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Minority Languages in Linguistic Landscape: The case of Medina in Saudi Arabia

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MINORITY LANGUAGES IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE: THE CASE OF MEDINA IN
SAUDI ARABIA

by

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

DEDICATION

To my beloved Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

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Linguistic landscape (LL) is "the linguistic objects that mark the public space" (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara, & Trumper-Hecht,2006). This dissertation examined the LL of Medina, a holy city in Saudi Arabia. The study of linguistic landscape is a site-based research, meaning any study is most likely oriented by the nature of a research site and what important observations are found in that site. Accordingly, the LL study of Medina compelled us to pay attention to the role of religion. In addition, LL study has its inextricable links to multilingualism and language policy establishing it as a marker to a given community and its language status. Therefore, this dissertation is performed to fill the gap of three unexamined concepts of LL in the context of Medina; religion, multilingualism and language policy.

A total of 300 signs, accompanied with interviews and recording of soundscape were conducted in three axes; the Prophet Mosque, the Central Zone, and Modern Streets. The data were analyzed quantitatively relied on several types of categorizations; Top-down vs Bottom-up, Language Arrangement, Score-system, and Religious content. The qualitative analysis revealed three themes relevant to understanding the construction of the LL of Medina; religion, language policy, minority languages, and globalization.

The investigation yielded valuable insights into the language ecology of the city and the ways in which everyday citizens and visitors to the city experienced the multilingual environment. The findings indicated that religion, to a large extent, contributes in shaping the public sphere of Medina in different applications such as to show the city's identity, and to introduce its holiness. In commercial signs, religious elements were commodified to appeal to

customers, as well as to construct tokenism around a product. The study also found that in some parts of Medina multilingualism is a normal and everyday part of public life. Primarily, because of the religious importance of the Prophet Mosque that is a focal point of the city, and prime destination for religious pilgrims and visitors. The varied methods and analysis in this study led to a complex picture of the LL, and subsequently, understanding of the language policy of Medina. While Arabic is the dominant language in the city, multiple languages are also used in official and nonofficial signs, suggesting that there is permissible use of different languages, and that government was aware of the need to disseminate messages and religious education to international visitors.

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<center>**Introduction**</center>

Overview

In contemporary societies, people are exposed to visual images which shape portions of their daily lives, as a result of exposure to urban environments. Language is one of the elements involved in creating those images. The study of language in this sense, is known as a linguistic landscape (LL), which is defined as "the linguistic objects that mark the public space" (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Many studies have pointed to the significance of LL as a means to study the phenomenon of multilingualism. Indeed, the presence of a multilingual sign in a given territory is a clue to the existence of more than one language in that territory. Moreover, the linguistic landscape is "a product of a specific situation, and it can be considered as an additional source of information about the sociolinguistic context along with censuses, surveys, or interviews" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006: 67). Having noted that, many linguistic landscape studies have demonstrated that minority languages are used to reproduce ideologies about the speakers of a region (Lado, 2011; Fuller, 2015). In a general sense, linguistic landscape studies are beneficial because they contribute to the "construction of the sociolinguistic context," as well as enabling us to have an integrated overview of a given society (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006).

Many cities around the world have been described as multilingual as a result of their diversity in languages and cultures. Medina, in Saudi Arabia, for instance, became multilingual due to the presence of minority languages which are reflected publicly in the linguistic landscape of the city. However, the overall country of Saudi Arabia has been identified for a long time as monolingual. At the same time, there are 12 million expats who constitutes one-third of the entire population of the country; 30 million (General Authority for Statistics of Saudi Arabia,

<center>1</center>

2016). Most of the immigrants, who came for religious and economic purposes, inhabited and settled in different cities, including Medina. From this demographic change, I argue that Medina is no longer a monolingual city, and thus this study is performed to examine the multilingualism of the city through the linguistic landscape as a new method to do so. In addition to the demographic change, religion plays a vital role which makes Medina a prime destination for many people around the world. Consequently, religion possesses its role in shaping the LL of the public sphere which is, in fact, missing, in many recent LL pieces of research. Islam, as the religion of the city, is incorporated in many aspects of life in Medina because it represents the crux identity of the inhabitants no matter where they are from or what language they speak. Moreover, it is important to highlight that Arabic is perceived as a sacred language for all Muslims. At the mosque, a place for Islamic practices, the Arabic language receives a higher value than other languages. In non-Arabic regions, the Arabic language is also used symbolically to indicate Islam (Coluzzi & Kitade, 2015). In light of this, I argue that among the minority members, the Arabic language has its high value not because it is the official language of the city, but because of its religious value.

In another dimension, some recent trends in LL studies have focused on the role of the linguistic landscape in education and language learning (Gorter, 2017). In Medina, there are many languages that are represented in the linguistic landscape, while the society itself is officially regarded as monolingual. In this respect, I argue that the frequent exposure to these different languages in LL of Medina can lead to a different degree of language acquisition. On the other hand, monolingual Arabic signs can enable sojourners to learn Arabic.

In summary, the primary purpose of this dissertation is to investigate multilingualism and religion in the linguistic landscape of Medina in Saudi Arabia, and to explain the ways

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religion intersects with language ideologies. This study will also highlight the educational importance of the LL in the Second Language learning process.

Research Problem

Linguistic landscape is a powerful tool for examining the intersection of languages, ideologies, literacy, and language policy (Cenoz & Gorter, 2008; Dagenais, Moore, Sabatier, Lamarre, & Armand, 2008; Leeman & Modan, 2009; Papen 2012; Yanguas, 2009). The flow of most LL studies has proven that the identity of inhabitants would be affected by multilingual signs because language is tied to identity. Migration process is one factor that has caused the phenomenon of multilingualism to take place, and thus it practices its role in constructing the identity of the individuals. In this respect, Niño-Murcia and Rothman (2008) stressed that the identity status is "mutable because it is granted by others," so it constructs and may reconstruct based on different social changes, such as the migration (p. 311). As defined by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), "identity is the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Thus, investigation of the LL of Medina is significant as it enables us to better understand the role of language in helping migrants develop and reconstruct their multilingual identities, because the public signs legitimize some languages, despite the language policy that emphasizes the monolingualism.

Language ideologies can also be seen through the linguistic landscape. In the multilingual setting, LL allows us to examine the language ideologies, attitudes, and hidden agendas of individuals or communities (Rubdy, 2015). In the same context, Blommaert (2013) argues that linguistic landscapes can represent the language attitudes, beliefs, and social/economic hierarchy of the community. In addition, the linguistic landscape is not a direct reflection of the language status of a community or the relationship between languages of a

particular area, but the way that languages present themselves in public spaces offers evidence about "underlying ideologies" of the speakers (Helot, Barni, Janssens, & Bagna, 2012). It has been argued that one function of the linguistic choices of signage may reflect how the speakers of a specific community want others to view them. This is not only limited to what languages these speakers used but other social components, such as religious orientation. For example, an Arabic grocery store in Memphis, Tennessee, owned by a member of the minority, used a verse from the Quran written in Arabic at the top of its shop sign. This religious verse had nothing to do with the products or with the language used in that community. In Medina, the way that religious elements are emplaced is various and has a deeper, more symbolic meaning to the members of the society, as this study endeavors to address. In general, three main elements overlap and were incorporated in shaping the linguistic landscape of Medina, raising valuable questions. Therefore, this dissertation integrates three different fields; multilingualism, religion, and language policy, that are at work in the public space which requires an appropriate theoretical framework and suited methodology in order to systematically explore how the LL has been constructed in Medina.

Significance of the Study

This study is performed in order to examine the current status of the LL of Medina. By doing this, the study adds both methodological and theoretical contributions to the body of LL literature. As I discuss further in Chapter 2, the study employs innovative methods, including walking and audio recording, in addition to surveying the public signs in Medina. The development created in the methodology of this study includes the study site exploration, variety in people interviewed, and the triangulation of the data. Having said that, some methods and

techniques for collecting specific data showed their effectiveness to be applicable for further LL studies.

In line with what Garvin (2010) addressed in the study of linguistic landscape of Memphis that "this time we should consider the need of individuals and communities to understand and redefine space in a globalizing age". She stated that rules and policies that claim monolingualism of the society should be put aside and release the knowledge that comes when flexibility is implemented. She states:

> "enforcing language policies for the purpose of sustaining a monolingual society or nation is not only impractical, but also inequitable and restrictive in that it limits individuals' use of internal and external language resources for personal stability, intellectual growth and development, and deeper engagement in a globalized world. Studies need to be conducted to explore emotional barriers and encourage dialogue about issues such as multilingualism, transnationalism and global citizenship" (p. 16).

Thus, this study provides an in-depth investigation that should be considered by policymakers in Saudi Arabia, especially with the ongoing trend of promoting religious tourism and becoming more welcoming to other cultures. In light of this, it has been proved that minority languages play a focal role in "the mass-tourist market" (Bruyèl-Olmedo, & Juan-Garau, 2015). Encouraging the use of a new language is actually bringing new sources of knowledge to society and vice versa. Findings of this study might be utilized as a reference by those who want to consider the language of the public space.

Another dimension added to the body of LL research is the additional layer of interpretation that is beyond the description of the actual display of fixed objects. This has been accomplished by following the strategy of triangulating source of the data to build more accurate

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interpterion which has not been commonly used in LL studies. Thus, this would be a contribution that may yield new orientation to the field.

Another significance of this study is in line with what Alomoush (2015) has called for in his study which is "the linguistic rights of migrant groups" (p.13). Alomoush's study examined the language practices in linguistic landscape of some Jordanian cities. The overall results of his study revealed that minority languages are "marginalized" in both official and nonofficial signs in Jordan. In fact, more recognition of minorities would be positively reflected in their behaviors and they would likely be more productive in a society in which having their language presented publicly is one picture of recognition.

Also, as I discuss further in the Literature Review, it seems that little has been found on the multilingualism in Arabic countries in general and, to best of my knowledge, no studies mentioned in the literature about the multilingualism in Medina. Thus, in addition to the potential significances discussed above, this study provides a source for multilingualism and religious role in shaping the linguistic landscape for unexplored sites that are located and surrounded by monolingual echo in Medina.

Purpose of the Study

Medina has a unique level of diversity represented in different languages pervasive on the linguistic landscape. Thus, the overall purpose of this dissertation is to describe the current status of the linguistic landscape from the lens of **multilingualism**, as well as how minority languages are negotiated and constructed either with individuals or in the public space. In this regard, the dissertation goes with the flow of some recent LL studies which seek to explore the multilingualism in depth through the linguistic landscape (Bukhish, 2006; Ben et al., 2006; Gorter, 2006).

Due to the selection of Medina as the study site, the investigation of the LL compelled us to look deeply into the role that **religion** played, since the city is widely identified as a religious city. Indeed, the role of religion in shaping the linguistic landscape in Medina has several trends and directions, such as symbolically giving things values and educationally teaching religious principles. In this respect, this hypothesis that religion has a vital role in the display of the LL in any religious context; (henceforth I call it Religious Linguistic Landscape, (RLL) as being a distinct subfield). The source of argument lies on the assumption that the notion of the domain of a language in LL of a given society is highly affected by the religious identity, orientation, and attitudes in which other factors have less impact, and that is limited to a religious place.

In addition to the multilingualism and religion, **language policy** is the third objective that the study aims to examine through the linguistic landscape. Due to the lack of documented language policy, this study relied on the linguistic practices found on the LL of Medina to examine and predict the language policy of the city, following in this regard, Shohamy's (2009) perception. Shohamy (2009) stated that the language policy of a given society has different forms to present, and one of which is the linguistic landscape.

Due to the nature of the study site of this research, two other topics pertaining to the study of linguistic landscape show up in the analysis with no initial intent to do so, that requires some attention in this paper. They are globalization and education. The globalization is involved in the study because of the spread of the English language in the public space of Medina, while English is neither the official language of the city nor a minority language. In relation to the educational role, the Prophet Mosque has been described as a multi-purpose site with different overlapping domains including the educational domain where the mosque has an official institution that provides lessons about Islam and other related topics (Al-Mahdy, 2013; Alsaif &

Starks, 2019). Accordingly, some data reveal an educational function of some signs, and therefore, the inclusion of educational factor is imposed in this study as well as serving the objectives of the research.

Outline of the Study

Following the current chapter are six chapters which constitute a literature review of the LL, the historical and sociolinguistic background of Medina, the methodological framework of the dissection, the empirical analysis of the data coupled with its discussion, general interpretation and implications of the data, and conclusion.

In the second chapter, two main sections are presented. The first one is reviewing the literature of the most significant theoretical and methodological aspects of studies on LL, with concentrations on themes and topics related to the goal of the study. In the second section of this chapter, the purpose is to contextualize the findings of the study culturally and historically. Thus, the section presents a comprehensive overview of the sociolinguistic background of Medina in order to justify the assumption that the city became a site of multilingualism. The section also demonstrates some statistical information about the migration past and current progress in Saudi Arabia in general, and Medina in particular. Finally, the section illustrates some facts about the Arabic language and its values in Islam, basically, the relations between language and religion. The entire chapter concludes by addressing the research questions formulated for this study.

In chapter number three, the methodology and procedures are presented. The chapter starts by giving an overview of the study site, specifically where the data was collected and why. There were three different sources of data that were collected by means of three different methods. Each method employed was presented, followed by (1) its procedure, (2) instruments,

(3) and how data were analyzed. The chapter also includes the role of the researcher during the conduction of the study and the ethical considerations that were taken.

In chapter four, the three sources of data were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Thus, the result in this chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first section, the data from photographing and video recording methodology are presented, based on quantitative perspective. The second section is the qualitative analysis, which revealed three themes that were relevant to understanding the construction of the linguistic landscape LL of Medina: (1) religion, (2) language policy and minority languages, and (3) English and globalization

In chapter five, a conclusion based on the study's main findings and their implications is presented. This is followed by remarks about the methodology used to collect the data. The next subsection demonstrates the limitation of the study, and the final section provides recommendations for further LL studies that can be derived or built on the basis of the findings in this work.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Overview

The literature reviewed in this study focuses on the implementation and the construction of the written form of language that is represented in the public signs, defined as the linguistic landscape. Over the last decade, the study of LL has received growing attention which has resulted in a great deal of research. This is because LL studies, in a distinctive way, contribute to the knowledge of some sociolinguistic fields; such as, multilingualism, language policy, and globalization. Furthermore, recent LL studies show a considerable interest in the role of religion in shaping the public space. In line with the interest of the current study, the next selected studies in this chapter examine the association of LL to three main themes: (1) multilingualism, (2) language policy, and (3) religion. Accordingly, the review was done thematically, not chronologically, based on the three pre-determined themes, suited under subsections. The themes included in this study were tackled under the umbrella of LL, and at the same time, more relevant to the current study. In addition to the three main themes, two other topics are discussed in this chapter; globalization and education. These additional two topics are related to the linguistic landscape status of Medina; however, they are less important. The subsections begin with providing definitions and origins of the field. The second subsection is related to the phenomenon of multilingualism as an essential theme discussed in many LL studies. The third subsection reviews some language policy studies that intersect with linguistic landscape. The fourth subsection presents the new trend on the LL which is pertaining to the role of the religion in shaping the public space as the primary focus of this dissertation, ascribing that the study site, Medina, is described as a religious city. After that, theoretical studies related to

globalization and education are presented. The inclusion of those two topics shows that LL is a site-based research, meaning any LL study is most likely oriented by the nature of a research site and what important observations are found in that site.

In the second section, a historical and sociolinguist background of Medina is given in order to justify and build the bridge between the city and LL study. Thus, the history of Medina, followed by information about the Prophet Mosque, and some statistical information about the migration in the city are presented.

Definition and Origins of the Field

The study of language on signs emerged in the field of sociolinguistics at the beginning of the 1980s (Rosenbaum, Nadel, Cooper, & Fishman, 1977). Israel (occupied Palestine) was deemed to be the birthplace of the field because it was the study site for the earliest conducted studies (Spolsky & Cooper, 1991; Rosenbaum et al., 1977). In the same token, Carr (2017) made a correlation between the study site of both studies and the first international conference on linguistic landscape which was also held in Israel. However, the term linguistic landscape was not coined until the study conducted by Landry and Bourhis (1997) who invented the presently used term. Thus, it is essential to review those three works that brought this new field to sociolinguistics, as they all relate to the current study.

Chronologically, the first fundamental study was conducted by Rosenbaum et al (1977). The study examined the language used on signs of Keren Kayemet Street in Jerusalem. Initially, they targeted the spread of English language in that street by conducting 50 signs of different shops and offices. The data was classified based on three criteria: (1) signs without Roman script, (2) signs with partial Roman script, (3) signs with an equal amount of both Roman and

Hebrew scripts. Further, the study examined the same data again, but based on the source responsible for creating the signs, meaning authorship and whether they were private or government signs. The result of the former examination revealed the distribution of Hebrew scripts were similar to Roman scripts, while the result of the second examination stated that the Roman script was found more in private signs than public ones. The authors attributed this to the tolerance degree that owners of shops and residents have toward the use of English which is conflicted with the language policy (Hebrew-only). In the qualitative aspects, the study carried out some interviews with shop owners to identify their reason behind using English. They said the motivation for using the international language was to get benefit from its "snob appeal" and to give the business sense of modernity and globalized image (Rosenbaum et al., 1977: p. 187). This work has drawn attention to the study of the language of signs, and its contribution, related more to the difference between private and government signs, was later known as top-down and bottom up. This work also is related to the current study in introducing how the public signs may conflict with the language policy, which is observed in the linguistic landscape of Medina.

Another fundamental study that could be categorized under the LL, even if the term was still not yet coined, was conducted by the original approach of LL analysis in which signage is "the central object of investigation." By analyzing 100 multilingual signs, Spolsky and Cooper (1991), who are language policy scholars, drew the attention to the language of Jerusalem city that was displayed in the public space. This study proposed criteria to create taxonomies for the language on signs: (1) based on the function of the signs such as street names, advertising, warning notices, and building names, (2) based on the material from which the signs are made such as metal, wood, and stone, (3) and based on the language on the sign and its number such as

monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual. After they analyzed the data, Spolsky and Cooper formulated three conditions for making signs, echoing Grice's Conversational Maxims:

1. "Write signs in a language you know" - which refers to a sign-writer's skill condition.

2. "Prefer to write signs in the language or languages that intended readers are assumed to read" - which refers to a presumed reader's condition.

3. "Prefer to write signs in your own language or in a language with which you wish to be identified" - which refers to symbolic value condition.

One of their findings was that the linguistic choice is seen as a marker in the public space. In fact, Spolsky and Cooper's study is viewed as the cornerstone of what would come to be known the linguistic landscape. However, the term was not coined until the study conducted by Landry and Bourhis (1997). Their study brought to the field the most quoted definition of the terms:

> "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, place names, street names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings, of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration" (p.25).

As seen from the definition, Landry and Bourhis have provided the potential case where LL can exist, specifically in a region that is distinctive from others by linguistic marker which then makes linguistic components draw the boundaries of territories. Not to mention, their definition is not as thorough as much as it should be to subsume the massive technology and innovation, examples such as the electronic screens that function as linguistic landscape. Also, other conditions of LL may not be included in the definition such as movable signs (i.e., bus). Regardless, they looked at LL as an indicator which gives us information about communities,

vitalities, and "inter-relationship" of groups of a specific region. Landry and Bourhis (1997) elaborated that LL can inform us the linguistic features and language boundaries of "in-group" and "out-group" members of a given palace that the current study aims to approve with number of minority groups in Medina.

From a different point of view, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) examined the language of Jerusalem's "Old City" and considered the language used on the signs as one element of the sociolinguistic and historical features of the city. There are also studies which have looked at the semiotic landscape taking into account the semiotic of the signs, based on Peirce's (1902) theory, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs" such as Kallen (2010), Iedema, (2003), Stroud, (2016), and Jaworski and Thurlow (2010). Shohamy (2006) has defined LL in a broad sense as "the language of public space." While in a collaborative work with Gorter (2008), she termed LL as "language in the environment that is displayed in public spaces in the form of words, images, or a combination of both" (p.1). Another standpoint view presented by Backhaus (2006), described LL as "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame," as a reference to its physical condition, not the semantic one. In this sense, his definition carries a broad sense "including anything from a small handwritten sticker attached at a lamppost to a huge commercial billboard outside a department store" (p.96).

Another definition provided by Ben-Rafael et al, (2006) described LL as "linguistic objects that mark the public space" (p. 7). As a semiotic perspective, Pennycook (2009) claims that more dynamic account on space, text, and interaction is required for the linguistic landscape. He states, "readers and writers are part of fluid urban semiotic space and produce meaning as they move, write, read, and travel" (p. 309). All in all, LL has been defined on the basis of its role in which differing points of view could be seen from the above definitions. In the current

study, the definition of the linguistic landscape focuses on the stationary and visible objects where a spatially mobile readership is required following the Reh's (2004) definition.

Landry and Bourhis (1997) found out that LL serves a symbolic and/or informative function, while the former function can employ the LL to measure the power status of a particular language. Likewise, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) accentuated a clear distinction between two functions for the signs; informative and symbolic. The difference between both studies regarding the function is that Landry and Bourhis are perceived both functions from a social psychological perspective in relation to the in-group language versus the out-group. In the same view, Scollon and Scollon (2003) illustrated that LL can be either informative, or indexical in which the meaning relies on the context more than the content. Scollon and Scollon (2003) stated that "indexical signs depend on what they point to for their meaning." In light of this, there may be no direct relation between the signifier and the signified, which is different from, for example, logos of a popular brand that mean the same thing regardless where they are located. The informative function is that signs give the reader straight information so that the meaning appears in the surface mainly for communicative purpose such as "directions, hours of opening." On the other hand, Akindele (2011) stated that the symbolic function refers to "the value and status of the languages as perceived by the members of a language group in comparison to other languages" (p. 3). Therefore, the symbolic function may not intend to convey the meaning of the displayed words and may not imply communicative purpose. An example of this is the use of the Chinese language on a storefront in Chinatown of Washington D.C, while neither owners nor customers read Chinese (Lou, 2016). Landry and Bourhis (1997) argued that the informative function aims to provide information about linguistic characters, delimitation, and geographic bounders of a specific group or (community). They also argued that the symbolic function refers

to the use of the LL to index the power status of a community and its members. This distinction is fundamental to LL in Medina as it enables us to have a clear difference of the LL in both types of signs (top-down and bottom-up).

Multilingualism and LL

Linguistic Landscape is considered as a method to examine the phenomenon of multilingualism, because this phenomenon used to be investigated traditionally through the speech forms, not the written forms, of language as in LL (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006; Gorter & Shohamy, 2009). Drawing on linguistic landscape studies, the multilingual sign is a clue to the presence of multilingual communities where those signs located. Most of the LL studies took place in multilingual areas where linguistic conflict is relatively noticeable; such as, Belgium between Flemish and French language (Verdoot, 1979), Québec between English and French language (Corbeil, 1980), Israel between Arabic and Hebrew (Trumper-Hecht, 2010), and Kyiv between Ukrainian and Russian language (Pavlenko, 2010). The current study looks at a previously unexplored context both in terms of the study of multilingualism and linguistic landscape.

Landry and Bourhis (1997), and Spolsky and Cooper (1991) have been criticized by Ben-Rafael et al (2006) as both studies were not intended to focus only on LL, but as a part of a wider investigating into multilingualism. Also, Ben-Rafael and Shohamy (2006) stated that both studies have "limited grasp" to the reality and go far to show the significance of LL. The complaint is that both works addressed LL in a given context, but no attention is paid to the "dynamic" of the signs as well as a total ignorance to the "complexity" of signs and the other "actors" engaged in shaping the signs.

In fact, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) contributed to the field of LL from the lens of multilingualism of the communities as they conducted a significant study in the field. They examined the pattern of LL in a few cities and in East Jerusalem where they differentiated the groups studied based on geographical localities: Israeli Jews, Palestinian Israelis, and non-Israeli Palestinians. The study focused on the display of three different languages on signs: Arabic, Hebrew, and English. As mentioned above, the authors argued that LL should be viewed with regard to its complexity while the actors (such as public institutions, associations, firms, and individuals) should be considered. Thus, in their study, they counted to describe the LL items on three adopted sociological theories of social action: (1) Bourdieu's (1983) *theory of the power relations between dominant and subordinate groups*, (2) *presentation-of-self* (Goffman ,1963), and (3) *the good-reasons* (Boudon, 1990). Then, they categorized the types of the signs as public and private signs which are referred to in the literature as "top-down versus. bottom-up signs." The results showed various patterns for the presence of the three languages in which Hebrew plays a prominent role in LL, and which the dominant language was. The study confirmed that LL could, indeed, form the entire space of society and further, it is the "emblem of societies" (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006: 8). Indeed, studies that investigated multilingualism that was associated with religion did not talk about religion in a careful way. This is because, among the factors that caused the result of the above study, was the concept of power relation. At the same time, it was a total ignorance to the religious factor, which I argue, plays a significant role in any religious place, here is Israel, even with the fact that the relationship between power and religion is unidirectional. Put simply, they justified that the power relation was the reason of the differentiation on the degree of visibility of each language, while the study was conducted in a religious place, Israel, where there are two different religious groups: Jewish and Muslim.

