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ESTUDIOS LINGÜÍSTICOS

CONSTRUCTION OF A (NON-)MULTILINGUAL RESORT TOWN IN ANDALUCÍA, SPAIN, THROUGH THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

CONSTRUCCIÓN DE UNA CIUDAD TURÍSTICA (NO) MULTILINGÜE EN ANDALUCÍA,
ESPAÑA, A TRAVÉS DEL PAISAJE LINGÜÍSTICO

LINDA YOKSULABAKAN-HARJUS

University of Innsbruck

linda.harjus@uibk.ac.at

 0000-0003-0430-6026

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the linguistic landscape in the western Andalusian resort town of Novo Sancti Petri/La Barrosa, Chiclana de la Frontera (Spain). The aim of this study is to analyze social practices, such as the (non)use of multilingualism, through which public spaces and places are co-created. It also addresses the questions of, which languages shape the linguistic landscape, which functions these languages fulfill, and how a specific sense of place is produced by the written (non)use of multilingualism. For this purpose, I created a photo corpus of 825 signs. The data indicate a division of the space into two distinct places, one more monolingual and one more multilingual: While Spanish dominates the linguistic landscape of La Barrosa, which creates a more authentically Spanish place, the linguistic landscape of Novo Sancti Petri shows multilingual signs with e.g. Italian. The unofficial migration-related minority languages of Spain (e.g., Arabic, Tagalog, Mandarin-Chinese), remain invisible in both places.

Keywords: Linguistic Landscape, multilingualism, place-making, sense of place, tourism, western Andalucía.

RESUMEN

Este artículo se centra en el paisaje lingüístico de los barrios turísticos de Novo Sancti Petri/La Barrosa, Chiclana de la Frontera (España). El objetivo de este estudio es analizar las prácticas sociales, como el (no) uso del multilingüismo, a través de las cuales se

co-crean los espacios y lugares públicos. También aborda las cuestiones de: ¿Qué lenguas conforman el paisaje lingüístico?, ¿qué funciones cumplen estas lenguas y cómo se produce un sentido específico del lugar mediante el (no) uso escrito del multilingüismo? Para ello se ha creado un corpus fotográfico de 825 signos. Los datos indican una división del espacio en dos lugares distintos, uno más monolingüe y otro más multilingüe: mientras que el español domina el paisaje lingüístico de La Barrosa, creando un lugar más «auténtico» español, el paisaje lingüístico de Novo Sancti Petri muestra signos multilingües con, por ejemplo, signos en italiano. Las lenguas minoritarias no oficiales de España relacionadas con la inmigración (por ejemplo, árabe, tagalo, chino-mandarín), permanecen invisibles en ambos lugares.

Palabras clave: Paisaje lingüístico, multilingüismo, creación de lugar, sentido de lugar, turismo, Andalucía occidental.

1. INTRODUCTION

Every year Spain receives millions of international tourists attracted by a privileged climate, beaches, and diverse options for leisure-time activities. In 2023, around 85 million tourists traveled to Spain, which is the second most frequently visited country in the world (Graefe, 2024). One particularly popular destination is the autonomous region of Andalucía in the south, which, with 67.6 million overnight stays in 2022, ranks fifth among the top 10 destinations in the EU (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022).

Tourism is an important economic sector, but as a social phenomenon, it also has a significant influence on the (re)production of spaces, places, and cultures (Hultman & Hall, 2012: 548). Therefore, it is not surprising that the dynamic relationship between language, tourism, and space are a highly relevant topic in linguistics and other disciplines (Ortega Arjonilla, 2018) and should continue to be explored in depth (Calvi, 2018: 51; Núñez, 2025 [forthcoming]). Based on this premise, the present paper addresses linguistic place-making practices, using the linguistic landscape of expanding tourist destinations as a valuable source of data.

Linguistic landscap. (LL) study is the investigation of written language, such as commercial advertisements, billboards, or street signs, displayed in (mainly urban) public spaces (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).¹ It focuses not only on the presence and representation, but also on the absence of linguistic signs from public spaces. As an interdisciplinary field of research, LL research provides an analytical framework for empirical investigations of sociolinguistically relevant aspects, such as social multilingualism, language contact research, and language ideologies (Cruz Volio *et al.*, 2024: 10).

¹ Gorter and Cenoz (2022) and Moser (2020) offer a recent and detailed overview of the field.

It should be noted that the study of the LL is a fairly new research field that has developed rapidly since the landmark article by Landry and Bourhis in 1997 and the subsequent contributions by Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara and Trumper-Hecht (2006), Backhaus (2007) and Shohamy and Gorter (2009), all of whom initiated approaches points within the field. Landry and Bourhis (1997) specify two basic functions of LL signs: The first is the informational function, which indicates “that the language in question can be used to communicate and obtain services within public and private establishments located in the pertinent territory” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 25). The second is the symbolic function, which contributes to the value and status of the languages that are most displayed on private and government signs (Landry & Bourhis 1997: 27). Accordingly, the use of a specific language in public space indicates that this language is valued, whereas the absence of language(s) indicates its/their lesser status, value, and utility in the respective society (Leimgruber & Fernández Mallat, 2021: 408). Another pioneering extension in LL research was the introduction of the distinction between top-down (institutional-public signs) (TD)² and bottom-up (private-commercial signs) (BU) initiated signs by Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006: 14). TD signage includes those signs that have been created on behalf of one of the various levels of government or a local or long-distance public transport organization. All other units, in contrast, fall under BU.

Another breakthrough in LL studies was led by the first monograph focusing exclusively on LL by Backhaus (2007), who analyzed multilingual signs in Tokyo. A few years later Shohamy and Gorter (2009) expanded the LL scenery by proposing a broader definition of LL, which not only included written language and its variations on signs but images, colors, voices, music, etc.

LL research which focuses on the abovementioned aspects shows, among other things, that public space is not a given territory but (symbolically) constructed by its social actors, whose influence shapes the space (Blommaert, 2013). The LL serves not only as an identity marker for the community (Carr, 2021: 239), but also as a strategic tool to commodify the space for tourists (Leeman & Modan, 2009: 332).

The importance of LL research as a necessary object of sociolinguistics and in the study of tourism, space, and social multilingualism is shown by relevant works, among others studies in multilingualism in the Spanish-speaking world (Aijón Oliva, 2021; Cruz Volio *et al.*, 2024), which have mainly focused on LL in multilingual areas such as the Basque Country (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006) or Catalonia (Leprêtre Alemany & Romani Olivé, 2000).

