9 Global and Local Forces in Multilingual Landscapes

A Study of a Local Market

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Introduction

In their first contribution to linguistic landscape studies, Lanza and Woldemariam (2009) treated the issue of globalization and language policy in the regional capital of Mekele in Ethiopia where three languages are in use: Tigrinya, the official regional language; Amharic, the national working language, and English. In this contribution, we are going to look into the relation between the global, the local, and language policy in the regional capital of Donostia-San Sebastián in the Basque Country, Spain, where three languages dominate the public space. Two have official status: Basque, the regional minority language, and Spanish, the state language, which is one of the world's major languages. The third language is English, which, as anywhere else in the world, has an important presence. Other languages play a smaller role: French, the official language of neighbouring France, with the state border just 20 kilometres away, and a large number of other languages brought by mobile people, such as immigrants, refugees, expats, tourists, and visitors.

In our own first published linguistic landscape study (Cenoz and Gorter 2006), we could quantify the distribution of the different languages in one of the main shopping streets of Donostia-San Sebastián, and we described the characteristics of multilingual signs. This field has come a long way since then, and the number of studies has exponentially increased worldwide, as Lanza and Woldemariam (2017) made clear in their recent overview of linguistic landscape studies in just the country of Ethiopia.

Multilingualism has remained a central theme in linguistic landscape studies, because in many societies linguistic diversity is increasing due to several external factors related to globalization, such as workforce mobility, immigration, and tourism. The influence of mobility on linguistic diversity is noticeable in the socioeconomic sphere, more specifically in the commercial and hospitality sectors. Especially in a bilingual context, the interconnections with other languages can be an important issue to study.

Our contribution seeks to shed light on tensions that might rise among global and local forces as reflected in the linguistic landscape of the “*Mercado*

San Martín Merkatua” in Donostia-San Sebastián, a combination of a shopping mall and local market.

In the following section, some central concepts are discussed, followed by background information about the market and the city. After an outline of the methodology, we present the main results in three parts. First, we give a quantitative overview of the linguistic landscape, followed by a qualitative analysis of significant signs, and finally the perceptions of the linguistic landscape of salespersons in the market. The chapter ends with a discussion and some conclusions.

Multilingual Signage and Globalization

The aim of linguistic landscape studies is to describe patterns of languages in public spaces and to understand the motives, ideologies, and reactions of people to the multiple forms of languages displayed in public spaces (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael 2015). In today’s world, linguistic landscapes are almost without exception characterized by multilingualism, and different proposals have been made in order to analyze multilingual signage. Reh (2004, 8–15) developed a typology to account for the arrangement of multilingual information on signs. She distinguishes between four combinations of languages and information: (1) “duplicating,” where the same text is presented in more than one language; (2) “fragmentary,” where the full text is given in one language and parts are translated into one or more other languages; (3) “overlapping,” if only part is repeated and other parts are in one language only; and (4) “complementary,” where different parts are in different languages. Reh’s typology has been a source of inspiration for several linguistic landscape researchers. For example, Lanza and Woldemariam (2014, 499) observe that all four patterns can be found in the linguistic landscape of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

In a more holistic approach, we recently developed a model of Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) (Gorter and Cenoz 2020; Gorter 2021). The model aims at examining the cyclic processes associated with the construction of linguistic landscapes and how the effects of these processes influence the experiences of people and their language practices. Multilingual organization on signs is seen as fundamentally unequal because those signs are socially situated, and people perceive them differently. Application of the whole model leads to an all-encompassing approach, which linguistic landscape studies thus far are missing. There are five main components of the model: (1) Language policies, which decide the language to be displayed on signs; (2) Sign-production processes, which depend on design, material, multimodal, and linguistic aspects; (3) Physical signs in public spaces; (4) Influences on passers-by; and (5) Reactions to language(s) on signs and language practices. The components are like links in an interlocking chain that works as a feedback loop. Gorter (2021) provides a comprehensive outline

of the model. Due to lack of space, we cannot apply the whole model here, but we will use some of the ideas in the analysis.

Lanza and Woldemariam (2009, 190) point to the force of globalization “pushed by informational technology, trade, and international relations, with the concomitant increased role of English as in most of the world, a situation relevant even in an outlying city like Mekele.” Globalization reaches all corners of the world, also the city of Donostia-San Sebastián in the Basque Country, and we will give examples in the qualitative analysis below. The daily lives of people are affected by the products they can buy, the way they dress, the food they can eat, the culture they take in, the news they watch, and the words they use. In another study about multilingualism in the workplace, we linked it to globalization processes (Van der Worp, Cenoz and Gorter 2018). We noted that globalization has been explained in various ways, for example, by pointing to political ideas about free trade, standardized 40-foot containers for quick transshipments, or the computer chips that helped to create the internet. Another factor is movement of people through mass travel, as well as millions of migrants and refugees settling in new places, who take with them their language(s).

Political, economic, technological, or migration factors can explain globalization, but the cultural and the linguistic dimensions also have to be considered.