Thereby, there might be a religious motivation from each group to impose their language on LL. It is a linguistic conflict that should be attributed to the religious orientation because I assume the relationship between the presence of English and (Arabic or Hebrew) in Israel, is different between the relationship between Arabic and Hebrew since it is a multi-religion area.

As a separate study, Shohamy and Ghazaleh-Mahajneh (2012) examined the status of Arabic language in Israel, which is institutionally identified as a minority language in Israel. According to the study, while it used to be a majority language in the past, Arabic is recognized as a marginalized language. The article discussed Arabic language in regard to "inclusion, equality, and rights" of the language by through light on the idea of the absence of bureaucratic views of the language in space, and how these views can conflict and defy the alleged attempts to the co-existence (government views) (Shohamy & Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012). To collect the data, the study relied on two different types of sources; LL items in two locations, (a university campus and a street in an Arabic city), and interviews of university students. The results from both sources revealed that the absence of the Arabic LL in the campus attributes to the "lack of recognition, marginality and exclusion" (p. 89). The authors ended up criticizing the institutionalized definition of the term "'minority' that was politically determined based on a criterion of 'number of speakers in the very context'" (p. 90). This definition showed a high degree of hierarchy and marginality towards the Arabic population. Instead, the authors emphasized that the 'minority' should be redefined based on the vitality and the functionality of the language, as well as the population. With this in mind, this study is in line with our arguments that Medina (in particular) has a shift from a monolingual to a multilingual city because of the diversity, and that governmental identification of minority and majority should be reconsidered.

In related research, Garvin (2010) studied the linguistic landscape of Memphis, Tennessee in order to examine the demographic change and the multilingual degree of the city. She employed a remarkable qualitative method, "postmodern walking tour interviews" to examine residents' reactions when confronted with multilingualism and language change. The author recorded the responses of the participants to a set of questions, some of which are used in the current study. Garvin (2010) stated that LL "is an authentic text that gives physical presence to migrant languages in a community, provides linguistic input, indicates strength of ethnic group vitality, and provokes positive or negative feelings" (p. 235). Similar to Memphis, Medina undergoes a demographic change that is represented in the LL. Consequently, the current study largely follows the theoretical and methodological frameworks that are employed in Garvin's research.

As we have seen, it is very common that LL studies in the multilingual setting tend to compare two areas, two streets, or two cities to figure out the similarities and the differences in the representation of the minority languages. One such study was looking at the representation of the minority languages in two post-Soviet Capitals cities, Chisinau in Moldova, and Vilnius in Lithuania (Muth, 2012). The reason for choosing those cities is the difference in terms of the development and the cultural identity that was constructed based on the connection to pre-war traditions. In other words, Lithuania was able to constrict its own cultural identity from pre-war traditions while Moldova is still struggling from the domain of both Russia and Romania. As a result of this difference, the finding of the study stated that the representation of minority languages in LL has a different pattern in each city. In Chisinau, Russian is the main minority language and it occupied vast area of the city throughout the LL items to the extent that it is considered as "local lingua franca," while Russian is absent in Vilnius. This study provided us

with a very important aspect when analyzing the LL; the political and cultural orientation of a society which is presented in the study, as well as reflected in the language used on signs. In a similar comparative study, the presence of minority languages in Italy and Brunei Darussalam was examined through the exhibit of the LL (Coluzzi, 2012). The results revealed that both countries that shared the monolingual tendency come from the state while the multilingual one comes from the people. This idea, in fact, is in line with the interpretation of the top-down and bottom-up signs that were used as dichotomy of both types in many LL researches (as discussed later in this paper). An important observation of this study is that Italy and Brunei still have the "old anticlastic rhetoric of one country, one people, one language' (p. 238) which is the exact description of the Saudi Society and still remains institutionally in which most of the public sectors are explicitly required to use Arabic language. Based on the political context and the language status of Arabic in Saudi Arabia, then, the expectation is that most of the linguistic landscape would be in Arabic.

As the LL research focused on issues of minority languages, there is also interest in the display of different dialects or varieties within a language, such as in standard German with Low German (Reershemius, 2011), and non-standard Japanese dialects (Long & Nakai, 2011). This interest of the presence of the different varieties within a language actually occurs in Saudi Arabia since it is a diglossic society where there are many dialects in which speakers of different regions oriented to a common form, (Modern Standard Arabic), to communicate with each other (Chejne, 1969).

Language Policy and LL

Religious systems exercise a huge influence on forming the language policy. In fact, the final shape of the language policy of a religious society is determined by its religious and ethnic

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components (Religion in Language Policy, n.d.). On the other hand, the linguistic landscape has been shown in many studies (e.g., Shohamy, 2006) to be the reflection of the language policy of a given place. Therefore, it is significant to review some of the LL studies that tackled the role of the language policy. Shohamy (2006) in her book, *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches* introduced that linguistic landscape plays a prominent role in presenting the language policy. She stated that LL "serves as a mechanism to affect, manipulate, and impose de facto language policies in hidden and covert ways' (p. 111). She added that LL offers a way to know how languages associated with the social structure and hierarchies, and how the language in the public space is regulated and controlled. Government, authorities, and town councils use the space as an "arena" to send their messages, and to show off their power through the use of space elements includes signs (Shohamy, 2006).

Not only the presence, but even the absence of a language could be a way that tells us about the official language policy and its power relations. For example, Mendisu, Malinowski, and Woldemichael (2016) noticed an absence of minority languages in Southern Ethiopia in LL such as Gedeo in Dilla, and Koorte in Amarro-Keel. They argued that language policy in the signs can be "re-constructed, re-affirmed, and rejected" (p. 128).

From another perspective, Blackwood and Tufi (2012) have examined the policies and non-policies of language used on signs of six regions where the languages used are Italian and French. The goal of the study was to verify to what extent the policy of both dominant languages of both countries is represented on the 6 Mediterranean regional languages. The results unveiled that the socio-historical process has caused a difference to the strong language policy in (French's Mediterranean areas) versus the appearance of the weak policies in Italy's Mediterranean areas. One of the reasons was the "stigmatization" of regional languages coming

from their speakers. Also, the study showed that the policy is articulated in explicit ways through the "legislation," while in implicit ways through the "institutional practice." In this respect, stigmatization is another interesting cause of the absence of some minority languages. In most cases, minority groups are being marginalized in many aspects including the LL representation, and this marginalization status may shake the confidence of minority group towards their heritage language especially from the young generation. This is the case for one minority language in Mecca, Saudi Arabia called "Hausa" (Tawalbeh et al., 2013). The study showed that the current generation is no longer speaking Hausa, and one reason was the negative attitude of its speakers towards their language. To some extent, language in the public space reflects the individual's choice and preference of which language they deem important and representative of their positive attitudes and beliefs.

In a comparative study, Backhaus (2009) compares the language policy of the LL in two places where there are very strong political and geographical linguistic differences in Quebec versus Tokyo. The author chose these two places because of the very opposite poles that each place represented. In Quebec, the LL legislation is designed to promote the use of the French, as it must be displayed in the public place on a large portion of the sign. In one version of the Charter of the French language, it was explicitly addressed that only the French language should be on "civil administration signs, traffic signs, commercial signs" (Backhaus, 2009:159). Later, in the amendment of the Charter, these strict rules have been mitigated to allow people to use English with more emphasis on the use of the French language. In contrast, the LL policy in Tokyo tended to include other languages on the sign as initiative by the government to increase multilingualism. To do so, the authority in Tokyo formulated the "Guide for Main City Writing Easy to Understand Also to Foreigners," (TMG sign guide) which is a language policy for LL in

both public and private signs. This signs guide, in many of its details, aims to induce the pervasions of multilingualism.

This comparison shows us how the language policy of the LL can be formulated and enacted for two opposing purposes. Also, it shows how political and ideological aspect of the language can be presented in the official policy and then disseminated using the LL mechanisms. It is obvious that differences between both cities are completely attributed to the different political systems and their concerns. In fact, the author imputed the difference of the two cases to the "legal status of the direction." More specifically, the case of Quebec is best described as a language policy enacted by the government of the province. Therefore, the rules are legally binding to anyone who is planning to have a sign at any level, including the private sectors in which any contravention would lead to a legal reaction. On the other hand, the LL regulation in Tokyo takes "the shape of administrative recommendation and guidelines" in which the government is concerned only with the domain of official signs and there is no commitment by people to comply with this regulation. In this way, the case in Quebec is stronger than in Tokyo. Another potential explanation of this difference, I would add, is that people in Tokyo look at the multilingual signs as development and a kind of modernity and there are no historical issues attached with using other languages, whereas in Quebec, it is a historical problematic and people looked at the other language (English) as a threat to their identity. Taking this study into account, it would enable us to consider the orientation of the authority on the LL in Medina and determine whether there is a hidden agenda, or that there may be a lack of interest from the government to play a role.

Multilingual signs can tell us the dominant language use, which implies power relations. Some nations give priority to the first language to appear in the signs while others may prevent

the use of the minority languages altogether. An example of this is the current action of the Turkish government (Turkish Standard Institute) of removing all public signs written in Arabic. They are stating that the official language of Turkey should be the only language used in the signs throughout the country. This action is in response to the growth of the Arabic language because of the refugees who create a "visual pollution" (TM, 2017) (see figures 1&2).

Figure 1. Turkish government removes the Arabic sign (Turkish Minute, 2017).

Figure 2. Turkish government removes the Arabic signs (Turkish Minute, 2017).

In contrast, although the Russian language is the minority language spoken in the Ukraine, it acts as if it is the official language because it has a greater presence in the linguistic landscape than the actual official language which is Ukrainian. This is known as "a permissible transgression and accepted norm" and occurs even with the strict policy of the government which prevents the use of the Russian language, especially in the official signs (Pavlenko, 2012: 53). From a different perspective, Scollon and Scollon (2003) connected the preference code to its position on the signs. That is, the favored code is on the top (left side) or in the center, and the marginalized code is on the bottom (right side) or in the margin. Also, the Scollons added that in bilingual signs, the more visible language is the dominant or more powerful language, which would be another way to describe the language policy

In relation to the aforementioned studies, the case in Medina is hard to predict. We have a monolingual tendency in specific situations such as public sector signs, while there are multilingual street name signs and multilingual signs around the Prophet Mosque. Also, the degree of presenting minority languages in LL is different in which some languages have been shown more than others while in one case there is a complete absence. The current study contributes to research in LL within the large scale provided in the above studies. Relying on Shohamy's (2006) interpretation of the language policy as the language practice showing in LL, and the fact that there is no explicit official language policy in Medina, our interest is to show how religion influences the LL in Medina, and then leads the language policy to appear in the public space in a certain shape.

Religion in Linguistic Landscape

As the primary argument of my study, religion has a vital role in the display of the LL in any religious context. The source of argument lies on the assumption that the notion of the

domain of a language in LL of a given society is highly affected by the religious identity, orientation, and attitudes in which other factors have less impact, and that is limited to a religious place. With that said, the body of literature on LL is drawn more around issues of multilingualism, language policy, and globalization, with no careful attention paid to religion as a remarkable factor. A few LL studies conducted in places and neighborhoods that contained religious sites did not discuss the role of religion in the LL (Waksman & Shohamy 2009; Blommaert & Maly 2016; Huebner 2006). However, there are a few studies mainly analyzing the role of the religion in LL which were also conducted in religious sites. For example, Coluzzi and Kitade (2015) examined the RLL in seven places of worship in Kuala Lumpur city, Malaysia. They are "mosque, Hindu temple, Chinese temple, Sikh gurdwara, a Theravada Buddhist temple, and two churches." The results pointed out that the "ethnicity of believers" was reflected in most of those religious spaces. More specifically, in the mosque as a place for Muslims, the use of the English language was very limited, comparing to other religious places in which Malay was the dominant language in the mosque. The reason is, as authors stated, that Malay is perceived as an ethnic language for most of the Muslim population in the country. The authors also pointed out that Arabic language was seen in the LL as a "sacred language, which is used mostly for symbolic reasons, to index Islam" (p. 254). Also, they argued that due to its religious significance, Arabic language takes its possession as a high level of prestige among the Muslim community, even though it is spoken little by people; the same goes for Pali and Sanskrit languages in Buddhism. This is in line with our assumption that minority members of Medina and the value of the Arabic language to them even if Arabic is not their mother tongue. Arguably, the religious factor can grant the Arabic language the prestigious value, as with the economic factor for the English language in some countries.

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In a recent study connecting religion and the use of Hebrew on signs, Kochav (2018) examined the RLL of the Safed in Israel. The study analyzed 105 signs of religious content inside the community that particularly used the Hebrew language with exception to English along with a few Arabic signs. The author argued that the RLL draws the boundaries of the Safed community, which set them apart from the other secular Israeli communities and Arabic communities as well. For example, one sign for visitors read, "Please do not disturb the sanctity of our neighborhood and our way of life as Jews committed to God and his Torah." Beside drawing boundaries, the religious expressions in the LL of Safed (2018) served to instruct visitors and also community members to some religious proscription, and behaviors of the Jewish Orthodox as a way to "reinforce some core beliefs within their own community" (p. 48). As an interesting result is the sign that is written in Arabic and Hebrew, which conveys the religious beliefs and orientation against other groups within the community which was described in the study as an "anti-Arab" sign. For example, a Hebrew-Arabic sign that reads, "Don't even think about a Jewish woman." The author stated that this sign targeted the Arabic students at Safed Academic College since it was placed at the entrance. Such signs as these are expected to portray the religious conflict of a place with more than one religion. This may not apply to Medina since it identifies as a one-religion (i.e. Muslim) society.

In the same spirit, Woldemariam and Lanza (2012) investigated the interaction of the religious expressions in the LL of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. In their study, Woldemariam and Lanza metaphorically refer to the current status of the RLL of Addis Ababa as "Religious Wars" where different denominations of Christianity imposed their religious agenda using LL items such as signs, posters, and stickers. In fact, the authors argued that "LL serves as a platform for religious groups to contest, interact, debate points of differences, resulting in tension, with the

inherent goal of such interaction indubitably being to attract potential converts and /or to enforce the faith of the members" (Woldemariam & Lanza, 2012: 170). In its conclusion, their study added that, as with the language, the religious items in the LL of Addis Ababa turned to become a commodity in which each group employed the religion items such as signs, flyers, and posters as an attempt to "convert new members as well as maintain their followers." Likewise, Thomas (2009) assured that Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal groups have used religious items for evangelization, so it could be called a religious commodity.

In another study, Perera (2017) examined the role of the Tamil language of the Hindu religion in a Sri Lankan temple in Australia. The result showed the signs are written in both English and Tamil. There were also cases that signage has only Tamil such as in newsletters and notices for special events and religious activities. Arabic language in Medina including the Prophet Mosque is in a different situation from the previous studies because Arabic is a sacred language which refers to Islam and at the same time it is the official language of the city (Almeman, & Lee, 2013). Thus, the selection of Medina as a site of the study would add to our limited understanding of the LL in a religious setting since it is unexplored context that shows the intersection of the religion and multilingualism in shaping linguistic landscape.

Education and LL

Religious education is also important in the study of linguistic landscape. This is particularly important in considering a place like Medina. The Prophet Mosque (the main Mosque in the city) is perceived as a site for education which is true for religious education. Historically, when the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) migrated to Medina and built the mosque, many scholars have assured that the purpose was to make an institution of learning (Zaimeche, 2010). It then turned to be nucleus of faith and knowledge. A short time ago, the Saudi

government established an official school inside the Prophet Mosque called "Academy of the Holy Quran and Academy of the Sunnah and the Prophet's Biography in the Prophet's Mosque" and by which regular classes are given to students of different ages (See figure 3).

Figure 3. Teaching Quran in the Prophet Mosque (Alarkani, 2016).

Given the role of the education in LL, it is important to review some of the educational perspectives on the linguistic landscape studies. In fact, a new focus is being paid to the relationship between LL and education, and how the latter can benefit from the LL materials. For this reason, the term "schoolscape" is used to refer to the LL in the classroom or within the schools' buildings that includes posters and pictures of the institution (Brown, 2012; Gorter, 2017). There is a pertinent relationship between LL and the literacy. Different forms and shapes of LL can enable us to detect the degree of literacy of a given region. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) argued that literacy could be both multilingual and multimodal (visual and printed texts) that characterizes the linguistic landscape. They went beyond this point by claiming that LL can provide a source of input for development of second language literacy skills, which in the case of this study might be very important for sojourners learning Arabic. In an educational context, the

LL studies are tackled under the issue of Second Language Learning and language awareness. As an example, Dagenais et al. (2009) studied the literacy practices of students in elementary school by examining the language diversity and multilingualism of their neighborhoods in Montreal and Vancouver. They found that reading the city as multilayered would cultivate "a critical sociological awareness." In a similar view, Clemente, Andrade, and Martins (2012) proposed a project where its purpose is to teach children to "read the world" using a particular approach of language ecology through LL (p. 270). LL can also be used as a method for the language learning process, especially for L2 learners. Groter (2017) stated that LL in school is a pedagogical source for the learning process because it provides a "way to teach" some topics related to language learning such as multilingualism, language awareness, and literacy. In fact, the visible text provides the students with "a tip of the iceberg," in order to compel them to a deeper and more complex meaning which is embodied in cultural relations and histories (Shohamy & Waksman, 2009). Furthermore, the LL may expand the students' pragmatic competence in which the signage includes different speech acts and usually use indirect language and metaphors that is, they are either in full sentence or, as often, single or group of words which all relate to a meaning (Cenoz and Gorter , 2008). Following this educational perspective, I argue that even with monolingual individuals of Medina, the spread of the multilingual signs has impacted them, to some degree, to acquire new languages, since they are exposed to the language on a larger scale, and language exposure is one method of language acquisition.

Globalization and the Use of English

Although the aim of the current study is to analyze the minority languages presented in the LL of Medina, it is important to shed light on the phenomenon of globalization, since multilingual LL is a part of globalization processes. Huebner (2006) stated that within

community and commercial competition, the impact of the globalization on a language can be noticed by means of LL. On the other hand, however, it might reflect loyalties to globalization by means of the most common lingua franca which is English (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, & Barni, 2010). Indeed, through the reviewing of literature most LL studies have given the English a high value to be the most common indicator for globalization. LL thus compels us, as a sociolinguist, to examine the growing use and intrusion of English in the public space (Bolton, 2012). LL studies on globalization, such as in the case of the indigenous communities of Saudi Arabia, tell us to some extent that the notion of monolingualism is obsolete (Huebner, 2006). In a different view, the critical concept of "World Englishes" is among the issues of the globalization and the use of English which is being increasingly discussed, especially on the educational platform. There have been two main directions to the study of World Englishes. The first is the "outer circle" where English is taught as a second language, and the second, "expanding circle' when the language is taught as a foreign language. (Huebner, 2006: 31). In this regard, many studies have examined the phenomenon of globalization through the spread of English in the LL items such as Bangkok (Huebner, 2006), Jerusalem (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006), Portugal (Torkington, 2009), Moldova (Muth, 2012), and Lithuania (Muth & Wolf, 2010).

A very significant LL study in the globalization was conducted by Gorter (2006). The study examined the LL of commercial streets in the towns of Ljouwert/Leeuwarden in Friesland and Donostia/San Sebastian in the Basque Country. In this study, Gorter (2006) referred to the role of English as a very essential in globalization process. He also discussed the process "regionalization" or "localization" as occurred simultaneously with the globalization in which the emphasis was given to both regional identity and to a regional language of the study site. Consequently, Gorter (2006) utilized and adopted the term "glocalization" in order to describe

the synchronous occurrence of both processes (localization & globalization), which is, according to him, that glocalization "in the international arena leads to new expressions of cultural mix in music, food and clothing, but also in languages" (p. 88). Indeed, the glocalization process is relevant to the current study as the more modern shopping districts of Medina are filled with English. Globalization seems to be the most common issue discussed in LL studies that conducted on Arabic countries such as in Jordan (Alomoush, 2015), Yamen (Al-Athwary, 2017), Oman (Buckingham, 2015), Tunisia (Ben Said, 2010), and United Arab Emirates (Hopkyns, Zoghbor, & John Hassall, 2018). Thus, in the qualitative analysis, there were few cases where the deliberate use of English was attributed to the globalization process and to glocalization, in particular.

In a different perspective, the globalization process usually involves mobility which in our focus here refers to the mobility of both language and people (Burdick, 2012). Thus, the question is how this manifest within linguistic landscape and how it can affect the social levels. As stated by Coupland (2010), "mobility, within the context of globalization, should be perceived as defining feature of the socio-cultural arrangement of a space" (p. 5). Blommaert (2013) has defined mobility as the trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language 'gives you away' (p. 6). What could be understood from the notion of monitored and controlled spaces is that languages of a given space do not carry the same value, but the value is attributed to other factors in the space that facilitate the language use. In this regard, the concept "super-diversity" was coined to describe the way that "contemporary and urban setting is structured" (Blommaert, 2013). That is, the super-diversity is usually accompanied by several changes on the society in which LL can be used to examine. To

sum up, the globalization process is tackled and understood by mobility and thus, LL is a very useful method to track and examine this process.

Top-Down versus Bottom-Up Approach

Undeniably, linguistic landscape studies have been examined in various approaches and methods, and there is no unified consensus on one specific way to analyze the LL. However, there are some studies which have used similar approaches and methodologies. That is to say, the top-down and bottom-up approach is one of the most frequent approaches in some LL studies. Indeed, the contrast between both types is the vantage point for many of those studies. In this approach, the LL items were analyzed based on the two classifications: governmental, (official/top-down) and commercial, (unofficial/bottom-up) signs. Some studies found that there are significant differences between the two types of signs, such as in the Landry and Bourhis study (1997), which indicated that the bottom-up signs showed more diversity than the top-down signs in Quebec and Belgium. They added that the more differences between both types of signs is a signal of the "less coherent" linguistic landscape, while if there is no difference between the public signs (top-down) and the private signs (bottom-up), then there is a "consistent" in the linguistic landscape. In another aspect, they attributed the difference between both signs to the fact that government typically has more control over the language on their signs more than the private signs. They described the content on the private signs as representing a form of the individual freedom of speech. In addition, Gorter (2006) demonstrated that top-down signs are likely to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture, while bottom-up signs are designed much more freely according to individual strategies' (p. 10). As many studies have agreed on this explanation of the differences between both types, I would include another two

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aspects that may have a role causing this differentiation. That is, the notion that government signs should be more formal, and another reason is the attractiveness of the signs.

From a personal point of view, government signs should be more formal, while private signs do not need to be formal. Also, the owners of private signs have used them for the purpose of attracting passersby to their goods and products. Each owner creates the sign totally different from others while the government, in many cases, does not use the signs for the same reason and the attractiveness factor has no role to play in their signs.

The study of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) has also considered the top-down and bottom-up approach when they analyzed the signs they had and came up with interesting patterns for the three languages that were investigated: Hebrew, Arabic, and English. In other words, they classified the signs into top-down and bottom-up, then further classification of what language (among the three) was the most and/or the least presented in top-down signs, and the same for the bottom-up signs. In the same token, Huebner (2006) examined the LL of 15 neighborhoods in Bangkok, in order to figure out the dominant language and the language mixing as well as the English influences. The results of the study showed very significant points. That is, the Thai language, the state language, was no longer pure, but rather influenced by the English on different levels, "pronunciation and syntax orthography." Also, the study shed light on the language shift by noticing the change from using the Chinese language to more of the English language. The study referred to the two types of signs as "governmental and nongovernmental signs" in which both Thai and the English languages were the official languages of the country and were found more in the governmental signs.

In addition, Backhaus (2007) has made a clear differentiation between the top-down and the bottom-up of the multilingual signs in Tokyo by focusing on the language arrangement and

characteristics presented in signs. In line with the majority studies that used the top-down &

bottom-up approach, Backhaus confirmed that the official signs often represent the existing

power relations, while the non-official signs are the vehicle for the exhibit of the foreign

languages. Also, the interpretation of the two types was perceived by the author as two different

way of writing; 'writing to show the power' and "writing to show solidarity." Applying this to

the case in Medina, the Arabic language and its value among Muslims can represent the power

relation since it is the official language. On the other hand, minority languages in Medina can be

understood as an "expression of desired solidarity."

