Commercial Linguistic Landscape in Donostia-San Sebastian

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This thesis focuses on the commercial linguistic landscape in Donostia-San Sebastian, a multilingual city of the Spanish Basque Country. Basque and Spanish are the official languages of the city. However, Basque is a minority language. This paper analyses the use of local and foreign languages in the commercial linguistic landscape of the city. The study includes three streets and the old market of the city and examines the local commerce using different variables. The analysis of data, composed of more than 1300 pictures, uses different variables to determine the commercial linguistic landscape of the city. The results indicate the existence of a changing linguistic landscape in different areas of the city, a variable landscape that adapts to different sociolinguistic realities. The findings also suggest an unequal evolution of Basque in different areas of the city.

**Avainsanat – Keywords**

Linguistic landscape, commerce, globalization, multilingualism, minority languages, Basque, Donostia, San Sebastian.
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1. Introduction

If we walk through a central street in any city, we will immediately realize that the number of visual messages directed to us is huge. These signs are varied, and the texts written on them can inform us about several things. For instance, it is common to see panels with the names of squares or streets in which we are located. If we want to use the public transportation, we will probably find all the needed information at the bus stops, and if we are willing to buy a specific thing, we will have to focus on the main signs and shopfronts of different stores.

Shohamy (2006, as cited in Bigon and Bahamshe 2014: 606) states that ‘linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and private signs in certain areas as either formal (top-down) or informal (bottom-up) indications of the status of the languages.’ The essence of Shomany’s argument is that the linguistic landscape reflects the sociolinguistic situation of space. Thus, languages displayed can define the language policy or the majority group in a specific place. The relevance of the linguistic landscape increases when minority languages are present. According to Marten et al. (2014: 2), ‘linguistic landscape research clearly feeds into the study of minority language communities, especially since issues of power and resistance are at the heart of its research agenda.’ In other words, minority languages are closely related to linguistic landscape research because they allow studying power-relations between languages.

This thesis is directly linked to this issue. The aim is to analyse the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia-San Sebastian¹, a touristic city located in the Spanish part of the Basque Country, less than 20 km away from the France-Spain border. Donostia is one of the principal cities of the Basque Country with over 180,000 inhabitants. There are two official languages in

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¹ Donostia is the Basque name of the city, and San Sebastian the Spanish name. I will use Donostia to refer to the city.
the city, Basque and Spanish. Spanish is a language spoken by over 400 million people all around the world, whereas less than one million people speak Basque in the Basque regions of northern Spain and southern France.

Instead of making a general analysis of the linguistic landscape of Donostia, this study focuses on the use of languages in commerce in Donostia. Thus, I will analyse the languages of shops and establishments of this touristic city of the Basque Country. Figure 1 is an example of the kind of information I will include in this thesis. Figure 1 shows a typical panel that can be found outside a restaurant. The sign on the picture informs about the menu and the prices of the place. However, it is common to see another type of information, for instance, information about opening hours. In the following sections, I will describe the situation of Donostia and the field of the linguistic landscape more thoroughly.

Figure 1: The menu of a restaurant in Donostia
Since this thesis aims to research the actual situation of the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia, I will analyse all the present languages (local and foreign) in shopfronts in different areas of the city. The thesis will try to find out the answers to the following questions:

- What languages are displayed in the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia?
- How are languages used?
- Do institutional language policies affect the commercial linguistic landscape of the city?

Even if there are two official languages in Donostia, the increasing influence of foreign languages like English makes unavoidable the inclusion of these languages as part of this study. The number of establishments that work in the tourism sector is big, and this will probably affect the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia. However, the kind of shop varies a lot in different streets. The interest of the local government about the linguistic landscape has increased during the last year, and they have started taking measures to implement the use of Basque. Finding an answer to all these questions will allow us to see the ongoing situation of the commercial linguistic landscape in Donostia.
2. Background information

Before the introduction of the study, some background information is necessary. In this section, I will describe the Basque Country, and I will speak about the situation of Euskara or the Basque language.

2.1. The Basque Country

The Basque Country is the area where ‘Euskara’ or the Basque language is spoken. Basque is a Pre-Indo-European language spoken in western Europe, in south-western regions of France and the northern regions of Spain. Figure 2 shows the location of the Basque Country in Europe. The population of the Basque Country is around 3 million inhabitants; however, the number of Basque speakers is inferior, and there are about one million people who can speak this language. Donostia, located in the Spanish part of the Basque Country, is one of the principal cities of the region with more than 180,000 inhabitants. Moreover, Donostia is the city with the highest percentage of Basque Speakers.

Figure 2: The Basque Country in Europe. Source: © Zorion, CC-BY-SA, Wikimedia Commons
The Basque Country is formed by three regions and three administrative entities in two different countries. Figure 3 illustrates different divisions of the Basque Country. The green map shows the seven provinces of ‘Euskal Herria’ or the Basque Country. Donostia is the capital of the central province known as ‘Gipuzkoa’. The yellow map shows the division of the Basque Country in Spanish and French territories. The area named Ipar Euskal Herria (Northern Basque Country) belongs to the French state. On the other hand, Hego Euskal Herria (Southern Basque Country) is on the Spanish side.

Finally, the blue map shows the division of the Basque country in different administrative entities. Two of them are in Spain and one of them in France:
• Euskal Hirigune Elkargoa (Basque Municipality) is the only entity located in France. It is the smallest territory, and it has the lowest population with approximately 300,000 inhabitants.

• Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa (Basque Autonomous community\textsuperscript{2}), in Spain, is the most populated area of the Basque Country with 2,200,000 inhabitants.

• Nafarroako Foru komunitatea (Chartered Community of Navarre) is the other entity located in Spain. It has about 640,000 inhabitants.

Thus, this study will focus in Donostia, which belongs to the Spanish part of the Basque Country, in the Basque Autonomous Community.

2.2. Basque: The central minority language

Basque is a central minority language that coexists with Spanish and French in the same territory. Practically all the inhabitants in their correspondent territories speak Spanish or French, whereas Basque speakers make up only one-third of the population of the Basque Country, and it is a minority language. The Council of Europe, in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1993) defines a minority language in the following way in its first article:

i. traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population;

ii. different from the official language(s) of that State.

Both definitions serve to define Basque. The first definition states that a language can be considered as a minority language when the number of speakers of a language represents a

\textsuperscript{2} BAC: Basque Autonomous Community.
small group considering the total population of a State. Thus, Basque is a minority language in Spain and France. However, the second definition can be applied only to French territory. This is the only region where the language does not have any official recognition. On the contrary, Basque is a co-official language in both communities located in Spain.

De Swaan (2010) made a hierarchical classification of languages stating that networks and relations between languages are a consequence of the ‘political, economic, ecological and cultural dimension’ (de Swaan 2010: 56) of a language. Moreover, he added that the communication potential of a language influences the language choice of an individual. When a speaker must acquire a new language, he will probably learn a language that is in a higher position. Therefore, this classification uses centrality as a tool to sort languages hierarchically. On the bottom of this classification, we find the ‘peripheral languages’ that constitute 98% of the languages in the world. ‘They are languages of memory; they function almost entirely without script, media, or records’ (de Swaan 2010: 57). Above the peripheral language, the second groups called ‘central’ represents about 3% of the total languages.

Taken, together, they are spoken by 95 per cent of mankind…These central languages are used in schools; they appear in print, in newspapers, in textbooks, and in fiction; they are current on the internet, and they are spoken on the radio and on television (de Swaan 2010: 57).

Even if the majority-minority classification suggests that Basque is a minority language, Basque fits the description of the central languages given by De Swaan (2010). Inside the group of central languages, there is a group named ‘supercentral’. This group includes languages with more than 100 million speakers. Thus, French and Spanish, the two ‘big’ languages surrounding
Basque are supercentral languages. Finally, there is there a superior category called ‘hypercentral’. English is the only language of this category, ‘like a black hole devouring all languages that come within its reach’ (de Swaan 2010: 57). In the words of De Swaan (2010: 57), it is necessary to create an exclusive category for English due to its lingua-franca status. Jenkins (2007: 2) defines lingua franca as ‘a contact language used among people who do not share a first language and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent) language of its speakers’.

All in all, we can say that there are two different perspectives to classify Basque. On the one hand, Basque is a minority language due to its situation. On the other side, Basque is one of the central languages. The distribution of Basque within the Basque Country in figure 4 based on the Sociolinguistic Map (2011) published by the Basque government, shows an irregular distribution of the language across the territory. In general, the map shows a higher percentage

Figure 4: Percentage of Basque speakers in municipalities. Source: Wikipedia
of Basque speakers in municipalities located in the north and the most central parts of the territory.

The linguistic distribution is directly related to the influence of the surrounding languages. Thus, a smaller knowledge of the language in the southern part of the Basque Autonomous Country and Navarre is a consequence of the influence of Spanish. In the same way, the number of Basque speakers in the Basque Municipality is lower in peripheral areas where the influence of French is higher. The red and orange colours show areas with the highest percentage of Basque-speakers, more than 50%. On the contrary, the green colour determines the zones with a lower percentage of Basque speakers under 20%.

The map shows that Donostia is in the yellow area, where the sociolinguistic research of 2011 determined that 41% of the inhabitants were able to speak Basque. It is important to highlight the fact that Donostia is the city with the highest percentage of Basque speakers, not by chance, surrounded by municipalities where the number of speakers is higher. The general distribution of the language is unequal. Overall, areas painted in red and orange represent the small towns, while the biggest cities of the Basque country are in green areas.

