Global multilingualism, local bilingualism, official monolingualism: The linguistic landscape of Montreal's St. Catherine Street[*]

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Abstract
This paper documents the linguistic landscape of Saint Catherine Street, a major thoroughfare in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The street is taken as a microcosm of the sociolinguistic variation observable at the various levels of analysis, ranging from the neighbourhood, the city, the province, Canada as a whole, and the globally similar environment of the downtown shopping street. By way of a systematic sampling of signs in the street's linguistic landscape, the interactions between federal policies of bilingualism, provincial laws strengthening the visibility of French, and local linguistic realities is considered, as is the impact of the global connectedness of both the 'grassroots' and the commercial world on the linguistic landscape in this street. While the presence of French and English is largely instrumental in function, many instances of other languages are found to be motivated by more symbolic functions, driven, in no small part, by the globally encoded indexical meanings of the languages in question.

Keywords
Linguistic landscape, Montreal, Quebec, language policy, indexicality

1. Introduction

The locus of the research in this paper is a street in central Montreal. The city, situated in the province of Quebec in Canada, exists within a sociohistorical and -linguistic context that is particularly well suited to illustrate the various layers of multilingualism referred to in the title: while officially monolingual, Montreal can be described as functionally bilingual; its status as a global city further brought several of the world's languages into the metropolis. The aim of this paper is to reveal how these layers of mono-, bi-, and multilingualism are visible in the city's linguistic landscape, how they relate to traditional linguistic distributions, and how the multilingualism of global connectedness is managed and represented in the linguistic landscape against the backdrop of the elaborate language policy framework in existence in the province.

Historically, Montreal was, for a long time, the primary metropolis not only of Quebec, but also of Canada, before being overtaken by Toronto in the latter half of the 20th century. Founded during French colonial rule in 1642 as *Ville-Marie*, the city fell to the British in 1760. Under British rule, it developed into a major trading hub for the entirety of British North America,

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and soon became the destination of choice for immigrants arriving to Canada via the port of Quebec and seeking to proceed inland or south to the United States. The languages that these migrants brought with them included several varieties of English from throughout the British Isles, as well as a variety of Scandinavian and Germanic languages, but also languages from eastern Europe (Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian). The latter came as a result of a policy to settle the Prairies, begun in 1867 and actively advertising emigration to Canada both in 'ethnically desirable' northern Europe and in the homelands of the 'stalwart peasant' (Sifton 1922: 16) in eastern Europe (Knowles 2007; Gagnon 2016). Montreal would have preserved at least some of these migrants and their languages, and English became, due to its status as the language of administration in the colony, the lingua franca of many new settlers in the city. While the francophone population has always remained numerically important, in 1851 there was a 55% majority anglophone population (Boberg 2012, 495).

Most members of the mercantile upper classes of Montreal were, after the Conquest, English-speaking, with a number of notable exceptions. Certainly, English was the dominant language both politically and economically, as well as the most visible in the streets of the city. This sociolinguistic state of affairs remained well into the second half of the 20th century, when a series of societal changes, collectively referred to as the *Révolution tranquille* ('Quiet revolution') swept across the province. This 'revolution' of the 1960s and 1970s saw dramatic secularisation, shifting power away from the Roman Catholic Church, which hitherto held a tight grip on social norms, the education and healthcare system, and whose influence even extended into the political realm. In tandem with secularisation came a concern for the sociolinguistic inequalities persisting in the province, with attempts made to redress the status of French *vis-à-vis* English. Legislative measures to that effect include the 1974 Official Language Act, superseded in 1977 by the Charter of the French language, more commonly known as 'Bill 101'. The Charter enshrines a certain number of language rights (such as the right to work in French and to communicate with authorities in French), provides guidelines on admission to the state's English education system, and legislates in fine detail the language to be used in the public service, the workplace, and business.

Crucial for the topic of this paper is the focus, in the Charter of the French language, on the language of commerce and business, where section 58 is of particular relevance: 'Public signs and posters and commercial advertising must be in French. They may also be both in French and in another language provided that French is markedly predominant.' The term 'markedly predominant' is further clarified in a subordinated regulation (C-11, r. 11) that deals in detail with cases where French co-occurs with 'another language' on the same sign, on separate signs of the same size, and on separate signs of a different size. In all cases, the French text needs to be at least twice as large as the text in the other language, the characters in the French text need to be at least twice as large as those in the other language, and no other characteristics (such as colour or font weight) are allowed to reduce the visual impact of the French text. In the case of separate signs or posters, those in French need to be either twice as numerous (in the case of same-sized posters) or twice as large (in the case of different-sized posters) than the posters in the other language. Penal provisions are available under that Charter for businesses that fail to comply with these rules; the enforcing body, the *Office québécois de le langue française* (OQLF), can carry out its own inspections, but typically only acts upon complaints filed by members of the public. In addition to commercial signage, the Charter also deals with any signs erected by the civil administration (i.e., signs of the provincial government). According to section 22, these may be only in French, 'except where reasons of health or public safety require

the use of another language as well'. Similarly, all agencies of the government 'shall be designated by their French names alone' (section 14), which likewise has implications for the linguistics landscape.