Despite what is the actual reason for the differentiation, indeed, the consensus on the

dichotomy of public and private signs, or top-down and bottom-up is not precise and may not

apply for all LL situations. That is, commercial signs as bottom-up signs in Welsh are controlled

by specific policies (Coupland. 2010). The same is true in Slovakia, where the commercial signs

went through inspection process, which governed the use of language on LL (Lanstyak &

Szabomihaly, 2009). For this reason, the classification of the signs has been extended to include

the commercial signs as a distinct third type that standalone differently from both public and

private (Pavlenko, 2012). Thus, the term "public" should be redefined based on the space

(Laihonen, 2016) while (Coupland, 2012) argued it should count on the community itself so that

the private signs of one community could be public signs to another. Moreover, Laihonen (2016)

has defined the private signs as "voluntarily placed signs by private persons that are available for

public view, horizontally addressing other private persons, and not for commercial purposes"

(P.376). Moreover, Backhaus (2006) differentiated between official sign and nonofficial signs

based on the prominence of the language involved. Also, he referred to the notion of "mutual

relation" as a determiner that distinguishes between the two types of signs. In his study, he

categorized some signs as official that belong to public transport facilities which are operated by private companies. As very significant factor, he added that the multilingual signs in Tokyo are determined by citizens more than authorities "citizen decision" while the multilingual signs represent both top-down and bottom-up signs.

In fact, this classification of both types in Medina is fluid. For example, the institution that is responsible for the Prophet Mosque in Medina belongs to the government sector while there are multilingual signs inside and outside of the Prophet Mosque that do not reflect the current status of the state as a monolingual society (see figure 2). Also, who can decide what a public sign is and what a private sign is? Is it the government or the individuals? Citizens' decisions, as mentioned by Backhaus (2006). When the City Hall has its rules for the signs used in Medina include the commercial signs, do we consider these signs as top-down or bottom-up? Thus, the function of the both bottom-up and top-down signs, and their existing classification will be reconsidered in the case of Medina with regard to other variables for such a language policy "practice."

Research Questions

As an attempt to address the goals and objectives mentioned above, four research questions have been formulated that would cover all aspects and arguments discussed.

1. What are the minority languages presented in the linguistic landscape of Medina? And what are their functions?
2. What is the role of religion in the linguistic landscape of Medina?
3. How are these minority languages perceived by their speakers, shop owners, and customers? (How do people of diverse language and culture navigate in the multilingual context?)

4. What is the role of the language policy in shaping the linguistic landscape of Medina? Or vice versa?

Summary

This chapter discusses the most recent LL studies that are related to the current research. The study of the linguistic landscape of Medina is significant since it enables us to examine some sociolinguistics issues. Medina is identified as a one-religion city, and it is officially monolingual. Due to the migration movements took place in the city, this study argues that Medina undergoes demographic changes and a new form of Multilingualism shows up. Thus, from the lens of public signs, this study examines this demographic change, and the Multilingualism. As I discussed in this chapter, three main variables that play a significant role in shaping the linguistic landscape of the city, multilingualism, religion and language policy. These three fields integrate into the current linguistic landscape study. Due to the nature of the study site, the role of globalization and education in the public space are presented.

Historical and Sociolinguistic Background of Medina

History of Medina

Medina ranks as the second holy city after Mecca for Muslims worldwide. Also, it is known as the city of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, because he lived and was buried in the city. In 2015, the population of the city reached up to 1,100,000 people, according to the General Authority for Statistics of Saudi Arabia (2016). Among this population, 65% of whom are of Saudi nationality, are living in an area of 589 km (227.4 sq mi) (Al-Mahdy, 2013). In this sense, the number of non-Saudi constituted more than one-third of the population of the city, and thus one has to acknowledge their diversity and how it might impact the demographic distribution of the city.

Figure 4. The location of Medina region (Alharbi, 2018).

Historically, the city has been ruled under a number of Islamic states and systems, beginning from the lifetime of the Prophet Muhmmad (PBUH) until the present day. Its value, indeed, was granted by the Prophet Mosque. Also, his tomb that was located inside the mosque, in which Muslims visited as parts of their rituals, was originally his house. After he migrated

from Mecca to Medina in 662 CE, the Prophet Muhammad spent the rest of his life in Medina, until he passed away and was buried in his house next to the mosque. Thus, this historical and Islamic event contributed to forming the identity of the city and its people (Al-Mahdi, 2013). Upon his arrival to Medina, the prophet created the constitution for the community of Medina which was written by him and other scholars of the city from different religions. The constitution was established in order to unify the community and individuals based on their faith. Indeed, during his life, Medina might be considered as the capital city for the Islamic state (Al-Mahdy, 2013). After the prophet's death, the authority was transferred to Umayyad dynasty, who chose Damascus as the Islamic capital city. Although Medina had relatively lost its religious role in the Islamic world, it preserved its religious value among Muslims who were traveling frequently to the city seeking the religious knowledge and to visit the prophet's mosque as well.

The third era was the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1918, in which huge attention was paid to Medina by means of allocated funds to improve the mosque and revive the religious role of the city among the Islamic world (Badar, 1993, cited in Alharbi, 2018). In this era, there was a great movement of migration to Medina from people of different cultural and language background. Alharbi (2018) reported that Refiaat Pasha (1929), during the era of the Ottoman Empire, discussed the tribes and clans that moved to Medina and how they integrated to take part in constituting the population of the city at that time. He said: "Medina is inhabited by a few indigenous people, and most of the others are from the Levant, Turkish, Indians, Egyptians, and Moroccans, who came to the city to be next to the Prophet of Islam" (p. 131). Given the religious significance of the city among Muslims all over the world, we can understand that the migration to Medina for religious purposes is not something that began recently.

The fourth era is identified by the establishment of Saudi Arabia where Medina incorporated in 1925. The size and the population of the city dramatically increased until it reached above 1.4 square kilometers. During this era until now, more attention is given to the city to be a center after Mecca to all Muslims around the world, which resulted in the term "religious tourism" (Zamani-Farahani & Henderson, 2010). Thus, the Saudi government pays more attention to the city as it is their commitment and duty to all Muslims. This attention is obvious in all number of renovations that have done to the Prophet Mosque on the past 20 years which is discussed in the next section.

What could be significant to the context of the current study is that the several historical and political movements have caused the diversity of Medina for many decades. In the same context, the city has been inhabited by people from different languages, ethnicities and religions such as Jewish. Thus, the multilingualism of the city has deep roots all over the history of the city, unlike some other Saudi cities which have not undergone as many demographic changes.

Medina's historical timeline: (Al-Mahdy, 2013)

AD 622 – 632   Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)

AD 657 – 1517   Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, and Mamluk periods

1517- 1917   Ottoman period

1925- Present   Saudi Arabia period

The Prophet Mosque

The first step that the prophet took upon his arrival was establishing a place for the community where people could meet to learn and practice Islam. The prophet built the mosque next to his home. Throughout history, this building has had multi purposes, such as serving as a

refuge for people who had no homes, the center of the government for some Islamic states, and is now currently a site for education. The importance of the mosque to Muslims comes from the encouragement of the prophet to visit and pray at his mosque as part of their rituals. In this regard, here are some of the prophet's words and sayings regarding the mosque:

> "Do not set out on a journey except for three Mosques
> i.e. the Mosque of AI-Haram (Mecca), the Mosque of the Prophet
> (Medina), and the Mosque of Al-Aqsa, (Jerusalem)."

> "One prayer in my Mosque is better than one thousand prayers in
> any other mosques excepting the Mosque of AI-Haram (Mecca)"

Figure 5. Imaginary sketch of the Prophet's House & Mosque (AD 623) (Almahdy,2013)

Over time, the mosque has been developed and has undergone many expansions to subsume the inevitable increase of the number of visitors. These people, indeed, come from different parts of the world speaking their own languages. Consequently, the government represented in the official agent, who is responsible for the mosque, has increased the multilingualism in the LL in order to ease and facilitate the movement of people inside or outside (the periphery) the mosque. Not only used to inform the non-Arabic visitors, the multilingual signs also have been used symbolically and use some verses from the Quran, and educationally such to teach them some Islamic principles.

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The city of Medina receives millions of visitors every year during the season of Ramadan and Hajj, and not all visitors can speak Arabic; therefore, they encounter difficulties navigating through and around the mosque. Muslims pray in the Prophet Mosque and, as the crowded scene shows in the pictures below, it is repeated five times a day. Thus, the most useful way to guide people is to provide signs with directions that help them to enter and exit from the mosque easily. Also, the signs show them where specific places are located such as doors, toilets, women and men's sections, the prophet's tomb and visitation times, hotels, roads, and so forth.

Unlike other normal mosques within the city, the Prophet Mosque is deemed a rich site for multilingualism. In addition, the area surrounded the mosque (the periphery), and the close stores have been affected by the multilingualism degree of the mosque. It is now called (Central Zone) (Alharbi, 2018). This is because of the density of people that led to a great deal of commercial activities, which usually is coupled with the number of shops. Thus, this area turned out to be a fertile area to conduct LL study. The last point worth mentioning is that, due to the religious and economic value and activities of the mosque and central zone, the term religious tourism has been utilized by the researchers.

Figure 6. Corner view of the Prophet Mosque (AGPPM).

Figure 7. Thousands of worshipers pray at the Mosque's periphery (AGPPM).

Expats in Saudi Arabia (migration)

Immigrants in Saudi Arabia can be divided into two different categories based on the purpose of immigration. The first category can be called religious immigrants. During the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932, many Muslims from different parts of the world migrated to Saudi Arabia as it has several sacred places where Muslims can practice their rituals. Most of such migration took place when many Muslims came to Medina or Mecca to perform the Hajj, and they then chose not to return, while the government looked the other way (partially legalized by the government). The reason was their desire to be close to the sacred cities. Over time, they integrated into society, and their common jobs were and are in trade (Shah, 2006). Most of them were from South Asian nations such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Burma, and India (General Authority of Statistics). Some of these immigrants are now citizens and have their own communities. The second type of immigration took place during the oil revolution in which Saudi Arabia became a prime destination for many workers from Asia,

Africa, and what is dubbed the Arab world. It was, in fact, in the 1930s when "labor

immigration" was created (De Bel-Air, 2014). According to the Ministry of Labor, there are 12

million immigrants in Saudi Arabia, in 2017. Most immigrants congregate in the two sacred

cities (Mecca and Medina). Furthermore, millions of visitors annually come to perform the Hajj

in Mecca and visit the Prophet Muhammad's Mosque and his tomb in Medina. During the Hajj

season, they reach up to four million in a particular place in both cities (Hajj Statistics in GAS).

Arabic and Language Policy of Saudi Arabia

To better understand why talking about minority languages in Saudi Arabia is

problematic, we should first address some facts about the status of the Arabic language and how

the language is perceived by its speakers. In Saudi Arabia, Arabic is the national language, which

is officially noted in the policy (Payne, M., & Almansour, 2014). In fact, Arabic is the only

official language in Saudi Arabia and that includes in public sectors, such as schools (Ministry of

Education, 1995). Therefore, no other languages are recognized in Saudi Arabia even with the

number of non-Arabic speakers who live there, either temporally or permanently. The

approximate number of non-Arabic speakers is 11 million, which means one-third of the total

population (De Bel-Air, 2014). Furthermore, the constitution of the country addressed that "The

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Arab state with full sovereignty, Islam is its religion, and

its Constitution is The Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger, peace be upon him, and

its language is Arabic" (translated: 1st chapter, General principles, article 1). Thus, there is no

specific and comprehensive language policy in the Saudi constitution. Sometimes, what could be

considered as language policy is represented within other policies of government and private

sectors. In addition, there are some decisions and decrees that come from the council of ministry,

such as the decree made on 21/2/1398 to use English along with Arabic on medical products and medications due to the need to use the English language in a medical setting (Alshammri, 2009).

Another factor that gives the Arabic language high value is the deep-rooted relationship between Arabic and religion (Islam). Religion is the most influential and inspirational factor for the language that it is associated with. Arabic is a religious language or, as described by Fishman (2002), a "holy language". Muslims, including Saudis, do not perceive Arabic language as a means of communication only, but instead, they feel that they represent the words of Allah and, in order to preserve the religion, the Arabic language must remain (Shouby, 1951). The holy book Quran is also written in Arabic, and Muslims are required to read it as such. As a result of this, Muslims always encourage their children to learn Arabic to protect their identity, which is associated with the religion more than the language, and they perceive the Arabic language to be a tool to keep this religious identity protected.

Payne and Almansour (2014) illustrated that introducing another language could be perceived as the introduction of another religion and thus a threat to Islam. The authors investigated foreign language planning in schools in Saudi Arabia. The students were the main participants. Particularly, they did not focus on English which is, by the education policy, the only official foreign language provided in public schools in Saudi Arabia. Instead, they looked at other languages that might be presented somehow in schools. They found that students could learn other languages in an informal setting outside the school's "self-learning" of languages online using new technologies such as smartphones. The study concluded by arguing that language planners are "acting as individuals outside of the language-planning system of Saudi Arabia, in effect as atomized or 'Nano' language planners" (p. 340). This demonstrates the lack of official interest in introducing foreign languages into the country, and that students are

motivated to learn other languages based on their preference and desire. This study cannot reflect the actual language practices of the society since it was a school-based study. Also, Saudi cities are different in the diversity of the population, in which immigrants are found more in Medina and Mecca than in other cities.

Summary

This section provides an overview of the historical and sociolinguistic background of Medina. It discusses the history of Medina, beginning from the Prophet period and the following eras which are Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Mamluk, Ottoman, and the modern Saudi Arabia period. Also, this section shows how the city has a high religious value among Muslims, which is represented in the Prophet Mosque and the history behind it. This section also reviews the Arabic language and the language policy of Saudi Arabia. Finally, this section presents some information about expats and migration process in Saudi Arabia and, particularly in Medina.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Overview

This study aims to examine the linguistic landscape of Medina. To do so, the study employs innovative methods that include walking and audio recording, in addition to surveying the public signs in Medina. This strategy of triangulating source of the data used to build more accurate interpterion which has not been commonly used in LL studies. Therefore, this dissertation integrates three types of data and both quantitative and quantitate analysis. This chapter provides a holistic description of all methods and how data of each method is analyzed.

Study Site

What signs should the researchers choose to examine among others? What street or location they should focus on for the LL of a city? Furthermore, what city can represent the country regarding the LL investigation? In fact, the emplacement of the collected data of the LL items by reviewing the literature is very selective. The downtown area was the best choice for Backhaus (2007) that seemed to represent the overall of the city. As an attempt to generalize a way to choose the sample of the study, Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) stated that selecting the site of where the LL sample that wanted to be examined should be driven by the goal of the study.

Multiple choices about what signs to select and where to conduct the study had to be made in examining the LL of Medina. Within the city, three different axes were chosen to represent the study site. The first is the Prophet Mosque, which is the most common landmark of the city. It was established during the 7th century by the Prophet Muhammad after his migration to Medina, as the first action that he completed upon arrival. It became then the reason that attributed the holiness and value that the mosque has among Muslims. Over time, the mosque

became the center for most Muslims' activities, including the most functional role, which is prayer. Also, the mosque serves as a spot for education as to teach some Islamic lessons, with the main focus on teaching the Quran. During the Prophet's era, less attention was given to the beautifying of the building, while these days the mosque has "beautified with calligraphy, Arabesque and geometrical shapes" (Alharbi, 2018). In conjunction with the huge expansion to the mosque by Saudi government, it became a large site with a capacity of up to 1.5 million worshipers who can pray all at once. Besides, the mosque has the prophet's tomb, by which Muslims from different diversities visit as one their rituals. One of the regulations that was taken is to use the signs in order to ease the movement of people during the rush. Thus, the mosque was a vibrant site for LL study, especially during the two common religious seasons (Ramadhan and Hajj) that take place nowadays during the summer when the mosque reaches its capacity, and many temporary signs are in place to control traffic and guide visitors. As a first axis, the mosque was chosen to collect data either inside or outside including doors, toilets, women and men sections, the prophet's tomb and visitation times, and direction signs (see the map).

The second axis was an area of three streets: King Fahad St, Alsalam St, and Alansi St. Each one of them is one kilometer long. The technique of Moriarty (2014) to choose her LL's study site was followed. Moriarty (2014) contributed an efficient way of deciding a site for collecting the LL items of an Irish tourist town by mapping the tourist trajectory. Instead of just gathering the immediate LL items in the town, the author spent a few days observing the most frequent routes that tourists used, and then ended up with few streets that tourists used daily. The three streets for this axis all lead to the mosque and were the most crowded based on my observation prior to collecting the data. Unlike other streets in this area, vehicles in those selected three streets are very limited because of the massive number of pedestrians walking to

and from the mosque as well as an enormous amount of shopping stores (see the map in figures 8 and 9).

The third axis was a total of two streets located within the city and a little far from the mosque. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) have conducted the study of two main shopping streets in which I followed in the city of Medina. Moreover, Leeman and Modan (2009) pointed out that the majority of LL studies have been conducted within 'the commercial zones". In the current study, the first street called Quba'a is 3 kilometers long and is filled with a lot of shops and street markets. Historically, it is considered as one of the oldest streets in Medina, surrounded by the old district as well. Thus, this street deems to represent a large proportion of the city, as it includes a lot of local shops. The second street is Sultana, which is the most modern street in Medina where a lot of the international brand and shops are located. Thus, the rationale behind the choice of three axes was selected as a way to make the data as representative of the total LL of the Medina as possible. Also, to the pre-knowledge of the researcher, both of these areas have a high density of people who live or visit the city and could be targeted by those locations and shops (see the map in figures 8 and 9).
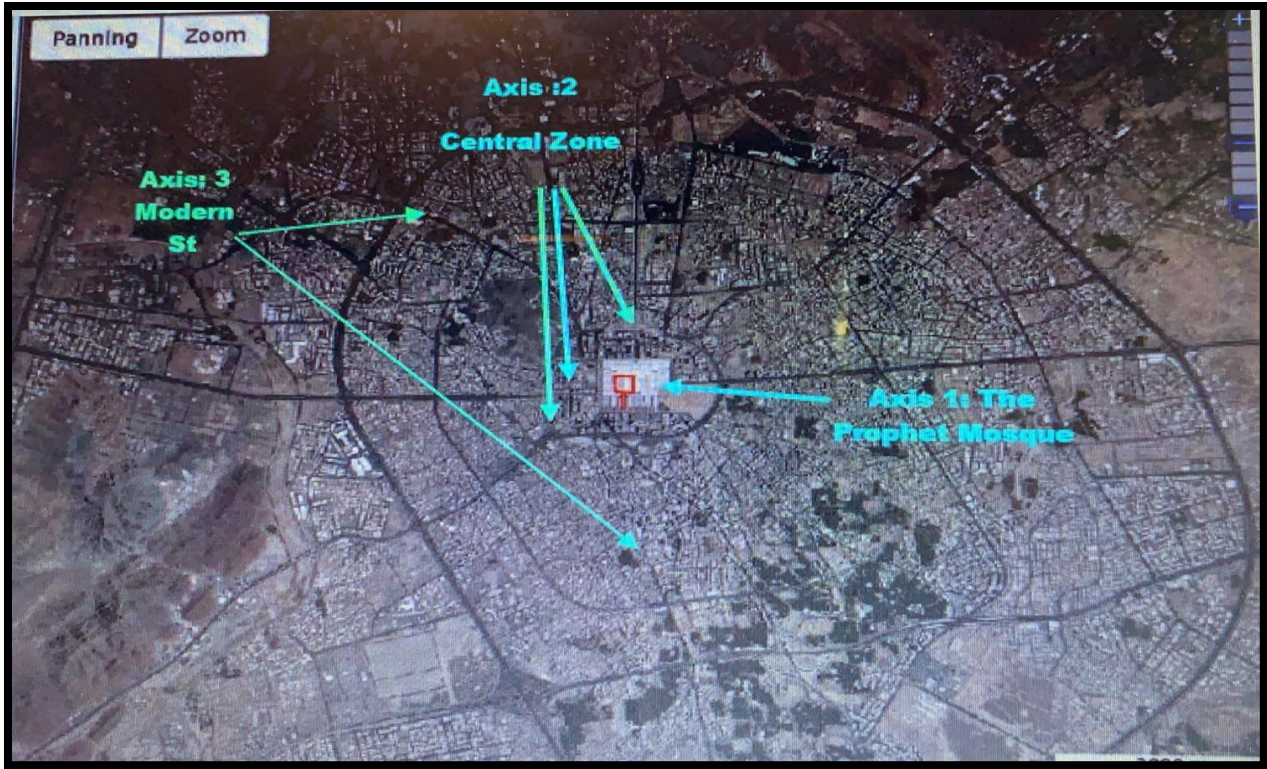
Figure 8. The area of research in the city of Medina.
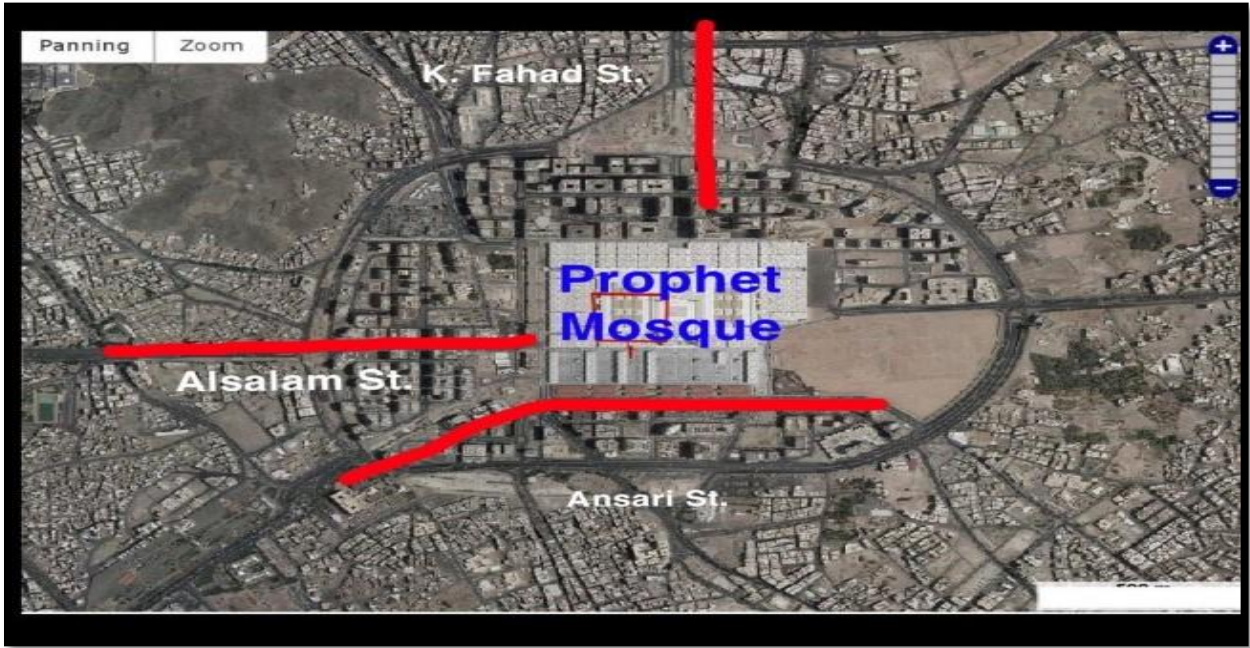
Figure 9. Zoomed map of first and second axes.

Methods

The study of the linguistic landscape is a growing field that has been marked by significant shifts in methodology. Early studies focused on a specific region or place, while more recent approaches have investigated the ways individuals experience the linguistic landscape in space and their perceptions of it (Lou, 2010). As the overwhelming majority of recent LL research, this study employs a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the collected data (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Kasanga, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Backhaus, 2007). In the following sections, a full description of each method is provided respectively as well as the procedures followed with each method.

Photographing

In many LL studies, **photographing** is the most frequent method to collect the data (Backhaus, 2007; Seals 2018; Ben- Rafael et al., 2006). The core of this method involves photography that is completely defined by social spaces (Akindele, 2016). This requires a focus on particular locations such as schools (Dressler 2015), laboratories (Hanauer 2010; Chen 2016), train stations (Backhaus 2006), a series of localities (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), airports (Heinrich 2010), and temples (Coluzzi and Kitade 2015). Some LL studies looked at the signs used by protesters, so the location relies on the people and where they initiate the protest (Monje, 2017; Seloni, & Sarfati, 2017). In this study, a total of 300 pictures of visible signs were collected in summer 2018 and during the Christmas holidays based on an approved Institutional Review Board (IRB). The fieldwork in these three axes mentioned above was carried out by means of a pocket-sized digital camera during a number of walking tours. The focus was given exclusively to the stationary and viable objects where a spatially mobile readership is required (Reh, 2004). Thus, the movable objects such as signs on club cars that were used on that area or even trucks

were excluded. However, the exception was given to the temporary signs that emplaced either inside or outside the mosque since those objects attains their communicative goals according to one of the Reh's two conditions; one is that the possible readership is mobile or the occurrence of the sign or (text) is repeated in a large number of locations.