In the last decades, there has been an increasing focus on the LL in tourist areas in Andalucía, especially since the groundbreaking research by Pons Rodríguez

² The binary division of TD and BU is discussed in Leeman and Modan (2009: 334).

(2012) on the LL in Seville and by Franco Rodríguez (2013) on the LL of Almería. Relevant work that followed includes research on tourism-related multilingualism in officially monolingual places such as Málaga (Esteba Ramos, 2014) and the initiation of a project to build an exhaustive corpus about multilingualism in the LL of Andalucía (Pons Rodríguez, 2024). Even so, to date only little research is available on the relationship between tourism and language in the landscape of western Andalucía (e.g., Heredia Mantis [2024] on the LL in Huelva, Pons Rodríguez [2012] on Seville, or de la Torre García [2022] on Cádiz), and no research has been conducted on the LL in the resort towns of La Barrosa and Novo Sancti Petri in Chiclana de la Frontera. This lack of research in Spanish linguistics on *chiclanero* place-making and tourism is particularly surprising given the gradual increase in tourism (see Section 2) in that area.

The aim of the present study is to discuss if and how a certain sense of place is constructed through the LL of La Barrosa (LB) and Novo Sancti Petri (NSP). To this end, a quantitative analysis will focus on 1) what languages are used in the public space and which functions they fulfill, and 2) what features the LL of the tourist resort towns of LB and NSP share and in what aspects they differ from each other.

This paper is organized as follows: It first presents the urban and sociolinguistic context and then describes the social concept of place in relation to language and tourism. Next, it outlines the methodology of the present study. This is followed by the discussion of the results and a conclusion.

2. THE URBAN CONTEXT

Chiclana de la Frontera is located in west of the autonomous region of Andalucía on the Costa de la Luz. Founded in the 18th century, the city borders on the municipalities of San Fernando and Puerto Real to the north and Conil de la Frontera and Vejer de la Frontera to the south. The officially monolingual³ town of Chiclana is divided into seven districts: Center-West, Center-East, North, East, South, West, and Coast. For the present study, the seventh district (Coast), which includes the beach site of LB and the NSP tourist complex built in 1987 (Bohórquez Jiménez, 1996: 356), is of particular interest (see Section 4).

The city currently has a total of 90,224 inhabitants (INE, 2024a), of whom 4,716 (5%) are foreign and 85,508 (95%) are Spanish (Table 1).

³ Spanish is enshrined as the official language in the constitution (see Junta de Andalucía, n.d.). Varieties of Andalusian are part of the cultural heritage, but there are no other official languages besides Spanish.

Table 1*Nationalities in Chiclana*

Nationality	Total	%
Spanish	85,508	94.8
Foreign	4,716	5.2
Total	90,224	100

Note. My own elaboration (Instituto Nacional de Estadística [INE], 2024a)

The population of Chiclana includes people of 99 nationalities: Inhabitants from the UK (18.6%) make up the largest immigrant groups followed by Germans (12.1%), Moroccans (9.6%), and Italians (6.0%) (Table 2). Other nationalities residing in Chiclana include Colombians, French, Venezuelans, Chinese, etc.

Table 2*Origin of foreigners in Chiclana*

Country	Total	%
Great Britain	878	18.6
Germany	570	12.1
Morocco	453	9.6
Italy	281	6.0
Colombia	252	5.3

Note: My own elaboration (INE, 2024b)

Comparing the population figures in Chiclana from the last few decades (INE, 2024a), provided below, a demographic change due to national and international immigration is apparent. In the past 40 years, Chiclana, and especially the localities of LB and NSP, have evolved into popular destinations for immigrants, while at the same time attracting ever-increasing numbers of tourists. In 2023 alone, more than 100,000 tourists from 12 different countries visited Chiclana (La Voz Digital Chiclana, 2024). Germans, followed by the British, French and Dutch, represent the largest tourist group. (INE, 2024c). It is interesting to note that they are not only the largest tourist groups in summer, like the Irish, Portuguese, and Swiss, but also throughout the year. However, Chiclana is not only known for its international tourism, but also national tourism. The largest national tourist group throughout the year is visitors from the autonomous community of Madrid, who stand out with

particularly high numbers during the summer months, such as August, with 46,334 visitors (INE, 2024c).⁴ Moreover, many of the national tourists, who are particularly numerous during the summer months, come from Zaragoza, Asturias, Castilla-La Mancha, Castilla y León, Catalonia, and the Basque Country (INE, 2024d).

In addition to various demographic and socio-cultural changes, Chiclana's economic focus has shifted primarily to tourism since the late 1970s, and the city is largely dependent on revenue from this sector (SEGITTUR, 2023). In my research, I assume that these demographic changes and the political aspirations of the Chiclana government will be reflected in the linguistic landscape of LB and NSP.

3. TOURISM PLACE-MAKING

Tourism is a territorial and social phenomenon that has transformed local cultures and helped to shape the characteristics of destinations in recent decades (Urry & Larsen, 2011). The type and range of accommodation on offer also shape the character of a place. Since the 1990s, the concept of resorts in particular has become increasingly popular. Resort towns, such as LB and NSP, are characterized by the fact that they are primarily geared towards tourism.

With the aim to attract a specific type of tourist to a geographical location in order to make an economic profit from this tourism, various social actors interact and engage with each other on site, among other things, to stage these specific places not only architecturally or culturally, but also linguistically (Hultman & Hall, 2012). I assume that social actors can actively shape (public) spaces and places through social practices. In this context, it is important to distinguish between the categories of space and place. *Places* refer to concretely nameable and geographically marked locations. In addition, places are collectively and individually charged with traditions, memories, shared experiences and collectively reproduced structures (*cfr.* Löw, 2018: 165). A definition of *space* is much more complex, since its dynamics, processuality, diversity, and structuring power must be considered. I follow the definition of Löw (2018) that spaces are relational (re)arrangements of living beings and social goods in places, because this definition takes up various aspects of the underlying relational sense of space: Firstly, it points out that spaces are produced through the practice of ordering, that is, through active linking and placement. Secondly, it includes the aspect that spaces already predetermine a social order, that is, a specific structure.

