Linguistic Landscapes:

A Snapshot of Multilingualism and Language Ideologies in Cabbagetown (Toronto)

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Abstract:

This paper analyzes the linguistic landscape, more specifically the signs, displayed on the streets of Cabbagetown, a neighborhood located in downtown Toronto, so as to explain which linguistic groups coexist in the neighborhood, and how physical and symbolic spaces – such as religious, linguistic or ethnic spaces – are defined by both minority linguistic groups and by the majority's hegemonic power. In order to do so, we regard Cabbagetown as a polycentric space, characterized by a blend of indexical orders postulated by different scale levels. The neighborhood, which is predominantly English-speaking, displays signs in different languages. The use of English as opposed to minority languages may have different purposes and may direct the message conveyed by the sign to different kinds of recipients. The study takes into account the language, location, content, and communicative function of each sign, so as to attempt to come up with an explanation of how spaces in Cabbagetown are defined by institutions and linguistic communities, and how some of those spaces may become actual 'places' for a specific community.

1. Introduction

Toronto is known as one of the most multicultural and multilingual cities in the world. It is precisely by virtue of its blend of ethnicities and languages that this Canadian city provides peerless opportunities to analyze linguistic landscapes, that is to say, which languages are represented in public spaces, how they are depicted and the possible sociolinguistic features that their representation might embody, such as the status of a particular ethnic group or the attitudes towards a particular language. More specifically, this paper will focus on the linguistic in Cabbagetown, a neighborhood on the east side of downtown Toronto, where the author lived for four months.

The aim of this paper is to understand how space is defined in Cabbagetown by different ethno-linguistic groups as well as by public institutions of the Canadian state, the Province of Ontario and the municipality. By looking at the neighborhood'ss LLs, we attempt to determine which language groups coexist in the neighborhood, and how linguistic communities and institutions define Cabbagetown's physical and symbolic spaces. To do so, we consider Cabbagetown in its geographical space and its socio-political polycentricity – it is a neighborhood within a city, which is located in province which is found in a state – and look at the socio-economic and ethnolinguistic characteristics of its residents. A LL perspective provides a visual and symbolic framework to study the most public representations of language ideological practices, how spaces are structured and interrelated and the definition of space. By analyzing certain features of the signs that conform it (e.g. language, location, and content), we attempt to find out which linguistic practices are most common and how physical and symbolic spaces are defined and by whom. A combination of contextual, census, legislative and ethnographic data, are used to support our analysis.

Language plays a central role in this paper, since linguistic diversity and the possible semiotic functions of a given language are the main target of our analysis. In order to evaluate the language of the signs, a native speaker for each of the languages found in Cabbagetown was recruited. They were asked about correctness and use of marked or unmarked forms in order to be able to assign a more accurate communicative function to each sign and, later on, a more precise semiotic function of the languages we have come across.

In order to gain insight on the multilingual practices in this neighborhood, as well as the spheres of activity in which different ethnic groups are engaged, we have specifically selected the signs and flyers displayed along the streets of the neighborhood. The ones that have been selected for the study belong to a range of several contexts from everyday life, and they exhibit a wide range of communicative functions. The selection of these photos focused on signs displayed on the streets for a number of reasons. In first place, streets are probably the most public scenario where something can be read, since street signs can be seen by anyone who visits the neighborhood. Moreover, their visibility and location can help us discover the different ethnic groups inhabiting the neighborhood, as well as the diversity of activities that take place in it (e. g. social, cultural, legal, commercial or economic activities). In terms of visibility, the more visible signs may be related to a majority group, as opposed to the more hidden ones, which may somehow be meant for a smaller community. As regards as location, depending on which specific area of the neighborhood we look at, we encounter different sort of signs and languages. For instance, the closer the closer we are to St James Town, the more stores owned by immigrants we find.

The signs are classified according to different criteria – institutional signs as opposed to private commercial ones; location, language and communicative function. Additional background data will be provided both by previous research and by the author's ethnographic experience in Cabbagetown. Thus, the data gathered in the neighborhood – namely the pictures of signs displayed in the streets of Cabbagetown – along with background data related to the neighborhood and to each sign specifically intend to reveal the semiotic function of the signs and the sociolinguistic features and attitudes underlying them.

English is the most commonly used language in the signs and flyers found in the neighborhood. In some cases, it also represents the identity of the city's hegemonic community – the city's earliest settlers were British immigrants – and of the state itself, since its official language is English, along with French. Moreover, Ontario, the province where Toronto is located, is officially Anglophone. The use of minority languages on signs is often aimed either at the community that uses that particular language – conveying identity – or at a broader public with the intention of providing the products or premises announced with the quality of authenticity, or some other value associated to the language that has been used.