Quebec has in place, therefore, a rather comprehensive language policy, that covers wide-ranging aspects of public life. Another central tenet of the Charter of the French language, apart from the emphasis on the linguistic landscape, is the chapter on education. The Quebec state offers parallel education systems in French and English from kindergarten to secondary school, but access to the English system is heavily restricted: only children of Canadian citizens who have received the majority of their primary or secondary education in English in Canada qualify, as well as Canadian children who have previously had English education in Canada; children whose siblings received the majority of their education in English in Canada also qualify. The aim is clear: immigration from outside the country, which is the main source of population growth in the province, should be steered towards French as the language into which to integrate, rather than English. This seems to have been successful in a large number of cases, as measured by home language: English as the home language of Allophones dropped from 22.1% in 2001 to 19.7% in 2011. Nonetheless, trilingualism seems very often to be the outcome of choice for immigrants, motivated in no small part by the feeling that 'it is important to know *both* French and English because they realise, as do most of the other people with whom they are in contact, that life in a modern Quebec society that is open onto the world requires knowledge of both languages' (Pagé and Lamarre 2010, 2, my emphasis).

This 'openness' to the world is, of course, a reality in the globalised city of Montreal, where the world is present not only in terms of migrants hailing from every continent, but also in the capitalist form of global businesses having a physical presence in the cityscape. The combination of flows of people and capital (linguistic, financial, cultural, …) results in a superdiverse environment (Vertovec 2007; Arnaut 2016), characterised by a high degree of complexity in migratory trajectories, in the language repertoires, and the socio-economic statuses involved. A quarter (22.6%) of Montreal's residents are 'immigrants' born outside Canada; also, a similar proportion (22%) has a mother tongue other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2011 census and National Household Survey).[1] That Montreal, or at least some of its neighbourhoods, are becoming increasingly superdiverse has not escaped the notice of scholars in the field (Hiebert 2015). It is this novel superdiversity, in combination with the complex pre-existing ethnic make-up of the city as well as the elaborate language policy framework in which it is situated, that this paper seeks to explore in more detail. In order to do so, an analysis of language use in the city's linguistic landscape offers an attractive methodological tool: the concurrent use of the officially mandated French, English, and a wide range of other languages and their interplay can be effectively analysed. Taking into account the several layers of language policy at play can, further, help shed a new light on the linguistic landscape of the city.

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[1] Immigration to Quebec may also come from other francophone countries; in fact, the province has a right to preferentially select immigrants, having its own immigration ministry, and those of French mother tongue often benefit. In considering the 'superdiverse' nature of immigration to Montreal, then, one needs to bear in mind the presence of several Francophones among the immigrant population: 15.9% of those immigrating to Quebec between 2006 and 2014 had French as their mother tongue (Miron 2016, 29). I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

2. Linguistic landscapes

Research on linguistic landscapes has a history of nearly 20 years; an overview of the field and the developments in methodologies is given in Gorter (2013). A historical perspective is given by Coulmas (2009, 13), who argues that publicly visible language is as old as writing and urbanisation themselves, citing Babylon, Egypt's Rosetta Stone, and Persia as archaeological examples of present-day concerns in linguistic landscaping such as sequential order, language choice, and linguistic hierarchy (Coulmas 2009, 18). Nonetheless, the origins of the modern field of linguistic landscapes is usually taken to be an article by Landry and Bourhis (1997), who used Quebec as the locus of their study, and who are usually credited with the inception of linguistic landscape studies. The term *linguistic landscape* they define as follows:

> 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 and Bourhis 1997, 25)

Although enjoying wide currency, Landry and Bourhis' definition may need updating, as pointed out by Gorter (2013, 191), to include new types of signs that were recently made available by technological developments, such as 'electronic flat-panel displays, LED neon lights, foam boards, electronic message centers, interactive touch screens, inflatable signage, and scrolling banners'.