Robertson (1992, 8) refers to globalization as “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” Linguistically, due to globalization, mainly through the mass-media and the internet, people continuously learn new names of places, persons, products, or ideas, which implies a shared vocabulary among people around the world. The dual nature of globalization in contrast to local concerns can be grasped in the concept of “glocalization” (Robertson 1992), which refers to relationships between global orientations and preservation of local values. However, globalization does not reach all people equally, because they may decide to live in their own world or are not always “connected.”

Twenty years ago, the Filipino sociologist Bello (2000) proposed “deglobalization” as a concept for a countermovement to offer an alternative vision for an improved global society. For him, deglobalization prioritizes values above interests, cooperation above competition, and community above “efficiency.” Globalization may make people fear loss of identity or give them a feeling that there is no space for their language and culture. These feelings might be stronger in minority communities, such as the Basque Country, where people defend their own language, culture, and identity. Lechner and Boli (2020, 4) argue that globalization has become an extremely contentious process over the last few years. The recent global COVID-19 pandemic is said to lead to a future “new normal.” In a recent blog post Bello (2020) concluded, “The pandemic gives us an opportunity to rethink our global economic system in favor of ‘deglobalization.’”

Background: San Martín Market in Donostia-San Sebastián, Basque Country

The market of San Martín, or officially “*Mercado San Martín Merkatua*,” is located in the city centre of Donostia-San Sebastián. The market was originally established in 1884 as part of nineteenth-century enlargements when the city was creating a new centre. Due to an increase in the population, the market was enlarged several times during the twentieth century. In 2005, as part of an urban renovation project, the “new market of San Martín” was opened in a huge, multi-story complex that combines the traditional food market with a modern shopping mall and a parking garage. Its architect received an award for the new formula of integrated shopping. The building is inspired by the old market and has a covered, central street and huge glass-windows. On its trilingual website the market is advertised as a symbol of the social, cultural, and economic evolution of the city (www.mercadosanmartin.eus).

The city of Donostia-San Sebastián (population: 187,000; metropolitan area: 436,000) is the administrative capital of the province of Gipuzkoa, one of three provinces of the Basque Autonomous Community. The city claims a cosmopolitan identity and is a popular resort due to its beaches, its international cultural festivals, and its gastronomy. It attracts a large number of tourists and visitors (over 1 million in 2018), about half from Spain and the others from France, Germany, the UK, the US, and other countries.

Sociolinguistic survey data shows that 35.4% of the inhabitants of the city report to be bilingual in Basque and Spanish; 21.5% are passive bilinguals, i.e., they understand Basque but cannot speak it; and 43.1% are Spanish monolingual speakers (Basque Government 2016). In the most recent street observation study on actual language use in public, the outcome was that in 15.2% of cases Basque was spoken throughout the city, although there is some variation according to neighbourhood and estimated age (Soziolinguistika Klusterra 2016). These figures show that Basque is numerically a minority language in the city, the same it is on average throughout the territory of the Basque Autonomous Community.

The Basic Law on the Normalization of Basque Language Use (Basic Law 1982) established both Basque and Spanish as official languages of the Basque Autonomous Community. Societal bilingualism proposed by the law is based on the principle that citizens should be able to freely choose to live through Basque, Spanish, or both. A robust language policy was developed that aims to extend the use of Basque to all domains of society and to counter the process of language endangerment of Basque. Overall, the sociolinguistic developments over recent decades show a clear increase in the percentage of bilingual speakers and a decrease in Spanish monolingual speakers. The knowledge of Basque among the general population has gone up, and today the percentage that has proficiency in Basque is higher than the percentage that does not, but the actual use of Basque has not

developed at the same pace. The trends confirm that the efforts to revitalize Basque, especially in education, have been relatively successful in comparison to other European minority languages. Still, Spanish remains the dominant language in society despite revitalization efforts, and Basque has been characterized as a “vulnerable” endangered language (Moseley 2010).

The Town Hall of Donostia-San Sebastián has its own plan to promote Basque among citizens. The plan only takes into account official bilingualism, whereas other languages, for example, those of new inhabitants (9.4% was born outside Spain) or brought by tourists, are mostly overlooked. The official language policy aims at bilingual Basque-Spanish signage, although a few years ago new street name plaques were created that give preference to Basque (Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz 2012).

In the present study, we analyze some aspects of the linguistic landscape of the San Martín market, where Basque as the local minority language competes with Spanish, a major world language; English, the global language; and also other languages, such as French, Arabic, Japanese, and Chinese. Our main research question is: *How are languages arranged, and what local and global links can be found in the linguistic landscape of the San Martín market?* The research question aims to better understand tensions that can arise from the coexistence of local and global languages in one location.

Method

In this section, we present our methodological approach. The market building, the setting for our data collection, is located in the centre of Donostia-San Sebastián (see map in Figure 9.1). Via Google maps a good view of the inside can be obtained. The place is highly frequented by both local and foreign visitors.