The original contribution of this study resides in Cabbagetown's blend of ethnicities, languages and socio-economic groups, which coexist in one single neighborhood, along with the dominant majority language – English). Other areas of the city, are characterized by one linguistic community which seems to stand out (ex. The Korean neighborhood), but Cabbagetown combines the use of English, which is clearly predominant, with the use of other minority languages on street signs. Despite the fact that previous LL studies have

combined ethnography and primary data, no one seems to have undertaken a similar study in this particular neighborhood.

This paper includes a theoretical framework section and provides a brief contextual information regarding Cabbagetown, Toronto, Ontario and Canada, followed by a methodological section on how the data has been selected. It finishes by analyzing the data provided by considering the theoretical framework and the author's ethnographic experience and sets a series of conclusions accordingly.

2. Research questions

This paper tries to answer the following questions about Cabbagetown's spaces and languages by looking at its LLs so as to find out how spaces are defined in the neighborhood.

What do linguistic landscapes tell us about Cabbagetown?

LLs illustrate which language groups live and/or shop in the neighborhood, as well as which language practices are encouraged by official public institutions. The signs that constitute Cabbagetown LLs are predominantly written in English, but some of them are multilingual; they include a text in a minority language, such as Tamil, Japanese or Spanish, often along with English. Thus, in spite of the fact that English is Ontario's official language and the majority language in Cabbagetown, linguistic minorities also occupy a space in the neighborhood. LLs can also help us determine which areas of the neighborhood present a greater number of multilingual signs and which languages they include. Ultimately, the location, communicative function and content of each sign are useful to work out how linguistic communities define their own spaces.

LLs also account for the scalar nature of Cabbagetown; it is a neighborhood within a city (Toronto), which is located in a province (Ontario), which is part of a federal state

(Canada). Each scale-level is represented by institutions that postulate their corresponding official languages. The language policies – both official and *de facto* – of every scale-level are illustrated by the signs displayed in Cabbagetown.

What sorts of physical and symbolic spaces are constructed through LLs and by whom?

Both physical and symbolic spaces are constructed by institutions and linguistic communities by means of the use of their languages on the signs displayed across the neighborhood's streets. Institutions from different scale-levels define physical spaces in Cabbagetown. The City Council plays an important role in this regard, since it is in charge of regimenting traffic and, therefore, of posting traffic signs, as well as naming streets and providing them with street signs. Premises are defined as commercial spaces by the signs displayed at their entrance, which label them as the sort of business they are – e.g. a Japanese restaurant, a convenience store, a grocery). Symbolic spaces are constructed by different communities, and can be linguistic, religious or ethnic spaces. For instance, an Anglican Church, embodies a symbolic religious space, which links Cabbagetown to its colonial origins.

What are the main languages and communicative functions or aims of signs appearing in Cabbagetown's public spaces?

The predominant language in Cabbagetown's LLs is English. English supremacy can be expected as it is the official and majority language in Ontario. French, which is official at a federal level and is granted a privileged status by the French Language Services Act (1986), is also present on the streets of the neighborhood, especially regarding those ambits which are managed by institutions corresponding to different scale-levels, such as the Federal Government and the Provincial Government of Ontario. Tamil and Japanese, non-

official languages, also appear in several businesses in the neighborhood. Other languages, such as Korean or Spanish have also been found on signs displayed in Cabbagetown. The use of a language as opposed to another may have been triggered by different factors; for instance, the use of English and French by institutions is related to the fact that they have an official status, whereas the use of non-official languages in businesses may have commercial aims related to authenticity. The language chosen along with the content and location of the sign lead to the identification of its communicative function and aims. Regimentation of public space, informative and commercial purposes are the main aims of the signs appearing in Cabbagetown. The aims and communicative functions of each language help us determine how linguistic groups define their spaces in the neighborhood.

3. Theoretical framework

In order to understand Cabbagetown, its linguistic practices and the definition and meaning of its spaces, we need to consider it in a broader geographical context: it is a neighborhood inside a province, which is part of a federal country. The notion of 'scales' (Blommaert et al 2007) is useful in terms of understanding the different political and indexical forces that coexist in this site. Blommaert et al (2007: 4-5) define 'scales' as 'various spatiotemporal frames interacting with one another', which assume different 'language patterns' and meanings of practices. In this paper, we consider four scale-levels, which correspond to polycentric geographical spaces and institutions that have power over the neighborhood: Cabbagetown (the neighborhood), the city of Toronto (the municipal scale-level), Ontario (the provincial scale-level) and Canada (the federal scale-level). Therefore, we could metaphorically understand Cabbagetown as a 'vertical space' (ibid: 5), in the sense that it is a 'layered and stratified space'.