Research on linguistic landscapes has covered a variety of approaches, most of them succinctly summarized in Gorter (2013). The focus is often on urban environments, typically on shop signs, sometimes from a comparative perspective. The intentional activity behind linguistic landscaping was investigated by Dasgupta (2002), and Singh (2002) puts linguistic landscaping on a par with spelling reform in a larger framework of language planning. Shohamy and Gorter, eds. (2009) provide an overview of the 'scenery' of linguistic landscapes research, with chapters taking approaches ranging from sociology (Ben-Raphael) and economy (Cenoz and Gorter 2006) to language ecology (Hult 2003). Many times the aim was to document linguistic minorities and assess their vitality (a primary aim of Landry and Bourhis 1997, see also Cenoz and Gorter 2006; Puzey 2009). Other qualitative approaches use the concept of discursive frames (Coupland and Garret 2010) to explain different level of linguistic, cultural, and metacultural performance; Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) use the concept of material 'sites' in which texts are actively 're-semiotised' in the course of sociolinguistic mobility. Papen (2012), in an article on gentrifying Prenzlauer Berg in Berlin, uses linguistic landscapes to reveal competing discourses of ownership of the neighbourhood.

The locus of linguistic landscape research, while concentrated largely on urban spaces (Coupland 2012 being a notable exception, see also Laitinen 2014), spans almost the entire globe. Israel is a place which has received a lot of attention (Spolsky and Cooper 1991; Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Shohamy 2006, among others), but so have cities elsewhere: Montreal, Washington, Bangkok (Huebner 2006), Brussels (Janssens 2012, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael 2015, Vandenbroucke 2015, 2016, Wang and Van de Velde 2015), Edinburgh (Scott 2012), Strasbourg (Bogatto and Hélot 2010), Toulouse (Diver 2011), Rome (Gorter 2009), Chicago (Lyons 2015), Los Angeles (Carr 2017), New York (Hassa and Krajcik 2016), cities in southern Peru (Smith 2016), Puerto Rico (Maldonado 2015), Hong Kong (Jaworski and Yeung 2010, Lam and Graddol 2017), Tokyo (Backhaus 2007), Seoul (Tan and Tan 2015), Beijing (Pan 2014), Suzhou

(Li 2015), Addis Ababa (Lanza 2014), Algiers (Messekher 2015), Cape Town (Kayama et al. 2012), Casablanca, Fes, and Rabat (Hassa 2012), and many others. This is not surprising, seeing as it is in urban settings that the linguistic landscape is at its densest, with signs fulfilling a variety of purposes ranging from purely informative, top-down discourse to 'transgressive' (Scollon and Scollon 2003) attempts at contesting public space – this urban character of much linguistic landscape research has led some to use the term *linguistic cityscape* (Spolsky 2009; Gorter 2013, 191). Within cities themselves, it is not unusual for researchers to strategically seek out neighbourhoods that are likely to exhibit interesting linguistic landscapes, such as ethnically diverse neighbourhoods or districts that are predominantly commercial (Bogatto and Hélot 2010; Ben-Raphael et al. 2006).

The methodologies used in the field of linguistic landscapes are varied and there are no single accepted standard operating procedures for data collection and analysis, with quantitative and qualitative approaches equally un-standardised. Even the definition of what might constitute the basic unit of analysis is open for discussion. A certain number of categories are nonetheless commonly used to describe signs found in the linguistic landscape. Authorship is such a category, with Landry and Bourhis (1997) distinguishing *private* and *governmental* signs, Backhaus (2007) using the terms *official* and *non-official*, and Ben-Raphael et al. (2006) preferring *top-down* and *bottom-up*. Another category relates to the language(s) on the sign: typically the number of languages is considered, as well as how they compare in size, position, and translation (as e.g. in Reh [2004], who distinguishes duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, and complementary multilingualism). The function of the sign is another category; Landry and Bourhis (1997) introduce the distinction between 'informative' and 'symbolic' function, while Scollon and Scollon (2003, 119) distinguish between 'indexical' and 'symbolic'. Scollon and Scollon (2003) further consider three types of discourse that the text on signs may fall into: a first 'municipal regulatory or infrastructural discourse', found e.g. in directional road traffic signs or signs prohibiting certain activities, a second 'commercial discourse', comprising signs that seek to advertise or sell goods or services, and a third 'transgressive discourse', which is inherently bottom-up in that it contravenes the (written or unwritten) rules on who has ownership of public space, such as in the case of graffiti or illegally erected billboards or posters. In this paper, this three-way distinction of Scollon and Scollon (2003) will serve as inspiration in describing the various types of discourses visible in the linguistic landscape. Before explaining the methodology in more detail, the next section gives some background on the street chosen as the locale of the study.

