in the *hours of operation* designation were the times of regularly scheduled events such as church services and letterbox collections.

    3.1 Methodology in Practice: Examples from the Corpus of this Study. Consider the signs in figures one and two. To fit the definition given in the previous section, these signs must have a definable physical area and must exhibit at least one function.

Figure 1. City administration sign

Figure 2. Parking meter instructions in German and Upper Sorbian

    Both signs have a definable physical area, the edge of the metal sheet in figure one and the surrounding metal frame in figure two. The sign in *figure one* displays multiple functions namely *city name* (associated with the logo), *building name*, *address*, and *hours of operation* whereas the sign in *figure two* displays only one function, *operational instruction*. Both therefore, are signs eligible for analysis and are indeed part of the corpus of this study.

    If the *sign* alone were the unit of analysis, then it is likely that both of these signs would be considered to be multilingual, because both signs do have information in more than one language. An issue arises when looking at *figure one* however. The *building name*, *address*, and *city name* functions on the sign are given in both German and Upper Sorbian, but the *hours of operation* function is only given in German. Should this sign be considered multilingual if all information is not

given in all languages? This is where the advantage of sign function as a unit of analysis presents itself. Instead of focusing on the sign as a whole, except in the cases in which the sign only has one function, one can focus on functions individually and, in this case, determine that in *figure one* all functions except *hours of operation* are bilingual, and in *figure two*, the only function of the sign, *operational instructions*, is bilingual. The focus on sign function allows for a more detailed analysis of a linguistic landscape, especially in research concerning multilingualism in the linguistic landscape.

3.2 Data Collection and Processing. The data for this research was collected using a digital camera on the 11th of December, 2021. For this analysis, there were two rounds of sampling. First, an object in the cityscape had to meet the definition a sign. In the focus area mentioned previously, 340 images of signs were taken. Sign duplicates or signs that were obscured in some way or unclear were not included in the first round of sampling. Then, in the second round of sampling, the signs consisting of or displaying *hours of operation*, *operational instructions*, or *street names* were selected for analysis. Of the signs in the 340 images, 43 made it through both rounds of selection. These became the corpus of analysis for this research. This corpus was then analyzed based on the categories, number of languages present, whether the sign function was monolingual or multilingual, language combinations in the sign function, and whether the sign function was top-down or bottom-up.

4.0 Results. This section details the findings of this research described in subsections based on research questions one through three.

4.1 Languages and Language Combinations Present. As seen in Table one, three languages were present on the signage analyzed. Of the 43 signs analyzed, German appeared on 100% of the signs, Upper Sorbian appeared on nearly 28% of the signs, and English on only one sign.

Table 1. Languages Present

German (%)	Upper Sorbian (%)	English (%)
43 (100%)	12 (27.91%)	1 (2.32%)

The latter two languages appeared only in conjunction with German. Unsurprisingly, German is the dominant language on signage in Budyšin / Bautzen as evidenced by its appearance on all signs. The appearance of Upper Sorbian on over a quarter of signs was unanticipated based on the information given in Marten & Saagpakk's analysis before collection of the data. English appeared on only one sign and there are several possible reasons for the absence of English in the linguistic landscape. One reason could be the fact that the functions analyzed are those in which English would seldom appear in Germany. For example, outside of personal names, English would likely not appear in *street names* in Germany. Another possible reason, at least in the case of *hours of operation*, could be that several days of the week – Monday (Mo.), Friday (Fr.), and Saturday (Sa.) – have the same abbreviation in German and English and could therefore be easily understood by speakers of either.

Table two shows the language combinations present and as stated above, German appeared on every sign. Of the signs that were bilingual, there are two variants. The German/Upper Sorbian combination appeared on just over one quarter (27.91%) of the signs and the German/English combination appeared only once.

Table 2. Language Combinations

German Monolingual (%)	German/Upper Sorbian (%)	German/English (%)
30 (69.77%)	12 (27.91%)	1 (2.32%)

Table three breaks down language use by function. Most noteworthy is the distribution of Upper Sorbian use. The language can be found in all functions but appears most frequently on street names.