Each level has different orders of indexicality (ibid: 3-5) or 'different codes and norms as to what is accepted as 'right', 'good', 'marked', 'unexpected', 'normal and 'special'in a given space'; language presents a different semiotic value at each level. Orders of indexicality, therefore, define the lines for authenticity, identity and sense of belonging in society (ibid: 5). In order to understand the use of language and sense of identity in Cabbagetown, we need to consider the indexical values of each scale-level and how they interact with each other (Blommaert et al 2005).

Spaces and signs in Cabbagetown are defined at different scale levels by means of indexical orders. At the neighborhood level, communities sometimes define their own spaces, that is to say, their 'places' through 'repetition of seemingly mundane practices on a daily basis', in other words, by the establishment of traditions and practice of daily activities (ibid: 82). We understand places as those spaces which have meaning and to which a specific community has 'become attached in some way' (Cresswell 2004: 9). As a result, places are never finished, but are being constructed continuously as these practices are being performed. The establishment of traditions ultimately 'validates' the establishment of a community in a space, since it provides a 'sense of continuity and stability' (ibid: 95); places are given a symbolic meaning of identity by the community concerned. In Cabbagetown, both well-established communities (such as original British migrants) as well as recently-established immigrant communities, attempt to define their space and create a place they feel as their own. Therefore, we can say that places are given a sense of identity and/or authenticity. For instance, the settlement of an Anglican church in the neighborhood links it to its colonial origins and to its early settlers, which were mostly of British origin. Similarly, the Tamil-speaking community defines its spaces in

Cabbagetown by making use of their language, traditions and even products, such as it is the case of Tamil-owned groceries.

In order to find out how places are defined by different groups in the neighborhood, we have looked at the linguistic landscape (henceforth LL) of Cabbagetown's streets. As we have already said, ethnic and linguistic groups attempt to create their own space by using their languages. In fact, we understand place not as a mere geographically restricted area, but as a product of the 'reiteration of practices' Cresswell 2004: 82), which makes it a place of 'rootedness and authenticity' (ibid: 71).

Through LLs, we attempt to find out the communicative function of both monolingual and multilingual signs, often conveyed by means of the semiotic function of the language concerned. By analyzing the signs displayed in the neighborhood in terms of language, location and content, we find out about their communicative function and, ultimately, about their semiotic value and how they define space. Blommaert's (2013: x) describes the study of LLs follows:

> 'the representation of different languages in public spaces as part of an attempt to address questions about how various ethnic groups who live and work in this part of the city define and use public space as well as which languages are used for particular public activities, how official language policies are represented in public signs, defining and regimenting space by means of the official languages, and, finally, how local sign-making may present other forms of diversity […]'.

Linguistic landscapes– due to their complexity and dynamic nature – are understood as symbolic and informational sites, where the 'value of linguistic and semiotic resources are constantly being (re)negotiated' (Moriarty 2014: 467). In fact, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) argue that all landscapes are semiotic (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010: 2), since they refer to 'any (public) space with a visible inscription made through deliberate human

intervention and meaning making'. According to them, linguistic ideologies – the attitudes of an ethnographic community towards a specific language and the symbolic values they associate them to, e.g. correctness/incorrectness or socio-economic status – which are implicit in 'the presence or absence of a language on public signage in combination with the type (or genre) of signs, their content and style' (ibid: 11).

Our analysis of the signs is inspired by Jakobson's (1960) functions of language, namely the referential, emotive, conative, poetic, phatic and metalingual functions. We understand the referential function as the one which focuses on the context by denoting it; the emotive (or expressive) function focuses on the addresser and 'aims at a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about', tending to produce 'an impression of a certain emotion' (ibid: 154); the conative function is directed at in some form of command; the poetic function focuses on the message 'for its own sake' (ibid: 156), that is to say, on its form; the phatic function is aimed at making sure that the contact takes place properly; and the metalingual function is used 'whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code' (ibid: 155). We have also taken into consideration whether the function of the signs that make up the LL are informative or symbolic (Akindele 2011: 2-3); the informative function uses language as a means of communication, whereas the symbolic function appeals to the symbolic value of the language concerned. An informative use of language does not seem to use the symbolic meaning of a language to communicate a message or to sell a product intentionally, but uses denotative language. Used as an aesthetic element with commercial aims, 'language forms part of the symbolic capital that can be mobilized in markets as interchangeable with forms of material capital' (Heller 2010: 102). The use of a language, which is usually associated with a series of values or simply with a culture in particular, is used to sell

products or services; in Heller's (2010) terms, language undergoes a process of commodification. We understand commodities as anything that has a use-value or an exchange value (Duchêne and Heller 2009: 4).