Table 1

Areas of data collection in Medina and the distribution of the sign.

	Axis	Selected area/ street name	Total
1	Prophet Mosque	Inside & outside	99
2	Streets near the mosque	Al Ansari St, K.Fahad St, Al Salam St	137
3	Streets far from the mosque	Sultana St, Quba'a St	64

As we can see in the table, most of the signs are near the Prophet Mosque. This is attributed to few reasons. First, millions of people visit the mosque, which is open 24 hours a day. In addition, the mosque is a site of multiple activities, Thus, there are a large number of signs used for instructional, symbolical, and educational purposes. Another reason is that the second axis, which consists of three streets, is densely populated with shops, which increases the number of signs.

Unit of Analysis

Given the methodological framework of photographing, it is important to determine what constitutes a sign to be collected and analyzed, which is one of the problematic methodological issues that LL researchers have encountered (Cenoz & Gorter, 2007). In some shops, there is more than one sign located next to each other or in a different position (window and door) which makes the codification of presented picture difficult. In this regard, Gorter and Cenoz (2008) had

decided that each establishment as a whole represents a unit of analysis, not each sign. For instance, the main front sign of a restaurant coupled with other posters on the window are considered as one unit no matter how languages are distributed. The rationale behind their decision is attributed to the fact that all signs of one shop and languages involved have been allocated by the company that operates the business, and thus "each text belongs to a larger whole instead of being clearly separate" (p. 71). In a different interpretation, Backhaus (2006) decided to consider 'any piece of text within a spatially definable frame' as a unit of analysis standing alone (p. 55). Griffin (2004) goes beyond this, by proposing a criterion to choose the sign as it must be at least an arm's length, excluding all smaller signs. Indeed, deciding on the nature of the unit of analysis is a crucial task and sometimes "it is hard to avoid arbitrary decisions" (Marten, Van Mensel, & Gorter, 2012: 4). Here, this study adopted two approaches; each establishment as single unit not each sign (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008), and the size of the sign must be arm's length or bigger used by Griffin (2004). Thus, the unit of analysis is the total signs of one establishment, subtracting the small signs.

Coding and Categorizing

Categorizing the unit of analysis in linguistic terms is deemed to be a formidable task by many LL researchers. However, it seems to be the crux of quantitative-distributive approach to multilingual signs, since most of the quantitative aspects revolve around how languages on the sign are displayed and arranged. As a way to uncover emerging patterns, researchers have used many categorizations that describe the occurrence of the languages in specific situations, or in general, based on the goals of their LL studies. In this study, I adopted three sets of categorizations used in previous studies, and a new one designed specifically to the religious

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linguistic landscape of Medina. In the following, a full description of each category and how this study benefits are demonstrated.

Top-down and Bottom-up

As discussed in chapter 2, the most common distinction in linguistic landscaping has been one of contrast between governmental (official/top-down) and commercial (unofficial/bottom-up) signage (Backhaus, 2006; Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Huebner, 2006). This calcification in most is used to critically examine the language policy of a given territory. Thus, the counted signs were analyzed based on the source they constructed from, authorship: *governmental vs commercial* signs.

Indeed, Ben-Rafael, et al. (2006) have further categorized the top-down signs based on "their belonging to national or local" and bottom-up coded based on "branches like food, clothing, furniture, etc". Also, Cenoz and Gorter (2007) differentiated bottom-up signs based on two subcategories: (1) the type of shops and what products they sell (clothing, books, furniture, food, etc.), and (2) the shop owner "national or international chain" and "independent small shops". In fact, the subcategorization of the signs in many of LL studies depends on the data that researchers have. Thus, some of the above mention classifications were used in the qualitative discussions to explain a specific pattern found to an extent that could not be generalized quantitatively.

Languages Arrangement

In a different dimension, some researchers paid attention to the language–content relationships in case of the multilingual sign, and how different languages are combined holding a semantic perspective. Reh (2004), for instance, proposed a reader-oriented model to analyze

the multilingual sign in Uganda. According to her model, the information of a multilingual sign is distinguished based on four main types: (1) duplicating, (2) fragmentary, (3) overlapping, and (4) complementary. In (1), (2), and (3), the sign contains all languages constituting translation of each other either completely (1) or in part (2 and 3) as called by Backhaus (2006) "mutual translation". More specifically, the duplication of a sign occurs when "exactly the same text is presented in more than one language" (Reh, 2004: 8), as what dubbed by Backhaus (2007) "homophonic signs". In the "fragmentary multilingualism", the text is presented in full in one language while selected parts have been translated to other language (s). In contrast to all three types, "complementary multilingualism" (4) occurs when the information of each language has been written with a completely different content from others. To put simply, no translation involved in such sign in which one has to be knowledgeable of all languages used in order to understand the sign. As a second quantitative categorization, all the signs photographed for this study were categorized following Reh's (2004) typology. In the next chapter, the data will be presented in detail coupled with tables and figures.

Façade Visibility

The third quantitative perspective has a numerical sense since each language in each sign was given a value (score). This analysis of the units (signs) completely followed a score-system created by Vandenbroucke (2014). The system somehow is similar to Reh's typology in the notion that both are concerned with the translation degree of the language in each sign. The difference is that Reh's model provides us with a description of the sign while the score-system gives a value for each language on a sign in a way that allows us to calculate the street and the façade visibility "the dominance of a language in linguistic configurations in façade' signage" (Vandenbroucke, 2010: 18). In further detail, the system was designed to determine how

relatively visible each language is, within the unit in specific position. The system is built around

on the idea that languages receive a value from 1-4 relying on how dominant each language is

within the sign. First, the value of 4 is attributed to a sign presented monolingually with only one

language, and it is considered the highest value (100%) while other languages then do not retain

any value since they do not exist. The other three values (1, 2, and 3) are given to the

multilingual sign which thus involves three different possibilities with different values. The first

possibility occurs when more than one language is presented equally with others "equivalent

multilingualism" in which therefore each language receives a value of 2 (50%). Another

possibility occurs with multilingual signs too, when one language is dominant over others. In this

case, the dominant language receives a value of 3 (75%) whereas the other languages each

receive a value of 1(25%). To clarify, the dominant language in "nonequivalent configuration

sign occupied the majority of the written text while others language used either symbolically or

to give some information (Vandenbroucke, 2014: 7). Indeed, there were some multilingual signs

with three languages or more, where two of them presented equally with other(s) presented in

part. In this case, I give a value of 2 to equivalent languages and value of 1 for others.

By means of this score-system, each language in the sign was coded by giving a value

from 1 to 4 based on their position on the sign. The value of a language in one sign was divided

by the total sum of the sign. This equation was then repeated for all signs in one axis. The results

were summed up to get the absolute score of the *street visibility* SV. These scores then were

divided by the total signs of one axis in order to calculate the *facade visibility* FV. The results of

this analysis in each axis were presented in tables in the analysis chapter.

Respectively, Reh's (2004) typology and Vandenbroucke's (2014) score system are

similar as both concern terms of the meaning-construction of information in the sign. In other

words, they both consider the degree of the translation in the multilingual sign. However, Reh's (2004) typology does not give values for each language other than giving a description of what type of sign as a whole while Vandenbroucke's score system allows us to numerically determine the effect of each language over others in each sign, and further in each location. Overall, both quantitative analyses serve as an indicator to the level of visibility and patterns of the displayed languages with regard to the languages used and how they are arranged on the signs.

Religious Content

During the review of the religious items presented on the LL of the city, the researcher found out that they were displayed differently in a case where no single pattern can be utilized to describe them all together. Although the discussion of the religious characteristics of some signs was addressed under the qualitative analysis, due to the complexity found among those signs, all the data have been classified in a fourth level of coding based on the religious content in which there were three different categories: (1) sign with a complete religious content which usually conveys either some verses or prophet sayings, (2) sign contained some religious items such in using religious phrases in a restaurant shop signs (see figure 10), and (3) sign without religious content at all.

Figure 10. Restaurant used religious phrase.

Table 2

The quantitative categories of the signs

	Characteristics	No	Categories
1	Number languages displayed	11	languages names
2	Source of the signs (authorship)	2	Public vs Private
3	Language arrangement (Reh,2004)	4	Duplicating, Fragmentary, Overlapping, Complementary
4	*Façade visibility*	4	Arabic, English, Urdu, Other
4	Religious content	3	Religious. Partially religious, Nonreligious signs

As I discuss further in the analysis chapter, there are 11 languages in the LL of Medina: Arabic, English, Urdu, Bengali, Indonesian, Persian, Turkish, Hausa, French, Hindi and Malayalam. The languages that are coded to determine the façade visibility are Arabic, English and Urdu while the rest of the languages are grouped together and coded as "Other".

Interviewing

The second method in this study, interview, is the most common approach employed in qualitative research "a central resource for social science" (Edwards & Holland, 2013:). Indeed, the real reason driving individuals, or even governments, to produce signs in such ways is missing in many old studies (Ryan, 2011). However, a number of recent LL studies have combined signs with interviews with people (e.g., shop owners, community residents, tourists, etc.) in order to elicit their attitudes toward language on signs (Ben- Rafael et al.,2006; Lou, 2007; Ferguson & Sidorova, 2018; Garvin, 2010; Ryan, 2011; Aiestaran, Cenoz, & Gorter, 2010).

Indeed, Gorter (2006) has called for further LL studies to consider perceptions of the sign readers which can be accomplished by interview. Garvin (2010), in her LL study in Memphis, has interviewed residents in order to examine "the individual, subjective understandings of the linguistic landscape within dynamic high migrant mobility areas" (p. 200). She conducted the interview through several "walking tours" with residents. In order to analyze the interview data systematically, Garvin generated a new analysis model that constituted of 5 discursive interactive levels; explicit Statements, topics/themes, emotional statements, dynamic interactions, and contextualized meanings. The results from the interviews revealed that Memphis is in a transition, that was noticed not in the "neutral text but triggered a complex range of individual emotional responses". Including the interview in this study was also inspired by Garvin's study, since the results of the interviewers could give a way different from what the actual signs have. Thus, in addition to the fixed objects, I decided to include 'voices, perceptions, and preferences of the people that actively engage and interact with/through language in a particular linguistic space" (p. 43). It is important to remind that the data collected from interviews in this study were perceived as "collaborative work" by which employed in this study in order to boost the qualitative discussion, following in this sense Maly (2016). Due to the researcher's relationship with the study site and potential prior knowledge he has, interviews data help to mitigate the personal judgment as well as to facilitate interpretation of the signs accurately.

Apart from that, the interviews allowed respondents to express their voice and provide insight into how folks perceive the foreign languages or/and Arabic language in Medina. Thus, several interviews were carried out with different types of participants such as shopkeepers, residents, and visitors. The aim of the interviews was to uncover the participants' attitudes and thoughts toward the linguistic landscape in the city. Therefore, the interviews were unstructured

in which the interview guide, primarily questions, were not strict. Typically, this type of interview offers a space for participants to provide answers on their own terms rather than be limited to the questions (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Besides asking questions, as interviewer, my role was to keep the conversation topic-centered as much as possible.

Selecting Participants

Prior to selecting suitable participants, a flyer was distributed in different locations such as in the window of some shops with prior permission from owners to do so. Due to some restrictions to post it inside the Prophet Mosque, a flyer was handed to some individuals whom I met after a brief introduction to myself and an overview of the interview purpose. The flyer contained some information about the study with the approximate time assigned to complete the interview. Also, for those who were interested and willing to articulate their thoughts about the signage, the flyer included contact information (phone number and email) to reach the researcher to set up a time and place for the interview.

The interviews were carried out with 17 participants from different ethnicities in different locations in Medina. The choice-decision of the participants was made on the basis of a convenience or opportunity sampling, following in this regard, Ben Said (2010). Thus, informants were purposefully selected in light of ease of access and geographical closeness to the interviewer. Another tactic through which participants were found was a participant referral "snowballing" technique, where some participants had been advocated to suggest others to take part in the study. Due to cultural norms, there were only two females who participated in the survey. In one case, the research had to follow the "opportunistic sampling technique" (Creswell, 2014) when a female customer from an African country was watching an interview with a shop owner, and she engaged in the conversation, providing new insights about the foreign languages

on the signs. The interview with her was carried out in English while she was watching the interview with the shop owner in Arabic. This indicates her access to the Arabic language even though she did not list Arabic as one of her spoken languages in the survey. The second female was a Saudi who got a copy of the flyer to participate when she was shopping at a mall. Access to female participants was minimal because of the societal norms in Saudi Arabia, which had an effect on the study and resulted in most interviews being conducted with male participants. Another reason was attributed to the nature of the study since it was not conducted in formal setting (e.g., school) which would possibly allow more access to female participants. Regardless, gender balancing was not considered a great concern due to the expectation of the limited impact it has in the current study.

There were a large number of participants, but the group underwent a filtration process by means of some requirements and characteristics relevant to the research agenda that they had to meet. In order to reflect the diversity of the current population of Medina, and to have different points of view, the sampling included shop owners, customers, and people from minority groups.

Interview Instrument

The participants' responses were recorded by means of audio recorder available on a smartphone. Also, following Garvin (2010), a notebook was employed to record field notes that I probed for more information, or even clarification of responses has been deemed appropriate. Edwards and Holland (2013) stated that what a question or answer means to the interviewer can easily mean something different to the interviewee (p. 93). Thus, these further elaborations helped the researchers eliminate any dispute might appear.

Interview Procedure

Within the period of two weeks, a great number of individuals contacted the researcher expressing their willingness to participate in the study. They were given some noninstitutional-setting options for doing the interview such as in coffee shop and restaurants within the research site and even home in order to ensure privacy. The researcher was keen to avoid the personal choices of setting that could affect the responses of the informants (Edwards & Holland, 2013). Some of them chose Starbucks, the popular coffee shop close to the Prophet Mosque. Others preferred to meet the researcher inside the Prophet Mosque after or before prayer times. It is notable to mention that the mosque appeared to offer less privacy than other locations, like the Café, but many interviewees actually felt more comfortable at the mosque.

At the time of the interview, participants were given a copy of three documents:1) the the initial permission taken from the University of Memphis to conduct this study that included the step of doing the interview and recording participant response, (2) the permission from the local municipality in Medina, (3) the consent form used for this study. In fact, 1 and 2 have been requested by participants during the recruitment. Afterward, the first part of the interview was to fill out a demographic survey that designed to obtain some significant information about each participant such as the language (s) they speak and the ethnicity they belong to. The average time to have been spent doing so was 5 minutes. The second part was pertaining to the questions which were prompted by the researcher to the respondents as topic for conversations without following specific order to address the questions. At the time of the second part, the recorder was turned on and was placed in visual position. The approximate time for each interview was between 15-20 minutes. The languages used were mostly Arabic, as it was preferred by the interviewees, and English in two cases with non-Arabic informants. Responses were recorded

and then transcribed into Word files. Although some of them did not express any interest, I

offered a copy of the transcription for each participant.

Data Analysis of the Interview

The second source of the data comes from the interview. As stated before that this sort of

data is utilized and used collaboratively to support the qualitative analysis of the signs as well as

to add another layer to the interpretation of the signs. Indeed, analyzing the interview data is

varied, with no single approach that scholars have agreed on (Creswell, 2014). The interview

data were audio recorded, which then necessitates a need to change them to text data. Then,

recorded data was transcribed into the Microsoft Word processor software. Afterward, the text

was transferred into Nvivo, which is a software program that offers an efficient way to manage

the nonnumerical and unstructured data (Creswell, 2014; Richards, 2002). In this software, each

interviewee is coded symbolically on the formula (first participant = P1) and so on with all

interviewees. Once the text data of each participant was uploaded onto Nvivo, it was categorized

and stored into nodes utilizing the codes that already created for each participant. The "thematic

analysis" was used to determine the main themes in which the theme was deemed as a point that

"captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents

some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 10).

These themes, which are discussed in detail in the qualitative analysis, were themes such as

religious identity, holiness, religious commodification, education, language policy, and

globalization. As a general rule of thumb, the results from the interview were largely

incorporated in the qualitative discussion in which I made a correlation between the fixed objects

and a participant's response related to the content on the sign.

It is important to mention that I focused more on the content of ideas and thoughts of participants toward the signage, which thus has no interest in some discourse features such as pauses and fillers (Ben Said, 2010). Also, for the same reason, I excluded nonverbal utterances such as laughing, coughing, or clearing of the throat.

Videotaping

The third source for the data is recording the spoken language of people within the study site which is known in LL as a "soundscape". This term was first received attention by Schafer (1977) who stated that soundscape included "any acoustic field of study" not limited to language (p. 7). The study of Scarvaglieri, Redder, Pappenhagen, and Brehmer, (2013) however, was one of which applied the concept to the spoken language in public space. Similar to the current study, Sifianou (2010) examined the soundscape of the subway station announcements in Greek. The data consist of 15 clips of announcements provided in English and Greek. Her analysis was looking specifically at the fluctuation found on the phonological, lexico-grammatical, and pragmatic levels. She also discussed some characteristics of the non-native pronunciation since she was able to determine in each record whether the announcer native speaker or not. Another similar study was conducted by Backhaus (2017) when he looked at the use of the English as English as a lingua franca in public transport in Tokyo. The author collected 72 recorded announcements provided in both English and Japanese. Beside the recording, 70 bilingual Japanese–English signs were collected for comparison purposes. In the recording, the attention was given to the different varieties of English implemented, such as North American variety, found in some recordings. Also, Backhaus has discussed some lexical and pragmatic features, and concluded with addressing that utilizing the English in Tokyo public transport seemed to be "only very weakly localized" (p. 207). What could be similar to use of soundscape in this study

was in Mitchell's (2010) research when he considered the spoken language during the interview with participants in which the sounds where heard without intention. Then, Mitchell (2010) decided to take notes while walking for every time a certain language was heard. Boterberg (2014) was inspired by Mitchell and utilized the soundscape similarly in two Belgian cities, Kortrijk and Aalst, in order to determine the dominance of the languages observed within the study site. Indeed, soundscape, as a method, was employed in this study different from other previous studies. The modification was to include the visual scene of the public space instead of only recording. The rationale behind this step was to have a complete picture of the public space for the analysis so that we have signs and language spoken of the space in order to have accurate analysis for the linguistic landscape of the selected site. Many LL researchers addressed that there are some shop signs used foreign languages while neither customer nor shopkeepers speak those languages (Van Mensel & Darquennes, 2012). Thus, soundscape could give another interpretation to the public space (different from the salient sign and the interviews as well.

Video Instrument

The instrument used was typically the camera app that is pre-installed on Apple iPhones**.**

Procedures

Due to some governmental restrictions of taking videos while walking along the street for each axis, the initial plane was changed to take videos only in some spots within the axes. A total of 18 videos taped for the study site divided as following: In the first axis, the Prophet Mosque, three different spots where selected to launch the recording. Those spots were two of which the mosque's gates and one is the front side of the mosque where it used to be full of worshipers. The time for each video was after the prayer times since the congestion reached its peak

especially at the gates (see figure 11). While taking the video, the camera was moving around to catch any visible signs. Each video last from 1-3 minutes. In fact, the last 3-minute allows us to have much more space to convey the current sounds of the spot. However, the flaw was the very narrow space of sidewalk on which I was forced to stand since the distance between shops and vehicle streets are less than 2 meters which makes the process a bit harder.

Figure 11. Congestion at the gate of the Prophet Mosque (Alegt.com).

For the second axis which is a set of three streets around the mosque, I had the chance to take four short clips in each street whenever I saw a group of people (mostly they were walking) near or in front of some shops. Interestingly, the vision of these spots was bigger than at the mosque since they were in an open area while vehicles have limited access during the traffic and then those streets turned to be for pedestrians only. In the third axis, similar steps were taken to film three clips in each of the two streets of this axis. The difference was that in these spots the crowd was less than the streets near the mosque, and thus exits of some mini-malls were chosen to collect the videos. For comparison purposes, I tried to have the videos taken in or close to the areas where I conducted interviews.

Data Analysis of the Videos

As mentioned, this method was employed to determine the dominant language of a given area and then compare it with other data of the same area. Thus, the analysis is limited to what language not to have discourse analysis for the recordings. Accordingly, each recording is coded based on what language is dominant (most heard). Then, the codes are identified, first based on each street to determine the most frequent language of the street. Then, the same for each axis for the comparison. In addition to the quantitative analysis, the data are used in the qualitative analysis of the signs as I do with the interview data.

Triangulation

Indeed, the triangulation of data would enhance the results and help to avoid issues such as misinterpretation of a sign, misjudging of a video, or inaccurate responses from a participant. In qualitative research, the triangulation data is very significant in that it has increased the reliability and validity of the results. Cohen and Manion (2000) stated that triangulation is an "attempt to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint" (p.45). Thurmond (2001) listed some advantages of the triangulation data such as "increasing confidence in research data, creating innovative ways of understanding a phenomenon, revealing unique findings, challenging or integrating theories, and providing a clearer understanding of the problem" (p. 254). In a general sense, the triangulation of data employed enables us to complete a thorough investigation of the LL in Medina from different perspectives.

Summary

This chapter presents the methods that have been chosen to collect the data. Indeed, the methods I employ in the current study are unique and innovative since it incorporates three different approaches together which has not been commonly done in previous LL researches. The triangulation of the methods and then data is very important to understand the complexity of how linguistic landscape in Medina is constructed. The complexity lies in the fact that religion as the dominant identifier of the city, puts pressure in shaping the public sphere in a certain way. Thus, by means of the three different type of data, a comprehensive analysis to the current linguistic landscape of Medina is presented in the next chapter.

<center>**Chapter Four**</center>

<center>**Analysis and Discussion**</center>

Overview

        To analyze the data, this study used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods in order to investigate multilingualism and religion in the linguistic landscape (LL) of Medina in Saudi Arabia. The examination of the linguistic landscape revealed that Arabic is the predominant language, while English and Urdu languages are presented frequently more than other minority languages in Medina. The findings indicate that religion, to a large extent, contributes in shaping the public sphere of Medina in different manners and forms. Also, the results unveil a conflict between the language practices and the language beliefs of minority members.

        The results in this chapter are divided into two main sections. In the first section, the data from photographs and video recordings made in the city are presented, based in a quantitative perspective. The second section is the qualitative analysis, which revealed three themes relevant to understanding the construction of the LL of Medina: (1) religion, (2) language policy and minority languages, and (3) English and globalization. As religion is a core aspect of LL in this city, this theme was further delineated into four subthemes: religious identity, holiness, religion and education, and commodification of the religious content.

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Quantitative Analysis and Discussion

Distribution of languages in LL of Medina.

Photographic images of three hundred signs were collected for the current study in order to describe the LL of Medina. These signs have been scrutinized from different directions and levels. The first analysis of the collected data answers the first research question: how many languages are displayed in the linguistic landscape of Medina? The results revealed that, in addition to Arabic, 10 languages are at work in the LL of Medina. However, the frequency and the degree of occurrence of these languages are different, as shown in table 3. These languages are English, Urdu, Bengali, Indonesian, Persian, Turkish, Hausa, French, Hindi and Malayalam. In contrast, Ethnologue report has listed some other immigrant languages used in Saudi Arabia as a whole, but only three of the languages listed were found in the LL of Median: Urdu, Turkish, and Bengali (Eberhard, Gary, and Charles:2019). The report treats some Arabic dialects as distinct languages, which may not be accurate and does not serve the current study.

As I introduced in the Methodology Chapter, each establishment, as a whole, represents a unit of analysis, rather than each sign found at the establishment (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008). The reason for this decision is that all signs of one shop, and the languages involved, have been allocated by the company that operates the business. Thus, "each text belongs to a larger whole instead of being clearly separate" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2008:71). In Medina, some stores have multiple signs, and I treated them as one unit of analysis (see figure 12).

Figure 12. One establishment: unit of analysis.

In order to calculate the frequency, each language in a single unit of analysis is considered just 1count. In figure 12, for example, the store has four signs (posters), one main and three small ones. As we can see in the figure, the Turkish language is used in one of the three small posters, while Urdu and Arabic are repeated in both the main and small posters. Even though there are four posters, this is still one establishment. Therefore, the frequency of each language, Turkish, Urdu, and Arabic, is considered just 1 count each.