Table 3. Languages by Function

	Hours of Operation	Operational Instructions	Street Names
German (%)	32 (74.42%)	2 (4.65%)	9 (20.93%)
Upper Sorbian* (%)	2 (16.67%)	1 (8.33%)	9 (75%)
English* (%)	-	1 (100%)	-

* in conjunction with German

4.2 Monolingual or Bi/Multilingual. Pertaining to research question two, Table four illustrates that just under 70% (69.77%) of the total signs analyzed were monolingual signs and 30% (30.23%) were multilingual, in this case bilingual.

Table 4. Monolingual or Bi / Multilingual

Sign Function	Monolingual (%)	Bilingual (%)	Total (%)
Hours of Operation	30 (93.75%)	2 (6.25%)	32 (100%)
Street Names	-	9 (100%)	9 (100%)
Operational Instructions	-	2 (100%)	2 (100%)
Total	30 (69.77%)	13 (30.23%)	43 (100%)

Monolingual in this case means monolingually German. The fact that nearly 70% of all functions analyzed were monolingually German confirms the notion that German is the dominant language in the linguistic landscape. An overwhelming majority (93.75%) of *hours of operation* signs were monolingual and only 6.25% were bilingual. This strongly implies that German is the de facto communicative medium in Budyšin/Bautzen. Both *street names* and *operational instruction* signs were 100% bilingual. It is not surprising that *street names* are bilingual as they are mentioned specifically in §10 of the SächsSorbG. It was surprising, however, that both signs with *operational instructions* functions were bilingual, particularly the parking meter, which had all information in German and Upper Sorbian.[11]

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[11] However, the Upper Sorbian in the *operational instructions* function of the parking meter was later confirmed by Lubina Hajduk-Veljkovic, lecturer of Upper Sorbian at the Technical University of Dresden, and Juliana Kaulfürst/Juliana Kaulfürstowa M.A., to be grammatically incorrect. For further discussion, see section 5.0

4.3 Top-Down vs Bottom-Up. To illustrate the division between top-down and bottom-up signs, Table 5 gives the percentages of the signs analyzed. Between the two there is nearly a 60/40 split between bottom-up (58.14%) and top-down (41.86%) signs. The bottom-up signs in this study were exclusively corporate, commercial, or hospitality related and the top-down signs originate from the local government, religious institutions, or cultural institutions.

Table 5. Top-Down v. Bottom-Up

Top-Down (%)	18 (41.86%)
Bottom-Up (%)	25 (58.14%)
Total (%)	43 (100%)

Table six breaks down which languages appeared in what contexts. German alone appeared most frequently in bottom-up signage. Upper Sorbian on the other hand, appeared exclusively on top-down signage. These two facts clearly show the dynamic at play in the linguistic landscape in Budyšin/Bautzen, namely that German is preferred by businesses and individuals whereas Upper Sorbian is implemented by primarily by institutions. 11 of the 12 instances of Sorbian on top-down signage were from the city government, which is required by law to have bilingual signage. Nine of these 11 were *street names*, highly salient examples of compliance to the SächsSorbG. The two other instances came from *hours of operation* and *operational instructions* on a parking meter. Interestingly however, four of the six instances of top-down German monolingualism present in sign function were also from the city of Bautzen, all of them being *hours of operation* for local governmental agencies or other operations of the city government. Legally speaking, according to the SächsSorbG, these too should be in bilingual. It is important to note, that in these instances, all other functions on the signs are bilingual.

Table 6. Languages Present in Top-Down and Bottom-Up Contexts

	Top-Down (%)	Bottom-Up (%)
German monolingual	6 (20%)	24 (80%)
Upper Sorbian*	12 (100%)	-
English*	-	1 (100%)

* In conjunction with German

Table seven examines the functions analyzed found in top down and bottom-up contexts. An even three quarters of *hours of operation* functions were found on bottom-up signage. *Street names*, unsurprisingly were 100% top-down. *Operational instructions* functions were split 50/50 between top down and bottom up. This table, together with table six, indicates that German is the language of day-to-day interaction.