⁴ However, it must be taken into account that the figures provided by the INE are based on telephone data. Such data has clear limitations in terms of accuracy and significance, as not all tourists have mobile phones with them or have them switched on. Some others disable GPS, roaming, or tracking, meaning that they cannot be recorded at all.

Discursive exemplary practices, such as recurring linguistic patterns and other sign-based statements that create a specific urban place and endow it with supposed identity-forming characteristics, are practices of place-making (Busse, 2021). This assumption is based on a concept of space which developed as a result of the spatial turn (Günzel, 2017: 9-10) in linguistics that occurred in the 1970s: Spaces or places are not given in terms of natural space but are discursively produced through linguistic and social actions (Cresswell, 2004: 30; Urry, 2007) and are subject to constant change.

However, over the last few decades there has been an increased interest in both space and place as linguistic phenomena, as shown by the groundbreaking studies of, e.g., Johnstone (2004) and Auer *et al.* (2013).

In linguistics, analyses grounded in spatial theory in the context of tourism can help to reconstruct linguistic processes of place-making, such as the production of spatial structures in a tourist place using linguistic tools. Against this background, the present study aims to contribute to the linguistic analysis of linguistically constructed tourist spaces that have so far been given little or no consideration. The purpose is to examine how tourist place-making (Hultman & Hall, 2012) occurs in Spanish-speaking areas, specifically in NSP and LB. In doing so, the relationship between language and tourism is no longer described statically – as has been the case in other Hispanic sociolinguistic studies (Calvi, 2006) – but it is viewed from a linguistic-social-constructivist perspective. I focus on the concrete material space, i.e., the LL, and consider multilingualism, linguistic variation, and linguistic constructions as social practices with which social actors actively shape spaces and places.

4. METHODOLOGIES

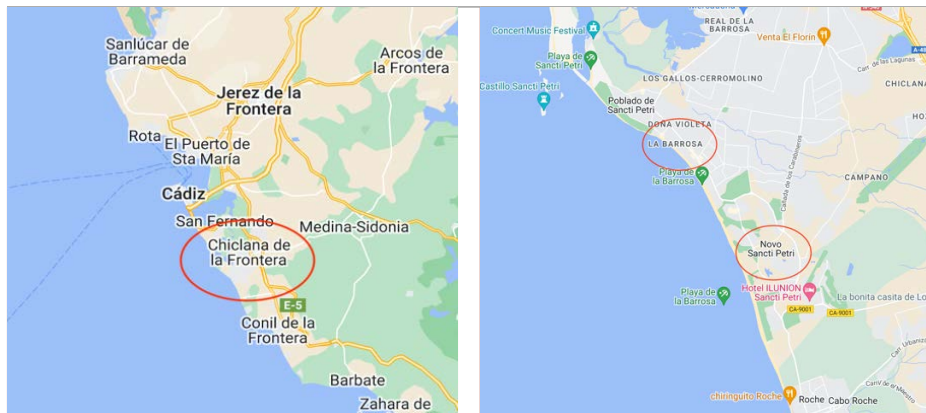
4.1. Corpus

4.1.1. Data compilation

The data basis for the present study is a photographic corpus that I created in August/September 2023 during a research stay in the city of Chiclana de la Frontera, Cádiz. The sample unit was initially, in reference to Backhaus (2007: 66), every form of written representation of language in a definable and fixed environment, in this case the districts of LB and NSP on the coast of Chiclana (see Map 1). In this context, the present study takes an exhaustive approach, which is why I documented every piece of visual evidence of language in public spaces with an iPhone 11.

Map 1

Study Area La Barrosa (LB) and Novo Sancti Petri (NSP), Chiclana de la Frontera



Note. The maps presented here were extracted from www.google.com/maps (last access: 22nd April 2025).

As shown in Table 3, the corpus is made up of a total of 825 photos. Of these, 19 images come from Avenida de La Barrosa (2.30%); 18 from Avenida del Atlántico (2.18%); 294 from Carretera de La Barrosa (35.64%); 184 from Centro Comercial Novo Sancti Petri (22.30%); 71 from Paseo Marítimo (8.61%); 75 from Playa de La Barrosa (9.09%); and 164 from Zona Hotelera (19.88%). It is important to mention that the area of Playa de La Barrosa and the parallel Carretera de La Barrosa do not belong entirely to LB but are divided: The northern part belongs to LB and the southern part to NSP. For the present study, I count all the signs south of the beach bar Las Dunas and the Hotel Novo Mar as belonging to NSP.

The area of study focused on the beach site starting at LB and ending just before Roche, the Paseo Marítimo, the Avenida de La Barrosa, the Avenida del Atlántico, the Carretera La Barrosa and the entire area that I summarize as Zona Hotelera.⁵ I determined the research radius on the basis of predefined criteria: First, I used a geotag (Hiippala, Tenkanen, Hausmann and Toivonen, 2019) and hashtag search on Instagram to research which areas are the most culturally and touristically active and attractive. Second, I consulted the official homepage of the Chiclana Tourist Office and determined which places are declared as so-called tourist centers. In a third and final step, I walked around the areas extracted from the research and, based on my own observations, noted which sections were the most crowded and had the most signage (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006, 14). The areas listed in Table 3 were selected based on the steps outlined above, and particularly because they have

⁵ The so-called Zona Hotelera begins at Calle de La Barrosa, continues along Avenida Ocatvio Agosto to Calle Amilcar Barca and further from Calle de La Barrosa to the Hotel Hideaway.

not yet been considered in any linguistic studies. On Map 2,⁶ the entire area under investigation is marked with red lines.