Commercial language choice is never unplanned; linguistic choices are made with a view to accomplish commercial purposes. To do so, highly strategic choices are made with the goal of targeting a specific market (Duchêne and Heller 2009: 8). Thus, we can say that today's multilingualism does not only relate to internationalization, but it also acquires a symbolic importance in 'providing products and goods to be sold with an added value in terms of authenticity, exoticism or 'uniqueness'' (ibid: 11).

The analysis of a sign is never easy, though. In fact, depending on who is looking at it, its meaning can vary. Collins and Slembrouk (2007: 337) point out that the reader's assumptions shape the interpretations of a given phrase. It is because of this that linguistic knowledge is not enough to provide an accurate analysis, since public signs show 'a subtle interplay of the social and the linguistic (ibid: 349). To try to solve this, we need to pay attention to the author's ethnographic experience along with comments of speakers of each language.

4. Context and Methodology

4.1. Context

4.1.1 Canada

Canada is one of the most multicultural and multiethnic countries in the Western World. In fact, according to Canada's National Household Survey of 2011 (Statistics Canada: 2013), Canada is the country among the G8 with the highest proportion of immigrants, which constitute 20.6% of the total population of the country (6,775,800 people). Outside the G8 members, only Australia's population was made up by a higher

proportion of immigrants (26.8%). Between 2006 and 2011, the majority of immigrants (56.9% of all immigrants, around 661,600 people) came from Asia, and South Asians embody the largest visible minority group in Canada, 61.3% of the visible minority population. We should also point out that the visible minority population median age is relatively young – 33.4 years old, as opposed to the median age of the total population, 40.1 years old. Moreover, the vast majority of newcomers settled in the Province of Ontario (43.1%, over 501,000 immigrants), followed by Quebec (19.2%) and British Columbia (15.9%). Moreover, most immigrants (62.5% of all new-comers) settled in the largest urban centers, namely Toronto (32.8%, 381,700 people), Montréal (16.3%, 189,700 people) and Vancouver (13.3%, 155,100 people), between 2006 and 2011.

Figure 1. Immigration in Canada.

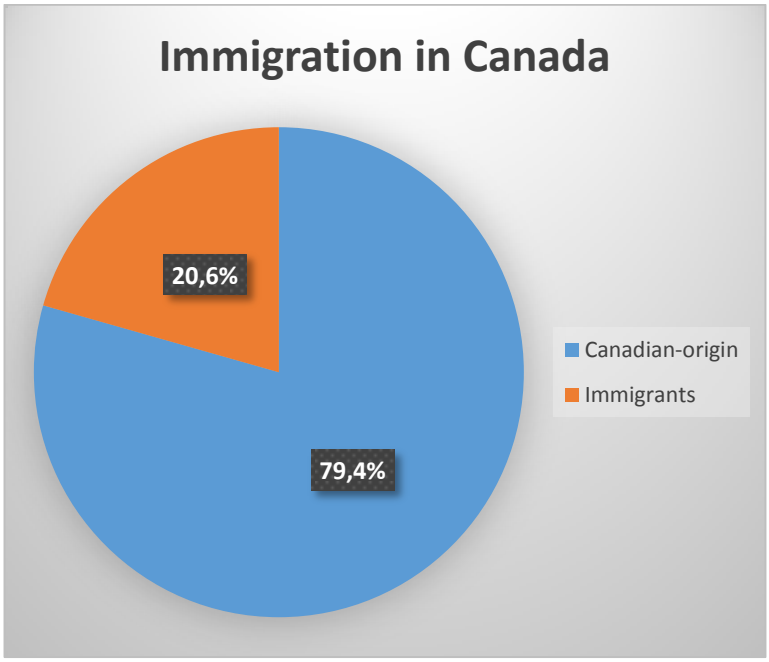
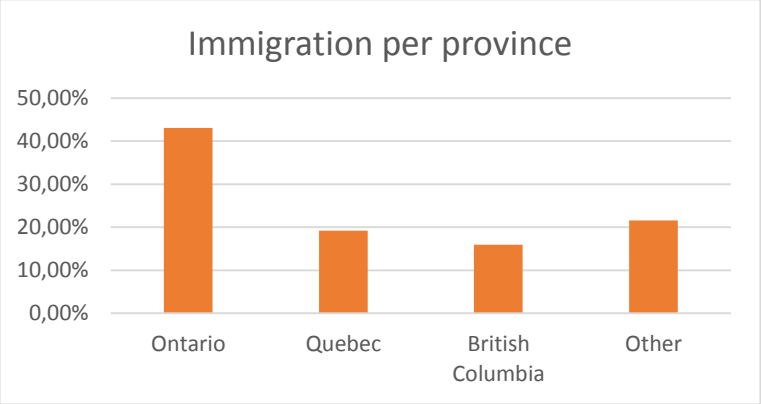