Table 7. Functions present in Top-Down and Bottom-Up Contexts

	Top-Down (%)	Bottom-Up (%)
Hours of Operation	8 (25%)	24 (75%)
Street Names	9 (100%)	-
Operational Instructions	1 (50%)	1 (50%)

5.0 Discussion. The evidence from this study shows is that although Upper Sorbian and English do appear in the linguistic landscape, German is clearly the dominant language, appearing on all signs and in all functions analyzed. This dominance is reenforced by the nearly 70/30 split between monolingual and bilingual functions. Bilingualism was rare in *hours of operation*, only 6.25%, but invariably present in *street names* and *operational instructions*. When other languages were present, they always appeared in conjunction with German. In terms of the top-down or bottom-up dichotomy, the majority (58.14%) of functions analyzed in this research were bottom-up. However, closer examination of this dichotomy provides interesting insights. Upper Sorbian appeared only in top-down contexts and monolingual German functions appeared primarily (80%) in bottom-up contexts. In terms of specific functions in specific contexts, *hours of operation* were overwhelmingly (75%) bottom-up. Intriguingly, these same exact bottom-up *hours of operation* functions are those that are monolingually German. When put together, it can be ascertained that, because the majority of *hours of operation* functions are not only bottom-up, representing private individuals and private businesses, but also monolingually German, the language of daily interaction between individuals is German.

In their research, Marten and Saagpakk write «There is symbolic bilingualism on signs established by local authorities, including place name signs and road signs, but this goes hardly ever beyond the level of symbolism and almost never provides any real information in Sorbian […]» (Marten & Saagpakk, 2019, p. 99). In the scope of the signs and functions analyzed in this study, this statement is largely true. *Street names* were 100% bilingual, but they do not communicate any "real" information. The *operational instructions* and *hours of operation* functions on the other hand do. *Operational instructions* in the analysis were 100% bilingual, but only occurred twice in the focus area and comprise only 4.65% of the corpus. Of these two instances, Upper Sorbian appeared only once, detailing the time in which fees could be collected on a parking meter. The significance of this will be discussed below. *Hours of operation* functions, the most frequent in the corpus, were nearly 95% monolingually German, the only exceptions coming from the Serbski Ludowy Ansambl/Sorbian National Ensemble the aforementioned parking meter, further validating Upper Sorbian's symbolic role in the linguistic landscape.

Even in the instances when Upper Sorbian is used to communicate pertinent information, it may not always be correct. For example, the Upper Sorbian translations on the parking meter's *operational instructions* function (cf. Figure 2) are not grammatically correct, indicating that the author of the text may not have had a working knowledge of the language. The issues in the Upper Sorbian text stem from the fact that it was translated verbatim from German and thus there are errors resulting from incorrect translations of words as well as grammatical and sentence

constructions that exist in German but do not exist in Upper Sorbian. The most noticeable of theses translation errors are the two mistranslations of *Parkschein* (Eng. 'parking meter receipt'). The first translation *parkowske wopismo*, literally translates to *park certificate*, park in this case meaning the location and not the action. In the second translation, *parkowansku tačel*, the adjective is correct but the noun *tačel* means long-play (LP) record. The correct translation of *Parkschein* is *parkowanski lisćik*. Further errors can be seen in the translations of *abwarten* (Eng. 'to await') and *hinter* (Eng. 'behind'). *Abwarten* is translated in to Upper Sorbian as *wočakować*, which means *to expect* (Ger. 'erwarten'), when it should have been translated as *wočaknyć*. Likewise, *hinter* is translated as *zady*, which, while correct in meaning, is one of multiple Upper Sorbian prepositions for *behind. Zady* (+ INS) denotes an object's location behind something. The more accurate preposition for the intended message on the parking meter is *za* (+ ACC) which denotes an object's movement behind something.[12] The German construction *Münzen passend einwerfen* (Eng. 'insert exact change') is also mistranslated, due to the fact that this action is not expressed in Upper Sorbian with the equivalent *dóćisnyć* but rather with the verb *tyknyć* (Ger. 'hineinstecken', Eng. 'to insert into'). Another German construction can be found in the final instruction *Parkschein von außen gut lesbar hinter die Windschutzscheibe legen*, which, as with everything else, is translated verbatim reading *parkowansku tačel dobre čitajomne zady frontalnalneje šklećy položić*. Instead of being a single independent clause in Upper Sorbian, the instruction should be broken down into an independent clause *Parkowanski lisćik za frontalnu šklećcu položić,* 'place the parking meter receipt behind the windshield' and the locational relative clause *hdźež je wotwonka derje čitajomny* 'where it is easily readable from the outside'. Additionally, in the same instruction *gut lesbar* is an adjective, and if the original translation were to be kept, then the correct Upper Sorbian translation would be *derje čitajomnje*, an adverb. However, if the instruction were to be separated into two clauses, then the translation of *gut lesbar* can be kept as the adjective, but corrected to *derje čitajomny* which corresponds to the grammatical gender of *lisćik*. One last mistranslation is in the second sentence. *Wechselt nicht* (3. Sg of *wechseln* with a negation, which in this context means 'to not give change') is translated as *njeměni*, a perfective verb that can correspond to *nicht wechseln*, but more frequently means *to not mean* (cf. Ger. '*nicht meinen*'). The correct translation of *wechselt nicht* would be *njeměnja*.[13]