3. Saint Catherine Street: Background

Saint Catherine Street can be divided into sections in order to better describe it. Beginning at its east end,[2] at the junction with rue Notre-Dame Est, and until roughly rue Moreau, it is largely residential in nature, with the two- to three-levels terraces houses typical of the island's suburbs. This is followed by a vaguely industrial section that includes a bridge over the Canadian Pacific Railway line and the nearby Hochelaga shunting yard. At rue Frontenac, the street resumes its previous residential character and becomes one-way (eastwards); it also becomes more lively, especially after passing under the Jacques Cartier bridge, with a first métro station (Papineau) located after rue Dorion. One street further west, rue Cartier marks the entrance to Montreal's *Village (gai)* ('The (Gay) Village'), a former working-class neighbourhood that

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[2] In Montreal, 'east' and 'west', and, by extension, 'north' and 'south', refer not to the usual cardinal directions. Instead, the Saint Lawrence River is taken as a referent, with 'east' meaning downstream, 'west' upstream, and 'north' and 'south' the two directions perpendicular to the river. 'East' is, therefore, closer to (north-)northeast.

saw a large influx from the gay and lesbian community in the 1980s; it is now gentrifying rapidly and is officially touted as a tourist attraction boasting a large number of bars, eateries, gay community services, and art installations. The Village ends at rue Saint-Hubert, where the *centre-ville* (downtown) area proper begins. Here, Sainte Catherine Street crosses the campus of the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM), before reaching the Quartier des Spectacles, an entertainment district featuring several theatres and concert halls, as well as the large Complexe Desjardin. Boulevard Saint-Laurent is in this *quartier*, and marks the point where rue Sainte-Catherine Est becomes rue Sainte-Catherine Ouest; this is also the traditional dividing line between the francophone east and the anglophone west. After rue de Bleury, which marks the end of the Quartier des Spectacles, the street becomes more exclusively commercial, with a large number of shopping centres lining the street on both sides. Various national and global brands have their outlets in this area. After rue Bishop, the street bypasses Concordia University. Rue Guy marks the end of Downtown proper and the beginning of Shaughnessy Village, a high-density residential and commercial neighbourhood which, on Saint Catherine, features primarily eateries, shops, and services run by immigrant communities – the high proportion of East Asian immigrants in the area has led to it being nicknamed the 'New Chinatown'. The neighbourhood stretches to avenue Atwater, where the street leaves the city of Montreal and enters the city of Westmount. It remains commercial at this point, intersects with avenue Greene, another high-end shopping street in Westmount, before a stretch with mixed residential and commercial features; the street ends 1.5 km later when merges with boulevard de Maisonneuve.

Figure 1: Map showing Saint Catherine Street. The point marked A is its 'easternmost' junction with rue Notre-Dame Est; point B is its 'westernmost' junction with boulevard de Maisonneuve Ouest.

In short, the sections of Saint Catherine Street are as follows, from east to west: the primarily residential area east of rue Moreau, an industrial section, the touristic/entertainment area of the Gay Village, commercial Downtown, Shaughnessy Village (commercial, residential, ethnic), and the mixed commercial/residential Westmount. The street is restricted to one-way traffic eastwards between the Gay Village and Shaughnessy Village, and is fully pedestrianised in the summer in the Gay Village and in the Quartier des Spectacles. It enjoys high levels of population density in some areas, and in the Downtown area human pedestrian traffic is high even in winter. The high density and the varied spatial uses of the street result in a varied linguistic landscape, in which commercial signs may predominate in Downtown, but with other types of signs found as well. As will become obvious, the languages present in the linguistic landscape on this particular street reflect not only the its location in Montreal, Quebec, and Canada, but also its global character, which is not restricted to ethnic enclaves alone, making Saint-Catherine Street an ideal locus for a study of its linguistic landscape.

4. Methodology

The data for this study was collected as part of the fieldwork for a larger study on language planning and language attitudes in Quebec, whose methods included a linguistic landscapes component that covered the island of Montreal as well as off-island communities elsewhere in the province. That study included a systematic documentation of the entire stretch of Saint Catherine Street (officially rue Sainte-Catherine). The street is 11.2 km long, and connects the borough of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve in the east to Westmount in the west in an almost entirely straight line. The junction with boulevard Saint-Laurent occurs after 6.3 km. Over its entire length 11.2 km, the street passes neighbourhoods with residential, industrial, and commercial characteristics. At the point where it passes the downtown area, it is an upmarket shopping street; further west it has many shops and eateries of ethnic minorities (especially East Asian).

The focus, in the present paper, on a street such as Saint Catherine Street is motivated by a number of factors: it is of considerable length, it crosses a variety of neighbourhoods, and it is a well-known street that has played an important role in the city's history, thereby also making it a prime locus for language planning activities. In addition, the density of visual linguistic elements is 'especially high in shopping areas' (Gorter 2006, 2), which means that there was not going to be any shortage of data in the street selected. Nonetheless, the decision on what counts as the unit of analysis remains a contentious issue in linguistic landscape studies: Backhaus defines signs as 'text within a spatially identifiable frame' (2007, 66); Cenoz and Gorter (2006) primarily use the storefront as a unit. Most agree (e.g. Huebner 2009, 71; Gorter 2013, 199) that a certain degree of arbitrariness (or 'ad-hoc decisions', Spolsky 2009, 32) must remain. In the present study Backhaus' definition was used, in that a single 'spatially identifiable frame' was required: the unit of analysis herein consists of a single poster on a storefront, a name-bearing signboard above a store entrance, or a clearly delimited graffiti, etc., rather than an entire storefront with multiple posters or a wall with several graffiti. Consistent with most research to date, excluding Sebba (2010) but including Blommaert (2013), non-fixed, mobile instances of text were not recorded (such as language found on vehicles, discarded plastic bags, or clothing), and neither was the moving text on scrolling electronic displays or LED monitors.