2.3. From bilingualism to multilingualism

Nowadays we can hardly think about a monolingual country. Donostia has been a bilingual city for several centuries, and Basque and Spanish are the two languages of the city nowadays. Hamers and Blanc (1982) made a distinction between bilingualism and bilinguality. They explained bilingualism in the following way: ‘when somehow the two linguistic models are present in a child’s community and where each language is used in at least one of its functions, whether communicative or cognitive’ (1982: 38) However, bilinguality was described by Hamers (1980) as ‘a psychological state of the individual in which he or she has access to the
use of more than one linguistic code as a means of communication’ (as cited in Hamers and Blanc, 1982: 29). There is one crucial factor that distinguishes bilingualism and bilinguality. Bilingualism is a word that encompasses a societal perspective, whereas bilinguality refers to individuals.

Bilingualism would be the appropriate terminology to describe Donostia of the 20th century. However, the present political actions that promote cross-border mobility have increased the presence of international people and tourists in the city. Nowadays, Donostia is a cosmopolitan city where apart from Basque and Spanish, foreign languages have their place. If we want to find a word to define the actual linguistic situation of Donostia we need to take a step forward and try to explain multilingualism.

Cenoz (2013) made a compilation of definitions of multilingualism. However, these definitions make no distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism: ‘Anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)’ (Wei, 2008 as cited in Cenoz, 2013: 5) or ‘the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives’ (European Commission, 2007, as cited in Cenoz, 2013: 5).

Cenoz also defines the existence of three general views in the academic theories to speak about bilingualism and multilingualism. The first one uses bilingualism as a generic term, usually involving two languages. The second view uses multilingualism to refer to two or more languages. In this case, multilingualism includes bilingualism. Finally, the third view distinguishes between both terms.

The third perspective is the most useful to define Donostia. The linguistic situation of the city has changed dramatically during the last years. In the previous century, under the rule of the dictator Franco (1936-1978), all languages other than Spanish were persecuted. With the
beginning of the democratic period in 1978, Basque got the official status, and since then authorities try to revitalize the language. Nowadays, in addition to Basque and Spanish, foreign languages are gaining relevance in the city. English is a compulsory language in education, and the presence of foreign languages is very relevant as we will see in the following sections. In conclusion, we can say that the city has moved from bilingualism to multilingualism.

2.4. Language policy and planning

The political distribution of the Basque country affects directly the linguistic legislation of each territory. Even if language policy and language planning are related terms, O’rourke (2010) explains the effort made by some authors to differentiate both terms.

…policy is seen to reflect decisions and choices which can be understood in the ideological and political context from which they are taken. Planning, on the other hand, involves the means by which policy makers expect to put policies into practice.

(2010:60)

To put in another way, O’rourke is saying that language policy is more related to the legislation, while language planning refers to the way in which laws are implemented. In the case of the Basque Country, each territory has different language planning and policy. Thus, the legislation differs from one community to another. For instance, the Basque Municipality located in France is the only territory where Basque is not official, and public services are offered only in French. In Spanish regions, Spanish and Basque are co-official languages. However, the officiality of Basque differs from Navarre to the BAC. While in Navarre, the officiality is limited to the northern areas where the number of speakers is higher, in the BAC Spanish and Basque have the same status in the whole region. Since Donostia is in the BAC, it is essential to describe the
linguistic situation of the BAC and the city, for a better understanding of the linguistic condition of the area.

The ‘Basic Law number 10 of November 24th, 1982 on the Standardization of the use of the Basque Language’ is the law that regularizes the status and use of the language in the autonomous community. This law explains that ‘The natural language of the Basque Country is Basque’ (1982) and that Spanish and Basque are the official languages of the autonomous community. Thus, public administrations must guarantee the use of both languages in all services, including relevant areas like education or mass media. In brief, the language policy of the BAC is the most favourable for the development of Basque.

The language policies implemented by the government of the BAC define the obligations of public entities. Unfortunately, the regularization of the private sector is more complicated. Private services do not have the same requirements, and this affects their linguistic landscape. In fact, previous studies \(^3\) suggest that there are fewer differences between Basque and Spanish in the public sector than in the private. The next section contains more details about different areas related to the language policy of the BAC such as the increase of Basque, the education system and language plans executed by the local government of Donostia.

### 2.5. The increase of Basque

The linguistic policies implemented by the government of the BAC are changing the sociolinguistic situation of the region, and the number of Basque speakers is continuously increasing. Figure 5 shows the evolution of Basque and Spanish speakers in the BAC, from 1981 to 2011. In 1981, 65% of inhabitants were non-Basque speakers. Nowadays, the number

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\(^3\) Cenoz and Gorter (2006) in a study about the linguistic landscape of Donostia concluded that public signs are more likely to use Basque than private signs. Further information about linguistic landscape research in Donostia will be provided in following sections.
of this group has fallen to 37.2%. On the other hand, the number of Basque speakers and quasi Basque speakers has increased to 37.2% and 25.65% respectively.

Figure 5: Evolution of Basque speakers in the BAC. Source: Eustat website: www.eustat.eus

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4 Practically all Basque speakers are Basque-Spanish or Basque-French bilinguals.
5 Quasi Basque speakers, also called passive bilinguals, are the ones who understand Basque but are not able to speak it.
The percentage of Basque speakers in Donostia is higher than the average of the BAC. The tendency of the city also shows an increase of Basque speakers during the last decades. Figure 6 shows the sociolinguistic evolution of Donostia. Nowadays 40.59% of citizens can speak Basque, making up the largest group. Non-Basque speakers form the second group with 30.81% of the population. Finally, quasi Basque speakers represent 28.6% of the citizens.

Data shows that the knowledge of Basque is increasing steadily. However, this increment does not happen in the use of the language. A study published in 2017 by Soziolinguistika Klusterra (The Basque Sociolinguistic Cluster), measured the use of languages in the street of the city in 2016 and disclosed that 80.5% of the conversation in Donostia happen in Spanish. Only 15.2% of conversations are in Basque, and the remaining dialogues occur in other languages. Results also indicated that children use Basque more frequently than adults. At the same time, children make up the age-group with the highest knowledge of Basque thanks to the schooling system.
2.6. The education system

Education is one of the most critical areas to promote a language. The BAC has the most protective system of the Basque Country and implements Basque with a linguistic immersion system. In the linguistic immersion system, Basque is used as instruction language for better acquisition of the language. Moreover, the importance of education is higher in cases where parents are Spanish monolinguals because school is the place where students acquire the language.

The legislation of the BAC establishes that Basque is the natural language of the BAC and therefore schools must teach this language. The Decree 138/1983 that regularizes the basic educational system establishes the compulsoriness of the Basque in teaching. This decree distinguishes three different educational models depending on the instruction language. Both, Spanish and Basque can be instruction languages, and this is how the three models are defined:

• Model A: Spanish is the instruction language for all the subject. However, Basque is a compulsory subject.

• Model B: Bilingual System, half of the subjects are taught in Spanish and the other half in Basque.
•Model D\textsuperscript{6}: Basque is the instruction language for all the subjects except for the Spanish language subject.

Figure 7 shows that students who choose to study in the Basque immersion model (Model D) is increasing year after year. In the decade of the ’80s, 70% of students were schooled in the model A and only 10% in model D. Nowadays, model A is the last option (15%), and the Basque immersion model is the most common (67%). Moreover, the bilingual model (18%) has also started to decline during the last years, favouring model D. Thus, we can say that the Basque immersion system is the first choice of students and parents.

Figure 8 shows data from Donostia. Data reveals slight differences with the BAC. In general, the tendency shows that Model D (58%) is becoming more common and is the first one in the city. However, the Basque immersion system is about 10% under the average. On the contrary,

\textsuperscript{6} Note that ‘Model C’ does not exist because ‘C’ is not a character of the Basque alphabet.
model A (23%) has a higher percentage than the average. Finally, model B, receives less than 20% of students, as it happens in the BAC.

![Figure 8: Evolution of the education models of non-university education in Donostia. Source: Eustat website: www.eustat.eus](image)

### 2.7. Language plans in Donostia

Public institutions give more importance to the promotion and protection of Basque as time goes by. Nowadays most of them have language departments that work with linguistic issues. The sociolinguistic situation is different in every town and city, and the language department of each city is responsible to develop the language plans. In Donostia, the actual language plan Donostiako Euskararen Plan Orokorra 2015-2019 (General Plan of Euskera in Donostia. Period 2015-2019) considers sociolinguistic factors like the knowledge or the use of languages to develop measures that will change linguistic habits of different areas in the society. The language plan of Donostia includes measures to promote the use of Basque in different environments. For instance, there are measures to increase the use of Basque in Basque-speaking families, and there are also actions to give priority to Basque in activities organized...
by public institutions. Proposals to improve the use of Basque in commerce are also part of the language plan of Donostia.

Authorities control directly public institutions, and thus, they can establish specific linguistic requirements to accede to a public job. Public spaces also depend on public institutions so that they can regularize the linguistic use of these spaces. However, the control of the private sector and their linguistic habits is more complicated. The language plan of the city considers the implication of commerce necessary to guarantee the linguistic rights of all the citizens. The objective is a progressive increase in the use of Basque and the linguistic landscape is one of the essential factors to promote Basque in local commerce. There are different measures to achieve the goal. For instance, there are language courses for shopkeepers or economic incentives and campaigns to increase the use of Basque on commercial signs.

The most significant campaign to promote the use of Basque in commerce started after the measurement of the linguistic situation of local commerce. The study examined different aspects of local shops. For instance, they analysed the language knowledge of shopkeepers or their opinion about the importance of different languages for their business. Results showed that 73.8% of surveyed shopkeepers considered necessary the presence of Basque. This study also measured the use of languages in the main signs of shopfronts or web pages and results stated that 25.4% of the principal signs contained Basque.