Despite these mistakes, 35 such parking meters were installed across Budyšin / Bautzen in November 2020.[14] The mistakes found on these parking meters could have been easily avoided if the responsible department within the city government had simply contacted the Service Office for the Sorbian Language in Municipal Affairs, which has been open since October 2019. This office offers services including consultancy on the implementation of Sorbian-German bilingualism as well as assistance in translating German to both Upper and Lower Sorbian.[15] The lack of due diligence in taking the appropriate steps to provide

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[12] Essentially it is the difference between the phrases «the receipt is behind the windshield» and «put the receipt behind the windshield.»

[13] These remarks were confirmed to be correct by Juliana Kaulfürst/Juliana Kaulfürstowa M.A., scientific staff member at the Sorbian Institute and Lubina Hajduk-Veljkovic, lecturer of Upper Sorbian at the Technical University of Dresden, both of whom are native speakers of Upper Sorbian

[14] *Bautzen bekommt neue Parkscheinautomaten.* (09.11.2020) https://www.bautzen.de/presse/2020-511/ (accessed 04.07.2022)

[15] *Unser Service.* http://www.sb-kom.de/de/unser-service/ (accessed 04.07.2022)

correct translations of the information found in the functions on the parking meter not only casts doubt on the correctness of other examples of Upper Sorbian from the city government in the wider linguistic landscape, but also further emphasizes the symbolic nature of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape. This is to say that Upper Sorbian is not used to communicate information, instead, the dominant language, German, is used and in the cases that Upper Sorbian is used, at least by local authorities, its grammatical correctness is dubious.

This partial or noncompliance with the SächsSorbG begs the following questions: At what point is signage considered to be compliant with § 10 of the SächsSorbG? If the information in all functions of signage from public bodies such as Budyšin/Bautzen's municipal government is not in both languages, can it truly be considered bilingual as set forth by the SächsSorbG? Why aren't municipalities such as Budyšin/Bautzen adhering to the law? These questions far exceed the scope of this analysis but should be seriously considered as grounds for further research.

To some, efforts to adhere to the SächsSorbG and make signage bilingual in German and Sorbian is a waste of time and resources, as evidenced by harsh backlash found on social media, given in response to Domowina's insistence on bilingual and equal German and Sorbian representation on rescue station signs around Bautzen.[16] What many may not understand is not only is such signage is stipulated by law but also the visibility of a language impacts its use as well as the perception of the ethnolinguistic community's vitality. Landry and Bourhis (1997) write: «[…] the linguistic landscape seems to be a major, if not the most important, contributor to exo-centric beliefs concerning the vitality of the francophone communities sampled in our study.[…] The presence or absence of the in-group language in the linguistic landscape is related to how much speakers use their in-group language with family members, friends, neighbors, and store clerks; in social gatherings; in cultural activities; and as consumer of in group language television, radio, and print media.» (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 45)

So, while insistence on Upper Sorbian visibility in the linguistic landscape may seem trivial to those outside of the Upper Sorbian community, it in fact plays an integral role in the preservation of the language and by extension preservation of Sorbian culture, community, and identity.