Figure 2. Immigration per province.



Regarding language, we should not only consider facts and figures, but also legislation. Canada only recognizes English and French as official languages at a federal level, as the Official Languages Act (Minister of Justice 1985) shows. These two languages are officially recognized by the Parliament and all administrations, and are suitable for the official education system. In fact, its purpose is overtly stated as follows: to 'ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institution' (ibid: 2). In this act, no other specific languages are mentioned; they are consistently referred to as 'other than English and French', and yet the importance of being enhanced and preserved is said to be recognized (ibid: 2). There only exists a single language act that protects an aboriginal language in Canada: the Inuit Language Protection Act (2008). On the whole, the Official Languages Act, seems to embody a tolerance-oriented policy towards non-official languages, since there is no or little direct intervention of the government in minority linguistic communities and simply protects the right to use their language in a private sphere without actively promoting it.

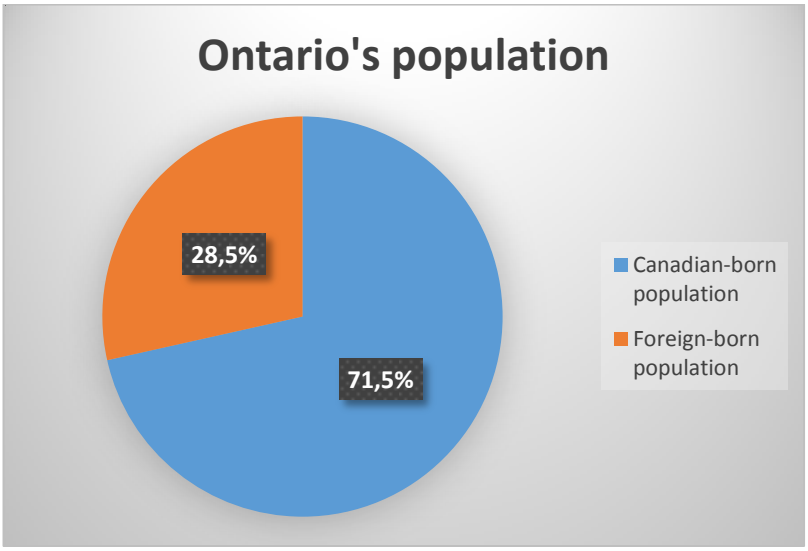
Despite of the fact that the Canadian Federal Government only recognizes English and French as official languages, the 2011 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2012)

reported more than 200 different mother tongues and home languages in Canada. 20.6% (6.8 million people) of Canadians, reported to speak a language other than English or French as a mother tongue, but only 6.2 % of Canadians fail to speak an official language at home. In fact, 63% of those whose mother tongue was not English or French, speak English at home (either as sole home language or along their mother tongue). However, the use of non-official languages at home seems to have increased between 2006 and 2011, as opposed to the use of English. A clear example of this phenomenon is Tagalog, whose use at home seems to have increased by +64% during this period of time; in 2011, about 279,000 people said they spoke Tagalog most often in the household. The use of Mandarin, has also increased by +51%. In fact, Tagalog, Mandarin and Arabic are in the top-three of the most frequently used non-official languages at home.

4.1.2 Ontario

As we said before, Ontario is the Canadian province that receives the greatest number of newcomers, about 501,000 (43.1% of all immigrants). In fact, the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada: 2013) 28.5% of Ontario's total population (3,611,365 people) are immigrants, and pointed out that Ontario's foreign-born population accounts for 53.3% (6.8 million people) of Canada's total number of immigrants. 76.2% of immigrants who came to Ontario between 2006 and 2011 settled in Toronto, which is the Canadian city that has the highest percentage of immigrant population (49%).