On the ground floor and in the basement, the building houses a traditional local market that has 40 stalls where fruit, vegetables, meat, fish, and other products are sold (see Figure 9.2 for a floor plan of the market). The basement also holds a large supermarket, which is part of a regional chain, and a few small shops. On the ground floor are entrances to the megastores of globally operating chains, “ZARA” (clothing) and “FNAC” (cultural and electronic products), that also occupy the higher floors. The central street has a number of cafés and bars. The market’s website contains, among other things, a short description of all shops and stalls, including photographs of the salespeople.

The analysis in this chapter is part of a larger project, where we combine the collection of qualitative and quantitative data. Here we limit ourselves to some data on the linguistic landscape and from the interviews. The data reported here has two parts.

The first part consists of photographic data about the linguistic landscape collected by taking pictures of all visual linguistic signs present on the two floors of the market (see Figure 9.2). Because there are just over 40

Figure 9.1: San Martín market located in the centre of Donostia-San Sebastián (retrieved from www.sansebastian.travel/mapa-de-san-sebastian).

Figure 9.2: Plans of the ground floor (0) and the basement (-1) of the San Martín market (not to scale, drawn by the authors).

establishments in the building, we decided not to take those as the unit of analysis; this is different from our earlier work (Cenoz and Gorter 2006, 71). Already then we were aware of the difficulties of consistent and solid criteria for the unit of analysis, because a degree of arbitrariness is involved in the coding process (see also Blackwood 2015, 40–41; Gorter 2019, 46). In this case, our unit of analysis is “any piece of text within a spatially definable frame” (Backhaus 2007, 66). We collected a visual inventory of the signs in the building (1,025 photos). After redundant photographs were discarded, 850 units remained in our database. Each unit was coded using

a scheme that included 16 different variables, including the number of languages, which language, and their order (see Cenoz and Gorter 2006, for details). Two researchers coded all of the pictures independently of each other. They agreed over 95% of the time, but in cases of differing opinions/views, they came to a common code.

We undertook a quantitative and a qualitative analysis of the signage, following the main methodological approaches in the field: on the one hand, “Variationist Linguistic Landscape Study” (VaLLS) (Soukup 2020), inspired by variationist sociolinguistics; and on the other hand, the “Ethnographic Linguistic Landscape Approach” (ELLA), an ethnographic approach, recently updated to ELLA 2.0 to emphasize the links between offline and online worlds (Blommaert and Maly 2019).

The second part concerns semi-structured interviews that were held with 40 salespeople working at the traditional market. For every stand, one salesperson was interviewed. They had an average age of 47.2 years, and there were 27 women and 13 men. A standard template with a limited number of questions was used as a guideline for the interviews. After permission was obtained, the interviews were audio-recorded while handwritten notes were also taken. The interviews were carried out in Basque ($n = 24$) or in Spanish ($n = 16$) depending on the interviewee’s preference. The average length was 15 minutes, and the total length of recorded material was almost ten hours.

All interviews were analyzed with an emphasis on language use on the signs. The use of the local languages, Basque and/or Spanish, was contrasted with the use of global languages, primarily English and French. The main results are presented in the next section.

Results

Our first step is to provide a distributional description of the multilingual characteristics of the signs. Thereafter, we analyze a limited number of signs to discuss their multilingual organization and find evidence of tensions between local and global influences. Finally, data from the interviews with the salespeople will shed light on their understanding of the use of those languages in this context.

Distribution of Languages

A short quantitative description of the linguistic landscape of the San Martín market can function as a useful first diagnosis. The results for the number of languages used on the signs are given in Table 9.1.

The table shows that most signs are in one language (58.2%), followed by bilingual signs (30.7%). Signs in three (4.8%), four (4.7%), or more (0.6%) languages are less frequent. Signs with “no language” (pictograms) are uncommon (0.9%). Thus, the data show a linguistic landscape predominately with signs in one language only, but also with a substantial number

Table 9.1: Number of languages on the signs

<i>Number of languages</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
One language	495	58.2
Two languages	261	30.7
Three languages	41	4.8
Four languages	40	4.7
Five or six languages	5	0.6
No “language”	8	0.9
Total	850	100

Table 9.2: Languages used on the signs

<i>Languages</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Percentages</i>
Spanish	365	43.3
Basque and Spanish	157	18.6
Basque	60	7.1
Spanish and English	51	6.1
English	27	3.2
Basque, Spanish, and English	18	2.1
Basque and English	4	0.5
Other language or combination	139	16.5
Hard to define language	21	2.5
Total	842	100

of bilingual signs. The result is comparable to, but also different from, our first study of the main shopping street of Donostia-San Sebastián (Cenoz and Gorter 2006, 72), where we found 45% monolingual signs, 37% with two languages, and 19% with three or more languages. The difference can be explained. In our earlier study the unit of analysis was an establishment where several “pieces of text in an identifiable frame” are usually combined, and thus more units have more languages.