6.0 Conclusion. As given by the SächsSorbG, Upper Sorbian has a legally guaranteed place in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape. However, this study shows that German is without question the dominant language in signage, appearing on every sign in the corpus. While Upper Sorbian is present on nearly a third of the signs and English appears once, these two languages appear only in conjunction with German. Not only is this the case, but the majority of functions analyzed in this research were also monolingually German. Additionally, the majority of functions analyzed appeared on bottom-up signs, which too happened to be overwhelmingly monolingually German. Upper Sorbian, on the other hand, appeared exclusively on top-down signage. The facts that most signs analyzed were both monolingually German and bottom-up, and that Upper Sorbian was exclusively restricted to top-down signage from institutions heavily imply that German is the main language of communication. The analysis also shows that Upper

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[16] *Posedženje poradźowaceho wuběrka za prašenja serbskeho ludu poboku Zwjazkoweho ministerstwa nutřkowneho, dnja 02.12.2020.* (p. 7). https://www.domowina.de/fileadmin/Assets/Domowina/ Mediathek/Dokumente/TOP6.3.-2.rozprawa_wo_polozenju_serbskeho_ludu.pdf.

Sorbian is predominantly used in functions that do not convey pertinent information, such as *street names* and in one of the three cases that Upper Sorbian was used in functions that convey pertinent information, the *operational instructions* function in question was grammatically incorrect. This combined with German's use on every sign and monolingually in 30 *hours of operation* functions indicate that Upper Sorbian's use in the linguistic landscape is highly symbolic in nature, visible yes, but failing to communicate meaningful information. However, it must be stated that the analysis done in this article focuses on only three functions along one street in Budyšin/Bautzen and cannot therefore be representative of the whole of Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape. To more definitively determine if the conclusions drawn in this analysis are correct, further linguistic landscape research encompassing the entire city of Budyšin/Bautzen must be undertaken.

Despite the German's linguistic dominance, promising steps are being made to increase the presence of Upper Sorbian in Germany's linguistic landscape. A 2013 article in the *Lausitzer Rundschau* reports on the initiative of an activist group, who placed «A Serbsce? / Und auf Sorbisch?»[17] stickers on signs across Lusatia, drawing attention to the often monolingual signage in Sorbian areas.[18] More recently, Dawid Statnik, the head of Domowina since 2011 and member of the Bautzen County council since 2016, has been very active in improving the salience of Upper and Lower Sorbian in Lusatia. In a 2020 report on the status of the Sorbian people, Domowina stated that VVO (Verkehrsverbund Oberelbe) and ZVON (Zweckverband Verkehrsverbund Oberlausitz-Niederschlesien) would work with communities in the Sorbian Settlement Area to label stops for bus service in German and Upper Sorbian.[19] Additionally, in 2021, the Federal Office of Cartography and Geodesy announced that they would submit a proposal to the Federal Transportation Office to make signs on the Autobahn in the Sorbian Settlement Area bilingual.[20] According to the Secretary of Minorities, the decision should be made after the creation of the new federal government, and that the parties making up the potential coalition, the so-called traffic light coalition (SDP, FPD, and the Greens), seem to have a favorable attitude toward the proposal.[21] The new German government has since been formed and as of the writing of this article, there has been no update on this proposal. If the German federal government acts upon this proposal, it would represent a huge win for the salience of Upper and Lower Sorbian, especially given that, in 2019, a similar attempt was made to label signs in Sorbian and German in Lusatia, which was denied by the Federal Highway Research Agency, who stated that the increase in information on the signs could be

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[17] The phrase reads «And in Sorbian?» in English.

