Linguistic Landscape as a Translational Space:
The Case of Hervanta, Tampere

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In this article, the linguistic landscape of the suburb of Hervanta in Tampere, Finland is studied from the perspective of translation studies. The data, collected in 2011, consists of 22 cases of translated signage. This data was analysed by using categorisations previously developed by Reh (2004) and Edelman (2010). Additionally, numerous translation studies viewpoints and concepts are introduced, including covert and overt translations, target- and source-orientedness, domestication and foreignisation, pragmatic adaptations, and the concepts of translational assimilation and accommodation. I argue that an adequate understanding of translated signage requires paying attention not only to what is translated but also to how translations are produced, and that translation studies can offer tools for this kind of analysis.

Introduction

Linguistic landscape research has produced numerous vivid descriptions of the multilingual nature of contemporary cityscape (see, e.g., Shohamy *et al.* 2010). According to Michael Cronin (2006), the multilingual, multi-ethnic space that we now encounter in urban settings is first and foremost a translation space. In migrant societies translation is not only desirable, it is vital, since the city, as many have argued, is a place of language contact. It thus follows that the city is also a space for translation. Stereotypically, translating is related to international business, diplomacy and cultural contacts with "elsewhere". Cronin emphasises that in today's society, "elsewhere is next door" (ibid., 17).

Cronin argues for the city as the locus of micro-cosmopolitan analysis, that is, for cosmopolitanism from below, which identifies the global relevance of the local, the small and the mundane (ibid., 15). One such local and mundane feature is the

usage of languages in public space. Public and commercial signs are one concrete realisation of the language policies and practices of a particular area:

> The city is a place of language contact, as we have said, and the signs in public space are the most visible reminder of this. The linguistic landscape not only tells you in an instant where on earth you are and what languages you are supposed to know, but it contains information going far beyond this. It provides a unique perspective on the coexistence and competition of different languages and their scripts, and how they interact and interfere with each other in a given place. (Backhaus 2007, 145)

There is a growing body of "micro-cosmopolitan" research on the linguistic landscape and the coexistence and competition of different languages in various urban settings. In this article, I will look at one specific linguistic landscape, that of the suburb of Hervanta, the most multicultural and multilingual area within the city of Tampere, one of Finland's major metropolitan areas. The focus of my analysis is multilingual or, to be more precise, translated signage, and I will approach this data from the point of view of a translation scholar, looking specifically at the translation consequences of the increasing multilingualism in this particular locale. My goal is not to enumerate the respective numbers of various languages visible in the public sphere, but rather to analyse the issues of authorship, audiences, and community and their connections with "elsewhere". To accomplish this I shall look at the translational practices as manifested in Hervanta's particular signage; and I will also focus on non-translation, in cases where one might expect more than one language. This translation studies perspective has, to my knowledge, not yet been applied to linguistic landscape research before, and it will hopefully open new avenues for researchers interested in analysing the co-existence of more than one language in various linguistic landscapes.

Hervanta as a Multilingual Space

The data were collected in the suburb of Hervanta, Tampere in 2011. Data collection was part of a larger project to chart and describe multilingual and, in particular, translational practices in the city of Tampere. In this article, I place a more methodological emphasis on the linguistic landscape data collected for that project. Tampere was selected for the case study not because of its uniqueness but because of its normality: it is a regular mid-size European town (200,000 inhabitants). It is not a cosmopolitan metropolis known for its hybridity and multiculturalism; rather, it represents "any town, Finland". It may thus be that the findings in Tampere are more generalisable and perhaps more revealing than those from a very distinctive metropolis (cf. Ben-Rafael *et al.* 2010, xiii). A Finnish city is also interesting within linguistic landscape research, since Finland is officially a bilingual country, yet neither Finnish nor Swedish is a global language, and as

such, one does not expect short-term visitors or recent immigrants to know either, thus putting the notion of "dominant language" in a new light.

Within the city of Tampere, the suburb of Hervanta was selected for a closer analysis for various reasons. Situated 10 kilometres from the city centre, this satellite suburb was originally built in the 1970s. It is both the biggest and most international suburb of Tampere, with 11 per cent of its population consisting of foreign nationals (one third of all foreign nationals living in Tampere; City of Tampere 2011a, 16). If the growing spectrum of languages spoken in Tampere is visible anywhere in the cityscape, it will be in Hervanta. With 22,000 inhabitants, Hervanta is also a town within a town, and one can find many kinds of public spaces and facilities in its centre: malls, shops, a municipal library, a parish church, a police station and so on.