After the publication of the new language plan, local institutions started a campaign to increase the use of Basque in commerce. One of the measures consisted of the identification of establishments where the customer service was in Basque. Authorities shared stickers to put in shopfronts and to ease the identification of these establishments. Figure 9 shows the sticker used in this campaign. Authorities thought that the use of Basque would increase if customers knew that they could be attended in Basque. 1247 shops of all the city participate in this campaign. All in all, this campaign shows that public institution can influence the private sector.
Figure 9: Sticker promoting the use of Basque. Translation: Here also in Basque
3. Linguistic landscape (LL)

3.1. Defining linguistic landscape

LL analyses the written language in the landscape. According to Gorter (2006), there are two different meanings for ‘landscape’ in the dictionary. The visible things from a specific place or the ‘picture representing such a view of natural inland scenery’ (2006: 1). Gorter states that both definitions are meaningful for research in LL. One of the most popular descriptions of LL was proposed by Laundry and Bourhis (1997):

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function (1997: 25).

The first part of the definition contributes to understanding the large variety of items in the study of LL. Every written text in our streets is relevant for LL. Since the objective of this research is to analyse the commercial LL of Donostia, I will only examine signs displayed on the shopfronts of the city.

The second part of the definition mentions the informational and symbolic function of signs. Laundry and Bourhis (1997: 25-27) describe several cases where the informational function takes importance. An essential function of the informative function of LL is to mark the geographical area of a linguistic community. Another function is to inform about the languages

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7 Further details of signs, included items and methodology will be given in following sections.
that one can use in public administration or private entities. In general, LL reflects the sociolinguistic situation of a territory.

The symbolic function (1997: 27-29) focuses more on feelings. The use of a language creates positive feelings in the reader by strengthening his social identity. The reader will identify himself with the group that uses the language, which is a significant ethnolinguistic vitality indicator. Giles et al. (1977, as cited in Ehala 2010: 365) described ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’ as the factor ‘which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations’. Moreover, Ehala (2010) summarizes the main points of Giles et al. (1977) in the following way:

They suggested that groups that have little vitality are likely to cease to exist as distinctive collectives, while those that have high vitality are likely to survive; and proposed three structural variables that are likely to influence ethnolinguistic vitality: demographic, institutional support and status factors. (2010: 365)

The use of a language in different public areas such as administration or mass media also has positive in-group implications because this implies the existence of a sociological group with an ethnolinguistic vitality that controls institutions. The symbolic function can also create negative feelings. When the in-group language in public domains is marginal, an undervaluation of a language takes place. This would lead us to a diglossic situation with a dominant and a subordinate language, with adverse effects: a weakening in the transmission of the subordinate language or a reaction against the majority language. Finally, the authors mention that from an intergroup perspective, both sociological groups could compete to have more visibility.
This study conducted in different areas of Canada shows the importance of the linguistic landscape as a separated field to measure the ethnolinguistic vitality. Since the publication of this paper, the number of studies that analyse the LL from different perspectives has increased significantly. Gorter (2013) states that ‘the study of linguistic landscapes aims to add another view to our knowledge about societal multilingualism by focusing on language choices, hierarchies of languages, contact-phenomena, regulations, and aspects of literacy. (2013: 191)’ Nowadays, there is a large variety of topics analysed in LL. From power relations to personal choices, the increasing importance of LL is undeniable.

3.2. Linguistic landscape research

The variety of studies that conducted in LL is significant, and they have discovered essential findings of the use of languages in the LL. This section will focus on the analysis of some studies about the LL. The study of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) conducted in Israel and Palestine demonstrated the importance of the above-mentioned symbolic function of LL. The study was carried out in different areas of Israel and Jerusalem, and they divided the data following a ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ criteria. In other words, they classified as top-down official signs created by public authorities, and as bottom-up signs with a private origin. The public-private classification is also mentioned by Laundry and Bourhis (1997).

The varied sociology of Israel was essential to conduct this study. There are 5.5 million Jews in Israel. However, one million are Russian speakers that immigrated from the former USSR. Moreover, there are over a million Palestinians living in Israel, and even if 81% of them are Muslims, there are Cristian and Druze minorities. Finally, immigrants from different western countries have become more common. There are also linguistic differences between communities. Hebrew is the first official language and the majoritarian one in the Jew community. Arabic is the second official language of the country and is the language spoken
by Israeli-Palestinians, who make up 18% of the population. The importance of English has increased in all groups during the last years.

Another essential difference between the communities is that 90% of Arabs and minority groups live in their villages, while the rest resides in Jewish cities. This study was conducted by taking pictures in different localities of the territory. Data were divided into three groups depending on the location: Jewish regions, Israeli-Palestinian localities and East Jerusalem area where Palestinians made up the majority group. The study focused mostly on Hebrew, Arabic, and English but Russian appeared in some areas where the community was relevant.

Their results showed essential differences in the pattern of the use of languages. In areas controlled by Israel, the use of Hebrew was superior compared to East Jerusalem, where Hebrew was residual. Arab was more predominant in East Jerusalem than in Palestinian areas under Israeli control. Results also revealed the importance of public and private signs on the construction of the symbolic function of LL. The language of the authorities was always present on the streets, and the presence of English was pervasive in places where the majority group also governed the area. On the other hand, both communities excluded the other community’s language in areas where the other community represented a minority. In general, this study shows the use of languages in the fight between both communities. The Israeli-Palestinian situation is an excellent example to understand the symbolic function of LL, but the case is too extreme to compare with Donostia.

Huebner (2006), conducted another study in Bangkok (Thailand). The research highlighted the importance and influence of English as a global language. Previous studies in Bangkok suggested that English messages on the streets were oriented towards tourists and foreigners, and this study tried to challenge preceding researches. Standard Thai is the official language of the country, and there are four more regional languages. Even if the Standard Thai is the instruction language in education, English is compulsory starting from upper secondary school.
The study analyzed 15 neighbourhoods with different language patterns in commercial signs and results manifested several findings related to English. On the one hand, outcomes confirmed that English signs, written with Roman orthography contained relevant messages for tourists. Results also demonstrated that Standard Thai was the language for local affairs, whereas English was for foreign and international issues. The most pertinent findings of the study concerned signs written in Thai orthography. Different elements from English were adapted and included in Thai signs creating a mixed language. Since the signs were written in Thai orthography, and most foreigners are illiterate in Thai orthography, the inclusion of English elements had to be directed to Thai speakers. Results of this study show that English is strong enough to influence other languages. In the case of Donostia, Basque and Spanish use the same orthography of English, so the situation is entirely different from Thai. However, I will pay special attention to signs that use mixed languages and try to see if other languages also influence Basque and Spanish.

So far, I have analysed works that focus mostly on local languages. However, a consequence of globalization, essential for the creation of multilingual societies is immigration. Barni and Bagna (2010) accomplished a study of immigrant languages in several Italian cities, in neighbourhoods with high percentages of migration. The study concluded that there are differences between immigrant groups and the use of their languages in LL. In Rome, in the Esquilino neighbourhood, they found out that there is no relation between linguistic visibility and the number of immigrants. In this area, Chinese monolingual signs were superior to other foreign languages even if the Chinese community was not the biggest one. Results of the municipality of Prato confirmed that the Chinese community tends to maintain their language more than other groups. The high number of Chinese monolingual signs was regarded as a problem in both cases, and local authorities declared obligatory the translation to Italian of all monolingual signs.
Romanians behave differently compared to the Chinese community. The use of Chinese takes place mainly in bottom-up signs, but the public administrations promoted the few signs in Romanian. However, considering that Romanians formed the most important immigrant group in Italy, the presence of Romanian in the LL was irrelevant. Ukrainians and Russian of Arezzo and Ferrara were the last groups analysed in this study. Women were the principal components of these communities. They mostly worked in home-care related works, and the use of their languages in the LL was not very common. In general, the article shows that the presence of immigrant languages varies depending on different factors that affect the characteristics of the groups. Immigration rates are not very high in Donostia, but they have their place in the commerce of the city. For this reason, I will include their shops to see the characteristics of the LL of their establishments.

3.3. Globalization and linguistic landscape

Globalization has changed every single aspect of our lives including the economy or languages, which makes this phenomenon relevant for this study. The Cambridge dictionary describes ‘globalization’ in the following way:

‘A situation in which available goods and services, or social and cultural influences, gradually become similar in all parts of the world: the globalization of fashion/American youth culture. (Cambridge 2008).’

According to this definition globalization influences society, culture as well as culture, making them more homogenous in every part of the world. The spread of English is a direct consequence of globalization. Cenoz and Gorter (2006), in their research of the linguistic landscape in Donostia and Leeuwarden, mentioned the importance of English. Since the level
of knowledge of this language varied between the cities, the role of this English was different in each place. Nevertheless, they pointed out the importance of English in commercial areas. The positive connotation of English was thought to be relevant in the following aspect: ‘The audience can recognize that the message is in English and this activates values such as international orientation, future orientation, success, sophistication or fun orientation’ (2006: 70). English and foreign languages are becoming more frequent as time goes by, and this research will put a special focus on them.
4. Previous studies in Donostia-San Sebastian

Studies of the last section conducted in Bangkok, Israel, and Italy show that the topics related to LL are diverse. Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter have also carried out several studies about the LL in Donostia. In this section, I will make a compilation of their studies.

The study of Cenoz and Gorter (2006a) focuses on the linguistic landscape of Donostia and Ljouwert, the principal city of Friesland, in Netherlands. The study pointed out that the minority language position of Basque was stronger than the position of Frisian. Outcomes also highlight the importance of top-down signs to increase the presence of endangered languages.

The situation of Frisian is complicated. The language is understood by almost the whole population, but only 17% of them can write it. The number of literate people has increased during the last years, but a shift to Dutch as L1 is happening among the youngest generations. Even if Frisian has official recognition, Dutch is the language used in administration. In general, the situation of Frisian is more delicate if we compare to the Basque. Authors also explained that Frisians have a better command of English than Basque people. While 70% of inhabitants of Friesland have a good command of English, the proficiency of Basques in this language is more limited.