After discarding the signs with a pictogram (“no language”), the languages that are used in the signage are shown in Table 9.2.

The table shows that Basque is used on its own in 7.1% of all signs. Basque in combination with Spanish is used on 18.6%; in combination with English on 0.5%; and trilingual signs in Basque, Spanish, and English constitute 2.1% of the total. Part of the signs in “other language or combination” also include Basque, which represents another 5.3%. Added up, Basque is used on 33.6% of all signs. Spanish is used on its own in 43.3% of signs, and 6.1% of signs are Spanish-English bilingual. Adding the bilingual signs that include Basque (18.6%) and those where it is part of other combinations (4.9%), it implies that Spanish is used on 72.9% of all signs, which confirms its position as the dominant language in society. English is found on 14.6% of the signs – on its own (3.2%) or in bilingual (6.6%), trilingual (2.1%),

or other combinations (2.7%) – which shows a substantial presence, but perhaps less than would be expected in such commercial surroundings. The percentages are different from what we found earlier in the main shopping street, where 50% of signs contained Basque, 74% of signs Spanish, and 28% English (Cenoz and Gorter 2006, 73–74). The differences found are probably caused by a higher number of official, top-down signs.

In some signs, the languages used were hard to allocate (2.5%). These are mainly brand names where it is hard to say to which language the brand name belongs, for example, “ZARA” or “Frudisk.” Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2015, 24) would call “ZARA” a “Big Commercial Name,” but what about “Frudisk”? It is the name of a small candy shop, and an internet search informs us that it is a hybrid of “*frutas secas*” (dried fruits) and “*disco*” (audio disc). The candy shop is a remainder of a local chain of shops that used to sell both CDs and candy.

The category “other language or combination” (16.5%) stands out because all signs with four or more languages (5.2%) are included. Moreover, the obligatory use of Latin names in the fish stands, as will be explained later, also comprises 4.5% of those signs.

The quantitative diagnosis of the linguistic landscape of this market shows that local and global languages coexist and compete for space.

Multilingualism and Global-Local Relations

In this section we discuss some examples of multilingual arrangements (Reh 2004), and we also want to uncover global-local relations. As we will show, such relations can be found in both multilingual and monolingual signs.

The first example refers to the language policy the local government has in place (Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz 2012). Part of that policy is a campaign to incentivize shops and the service, retail, and catering industries to facilitate the use of Basque among their clients. The example is a sign from this campaign (Figure 9.3).

The sign is in Basque only and oriented to people who can read the minority language. It reads “*Hemen ere euskaraz*” (Here also in Basque), an invitation to clients to speak Basque with the salespeople. Establishments that display this sign must have at least one staff member on the premises who can speak Basque. Over 1,000 establishments in the city have decided to participate, which is a bit more than half of those that fulfilled the criteria and out of a total of 4,000 that were approached. The call-out signs can be found all over the city, and the campaign is accompanied by a website (www.donostiaeuskaraz.eus) with additional information on grants for signage and language courses. The sign is an example of offline-online links in the linguistic landscape (Blommaert and Maly 2019; see also Li and Kelly-Holmes, Chapter 1 in this volume). The example also makes clear that a need is felt to carve out a space for the minority language in its competition with languages such as Spanish, English, and French.

Figure 9.3: “Hemen ere euskaraz”: Basque language campaign.

The second example comes from an earlier campaign to encourage the use of Basque.

The sign hangs on the wall of a fish stall and it displays the names of 24 types of fish and seafood (Figure 9.4). In an earlier study we analyzed a similar sign of fish names, and we showed how it potentially provided language input for second language learners (Cenoz and Gorter 2008). As it turns out, this sign is a remainder from an earlier campaign launched in 2009, which was mainly aimed at language learning of specialized terminology. The sign shows an historical layer of the linguistic landscape; the URL of the website on the bottom refers to a dead link, which means that the offline-online connection is gone. The Internet Archive’s “Wayback Machine” (web.archive.org) informs us that the link was active between 2007 and 2014; afterwards it was redirected for a while to the current campaign website given above, but today it no longer exists.

If we try to figure out the multilingual organization of the sign, it is bilingual with Spanish names on the left and Basque on the right. In Reh’s typology the text is “duplicating,” however, such a mechanical classification of the relationship between the languages does not explain the significance of the sign’s multilingual pattern.

The next sign is common in fish stalls, and on these signs we encounter Latin words.

Figure 9.4: “Taste in Basque”: Learning fish names.

The sign is in Spanish except for the scientific name for salmon (*Salmo Salar*) in Latin (Figure 9.5). In terms of multilingual organization, the sign is “fragmentary.” The typology does not say anything about Latin’s minor but salient role as the secondary language. Of course, the word “salmon” could also be read as English, which is only a coincidence. Of the 24 names on the earlier sign, “salmon” is the only name that is the same in Spanish and English. The sign informs the client that the salmon on sale is produced through aquaculture at a fish farm in Ecuador, but the species originates from Norway.