Another factor that makes Hervanta an interesting case is that its multilingualism stems from various sources. On the one hand, there are numerous housing projects where recent immigrants and non-affluent local inhabitants have settled, such that Hervanta has been associated with the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum. On the other hand, the Technical University of Tampere (with its international students and staff) is located in Hervanta. Numerous Nokia complexes have also brought many IT experts from various parts of the world to live and work in Hervanta. The premises of the Technical Research Centre of Finland and the Police College of Finland add to the academic and 'respectable' profile of Hervanta. The intended audiences for multilingual signage can thus be rather diverse, and one is advised not to presuppose any power hierarchies between different languages based on their users' assumed status. What one does not have to any large extent, however, are international tourists, or signage directed towards them. This gap makes the signage profile different from city centres, and supposedly allows a more insightful window into the relations between more permanent inhabitants.

The three largest groups of foreign nationals in Hervanta come from Russia (400), India (311) and Estonia (146) (City of Tampere 2011a, 17). In addition to Finnish, the most widely spoken languages are Russian (848), Arabic (203), Chinese (190) and Somali (102) (City of Tampere 2011b).[1] It is impossible to be more precise about Chinese, since more granular data (Cantonese, Mandarin, etc.) is not available in the national or municipal statistics. There is little legislation governing the use of languages in signage in Hervanta. The only stipulations governing linguistic landscapes in Finland concern the use of the two official languages in municipal signs, and as the percentage of Swedish speakers in Tampere is well below the

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1   Nationalities and languages do not coincide: some speakers of foreign languages are Finnish citizens, and many languages are spoken in more than one country of origin.

required eight per cent of the population,[2] there is no official requirement to include any signage in Swedish in the linguistic landscape anywhere in the city of Tampere (see Language Act 423/2003, § 5 and 33). The role and use of languages other than Finnish and Swedish is even less controlled. Any translations found in Hervanta do not, then, exist as a response to any official requirement, and they can thus be interpreted as indications of more deliberately motivated language practices.

Methodology and Data

The set of translational data used in this article was collected in Hervanta throughout the summer of 2011. Fieldwork was conducted in four subsequent visits to the same area: twice in June, once in July and once in August. These visits were preceded by a pilot visit in January. The purpose of these visits was to register not only the more permanent signage but also more fleeting notices, and to observe the potentially differing language practices 'between and amongst' these two sets. To focus on public spaces, the area was strategically confined to the very heart of the suburb within the two most central blocks along which most of the public institutions and the central shopping district are located: *Insinöörinkatu* (Engineer Street) and *Lindforsinkatu* (Lindfors Street). The academic institutions are located outside this area, and were thus excluded; although researching the linguistic landscape in schools, universities and research institutions would undoubtedly yield fruitful data (see, e.g., Hanauer 2009), this task falls outside the present purview of observing the shared public spaces common to all residents of Hervanta.

The focus of my research was the linguistic landscape of this central district, as an accidental visitor would experience it, within those spaces anyone can freely enter. That is, I have explored the public space that was "exposed to the public eye" (Ben-Rafael *et al*. 2010, xiv). As researcher, I thus adopted the role of a tourist, walking around with a camera and a notebook, observing and documenting the coexistence of more than one language. Originally, I had hoped to expand the role of written communication that traditionally dominates linguistic landscape research by also taking into account the soundscape and by also observing everyday situations including oral interpreting. Soon, however, it became apparent that to be able to do so I would have needed to conduct much more extensive fieldwork within a more ethnographic orientation. I did happen to witness a couple of instances of ad-hoc interpreting, but they are not included in this data. The tourist role also indicates that I have not attempted to chart the linguistic background or language attitudes of those I encountered in the streets, nor have I tried to uncover the origins of the

2   The Swedish-speaking population in Tampere is around one thousand, making it the third largest group, following the two thousand Russian speakers (City of Tampere 2011, 15).

signage I documented, for example by interviewing shop owners or people affixing posters.