The research focused on top-down and bottom-up signs and answered two research questions:

- Which are the languages displayed in the linguistic landscape of Donostia San Sebastian and Ljouwert Leeuwarden respectively, and their relative weight?
- What are bilingual and multilingual signs like? (2006a: 70).
The research consisted of the analysis of 207 elements identified in a shopping-street of each city. The results showed that the number of monolingual signs in Ljouwert (64%) was higher than in Donostia (45%). However, signs with more than two languages were more frequent in Donostia. The outcomes also stated that the presence of Frisian was insignificant compared to Basque. Only 5% of signs contained Frisian alone or with other languages, whereas more than half of the signs of Donostia included Basque. In general, the use of Frisian was more limited to oral use. Dutch and Spanish were the dominant languages, used on 91% and 82% of signs respectively, and English was more frequent in Ljouwert (37%) than in Donostia (28%). All in all, Basque was more frequent than Frisian.

The answers to the second research question also showed differences between both cities. Frisian was the main language of 2% of the signs, with a lower rate than English, present in one-fifth of them. The situation in Donostia was utterly the inverse but results also showed similarities between the cities. The majority language was usually written in bigger font size, and the type of font was different depending on languages. Furthermore, the majority language usually had more information. In fact, 17% of signs with English in Ljouwert provided more details in the foreign language versus the 3% of Donostia.

In short, Basque was more frequent than Frisian, and English was the second language of Ljouwert, whereas Basque was by far more common than English. Besides, language policy is an essential factor that guarantees visibility in the LL. Finally, remarked the role of English as an international language.

In a similar study conducted in Donostia, Cenoz and Gorter (2006b) examined the relation between the linguistic landscape and the sociolinguistic reality of a place. They analyzed the informative and symbolic function of languages and compared official and private signs. Results indicated differences between the two streets. Data was gathered in two streets of
Donostia. In a central street (The Boulevard), and in a street on the west of the city (Erregezainen Street). There were three research questions in the study:

- What languages are displayed in the Linguistic Landscape of both streets?
- Is there any difference between the languages when the signs are private or public?
- What are bilingual and multilingual signs like? (2006b: 4)

The Boulevard is one of the most important commercial streets of the city, whereas Erregezainen is a commercial, but also a residential street. Small independent shops were the most common ones, and data was made up of 1142 pictures. They identified 271 items: 167 in Erregezainen street and 104 in the Boulevard.

Results showed that the number of monolingual signs was higher in Erregezainen (66%) than in the Boulevard (45%). In general, the use of bilingual and multilingual signs in the central street was more frequent. Results showed that the percentage of signs with only Basque was very similar (11% in Erregezainen and 12% in The Boulevard), but the combination of Basque with other languages was superior in the Boulevard. Spanish was the first language in both streets, 81% in Erregezainen and 74% in the Boulevard. Moreover, English was the most significant foreign language, and it was more common in the Boulevard. The results also indicated that Basque was more common in public signs, whereas private signs were more frequent. Finally, outcomes suggested that Spanish was the main language of bilingual signs.

To sum up, the study revealed the similarities and differences between the two streets. The most important differences concerned the use of Basque and English. Thus, the results varied depending on the place.
Aiestaran et al. (2010) focused on the language perception and preferences of local inhabitants of Donostia and suggested that Basque speakers are more likely to invest in language-related issues than the other citizens. There were three research questions:

- What is the perception of the languages used in the linguistic landscape of speakers of Basque as L1 and Spanish as L1?
- What is the preferred way to have signs in the linguistic landscape for speakers of Basque as L1 versus Spanish as L1?
- Which is the economic commitment of speakers of Basque as L1 versus Spanish as L1 to the use of languages in the linguistic landscape? (2010: 224)

Data for this study consisted of 303 interviews conducted in a commercial street of the city. Interviewees answered questions related to LL and about their preferences on investing money in public services. LL was one of the options. Citizens considered Spanish as the dominant language, followed by Basque, English, and French. The ones who had Basque as the first language (L1) considered Spanish more dominant than the ones who had Spanish as L1. Similarly, Basque speakers deemed Basque less frequent than L1 Spanish speakers.

When they were asked about their language preferences, half of the respondents of both groups said that they preferred bilingual signs. The other half preferred multilingual signs. Everyone included his or her L1 in their choices, and almost everyone included the other official language. The choice between English and French was similar in both groups, half of them wanted to add English, and a quarter also wanted French in signs. The most significant result was that while two-thirds of L1 Spanish speakers preferred an equal representation of languages, less than half of the L1 Basque speakers wanted it.
Finally, the last questions about economic commitment revealed very significant differences between both groups. Respondents had to show their preferences to invest in different public services. The way in which both groups ordered the services was the same, and thus, LL was the last one. However, there were differences between both groups. L1 Basque speakers would invest a similar amount in LL and other services, and L1 Spanish speakers would spend less money to change the signs in a preferred way. All in all, this study revealed that Basque speakers are more likely to invest in language-related issues. Moreover, differences between both groups could be understood due to the importance of language preservation for the Basque-speaking group.

In 2013, Aiestaran et al. made a compilation of their works about the LL of Donostia. Since the summary of these studies has been done, the content of this article does not need further explanation. However, there are few comments to do about some information that is very relevant to this study. The authors explain that after the publication of their studies, local authorities ordered a more extensive survey about the linguistic landscape of the city. Thereby, this study included the analysis of nine neighbourhoods, by taking more than 13,000 pictures.

The study revealed differences in the use of Basque between different areas of the city. The presence of Basque in central areas was under the average, whereas the old town and the peripheric neighbourhoods had a higher rate of use of Basque in private signs. Authors also stated that Banks (75%) and restaurants (69%) were the establishments using Basque more frequently. They suggested that private entities tend to copy institutional behaviours. Even if I tried to find more information about this study, I could not find more information about it. Nevertheless, the information of the compilation will serve to compare the situation of two different dates. During the last five years, institutions launched campaigns to increase the use of Basque.
All in all, previous studies conducted in Donostia expose several facts. First, Spanish is the first language of the city followed by Basque, English, and French. Second, public signs relevantly increase the presence of Basque. Third, L1 Basque speakers are more sensitive to language-related issues. Finally, we can say that these studies show internal variation within the city. These results can give us some clues of the results of this study, and they allow us to compare data from previous studies with data gathered in this research.
5. Research material and methods

5.1. Methodology

The data was collected in December of 2017 with the help of a camera. Data includes 1306 pictures, and 302 shops or establishments divided in of 4 different areas of the city. 268 of them were located on three different streets and the remaining 34 inside the Bretxa Market. These are the four areas selected to conduct this study. Figure 10 shows the location of these areas in the city:

1. Matia, in Antigua neighbourhood (87 shops): Matia street is about 400 meters and is the principal commercial street in Antigua neighbourhood, located in the western part of the city. This area is a bit distanced from the city centre, and small local commerce is majoritarian.

2. Urbieta, in the city centre (123 shops): Urbieta is one of the most typical and central shopping street in the city with all kind of services in its 600 meters. Small local commerce is the most common, but the number of international brands and chains is also significant.

3. Fermin Calbeton, in the old town (58 shops): This street has a length of approximately 250 meters. The old town, with a very central location, is the most touristic place in the city. Bars and restaurants are prevalent.

4. Bretxa, the old city market (34 shops): The old market, placed between the old town and the city centre is the most traditional market in the city. The market is the only place of this study located inside a building and is composed of small tents in which we can find fresh products, mostly fish, and meat. Besides, the products sold in the market are also local.
5.2. Variables

This study considers each shop as one unit, and these are the variables used to analyse them:

Table 1: Analysed variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysed Variables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size and provenance of shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial and factual information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christmas messages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Languages used by shops in their shopfronts. |
| Location of shops in different areas of Donostia |
| Belonging to a brand or chain, local or not. |
| Services offered in the establishment.        |
| Type of information displayed in shopfronts.  |
| Commerce belonging to immigrant groups.       |
| Language used on Christmas messages.          |

Languages form the most important variable in this thesis since the objective of this study is the analysis of the commercial LL. Thus, languages used by shops in shopfronts are crucial. Basque, Spanish, English, and French will be classified individually, and the ‘other languages’ will form one group. Another important factor is the location of the shops in the city. Previous
studies (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006) suggest that LL changes depending on the area of the city. Data of this study consists of information gathered in three streets and the old city market.

The ‘size’ and provenance of the shops is also important. Shops are classified into three categories: The first category includes the ‘small local shops’. In this group, we can find small coffee shops, grocery stores, hairdresser’s and so on. Most of the commerce of the city belong to this group. Moreover, all shops from Bretxa market also belong to this group. The second category is formed by local brands and chains from the Basque country. Finally, the third group includes foreign brands and corporations. In addition to the size, services and products also form an independent variable. This will help to identify inner differences in the commercial sector of Donostia. I classified eleven types of shops and establishment: Banks, restaurants, tourism, health, food, clothing, professional services, telecommunications, home, beauty, and others. My classification is an adaptation of the one made by Aiestaran et al. (2013).

The kind of information displayed in shopfronts is also relevant. I divided messages into two groups. On the one hand, the ‘commercial information’ includes signs oriented to sell and announce the products and services. On the other hand, ‘factual information’ can contain information such as opening hours, telephone numbers holidays or online shopping services. Moreover, the number of ‘extra-commercial’ signs was quite common. These signs include information that is not related to the shop. For instance, information about events like concerts or cultural activities nearby.

Nowadays, 11% of the population of Donostia is immigrant. Shops belonging to immigrant groups use to have a very specific appearance and are easy to identify. Thus, the language use of establishments belonging to these groups will also be analysed as another variable. Finally, this thesis will also focus on Christmas messages. Since the study was realized during
Christmas, the language used for Christmas wishes will be analysed separately as well. All these variables aim to offer a detailed description of the situation of the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia. Most of the mentioned variables such as the languages, location or services are factors that have been already studied. However, the differential in the study is that this thesis focuses exclusively on commerce. Moreover, some variables such as ‘immigration’, ‘Christmas messages’ or the ‘size and provenance’ of shops have not been analysed in Donostia yet.