As we will see later, the salespeople do not like to display Latin words, but European Union rules oblige them to include the scientific names of fish and seafood. The regulation is aimed at providing consumers with better information about what they eat and to combating “IUU fishing” (i.e., Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated). Therefore, the label also contains information on tracing the origin of the seafood (European Commission 2014). The regulation of information on the labels is another illustration of a global influence in this local market.

The next example is a directive sign (Mautner 2012) from one of the bar-café in which French is used next to Spanish and English without Basque (Figure 9.6).

The figure shows a self-made sign from a bar-café, which informs customers in three languages that they cannot bring in food from outside. In terms of multilingual organization the text is probably best seen as “overlapping”

Figure 9.5: Salmon ticket: Scientific name (*Salmo Salar*) in Latin.

Figure 9.6: Directive sign: "It is prohibited to bring food from outside."

because the Spanish and English texts are translations, but the French text contains additional information about drinks “that are not of the café.” Apparently, the signwriter wanted to be extra clear when addressing French speakers about the prohibition, perhaps based on past experience. It may seem remarkable that Basque is absent, but Basque locals may already know that you are not supposed to bring your own food/drinks into the café. Interestingly, this sign is surrounded by various signs in different languages, including Basque, but the other signs all originate from producers external to the establishment, as can be (more or less) seen in the next figure (Figure 9.7).

The figure shows a photograph of the glass front wall of the bar-café. The directive sign about bringing food from outside (Figure 9.6) is surrounded by global logos (Visa, Union Pay), the announcement of an event (“Rugby, sea, & food”), a local tourism sign, and a sign for the local Red Cross (almost unreadable and in Basque). During the interview with the owner of the bar, he explained that many French visitors come to his café. The use of French on signs is a contentious point among the salespeople. Some of them consider French to be more important than English because they take into account the French-speaking visitors who are attracted, in particular, by the “ZARA” store.

The next sign is from one of the “ZARA” store shop windows (Figure 9.8).

The “ZARA” flagship store is an epitome of globalization. “ZARA” is owned by the Inditex company (www.inditex.com), one of the largest fashion retailers in the world, which sells products under eight different brand names in over 7,000 stores in 96 countries. By the way, the word “zara” in

Figure 9.7: Assemblage of signs on the glass front window of a bar-café.

Figure 9.8: Bilingual price marker.

Basque means “you are” (2nd-person singular), thus it is a common word, and it has a different association for Basque speakers than just a brand name; but this is, of course, a coincidence.

The first “ZARA” store opened in 1975 in A Coruña, Galicia. After expanding in Spain, in 1988 it opened a shop in Porto, Portugal, and one year later a location in New York. In 2007 the company opened its thousandth physical store and its first online store. In marketing literature the global expansion of Inditex has been called “*zarafication*” (Willems et al. 2012), where it refers to a convergence of fine fashion and fast fashion through commoditization and the “massclusivity” of luxury fashions. The coming together of offline and online has become an important part of the retailer’s marketing strategy, as can be seen from the internet addresses displayed around the stores.

The sign demonstrates how the company combines localization with globalization. Localization is, of course, an important marketing strategy (Melewar and Saunders 1999). The company’s signage is in line with the official local language policy of bilingualism. In terms of multilingual organization, this sign is duplicating. The bilingual price marker also demonstrates the linguistic sameness and differences of words in Basque and Spanish. The word “*blazer*” is the same in both languages, while “*jertsealjersey*”

are similar, and both originate from English. On the next lines “*prakak/ pantalon*” (trousers/pants) and “*oinetakoak/calzado*” (shoes) show the linguistic distance between Basque and Spanish, where *pantalon* etymologically comes from Italian via French. What the sign also showcases is the minimalist approach to design that characterizes “ZARA” stores, which use the same font and design in all their stores. The languages used in the shop window do not seem to take the store’s many French customers into consideration. Similar observations could be made about the second international chain store, “FNAC,” which does not use any French in its signage, even though it is originally a French company.

The next example shows a different, almost opposite side of globalization.

The sign makes it clear that the establishment collaborates in the “take a bite towards solidarity” project. The origins of this “*Zaporeak proiektua*” (tastes project) can be found at a trilingual website. It started in 2011 in the town of Wukro, Tigray region, Ethiopia, and its aims are, among others, to improve knowledge about nutrition and start activities in the agrifood sector (<http://zaporeak.eus/en#ethiopia>). By ordering food, the client contributes to the project. The sign takes the (persistent) reader to a remote town in Ethiopia, thereby demonstrating global, long-distance links. The multilingual organization of the sign is mostly “duplicating,” except a creative blending of Spanish and Basque is used where the country’s name (Ethiopia) is in a larger font, and a smaller font is used for the Basque suffix (“*-rekin*” [with]). This is a linguistic pattern we have also observed in other bilingual signs.

The next and final sign also proves the effects of globalization, but in an indirect way.