Figure 1. An assumed covert translation. Photo: Lauri Hietala.
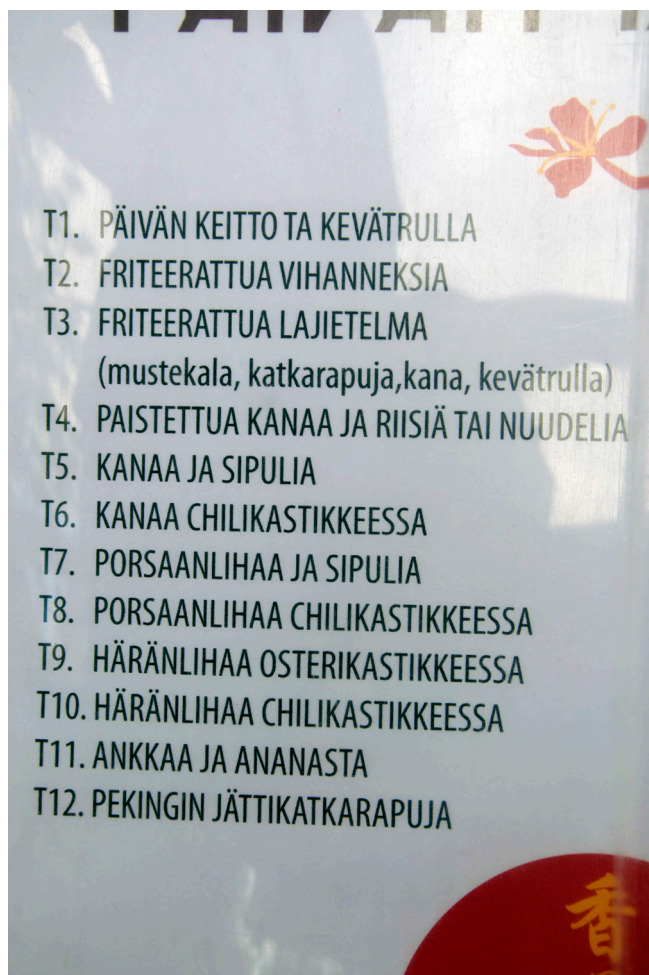
On all field trips I covered the same area. Since the focus of my research is on translational signage, only those signs that exhibit more than one language, either within the same sign frame or in two or more adjacent signs in different languages, have been collected. This means that my data consist of overt translations (that is, translation processes that can visibly be identified as such because of the coexistence of both versions), whereas covert translations (that is, monolingual signs that have been produced in a translation process) remain outside the scope of this methodology. Although covert translations are beyond my reach in this analysis, it is important to note their existence. They are one regular aspect of any translational space: if no mediators are available, it is the task of the residents to translate themselves and their lived experiences into the dominant language (cf. the concept of assimilationist translation below). (For more on the categories of overt and covert translations see House 1977). Note that one likely example of covert translation – not included in my translational data – is the menu of a Chinese

restaurant (Fig. 1). While it is all in Finnish, several atypical wordings indicate that it has been either translated from an existing (presumably) Chinese version, or its author has engaged in a mental self-translation process, transferring the more familiar Chinese names into Finnish format.

The field was intentionally narrowed to ensure that the selected area can be fully covered, but during the fieldwork the scarceness of any non-Finnish signage within this relatively multilingual area came as a surprise. Indeed it was a significant finding as such: in contrast to the image presented in many research projects, and my own intuition based on familiarity with the area, the linguistic landscape in Hervanta is surprisingly monolingual, and also more frugal and less chaotic than many case studies of linguistic landscapes would have us anticipate. Multilingual signage reflects this limited use of languages other than Finnish, and my data is thus rather small. As the objective of this article is methodological, and the aim is to test the usability of translation studies perspectives in linguistic landscape research, this is not a major concern. All in all, my data includes photos of 22 different items of micro-cosmopolitan, translational use of language in the public space of central Hervanta, and they form the basis of the analysis below.

Figure 2. Meidän kauppa ("Our shop"). Photo: Lauri Hietala.

As often is the case in linguistic landscape research, counting the data was not straightforward (see, e.g., Spolsky 2009, 32). First, some cases were so ephemeral that if I did not use the first photo opportunity, the exemplar was gone when I next arrived on the scene; some findings from the pilot visit in particular were thus

not recorded, but those that were are included in the present data. Second, if a particular multilingual sign reappears numerous times within the same linguistic landscape, is it to be counted once or are all occurrences to be counted separately? For instance, are the bilingual recycling instructions that are glued to all rubbish bins inside the mall to be counted only once or each separately? Since I am not presently working towards a quantified analysis, I selected variation rather than statistical enumeration, so multiple data entries have been ruled out. The third issue was the question of how to count signage that does not have clear-cut boundaries, and this proved the most problematic issue for quantifying purposes. If we have before us, say, a sign with the name of the shop in two languages, as well as all information concerning its merchandise and opening hours in two languages, and two short-lived notices in two languages (Fig. 2), is this to be counted as one, three, five or more data entries? Or what should the researcher do if the original appears on one sign, and its translation in another? Again, my exploratory methodological aims allow me to circumvent this problem. (For example, I am able to count the first sign as two items because of differences in the direction of translation and the permanence of the signs, while counting the second instance as just one). But drawing the lines differently in complex cases such as this can indeed distort comparability of the results obtained in different projects. It also follows that my data yield conservative figures on the occurrences of translational signage in this specific locale.

Linguistic Landscapes and Translation

Linguistic landscape research typically focuses on evidence of multilingualism in the landscape. It thus follows that since translation is often the process through which any documentation comes to take on a new linguistic form, translatedness is an issue closely related to linguistic landscape research. Indeed, it has been argued that the availability or non-availability of translation is an important, if seldom studied, analytical category in linguistic landscape research (Backhaus 2007, 31). Thus far, researchers interested in translation-related processes have mainly relied on applying the categorisation of the four multilingual writing strategies defined by Mechthild Reh (2004): duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary. Duplicating strategy refers to cases where exactly the same information is given in both languages; fragmentary multilingual writing involves cases where full information is given in one language, but fragments of it are also translated into another; and overlapping writing refers to cases where the two language versions offer partially the same information but also both convey additional content. The last of Reh's categories is actually not a translation category: it denotes instances of code-switching or mixing of languages where complete understanding of the message presupposes the knowledge of both (or all) languages in use and no

translations have been provided. This last subset of signage was not included in my data.