5.3. Few comments on the limitations in the data

There are some comments to do about the selection process of the data. As the objective of this study is to analyse the commercial linguistic landscape in shops and establishments, each of them has been considered as a unit of study. However, each unit includes different characteristics like principal billboards, commercial information and other kind of information. I decided to exclude proper names and brand names from the analysis because I consider that the inclusion of them could distort the results. The distinction between Basque and Spanish proper names is effortless, and the use of them to name shops and different businesses is widespread.

Figure 11: Main billboard of two shopfronts. 'Amaia Txabarria Bainujantziak' & 'Ohma! Maternity Wear'
Figure 11 shows two billboards in two different shops. The first one, ‘Amaia Txabarria Bainujantziak’ contains a proper name ‘Amaia Txabarria’ and ‘Bainujantziak’ (swimuits). ‘Amaia Txabarria’ is a Basque name. However, this personal name is not what makes Basque the language of the billboard. The surrounding information is vital to identify the language used in this case. In most of the cases, Proper names and brand names are accompanied by additional information. In the case of ‘Ohma! Maternity Wear’, ‘Ohma!’ is not part of the lexicon of any specific language but the contour, but ‘Maternity Wear’ allows us to say that the information displayed in this billboard is in English. Thus, the context is crucial to identify the language used in these cases. There are cases where the proper name represents all the content of the message, but I decided not to include them in any language.

In cases where the signal contained only the name of the brand, as it happens with ‘Zara’, ‘Quiksilver’ or ‘Carrefour’, the same procedure was followed, and I excluded them from the analysis. In the case of ‘Zara,’ this word does not have a specific meaning; however, ‘Quiksilver’ and ‘Carrefour’ have a meaning in their original languages. For instance, the meaning of ‘Carrefour,’ the French supermarket chain is ‘crossroad’, but I can hardly imagine that someone could think about a supermarket when hearing the word ‘crossroad’. For this reason, in addition to the context, I need to mention another important factor that has been decisive to classify proper names in this study. I included names with a clear denotation in the data analysis. Thus, I decided to assign languages to names like ‘Ogi Berri’ (new bread) or ‘B the Travel Brand’ where the name of the establishment has a direct relationship with the services they offer. Almost everyone who read the name ‘Ogi Berri’ would probably deduce that we are talking about a bakery and in the case of ‘B the Travel Brand’ that it is a travel agency. The main consequence of this decision is that in cases where the personal or brand names without explicit denotation were the only message exposed, the assignment of a language to those shops
or units was not possible. Fortunately, this group represents a tiny fraction of the total number of establishments that are part of the study.

The inclusion and exclusion of proper names on the analysis of the linguistic landscape is not a new issue. Edelman (2009) discusses methodological problems that different studies have faced when coding messages and signs that contained proper names. Edelman conducted a study in Amsterdam where the inclusion of proper names increased the percentage of other languages than Dutch dramatically, and not surprisingly, English was the foreign language that got the highest rate of presence in the study. The decision of including or excluding this category has positive but also negative aspects. For instance, an inconvenience of incorporating them in the data analysis would be the difficulty of classifying them in one specific language straightforwardly. The author gives examples of studies where names like ‘Adolfo Dominguez’ are considered to be Spanish and ‘Marks & Spencer’ as English, and in fact, almost everyone would agree with this classification. Edelman also mentions the importance of the denotation and connotation of proper names, and some authors claim the importance of the context in which proper names occur.

All in all, there are different reasons to include or exclude, and as I explained, I decided to rule them out and give importance to the context except in the cases where there was an explicit denotation. The classification of proper names is a controversial topic, and I tried to be as fair as possible.
6. Overall results and discussion

6.1. What languages are displayed in the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia-San Sebastian?

Spanish is the first language in the commercial LL of Donostia, followed by Basque, English, and French. Table 2 indicates the percentages of shops that use Basque, Spanish, English, French or other languages in their shopfronts in total, and in different areas of the city. Overall, the order of the presence of the languages is the same in all areas. The two official languages are the most frequent ones, although Spanish (91.4%) is much more common than Basque (49.6%). English (31.3%) is the first foreign language and the third most frequent, followed by French (13%). Other languages are residual (2.6%).

Table 2: Representation of the total use of languages in percentages and the number of shops in brackets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Urbieta (123 shops)</th>
<th>Matia (87 shops)</th>
<th>Fermin C. (58 shops)</th>
<th>Bretxa (34 shops)</th>
<th>Total Average (268 shops)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>95.9</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>82.7</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Ls</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results are different depending on languages and places. Urbieta street, located in the city centre, has the lowest rate of Basque (40.6%). On the contrary, Fermin Calbeton, the street in

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8 The total average includes only data from Urbieta, Matia, and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately.
9 The total average is not an average of the sum of the percentages of Urbieta, Matia and Fermin C. All the total averages have been calculated following the same procedure, calculating the final percentage out of 268. E.g.: 133 shops out of 268 use Basque, a 49.6% of them.
the old town, shows the highest use of this language (62%) and Matia (54%) is very close to the average (49.6%). The use of Spanish is more homogeneous, and there are no significant variations. Fermin Calbeton is the street with the lowest presence of Spanish (82.7%).

Foreign languages are more common in the city centre and the old town. The use of English in Urbieta is very close to the average (30.1%), whereas shopfronts in Matia contain less English than the average (18.4%). The presence of English in Fermin Calbeton (53.4%), the most touristic place, is 20% above the average. French is mostly limited to the old town, in Fermin Calbeton 31% of establishments use French. Otherwise, the percentages are under 10%.

The commercial LL of Bretxa Market, which is located inside a building, is different compared to other areas. Spanish is the dominant language (100%) of the market followed by Basque (82.3%). Basque is more visible in the market than in other places. However, foreign languages are less common. The use of English and French decreases to 8.8% in both cases.

Table 3: Representation of language combinations in shopfronts (%)\(^{10}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>languages</th>
<th>Urdieta</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Fermin</th>
<th>Bretxa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque+Spanish</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish+English</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque+Spanish+English</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque+Spa.+Eng.+French</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other combinations</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the different language combinations used in shopfronts. I adapted the classification used by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) by adding another combination:

\(^{10}\) The total average includes only data from Urdieta, Matia and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately. It is also important to mention that the sum of the total percentages is inferior to 100% due to the lack of presence of any language in some cases.
Basque+Spanish+English+French. Results suggest essential differences in the use of local languages. Shops using signs in only Basque are the last ones (1.8%), whereas establishments that use only Spanish are the most common (31.7%). The second most frequent combination is the one that includes both official languages (29.1%). English (2.6%) is the only foreign language that appears alone without any other language, and while Basque-English combinations are inexistent, shops using Spanish and English represent 8.6%. Combinations that include both official languages and English make up 7.85% of all shopfronts and the ones that also include French the 9.7%.

Results vary depending on the street. Shopfronts that only use Spanish are more frequent in Urbieta, and in Fermin Calbeton most of the combinations include foreign languages. In fact, establishments that use Basque+Spanish+English+French are in the first ones (27.6%) together with the ones that use the two official languages. Results of Bretxa indicate that Basque+Spanish combinations are the first ones (70.6%) followed by shopfronts that use only Spanish (17.6%). The use of foreign languages is considerably inferior in this area.

These results share similarities with the study of Cenoz and Gorter (2006). This study also suggested that Spanish was the first language in the LL of the city, followed by Basque and English. The presence of Basque is more reduced in Urbieta, while the Old Town has the highest percentage of Basque. Results also indicate that when official signs are excluded, the presence of Basque is inferior. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) prompted that 12% of signs used only Basque. In this study the number of shops that use only Basque is irrelevant.

If we focus on foreign languages, central areas are more likely to use them. It is especially remarkable in the case of the old town where 27.6% of establishments use four languages. Figure 12 shows a case where a menu is announced in Basque, Spanish, English, and French. Almost all the bars and restaurant located in Fermin Calbeton advertise their products and
menus in four languages. Tourism is most likely the principal cause of this situation that affects the language use of the hostelry sector.

Figure 12: Multilingual menu in a restaurant

6.2. How are languages used?

6.2.1. Main billboards

Table 4 shows the languages that are used in the principal billboards, which are typically used to name the shops. Altogether Spanish is the most frequent language (52,6%) followed by Basque (24,6%). English (9,7%) occupies the third place followed by French (2,6%) and a few
cases where other languages appear (1,1%). Thus, the language order in billboards is the same one if we compare it to the general use of languages in shopfronts.

Table 4: Representation of Languages in Main Billboards (%)\textsuperscript{11}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Urbieta</th>
<th>Fermin C.</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Bretxa</th>
<th>Total\textsuperscript{12}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>61.7</td>
<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>52.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fermin Calbeton is the street with the highest presence of Basque in billboards and the fairest use of the official languages. English, the most common foreign languages, is more common in the city centre, and 12% of shops in Urbieta and Fermin Calbeton use English in the main billboard. In general, the gap between foreign and local languages is very significant.

The situation in Bretxa market is different. Basque and Spanish are the only languages used in main billboards. 61,7% of shops use Basque, and Spanish appears on 76,4% of them. Moreover, the use of Basque is higher compared to other areas, and foreign languages are non-existent.

Finally, it is important to mention that 88.2% of the billboards of establishments located in Bretxa (30 out of 34) were assigned a language, but only the 80.2% in the other areas (215 out of 268).

\textsuperscript{11} The total average includes only data from Urbieta, Matia, and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately. The sum of the total percentages is inferior to 100% due to the lack of presence of any language in some cases.
The following figures show billboards with different languages:

Figure 13: Bilingual billboard in Matia. Translation: Shoe Repair

Figure 14: Basque monolingual billboard in Bretxa. Translation: Bakery Gaztelu Confectionery

Figure 15: English billboard in Fermin Calbeton
Table 5 shows the language combinations in the main billboards. 43.2% of billboards include only Spanish, whereas sign with only Basque is the second option (15.6%). Signs with English make up 6.7% of them, the same number of the ones that contain the two official languages of the city. Other combinations form a very insignificant number.