[18] *Aufkleber-Aktivisten kündigen neue Aktionen an*. (26.02.2013). https://www.lr-online.de/lausitz/hoyerswerda/aufkleber-aktivisten-kuendigen-neue-aktionen-an-33511970.html (accessed 06.07.2022)

[19] *Posedźenje poradźowaceho wuběrka za prašenja serbskeho ludu poboku Zwjazkoweho ministerstwa nutřkowneho, dnja 02.12.2020*. (p. 3). https://www.domowina.de/fileadmin/Assets/Domowina/Mediathek/Dokumente/TOP6.3.-2.rozprawa_wo_polozenju_serbskeho_ludu.pdf

[20] Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie [@BKG_Bund]. (2021, November 16). https://twitter.com/BKG_Bund/status/1460557206223527938?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1460557206223527938%7Ctwgr%5E%7Ctwcon%5Es1_c10&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fpublish.twitter.com%2F%3Fquery%3Dhttps3A2F2Ftwitter.com2FBKG_Bund2Fstatus2F1460557206223527938widget%3DTweet (accessed 01.02.2022)

[21] *Domowina begrüßt Nachricht des Amtes für Kartografie und Geodäsie zum Thema zweisprachige Autobahnschilder*. (2021, November 18). https://www.minderheitensekretariat.de/aktuelles/die-domowina-begruesst-nachricht-des-amtes-fuer-kartografie-und-geodaesie (accessed 01.02.2022)

distracting and therefore pose a risk to drivers.[22] So, while Upper Sorbian presently does not appear as frequently as German and is often used only symbolically, its presence in Budyšin/Bautzen's linguistic landscape is likely to increase in the future.

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Резюме

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ВЕРХНЬОЛУЖИЦЬКА МОВА У БУДИШИНІ / БАУТЦЕНІ: ПРИКЛАДИ З ЛІНГВІСТИЧНОГО ЛАНДШАФТУ БАУТЦЕНА

Постановка проблеми. Верхньолужицька мова – це зникаюча мова слов'янської меншини. Нею розмовляють у Саксонії (Німеччина) і, за деякими оцінками, носіїв верхньолужицької мови зараз менше ніж 12 000 осіб. Ця мова визнана федеральним урядом Німеччини, а Саксонія гарантує їй додаткові права, зокрема право на використання і встановлення двомовних вивісок / вказівників у громадських місцях. Аналіз використання мови у подібних сферах називають аналізом лінгвістичних ландшафтів.

Мета цього дослідження – отримання кількісних даних про присутність верхньолужицької мови у лінгвістичному ландшафті Будишина / Баутцена. Основну увагу приділено вивіскам / вказівникам з наступними функціями: зазначення годин роботи, експлуатаційні інструкції чи назви вулиць.

Методи. Це дослідження є аналізом корпусу фотографій, створеного із зображень, зроблених уздовж головної вулиці в центрі Будишина / Баутцена. Необхідною умовою у процесі створення вибірки для аналізу лінгвістичного ландшафту була наявність у елементів двох критеріїв. По-перше, вони повинні були відповідати нашому визначенню вивіски / вказівника – тобто бути письмовим або друкованим текстом, призначеним для громадського використання на певній фізичній території та виконувати одну або декілька функцій. По-друге, вони повинні були мати одну з наступних функцій: зазначення годин роботи, експлуатаційні інструкції або назва вулиці. Надалі корпус був проаналізований щодо використаних мов: чи були ці вивіски / вказівники одномовними або двомовними / багатомовними, і чи були ці функції представлені на вивісках / вказівниках за принципом "згори донизу" або "знизу догори". Принцип "згори донизу" описує ті вивіски / вказівники, що були встановлені урядовими або державними установами, а принцип "знизу догори" – це ті, що були встановлені приватними підприємствами та особами.

Результати. Серед елементів вивісок / вказівників, виявлених на досліджуваній території, присутні три мови. Серед цих трьох мов домінує німецька, яка присутня на кожній вивісці / кожному вказівнику та в кожній

проаналізованій функції. Верхньолужицька та англійська мови також були присутні, але меншою мірою і завжди у комбінації з німецькою. Двомовність у проаналізованих вивісках / вказівниках була виявлена в обмеженій кількості, і майже 70% знаків були виключно німецькомовними. Крім того, майже 60% проаналізованих функцій було представлено на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених приватними підприємствами та особами, і всі вони, крім однієї, були виключно німецькомовними. З іншого боку, верхньолужицька мова була представлена виключно на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених урядовими чи державними установами.