Reh's categories are useful as such, but they only refer to what has been translated. To fully understand the roles and functions of the translated signage, one also needs to look at *how* the translations came about. Louise Edelman (2010, 99) attempted do so in expanding on Reh's categories by introducing a more translation-oriented sub-categorisation. In her model, duplicating is further divided into "word-for-word translation" and "free translation", fragmentary writing is renamed as "partial translation", whereas the category of "no translation" highlights the lack of a translation component in complementary multilingual writing. The categories of free and literal translation do indeed begin to answer the question *how*.

However, within translation studies this traditional binary division has been found to be too simplistic, and to grasp the variety of translation strategies fully, a more nuanced understanding of the options available for translators is needed. This is where translation studies can be of assistance. In translation studies, there is a long research tradition of studying translation strategies. One can, by way of example, look at the above-mentioned overt and covert translations, non-translation, foreignising or domestication strategies, and pragmatic adaptations such as explicitation and implicitation, additions and omission, simplification, and so on. Questions of authorship, ideology and power have also been widely discussed in translation studies, as have irony, allusions and wordplays and the difficulties in translating these. In the following, the data will be analysed from the perspective of translation studies. As this is a tentative exercise, I do not anticipate all the above-mentioned cases to be found in my data.

My data is limited, and is unsuited for a quantifying analysis, but an overview of its characteristics can still be revealing. The data has thus been categorised in a number of ways. In addition to Reh's and Edelman's categories I have also classified the data according to author type. The author categories applied to this data were the municipality of Tampere, religious communities (local parishes of various Christian denominations), commercial actors (promotional material), and companies (without immediate aims of selling anything to the customers). I was also prepared to add the category of private individual, but there were no items corresponding to this classification. Other categories for classification were the intended audience (when definable) and the specific language-pair involved. This kind of fieldwork does not permit direct access to the translation process, hence it is impossible to determine with certainty which is the source language and which the target. This may be one reason for the tendency to describe duplicating texts as "translations of one another" in linguistic landscape literature (e.g. Edelman 2010, 99). My strategy was to rely on visual dominance and assumed authorship; that is,

I have classified as source language the one which is placed on top, on the left, in bigger letters, or in fragmentary translation as the dominant language, or can be identified as the native language of the author, when identifiable in person or role (see Scollon & Scollon 2003, 120). I realise this strategy can be vulnerable to misinterpretation, and the categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[3] I will return to this below, but in discussing translation strategies it is difficult to proceed without some notion of directionality.

Translated Signage in Hervanta

Overview

The first significant observation I made was realising that data matching my criteria were not abundant. Multilingualism was not as dominant in the linguistic landscape of Hervanta as I had anticipated, and translation was not as widespread as I had thought. Comparing the case of Hervanta to Reh's and Edelman's findings, I have, however, come to view my data in a slightly different light. In their data (collected in Lira, Uganda and The Netherlands respectively) multilingualism was much more commonly manifested in mixing languages than in translating, and in some examined areas there were zero translations (Reh 2004; Edelman 2010, 99-100, 103). Complementary multilingualism was excluded from my data, but it did not overwhelmingly dominate the field. Also, taking into consideration the fairly small-scale area and my conservative counting method, 22 items is in fact a non-negligible number of translations. Indeed, given its history, Finland can be considered a translation-embracing country, as supported by these figures.

Finnish is the dominant language in Hervanta. It is thus hardly surprising that it is represented in my data sampling, with only one exception (a poster in Chinese and English). English is the most common partner of Finnish: 11 items were translated into or from English. It is followed by Swedish (6), which was only used as a target language. Russian, the most common foreign language in Hervanta, was used in only 3 items (in both directions), as was Chinese. Arabic was used in but one item.

English occupies a special place in linguistic landscape research: researchers often discuss its global dominance and its emblematic functions as a display language. Indeed, even in Hervanta there are numerous examples of global English. In translated signage, however, its position and functions appear to be different. It is not primarily used because of its prestige value (only one commercial item uses English as a promotional tool because of its symbolic value) but much more functionally as a lingua franca for those who may not understand Finnish.

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3   Additionally, it is not sensitive to different writing systems and cultural conventions.

The direction of translation is thus typically from Finnish into English (7 items). English signage, on the other hand, is less typically translated into Finnish (3 items). This indicates that the primary translation need is not to help speakers of Finnish to understand English, but to support those who do not understand Finnish by providing translation into a language that is assumed to be widely known; according to the municipal statistics there are only 87 native speakers of English living in Hervanta (see City of Tampere 2011b).