Table3

Languages contained on the signs of the sample (n = 300)

Language	Frequency	%
Arabic	283	44.7
English	159	25.1
Urdu	123	19.4
Bengali	18	2.8
Indonesian	12	1.9
Persian	8	1.3
Turkish	7	1.1
Hausa	3	0.5
French	5	0.8
Hindi	9	1.4
Malayalam	6	0.9
Sum	633	100

Table 3 shows that Arabic, which is the official language of the country, is the dominant language in the entire linguistic landscape of Medina. The second most frequently used language is English. However, the frequency of the third most common language, Urdu (123), is not much different from that of English (159). The rest of languages are repeated in small percentages that are therefore less significant than Arabic, English and Urdu. The Urdu language is spoken mainly by people from Pakistan, most of whom are working in Saudi Arabia in blue-collar jobs.

It is important to mention that there are cases where Arabic was not included in some monolingual and multilingual signs. Also, it is very common for the English language to be the

only language used on signs for large corporations. However, there are few cases where

minority languages are presented on signs that have no Arabic language (see figure13 and 14).

Figure 13. Urdu language is written monolingually.

Figure 14. Multilingual sign with no Arabic (Bengali & Urdu).

Top-down versus Bottom-up signs

According to most LL studies, a basic distinction in linguistic landscape is made between top-down and bottom-up signs (Groter, 2006). Thus, the first classification of the photographic data is based on the source of who made the signs. In Medina, the signs could be created by either government agencies or individuals. The signs made by the former are presented in this study as the official signs "public signs, top-down," while the latter are presented as the commercial or private signs, "bottom-up". The distribution of the data collected, based on authorship, is presented in table 4. In order to reduce repeating the name of each street and location, an "axis" number was assigned to each area. The Prophet Mosque refers to axis 1, either inside or outside, Central Zone is the name of the area where the streets of axis 2 are located; and, lastly, Modern Area for axis 3 refers to the streets that are far from the Prophet Mosque.

Table 4

The distribution of signs based on the authorship

Axis	Top-down	Bottom-up	total
The Prophet Mosque	99	-	99
Central Zone	12	125	137
Modern Area	8	56	64
Total	119	181	300

Among the data collected in the three axes, 119 units of analysis were considered as top-down (governmental) signs, whilst 181 were bottom-up (private) signs. Examples of where bottom-up signs are found include restaurants, grocery stores, fruit (date) stalls, pharmacies,

clothing stores, bookstores, furniture stores, money exchanges, and electronics repair shops. The top-down signs represented in axis 2 and 3 are mostly found in traffic signs, due to there being less governmental interest in the commercial areas.

It is clear that the bottom-up signs were found in commercial streets, located both near and far, from the Prophet Mosque. The source of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the chosen streets in axis 2 and 3 are commercial streets where vital commercial activities are ongoing and thus, many signs are placed on stores. Consequently, government agencies or the public sectors would prefer to not establish their buildings and institutions alongside commercial areas. Also, the results of this classification reveal that the Prophet Mosque would not display bottom-up signs, since the entire mosque is operated by a governmental agency and commercial activities are not allowed.

In general, the number of the bottom-up (private) signs in Medina is greater than the number of governmental signs, which indicates that citizens and individuals of Medina play a major role in determining the LL of the city, rather than it being determined by the government, which, in this sense, is in line with Backhaus (2006). Another significance of the present categorization is to determine the language policy, following in this regard, Shohamy (2006). Therefore, this classification will be utilized with other categorizations in this section, as well as with the discussion of the language policy in the qualitative analysis.

Reh's typology (2004)

This categorization is employed in this study in order to determine the degree of the transliteration and translation of the multilingual signs in all axes. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, Reh (2004) proposed four main types of multilingual writing. The first

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type is "duplicating multilingualism", which refers to the rewriting of the exact same text in one or more languages (see figure 17). The second type is the "fragmentary multilingualism", which occurs when the multilingual sign has the full text presented in one language while selected parts of the text have been translated to other language(s) (see figure 18). The third type is "overlapping multilingualism", in which part of text is translated into one or more languages, whilst other parts of the text are given in single languages (see figure 19). The last type is the "complementary multilingual writing", which occurs when the information of each language has been written with a completely different content from other languages in the sign (See figure 20).

A remarkable observation in this subsection is that the number and variety of languages included on any one particular sign are most associated with the Prophet Mosque, and gradually decreases as we move away from the mosque (see graph in figure 15). This ascribes to the fact that the mosque is the most diverse place because its visitors originate from many different language backgrounds. Moving out of the mosque into the second axis, the area is occupied with hotels where the mosque's visitors are accommodated. Thus, the vast number of languages is rational, but less than in the region directly around the mosque. Finally, the third axis is far away from the mosque, with visitors less likely to be there. English is the most common language beside Arabic, since people in this axis see no need for additional languages.
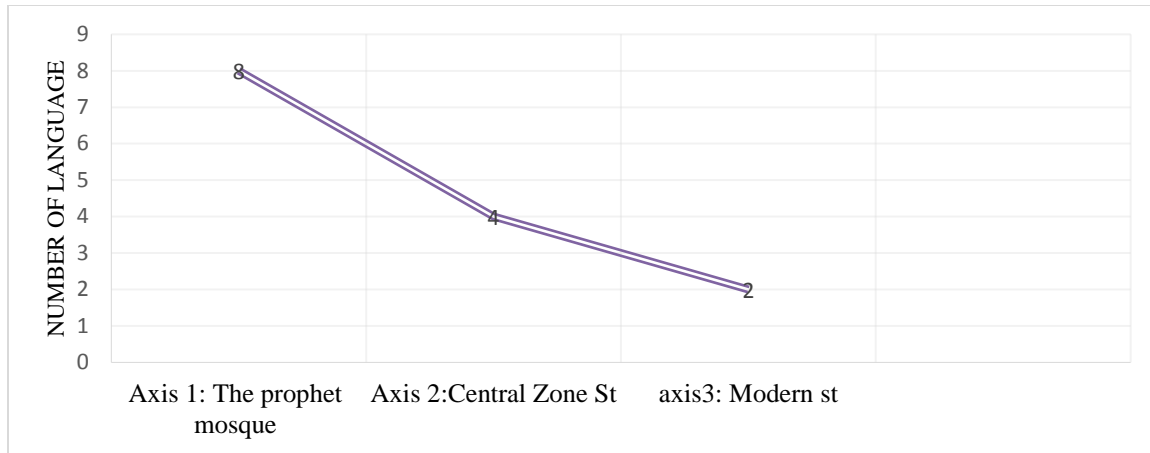
Figure 15. The highest number of languages observed in the multilingual sign per axis.

This classification is designed for multilingual writing only, therefore, the monolingual signs in each axis were omitted from this classification. Therefore, 225 units of analysis, out of 300 in the whole corpus, were identified as multilingual signs, and then incorporated on Reh's classification. Table 5 shows the distribution of multilingual signs per axis.

Table 5

The distribution of multilingual signs based on Reh's typology

Types	Prophet Mosque frequency	%	Central Zone frequency	%	Modern area frequency	%	Whole corpus	
Duplicating	57	%85	30	%29.4	17	%35.7	104	46.2
Fragmentary	10	%15	41	%40.2	20	%26.8	71	31.6
Overlapping	-	-	12	% 11.8	7	%16.1	19	8.4
Complementary	-	-	19	%18.7	12	%21.4	31	13.8
Total	67	100	102	100	56	100	225	100

The table indicates that "duplicating multilingualism" is the most frequent type of multilingual sign, the total number of signs being104 (46.2%), while "overlapping multilingualism" is the least frequent type, with only 19 signs (8.4%). However, this is not always the same in each axis, since "fragmentary multilingualism" is most common in both axis 2 and axis 3. In addition, overlapping and complementary multilingual signs never appear in the first axis (the Prophet Mosque), while they do exist in axis 2 and axis 3, albeit with less frequency than duplicating and fragmentary multilingualism. In general, the overall display of the multilingual signs in Medina tends to be the more symmetrical, "duplicating".

	Axis 1	Axis 2	Axis 3
Duplicating	57	30	17
Fragmentary	10	41	20
Overlapping	0	12	7
Complementary	0	19	12
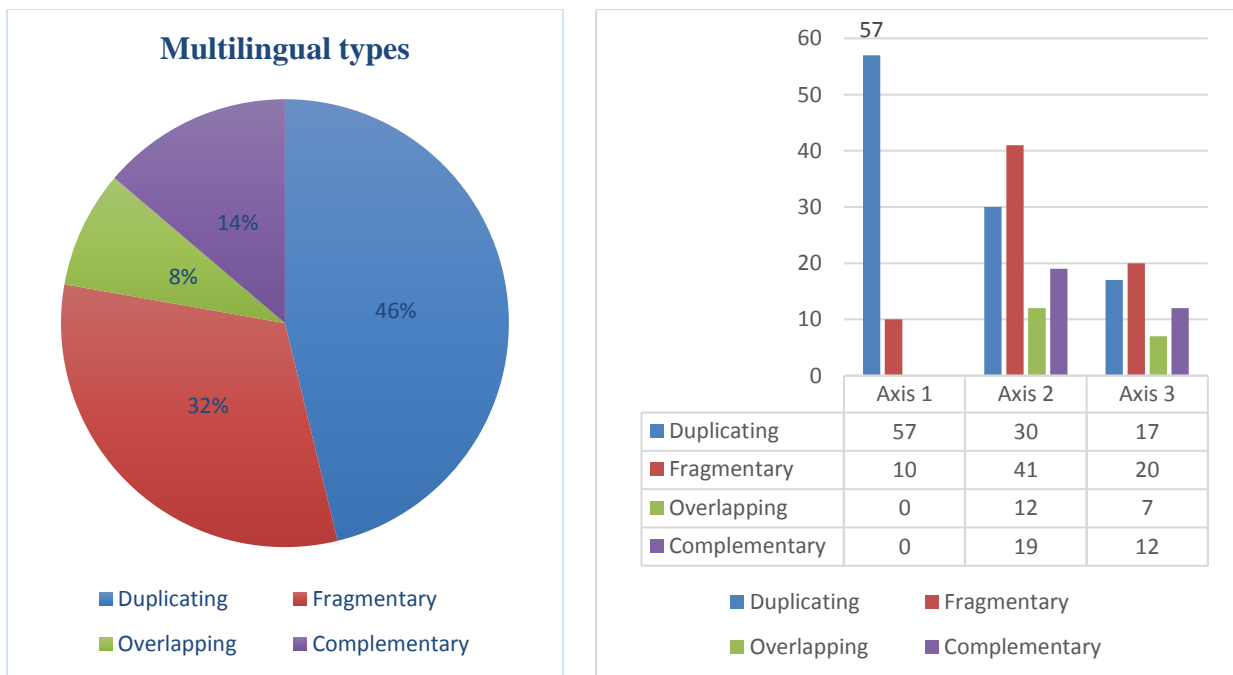
Figure16. The distribution of multilingual signs Reh (2004).

In the Prophet Mosque, 85% of the multilingual signs collected inside and outside the mosque conform to "duplicating multilingualism", which refers to the presence of the same text in all languages used on the sign. Backhaus (2007) refers to this type of multilingual writing as 'homophonic signs,' in which the original text has been completely translated into another

language(s). Indeed, the overwhelming use of homophonic signs at the Prophet Mosque indicates the tendency of the mosque's organizers to provide the information for each speaker completely and precisely. This is further evidenced by the fact that overlapping and complementary multilingual signs do not exist in the Prophet Mosque. This suggests that there is a pre-knowledge by LL actors, (in this sense, top-down actors) that all visitors and worshipers in the Prophet Mosque would not be reached by a single language only. It seems also that the official LL actors avoid confusing monolingual readers with mixing languages (overlapping and complementary). Another interesting observation is the number of languages used in one sign. At the Prophet Mosque, there were some cases where one sign may include 6, 7, or even 8 languages, all of which are represented equally with the same degree of translation (see figures 17 and 18). This might be an evidence of a strict separation of languages, which assumes that the reader is monolingual in one of the languages (not a bilingual reader of Arabic and Urdu, for example).

Figure 17. Six languages in one sign in axis 1: from top to bottom (Arabic, English, Bengali, Indonesian, Turkish, and Urdu).

Figure 18. Eight languages, the Prophet Mosque; duplication multilingualism.

The mosque is operated by a governmental agency, which gives them more freedom to have signs with many languages. This also explains the variety of sizes that signs in the mosque have. As we can see in figures 17 and 18, in order to fit many languages, the size of the sign must be large. This is not the case for the commercial signs presented later in this section. Shop owners, for instance, are mandated to have specific sign sizes for their stores, whereas here, in a governmental agency, the signs can be of any size.

Another type of multilingual sign found in the Prophet Mosque is the that of "fragmentary multilingualism", of which only ten are counted. Figure 19 below shows an example of this type placed on a wall inside the Prophet Mosque.

Figure 19. Fragmentary multilingualism example in the Prophet Mosque.

The sign in figure 19 is located above a telephone box provided by the mosque organizers to assist visitors. The Arabic phrase above the English reads "ALTWJEEH WEL ERSHAD," which translates to English as "Guidance and direction," whereas the English version is specified as "Giving religious guidance." This means that people are able to use this phone to ask a religious question or to get some instructions and information about worshiping principles. Another missing part of the English text is the name of institution (or the source who provided this service), which is written in Arabic only at the very top of the sign: "Agency of General Presidency for the Prophet Mosque Affairs". In general, the multilingual signs of the Prophet Mosque showed a sense of consistency in presenting different languages in one sign.

In the second axis, the frequency count is completely different from that of the mosque, in that fragmentary multilingualism is considered the most frequent type, with 41 occurrences (40.2%), while the duplicating multilingualism follows with 30 occurrences (29.4%). In figure 20 below, an example of fragmentary multilingual signs is presented.

Figure 20. Fragmentary multilingual sign in axis 2.

As we can see, the unit of analysis in figure 20 above consists of two signs, the one with images of trees and dates located above the other which has a green background. It is obvious that this sign is located at a fruit store, which offers a wide selection of dates, a popular fruit product in Medina. Many such stores exist within and around axis 2 (Central Zone). The sign is occupied mostly by the Arabic language, with the only part translated into English located to the left: "AL Ansari for Dates." The Arabic phrase next to the English one reads: "it's for all kinds of dates, nuts and desserts." The third line from the top, written inside yellow ovals, provides names for several kinds of dates. The second sign is written completely in Arabic and starts with a religious phrase, which is the crux of the matter of this study, since religion plays a vital role in shaping the public space of this city, as will be discussed in the religious section. Then, the religious text is followed by another reference to the name of the store "Al Ansari for dates." It is clear from knowing the Arabic information, that the English text does not provide as complete

information as the Arabic words do, as in "desserts and nuts". This is an example of

"fragmentary multilingualism", because the English information is very limited for monolingual

English readers since the only piece of information they will be able to know is the type of store

(selling dates). On the other hand, the monolingual Arabic, and also bilingual of Arabic and

English readers, are able to understand the details that are given in Arabic language. It seems that

the most intended audiences are Arabic, with the non-Arabic readers being less targeted. Another

possibility is that English speakers (most visitors speak English) are only interested in the

popular product of Medina which is dates; therefore, the most important information is translated

to them in English. Another observation is the two flags used in the signs. At the right side, the

flag belongs to Malaysia while the left one is an Indonesian flag. Both countries are in Southeast

Asia. It seems that the targeted customers of this store are from those countries, or the area where

the store is located has a major portion of its customer base from these two nations. This type of

situation is normal in Medina, in axis 2 in particular, where a lot of hotels and visitors of the

same regions are accommodated in a particular spot within axis 2.

This axis is different from the Prophet Mosque, since most of its signs are overlapping

and complementary, observed in axis 2 with 11.8% and 18.7% frequency, respectively. An

example of each type is provided in figures 20 and 21.

Figure 21. Overlapping multilingualism in Central Zone.

Figure 21 shows the front sign of a restaurant within the Central Zone that is written in three languages: Arabic, Bengali, and English. This restaurant serves Bengali food, and thus the middle two lines, written in Bengali, should be considered the original language of the sign. The first line is written in Arabic and refers to the name of the restaurant owner, since it provides the full name of someone, with the word "restaurant" in the form: "someone's restaurant." It is customary to name stores in Medina using the full name of the owner, or at least the last name. This complicated sign needs some elaborating to justify its classification under the overlapping multilingual signs. First, however, it is important to note that if we omit the Arabic words from the sign, then this sign would instead be categorized under the fragmentary signs, because the Bengali words read "Miami restaurant, delicious Bengali food available here," while in English it reads "Miami restaurant." In other words, only part of the original text was translated. However, the issue comes from the Arabic part of the sign, which reads in its entirety, "Ali Saleem Al-Belewi restaurant" (someone's restaurant). It is obvious that the Arabic version is missing some of the information that is provided in other languages, and at the same time provides information that was not translated into either Bengali or English, thereby causing the overlapping in this sign. This sign illustrates Reh's standpoint of the difference between fragmentary and overlapping since Backhaus (2007) considered them to be a single category and called them "mixed signs". Reh's (2004) position derived from the fact that overlapping a multilingual sign "informs monolingual readers sufficiently and at the same time neither bores bilingual readers through exact repetition as in the case of duplicating multilingualism, nor privileges them by providing them with more information than monolingual readers as in the case of fragmentary multilingualism" (p.12). This concept applies to this sign, since part of the text (restaurant) is given in all three languages, while new information is provided in each

language: name of the owner in Arabic, type of food in Bengali, and modernized image in English (Miami restaurant). In Medina, this type of sign is intended for Bengali customers, despite the Arabic and the English words.

In general, the signs of this axis show the desire of the shop owners to reach linguistically diverse customers, since this area has a lot of hotels where visitors of the mosque are accommodated. At the same time, the large number of the sign are fragmentary, which suggests that there might less of a desire to be consistent, as was the case in the Prophet Mosque. In addition, it could be attributed to the limited space that shop owners have for signs.

In the third axis, the modern area, the number of the multilingual signs is less than other axes, with only 56. However, the quantitative results in table 3 show that the percentage of each multilingual type is not too different from axis 2, since both axes have signs that conform to fragmentary multilingualism (40% for axis 2, and 26.8% for axis 3). They also correspond in having the duplicating multilingual signs as the second common type (35.7% and 29.4% respectively). In addition, there are only seven cases in the third axis where the overlapping multilingual signs occur. The most interesting characteristic in this axis is the fact that the multilingualism most often occurs with the use of English beside Arabic, with other languages are rarely observed. However, the way that English and Arabic languages are negotiated in this area show significance, which is discussed, in detail, in the qualitative section. The finding of this axis is in line with most of LL studies that found English is the most common language used beside the local language (Backhaus, 2007; Fakhiroh & Rohmah, 2018)

Another significant observation in this axis is the complementary multilingual sign, which is defined by Reh (2004) as the case where different parts of the message are provided in different languages so that each part complements each other to create the sign. It is similar to

what Backhaus (2007) called "'polyphonic signs". Although Reh (2004) claims that this type of multilingual sign requires the reader to be competent in all languages in order to understand the sign, some complementary multilingual signs in Medina would be understood even by a monolingual reader. To address this point, two examples of complementary multilingual signs are provided; one may be understood by a monolingual and the other may not. Figures 22 and 23 illustrate this differentiation.

Figure 22. Complementary multilingual sign requires knowledge of all codes.

Figure 23. Complementary sign may not require knowledge of all codes.

In figure 23, the Arabic phrase reads: "Al-Fahem for electronic home devices," while the English word indicates a name of a company that is popular in producing electronic devices

"Panasonic". Thus, the non-Arabic speakers would be able to understand what type of business this store is, because "Panasonic" is an international brand that is widely recognized in many parts of the world. On the other hand, figure 22 shows a restaurant whose name is only presented in Arabic: "Sheikh Al Arab's Circle," while the English words define the type of the restaurant with the phrase, "Original Egyptian Taste." Thus, Arabic readers may not be able to figure out what type of restaurant it is by merely reading the Arabic phrase. However, to a certain degree, the non-Arabic readers would not be able to read the name of the restaurant, nor understand that store is a restaurant, because the word 'Taste" could also describe a coffee shop, for example.

To sum up, this section illustrates the quantitative analysis of the multilingual signs in Medina, in light of the four multilingual types proposed by Reh (2004): "duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, and complementary multilingualism." The results revealed that duplicating multilingualism is the most common type of sign, while overlapping multilingualism signs occur rarely. Also, the consistency of language in multilingual signs are observed more in the mosque and decreased in axis 2 and 3, consecutively.

Façade Visibility

As illustrated in the previous chapter, the photographed data of this study is analyzed according to a score system designed by Vandenbroucke (2014). This section will describe the quantitative results of these analyses, as carried out in Excel files. As discussed before, the score system was used to determine how relatively visible each language is in the LL of Medina. In light of this, each language is given a value from 1-4, based on its position on the sign, and in relation to other languages involved. A value of 4 was given to the monolingual sign; a value of 3 was given to dominant language (s); a value of 2 was given for languages presented equally (as in duplicating multilingual sign); and a value of 1 was given to the dominate languages.

It is important to clarify that this score system is different from Reh's types of multilingual signs in twofold. First, it allows us to determine how visible each language is, while Reh's types of multilingualism give a title for the signs (duplicating, overlapping, etc). The second differentiation is that the score system subsumes and gives a value for the language displayed solely on the sign (monolingual sign), while Reh's typology excludes monolingual signs from its analysis. With this in mind, all 300 pieces of the photographed data will be analyzed in this section.

Given the distribution of 11 languages counted in LL of Medina in table 3, it is obvious that Arabic, English, and Urdu languages are the most frequently used among other languages. Also, the percentage of those fewer common languages have a less noticeable role on street visibility. Thus, examining each language separately by means of the score system would not contribute to achieving the purpose of employing this system. Consequently, the current study applies the Vandenbroucke (2014) tactic to group the less frequent languages, coding them as "Other", which accounts for 8 languages: Bengali, Indonesian, Persian, Turkish, Hausa, French, Hindi, and Malayalam.

In the process, the first step has to be taken in the score system is to calculate the *street visibility* which is the value of each language, divided by the total sum of each unit. This analysis is carried out in Excel files, for each researched area. In line with Vandenbroucke (2014), the street visibility score indicates the degree of visibility of the language at the level of a location (i.e. street) (p. 7). In figure 24, the street-visibility score of each language per location is presented.
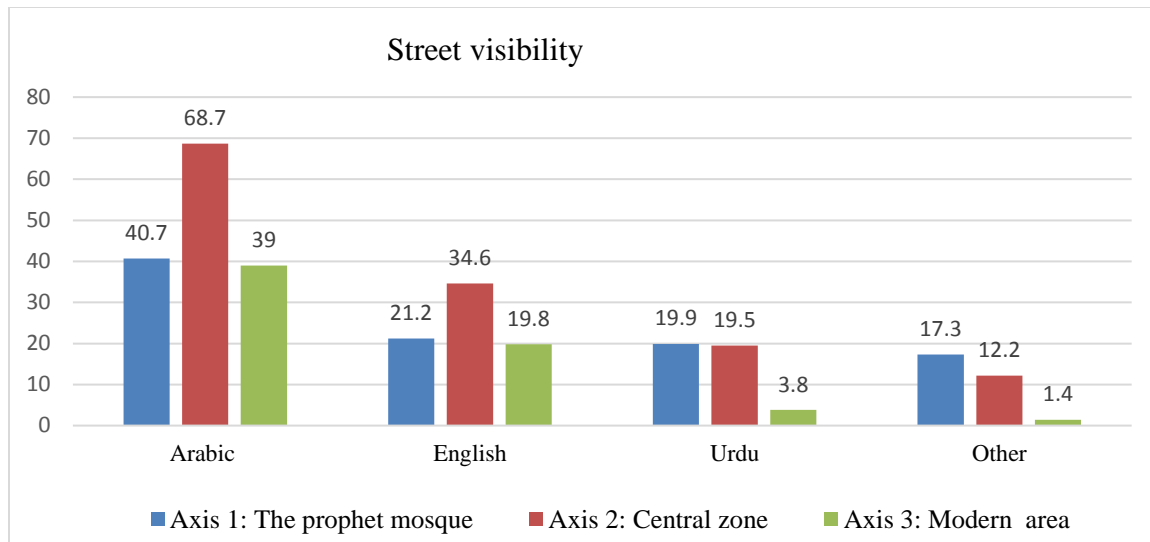
Figure 24. Street visibility score for each language per axis.