Висновки. Завдяки тому, що німецька мова присутня на всіх вивісках і, зокрема, у більшості функцій на вивісках / вказівниках, за принципом "знизу догори", вона, найімовірніше, є мовою повсякденного спілкування в Будишині / Баутцені. Верхньолужицька мова також проявляється у мовному ландшафті, але значно рідше і лише на вивісках / вказівниках, встановлених за принципом "згори донизу". Крім того, дев'ять із 12 випадків використання верхньолужицької мови були пов'язані з назвами вулиць – функцією, яка, порівняно з зазначенням годин роботи або експлуатаційними інструкціями, не надає адресатам жодної значущої інформації. У тих випадках з корпусу, коли верхньолужицька мова використовувалася для передавання подібної інформації, вона не була граматично правильною. Її використання виключно у контекстах типу "згори донизу" і часто з помилками переконливо свідчить про те, що використання верхньолужицької мови в лінгвістичному ландшафті значною мірою має символічний характер. Однак останніми роками спостерігаємо зусилля, насамперед з боку Домовини[23], спрямовані на збільшення присутності верхньолужицької мови у лінгвістичному ландшафті.

Ключові слова: лінгвістичний ландшафт, верхньолужицька мова, Саксонія, вивіски, вказівники, Будишин / Бауцен.

Abstract

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UPPER SORBIAN IN BUDYŠIN / BAUTZEN: EXAMPLES FROM BAUTZEN'S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

Background. Upper Sorbian is an endangered Slavic minority language spoken in Saxony, Germany; by some estimates it is spoken by fewer than 12,000 people. The language is recognized by the German federal government and further rights are guaranteed by Saxony, including the right to bilingual signage in public spaces. The analysis of language use in such spaces is known as linguistic landscapes analysis.

Purpose. The purpose of this research is to provide quantitative data on the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape of Budyšin / Bautzen, with the focus being on signage with the following functions – hours of operation, operational instructions, or street names.

Methods. This study is an analysis of a photographic corpus created from images taken along a main street in central Budyšin / Bautzen. To be eligible for analysis

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[23] Домовина – головна організація сорбських (лужицьких) товариств у Нижній та Верхній Лужиці, що захищає інтереси сорбської (лужицької) спільноти – *Примітка редактора.*

elements of the linguistic landscape had to conform to two criteria. First, they must adhere to the following definition of a sign, that is, they must be written or printed text designed for public consumption within a definable physical area that exhibits a function or functions. Second, one of the following functions must be present, either hours of operation, operational instructions, or street name. The corpus was then analyzed based on languages present, if the functions in question were monolingual or bi / multilingual, and of those functions appeared on top-down or bottom-up signs. The top-down vs. bottom-up dichotomy refers to those signs put up by either governing or public institutions or those put up by private businesses and individuals.

Results. In the functions of signs found in the focus area, three languages are present. Of the three, German dominates, appearing on every sign and in every function analyzed. Upper Sorbian and English were also present but to a lesser extent and always in conjunction with German. Bilingualism on the signs analyzed was limited and nearly 70% were monolingually German. Additionally, nearly 60% of functions analyzed appeared on bottom-up signs and all but one of these were monolingually German. Upper Sorbian on the other hand appeared exclusively on top-down signage.

Discussion. Due to its appearance on all signs and particularly its appearance alone in the majority of functions on bottom-up signage, German appears to be the medium for daily communication in Budyšin/Bautzen. Upper Sorbian also appears in the linguistic landscape but significantly less often and only on top-down signage. Additionally, nine of the 12 instances of Upper Sorbian use were in street names, a function that, in comparison to hours of operation or operational instructions, provides recipients with no meaningful information. In the instances from the corpus in which Upper Sorbian is used to convey such information, it was not grammatically correct. Its use exclusively in top-down contexts and often with mistakes strongly suggests that Upper Sorbian's use in the linguistic landscape is largely symbolic. However, in recent years, efforts, primarily from Domowina, are striving to increase the presence of Upper Sorbian in the linguistic landscape.

Key words: Linguistic Landscape, Upper Sorbian, Saxony, Signage, Budyšin/Bautzen.

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