Table 5: Representation of Language Combinations in Main Billboards (%)\textsuperscript{13}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>languages</th>
<th>Urbieta</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Fermin</th>
<th>Bretxa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque+Spanish</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish+English</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque+Spanish+Eng.</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bas.+Spa.+Eng.+Fren.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other combinations</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results vary depending on the area of the city. Once again, signs containing only Spanish are more common in Urbieta (43.2%). Matia is the street with the highest frequency of signs using only Basque (24.1%), followed closely by Fermin Calbeton (22.4%). Combinations with foreign languages are more common close to the city centre, in Urbieta and Fermin Calbeton.

The situation in Bretxa is very different. There are no foreign languages, and the combination with the two official languages is the most common (47%), followed by the ones that include only Spanish (29.4%). Finally, 11.7% of shops use only Basque to name their shop.

The analysis of the principal billboards confirms that Spanish is the first language followed by Basque. The results also show that Basque is more frequent in the old town (Fermin Calbeton) and the market (Bretxa), and outside the city centre in Matia. In Urbieta, the use of Spanish is the first language by far. On the other hand, foreign languages are more common in the central

\textsuperscript{13} The total average includes only data from Urbieta, Matia, and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately.
areas, and thus, the percentage of English is higher in Fermin Calbeton and Urbieta. In general, foreign languages are less frequent if we only analyse the main billboards.

### 6.2.2. Commercial and factual information

Table 6 illustrates the languages that appear in signs that contain commercial information. Commercial information includes signs with information about products, discounts or services offered in the establishments. As it happens in previous cases, Spanish is the most common language (80.1%) followed by Basque (31.2%), English (18.2%) and French (7.1%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Uribeta</th>
<th>Fermin C.</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Bretxa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>66.9</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>80.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results show significant variations between different streets of the city. If we focus on Basque, once again Fermin Calbeton and Matia have the highest percentage. Matia has a higher rate than the old town in this case. The use of Spanish is regular in all the streets even if the percentage is lower in Fermin Calbeton, probably because there were establishments without commercial information (mostly bars). Finally, I need to mention the case of foreign languages in Fermin Calbeton. In this street located in the old town, the presence of English and French is considerably superior to other areas, in fact, English is the second language in commercial

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14 The total average includes only data from Uribeta, Matia, and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately. 94.1% of the establishments provided commercial information in Bretxa (32 out of 34). 82.4% in the other areas (221 out of 268).
information before Basque. The principal cause of this situation is the significant number of restaurants that announce their menu in 4 languages, as figure 12 shows.

Figure 17: Vegetables and their prices

Figure 16: Commercial Information in an Optical Store of Uribeta
The situation of Bretxa differs from the rest. 67.6% of shops use Basque and 97% Spanish. Foreign languages are residual, and English is the only one that appears in the 2.9% of the cases. The next figures show some examples of signs that contain commercial information. Figures 16 and 17 are an example of signs with commercial information. In both cases, the information occupies visible areas of the shopfront. The first picture shows a shop that sells different vegetables. The second picture represents a case of an optical store, and the signs show different prices of different products.

The results from factual information indicate that the number of establishments that have this kind of information is lower compared to the commercial information. Table 7 shows a general decrease in percentages except in the case of Basque, and there is not any change in the language order. 58% of shops use Spanish in this kind of information, followed by 30.1% of them that use Basque.

Table 7: Representation of language use in Factual Information (%)\textsuperscript{15}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Urbieta</th>
<th>Fermin C.</th>
<th>Matia</th>
<th>Bretxa</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26.38</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Foreign languages are less common in this case, and especially in Fermin Calbeton. Otherwise, data does not show differences between the streets and languages. In general, the language use of factual information is very regular in different areas of the city.

\textsuperscript{15} The total average includes only data from Urbieta, Matia, and Fermin. Bretxa will be commented separately. 94.1% of the establishments provided commercial information in Bretxa (11 out of 34). 32.3% in the other areas (179 out of 268).
The results from Bretxa indicate a minimum difference between the local languages. Foreign languages are not very common; however, French is more frequent than English in the market. The following pictures show some examples of these kind of signs. The repertoire of signs that contain factual information is very varied.

![Figure 19: Don't Touch please! A multilingual sign in Bretxa](image)

![Figure 18: A sign in a hairdresser's: We Speak English](image)
All in all, the use of commercial and factual information follows the general statistics. However, there are two main differences between them. On the one hand, commercial information is more frequent than factual information. On the other hand, foreign languages are less frequent in signs that contain factual information.

There are a few things to mention in addition to statistics. If we focus on factual information. The use of foreign languages is different between Bretxa market and other areas of the city. Figure 18 illustrates one of the few cases of Bretxa that uses foreign languages. The picture shows a message that says, ‘Don’t touch please’. Thus, the intentionality of this sign is not to sell the product but to warn people not to touch them. The presence of tourists is frequent in the market, and they mostly go there to take pictures of the products, rather than doing shopping. As a consequence, shopkeepers do not focus on attracting tourists. However, the intentionality
of signs containing factual information in foreign languages changes outside the market. Their objective is to attract tourists as figure 19 shows. This is the case of a hairdresser’s with a sign where they inform that they speak English. The purpose of this message is to appeal to tourists and tell them that if they go there, they will be attended in English. In general, we can see that there is a contrast between the market and the street if we compare the intentionality of signs with foreign languages.

To finish this section, I will make a brief mention of ‘extra-commercial’ signs. These signs are very common in small shops such as kiosks or pharmacies, places that local people go with a certain regularity. I have classified as ‘extra-commercial’, signs about concerts, activities organized by local groups or even some institutional signs. This data has not been analysed statistically for several reasons. On the one hand, these signs are not related to commercial activities, and on the other hand, their presence is very irregular. The next figures illustrate some examples:

Figure 21: Non-commercial signs
Figure 22: Non-commercial institutional signs

Figure 23: Non-commercial signs
Figures 21, 22 and 23 contain diverse messages. Figure 21 contains different signs. The one on the left announces activities of a down syndrome association. The top sign on the right shows a campaign to help refugees, and the last sign announces Onlentzero’s Christmas parade. Figure 23 has two different signs created by official institutions. The first one is a sign that promotes the use of Basque in commerce, and the purple sign belongs to a campaign that denounces violence against women. Finally, figure 22 announces a Christmas concert and acts organized by social movements.

The variety of these signs is immense, and perhaps, the most interesting fact about them is that Basque is the dominant language. Thus, we can say that extra-commercial signs announce things relevant for local people. Moreover, they tend to appear in small shops, and that the use of Basque is considerably superior.

### 6.2.3. Size and provenance of shops

Donostia is a city where most of the commerce is local. The importance of traditional small local businesses in the city is enormous, and they make up 70.9% of establishments of this study as table 8 shows. During the last years, the city has suffered an increase of big companies, both local and foreign brands, and statistics show that 10.8% and 18.6% of shops of this study are local and international brands respectively. The distribution of these shops varies depending on the area of the city. Data from Matia street is similar to the average, however, in Fermin Calbeton the percentage of small local commerce is very high. Nevertheless, Urbieta street has a lower rate of this kind of business, and foreign brands are more frequent.

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16 Olentzero is the Basque Christmas character.
17 This is the same sign Figure 9
All in all, results show variations depending on the size and provenance of shops. Spanish is very homogeneous in all kind of shop. However, the distribution of Basque and Foreign languages varies a lot. The small local commerce has the lowest rate of Basque (45.2%), whereas local brands have the highest and most regular use of this language (79.3%). The use of Basque in foreign brands is a bit above the average (51%). English is mostly used by local brands (41.3%) followed by small local commerce (30.5%) and foreign brands (26.5%). The case of Fermin Calbeton increases the total average drastically. Finally, French is mostly used by big local companies (18.2%) even if the highest percentage appears in small shops in Fermin Calbeton.

Table 8: Representation of Languages according to the size and provenance of shops (%)\textsuperscript{18}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small local shops (Total)</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbieta</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>94.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermin</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matia</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local brands (Total)</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbieta</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermin</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matia</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign brands (Total)</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbieta</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fermin</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matia</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bretxa Market</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82.3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18} Results are divided depending on their size and provenance. There are four groups in total, small local shops, local brands, foreign brands and the shops located in Bretxa Market. All shops in the last group are considered small shops but they will be commented as a separated group.
The collected information reveals that even if the use of Spanish and French is similar, there are some differences if we focus on Basque and English. Local brands have the highest percentages in all languages in general. Thus, these shops give more importance than other ones to the linguistic landscape. In this way, the difference between Basque (79.3%) and Spanish (96.5%) is the smallest one in this group. In the case of foreign brands, the use of Basque (51%) is slightly higher than in small shops (45.2%), but the use of Basque varies a lot in small shops depending on the area.

A possible explanation for this situation could be that big companies have more resources to attend linguistic issues. However, data from Bretxa, the most traditional market of the city, shows the highest percentage of Basque (82.3%), which means that the use of this local language in small shops changes depending on the area. In short, the provenance of the brands is an important factor when implementing a more inclusive language policy regarding the language landscape as local brands show more equality. In addition to this, small shops somehow reflect the different linguistic realities and environments within the city. This group shows the highest and lowest percentages of Basque: 29.7% in Urbieta street and 82.3% in Bretxa market. Moreover, the use of Spanish (88.4%) is the lowest one in small shops.

If we focus on English, we will find out that local brands present a higher percentage (41.3%) than other groups. The second position belongs to small shops, as 30.5% of them use English in their shopfronts. The high presence of English in touristic areas like Fermin Calbeton (53.8%) affects the global result of small shops. Finally, English is present on 26.5% of shops belonging to foreign brands. In the case of Bretxa, the use of English is residual.