Figure 3. Ontario's population.



Ontario's sole official language is English, but French is also protected and enhanced by the Provincial Government. The French Language Services Act (1986) is aimed at guaranteeing the right to services in French in the so-called 25 designated areas, where at least 10% of the population are Francophones, or, in the case of urban centers, they should have a minimum of 5000 Francophones. The city of Toronto is one of the 25 designated areas.

The most common mother tongue in Ontario, according to the 2011 Census (Statistics Canada 2013), is English, which accounts for 69.3% of all population, 8.8 million people. Franco-Ontarians, though, constitute only 4.1% of the total population, 510,240 people. Regarding non-official languages, 3.4 million Ontarians (26.6%) speak a language other than English or French as a mother tongue, being Chinese languages the most spoken ones, namely by more than half a million Ontarians (4.1% of Ontario's population). We should also point out that English is spoken at home by the vast majority of Ontarians, 81.1%, which means that many of those whose mother tongue is not English also speak English most often at home.

Figure 4. Mother tongues in Ontario

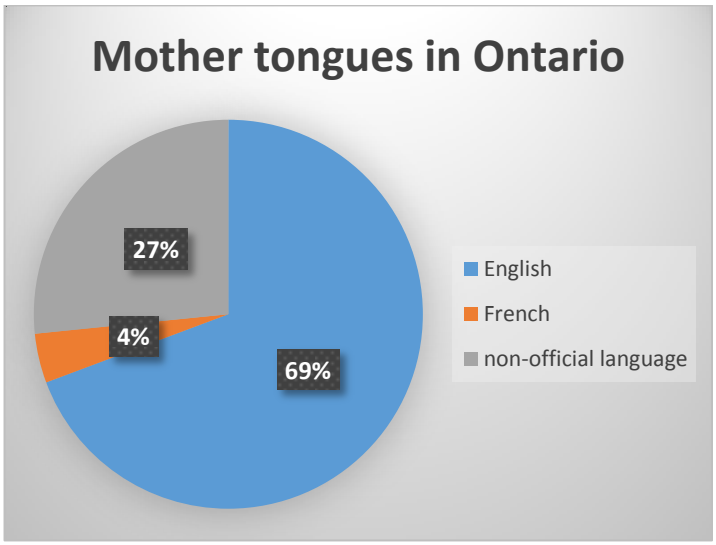
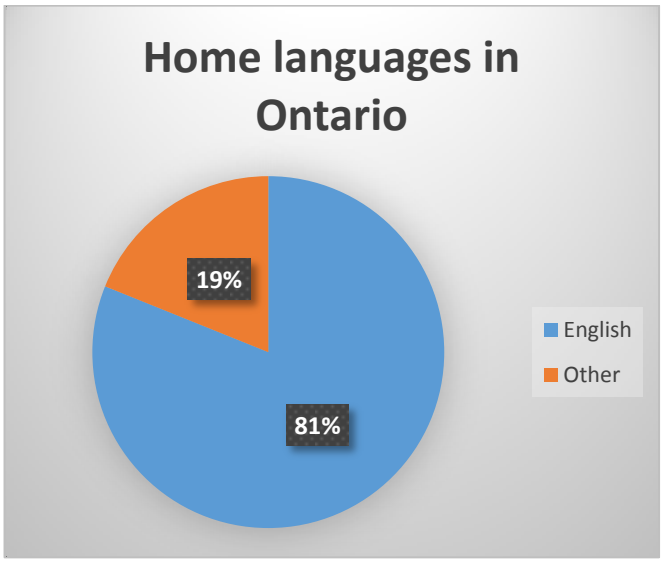


Figure 5. Home languages in Ontario.