Table 3

Number of signs for each area in Corpus

Street Name	Number of Signs	Percentage of Corpus %	District Affiliation
Avenida de La Barrosa	19	2.30	LB
Avenida del Atlántico	18	2.18	LB
Paseo Marítimo	71	8.61	LB
Centro Comercial Novo Center	184	22.30	NSP
Zona Hotelera	164	19.88	NSP
Carretera La Barrosa	294	35.64	LB and NSP
Playa de La Barrosa	75	9.09	LB and NSP
Total	N = 825	100%	

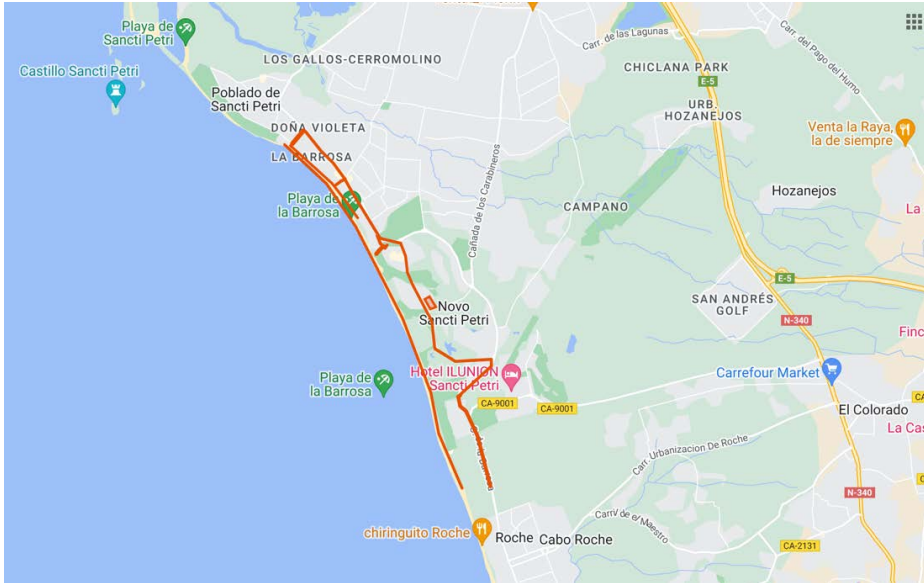
Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Based on the understanding that the LL is considered to be all elements of the written language visible in public space in a specific territory at a specific point in time, I define, based on Moser (2020: 80), the following criteria for data collection. I understand *public space* as the totality of outdoor spaces that is permanently accessible to passers-by. Furthermore, the elements in question are classified as visible if they can be read from the public space. Accordingly, I exclude all interior, such as the interior of restaurants or shops in general, which are only partially accessible due to opening hours. However, I include restaurant terraces in the study if they are freely accessible even outside opening hours. I also take into account signs that are located indoors but can be read from the outside at all times. The territory is the entire geographical area mentioned above at the time of the data collection.

⁶ The maps presented here were extracted from www.google.com/maps.

Map 2

Study Area in La Barrosa and Novo Sancti Petri



Note. The maps presented here were extracted from www.google.com/maps (last access: 22nd April 2025).

4.1.2. Categorization and Data analysis

In the next step, I organize the collected photographic data and categorize it according to certain criteria to carry out a quantitative analysis. The technical realization of the quantitative analysis is carried out with the help of the software MAXQDA (Analytics Pro 24) for computer-assisted data and text analysis. In LL research, the organization of any corpus presents a challenge due to the range of different approaches such as the one suggested by Backhaus (2007: 66) which relate in particular to a narrow or broader definition of the unit of analysis to be examined. In the present study, I combine several signs of the same author in a single unit of analysis, following Cenoz and Gorter (2006: 71). In Figure 1, for example, I have photographed the storefront of a real estate agency on which we can see various signs of the type BU (bottom-up, i.e., private or commercial), which I categorize as a single unit of analysis.

However, a unit of analysis can also be composed of different signages, each of them with a different author. If this is the case, as can be seen in Figure 2 with a container of the non-governmental organization *Madre coraje* (BU) and a garbage container provided by the government (TD), I also count them as only one unit. Unlike Moser (2020), however, I differentiate between the different authors within

the same unit. As a result, the corpus contains 825 units (i.e., photos), but the total number of type-of-sign occurrences ($n = 986$; 199 TD + 787 BU) is higher.

Figure 1

Unit of Analysis with the same Type of Signs



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Figure 2

Unit of Analysis with different Types of Signs



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

In a further step, the units are assigned based on a defined categorization. The basis for the present quantitative analysis is a combination of the analytical schemes of Carr (2021) and Franco Rodríguez (2009). The quantitative analysis focuses on a) type of sign, b) the code, and c) the main section and informative section, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4
Scheme of Analysis and Categorization

Type of Sign	
	Top-down
	Bottom-up
Code	
	Monolingual
	Multilingual
Main Section	
	Spanish Monolingual
	English Monolingual
	...
	Spanish-English Multilingual
	Spanish-Italian Multilingual
	...
Informative Section	
	Spanish Monolingual
	English Monolingual
	...
	Spanish-English Multilingual
	Spanish-Italian Multilingual
	...
Code Choice	
	Preferred Code
	Marginalized Code

Note. Source: My own elaboration, adapted from Carr 2021; Franco-Rodríguez 2013.

The terms top-down (TD) and bottom-up (BU) refer to the type of sign. As I already outlined in Section 1, TD signage includes those signs that have been created on behalf of one of the various levels of government or a local or long-distance public transport organization. All other units, in contrast, fall under BU. I also distinguish between monolingual and multilingual signs. In the case of multilingual signs, where applicable, I subdivide the sign into two sections – main and informative – for analysis. This approach follows Franco Rodríguez' (2009), who operationalized the notions of the symbolic and informative functions of the LL, set out by Landry and Bourhis (1997), in this way. A sign's main section identifies the entity responsible for displaying the sign, presents the focal message, and sometimes anticipates the content given in the other sections of the sign (Franco Rodríguez, 2009: 5). It also has a major symbolic function "to affect people's view of ethnolinguistic power and status in bilingual or multilingual settings" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 27-28). Many signs also contain an informative section, which adds necessary content to the main section for the reader (e.g., opening hours). Moreover, according to Franco Rodríguez (2009), it fulfills an instrumental function, "and the linguistic preferences displayed in that section are conditioned by the pragmatic need for effective communication with the reader" (6). The more a language is displayed in this section, the higher that language's public utility is. For instance, the main section of the sign in Figure 3 is *Bistrot La Galette*, written in French. It presents the focal message, namely the type of establishment, and it is written in the largest font. The informative section, *Almuerzo –Merienda y Cena*, is written in Spanish and in a smaller font, and it adds more specific information regarding the types of meal the establishment offers.

Once the photos' main and informative sections are determined, I analyze the code preference of each section with the aim not simply to "identify all languages or the number of languages used in a sign without evaluating their relationship. (Carr, 2021: 246). I agree with Carr (2021: 248) and Scollon and Scollon (2003: 120) that it is important to distinguish between the preferred code (dominant language on a given sign) and the marginalized code (non-dominant language) when analyzing the code choice of LL texts. Unlike Carr (2021), but in line with Franco Rodríguez (2009) and Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), the method applied here allows the preferred code to consist of two different languages, e.g., Spanish and French. The deciding factor in the selection of the preferred code is the visual hierarchy: "The preferred code is on the top, on the left, or in the center and the marginalized code is on the bottom, on the right, or on the margins" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 120).