As we can see in the chart above, Arabic has the highest score in each axis (40.7, 68,7, 39 respectively), then English ranks at the second level (21.2, 34.6, 19.8 respectively). Urdu comes third, based on its street visibility score per axis (19.9, 19.5, 3.8). Finally, the last rank is given to "Other," based on their street visibility (17.3,12.2, 1.4). Indeed, the scores of English, Urdu and "other" languages in axis 1 (which is the mosque) are comparatively close to each other, which indicates the high degree of multilingualism in the LL at the Prophet Mosque. The picture will become clearer when calculating the façade visibility, which is the next step.

In order to calculate the relative façade visibility, the street visibility score of each language, presented in figure 24, is divided by the total number of units analyzed for each location. (As a reminder, the total number of units are: axis 1 - 99; axis 2 - 137; and axis 3 -65). The results of façade visibility are presented in figure 25 below.
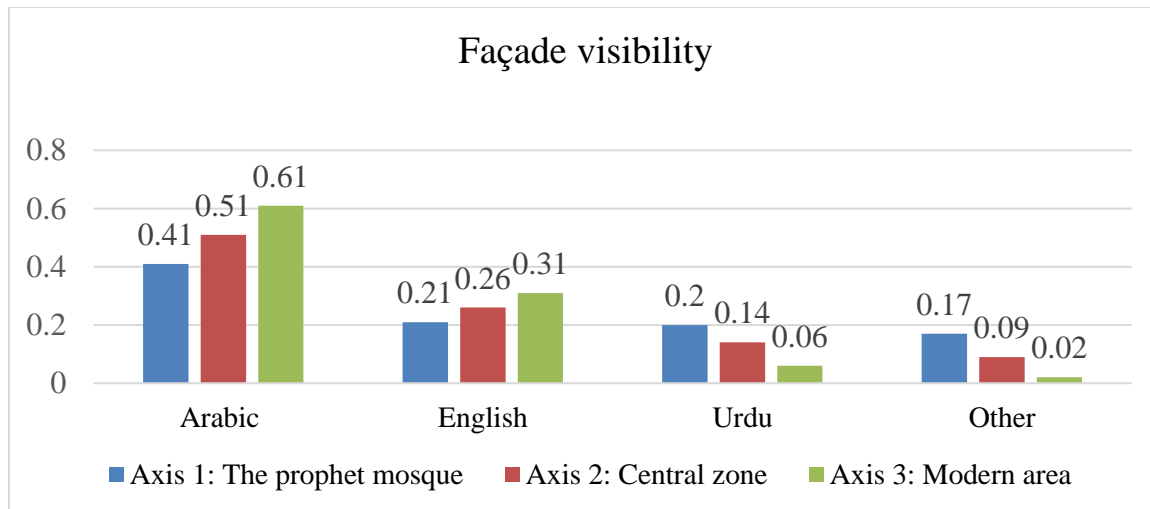
Figure 25. Facade visibility of each language per axis.

As we can notice in the chart above, the façade visibility is somewhat different from street visibility, because the score on the latter relates directly to the number of units in each axis. In all axes, it is obvious that Arabic is the most visible, which is in line with the expectation, since Arabic is the official language of the city. More specifically, Arabic occurs most predominately in axis 3, which is best described as the area of more residents and fewer visitors, because of its proximity to the mosque, while it is less visible at axis 1, which is the Prophet Mosque. English, in general, is the second-most visible language after Arabic. However, its façade visibility score is deemed to be close to Urdu and "Other" more than Arabic, giving credence to the assumption that English is treated similarly to other varieties of language in Medina. This is illustrated clearly in the chart below, which shows that the English facade score is nearly half that of the Arabic score, while the score of the English is more similar to Urdu and Other. To simplify this point, the Mean of each language per axis is summed in the line below (figure 26). In the façade visibility chart, axis 1 (the Prophet Mosque) shows a level of similarity between English, Urdu and Other, since their visibilities are 0.21, 0.2, and 0.17. In addition,

Urdu and Other languages' scores are dropped (almost not seen) in axis 3, while the English

score increases.
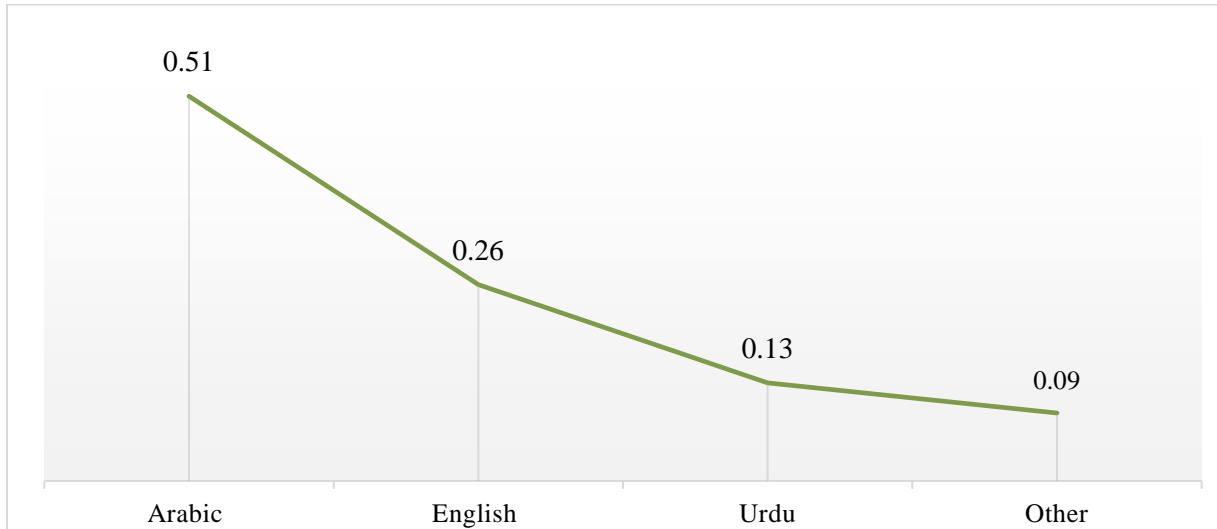
Figure 26. Mean of facade score of all languages in all axes.

The overall results of the façade visibility are in line with the expectations regarding

Arabic as the most dominant language in all three axes. However, the visibility of the Arabic

language, fused with the existence of other languages, reflects the façade of the area. English

language in Medina, on other hand, is expected to have higher visibility, but the effect of other

minority languages seems to contradict this trend. Surprisingly, the Urdu language holds a high

position, which increases its status among other minority languages, even though all minority

languages (including Urdu) are expected to occupy a marginal position in the landscapes. Urdu

language is mainly spoken by Pakistani which thus revels how large is the Pakistani community

in the city. According to Guzansky (2016), Pakistan is the world's second largest Muslim

population, and the majority of Pakistani workers chose to immigrate to Saudi because of its

religious significance. For the same reason, it is expected that the majority of religious tourists

who visit Medina would be from Pakistan. Moreover, some expatriates in Saudi Arabia are

undocumented and 20 percent of them are Pakistani which is the highest percentage non Arabic

speaking expatriates (De Bel-Air, 2014). Also, there are 2.7 million Pakistani in the entire country (Kaifee, 2019). On the other hand, the governmental statistic document of Saudi Arabia stated that the census of non-Saudi, including Arabic and non-Arabic speakers in Medina is 400,000 while the overall in Saudi Arabia is over 12 Million (GAS). Based on this statistical information, it is rationale to observe Urdu language presented in the LL of Medina more than other minority languages.

Indeed, the linguistic landscape itself may not reflect the ethnolinguistic diversity of inhabitants, which suggests a need for a precise census of each non-Arabic minority group in Medina particularly to draw a precise correlation between the language vitality of people and the linguistic landscape of the city. In light of this, understanding the prominence of minority languages on the facades of these regions, especially in the area surrounding the Prophet Mosque, suggested that LL consummates a crucial role as a mediator of communication for the mosque and commercial establishments, and at the same, it reflects a certain amount of multilingualism associated with both for these entities.

Religious Content

The fourth categorization analyzes signs based on the ratio of religious content, giving the following scores: (1) absolute religious sign, (2) partially religious sign, and (3) nonreligious sign. The absolute religious sign is one that is designed deliberately for religious purposes, such as in figure 27, a sign whose sole purpose is to remind people of Allah. This monolingual sign reads "Allah is the greatest"

Figure 27. Absolute religious sign.

In addition, some religious signs are created for a symbolic purpose, in which no other goals are attached. This type of the sign is mostly found inside the mosque, where some verses from Quran are cited (see figure 28). The second type is a sign in which only a portion of the sign contains religious text. Usually in this type of sign there is no obvious relationship between the religious items and other content in the sign. Examples include signs which use the popular Islamic phrases such as *Mashallah* (Allah has willed). However, there are some cases where shop owners include religious words on their signs that are pragmatically related to the products they are selling. In these cases, the meaning is deeper and requires a certain knowledge about Islam to understand it. Thus, based on the religious content, the photographed data is presented in the table 6 below.

Table 6

The distribution of the signs based on religious content

Axis	Absolute religious	Partially religious	Nonreligious
The mosque (n = 99)	29	41	20
Central zone (n = 137)	25	35	77
Modern area (n = 64)	9	14	41

Most of the data collected from the Prophet Mosque contains religious elements either completely (29) or partially (41). This should come as no surprise, since the mosque is deemed a religious site (see figure 28). Equally predictable, nonreligious signs in the second and third axes are seen more than religious signs. This is expected since the religious signs are, in general, exhibited closer to religious sites.
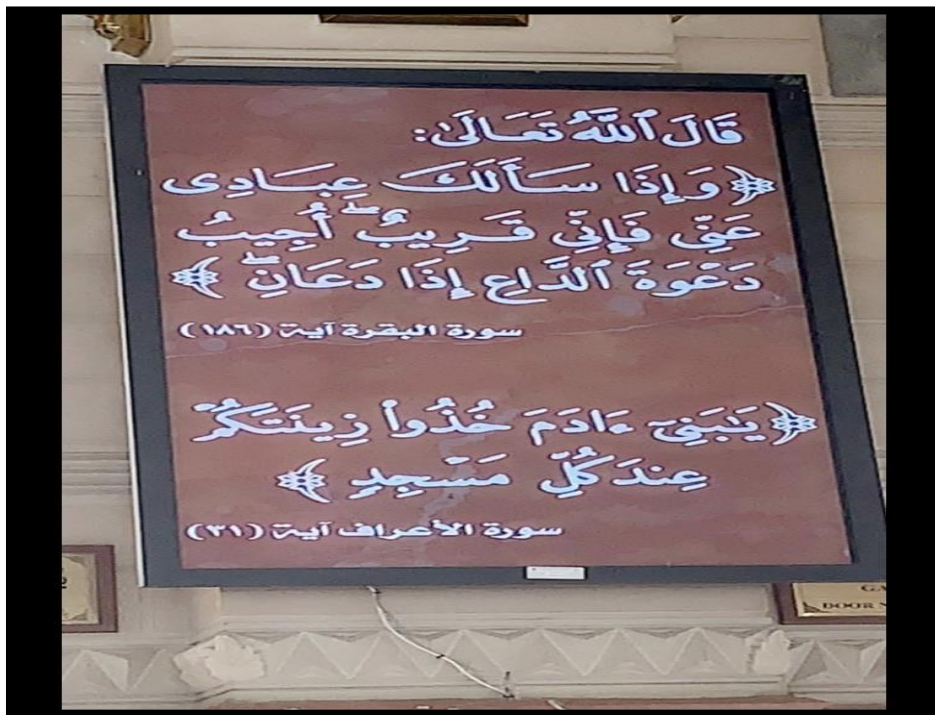
Figure 28. Absolute religious sign in the mosque.

Figure 28 above shows an absolute religious sign containing two Quranic verses. The first verse reads

> "And when My servants ask you about Me, I Am near; I answer the call of the caller when he calls on Me. So let them answer Me, and have faith in Me, that they may be rightly guided" while the second verse reads "O Children of Adam. Dress properly at every place of worship, and eat and drink, but do not be excessive. He does not love the excessive"

We can infer from the translation that this sign is purely religious and that its goal seems to be to educate or to remind Muslims of Islamic principles. An example of a partially religious sign is given in figure 20 in the previous subsection. It is the phrase written on the bottom sign with green background. The sign reads "Mashallah," which means "Allah has willed." This message has no direct relation to what is being sold in the store. The following examples illustrate a nonreligious sign and a partially religious sign in axis 1 (the Prophet Mosque).

Figure 29. Non-religious sign at the Prophet Mosque area.

Figure 30. Partially religious sign; a related Quranic verse used in nonsmoking sign.

Another quantitative point is that the total number of signs in all three axes that have either complete or partial religious text is a remarkable 153, which may not exist in other cities in Saudi Arabia. Thus, the integration of the religious signs in the linguistic landscape of the Medina has been constructed by means of several pictures and takes different forms that are worth deeper inspection, which is explained in the qualitative analysis. This implied that the religious messages are prevalent in the city of Medina more than other cities.

Videotaping

In order to triangulate the analysis of the signs and to investigate the relationship of the linguistic landscape of Medina to actual language use in the three regions of the city identified for this study, a survey of the soundscape (Sifianou, 2010; Scarvaglieri et al., 2016; Mitchell, 2010; Boterberg, 2014; Backhaus, 2017) of the three axes was also conducted. Sounds were recorded at chosen spots within the study site, in order to determine what spoken language was dominant in each spot first, and additionally, in each axis. At the mosque, three spots were selected to record. In the first spot, at the front area of the mosque, the recording, which lasts for

3 minutes, catches three languages: Negeri, Urdu, and Arabic. The second and third spots were at the gate, after prayer time. There, several languages were recorded, but the most heard was Arabic. In this particular spot, Arabic was dominant, but it was obvious that not all speakers were native speakers of Arabic. This is, in fact, can be attributed to religious reasons. There are certain words and phrases that Muslims recite in Arabic when leaving the mosque, even though the speakers' mother tongues are not Arabic. Supporting this theory is the fact that at axes 2 and 3, many other languages are heard, which means that many non-native Arabic speakers are nearby, and these non-native Arabic speakers are likely to visit the mosque. Another reason that may ascribe the prominence of the Arabic language at the gate, or even inside the mosque, is that this is the appropriate Muslim behavior inside of mosques. Protocol dictates that worshippers remain quiet and rarely hold conversation with each other outside of the context of worshiping. Regardless of the momentary presence of Urdu and Nigerian languages, the most prominent language at the Prophet Mosque is Arabic.

In the second axis, four short clips were recorded for each street, in different spots. The analysis of these clips reveals several different languages. They are: Arabic, Urdu, English, a few African languages, and several Arabic dialects, such as Egyptian, Moroccan, and Saudi, as well. It is difficult to determine which one is dominant, unless considering all Arabic dialects as one form of language. The reason behind the variety of different languages and dialects lies in the fact that this is a pedestrian area, wherein many people walk to and from the mosque. Also, visitors usually walk in groups where they use their native languages, often a bit loudly, to communicate. Furthermore, the presence of the various languages in the area points to the ongoing vital commercial activities taking place in this axis.

In the third axis, three different spots were chosen in each street to record the videos. The results reveal that Arabic is the most dominant language. English comes in second, since it was heard momentarily in two different clips. Urdu and Bengali were also recorded in one clip, which lasts for 3 minutes.

This method shows its effectiveness, since it provides a third dimension to the interpretation of the signs. The soundscape supports the results of the analysis of the photographed data that Arabic was most dominant in all three axes. Also, it shows a sense of agreement with the LL, since the presence of different languages in Medina is related to the proximity of the axis to the Prophet Mosque, with the number of languages increasing as we move towards the mosque. Indeed, the data of the third method contributes to our understanding that the LL of a given space may conflict with the actual spoken language of the space. As we can see in the results, Arabic was the only languages at the gate of the mosque, while there were some multilingual signs. This reflects the discrepancy between the stationary objects that have static language, on one hand, and the spoken language which is in a vital and dynamic condition, and thus it demonstrates how we should rely on each of them to describe the linguistic situation of a specific place. Another observation is that there might be some outside factors that affect the relationship between soundscape and linguistic landscape such as, in this study, the ritual use of language. This can be seen at the gate where Muslims recite words in the Arabic language, regardless of their native language. By the same token, soundscape as a method revealed a new language (Hausa, spoken in Nigeria) that is not realized by the conventional way of "photographing". The last contribution that soundscape added was the different Arabic dialects found in axis 2, where the Arabic signs mainly used either Classical Arabic (e.g., religious text) or Modern Standard Arabic (e.g., commercial signs). To sum, the results of this section are

partially in line with Scarvaglieri et al. (2013), who argued that the spoken language, in this case soundscape, is not a precise reflection of the visual LL of a specific setting. However, soundscape may be utilized in LL studies, along with photographing and interviewing, to give a holistic description of a current linguistic status of a certain location.

Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

Overview

In the previous section, the quantitative results revealed that Arabic is the most dominant language in the LL of Medina. Additionally, English and Urdu are relatively in the same position, in terms of visibility and frequency. For religion, being the primary focus of the study, the previous quantitative results indicated that half of the photographed data involved religious content, either partially or completely. In the same context, this section presents the results based on a qualitive perspective. The examination of the data in this section revealed three themes that were relevant to understanding the construction of the LL of Medina: (1) religion, (2) language policy and minority languages, and (3) English and globalization. As religion is a core aspect of the LL in this city, this theme was further delineated into four subthemes: religious identity, holiness, religion and education, and commodification of the religious content.

The second type of data is collected by means of interviews in which the aim is to elicit attitudes toward the languages used in the LL of the city. Data from the interviews is perceived in this study as a collaborative work for the primary data, which is the signs. For the interviews, 17 participants were selected. Among the participants, there were differences in gender and age, neither of which were variables of interest. However, the differences in responses were primarily attributed to their position (shop owner, customers, government agent) and cultural background (visitors, foreigners and residents). Therefore, participants were perceived as LL actors, representing different layers, in which shop owners and costumers are the bottom-up actors, while government representatives are deemed top-down actors.

Religious Identity.

Religious identity is mentioned by 14 informants when asked their opinion about using religious words and phrases on the signs. For these particular questions, there was consensus among interviewees that using religious elements is part of their identity, even with non-Arabic speakers.

Saleh is a male in his late 30s; he is a native speaker of Urdu, who speaks English as a second language. The conversation was mainly in English, with some Arabic words included. It was his second time visiting Medina during the month of Ramadhan. When asked about his attitude toward the use of religious words in the LL of Medina, he said:

> It is expected to see some Quranic verses in the city of the prophet and the city of the Islam. It is the identity of the people here and for me is also part of identity as a Muslim. For me, the words on wall of the mosque added another layer to the beauty of the place.

Here Saleh notes that the words are part of not only the linguistic landscape, but the overall aesthetics and design of the mosque. In a different setting, a Yemeni shop owner who runs a business in the Central zone displayed the Besmila on his store sign. The Besmila is a popular religious phrase Muslims often recite before they read the Quran. It means, "in the name of Allah, the most merciful, the most compassionate." When he was asked about the use of the religious words in the LL of the city, he said,

> I am Muslim, and you are too so it is our identity and I think putting some phrases on signs will bring to me a halal earning. We start everything in our life by saying Besmila and I also want to start my business in the morning by this phrase. It groups the people of this place to each other under the religion Islam.

As expressed in his own words, he tried to justify using of religious words as it is part of everyday practice. Also, he connected the success in business with religion "bring to me a halal earning". In addition to Besmila, the phrase "Mashallah" is frequently displayed in many stores, although there is not always an obvious relationship between the phrase and what is being sold. Mashallah means, in English, "What Allah wishes or "Allah has willed." It is used to express positive amazement or to show appreciation, praise, or thankfulness to a person. In the spoken language, this phrase is sometimes employed as protection from evil eye, which was mentioned by an interviewee who has a restaurant and includes Mashallah on the sign (see figure 31). In light of this, the use of such words does not necessarily imply a high degree of conservativeness but reflects some individuals' beliefs about the role of the religion as it interjects in all aspects of life.

Figure 31. Restaurant sign includes Mashallah at the bottom (yellow sign).

It seems that the spread of the religious signs in the LL of Medina is perceived as an indicator for the city profile to mark the identity of the individuals. This marker implies that the city is a welcoming place for anyone who adheres to the Islam faith. Indeed, in the constitution of the

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, it is explicitly demonstrated that Islam is the religion of the country, which then explains the importance of Islam on different levels, including the governmental one as there are many religious top-down signs. Thus, religious identity in Medina is prioritized over other social components which incorporate the construction of individual identity.

Holiness

Taking a different perspective, religious signs in Medina are used to show the holiness of the city and are observed in all three axes. This type of religious sign emphasizes the sanctity of the city and informs how individuals should respect this sanctity. In the Prophet Mosque, there is hardly any door, wall, ceiling, or chandelier that not inscribed with religious words and phrases, primarily Quranic verses and some sayings of the Prophet (called Hadith). These signs are significantly monolingual and written in Classical Arabic (AC). Al saif and Starks (2019) pointed out that "the omnipresence of the verses emanates throughout the building and brings out the spirituality of the place" (p. 6). In addition to this, these signs have not been randomly emplaced in the mosque, but rather there was a correlation between a sign and its chosen place. For example, the sign in figure (32) below is a Quranic verse which translated as

"O you who believe Raise not your voices above the voice of the prophet, nor speak aloud to him in talk as you speak aloud to one another"

This verse instructs that Muslims should respect the prophet and not speak loudly when they mention his name. This particular sign was placed above the Prophet's tomb, reminding his visitors to behave quietly. In fact, security personnel in the area remind visitors to remain quiet and to keep walking, as seen in the photo below.

Figure 32. CA monolingual sign located above the Prophet's tomb.

Aside from the content, inscribed signs inside the Prophet Mosque have a sense of a uniqueness among other signs, both inside the mosque or elsewhere. This embodies using Arabic calligraphy, which is a type of Arabic handwriting mostly used for "architecture, decoration and coin design" (Elmansy, 2014). In the same context, the "visual semiotic framework" of Scollon and Scollon (2003) have created a model for the code preference of a sign which relies on specific criteria: the saliency, the relative size of fonts, and color. According to this model, these criteria are used to determine the dominant language on a multilingual sign. Adopting this perception, inscribed signs inside the mosque seem to play a dominant role in the mosque, among other signs. With this in mind, Alomoush (2014) has reported that Arabic calligraphy is a clue of "unity, beauty and power in the Muslim world and its aesthetic appeal reflects the cultural values of the Islamic world" (57). In the same context, Alshahrani (2008) stated that Arabic calligraphers spent time and effort to produce accurate Quran manuscripts. As a result of this value, many types of Holy Quran manuscripts were kept in museums. In light of this, the inscribed signs on the Prophet Mosque were intentionally written to differentiate them from

other mosques by their aesthetics, as well as to portray and turn the signs into museum pieces. This suggests that inscribed signs increase the mosque's aesthetic appeal. In this regard, what makes the space holy is not the Arabic language itself, but the beauty elements of the signs as well as their written style (Arabic calligraphy). These elements coming together contribute to make the mosque holy.

Figure 33. Religious invocation (Dua).

Another sign classified under the holiness domain and placed above a door, is an invocation (Dua) that Muslims are asked to recite before entering the mosque (see figure 33). It is translated in English as "O Allah, forgive my sins and open the door of mercy for me"

Different from the inscribed signs, there are some removable signs that also function as indicators of the holiness of the place not because of their written style as mentioned above in Arabic collagraphy, but because of the content that explicitly stress to the holiness of the mosque (see figure 34). In this example, the command to respect the sanctity of the place was written first explicitly and second in different languages: Arabic, English, and French. The English phrase in gold reads "Be mindful of the holiness of the place."

Figure 34. Removable religious sign reminds worshipers holiness of the mosque.

 The question raised here is why the inscribed signs are written only in Arabic, specifically in Classical Arabic, while the removable signs include other languages, as well as Modern Standard Arabia (MSA). This was a question asked of one of two government representatives who participated in this study. This interviewee, who works at (وكالة الرئاسة العامة لشؤون المسجد النبوي) The Agency of General Presidency for the Prophet Mosque Affairs (AGPPM), attributed this to the steps that have been taken to enhance the quality of the services provided to the visitors. Thus, the recent stage for what they called "instruction signs of the Prophet Mosque" aimed to provide signs with different languages, as a result of the realization that not all visitors would be reached by a single language. At the same time, he said, those inscribed images cannot be removed or changed, due to sense of beauty and spirituality that those signs produced, as well as the cost for the reconstruction. What validates this justification is a removable sign that was seen at the gate of the mosque and contains the same phrase inscribed in figure 33, which Muslims are

mandated to recite before entering the mosque. This sign conveys the same inscribed phrase, but in different languages (see figure 35).

