

The Linguistic Landscape of Málaga: between globalization and local identity

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Introduction / Abstract

Following a preliminary study on the Linguistic Landscape (LL) of Malaga (Esteba Ramos, 2014; Esteba Ramos/Sáez Rivera, 2014), some issues deserve further research as a contribution to the study of the LL of the Mediterranean started by Blackwood/Tufi (2015) which was restricted to France and Italy. Therefore, Malaga's LL shows traits of globalization (caused by tourism, foreign residents and economic migrants) but also local identity is publicly showcased in the form of written representations of phonic and lexical traits of the Spanish spoken in Malaga. Loanwords like Arabic "shawarma", "showarma" or even "chouorma" in the same street menus are a bridge between local and global LL in Malaga, as well as borrowing of grammar traits from English or Italian and straightforward use of English in graffiti and local shops.

Results

Globalization 1. Tourism

Tourism concentrates in the City Center, where English is used as the *lingua franca* both in top-down (1) and bottom-up signs (4); nevertheless, the quality of English in bottom-up signs (like in local food restaurants) is sometimes poor (5), like in Mallorca (Bruyèl/Juaun, 2009; Bruyèl, 2011). Other languages are also used in both kinds of signs (2, 3).



Sign 1. Picasso Museum Sign 2. Tourist information



Sign 3. Almonds street vendor Sign 4. Street fried fish menu



Sign 5. Street menu

Globalization 2. Foreign residents

It is typical from Malaga the case of foreign residents coming mainly from Northern Europe for permanent stay (as for retirement) or long-term holidays. No surprise is to find in the City Center Real Estate signs with English renderings (6), tax advising services offered in English and German (7) or European consulates like (8) for Finnish people, a sign written in Spanish, *lingua franca* English and suomi.



Sign 6. Real Estate selling offer



Sign 7. Tax advising services



Sign 8. Finnish consulate

Conclusions

Globalization and locality intertwine in language practices in Malaga's LL. Tourism brings about the use of (sometimes broken) English and other international languages, but also local products lexis is translated into languages from abroad. Foreign visitors can turn into residents (and so a new kind of locals) by buying a house; therefore they will need different services and administrative support in their own language (a kind of LL not registered by Blackwood/Tufi, 2015). The same globalization trend which triggers dialect leveling in Spanish leads the local vernacular to index locality in the form of hyperlocal identities and as a signal of authenticity. Several instances of local appropriation of outside languages are produced via borrowing, mainly from English but also from other languages. Another trait of globalization and probably the main superdiversity signal is the presence of migrant languages and Spanish varieties with different degrees of ethnolinguistic vitality.

References

Ávila/Ponsoda (2010), Ben-Rafael *et al.* (2006), Blackwood/Tufi (2015), Bruyèl/Juan (2009), Bruyèl (2011), Castillo/Sáez (2011, 2012), Hernández Campoy/Villena Ponsoda (2009), Sáez/Castillo (2012), Esteba (2014), Johnstone (2009), Johnstone *et al.* (2006), Landry/Bourhis (1997), Pons (2012), Vila/Ávila/Carriscondo (2016)

Methodology

We have been taken photos systematically in Malaga from 2012 and on in order to sample the Linguistic Landscape of the city. The neighborhoods chosen for fieldwork were the extended City Center (including Malaga's so called Soho, Lagunillas and Compás de la Victoria), but also areas with migrants concentration such as Palma-Palmilla, "Carretera de Cádiz" and "calle la Unión". The linguistic criteria followed have been gathering top-down and bottom-up signs (Ben-Rafael *et al.*, 2006) in other languages different than Spanish as well as Spanish vernacular varieties from Malaga but also from Spanish speaking migrants. The typology of signs found is thus astounding: official tourist signs, shop signs, street menus, graffiti, private ads, etc.

Indexing local identity

Similar processes like those described for Pittsburg by Johnstone (2009) and Johnstone *et al.* (2006) can be found in Malaga: globalization drives to dialect leveling (middle and upper-class Malaga converges greatly to north-center Spanish standard, see H. Campoy/Villena, 2009) but also the vernacular is used for indexing locality: low class-neighborhood identities (9, 10) but also authenticity in 11 (though mixed with abroad restaurant services). Some Malaga lexical idiosyncrasies (like coffee ordering) deserves translation to a classical language like latin as a sign of prestige.



Sign 9. Neighborhood identities: boy names with colloquial article + l > r/ø, x>h>ø, seseo



Sign 10. Neighborhood identities: 'The good bank, self-managed space' (l > r, colloquial bue- > güe-)



Sign 11. Local authenticity (l > r, -s > -h > ø in Compás)



Sign 12. Malaga lexical idiosyncrasy: coffee ordering translated to latin

Globalization 3 (Spanish speaking migrants)

Another imprint of globalization is caused by international migrants because of economic reasons. Many of them come from Latin-America so they bring their own vernacular (similar to the local one) and even native-american languages. A blurred latino identity can be traced in the Malaga's LL (18); almost only Paraguayans are better profiled as the main Latino group (and the second migrant group), with their national flag as a semiotic index (19, 20) and use of Spanish-American lexis as "choclo" (21), as well as frequent switch of s/z due to seseo (20). Paraguayan native-language Guarani remains as silent LL though spoken in Malaga.



Sign 18. Latino shop



Sign 19. Paraguayan bar



Sign 20. Paraguayan hairdresser



Sign 21. Menu of Paraguayan bar

Borrowings

Malaga enjoys a long tradition of cosmopolitanism, which lately involves use of chic symbolic English as in shop-signs (12) and side services (13), but also street graffiti with colloquial English (14). Borrowing from other languages like Arabic "shawarma" is so internalized that it is used inside local sandwiches known as "camperos" (15). Not only lexis is borrowed, but also graphic and grammar traits like saxon genitive reanalyzed as plural (16) or the abridged form of preposition "D'" (< De) from Italian but even before consonant (17).



Sign 12. Shop sign



Sign 13. Side service: bike parking



Sign 14. Street graffiti



Sign 15. Local sandwiches street menu



Sign 16. Saxon genitive = plural



Sign 17. Italian D' = Spanish De 'From, of'

Globalization 4. Non-hispanic migrants

Ethnolinguistic vitality of non-hispanic migrants is also showed in Malaga's LL. Money transfer services are offered in English, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Chinese, German, French, Romanian, Arabic and Bulgarian (22). The most profiled and vital migrant language is Arabic (the first demographic migrant group), used even in *halal* butcheries (23) and hairdressers (23). Romanians are the third migrant group, but they merge mainly in an Eastern Europe identity (26). Nigerians form the sixth migrant group, but Sub-Saharan people prefer the use of postcolonial English and French (25) to African languages which remain silent in LL. Chinese is barely used but in restaurants and retail shops (27), in contrast with Madrid, where the semantic fields are diverse (Castillo/Sáez, 2011)



Sign 22. Money transfer service



Sign 23. Halal butchery



Sign 24. Moroccan owned hairdresser



Sign 25. African hairstyling



Sign 26. Eastern Europe products store



Sign 27. Chinese retail food shop