Figure 3*Distinction between Main and Informative Section*

Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

5. ANALYSIS

The quantitative analysis of the signage in the public space in LB and NSP included a total of 825 signs. These were initially divided into 199 TD signs (20.18%) and 787 (79.82%) BU signs.⁷ The large proportion of BU signs is similar to what was found in other LL-studies in western Andalucía (e.g., Heredia Mantis, 2024).

Regarding the question of the presence and distribution of monolingual and multilingual BU signs in public space, the data show the following: Of the 787 documented sample units, 64.17% are monolingual and 35.83% are multilingual (Table 5). This means that monolingual signs are far more common in the area taken into consideration than multilingual signs, which was unexpected for a tourist region like this. A closer look at the areas LB and NSP shows that the occurrence of monolingual and multilingual signs varies depending on the zone.

⁷ In Section 4, I have already explained that the total number of units ($n = 825$, i.e., photos) is smaller than the total number of type-of-sign occurrences ($n = 986$; 199 TD + 787 BU).

Table 5*Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on BU Signs*

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	505	64.17
Multilingual	282	35.83
Total	787	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.**Table 6***Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on BU Signs in LB*

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	300	68.81
Multilingual	136	31.19
Total	436	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

While monolingual BU signs clearly dominate the LL in LB with 68.81%, there is only a slight difference in NSP between the occurrence of monolingual (58.40%) and multilingual (41.60%) signs, as can be seen in Tables 6 and 7.

Table 7*Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on BU Signs in NSP*

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	205	58.40
Multilingual	146	41.60
Total	351	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Even when chi-square tests were applied (Table 8), a significant ($p < .05$) difference appeared for the code on the BU sign and the place where it was displayed on. There are more monolingual but fewer multilingual signs in LB than expected, whereas in NSP there are fewer monolingual, but more multilingual signs displayed than expected, $X^2 (1, n = 787) = 9.15, p = .002484$.

Table 8

Results Chi-square Test Mono- and Multilingual BU

Results Mono- and Multilingual BU			
	Monolingual	Multilingual	Row Totals
La Barrosa	300 (279.77) [1.46]	136 (156.23) [- 2.62]	436
Novo Sancti Petri	205 (225.23) [-1.82]	146 (125.77) [3.25]	351
Column Totals	505	282	787 (Grand Total)

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

It is striking that, within the BU signs classified as monolingual,⁸ 83.56% were written exclusively in Spanish (e.g., Sol&Aire), 9.11% in English (e.g., Surf School) and 4.36% in Italian (e.g., Nuovo Fiore) (see Table 9). This means that Spanish dominates in monolingual BU signs, whereas languages such as Arabic, which would reflect the demographic profile of Chiclana, are so rarely used that they are well below the 1.00% mark.

Table 9

Languages on Monolingual BU Signs

Language	Occurrences (n = 505)	%
Spanish	422	83.56
English	46	9.11
Italian	22	4.36
Other	15	2.97

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Table 10 shows that Spanish also dominates in LB on monolingual BU signs, with 85.33%, followed by English with 6.67% and Italian with 5.33%.

⁸ Regarding both monolingual and multilingual signs, only the three most frequently used languages/language combinations are mentioned.

Table 10

Languages on Monolingual BU Signs in LB

Language	Occurrences (n = 300)	%
Spanish	256	85.33
English	20	6.67
Italian	16	5.33
Other	8	2.67

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

As these numbers show, most of the public BU signage in LB is entirely in Spanish. In Figure 4, we can see all the signage belonging to one restaurant; both the main section and the informative section are written exclusively in Spanish.⁹

Figure 4

Spanish Monolingual BU Sign in LB

Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

⁹ The present quantitative study does not examine qualitative differences at the lexical, morphological and syntactical level. It follows that no distinction is made at this point between adapted and non-adapted loanwords, foreign words, xenisms, etc. In Figure 4 (Restaurante Bar - Burger Pepin), for example, *restaurante* (Span.) is derived from the French noun *restaurant* but has been incorporated into the Spanish vocabulary; I therefore consider such lexical categories to be Spanish vocabulary. In a qualitatively oriented work, such linguistic peculiarities would of course have to be considered.

In the LL of NSP, Spanish also dominates with 81.00% on monolingual signs (see Table 11), but overall, English monolingual signages (e.g., Welcome to Paradise; Surf School & Surf Hardware) occur more frequently (12.68%) than in LB. Furthermore, German is rarely used in either of the examined zones, and Maghrebi languages are not displayed at all. This is surprising because these two population groups form the second and third-largest immigrant groups in Chiclana.

Table 11
Languages on Monolingual BU Signs in NSP

Language	Occurrences (n = 205)	%
Spanish	166	81.00
English	26	12.68
Italian	6	2.93
Other	7	3.39

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

The presence of English on monolingual BU signs in NSP is not limited to retail services. Figure 5 shows, for example, that English is also used to advertise gastronomic establishments. In the example shown below, English (“Food Court”) is not only used to convey the main message, fulfilling an exclusively symbolic function; the informative section that provides more detailed information (“Indian Restaurant & Pizza”) is also written in English.

Figure 5
English Monolingual BU Sign in NSP



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

A chi-square test (Table 12) of independence was performed to examine the relation between the languages on monolingual BU signs and the places where they are displayed (LB and NSP). The relation between these variables was significant ($p < .05$), $\chi^2 (2, n = 490) = 6.74, p = .03443$. Spanish was more likely to be present on monolingual signs in LB than in NSP, whereas English was more likely to be displayed on monolingual signs in NSP than in LB.

Table 12

Results Chi-square Test Languages Monolingual BU

Results Languages Monolingual BU				
	Spanish	English	Italian	Row Totals
La Barrosa	256 (251.48) [0.08]	20 (27.41) [-2.00]	16 (13.11) [0.64]	292
Novo Sancti Petri	166 (170.52) [-0.12]	26 (18.59) [2.96]	6 (8.89) [-0.94]	198
Column Totals	422	46	22	490 (Grand Total)

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

The data also show that in terms of the number of languages and their distribution on multilingual BU signs the combination Spanish-English (e.g., Feria Summer Market; Solventa Service Center) is the most frequently represented combination at 52.13%, followed by Spanish-English-German (e.g., Salida-Ausgang-Exit) at 9.93%, and Spanish-Italian (e.g., Nocciola Heladería Artesanal) at 7.10% (Table 13).