The presence of all other languages found in the data can be explained as reflecting the local language ecology, but the predominant role of Swedish is something of a surprise. Although Tampere has an active Swedish-speaking minority, its members are mostly located in other parts of the city, and only 60 Swedish speakers live in Hervanta (City of Tampere 2011b). So, translating Finnish signage into Swedish does not seem to fulfil any significant communicative function here. All the items translated into Swedish were authored by private and commercial companies (two banks, two security companies, a pizza parlour and a second-hand shop). They were not specifically designed for the local context, but rather were standard issue, used by the companies that also operate elsewhere in Finland. The use of Swedish translations does not seem to stem from a local "good reasons" principle (Ben-Rafael 2009), reflecting the local translation needs reality of the residents; rather, their necessity in bilingual municipalities elsewhere in Finland has brought about a policy of always offering Swedish translations, including areas where there is a limited communicative – or symbolic – need for Swedish translations.

Applying Reh's categories, an overwhelming majority of the items (16) fall into the category of duplicating writing; there are only three cases of fragmentary translations and two cases of overlapping translation. (I was unable to assess the one Chinese-English item from this perspective and it has thus not been categorised here). Reh's categories actually function better than I anticipated for initial classification, but the category of duplicating is too heterogeneous for closer analysis. This is undoubtedly the reason why Edelman proposed the further division into literal and free translations. In my data, this division (applied to both duplicating and overlapping translations) yielded 14 literal translations and four that could be classified as free. However, quite a number of the literal ones consisted of one-word phrases, and in cases such as *hälytys / alarm* it is fairly difficult to imagine a free translation.[4]

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4   This is an interesting case where Swedish and English have the same word. In my data these stickers are classified as a case of Finnish into Swedish, based on the assumption that they are created to fulfil the requirements of bilingual communities. In a different context or by another researcher it might be seen as English.

In this data, this new categorisation does not solve the original problem of Reh's category, namely that of inclusiveness. In addition to being either literal or free, translations are known to exhibit various other characteristics as well. Below, I will draw attention to those translation aspects that this data bring to light. A focus on the role of target-orientedness (versus source-orientedness), and the related concept of foreignising together with issues of identity, are offered as new tools for categorising translated signage. The data also highlight the need for the fieldworker to be alert to not only occurrence of relevant data but also their non-occurrence when expected. Non-translation can be an equally relevant and telling feature of a translation space as the existing translations.

Target-oriented Translation

One of the central questions often posed in linguistic landscape research is "linguistic landscape for whom?" (e.g. Backhaus 2007, 143). This kind of target-orientedness is also common in translation studies, where the intended readers and target culture considerations have attracted significant attention. Considerations for future readers are a typical reason for various pragmatic adaptations in translation (see Vehmas-Lehto 1999, Ch. 12). Explicitation, censorship, politeness strategies and other ways of taking the new audience into consideration might be used to explain the "freeness" of free translation. However, in my data a clearly identifiable reader-orientation does not fully coincide with the category of "free" translation, not even when taken together with partial translations (or fragmentary writing, in Reh's terms).