On a street the length of Saint Catherine Street, certain sampling procedures have to be applied in order to deal with the sheer amount of signage present, as well as with its varying density (the linguistic density being higher in commercial areas than in residential areas, for instance). A study by Bouchard (2012) used postal codes in order to randomly select commercial signs,

a system well suited to geographically bidimentional areas. Given the linear nature of the street in question here, photographs were taken of signs on the entire stretch of the street, at the rate of one sign per block (a unit delimited by two junctions of intersecting streets), alternating the side of the street at each junction. The first sign encountered on that block and to be noticed was the one selected (on the idea of 'noticing' in linguistic landscape studies see Dagenais et al. [2009], Lamarre et al. [2012], Vingron et al. [forthcoming], Leimgruber et al. [forthcoming]). This resulted in 148 photos, taken over the course of a week with a GPS-enabled camera. Care was taken to document a variety of signs emanating from different authors. The density of signs differs depending on the area, with more found Downtown and fewer in the residential suburbs. After data collection, the photographs' geolocation data were exported into a Microsoft® Excel spreadsheet, in which each photograph of a sign had its text transcribed and was coded for information such as the kind of language, the number of languages, the size relations between languages, and other relevant data such as the authorship of the sign.[3]

5. Findings

Applying the typology of Scollon and Scollon (2003) explained above, the 148 signs documented can be described as illustrated in Figure 2: eight signs constitute municipal regulatory discourse, 29 municipal infrastructural discourse, 109 commercial discourse, and two transgressive discourse. Of the municipal infrastructural discourse, five are signs of educational institutions and eight of 'cultural' institutions (four churches, three libraries, and one community centre). The two examples of transgressive discourse are a faded election poster pasted on a lamppost and a collection of posters criticising university initiation rituals on a lamppost outside UQÀM. Both are in French only.
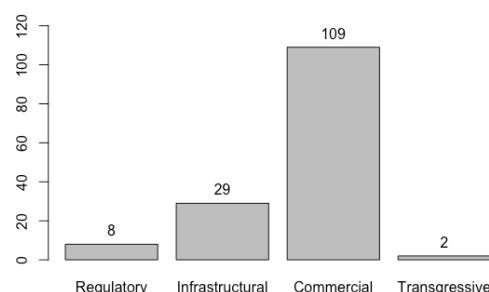

Figure 2: Distribution of signs on Saint Catherine Street by Scollon and Scollon's discourse functions (2003).

The languages on the signs are diverse, with French and English being the most commonly used ones. The other languages used are Arabic, Chinese (in simplified characters, traditional

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[3] I thank an anonymous reviewer for the suggestion to take a more ethnographic methodological approach to the data present on the street in question. Such a research design would undoubtedly yield a rich amount of valuable insights and, quite likely, provide a more detailed explanation of the various considerations behind language use in the LL of Saint Catherine Street. However, as the premise of this paper is to offer a picture of the reality of this LL, it takes a distributive approach that attempts, in part, to map it onto existing language use patterns as reflected in census data.

characters, and romanisation), Czech, German, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Latin, Polish, Spanish, and Vietnamese. These languages differ in the amount of information they convey, and in how closely their text mirrors that in French or English.

Table 1 lists the language combinations found on the signs. One third of the signs (34%) is in French only. Just nine signs (6%) are in English only. The largest proportion (40%) are bilingual signs in which French comes before English.[4] The reverse arrangement is also found in 10 cases. A single sign was found where no French or English was used (a Spanish–Hebrew information sign in a church). Six signs used French with a language other than English. Nine signs were a combination of French, English, and one or more other languages, in different permutations.

Table 1: Language combinations found on signs along Saint Catherine Street, their counts and percentages. The size ratios for French:English, French:Other, and English:Other are also given, with the counts for the comparative values larger (>), equal (=), and smaller (<). One sign was excluded from this table as it contained a single commercial brand not identifiable as belonging to any language.