The sign announces in Spanish that the candy shop “has Gildas for 80 eurocents a piece” (Figure 9.10). The sign is a plasticized photograph that refers to the product depicted called “Gilda,” which is an interesting combination of a local invented tradition and global influence. The story is told that some 70 years ago a customer in a bar skewered an olive, a green pepper, and an anchovy on a toothpick and thus invented the *pintxo*. He chose the name based on the movie *Gilda* starring Rita Hayworth, recently released at the time, because “the actress and the new *pintxo* both were green, salty, and a little spicy” (pintxos.es). It can be interpreted as an example of Hollywoodization (Conversi 2010, 359). Today, the Gilda is probably the most famous *pintxo*: a small portion of food, “a miniature of gastronomy,” usually on or with a piece of bread and a stick, served in bars, similar to a “*tapa*.” *Pintxos* are seen as an important part of local Basque identity. During the 2008 global economic recession, the “*pintxo pote*” was invented, a new “local tradition” where a *pintxo* and a drink are sold together for a reasonable price. Every Thursday afternoon the “*pintxo pote*” takes place in the San Martín market. It is the Basque example of what is known around the world as “happy hour” and thus another piece of evidence of global influence.

Figure 9.9: "Take a bite": Solidarity with Ethiopia project.

Figure 9.10: "Hay Gildas": Local-global connections.

Salespeople's Perceptions of the Linguistic Landscape

After analyzing some of the (1) language policies, (2) production and design, and (3) characteristics of the physical signage itself, which coincide with the first three components of our Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) model, we will now discuss, as a fourth aspect, the salespeople's perceptions of the signs in their own stands and in the market.

We asked all 40 salespeople about the putting up of textual signs in their stand. Fourteen indicated that they do not put any signs at all in their stands. The only marker in those stalls is a small plate with the owner's name in uniform black letters on a rectangular steel metal background. They are mainly farmers in the fruit and vegetables stands. One of them explained: "*txartelak ez ditugu hemen jartzen. Baserritarrek ez gara ohitu horrela txartelak jartzen*" (We don't put signs here. We farmers are not used to putting up signs) (S33; numbers refer to the interviewees).

The other 26 salespeople use textual signs in their stalls, and 15 said that there is only Spanish on them. The reason they give is that Spanish is understood by all their clients, or as it was said in Basque: "*Erderaz. Jendeak ulertzeko, azkenean. Agian jartzen dut 'izokina' eta jendeak ez daki zer den. Orduan nahiago dut erderaz jartzea*" (Spanish. So that people understand, after all. Perhaps I put "*izokina*" [Basque for salmon], and people don't know what it is. That's why I prefer to put it in Spanish) (S02).

Another informant added: "*Azkenean ez gatoz euskara erakustera, ez da gure intentzioa hor*" (After all, we are not here for showing Basque, that's not our intention) (S06). Probably he never saw the bilingual sign for learning fish terms in Basque (Figure 9.4).

Six salespeople indicated that they use both Basque and Spanish on their signs. One of the informants provided more details and observed that Spanish still prevails in her bilingual signage: "*Los carteles están en los dos. Las descripciones más en castellano. 'Más' no, está todo en castellano. El nombre del producto en los dos*" (The signs are in both languages. The description more in Spanish. No, not "more," they are completely in Spanish. The name of the product is in both) (S32).

Three salespeople, all from the fish stands, brought up the issue of using Latin in addition to only Spanish or Spanish and Basque. However, all disapproved of this multilingual aspect: "*Europako arautegia dela eta, erdera eta latinez ... Latin erabiltzea ez zait ondo iruditzen. Zertarako ... Bezeroek parra egiten dute*" (Because of the European Law, Spanish and Latin ... I don't agree with using Latin. What for? ... the clients laugh about it) (S03).

Obviously, the European rules, which we clarified before, do have an influence on the linguistic landscape, at least for some of the stands at this market. The influence of the rules is considered negatively by the salespeople and, as they report, apparently seen as ridiculous by their customers.

All salespeople were asked if they are satisfied with language use in their stands, and 27 out of the 40 salespeople answered in the affirmative. However, some of the answers to the question focused less on the language displayed on the signs and more on reasons related to language learning or the behaviour of foreign visitors.

Six informants answered that at their age they do not feel capable of learning a new language, and therefore they settle for the languages they can use now. One of them said it this way: "*Ja nire adinarekin ez nuke beste hizkuntzak erabiliko. Ja burua ez daukat gauzak ikasteko*" (At my age I wouldn't use any other languages anymore. I don't have my head prepared anymore for learning things) (S07). As previously mentioned, the average age is 47.2 years, and several salespeople working at these stands pointed out that they lack knowledge of foreign languages, especially of English.