In the same token, removable electronic signs and temporary signs that are used only for a specific season (e.g., Ramadhan & Hajj) are subject to be changed or replace and thus changing them would be understood as a change in the linguistic landscape (Reh, 2004). However, the case in Medina is different since the temporary signs in this study are found only in axis 1 (the Prophet Mosque), and they have been used due to the increased number of visitors at specific times during the year and, in most cases, they do not introduce new languages that do not exist in the fixed signs. Most of the visitors, if not all, are Muslim coming from specific Muslim countries for specific religious reason. Therefore, the increase of their number is less likely to be accompanied by having a visitor with a new language that is not currently presented.
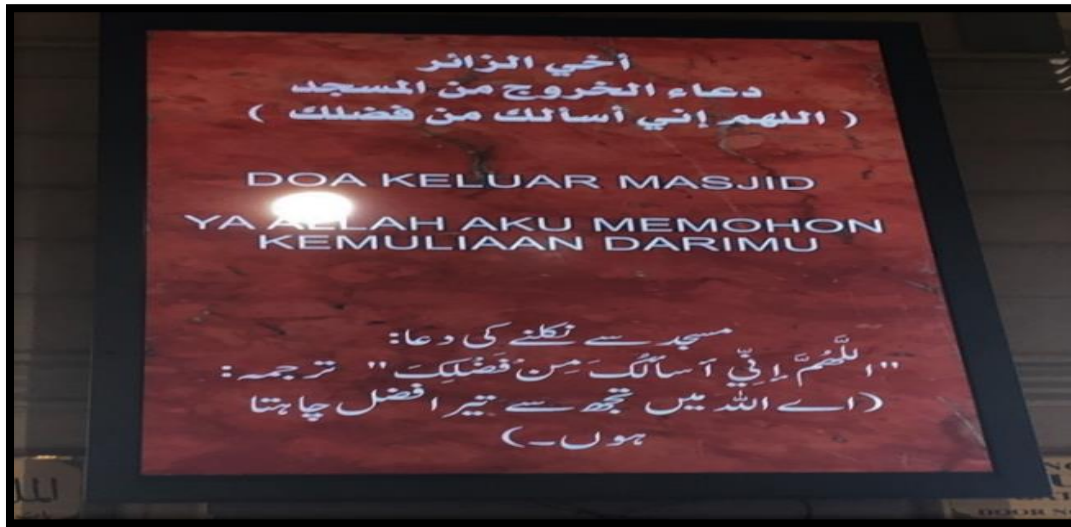
Figure 35. Religious invocation written in three languages (Arabic, Indonesian, Urdu).

Given the application of the holiness signs in the Prophet Mosque, it is important to highlight the implementation of holiness signs, on a large scale within the city, which represents the different forms that the mosque has. This is illustrated in figure 36, where a top-down sign is

placed close to the border of the city (close to axis 3). This sign geographically defines the boundary of the holiness of Medina for tourists and visitors coming from outside the city. The location of this sign proves this assumption, since it is located at the entry of the city and has been written in large size frame.

Figure 36. Official sign reminds people the sanctity of city.

In figure 36, one of the Prophet's sayings is written on the sign monolingually in Arabic. It reads,

> "Medina is a sacred territory from Ayr to Thaur (names of two poplar
> mountains in the city), so anyone who has sinned or a complice of a sinner,
> they will be cursed by Allah, all his angels and his people".

What can be inferred from this top-down sign is that the inclination of the city is to inform newcomers of the location's sanctity by means of religious words and phrases that related to a the most iconic figure in the religion of Islam, the Prophet Mohammad. Comparing this sign to similar ones found in a community in Tel Aviv, a sign which reads "Please do not disturb the sanctity of our neighborhood and our way of life as Jews committed to God and his Torah."(Kochav, 2018). They both function the same, by informing others of the holiness of the

place which they are about to enter. However, the sign in Medina has symbolically used the Prophet's saying to indirectly deliver the message, which is not the case in the community of Safed in Tel Aviv, where the sign directly addressed what the community wanted from other. Kochav (2018) stated that "features and properties of the LL can be described and help define how boundaries are drawn both between the inhabitants and tourists and visitors coming from outside and between the different streams of the Hasidic Jewish groups living there". In both cases, I add that the LL of religious places can also be used to geographically specify a given territory as seen in figure 37, which is a governmental sign created only to define the geographical border of the holy area (sometimes called Haram).

Figure 37. Official sign defines the borders of the holiness.

The last form of the representation of the holiness in the LL of Medina does, in fact, overlap whith education. To put this simply, some signs in Medina can have didactic functions, yet at the same time leave the reader with a sense of the city's holiness. For example, some signs employ religious components to drive members of the community to follow the rules, such as the international sign of "smoking prohibited." In this sign, the phrase is written in English "No Smoking" attached with the universal symbol, while the Arabic phrase reads

"Dear Muslim brother: You are in the city of the prophet, do not disturb him by smoking".

Another non-smoking sign placed an image of heart surrounded by a cigarette in an outrageous

way, to inform of the hazards of smoking (see figure 38)

Figure 38. Two nonsmoking signs.

The Arabic written part of the left sign is a phrase quoted from the Quran, which literally

means "forbids them what is wrong;" it is interpreted as Allah has forbidding his people to do

what is wrong. The designer of this sign considers smoking as something religiously wrong, that

people should quit not based on a health point of view, but rather for religious consideration. In

another no-smoking sign (the one on the right) the phrase written in Arabic is translated as "Dear

Muslim brother; the angels are harmed by the same things as the children of Adam". This sign

includes the phrase "Dear Muslim brother" as a marker that gives the context a religious nature.

Smoking is universally identified as a bad habit and many countries have used no-smoking signs,

regardless of the religious motivation behind. Thus, forming the text of a no-smoking sign in

such a way, reveals the deep relationship between religion and community members, and thus

gives the text a sense of religious nature, thereby persuading members to accept the content of the sign more readily than they would if it had no religious message.

Education

As illustrated in the literature review, this study is not directly related to education; however, some religious signs were used only for educational purposes, in order to teach Muslims some Islamic principles. The Prophet Mosque is as a religious domain which holds multiple activities, including educational ones, such as teaching Islam, which was one of the reasons to establish the mosque by the Prophet Mohammad (PBUB). At the current time, the mosque subsumes a religious academy established by the government to teach Quran and Islamic courses. It is called "Academy of the Holy Quran and Academy of the Sunnah and the Prophet's biography in the Prophet's Mosque*"* and by which regular classes are given to students of all ages. As a result of this, the analysis of the photographed data reveals some signs whose placement was related directly to the purpose of education (see figures 39 and 40).
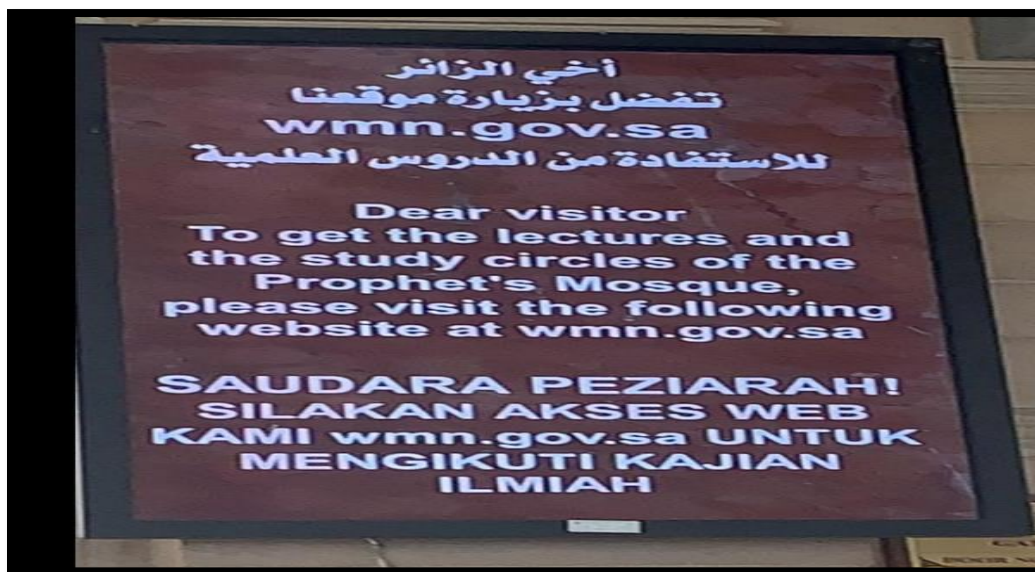
Figure 39. Multilingual sign related to education.

Figure 40. Monolingual sign related to education.

In figure 40, the monolingual electronic sign is displayed in Arabic only. It contains information about a specific course that is going to be given. The information includes: lecturer's name, book's name, weekly days, time, and the location. The figure 39 is a multilingual sign that is asked visitors to go online to get some lectures that are provided in the academy. Thus, these two signs are classified as signs related to education.

In a different aspect, one of the interviewees has pointed to the relationship between the signs and their educational goals. He is a Nigerian graduate student at Islamic University in Medina. Some of his classes are given inside the Prophet Mosque, though the university is located elsewhere. He came to Medina last year and enrolled in the Arabic Language Institute for non-Arabic Speakers. He points to the benefits he gained from the monolingual signs of Medina, though the multilingual signs make him "feel at home". This illustrates the educational aspect of some signs. In contrast, Jaber, who is from Indonesia studying in the same Islamic university,

responded to a question about the degree in which minority languages on the signs could be considered a type of recognition. He said:

> I think it is good that my languages display in the LL because I would feel invited and included but the representation would be better if it shows in official and educational setting.

His words address the need of a minority member in Medina to be recognized in different settings, including educational ones. This is also another aspect that connects education to the linguistic landscape.

In addition to this, there are some multilingual educational signs aimed to teach Islam to visitors, no matter which language they speak, since those electronic signs are provided in many different languages (see figure 41).

Figure 41. Islamic Electronic Library in the Prophet Mosque.

In Figure 41, the sign is an electronic library offering books to teach Islam and some

other related books. The sign on the top is the first page for readers who stop by the sign. Then,

passersby will have the option to choose the language by touching the screen. After that, the second page (on the bottom) shows a list of Islamic books and articles for many Islamic subjects and topics. The majority of the educational signs at the Prophet Mosque are electronic signs, with touch screens on which the reader can browse different pages and find specific pieces of information. The size of this sign is made to be accessible for passersby (6 inches), so that everyone can benefit from electronic library. There are other smaller signs that provide some educational information such as the regular time for Quran courses, Hadith, and some Islamic lessons.

It has been noticed that creating electronic signs allows the LL actors to employ more languages than do signs based on traditional media (Al Saif & Starks, 2019). This emphasizes the inclination of Mosque organizers who represent top-down actors to include many languages in a sign, which was discussed in the quantitative section of this paper. In this sense, it could be suggested that creating electronic signs for educational purposes is a reaction to the diverse linguistic needs of the worshipers who visit the Prophet Mosque (Al Saif & Starks, 2019).

Commodified Religious Content

The last aspect of the religious role found in the LL of Medina is the commodification of religious elements in the sign. Religious elements in the LL can be turned into a commodity to appeal to the customers, as well as to construct a religious sense around a product. This application of the religion is observed in the photographed data, especially in axis 1, which is the Prophet Mosque and axis 2, which is the surrounding area to the mosque. In fact, commodification of the language, in general, has been discussed in many recent LL research, such as how the state and private enterprises commodify the Chinese language in Chinatown of Washington DC, while neither the shop owners nor the customers speak that language (Leeman

& Modan, 2009). The case in Medina is a bit different since what has been commodified is the religious element in the sign, more than the language itself. To clarify this, some store signs have selected specific Quranic verses and Prophet sayings related to the products that are being sold in those stores. In interviewing a shop owner who sells fruit (dates) near the Prophet Mosque, he explained that using religious words on his store sign was intended to convince the Muslim customers who visited the city to buy from the store (his store sign provided in figure 42).

Figure 42. Commercial sign used a Prophet Saying (Hadith).

As we can see in figure 42, the title of the sign was written underneath the religious message, written in both English and Arabic language. The religious message reads;

> "The Prophet said: if somebody takes seven pieces of Ajwa data
> in the morning, neither magic nor poison will hurt him that day".

The owner of this booth, who is a Saudi in his 40s, also responds to a follow-up question about the effectiveness and the credibility of such methods. He said:

> "This is a truth I am not laying to the costumers, I am telling them that this
>
> specific date (Ajwa) is available in our store. Also, they might not aware
>
> about this fact that this product has mentioned by our prophet"

His words reveal that his decision to include the religious text was to inform some Muslim customers that this product is specifically mentioned by the prophet. Ajwa, in fact, was not the only type date that this store offers, but there are about 12 different types of dates, some of which are listed in small words, as well as three of which are translated in English (as seen in small blue signs). This refers to the pre-selection of the sign's content and the decision made to maximize the display of specific code and to minimize others which seems to be religious-based decision. In a similar case, another date store used the related religious text mentioned above, but with Urdu instead of English. This implied that what is being commodified was not the language, but rather the religious content, which added a deeper layer to the commodification of the language that is discussed in LL literature. In Chinatown, according to Lou (2016), the language has been commodified as an index of exoticness, while in Medina the religious content has been commodified to index religious identity.

In stark contrast to this trend, a point of view is provided by a female customer who engaged in the conversation, while interviewing a shopkeeper of such store. She was complaining that products of such stores are pricy. She is a visitor from Africa and at the same time she has relatives in Medina. Thus, to some extent, she is a long-term visitor. Her status allowed her to be aware of the reason that some stores include religious words. She said:

I knew they are trying to take advantage of us as a foreigner to this place. Their products

actually are available elsewhere in the city and are way cheaper than here. I knew the rent

may cost them more but not to the extent of the current price they offer.

In addition to her local language (Hausa), this participant speaks English and has limited access

to Arabic. When she asked if she feels at home when visiting or shopping in this area. She said:

Of course, it is a good feeling and I want to see my language in Medina as we are

Muslim too, but the unfair way those stores treated vestries and taking advanced

of us would not reflect a good picture to visitors., buying and selling do not

require different languages.

Regardless of her point about the price, this response unveils the views of a non-Arabic speaker

regarding the use of religion in bottom-up signs as well as their languages. As a non-native

Arabic speaker, she wanted to see her local language (Hausa) displayed in the LL of Medina

only because of the religion relation, "as we are Muslim too" and at the same time she rejects the

exhibit of foregone languages employed for pure economic purpose. In general, it is clear that

bottom-up actors tend to symbolize some religious components to turn them into a commodity,

by marketing them for consumption.

On the basis of both responses, it can be suggested that economic reasons stand behind

some choices of religions signs. Commodification of the religious content in Medina seems to be

different from other applications of religious signs discussed above (religious identity, holiness,

and education). From a pragmatic point of view, the top-down LL actors negotiate a basic

religious statement that individuals should fulfill, e.g., unquestioned devotion of respecting the

holiness of the place, especially inside the Prophet Mosque. In addition, it seems to be an attempt

to consolidate the religious identity of Islam with its members and then introduce it into public consciousness in a more effective way.

Theme 2: Language Policy

The constitution of Saudi Arabia defined Arabic as the official language of the country. It stated that "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is an Islamic Arab state with full sovereignty, its religion is Islam, and its constitution is the book of Allah and the Sunnah of his messenger, peace be upon him, and its language is Arabic" (translated: 1st chapter, General principles, article 1). Besides that, there are some decisions and decrees regarding the language policy that come from the council of ministry, such as the decree made on February 21, 1986 to use English, along with Arabic, on medical products and medications due to the need to use the English language in a medical setting (Alshammri, 2009). Another decree from the council of ministry, made in 1993, stated that "Arabic is the basic language for teaching at universities and schools except what is necessary to be taught in other language" (Article 24, Decree 40, 1989). Also, another article pointed out that students should be provided at least one other language different from their native language, in order to increase their knowledge, arts, innovation, and also to help transferring our knowledge to other communities, as well as to contribute to the dissemination of Islam in good manner (Decree 108, 2001).

We can infer from the above statements that there is no specific language policy that defines the use of the foreign languages or explains with more details how other languages can be negotiated. It seems that one reason is that Saudi Arabia is geographically located in the heart of the Arabian Peninsula and is surrounded by Arabic countries, which thus decreases the possibility to be affected by other languages, such as is the case in the Arabic countries of North Africa (Ben said, 2010). For this reason, Saudis grow up with one language, while the notion of

introducing another language is discussed mostly in educational settings (i.e. a monolingual

nation by Spolsky who described language policy as "a product of linguistic ideology shaped by

the interests of entities ranging from peer groups to nation-states definition", 2004). In

comparison, some European countries have acknowledged other language, and then included

them in their language policy. By looking at the speakers of those introduced languages, they

usually migrated from countries across the nearby borders.

The most important reason, as demonstrated in these data, is the deep relationship

between Islam and the Arabic language. Arabic is the language of the Quran. As we can notice in

the statement of the constitution, the language is associated with Islam. Arabic is a beloved

language by all Muslims, even the non-Arabic speakers. This is clear in a response of a

Pakistani, who lives permanently in Medina and fluently speaks both Arabic and Urdu. His

response to a question about his language identity in Medina was: "My language identity is

Arabic and Urdu as well" which thus confirms that Arabic is important, but not only for Arabic

speakers.

In another aspect, linguistic landscape has been perceived in many LL studies as the

reflection of language policy of a given region. Applying this perception to the current case of

Medina, it is suggested that there is a sense of permissible use of minority languages, which may

distinguish Medina from other places in Saudi Arabia. This conclusion is built based on two

specific reasons. First, there are 10 foreign languages displayed in the top-down signs, some of

which are related to minority groups living permanently in Medina, such as Pakistani and

Bengali people. The second reason is the exhibit of some minority languages in the bottom-up

signs. Based on the interview with some shop owners, no one mentioned a policy preventing

them from using any language. In addition to the shop owners, the second participant who

belongs to the top-down LL actors is currently working for the Municipality of Medina, which is the governmental institution responsible for commercial store signs and their content. This institution gave me permission to conduct the current study and has many different sections and departments. There is a specific department for sign regulations such as size, color, content, and language. I was not able to interview a member of this department. Therefore, the volunteer participant who works in this institution is not related to the sign department but does have limited knowledge about some of its rules. When asked the explicit question: what is the language policy of the signs in the city? he responded:

> "There is no restriction to use foreign languages but the most important is that Arabic has to be on the sign. But the rule is not strict. If a store violates this rule it is not a big deal. For example, one of the sign regulations that shop owners have do to get a license is to design the sign with specific size that meet the required size for that area so if the owner commits a violation by putting different size then he will be fined immediately. However, if the violation was related to the language, then he might be not even get warning as long as the content is acceptable.

His answer, in fact, strengthens the bottom-up argument regarding the use of minority languages. He was also asked about his opinion regarding the spread of the foreign languages, especially in the Central Zone (axis 2). He stated that "there is no problems as long as the distribution of the languages is regulated with amounts of words, so the appearance of the sign looks good". He also suggested that some store restaurants can substitute the use of many languages by logos that refer to what they are selling. From this point of view, we can confirm that the language practice of the city is in conflict with the official language of the country represented in the statement mentioned above. To put this in precise way, the language policy indicates Arabic is the

language of the state, while no constraints have been imposed on the use of foreign languages in Medina.

The analysis of language policy from the lens of the LL is often accompanied by evocation of sociolinguistic issues such as recognition, marginalization, language shift and language maintenance. Some of the interview questions focused on whether the exhibit of minority languages on LL is enough for the recognition. The responses, in fact, are uneven. Some interviewees are satisfied by the current practice of their language, either in the public sphere or within their community in Medina. Hamad, for instance, is originally from Pakistan and has been living in Medina for 20 years. His family lives with him and his children speak both Urdu and Arabic, as he does. The interview took place inside the mosque. He said:

> I have been here for long time and I never felt alienated. There is a good
> Pakistani community in my neighborhood (AL Masani, in English means
> factory) as you know, so Medina was a good place to live and work. If I am
> not in well condition I would not bring my family here.

His response points to the benefit of his community (Pakistani) as it makes him feel at home. He also replied to the question about the role of the LL to preserve his native language and he mentioned that they used to speak Urdu at home and with their community members during the frequent meetings with them. In fact, the Pakistani population is considered the largest minority group in Medina, which suggests that the language maintenance process easily takes place. In this regard, a number of the participants refer to the ability to communicate with other people in Medina using their native languages, not only in their specific community, but within the entire city. The majority of those who hold these beliefs are originally from Pakistan.

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In contrast, an interview with a participant who was born in Medina and whose family officially migrated from Burma because of the War, had a different perspective. In fact, the Burmese language was absent from the LL of the city, including the signs at the Prophet Mosque. This participant is in his 20s. He has no knowledge on Burmese literacy, and further explained that it is only used frequently by the older generation. The Burmese language is, in fact, close to Bengali language so that, as he said, sometimes we prefer to imitate that we are from Bengali minority group. According to him, Burma's language in Medina would be perceived and treated as a socially-stigmatized language. The reason is the social status of this group and the low recognition that they receive in many governmental, as well as private, sectors. Another reason for the absence of Burmese in the LL of Medina is attributed to the low economic benefits to stores to include their language in the sign. He said: "they do not use our language because we are not rich, and even some of us do not know how Burma language looks like". Indeed, this high degree of language shift is attached with Burma groups as their population is less than Pakistani and Bengalis groups.

On the basis of interviews with some minority community members, it seems that the association between practices and beliefs of minority languages is in conflict, since those members wanted to see their language presented in public as a symbol that refers to their heritage, ethnicity and values, while at the same time they prefer to speak Arabic language in most places. This conflict with some minority groups, other than Pakistanis, is attributed to the priority that is given to Arabic language derived from the religious affiliation. Taking a different point of view, a Saudi female, when asked about her opinion on the minority languages in the LL of the city, gave less importance to all minority languages, except English, which she thought

was the "more powerful and beneficial language." At the same time, there was no hostility to the co-existence of either minority member or their languages in the LL.

Theme 3: Globalization

The English language, as a sign of the occurrence of globalization, is considered the second most visible language in the city. In each axis, English has the highest rank after Arabic. However, its spread was noticed more in axis 3 (Modern Area) where more citizen Arabic speakers (as opposed to minority speakers) exist. Due to the vast prevalence of English, some of the responses point to the importance of English as the lingua franca, while others suggest that English gives the store a globalized image. In addition to the responses that grant English a high value, the analysis of the photographed data shows some interesting features about the current trend of using English language by non-English speakers

In contrast to other minority languages in Medina, English was used frequently in both top-down and bottom-up signs, not only at the Prophet Mosque, but all over the three axes. In addition, the top-down signs that include English are found in both governmental sectors and traffic signs. The wide spread of English seems to be motivated by two different authorships and for two different reasons. First, the governmental sectors (top-down authorship) seem to derive the value of English by means of its official status of the language, since it is the official foreign language taught in schools, as is illustrated in the education language policy. In other words, English is the only language introduced into Saudi in an official way under the umbrella of teaching foreign language in School. Another reason is the universality of the English language as lingua franca, since some visitors in Medina speak English. On the other hand, English language for shop-owners and, to some extent, local customers, is conceived as a means to promote products, and give them a sense of modernity and good quality.

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Aside from that, the presence of English in the LL of Medina takes several forms and unveils other phenomena that are often tackled under the umbrella of globalization. The most observed phenomenon was globalization, which is defined as the process of adopting international brands to a local language. In light of this study, it refers to mixing Arabic and English on one sign. The globalization in the LL of Medina takes two different applications: Romanized Arabic (RA) and Arabicized English (AE). The former refers to the use of Roman script to write Arabic words while the latter refers to the use of Arabic script to write English words (see figure 43 and 44)

Figure 43. Romanized Arabic sign.

As we can see in the sign above, the English word *Frawlaty* has no meaning for the monolingual English reader. The Arabic words mean in English "my strawberry." In addition to this, the phrase written at the bottom with the red line is the religious phrase discussed before, "Mashalla". It seems that the owner of this store wanted to make the English form consist of only

one word, in order to match the Arabic version. The use of Roman script seems to trigger the

younger generation, who have perceived this phenomenon as "trendy" and "cool" more than the

older generation (Al Lehaiby, 2013). It is possible that the phrase "my strawberry" in this way

would lack the advertising power, while "Frawlity" would offset this possible missing power.

Thus, the owner tried to create his own slogan, imitating international brand names that are

meaningless for monolingual readers, "Frawlity" is meaningless for monolingual English

readers. Another interpretation would be that the owner wants to show that Arabic has a higher

status than English, since it is obvious that most of store owners translate their signs into English.

Figure 44. Arabicized English sign international chain.