Combination	Count	%	F : E			F : O			E : O		
			>	=	<	>	=	<	>	=	<
French only	52	35%									
English only	9	6%									
French, then English	59	40%	11	23	7						
English, then French	10	7%	2	3	3						
Other	1	1%									
French, then Other	6	4%					5	1			
English, then Other	1	1%									1
French, English, Other	2	1%		1	1	1		1	1		1
French, Other, English	2	1%		2			1	1		1	1
English, French, Other	2	1%	1		1	1	1		1	1	
Other, French, English	3	2%	2	1		2		1	1		2

The relative sizes of the languages involved are also given in Table 1. The counts for each comparative relationship are given (>: larger, <: smaller, =: equal size) for each language combination and for the size ratios French:English, French:Other, and English:Other. In bilingual signs, equally-sized English and French text predominate (26 instances), whereas French is larger than English in 13 cases and English is larger than French in 10 cases. Of the six signs where French co-occurs with non-English 'Other' languages, five have all languages of equal size. The other language combinations are rarer, and there is less of a trend discernible.

The large number of French–English bilingual signs with texts of equal size in the two languages may seem unusual, given the language planning efforts that have gone into securing a 'markedly predominant' place for French. A closer look at these 23 signs reveals that four are municipal signs under the jurisdiction of the city of Westmount, an officially bilingual municipality. One is from the federal government, which also requires equal bilingualism. Twelve

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[4] 'Before' means that the language appeared in the prominent top or left position with respect to the other language. The language 'after' appears to the right of or below the other language.

are commercial in nature. Three are from libraries and one from a church, which count as cultural institutions exempt from the 'marked predominance' rule. One is from the English Montreal School Board and one from a health centre offering English services, which are also exempt. A final sign, located on a park gate and quoting a municipal by-law on dog waste, has the by-law in both languages, of equal size – the quoted by-law is available in both languages on the city website, even though such municipal by-laws only have force of law in French.

It is the commercial signage which is more interesting, because it is this specific type of signage that is subject to section 58 of the Charter, requiring French to be 'markedly predominant'. In some instances, the classification of signs as exhibiting equally-sized languages is an artefact of trademarks combining the two languages: the coffee chain *LES CAFÉS SECOND CUP* and the cosmetics chain *LE BODY SHOP* are such an example, where the trademarks *Second Cup* and *Body Shop* have been preposed with a generic noun phrase indicating the shop's business in the first case, and with a simple French article in the second case. In some cases, this same strategy of prefixing a generic French term to an otherwise English name is followed, but with the prefix smaller than the name. In yet other cases, trademarks skew the number of monolingual signs towards English: the commercial stretch of the street is filled with brand names based on English words (*Roots*, *Canadian Tire*, *Chapters*, *Dairy Queen*).

The distribution of the signs along the stretch of Saint Catherine Street is also revealing. Figure 3 shows the location of monolingual French signs, monolingual English signs, and French–English bilingual signs. A first obvious observation is that the few English-only signs are concentrated on the western half of the street, whereas French-only signs appear along its entire stretch, with, however, a lower density in the west. Bilingual signs are also found along its entire stretch, with higher densities in the west, Downtown, and in the touristic Gay Village. Further analysis reveals that signs in which French is in larger type than English occur along the entire stretch of the street, whereas signs where English is dominant tend to be more present west of downtown. Likewise, signs with languages other than English and French are most often located in the western section of the street.
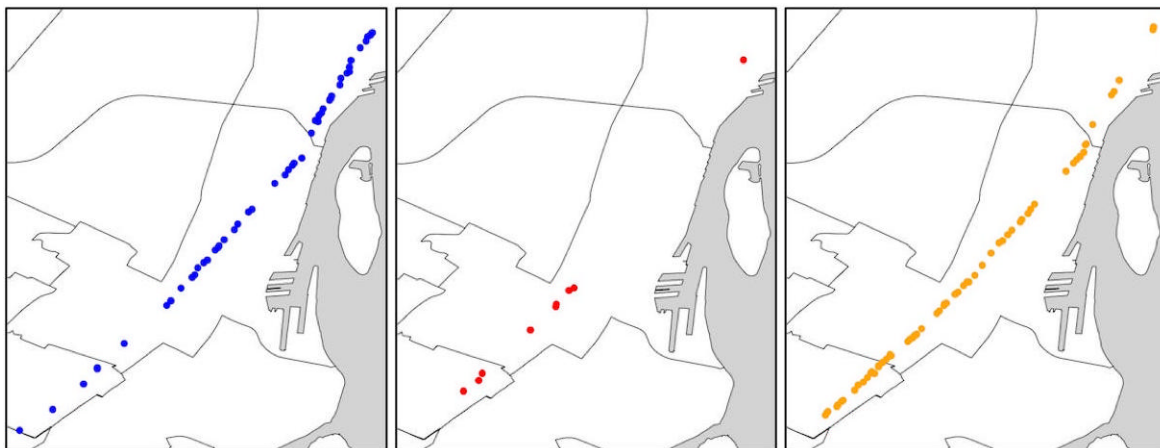

Figure 3: Location of monolingual French signs (left), monolingual English signs (centre), and French–English bilingual signs (right).