Table 13

Languages on Multilingual BU Signs

Language combination ¹⁰	Occurrences (n = 282)	%
Spanish-English	147	52.13
Spanish-English-German	28	9.93
Spanish-Italian	20	7.10
Other	87	30.84

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

¹⁰ The order in which the individual languages are mentioned does not provide any information about the visual hierarchy of the signs. It is a random choice made by me.

Looking at the occurrence and distribution of languages on multilingual BU signs in LB, it can be seen in Table 14 that the language combination Spanish-English clearly dominates with 66.18%, followed by Spanish-Italian with 9.56% and Spanish-Italian-English with 4.41%.

Table 14

Languages on Multilingual BU Signs in LB

Language combination	Occurrences (n = 136)	%
Spanish-English	90	66.18
Spanish-Italian	13	9.56
Spanish-Italian-English	6	4.41
Other	27	19.85

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Figure 6 shows a multilingual BU sign that I spotted in LB. The informative section *Se hacen trenzas de hilo* was written in Spanish in capital letters and bold. Another addition follows in English and German with *HAIR ZÖPFE*, which was written in capital letters and bold under the Spanish-language informative section.

Obviously for commercial reasons, the service reference in the informative section is not only limited to Spanish but extended to a hybrid combination of English and German.

Figure 6

Multilingual BU Sign in LB



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Comparing the data of multilingual BU signs between LB and NSP, it is noticeable that different language arrangements occur in the LL of NSP than in LB (Table 15): The combination of Spanish-English amounts to 39.04%, followed by Spanish-English-German with 17.12%, whereas German in the LB falls below the 1% and 2% mark in mono- and multilingual BU signs. The combination Spanish-Latin (*Inmobiliaria Novo Sancti Petri; Novo Élite*) is the third-most frequent one in NSP with 12.33%, whereas combinations with Italian do not show the same frequency as in LB.

Table 15

Languages on Multilingual BU Signs in NSP

Language combination	Occurrences (n = 146)	%
Spanish-English	57	39.04
Spanish-English-German	25	17.12
Spanish-Latin ¹¹	17	12.33
Other	47	31.51

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

The composition and position of different languages on BU signs in NSP follow a multilingual scheme with Spanish (preferred code) above English (marginalized code) and German (marginalized code), as shown in Figure 7.

Regarding the presence and distribution of monolingual and multilingual TD signs in public space, the corpus shows that of the 199 documented sample units, 88.94% are monolingual and only 11.06% are multilingual (Table 16).

Table 16

Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on TD Signs

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	177	88.94
Multilingual	22	11.06
Total	199	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

¹¹ I would like to emphasize that the use of Latin on the signs in most cases refers to the place names *Novo Sancti Petri*. However, there are also cases, such as *Novo Mar*, *Novo Pan*, *Novo Élite* or *Coco Novo*, in which practices of translanguaging (Danler, 2020; García & Wei, 2014) takes place for the purpose of commodification.

Figure 7
Multilingual BU Sign in NSP



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

About the occurrence of mono- and multilingual TD signs, there are no significant differences in the areas of LB and NSP.

Table 17
Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on TD Signs in LB

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	101	92.66
Multilingual	8	7.34
Total	109	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

In LB, 92.66% of all signs are monolingual and only 7.34% are multilingual (Table 17). In NSP, too, monolingual signages (84.44%) dominate over multilingual (15.56%), as shown in Table 18.

A chi-square test (Table 19) of independence also showed that there was no significant ($p < .05$) relation between the code on the TD sign and the place where it was displayed on, $X^2 (1, n = 199) = 3.38, p = .065823$.

Table 18
Monolingual and Multilingual Codes on TD Signs in NSP

	Number of Signs	%
Monolingual	76	84.44
Multilingual	14	15.56
Total	90	100

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Table 19
Results of the Chi-square Test

Results Mono- and Multilingual TD			
	Monolingual	Multilingual	Row Totals
La Barrosa	101 (96.95) [0.17]	8 (12.05) [1.36]	109
Novo Sancti Petri	76 (80.05) 0.20]	14 (9.95) [1.65]	90
Column Totals	177	22	199 (Grand Total)

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

It is striking that within the TD signs classified as monolingual, 98.31% were written exclusively in Spanish, only 1.13% in English and less than 1% in Latin (Table 20). Just as on monolingual BU signs, Spanish also dominates here. The data also show that languages that can be derived from the demographic profile of Chiclana, such as Arabic or Mandarin Chinese, are not present in the TD signs. This result is consistent with other research on TD signage and the absence of languages of certain migrant groups from the LL in Western Andalucía (Heredia Mantis, 2024).

Table 20
Languages on Monolingual TD Signs

Language	Occurrences (n = 177)	%
Spanish	174	98.31
English	2	1.13
Latin	1	0.56

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Table 21 shows that Spanish (e.g., *Salida de vehículos Vado permanente; Zona Residencial*) dominates the monolingual TD signs in the LL of LB with 99.01% whereas English (e.g., *Sale; Shopping*) is very low at 0.99%. Other languages are not present at all on TD signage.

Table 21

Languages on Monolingual TD Signs in LB

Language	Occurrences (n = 101)	%
Spanish	100	99.01
English	1	0.99
Other	-	-

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Nearly all monolingual TD signs in LB are only written in Spanish. Even important signs regarding restrictions at the beach are given only in Spanish, as displayed in Figure 8.

Figure 8

Spanish Monolingual TD Sign in LB



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Similarly to LB, the data show that Spanish (e.g., *Autocaravanas y caravanas en todo el litoral*) is also the most frequently used language in NSP, with 97.37% of monolingual TD signs. English and Latin, on the other hand, are each represented

by only 1.32%. This shows that in both LB and NSP, there is an uneven distribution of the languages occurring on monolingual TD signs (Table 22).