Five informants made it clear that the current display of language is fine because they have no reason to add any other languages. One explanation was the fact that many foreign tourists come to visit the market, but they do not often purchase items. Or as a fishmonger stated: "*Los extranjeros vienen a mirar, no a comprar*" (The foreigners come to look, not to buy) (S01). For him the tourists are not a priority, while local clients are. A butcher added that some foreigners may know Spanish anyway: "*Aquí estamos para vender, y punto. Ya hay algunos extranjeros que saben castellano, como los franceses*" (We are here to sell, full stop. There are some foreigners who know Spanish, like the French) (S19). One salesperson did actually put up some English signs, but he was not convinced of its necessity: "*No me parece necesario poner nada en inglés.*" (I don't think it is necessary to put anything in English.) (S32). The answers show a tension between the use of local and global languages, where the salespeople opt for maintaining the local languages.

There were also 13 informants who indicated that they were less satisfied with how languages are currently used in their stalls. We already mentioned the discontent of three fishmongers having to use Latin. The ten remaining informants would like to add more languages and thus enhance the multilingual aspect of their signage. However, the reasons they give are contrasting. Six out of ten indicate they would like to use more foreign languages, such as English and French, in their stalls, while four others informed us that they would like to use more Basque. Thus, it looks like global and local interests are competing.

One salesperson summarized the need for more foreign languages as: "*Ikasi beharko genuke hobeto hitz egiten ingelesez. Azkenean da unibertsalagoa, eta frantsesez ere, jende asko etortzen da Iparraldetik. Egia esan edozein hizkuntza ondo da jakitea.*" (We would need to speak better English. After all, that is more universal, and French also, because a lot of people come from the French part of the Basque Country. Honestly, any language would be good to know) (S26).

One stand owner indicated that he is actually changing the signs: "*Hemos hecho carteles nuevos, y los haremos en francés. Pondríamos como segunda lengua en francés pero no hemos hecho todavía. Aquí compra mucho francés*" (We have made new signs, and we will make them in French. We would put as the second language in French, but we haven't done that yet. Here many French people come to buy) (S23).

In contrast, among the informants who regret that they do not use more Basque, one explained it in comparison with French or English: "*A mí me gustaría saber más euskara. El francés o inglés no me importa tanto, pero el euskara sí*" (I would like to know more Basque. I don't care too much about French or English, but I do about Basque) (S38).

After the question about the languages in their own stand, the salespeople were also asked about the language use on directional and other general signs in the market. The answers are surprisingly diverse. A majority ($n = 22$) thought that those signs are written exclusively in Spanish. Another 11 believed the signs are bilingual, written in Spanish and Basque, whereas two informants said the signs are exclusively in Basque. One informant believed the signs are in four languages: Basque, Spanish, English, and French. The last four informants had no clue about the languages on the signs. Taking into account that this is their place of work, and they pass by these signs daily, they seem to take this linguistic landscape for granted and are only partially aware of how languages are used.

The salespeople were further questioned about their preference for the languages used in the general signs. A majority ($n = 25$) believe that the local languages, Basque and Spanish, as well as English and French should be used. For them, the growing number of tourists is important, as a butcher explained: "*Hombre, estando en el centro habiendo tanto turista, sí que debería de haber más idiomas ... Pues sí, oye, aquí dos idiomas tenemos, pero cada vez, ayudar a la gente con facilidades no cuesta nada*" (Well, being in the city centre and having so many tourists, we should have more languages ... So, yes, we have two languages here, but helping people with facilities doesn't cost anything) (S21). Nine informants would like to see the signs only in the local languages, Basque and Spanish, and saw no need to include any foreign languages. A reason they frequently mentioned was that in each country only the local languages should be used. A salesperson formulated it as: "*Joaten zara Frantziara eta ez dago ezer ez gaztelaniaz ere*" (You go to France and there isn't anything in Spanish either) (S03).

Another person, who sells fruit, disapproves of the English currently used at the market: "*Tanto euskara como castellano. Aunque anda mucho francés también. La verdad, hombre, yo pienso, estamos en Donostia, así que para mí que esté en euskera. Me gusta el idioma de aquí*" (Both Basque and Spanish. Although there is a lot of French people too. In fact, I think, we are in Donostia, so for me it should be in Basque) (S17). These informants all together advocate for a local linguistic landscape in which the local

languages are prioritized (compare this to similar findings in Blackwood, Johannessen and Mendisu, Chapter 6 in this volume).

The remaining informants have various other ideas about the languages used on the signs. Three informants believe that, in this type of traditional market, only Basque should be used on the signs, although two of them mention the difficulties it can raise, due to the presence of non-Basque-speaking local and international clients. One of the farmers selling vegetables underlines: “*Euskara. Hemen euskara guk ez badugu indartzen ... Baina negozioa horrela da. Nola saldu behar den, baita txinoz ere!*” (Basque. Because if we don’t support Basque here ... But that is what business is like. As we have to sell, we would sell even in Chinese!) (S31). In one sentence he expresses the tension between language promotion and commercial interests.

Overall, a majority of the salespeople preferred multilingual signs including the two local languages as well as some foreign languages, while a smaller group opted for bilingual signage in only the two local languages.