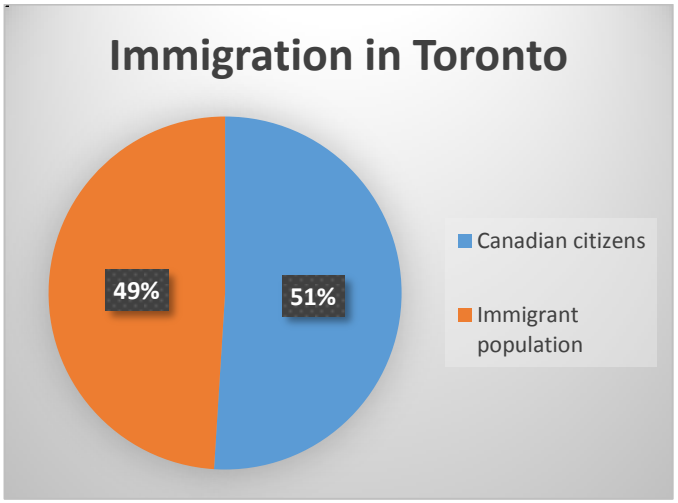


4.1.3. Toronto

Toronto is one of the most multicultural and multilingual cities in the world. In fact, according to the 2011 National Household Survey (City of Toronto 2011a), 49 % of the inhabitants of Toronto – a total of 2,615,060 – are immigrants, 49% were born in Canada

and the remaining 2% are non-permanent residents. In this context, we encounter a great variety of ethnic origins, languages and religious affiliations.

Figure 6. Immigration in Toronto.



The 2011 City of Toronto Neighborhood Planning Area Profiles (ibid) show that 51% of its inhabitants speak English as a mother tongue, 1% speaks French as a mother tongue, 45% speak a non-official language, and 3% said they have more than one mother tongue. Regarding the languages spoken at home, 64% of citizens speak English at home, 1% speaks French, 28% speak a non-official language, and 7% speak more than one language. The most common non-official mother tongues for Torontonians are Chinese (3.3%) – the survey respondents did not specify which variety of Chinese –, Cantonese (3.2%), Italian (2.8%) and Spanish (2.7%). The most common home languages – other than English – are Cantonese (2.6%), Chinese (2.4%) – the survey respondents did not provide dialectal information –, Mandarin (1.9%) and Tamil (1.9%).

4.1.4. Cabbagetown

Cabbagetown is a neighborhood located in downtown Toronto, whose residents do not only vary in terms of ethnicity, culture and language, but also in relation to their social and

economic status. This variation contrasts with a greater homogeneity in terms of ethnicity and presence of non-official language in other neighborhoods, as well as in terms of income and social-status, of many neighborhoods in Toronto. In Chinatown, for instance 51% of residents speak a non-official language, according to the 2011 Census (Statistics Canada 2013); Chinese languages are spoken by 31% of the residents. In order to get a full picture of Cabbagetown's diversity we need to look at its history.

Figure 7. Picture 'Welcome to Cabbagetown'.

4.1.4.1. History of Cabbagetown[1]

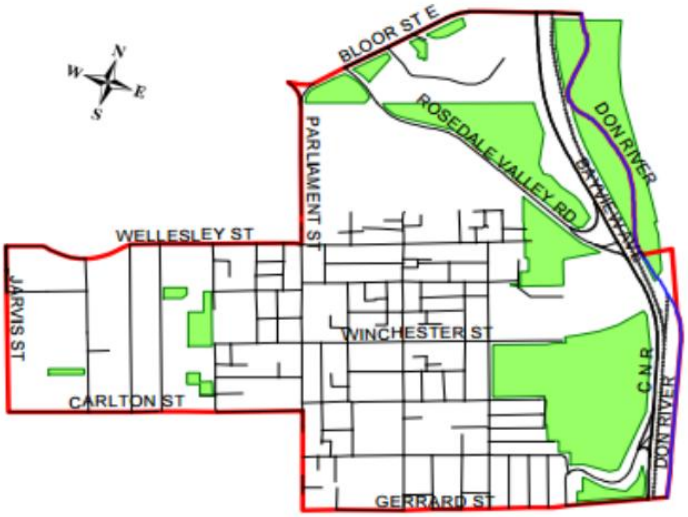
The origin of the name of the neighborhood, Cabbagetown, dates back to the 1840's, when a great number of Irish immigrants, who escaped the Potato Famine, settled in the neighborhood (Neighbourhood Guide n.d.). With a view to assuring food on the table, early residents decided to grow cabbage – as well as other vegetables – in their front yards, which encouraged Toronto's affluent residents (mostly English) to refer to the area as 'Cabbagetown' (Cabbagetown Preservation Association n.d.). Therefore, the neighborhood was regarded as a deprived area and associated to low-income residents. In the late 19th century, Cabbagetown experienced its most prosperous period, since it was then when most houses were built. The First World War had a great impact on the neighborhood and

[1] The information about the history of Cabbagetown provided in this section has been retrieved from two websites: Cabbagetown's Preservation Association and Toronto's Neighbourhood Guide.

brought about a decline on the area and on the residents. It was not until the 1970's and 1980's that the Victorian houses in Cabbagetown where restored, making the neighborhood one of the most beautiful areas in Toronto. The renovated Victorian houses attracted new residents, which had a higher social status (ibid). Thus, Cabbagetown is not only a multicultural area, but also a mixed-income community.