Table 22
Languages on Monolingual TD Signs in NSP

Language	Occurrences (n = 76)	%
Spanish	74	97.37
English	1	1.32
Latin	1	1.32
Other	-	-

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

As shown above, the vast majority of public signages in the TD area in LB is almost entirely in Spanish. The same happens in NSP, where e.g., information about nature is only given in Spanish, as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9
Spanish Monolingual TD Sign in NSP



Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Regarding the occurrence and distribution of languages on multilingual TD signs, the combinations Spanish-English (e.g., *Parking gratuito*, *Free parking*) and Spanish-English-German (*Oficina de Turismo*, *Tourist Office*, *Touristeninformation*) are the most frequently represented at 27.27% each, whereas Latin-Spanish-English-German-French is less frequent with 18.18% (Table 23).

Table 23

Languages on Multilingual TD Signs

Language combination	Occurrences (n = 22)	%
Spanish-English	6	27.27
Spanish-English-German	6	27.27
Latin-Spanish-English-German-French	4	18.18
Other	6	27.27

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Considering the occurrence and distribution of languages on TD multilingual signages in LB, it can be deduced from Table 24 that the language combinations Spanish-English and Spanish-English-German dominate with 37.50% each, followed by the third most frequent combination Spanish-German with 12.50%.

Table 24

Languages on Multilingual TD Signs in LB

Language combination	Occurrences (n = 8)	%
Spanish-English-	3	37.50
Spanish-English-German	3	37.50
Spanish-German	1	12.50
Other	1	12.50

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

In Figure 10 we can see the usual composition and position of different languages on BU signs in LB with Spanish on top of English and in capital letters and highlighted in white, usually choosing Spanish as the preferred code in the informative section, e.g., *respete las señales – mantenga limpia la zona*.

Figure 10*Multilingual TD Sign in LB*

Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Similar to the composition and position of different languages on TD signs in LB, in NSP the signs follow a multilingual scheme with Spanish on top of English, German and/or French, usually displaying the Spanish part of the multilingual TD signage by bold letters, as it is shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11*Multilingual TD Sign in NSP*

Note. Source: Linda Yoksulabakan-Harjus.

Comparing the TD multilingual signs of LB and NSP, it stands out that, at 28.57%, the combination Latin-Spanish-English-German-French is the most dominant in NSP, followed by Spanish-English and Spanish-English-German with 21.43% each (Table 25). As I mentioned above, the presence of Latin can be attributed to the fact that in the LL of NSP, both on BU and TD signage, signs with a place name derived from Latin are used. It is also striking that French is present in multilingual TD signs in NSP, but does not appear at all in the LL of LB.

Table 25

Languages on Multilingual TD Signs in NSP

Language combination	Occurrences (n = 14)	%
Latin-Spanish-English-German-French	4	28.57
Spanish-English	3	21.43
Spanish-English-German	3	21.43
Other	4	28.57

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

Once again, a Chi-square test (Table 26) of independence was performed to examine the relation between the languages on monolingual TD signs and the places where they are displayed; that is, LB and NSP. The relation between these variables was not significant ($p < .05$), $X^2 (1, n = 176) = 0.0451, p = .831759$.

Table 26

Results Chi-square Test Languages Monolingual TD

Results Languages Monolingual TD			
	Spanish	English	Row Totals
La Barrosa	100 (99.85) [0.00]	1 (1.15) [-0.02]	101
Novo Sancti Petri	74 (74.15) [0.00]	1 (0.85) [0.03]	75
Column Totals	174	2	176 (Grand Total)

Note. Source: My own elaboration.

6. DISCUSSION

Tourism is a fruitful field of research for sociolinguistics, as it allows the effects of mobility and contact on the linguistic characteristics of public spaces to be investigated. Furthermore, within scientific work on language and space, research in tourism expands and contributes to the examination of actors interacting in public spaces, and how they ultimately help shape the linguistic landscape of these (tourist) spaces.

An examination of the linguistic landscap. (LL) in two coastal tourist areas withing the municipality of Chiclana de la Frontera, Andalucía, Spain, finds that the specific sense of place produced here is a division of the space into two places. While Spanish dominates the LL of La Barrosa (LB) and creates a more authentic national place, the LL of Novo Sancti Petri (NSP) shows multilingual signage with English, Italian, German, and French as dominant languages, which produces a more global and international place. Unofficial migration-related minority languages of Spain (e.g., Arabic), remain invisible in both places.

It is interesting to note that in LB, there were more monolingual and fewer multilingual BU signs than expected. In the LL of NSP, by contrast, there was less monolingual but more multilingual BU signage than statistically expected. Furthermore, the results show that of the languages present in the LL of LB, Spanish was not only dominant but was also used preferentially in the main section of the sign and as the preferred code in most cases. As I pointed out in the introduction, the use of languages in the main section gives an indication of the presence of language(s) in public space, and the use of language(s) as preferred code expresses their public use.

Just like the present study, Heredia Mantis (2024) work on the LL in the western Andalusian province of Huelva also found that Spanish, as the country's official language, dominates TD signage, which is primarily aimed at the local population and national tourists. Another finding Heredia Mantis and the present study share is the (almost) complete absence of any of Spain's other co-official languages (e.g., Catalan, Basque), which was not the case in another Andalusian city, Seville (Morales Ruiz, 2023: 211).

In general, Spanish, as a prestigious language associated with positive characteristics, is deliberately used in gastronomic and tourist areas to evoke a certain vitality (Calvi, 2018: 15). Such commodification strategies of identity markers are also used to create a certain exotic experience for tourists. For the present study, I note that the LL-induced dichotomy of space creates LB as a purely Spanish-speaking authentic national place, whereas NSP is constructed by the LL as a multilingual, global and international place. Spanish also dominates the BU signs in the LL of NSP, but with a significantly higher occurrence of monolingual BU signs in languages other than Spanish, here

primarily English. It is interesting to note, that, unlike in LB, the English-language BU signs in NSP not only had a symbolic function; instead, English is also used as the preferred code in the informative section. This shows that English as a global language is chosen as the code on signages in NSP to primarily target international travelers (Carr, 2021: 240). This result is significant in that Spanish is statistically more likely to appear on monolingual signs in LB and English more likely in NSP. Once again, it becomes clear that the linguistic dichotomy of the place examined here contributes to creating a more Spanish, authentic place with LB and an international, global place with NSP. This kind of linguistic design suggests to both national and international visitors that they can experience what is authentic and typical of Spain on the coast of Chiclana. At the same time, the linguistic design of the public space in NSP creates a place that connects with significant phenomena of the 21st century, such as internationality and diversity.