Discussion and Conclusion

The building of the San Martín market is presented as a hallmark of urban renovation. Stepping into its traditional market you are immersed in a multilingual environment. The décor is multilingual because you can read signs that contain Basque, Spanish, or English, but some also have Chinese, French, Italian, Japanese, and other languages. This is a local market that contains many markers of globalization; it can be conceived of as a glocal space. The first thing you may notice is the name “*Kenji Takahashi*” on a sushi stall, which upon closer inspection displays many products with labels and wrappers in Japanese. A sticker asks for a review on “the world’s largest travel site.” Walking around you can observe that the products for sale come from anywhere around the globe. One stall displays a variety of cheeses: Danish blue, Dutch Edam, Swiss Emmental, French Roquefort, and Italian Gorgonzola, which lie next to the local Basque Idiazabal sheep cheese. Fish on ice have labels that tell you their names in two or three languages, including Latin, as well as the seas or parts of the ocean where the fish were caught. The labels on containers for herbs and spices tell you places of origin: China, India, Paraguay, and even Ceylon. Another stall sells exotic *chirimoya* fruit, a Quechua name, originally from Central America but now widely grown in Spain. In the flower stall you find Dutch lilies, and the kiosk sells magazines with foreign titles: *Elle*, *Vogue*, *Cosmopolitan*, or *Forbes*, although all turn out to be the Spanish-language edition. The next stall sells “*börek*” pastries, a Turkish word for a type of food that spread through the Ottoman Empire, showing an early form of globalization.

Global products are placed side by side with local products, showing processes of glocalization. The local dimension is most pronounced in the centre of the hall with its stalls of fruits, vegetables, and other products brought by local farmers. It is a stark contrast, also in terms of linguistic landscape,

because the stalls have only a small nameplate, some signs with the product names, or just a price per kilo or per unit. These products fit the “KM-0” or “100% local” campaigns for more sustainable ways of transport and production. The tension between the global and the local is almost tangible in this linguistic landscape.

In this chapter, we analyzed the linguistic landscape of this San Martín market, with particular emphasis on the quantitative and qualitative linguistic dimensions of the signage as well as its global and local relationships. We also heard the voices of the salespeople from the stalls in the traditional market. We saw that Spanish dominates the linguistic landscape in terms of quantity, with a substantial presence of Basque, but also English, French, and other languages. These signs demonstrate different patterns of multilingual organization (Reh 2004). One can wonder how the people who stop to read the signs navigate such multilingual landscapes. In an earlier study, we found that most readers check out the different languages, read the texts in two or more languages, but perhaps not all of it (Gorter and Cenoz 2015). Our informants at the market confirmed that they don’t pay much attention to the languages in general and directional signs of the building.

By considering a limited number of signs, we found expressions of the struggle of Basque as an endangered minority language, but also links to fish species in Latin and far away fishing grounds. One sign had a more elaborate prohibition aimed at French speakers, but the sign was part of a multilingual assemblage of signs. We also looked at two megastores on the other side of the San Martín building. “ZARA” and “FNAC” are examples of the global spread of “Big Commercial Names” (Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael 2015). These companies dominate the main shopping streets around the world, and as a consequence those streets “dress” alike. They have a strategy of standardizing their international “corporate visual identity” (Melewar and Saunders 1999, 583), and, as a consequence, there is more uniformity and thus a decrease in the diversity of linguistic landscapes in different cities. The design used for the linguistic landscape of the “ZARA” store in Donostia-San Sebastián looks almost identical to a “ZARA” store anywhere in the world.

Globalization can also bring solidarity with faraway places, in our case through food tasting with a town in Ethiopia. Already some decades ago Hollywood provided the name for the most famous Basque pintxo. The local market is, of course, also a fascinating “foodscape.” Järlehed and Moriarty (2018) studied the linguistic landscape of the Basque *txakoli* wines. They observed that the concept of foodscape is researched in various fields, including tourism and geography, but the connection between food and language is not addressed. In our examples, we found that displays of food and language have fascinating global connections. Other studies on markets, food, and multilingualism have pointed in the same direction (Adami 2019; Lou 2017; Pennycook and Otsuij 2017).

The global COVID-19 pandemic has had a dramatic impact on linguistic landscapes around the world. As a consequence, shopping streets are full of signs with warnings about maintaining a distance, instructions for using hand sanitizer, cautions to wear a mask, guidance for scanning QR-codes for menus, and offers of takeout food or home service. Future developments in the “new normal” after the COVID-19 pandemic will have consequences for linguistic landscape studies, and researchers can already start to find new meanings in the signs that surround us. Photographer Kiki Streitberger (2020) reported how she started to see another meaning in signs she finds on the streets of London. One sign said, “There is another way to live,” which was meant to encourage a switch to greener energy, but under COVID-19 lockdown it became a threat about things to come. Hopefully, it can also be read in an optimistic way in changing times.

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