6. Discussion

The findings presented above reveal interesting trends. Firstly, and despite (or perhaps because of) Saint Catherine Street's central location in the business district, French remains largely

dominant in terms of the choice of language and its placement relative to other languages on signs: 34% of signs are in French only, and 40% are bilingual (French and English) with French being placed in the prominent position. In a large number of cases, French is of equal or larger size than the English on bilingual signs. This is in line with the legal requirements and a major departure from the situation prior to the introduction of the Charter, when most of the signs visible in downtown Montreal were primarily in English. Languages other than French and English occur, but primarily in that stretch of the street which is located in the commercial Downtown and, westwards, in Shaughnessy Village, the 'New Chinatown'. While the overall dominance of French can be explained by the legislation in place, this legislation is all the more relevant given the central location of Saint Catherine Street, with high levels of human traffic and, consequently, the large amount of readers of signs in the linguistic landscape, make it a prime site for language planners, given the commensurately high impact implemented planning measures have in a widely-frequented area such as this one. Remarkably, these policies, if only in conjunction with actual language demographics, have had an impact even to the extent that the two examples of 'transgressive' writing are in French. Their low number in the data does not allow detailed analysis, but it is of note that in the one type of discourse that does not require actors to heed top-down policies, these seem to nonetheless remain relevant.

Figure 4: The Chinese in this restaurant sign fulfils a primarily 'symbolic' function; the relationship in size between the French and English descriptions (themselves fulfilling 'informational' functions) below the much larger Chinese are a reflection of the local policy framework.

As far as the languages other than French and English are concerned, it is interesting to note their use in a linguistic landscape that is, politically, fairly tightly regulated. Firstly, no languages other than French (and a little English) appear in signs fulfilling Scollon and Scollon's 'municipal regulatory' discourse. Two may be part of 'infrastructural' discourse, in that they advertise a synagogue in Spanish – the name of the synagogue is given in both French and Spanish, whereas the weekly schedule of services is given in Spanish only. It is, however, mostly in the commercial discourse that such languages can be observed in the present sample, and, overwhelmingly so, in signs belonging to restaurants and other food outlets. One such example is the sign for a Chinese restaurant shown in Figure 4, which consists of two main parts: a large name in traditional Chinese characters, 福香緣, in the prominent topmost position, and below it, on two separate lines, a French description 'FORTUNE DUMPLING & THÉ

AUX PERLES' much smaller than the Chinese, but slightly larger than the English 'FOR-TUNE DUMPLINGS & BUBBLE TEA' below it. This arrangement could be construed as legally problematic in that it violates the requirement of French 'marked predominance', and yet, it ensures that French *is* more predominant (in size and position) than English. In view of the audience and their assumed linguistic repertoire, the role of the Chinese name in this sign is largely decorative, although not innocently so: it is indexical in that it marks the restaurant as authentically Chinese by utilising a script that, quite apart from being correct Chinese (福 *fú* (Mandarin)/*fuk₁* (Cantonese) 'fortune, blessing', 香 *xiāng*/*hoeng₁* 'fragrant', 緣 *yuán*/*jyun₄* 'cause/reason', combining to form a common three-character name), is immediately recognisable and identifies the restaurant as belonging to a particular culinary and commercial tradition. Scollon and Scollon (2013, 119) call this a symbolic function, in that Chinese on this sign 'symbolise[s] something about the business which has nothing to do with the place in which it is located'. Arguably, the choice of red as the colour of the entire text on the sign is a further index of Chineseness, the colour being that of luck and happiness in the Sinosphere and, cru-cially, recognised as such worldwide, outside this immediate cultural sphere. The fact that the name of the restaurant is not translated further underlines its non-linguistic symbolism: there is no mention of either dumplings or bubble tea in the Chinese, and although 福 does translate as 'fortune', it is, here, simply used as a personal name. Turning to the French and English texts, it is worth noting that while care was taken to distinguish *thé aux perles* and *bubble tea*, the same did not happen for the first half, *fortune dumpling(s)*, which is identical in both lan-guages. This may point to an English original version, which was then partially translated into French, with the plural marker *s* removed in order to francise *dumpling* as much as possible. *Fortune* is another matter: it can be construed as a name, being the obvious choice for a trans-lation of 福, as it is spelt identically in both English and French.