It is striking, however, that in LB as well as NSP, both German and Maghrebi languages, whose speakers represent an important group of immigrants not only in Spain in general (Hernández-García & Villalba-Martínez, 2008: 179), but also in Chiclana, are absent from the LL on monolingual BU signs. In the case of Arabic-speaking migrants in Andalucía, studies have shown resentment within the Andalusian population (Rinken & Pérez Yruela, 2007). Although Pons Rodríguez (2012: 143) states in her study on LL in Seville that Arabic is the fifth-most frequently visualized language in LL in Seville, the results of the present study are consistent with the work of Cuadros Muñoz (2023) and the aforementioned study by Heredia Mantis (2024). Despite their socio-cultural relevance for the immigrant population, Maghrebi languages are absent from the LL in the tourist areas of the province of Huelva, in the Macarena district of Seville, which is characterized by high immigration from Maghrebi countries, as well as in the coastal area of Chiclana, which is also a tourist area. Even though it was to be expected that these languages would not be used in the creation of official signs, their (almost) complete absence from BU signage is still surprising.

As Shohamy and Gorter (2009) point out, language in the environment is not arbitrary and random. Conscious decisions are made about the linguistic design of public spaces: The non-visibility of certain languages is a social practice that, in the case of the present study, primarily involves visually designing places with prestigious European and tourism-relevant languages, such as Spanish, English, German or French. This result shows that in the processes of place-making, different linguistic resources are used to include or exclude specific groups in spaces, as Torkington (2014) was also able to show in her study on LL in the Algarve. Conversely, this also means that a privileged local identity (Torkington, 2014: 59) is created for the social groups whose languages are present in the LL: Their presence as tourists or as English, German or Italian immigrants is accepted and constructed as part of society.

With regard to the visible language combinations, it becomes clear for LB that the combinations Spanish-English and Spanish-Italian dominate on multilingual BU signs. Numerous studies have already shown that English, as the dominant global language, is used particularly in the context of tourism. What is interesting for the Spanish-dominated LB, is that on multilingual BU signs, creators produce creative hybrid combinations (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017: 236), such as in Figure 8 with *HAIR ZÖPFE*, a combination of the English noun *hair* with the German *Zöpfe*. The creators seem to know that they use languages in public spaces that appeal to specific international tourists, who are perceived as potential consumers. In the multilingual NSP, such language combinations, primarily with Spanish-English, but also Spanish-English-German, appear much more schematic and targeted on multilingual BU signs, as I show in Figure 9. In this example, Spanish dominates the entire unit of analysis, in that *prensa* is hierarchically arranged above English *press*. However, it is noticeable that there is not only equality in the white font color and font size of both languages, but also that the focus was placed on promoting multilingual products in the establishment. In addition to the use of English and German in the example given, national flags were used as symbolic references to explicitly draw the attention of the target clientele to the additional multilingual offerings. The fact that Italian is far less frequent in multilingual BU signage than in LB indicates that the focus in NSP is on the tourist clientele (who are not Italian-speaking). Italians are the fourth-largest immigrant group in Chiclana; the role of Italian in signage can be interpreted as indicating that Italian inhabitants tend to establish themselves more in LB.

Overall, the sense of place created in Chiclana, namely the division of a space into two places (LB, NSP) with such distinctly different characters, is primarily produced by the BU signs. The dominance of Spanish in monolingual TD signage is virtually identical in LB and NSP; this is due to the fact that Spanish is enshrined as the official language in the constitution (see Junta de Andalucía, n. d.), although depending on the provincial autonomy, regional languages, for example Catalan or Basque, are also considered co-official languages in the respective territories. In the case of Andalucía, the varieties of Andalusian are enshrined in the constitution as part of the cultural heritage, but there are no other official languages besides Spanish. In this context, it is not surprising that no divergences in the LL occur in either of the areas examined. It should be emphasized, however, that the language combinations Spanish-English and Spanish-English-German dominate on the multilingual TD signages in LB. Unlike in NSP, French does not appear at all in LB. However, it should be emphasized that on signs with two sections (main and informative), Spanish was used almost exclusively as the preferred code in the informative section. Accordingly, on multilingual TD signs in LB, languages other than Spanish have an exclusively symbolic function, whereas on the BU signs, they also have an informative function. Multilingual TD signs in NSP, on the other hand,

stand out due to the language combination (Latin-)Spanish-English-German-French. The Latin place name NSP is used conspicuously often on TD signs, which can be categorized as a branding strategy of the local government, among other things, to specifically address tourists. Moreover, the use of different languages in NSP, especially the European ones, is a strategic tool to mark the district as global and touristy, whereas the dominant use of Spanish on signs in LB marks the district as an authentic national place.

7. CONCLUSION

This analysis has focused on the social practices of the (non)use of multilingualism, through which public spaces and places are co-created, to wit: the presence and absence of languages and their function from the public space of the resort towns La Barrosa (LB) and Novo Sancti Petri (NSP) in the coastal section of the municipality of Chiclana de la Frontera, western Andalucía, Spain. Furthermore, it examines the question of whether, and if so, how a specific sense of place is produced by the written (non)use of multilingualism.

The analyzed language varieties in the resort towns of LB and NSP show that Spanish dominates the linguistic landscape, whereas multilingualism is primarily present in the LL in the form of prestigious European languages, such as English and German. Migration-related languages from Maghrebian and eastern Asian countries are conspicuous in their almost total absence from the LL. The non-use of Maghrebian languages such as Arabic and eastern Asian languages like Tagalog or Mandarin-Chinese underlines the function of the place as a tourist location designed for a specific clientele.

A specific sense of place is produced by dividing the space of Chiclana into two different places through the presence and absence of languages from the LL. In this way, LB is constructed as monolingual and authentically Spanish, and NSP as multilingual and international. This division of the coastal area of Chiclana creates two places within one space, which can be experienced depending on a tourist's preference.

Whether this sense of place of an area linguistically divided into two places is also perceived by tourists and locals should be clarified in follow-up studies, as should the question of whether LB and NSP are constructed and perceived as belonging to Chiclana through specific linguistic identity markers. Linguistically relevant individual aspects should also be qualitatively examined, and, in the sense of recent multimodal analyses, the holistic semiotics of public space should be considered.

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