Figure 3. Partial translation. Photo: Lauri Hietala.
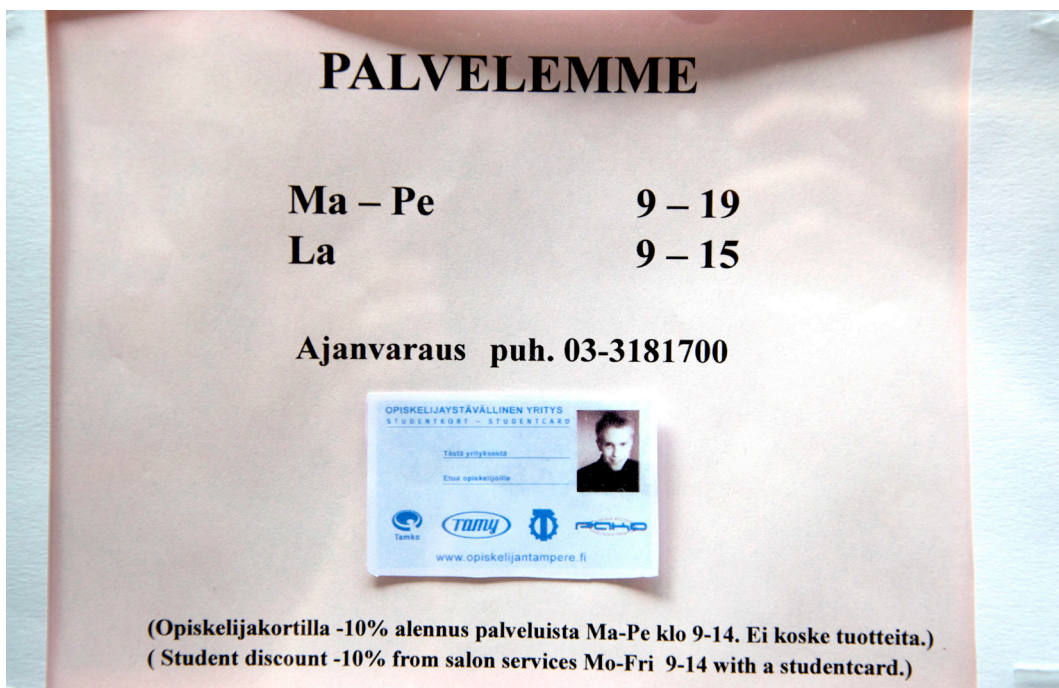
There are seven items in my data where one can discern a clearly defined target audience. Three of those are targeted at students, two at practising Muslims, one at anyone who does not yet speak fluent Finnish and wants to practise, and one at Russian men. And indeed there is a slight predominance of partial, overlapping and free translation in this group. Taken together, this can be seen to imply that a target-oriented translation of signage often adopts a pragmatic approach, and source text data is either translated only to the extent deemed necessary (also adding information when necessary) or it is translated in a manner that is deemed acceptable to the target audience. In practice, this could involve partial translation and explicitation as in the case of Figure 3. In this item, the only piece of information that is translated concerns student discounts (i.e. it is a case of partial translation). Interestingly, although visually rather similar, the Finnish and English versions of the translated section are not identical. Their content is the same, but emphasis is placed differently. The international students are explicitly informed that in order to qualify for the discount they will need to have a student ID, whereas the Finnish version makes explicit that this discount concerns only salon services, not products.

Figure 4. Non-reader-oriented translation. Photo: Kaisa Koskinen.

On the other hand, the data also include items that are clearly not target-oriented. One could argue that all those signs which contain a translation into Swedish are, on the basis of their language choice alone, to be placed in this category.

Additionally, some of them adopt a translation strategy that further highlights this attitude. One such case concerns parking restrictions (Fig. 4). Information, authored by a private parking company, is posted in only Finnish and Swedish. Failure to comply with these restrictions constitutes a parking infringement and is subject to fines. Thus, by not translating these signs with lingua franca English, for example, and thereby supporting those who may have difficulties with these two national languages, the sign is an impediment, especially since it is drafted in complex, bureaucratic language. This quality seems to be even more pronounced in the Swedish translation. It is not important whether those looking for a parking space actually understand the message; the fact that the restrictions have been posted allows parking tickets to be issued to all those who do not comply with them.

At the other extreme, there are persuasive messages. In addition to the reader's understanding, the author is hoping for a positive affective response and desired action. Initially I anticipated the more commercial signage to be examples of these, but in this data, translated commercial signs are rather neutral and low-key. Instead, another group of authors adopts the most persuasive style, namely religious communities. Commercial actors and private companies (18 items) produced the overwhelming majority of the data, but religious communities came second with three items. It is noteworthy that these three items exhibit more than one language-pair (Finnish-English, Finnish-Russian), three different authors, duplicating and fragmentary writing strategies, as well as free, literal and partial translation.

While most of the commercial signs are affixed permanently (including their translations), the items authored by religious bodies were all temporary by nature, and I am quite confident that if fieldwork continued, new items would be found. (Incidentally, the cases of interpreting that I encountered were observed within this same framework). All this seems to indicate that religious institutions have taken an active role in supporting the multilingual community in which they are located. Persuasiveness in the style of these items stems from the fact that they invite people to participate in a particular activity (or, in one case, support the cause of fair trade).

Non-translation

In multilingual settings, where most linguistic landscape studies have been carried out, one crucial question is that of language choice (Spolsky 2009, 33). For which functional or symbolic purposes is a particular sign written in a particular language? This issue has been touched upon above. Another relevant language choice worthy of further investigation is that of choosing whether to translate or not to translate, and the functional or symbolic reasons behind this choice. Spolsky (ibid.) proposes

three relevant conditions for the choice of language: The first, and obvious, condition is to write the sign in a language you know. The second condition is communicative and functional, and it advises the author to write the sign in a language that can be read by the people that are expected to read it. The third condition emphasises the symbolic value of languages, as it urges you to write the sign in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified.

Looking at these conditions from the point of view of translation, it is evident that translating can soften all these conditions. Obviously, you can only translate from and into a language you know, but there are professional translators to help you escape this limitation. The second condition, in particular, can greatly benefit from translation, as you then do not need to choose just one language but can address several readerships at once. Third, overt translation can function as a way of distancing yourself from a language version you do not yourself wish to be identified with.