A final example of extreme multilingualism can be seen in Figure 5. It is a temporary sign consisting of letters pasted to the inside of a storefront window advertising the arrival of some-thing 'new'. The eight languages are, from top to bottom, English, Korean, Spanish, French, Polish, Czech, Chinese, and German. The presence of French and English is expected (with French more prominently positioned and more complete (cf. *collection*) than the others), but the other six limit themselves to Indo-European languages (Spanish, Polish, Czech, German) and two Asian languages written in non-Latin script (Chinese (新品) and Korean). While this is clearly an attempt to ostentatiously project a globalised identity, the choice of languages is not entirely innocent: apart from the locally-mandated French and the nationally and globally required English, the presence of Spanish is of note, seeing as it is the language of a large section of immigrants. Similarly, Chinese may be present because of its large number of speak-ers and its symbolic status as an immediately recognisable (if not linguistically decipherable) index of foreignness, coupled with localness due to the nearby Chinatown. The choice of Ko-rean is less obvious, but may be motivated by the large number of Korean stores a mile or so further West on the same street. However, it would be fallacious to interpret the presence of these languages as purely utilitarian in the sense of appealing to actual users of these languages (e.g. in the form of Czech tourists). This is nicely illustrated by the fact that the Korean has been pasted in mirror-image (it should be 새로운), and can, therefore, be taken to fulfil a pri-marily semiotic (rather than linguistic) role. It is, much like the sign as a whole (in its combi-nation of languages), an index of globalisation, an indexicality achieved through ostensible multilingualism (see e.g. Blommaert 2010, 29–30).

Figure 5: Temporary advert pasted on the shop window of a sports equipment and attire outlet. French, one of a total of eight languages, is centred and in a slightly larger font than the others. Notice the mirror-reversed Korean, which should be 새로운.

On the whole, the distribution of languages in commercial signage follows a pattern in which French tends to feature prominently, and English plays an important role. Other languages may appear, but they fulfil, more often than not, functions that are best described as symbolic, in that their presence is indexical of certain non-linguistic social meanings. The legislation on 'marked predominance' is largely respected. What is perhaps noteworthy is the absence of any so-called 'bilingual winks' (Lamarre 2014), instances where text appears innocently French at first glance but reveals a second, hidden meaning in English: examples such as Lamarre's *chouchou* [ʃuʃu] shoe store do not appear in the database. One sign that may approach it is a mural on the Théâtre du nouveau monde, which features an excerpt from Shakespeare's *As you like it* – in French. In the French language, the author Shakespeare has become the personification of the English language (cf. *la langue de Shakespeare* 'English' vs. *la langue de Molière* 'French', even *la langue de Goethe* 'German' and many others), so that (for those recognising the quote) the French text hints at an English presence.

This latter point about recognising a Shakespearean quote may be reminiscent of the 'discursive frames' of Coupland and Garrett (2010): these frames are conceptualised as 'culturally or sub-culturally structured and structuring sense-making resources' (2010, 15). In viewing or reading a particular element of the linguistic landscape, agents may do so employing one or more such frames, and thus arrive at a certain reading of the text. A literary-cultural frame may result in a reading of the quote with its intended original (though translated) meaning; a meta-cultural frame, on the other hand, may bring about the interpretation above, with a recognition

of the translation process as indexing a third-order, conventionalised paraphrase hinting at the presence of something originally English. The same analysis would also stand for the concerns about Chinese being larger than both French and English in Figure 4, for which a culinary-cultural frame might trigger a different reading from that of a language-political frame.

7. Conclusion

The visual language present on Saint Catherine Street clearly illustrates the various forces at play in shaping the linguistic landscape in this particular place. The interplay between municipal, provincial, and federal overt and top-down language policy is complemented by economic considerations (including internationally-designed and standardised brand names and identities), globally recognised indexical processes, as well as the overt display of multilingualism to index the globalised nature of corporate structures. Not least among the findings in this survey is the rather striking overlap between the spatial distribution of French and English along the street, a distribution that appears to follow traditional folk impressions about the geodemography of Francophones (east of the boulevard Saint-Laurent) and Anglophones (west of the 'The Main', as the boulevard is unofficially named in English, and, sometimes, in French: *la Main*). This geolinguistic stereotype is at least partly borne out in census data,[5] but also, crucially, visible in the LL, where bilingual signs reflect a similar east–west cline, bilingualism becoming increasingly common westward. The languages visible on Saint Catherine Street are, therefore, a multi-layered reflection of the demographic distribution of speakers on the ground, of a complex policy environment, of local actors utilising non-local linguistic resources, and of linguistic resources being used for indexical, symbolic functions.

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[5] See e.g. the 2011 census, which reports a border situated around boulevard Saint-Laurent, east of which 40% or more most commonly use French as their home language, and east of which 40% or more most commonly use English as their home language. A block-sized 'buffer' of Allophones, i.e., users of other, non-official languages, appears between the two at Place des Arts.

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