The sign in figure 44 refers to the process of EA. It is very clear that "Starbucks," as an

international brand, has controlled naming its stores anywhere according to international chain

rules. In this light, there are many such signs that use English similar to the example above such

as McDonald's, H & M, Baskin-Robbins, Hardee's, etc. Therefore, the process of EA occurs to the proper names, which seems to be justified.

Figure 45. Arabicized English sign local shop.

Another example of the EA observed in the LL of Medina presents in figure 45. The Arabic words of the sign are pronounced the same as the English version (JUICE SECERT). It is a local shop that is not related to an international chain, but the shop owner wanted to give his business a globalized image, as he said. From an educational perspective, the process of using Arabic script to write English words would provide source for second language learning or even L2 acquisition. The frequent exposure to the words (جوس) which means "Juice" by a monolingual Arabic reader would lead to memorization of this word and its meaning in English, even if there was no intent to do so.

Figure 46. Top-down (official) signs used English in the same level with Arabic.

In general, English was the second most visible language in the LL of Medina, in both top-down and bottom-up signs. In some cases, English received a value similar to that of Arabic, especially when it comes to the order of the language. In other words, in many cases of multilingual signs with more than two languages, Arabic shows at the first line and sometimes with bold font. This is very common in axis 1 and axis 2, the areas surrounding where the signs were close to the Prophet Mosque. However, in axis 3 (Modern area), English seems to have the same value where it is written in the same line (see figure 46). As we can see, both signs belong to official sectors and the English shows in the same level with Arabic language. The top sign is the Arab Open University which belongs to official sectors. In this sign, the use of English is at

the same level as Arabic. In the next sign, the phrase "Saudi Post" is similarly written in the same line with Arabic.

Moreover, one could argue that in both signs, English has a higher rank than Arabic because the signs first begin with English (from left to right), while a monolingual Arabic reader would value the Arabic more than English since the signs, according to him, begin first with Arabic (Arabic is read from right to left). Accordingly, this poses a question about the role of text direction in the linguistic landscape, which has not been previously discussed in LL studies. In light of this, I argue that text direction on the signs should be added (or in some cases prioritized) to the criteria of the "code preference system" of Scollon and Scollon (2003) which is manifested in the size of the font, color, and placement. Indeed, text direction makes a difference in terms of salience, and thus it frames the intended audience. Let us look at the example in figure (47).

Figure 47. Multilingual sign written in 8 languages using Arabic and Roman scripts.

This sign has eight languages which are (from top to bottom): Arabic, English, Urdu, Indonesian, Persian, Hausa, Turkish, and French. There are three languages read from right-to-left which are Arabic, Urdu, and Persian. They seem to be the first languages that would come to the attention of a monolingual reader of each of them. The same applies to a monolingual reader of any of the languages that are written in Roman script (left-to-right). Thus, languages of the same text direction would be more dominant than other languages with opposite direction, despite other variables such as font size, color, and layers (order).

Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of the data, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. In the quantitative section, the overall languages observed in the photographed data of the LL in Medina were presented, along with the frequency count and percentages. Then, data were analyzed 4 times, based on different categorizations: (1) top-down vs bottom up, (2) Reh's (2004) types of the multilingual writing, (3) score system designed by Vandenbroucke (2014), and (3) religious content. The second section of this chapter demonstrates the analysis of the photographed data accompanied by data from interviews, based on a qualitative perspective. Three main themes observed were: (1) religion, (2) language policy and minority languages, and (3) English and globalization. Furthermore, religion as a main theme is divided into four subthemes: religious identity, holiness, religion and education, and commodification of religious content.

Based on the photographed data, the Arabic language is the dominant language in the LL of Medina. In addition, the data indicated that English is the second common language in the public space of the city. Specifically, English is observed in the modern area more than in other regions of the city. The results suggested that the proximity to the Prophet Mosque is perceived

as an identifier to the multilingualism degree of the town, since the display of different languages increases whenever we move toward the city center, which is the Prophet Mosque. Thus, the greatest number of languages found on a sign was at the mosque, which is eight languages. Another essential observation in the photographic data was the noticeable prevalence of the Urdu language, which is classified in Medina as a minority language. In a different aspect, religion as the primary focus of this study, which contributes to shaping the LL of Medina in which half of the signs include religious text either completely or partially.

According to the second source of data, which is soundscape, the results were in line with the photographed data, shown by the fact that Arabic is the most dominant language. However, utilizing soundscape in the LL study, shows a sense of conflict between the static language used on the signs and the actual spoken language, since many of minority languages found in photographs are absent in the recording of the soundscape. This is attributed to a few reasons, the most important being that it is the ritual use of a language in a specific location that affects the soundscape. In addition, the analysis of the soundscape shows some Arabic dialects that were not captured in the photographed signs.

The last source of data comes from interviews, which unveiled many themes and patterns that confirmed the religious profile of the city. More specifically, the results pointed to the significant role of religion in shaping the linguistic landscape of Medina in different dimensions. This is the religious identity of individuals who have attached themselves to the religion regardless of their linguistic diversity and national differences. Not only with individuals. but even on an official level, since many governmental signs utilized religious elements, mostly in the Prophet Mosque. Moreover, the governmental agencies employ religion on signs for different purposes, such as to induce members of the city to follow some general rules or to make the city

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holy. On the other hand, language in the LL is commodified by store owners to help them sell their products. The case in Medina is a bit different, since what has been commodified is the religious elements in the sign, more than the language itself. The last significant observation was that the language practices in the LL revealed a sense of permissible use of minority languages, which is in conflict with the monolingual view of the language policy of the country.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Overview

The investigation of the linguistic landscape of Medina, a holy city in Saudi Arabia, yielded valuable insights into the language ecology of the city and the ways in which everyday citizens and visitors to the city experienced the multilingual environment. The study found that Medina is a multilingual city because, primarily, of the religious importance of the Prophet Mosque that is a focal point of the city and destination for religious pilgrims and visitors. The varied methods of data collection and analysis in this study (including photographing, interviewing, and recording of soundscape) led to a complex picture of the linguistic landscape, and subsequently, understanding of the language policy of Medina. While top down signs in Axis 1, the holy site of the Prophet Mosque, were in many languages, suggesting that the government was aware of the need to disseminate messages and religious education to international visitors, signs in the commercial district and other parts of the city also used multiple languages in a bottom up approach. From this point of view, in some parts of Medina multilingualism is a normal and everyday part of public life.

This study contributes meaningfully to the growing body of knowledge about multilingualism within monolingual nations. The study is being conducted at a religious site and thus it contributes to the understanding of how religion plays a central role of the LL within a given region. As a third contribution, the examination of the language practices through the LL provides new insights into the integration of religion with language policy. Therefore, the findings of the current study are important since they are related to various sociolinguistic topics under the umbrella of LL study, which has not commonly been discussed within a single LL

study. In addition, the study contributes significantly to LL methodology in triangulating of the source of data which allows an accurate analysis for the linguistic landscape of the religious site, Medina.

The foregoing chapters provide details of an investigation into the LL of the city of Medina in order to describe the degree of multilingualism, the role of religion, and the language policy and practices of the city. In this chapter, a conclusion based on the study's main findings and their implications is presented. This is followed by remarks about the methodology used to collect the data. The next subsection demonstrates the limitation of the study, and the final subsection provides recommendations for further LL studies that can be derived or built on the basis of the findings in this work.

Summary of the Study

This study examined the language used on signs displayed in public places within the city of Medina in Saudi Arabia. This linguistic landscape describes the identity of a city; thus, the primary goals of this research are three-fold. The first goal is to examine the degree of multilingualism present among the city's inhabitants. The second goal is to describe the role of religion in shaping the linguistic landscape of the city. The final goal is to define the language policy of the city by means of linguistic practices that are visually observed in the public space. These three aims were derived from three arguments: 1) Like other cities in Saudi Arabia, Medina has been identified as a monolingual society for decades although the current visual scenery of the city shows a level of language diversity; 2) Because it is home to the mosque and the tomb of Mohammed, the prophet of Islam (PBUH), Medina is considered the second-most religious city in the country. Indeed, the religiosity of the city is evident in many aspects of daily life and on public display via language choice used in the LL; (3) The final goal of this study is

a response to the vagueness of the "official" language policy in the municipality since the

language displayed on signs has been perceived as the most vital identifier of language policy in

any given space.

To attain the above goals, as well as to prove the arguments, this study integrated three

types of data and both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The first source of data was a

collection 300 signs of three different axes in Medina: The Prophet Mosque, the Central Zone,

and the Modern Area. In addition to the photographic data, several brief interviews were also

carried out with visitors, residents, shopkeepers, and governmental representatives in order to

elicit their opinions and attitudes toward the display of the LL in the city. In order to triangulate

the analysis of the signs and to investigate the relationship of the linguistic landscape of Medina

to actual language use in the three regions of the city identified for this study, a survey of the

soundscapes of the three axes was also conducted. The overall results reveal that although Arabic

is the most dominant language of the city, Medina is also a site of linguistic diversity as is

represented in the number of languages found within the linguistic landscape. With respect to the

current undetailed language policy of Saudi Arabia and its cities (including Medina), the LL

portrays a sense of permissible use of minority languages with no explicit constraints imposed.

These three aspects were chosen for examination because Medina is undergoing a

demographic change that affects its previous monolingual status, and LL provides a suitable and

easy-access window to examine this phenomenon. Due to the religious profile of the city and

how that religion intersects with many aspects of daily life, it is an important to consider the

religious role in the LL. In addition, the linguistic landscape is a reflection of the language policy

of a given region (Shohamy, 2009). The official governing document of Saudi Arabia "the

constitution" only stipulates that Arabic is the official language of the country while providing

no further details on the use of other languages. Thus, this study includes the aspect of language policy (LP) to be studied through LL as way to give more details for the actual practices of minority languages that are at work in the public space. Indeed, the study of LL is often controlled and driven by the nature of the study site. Medina, in this case, has a unique religious status and historical considerations that compelled us to include these three aspects which are shown in its public signs.

Research Findings

This sociolinguistic study, which examined the linguistic landscape of the city of Medina, has yielded remarkable research findings, the first of which pertains to the phenomenon of multilingualism. Despite the general view that Saudi Arabia is a monolingual nation, Medina shows a certain degree of multilingualism in the number of foreign languages on public display. Some of these languages are related to minority groups who inhabit the city. The quantitative results indicate that all four types of multilingual signs (duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping, and complementary), are present throughout the city while monolingual signs are rarely exhibited. This implies that readers in Medina, who are exposed every day to a variety of languages used on signs, hold a limited sense of multilingual knowledge that enables them to understand the signs, especially with the complementary type of sign which is the most multilingual one. This means that readers, to some extent, are multilingual. However, most signs use duplicating multilingualism in which the text is directly translated from another language, thereby suggesting a strict separation of languages which assumes that the reader is monolingual. In light of this discrepancy, the prominence of minority languages on these regions, especially in the area of the Prophet Mosque, suggests that LL consummates a crucial role as a mediator of

communication for the mosque and commercial establishments, and at the same time, it reflects a certain amount of multilingualism associated with both for these entities (Vandenbroucke, 2014).

In another aspect, the results highlight proximity to the Prophet Mosque as the most perceivable marker that maps the visual multilingualism of LL in the city since the number of languages in one sign decreases gradually as we move away from the mosque. The findings also introduce the notion of text direction which seems to be an unexplored area in LL studies that affects the dominance of a language over others in multilingual sign. Languages of the same text direction have different degree of salience and visibility than other language of opposite direction regardless of other variables such as font size, color, and order. An example of this is provided in Figure 34 of the previous chapter wherein the sign has three languages reading from right to left; Arabic, Urdu, and Persian. The other languages are written in Roman script, which reads from left to right. The three former languages would be more visible for a monolingual reader of Arabic, Urdu, or Persian, since the attention of these readers would be on the right side of the sign. The same applies to a monolingual reader of any of the languages that are written in Roman script (left to right). In this sense, languages of the same text direction would be more dominant than other languages with opposite direction despite other variables such as font size, color, and layers (order).

Apart from that, the findings demonstrate that religion plays an influential role in shaping the LL of the city in several ways such as the use of religious signs to describe—or remind—citizens and visitors of the holiness of the city. The protective role of Islam is also evident in the signs that use religious symbols to mark boundaries between the city and its visitors, as well as to inform and educate the public on how they should comply and respect the city's sanctity. In the same context, the inscription of religious content in some signs using the unique Arabic

calligraphic style serves an aesthetic and spiritual function, as well as turns the signs into museum pieces which all together make the place holy. These functions of the LL found in this study such as holiness, aesthetic and spirituality, have not been tackled by some religious LL studies discussed in the literature review chapter such as Waksman and Shohamy (2009), Blommaert and Maly (2016), Huebner (2006), and Coluzzi and Kitade (2015).

In another dimension, religion plays an educational role on signs which deliver messages of general behaviors and principles, such as non-smoking signs that include a Quranic verse along with the prohibitive message or no-smoking symbol. In slightly different context, some stores have used religious phrases that have no direct relation to what is being sold (i.e. *Mashalla*) which reflects the strong tie between residents of Medina and Islam, and that religion is consciously prioritized as the most important component of their cultural identity.

The last role of religion in forming the LL is purely economic. Some LL researchers have cast light on the commodification of languages on signs. However, the case in Medina is different since the religious elements have been commodified more than the language itself. This is exemplified in the careful choice of Quranic verses or prophet sayings that are related to the products being sold or promoted on the signs. For instance, one store sells Dates and includes a Saying from the prophet (Hadith) on the sign that highlights the benefits of eating a specific type of date "Ajwa". The owner of this store uses this sign intentionally, in order to appeal to the religious affiliations of the customers and then the religious text has been turned into commodity.

Remarks About the Methodology

This study integrates three methods to conduct the data: photographing, interviewing, and videotaping. The result of the study is thus based on triangulation of the data, along with quantitative and qualitative analysis. This combination of complementary and collaborative

methods and analyses was necessary to yield a factual and accurate account for the description of the linguistic landscape study. For instance, some minority languages were absent in photographed data while the recording of soundscape complemented what has missing by realizing another language in the public scene. In addition to that, these methods were collaborative since most of the interview data support what has brought by either soundscape or the photographed data (e.g., the dominance and the value of Arabic language).

Aside from that, using soundscape as an LL method was introduced in the current study in an innovative way since it is accompanied with videos showing the negotiation between the signs and people. However, there are a few shortcomings to these videos. One such shortcoming is time. Extending the time allocated for each video would allow us to record longer conversation of more people and thus increase the data. In addition to time, the videos themselves could be of better quality. Keeping the video still while moving from one spot to another would provide a more holistic picture and allow for a more nuanced judgment.

Research Limitation

Although the current study gave a full account of multilingualism and the role of religion in shaping the linguistic landscape of Medina, it is important to point to the limitations encountered. First, it is crucial to highlight that LL study is not static in time. Rather, it changes constantly which thus suggests that a longitudinal study is more suited to observe the change in the LL (Ben Said, 2010). Garvin (2010) was able to somewhat accomplish this by observing the demographic changes of Memphis throughout three consecutive years. However, this flaw in the current study may not apply as much because inscribed signs require time, planning, and money to change, Therefore, they remain in place longer than the factors Garvin (2010) considered, allowing for more reliable and steady results. Another limitation of this current study is that the

results of the interview data cannot be generalized to the total population of the city because it missed representatives of some minority groups who might have provided different insights.

Future Research

This is holistic research that tackled different themes and dimensions in the lens of linguistic landscape such as, multilingualism, language shift and maintenance, and globalization, the MSA vs CA, and language policy. Each of these dimensions merits a deeper examination in a distinct direction from other LL themes of Medina.

Religion, as a core aspect of the current study, proves its significance in shaping the LL of a religious site. Even though there are a few LL studies that cast some light on religion, many LL studies that conducted in religious sites are worth a restudy taking into account themes explored in this study such as the sense of holiness and spirituality. Not all religions are alike, as such not all religious cities are identical; thus, the results of the current study can be utilized for the purpose of comparison to other religions and other religious places. More than that, the current study focuses on the urban areas of the city whilst the rural areas and countryside of Medina have not been studied which also suggests a route for future LL study of Medina.

In relation to the language policy and multilingualism, it seems that a further and deeper interview with minority members would produce a more nuanced understanding to the language integration of monolingualism, language policy, and religion. This could be achieved by paying close attention to language shift and maintenance that occurs on narrow scale such as that within families

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APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL

PRO-FY2018-635 - Initial: Approval - Expedited

irb@memphis.edu

Mon 7/16/2018 10:32 AM

To: Ali B Aljohani (bljohani) <B.A@memphis.edu>; Evelyn Wright Fogle (ewfogle) <ewfogle@memphis.edu>

THE UNIVERSITY OF MEMPHIS

Institutional Review Board
Office of Sponsored Programs
University of Memphis
315 Admin Bldg
Memphis, TN 38152-3370

July 16, 2018

PI Name: Ali Aljohani
Co-Investigators:
Advisor and/or Co-PI: Evelyn Fogle
Submission Type: Initial
Title: Minority Languages in Linguistic Landscape: The case of Medina in Saudi Arabia
IRB ID **:** #PRO-FY2018-635

Expedited Approval: June 29, 2018
Expiration: June 29, 2019

Approval of this project is given with the following obligations:

1. This IRB approval has an expiration date, an approved renewal must be in effect to continue the project prior to that date. If approval is not obtained, the human consent form(s) and recruiting material(s) are no longer valid and any research activities involving human subjects must stop.

2. When the project is finished or terminated, a completion form must be submitted.

3. No change may be made in the approved protocol without prior board approval.

Thank you,
James P. Whelan, Ph.D.
Institutional Review Board Chair
The University of Memphis.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

المملكة العربية السعودية
وزارة الشؤون البلدية والقروية
أمانة منطقة المدينة المنورة
٢٦٦ / ٠٠٣
وكالة الخدمات/ الوقاية والصحة البيئية - التراخيص

رقم الصادر
436831

تاريخ الصادر ١٢ ـ ٠٧ ـ ١٤٣٩
المرفقات ٣

بخصوص طلب المواطن/علي بخيتان الجهني

سعادة مساعد الملحق الثقافي للشؤون الدراسية بالولايات المتحدة الأمريكية   الموقر

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

إشارة إلى الاستدعاء رقم ٢٧١٨١٤ وتاريخ ١٤٣٩/٦/١٢هـ المقدم من الباحث/علي بن بخيتان الجهني حيث انه في صدد اجراء الدراسة الميدانية لرسالة الدكتوراه والتي جزء منها هو(تحليل نصوص اللغات الاجنبية المستخدمة في بعض المحلات التجارية في المدينة المنورة) وطلبه السماح بأخذ صور خارجية فقط لبعض اللوحات التي تشمل على كلمات غير عربية لإجراء الدراسة عليها.

عليه نفيد سعادتكم بأنه لا مانع لدينا من السماح للمذكور بياناته اعلاه بأخذ صور خارجية فقط لبعض المحلات التجارية في المدينة المنورة لإجراء دراسته عليها، وذلك بالتنسيق مع الموظف /حامد العياشي جوال رقم(٠٥٠٦٣٢٨١٠٥).

ولكم خالص تحياتي،،،،

مساعد امين منطقة المدينة المنورة

المهندس/ فهد بن علي العوفي

Tel : 0148227400   Fax : 0148222498   P.O.Box : 4952
www.amana-md.gov.sa   webmaster@amana-md.gov.sa

هاتف:٠١٤٨٢٢٧٤٠٠   فاكس:٠١٤٨٢٢٢٤٩٨   ص.ب : ٤٩٥٢
بريد الأمانة الالكتروني: webmaster@amana-md.gov.sa   موقع الأمانة الالكتروني: www.amana-md.gov.sa

Informed Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Minority Languages in Linguistic Landscape (LL): The case of Medina in Saudi Arabia

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about linguistic landscape and minority languages. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you are a member of minority groups in Medina. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 20 people to do so

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Ali Aljohani of University of Memphis Department of English (Applied Linguistics). He is being guided in this research by Dr. Evelyn Wright Fogel. There may be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The goal of this study is to examine the presence of minority languages in the linguistic landscape of Medina. One source of data is to gather attitudes and opinions of the minority groups in Medina. We are particularly interested in understanding the multilingual status in Medina and the linguistic preference on the signs.

By doing this study, we hope to learn how the minority languages are presented, constructed, and reflected in the linguistic landscape of Medina.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

You should not participate in this study if you are currently pregnant or are under 18 years of age.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research procedures will be conducted at a location of your choice (in your home, at a café, or at Al-Masjid an-Nabawi after the prayers times). You will need to come meet with the lead investigator only one time during the study. The visit will take about 15 -20 minutes. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is once over the next year.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?

The interview will be recorded. Participation in this study involves taking part in one audio-taped interview session with the lead investigator. The interview will last about 20 minutes. This interview will take place in a location of your choice. This interview will include topics such as what is your opinion/ attitude to the use of your language on the signs, how do you see the Arabic language on signs, do you prefer to go to a store that contains your own language on the sign, and your experiences using your own language in public. The lead investigator will have a list of questions to ask you, but you will also be encouraged to expand on topics that interest you and talk about your experiences in a conversational way.

The interview will be transcribed, and a pdf version of the transcript will be sent to you via email for you to review. You may also review the transcript with the lead investigator so that he can clarify any questions and verify his interpretations of the interview with you.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, some people have experienced a sense of understanding and relief of stress when they have been able to talk about the use of their own languages in public. Your willingness to take part, however, may, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?

If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?

There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?

We will make every effort to keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law.

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will write about the combined information we have gathered. You will not be personally identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private.

We will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not on the research team from knowing that you gave us information, or what that information is. All computer files associated with the study will be kept on the lead investigator's password protected computer and on password-protected hard drives or jump drives if necessary. All paper files (print-outs of transcripts, etc.) will be stored in the lead investigator's locked office.

We will keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law. However, there are some circumstances in which we may have to show your information to other people. For example, the law may require us to show your information to a court or to tell authorities if you report information about a child being abused or if you pose a danger to yourself or someone else. Also, we may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure we have done the research correctly; these would be people from such organizations as the University of Memphis

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?

If you decide to take part in the study, you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

The individuals conducting the study may need to withdraw you from the study. This may occur if you are not able to follow the directions they give you, if they find that your being in the study is more risk than benefit to you, or if the agency funding the study decides to stop the study early for a variety of scientific reasons.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the investigator, Ali B Aljohani at +966564108373

bljohani@memphis.edu or the research advisor Evelyn Wright Fogel ewfogle@memphis.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the Institutional Review Board staff at the University of Memphis at 901-678-2705. We will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

What happens to my privacy if I am interviewed?

You will be asked to choose a pseudonym for the researchers to use when transcribing and reporting the interview data. Identifying information will be separated from the interview transcript. Place names and other names mentioned during the interviews will also be changed. You may stop the interview at any time and request to have any part of the interview struck from the transcript. All data collected will be deleted from the recording device upon uploading to the PI password-protected computer and stored on a password-protected hard drive and then will be completely deleted after 90 days.

_____   _____

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study   Date

_____

Printed name of person agreeing to take part in the study

_____   _____

Name of [authorized] person obtaining informed consent   Date

APPENDIX D

Recruitment flyer

Volunteers Wanted for a Research Study

Minority Languages in Linguistic Landscape (LL): The case of Medina in Saudi Arabia

Do you speak a language other than Arabic (Urdu, Bangla, etc.)? Would you be willing to participate in an interview about multilingualism or other languages in Medina? I am a researcher at a US university, and I am interested in the language rights of minority groups in Medina. The research aims to examine the use of minority language on the signs of Medina. Participants in this research will require approximately 15 to 20 minutes to complete the interview. The interviews will be recorded.

If you are interested, we are looking for:

1. He/she must be a member of minority groups in Medina

2. He/she must be over 18

3. He/she must speak Arabic.

4. No pregnant women

For more information please contact:

Ali Aljohani at US (901 216 8377) SA +966564108373 email: B.A@memphis.edu

Advisor: Dr. Evelyn Wright Fogle; email: ewfogle@memphis.edu

This research is conducted under the direction of (Ali Aljohani, English department, university of Memphis)

APPENDIX E

Interview Questions

1. What language you often speak in public, Arabic or your own language?

2. What is your opinion about the use of your language on the store signs?

3. Would you prefer to go to a store that includes your language on the sign? Why? Why not?

4. What language do you use when you communicate with sellers and owners inside the store?

5. What sort of people do you think they go to these stores? (stores with bilingual signs)

6. To what extent these types of stores reflect the community?

7. How do you describe your language identity and national origin in Medina?

8. Why do think store owners choose other languages? (e.g., to benefit customers, to fit with other stores, etc)