6.2.4. Services

The data reveals variations depending on the services of establishments. The commercial LL changes if the services are or not for local people. This section does not include data from
Bretxa. Table 9 shows a similar use of Spanish in every sector once again, whereas the rest of the languages have big variations. Basque has the highest rates in telecommunication companies (100%) and Banks (83.3%), while the average is close to 40-60% in the rest. The only exception where the rate of Basque descends to the 6.6%, is the case of professional services such as the lawyers or business advisors.

In general. English has a regular presence that is around 30-40% in all sectors, except in restaurants and bars where the use is higher (51.8%). However, the use of English is lower in professional services, telecommunication companies, banks and establishments related to health, such as pharmacies or optics. The distribution of French is very similar to English. The use of French is higher in hostelry (40.7%). Otherwise, the presence of this language is close to 10%. The other languages have an anecdotic presence, and their distribution is very unequal.

Outcomes of this study confirm the results from Aiestaran et al. (2013). This research suggested that the use of Basque changes depending on the sector. Banks were the ones with the highest percentage, while the use was lower in professional services. In general, there are small variations between both studies. In addition to Basque, this study includes the analysis of other languages, and there are some significant issues to mention. Results show that the use of languages changes if services are oriented towards local people or not.

The use of Basque increases when the business is mostly for local people. Accordingly, banks and telecommunication companies have higher rates of Basque. In these cases, the use of official languages is very high, whereas the exclusion of foreign languages happens.
Table 9: Languages depending on services (%)\textsuperscript{19}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Other Ls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>94.4</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest/Bars</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof. Serv</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>93.3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecom.</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beauty</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The case of professional services confirms this assumption. Even if the presence of Basque in this sector is anecdotal, the absence of foreign languages is total. In general, these professional services are related to law and economics. Sectors where the use of Spanish is hegemonic. Figure 24 illustrates signs that announce this kind of services. The first picture is the only case where Basque was part of a sign. The second picture shows placards that

\textsuperscript{19} Results include only data from Uribeta, Matia and Fermin Calbeton.
advertise different lawyer services. These services are located inside apartment buildings, and as the figure shows, they tend to put placards in doorways.

In other services where local people are not the only customers, the use of foreign languages is higher, and hostelry (see figure 1) is a clear example. The presence of English and French is especially striking in bars and restaurants. Otherwise, clothes shops, establishments related to beauty (beauty salons and hairdresser’s), and the tourism sector (hotels and travel agencies) present the most significant use of foreign languages.

Figure 25 is another example that shows the importance of the origin of customers. In this case, pictures show the case of establishments related to touristic activities. The picture on the left shows the shopfront of a travel agency, and the image on the right is the case of a hostel. The difference between both cases is obvious. The travel agency uses Basque and Spanish to announce the products. This establishment contains signs for local people, and thus, Basque and Spanish are the languages to advertise their products. However, English is the language of the hostel because the readers of the sign will be tourists.

Figure 25: Signs in the touristic sector
6.2.5. Immigrants’ shops

The analysis of shops owned by immigrants suggests that this collective tends to exclude Basque from the LL. The study includes an analysis of ten stores in total. Table 10 shows the statistics on the use of languages. Spanish is the most common language among immigrants (90%), followed by English (30%) and Chinese (10%). The absence of Basque suggests that immigrants from Donostia do not consider Basque as a necessary language. On the contrary, the presence of Spanish is hegemonic.

Another annotation about this group is the presence of the Chinese. Barni and Bagna (2010) stated that Chinese immigrants are more likely to maintain their language than any other group, and the same happens in Donostia.

Table 10: Languages in Immigrants' Shops (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 26 shows a picture of a ‘Locutorio’, typical shops owned by Latin-Americans. Apart from being a shop, this is a place where people from the same community gathers. For instance, the billboard contains information about immigration, job seeking ads, and many other contents that are relevant to the Latin-American community. All in all, we can say that immigrants from Donostia are more likely to adopt Spanish than Basque.
6.2.6. Mixed-languages

The initial plan of this study was to analyse mixed-languages but panels including a mix of languages were very infrequent. However, there was a case that caught my attention. Figure 28 shows a sticker of a campaign promoted by a local trade association. This sign mixes Basque and English creating a message with a double sense. ‘HemenGO Shopping’ has two interpretations with very similar meanings: ‘Hemen’ (here) and ‘Hemengo’ (local). Thus, the message would be ‘Here go shopping’, a clear statement that defends local commerce. The important fact of this sign is not only that it mixes languages but also the fact that the message is in English, which means that the message is also directed to foreigners.

In addition to the sign in Figure 27, there are few comments to do about mixed-languages or borrowings. The use of the word ‘outlet’ is widespread to announce sales, and hairdresser’s and beauty salons tend to use English terminology to name different beauty treatments like ‘brushing’.
6.2.7. Christmas wishes

Since data was gathered during December 2017, the study includes an analysis of Christmas messages. Table 10 shows that Basque is the principal language (43.4%) followed very closely by English (39.1%). Finally, Spanish was the last language of this classification (21.7%).

Table 11: Languages in Christmas wishes (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages used for Christmas Wishes</th>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the number shops with this kind of messages was quite small (23), Spanish is the last language for the first time in this study, and Basque becomes the first language followed very closely by English. Figure 28 shows the importance of symbols to understand these results.

Figure 27: A case of a mixed language
On the left side of the picture, there is an ‘Olentzero’, the traditional Basque Christmas character, saying ‘Zorionak eta Urte Berri on’ (‘Merry Christmas and Happy New Year’ in Basque). On the right side of the picture, there is a Santa Claus with a message in English. Figure 29 shows that the Christmas character affects the language of Christmas wishes. Since Olentzero is a traditional Basque character, he speaks Basque. Santa Claus is a foreign character introduced by globalization, and it uses the most global language which is English. In Spain, the three wise men have been the Christmas characters who bring gifts to children, but they were absent from the shopfronts when this study was conducted in Donostia. In conclusion, there is a connection between languages and symbols.

Figure 28: Olentzero and Santa Claus

6.3. Do institutional language policies affect the commercial linguistic landscape of the city?

In this study, I have mentioned various examples of institutional signs in shopfronts. Thus, even if commerce is a private sector, the influence of public institutions in the commercial LL is very relevant. The answer to this question will contain two parts. The first part will focus on the

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20 See figures 9, 22 and 27
establishments that participate in the campaign that promotes the use of Basque by using the sticker of Figure 9. In the second part, I will analyze the evolution of Basque on the main billboards between 2012 and 2017.

6.3.1. The Basque promotion campaign and the linguistic division of Uribieta

In 2015, local authorities started a campaign to encourage the use of Basque in local commerce. One of the measures to achieve their goal was to ease the identification of establishments where the workers knew the language. This study includes 59 shops with the sticker of Figure 9. Results in Table 12 show that the majority of shops participating in this campaign are small shops (81.3%), followed by local brands (10.1%) and foreign brands (8.5%).

Table 12: Size of shops promoting the use of Basque (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size and origin</th>
<th>Stickers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small shop</td>
<td>81.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local brand</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign brand</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results show that in proportion there are more small shops that participate in this campaign. However, the important fact about this campaign is not the size, but the localization of shops with the sticker in Uribieta street. The results show a division of the street into two different zones that coincide with a change in the presence of Basque and foreign. Figure 29 shows the distribution of the stickers in Uribieta. There were 28 shops with labels in this area. The map shows that the number of shops with the sticker increases as we start to get away from the city centre.
The map also illustrates a division line in front of the cathedral. This line coincides with the end of the most central commercial streets and the touristic area and includes one-third of Urbieta street. I named this area as A zone. The area after the cathedral without touristic attractions is in the periphery of the commercial centre. I will call B zone to this area that occupies two-thirds of the street. A zone includes two shops with the stickers, whereas 26 of them are in zone B. Using the division line as a reference, I analysed data of the two zones separately.

Table 13: Distribution of shops according to size and provenance (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Small</th>
<th>Local Brand</th>
<th>Foreign Brand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Zone</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>42.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Zone</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>9.63</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbieta Average</td>
<td>60.16</td>
<td>9.75</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 shows the distribution of shops according to their size and provenance. Results indicate that small shops are under the average in A zone (47.5%) and over the average in B zone (66.2%). Foreign brands have the opposite distribution, and their presence is higher in A zone (42.5%) and lower in B zone (24.1%). The results in table 7 show that small commerce
tends to use less Basque than other shops, and table 13 shows that the number of small commerce is under the average in A zone. Thus, zone A should have a higher rate of Basque than zone B. However, Table 14 shows unexpected results. The use of Basque in small shops and foreign brands of A zone is 20% and 35% lower compared to B zone. Therefore, only 15% of small shops and 29% of foreign brands use Basque in their signs in A zone. The use of foreign languages is also different. Their use is 10% higher in A zone than in B zone for both, small shops and foreign brands.

Table 14: Language use in different zones of Urbieta (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basque</th>
<th>Foreign Ls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average Urbieta</td>
<td>A zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small shops</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign brands</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results contradict those previously stated and make evident the linguistic division of Urbieta street. The presence of Basque disappears gradually as we get closer to the centre of the city centre. However, foreign languages increase as we get closer to the centre. In fact, results show that in A zone foreign languages are more frequent than Basque. The linguistic division line coincides with the most central area of the city and the limit of the touristic zone, delimited by the cathedral. The line shows the ending of Donostia and the beginning of San Sebastian. However, tourism cannot be the only factor that affects these results. If we focus on Fermin Calbeton, this street located in the old town and the number of tourists in this part of the city is higher by far. Nevertheless, if we exclude the Bretxa market, Fermin Calbeton is the street with the highest percentage of Basque in shopfronts. Thus, a decrease in the use of Basque of 20% in small shops and 35% in foreign brands cannot be justified by tourism. This means
that there is another factor that affects the commerce (especially foreign brands) of this part of the city. This is, without doubt, a finding that would lead us to another interesting research.