Because translating is such a central strategic tool in multilingual settings, it is all the more interesting to take a closer look at those instances of language use where translation has specifically *not* been opted for. Note, however, that non-translation in this sense is a different category from Edelman's "no translation" or Reh's "complementary writing", which both refer to multilingual signage with no overlapping content in the two languages; non-translation refers to those cases where there is no multilingual element in the signage even though one might have expected to see some (because of symbolic or functional reasons). It thus denotes a gap in the data, a zero-category.

In this data, the most conspicuous gap is the absence of translated top-down messages from any official actors. Hervanta is big enough to warrant its own municipal and state service offices. The following are all present in Hervanta: a police station, social security services, a health care unit, a municipal dentist, maternity care, a recreational centre, and a municipal library. Recent immigrants will need to visit many of these offices, the police station and social security office to name just two, and many of these services have a special mandate in supporting multiculturalism (such as the library). Much to my surprise, the only item in my data that is authored by the municipality is the recycling instructions on rubbish bins inside the mall.

None of these institutions posted any non-Finnish information on their doors or windows. (Since there is no regulation to use Swedish in Tampere, these institutions did not even do that, adopting a minimalist policy that is different from many commercial enterprises and companies as discussed above). In one case, the main entrance doors are locked, and one must press a somewhat hidden buzzer to gain admission. There is no linguistic (or visual) support in finding the buzzer

for those who do not understand the instructions in Finnish. This non-translation strategy is strikingly different from, for example, the one adopted in the City of Tokyo where official originators were found to predominate in translated signage (Backhaus 2007, 102).

Perhaps most striking was the lack of any translation on the doors of the municipal shelter for abused families. For obvious reasons, the doors of this facility are always kept locked, but as the vulnerability (both linguistically and in terms of independence) of immigrant women in particular is well documented, it is particularly unaccommodating to expect someone in distress and seeking help to decipher administrative Finnish instructions and opening hours. It is no small feat, though, to come up with simple solutions, either. Using a language in this case would single out any language selected for use in translation with domestic violence, an unintended and unwanted outcome. Still, listing information in all potentially relevant languages is not feasible due to sheer space limitations. Lingua franca English could be used, but it is not immediately clear whether that would constitute a viable solution. Still, the lack of translation (or any form of multilingualism) in signs posted by official institutions contrasts sharply with the policy adopted by religious institutions. It is readily discernible that the municipality does not reach out to its non-Finnish-speaking inhabitants. Intentionally or unintentionally, it sends a message:

> the presence (or absence) of language displays in the public space communicates a message, intentional or not, conscious or not, that affects, manipulates or imposes de facto language policy and practice. (Shohamy 2006, 110; cited in Hult 2010)

Collective Identity and Translation

The lack of municipal translation activity can be interpreted as a non-inclusive gesture. By not providing translations in signposts, the city seems to be saying that you are not welcome unless you speak the local language. Language learning is obviously key to accommodation, but as most new incoming residents do not have Finnish skills upon arrival, those institutions which play a special role in the lives of these newcomers would do well to reconsider their visibility in the linguistic landscape of Hervanta.

As Ben-Rafael reminds us, signs can indeed be used to reinforce a collective identity:

> L[inguistic] L[andscape] items … may indeed be designed to also assert – among other interests – their actors' particularistic identities, i.e. "who they are" in front of "who they are not", exhibiting thereby *a priori* commitment to a given group within the general public. (Ben-Rafael 2009, 46)

Figure 5. Identity building in signs. Photo: Lauri Hietala.

There are some examples in my data that seem to attest to this kind of identity building. One of them is actually identical to Ben-Rafael's example: a food store that displays the word *halal* in its shop windows (Fig. 5). According to Ben-Rafael this is a way for the shop owners to declare unambiguously who "their customers" are. However, in this case the use of translation is also of interest. Whether one should talk about translation or transcription in this case is in fact debatable, since the window texts repeat the term in Arabic script and Roman letters. As there is no other way of saying *halal* in Finnish than using this loan word, I consider it a case of translation (yet another example of the difficulties of categorisation).[5] Obviously, the functional purpose of these signs is to inform potential customers that this is a place where halal food products can be purchased, and this can also be interpreted as a symbolic marker of collective identity: we are your shop if you value the principles of halal like we do (note that this is not language-based, but cultural and religious identity). At the same time, however, there is another

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5   *Halal*, and other similar concepts such as *kosher* are widely used as loan words in many European languages. Having Arabic and Roman scripts side by side unsettles the principle, also used as the basis of my classification, that "left" precedes "right". Cases such as this, where the transcribed version is to the left and the Arabic to the right is a very democratic way of presenting the two versions.

symbolic value, and that is to announce the multi-ethnic nature of the shop or its ethnicity as culturally non-dominant . This, in turn, can be interpreted as welcome exoticism by some, and as unwelcome foreign influence by others. This small, two-word example is thus a useful reminder of the complexities involved in producing and interpreting signs. The audiences of linguistic landscapes in the public space are in no way restricted, and those putting up their signs have no way of controlling how these signs will be interpreted and by whom.