6.3.2. Evolution of Basque in main billboards

A diachronic comparison of data that analyses the use of Basque in the main billboards reveals similarities and differences. In general, results show that Basque is predominantly used in peripheric areas. The comparison is based on data published by the language department of local authorities in 2012. In 2012, the local language department analysed the linguistic situation of commerce and designed new language policies to implement the use of Basque. The plan included economic aids to increase the use of Basque in billboards, and results from this study show an evolution that varies depending on the area. Table 15 contains the evolution of different streets. In 2012, 14 and 26 shops in Urbieta and Fermin Calbeton were using Basque in the main billboards respectively. My data from December 2017 indicates a similar situation with 13 and 24 establishments using Basque. Even if the difference in numbers is not substantial, there are some changes in percentages. In Urbieta the percentage changes from 17.3% to 10.5%, and in Fermin Calbeton from 48.1% to 41.4%. Different classification criteria could explain the differences.

Table 15: Evolution of billboards in numbers and percentages between 2012 and 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of Basque</th>
<th>Urbieta</th>
<th>Fermin Calbeton</th>
<th>Matia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 %</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017 %</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The evolution in Matia is different, the data shows a significant change between 2012 and 2017. The number of shops using Basque increases from 17 to 29 and the percentage increases by more than 10%, from 22.4% to 33.3%. The results indicate that the number of establishments that use Basque to name their shops has almost doubled in five years. The main conclusion of this comparison is that the evolution of Basque is different in each area of the city. There is a progressive development of Basque in Matia street, located in the western part of the city. However, there is not any progression in the central streets where foreign languages and tourism have more influence. Moreover, the linguistic division of Urbieta street shows that the high concentration of international brands and corporations in A zone that is negative to Basque because they favour foreign languages. Thus, the sociological reality of central areas where tourism and foreign corporations have a notable presence is a barrier to the progress of Basque. Therefore, the actual language policies are only valid in areas where the influence of tourism and foreign languages is smaller. Otherwise, ongoing language policies are not strong enough to guarantee the progress of Basque in the commercial LL of the city centre. All in all, data shows two different evolutions simultaneously.
7. Conclusion

This thesis has intended to answer three research questions concerning the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia:

(1): What languages are displayed in the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia-San Sebastian?

(2): How are languages used?

(3): Do institutional language policies affect the commercial linguistic landscape of the city?

The results for research question 1 show that Spanish is the most common language in the shopfronts of Donostia. Basque is the second language, followed by English and French. If we only focus on the two official languages, the results clearly reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the city. The number of Spanish speakers is superior to the number of Basque speakers and thus, the presence of Spanish in shopfronts is almost total while Basque appears in half of them. English is the third most frequent language in this study, which is a direct consequence of globalization. This clearly shows the international relevance of this language. French is the fourth language in the commercial linguistic landscape of the city but less frequent than English. The proximity of Donostia from France explains a higher presence of French compared to other foreign languages.

In general, the results also show a varying distribution of languages in different areas of the city. While the distribution of Spanish is homogeneous, Basque is more frequent outside the commercial city centre represented by Urbieta street. Moreover, foreign languages are more visible in touristic areas, especially in Fermin Calbeton. The language combinations show two main findings. While shopfronts that only use Spanish are common, it is hard to find
establishments that use exclusively Basque. Basque is rarely the only language in a shopfront, which is a clear sign of the superiority of Spanish. The second finding suggests that establishments adapt the commercial language landscape depending on their customers. The first language combination in Fermin Calbeton (the most touristic street) is the one that has Basque, Spanish, English, and French. This result clearly shows that tourism affects the linguistic landscape of Donostia. Eventually, I would like to mention the importance of the traditional Bretxa market when preserving the use of Basque. In this market where local people do their groceries, more than 80% of establishments use Basque in this area, more than in any other area of the city. The results of this section support previous studies conducted by Cenoz and Gorter (2006a). Spanish is the first language in both cases with a frequent presence of English. Moreover, Cenoz and Gorter (2006b) stated that multilingual signs were more frequent in the centre and the results of this study have shown a higher presence of English and French in Fermin C.

Findings in research question 2 reveal interesting features about how different languages are used in the shopfronts of Donostia. There are 4 main findings in this section. The first one concerns the ‘size and provenance’ of shops. Results indicate that local brands use more languages. Almost 80% of these establishments use Basque in their shopfronts. This percentage is, by far, higher than in any other kind of shop. Furthermore, local brands also have the highest percentages in the use of foreign languages. The difference between foreign brands and small local shops does not differ too much, they have a similar use of all the languages. However, if we analyse the small shops in Bretxa market and small local shops located in other areas, results show an enormous internal variation in the use of Basque. The use of this language changes in each area of the city. While more 82.3% of shops in Bretxa market use Basque, only 29.7% of
shops in Urbieta street do it. This is a clear indicator of the different sociolinguistic environments of Donostia.

The second finding involves the services offered by different businesses. Results suggest that the use of languages changes depending on the origin of customers. Thus, services related to telecommunications, professional services (mostly lawyers) or banking, whose customers are mainly local people, have a residual use of foreign languages. Even if the use of Basque varies, the use of this language is especially high in the banking and telecommunication sector. Aiestaran et al. (2013) suggested that the tendency of this kind of entities to copy institutional behaviours could be a reason for particularly high use of Basque. On the contrary, Restaurants and bars tend to use more foreign languages than any other establishments. The touristic sector represents this incident very clearly. Travel agencies announce their products for local people in Basque and Spanish. Meanwhile, the information displayed in hotels always contains foreign languages as it addresses tourists.

The analysis of the use of languages in immigrant-owned shops has shown interesting findings. The results indicate that this kind of establishments do not use Basque in their shopfronts at all. Even if 90% of shops owned by immigrants display information in Spanish, none of them uses Basque. This means that immigrants arriving in Donostia are more likely to adopt Spanish rather than Basque. Even if the use of Basque is reduced, there are other languages that are used by the immigrant community. Barni and Bagna (2010) stated that the Chinese community tends to maintain their language more than other groups. In this study, Chinese is one of the languages displayed in immigrant-owned shops. Thus, results support previous findings.

The final finding of research question 2 concerns Christmas wishes. Results show that Basque is the most frequent language in Christmas wishes, followed by English and Spanish. This is the only section if this thesis where Basque is the first language. Results also suggest an interesting relation between the text and the images. While pictures of Olentzero (the Basque
Christmas character) and Santa Claus were quite common, there was not a single picture of the Three Wise Men (the most popular Christmas characters in Spain). Otherwise, the results of the analysis of the main billboards do not differ from the general use of languages in shopfronts. A similar thing happens with the use of commercial and factual information. However, in this case, outcomes show that foreign languages are more common in panels that show commercial information.

The results for research question 3 contain interesting findings. The analysis of the location of shops participating in a campaign to promote Basque in local commerce concluded that Urbieta street is divided into two sections. On the one hand, the presence of Basque diminishes as we get closer to the centre of the city centre. On the other hand, the presence of foreign languages is higher in the most central part of this street. Thus, the number of shops that use Basque in their shopfront increases as we get away from the city centre. Results also suggest that foreign brands located in the most central part of Urbieta street don’t follow general patterns. This is the only area in this study where the presence of Basque inferior to foreign languages and the high presence of foreign brands is probably related to this fact. The final finding of the study is related to the evolution of Basque in main billboards. It seems that the presence of Basque is increasing only in peripheral areas of the city. While the presence of Basque remains steady in the most central areas like Fermin Calbeton and Urbieta, foreign languages are more and more frequent. Thus, the commercial linguistic landscape is evolving differently in the city centre and the most distant neighbourhoods, as it is the case of Matia.

This thesis has helped to define the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia. Several studies have analysed the linguistic landscape of the city. These studies have been mostly conducted by Cenoz and Gorter. Some of them analysed the linguistic landscape in general and some other studied aspects of the commercial linguistic landscape. This thesis puts together most of the different variables that have been studied individually from beforehand in Donostia
in a single study, focusing exclusively in the commercial linguistic landscape. Besides, I have added some other new variables that were not analysed in the city. Thus, on the one hand, I have confirmed results of previous studies that stated that Spanish is the first langue in the linguistic landscape of the city or the fact that the use of Basque is under the average in the city centre. On the other hand, I have also made new findings. The results of this study have suggested that the size and provenance of the shops affect the use of languages as well as the products they offer. I should also mention that this thesis has paid special attention to foreign languages, mostly English and French. In addition to exclusively commercial variables, other variables such as the immigration or Christmas wishes have helped to make a more complete analysis of the situation of the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia. Ultimately, my goal has been to make a complete analysis, comparing data from previous studies and the new information gathered, in order to get more detailed conclusions.

Of course, this thesis has its own limitations. The results of this study reflect the commercial linguistic landscape at the date where the data was gathered. Since the information displayed in shopfronts changes constantly, the results of this study would change if data was gathered in another period. However, the main limitation concerns the criteria used to classify the data. I have classified the data based on facts that seem logical to me. However, the classification and interpretation of data could change depending on the criteria. Thus, when I compare data diachronically, we should consider the fact that the way in which previous researchers have interpreted data could be different to my criteria.

All in all, this thesis makes new research fields possible. On the one hand, results urge us to analyse the case of Uribeta street. It would be interesting to find out more about the kind of establishments that prevent the progress of Basque in the city centre while foreign languages gain ground. On the other hand, the analysis of Christmas wishes suggests that there is a lot of research to do concerning languages and symbols. Finally, this thesis can serve as a reference
to accomplish future research and compare data diachronically. In short, this study deeply analyses the commercial linguistic landscape of Donostia, describing the current situation. This is a study not only, that serves to describe, but it can be helpful to define future actions that involve the language policies and the linguistic landscape of the city.
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