Another intriguing case of particularism in my data concerns a Russian shop (Fig. 2). The shop is called *Meidän kauppa* (Our shop), and the name is offered both in Finnish and in Russian (Nash magasin), in a literal translation. The same applies to the list of produce in the shop window. According to the principles of priority given by Scollon and Scollon, I have categorised this example as a translation from Finnish into Russian, as Finnish is placed on the left in the shop name and on top in the list. However, the bold possessive pronoun in the shop name attests differently. It is a lovely example of how to use the linguistic landscape as a means of taking possession (Backhaus 2007, 88). Although the name is in Finnish, it is self-evident that the "us" in the name does not refer to Finns; it is to be understood as a literal translation of *nash magasin*, selecting the Russian-speakers as the in-group, the Finns are the out-group. It follows that the translation, although it is a product of an entirely literal and straight-forward translation strategy, has a curiously foreignising effect for Finnish readers who are first invited in the role of "us" by the Finnish translation *meidän*, only to be alienated by the realisation that it is not intended to refer to Finnish readers. Foreignising and domesticating translation strategies are indeed another duo that might prove useful in classifying translated signage. In translation studies literature they are most commonly referred to as two opposing translation strategies (dating back to Friedrich Schleiermacher), but as this case indicates, foreignising can equally well be an effect brought about by a seemingly unassuming translation (Venuti 1995, 1998).

The primary role of the Russian language in *Meidän kauppa* is further reinforced by the two temporary signs in the window; in them, Russian clearly occupies the dominant role of the source language, and Finnish is the target language. However, compared to the official, non-translation strategy discussed in the previous subsection, the careful inclusion of a Finnish translation for *all* linguistic elements creates a welcoming atmosphere of inclusion. While *Meidän kauppa* duly notes the primary role of the Russian-speakers as the biggest group of non-Finnish-speakers in the area, and while it participates in fostering a particularistic in-group community, it does not create a sectarian attitude by excluding the dominant language. *Meidän kauppa* is a newcomer to the linguistic landscape of Hervanta. It is a promising sign of the increasing vitality of locally relevant languages in Hervanta, and a good example of the way in which translations can be used to support community building

and identity work without creating clear-cut boundaries between the targeted in-group and others.

Conclusions

In this article, I examined the linguistic landscape of Hervanta from a translation studies perspective. My analysis focused on translated signage, and the aim was to identify the translation consequences of the increasing multilingualism in this particular locale. At the outset, I thought I would be able to provide a translation-specific classification model to be available for other scholars interested in translated signage, but that task proved too complicated. The task was to test whether a translation studies perspective can shed new light on this kind of data. It transpired that even a small data set like this one provides more material than I was fully able to handle. Issues such as authorship, directionality, target audiences, overlapping and partial translations, not to mention power, cultural identity and assimilation were too diverse to be integrated confidently into one classification model. More material and more research is needed. Instead of a refined model I have introduced a number of potentially relevant aspects and directions for future work. These include the notions of covert and overt translations, target- and source-orientedness, domestication and foreignisation, as well as the notion of pragmatic adaptations. In this concluding section, I would like to introduce yet another concept pair, one that summarises and bridges the more micro-level translation strategies.

Michael Cronin (2006, 52) identifies two global translation strategies as the translation consequences of globalisation: translational assimilation and translational accommodation. According to Cronin, these are the two ways in which immigrants themselves can respond to their new linguistic situation, that is, by seeking either to translate themselves into the dominant language (assimilation) or by using translation as a means of maintaining their languages of origin (accommodation). In my view, these two can also be seen as the two opposing strategies the community as a whole can adopt. In the case of Hervanta, the City of Tampere seems to favour translational assimilation; no scaffolding is provided for the newcomer, and it is the task of the immigrant to bridge the linguistic divide. The religious communities functioning in the area, and the companies owned and run by people who have moved to Finland from elsewhere, seem to support translational accommodation. Using Finnish side by side with the other languages is indeed a practical way of maintaining and supporting the immigrants' languages of origin without excluding the speakers of the dominant language.

The question which must be asked by all immigrant communities at some stage is: What is their attitude to translation? In other words, is all the translation to be unidirectional and assimilationist or is there a moment when the refusal to

be translated into the dominant language or the demand for translation into the immigrant's language becomes a conscious form of resistance, a desire to assert language rights, namely those relating to the maintenance of the mother tongue (Cronin 2006, 56)? In a similar vein, linguistic landscape researchers might wish to ask what their own attitude to translation is. I trust this article has been able to show the relevance of translation in multilingual signage and to indicate some useful viewpoints that can be adopted to enhance our understanding of the role of translation in the "symbolic construction of the public space" (Ben-Rafael 2009, 41).

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