The borders of the neighborhood are not so clear cut, but we will adhere to the division made by Statistics Canada (City of Toronto 2011b), who published their census in the official website of the City of Toronto and whose data we have extracted for the purpose of this paper. The northern border would be Bloor Street and St. James Cemetery, being Gerrard Street the southern one, the Don River the eastern one and Jarvis Street the west one (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Map of Cabbagetown.[2]



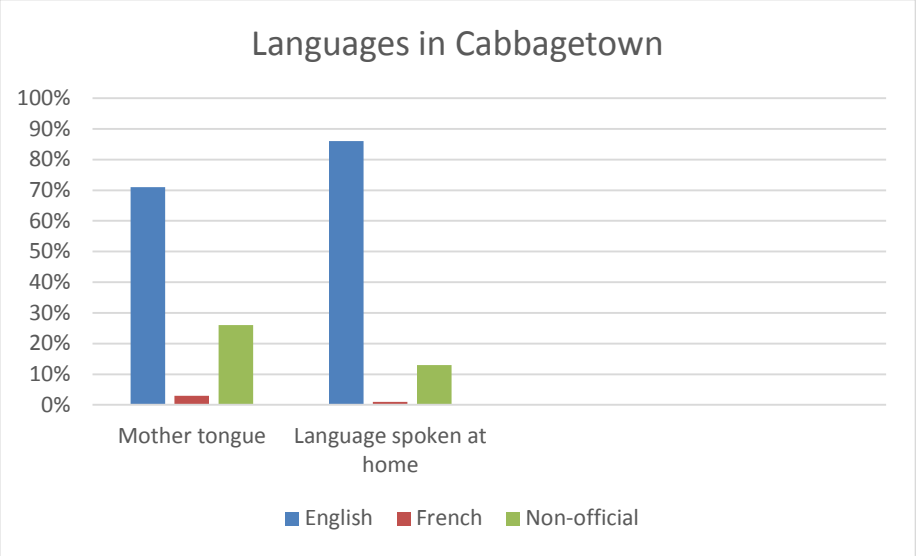
[2] Figure 8 has been retrieved from the *Neighborhood Census* by the City of Toronto (2011b).

4.1.4.2. Immigrants and languages in Cabbagetown

In Cabbagetown there are people from different ethnic origins and people with a mother tongue other than English, which is by the predominant language. It has a total of 12,060 residents. The neighbourhood's immigration rate seems to be slightly lower than the city's average (City of Toronto 2011b), since 62% of its residents were born in Canada, as opposed to 49% in the entire city of Toronto. The most common ethnic origins in Cabbagetown (ibid) are English (2,980 residents), Irish (2,425) and Scottish (2,300). Thus, we can state the neighborhood residents are predominantly of a European origin. When it comes to immigration, the country of birth of most immigrants still is the United Kingdom (530 residents), followed by the Philippines (490) and the United States (305). Those immigrants who arrived to the neighborhood in the past few years (between 2006 and 2011) came most commonly from the Philippines (160 residents) and the United States (70 residents).

In spite of the fact that most Cabbagetown immigrants come from English-speaking countries, there are still a great number of migrants who speak a foreign language. The 2011 official census (ibid) showed that 71% of residents speak English as a mother tongue, and 86% speak English at home. French was the mother tongue of only 3% of residents – as opposed to 1% regarding the entire city – and spoken at home only by 1%. 26% of the residents speak a non-official language in Canada as a mother tongue, but only 13% speak it a home. The top-three non-official languages spoken in Cabbagetown are Spanish (305 speakers), Tagalog (265), and Cantonese (205). The non-official languages which are spoken at home the most are Cantonese (145 speakers), Spanish (135), and unspecified varieties of Chinese and Tagalog (130 each).

Figure 9. Languages in Cabbagetown.



4.2. Linguistic minority groups

Instances of linguistic communities other than those corresponding to Canada's official languages (i.e. English and French) have been found in Cabbagetown's LLs; sings in languages like Japanese, Tamil, Chinese, Korean or Spanish are displayed on Cabbagetown's streets. Surprisingly, we didn't find any sign written in Tagalog, one of the most spoken languages in the neighborhood. The following sections focus on the history and demographic data of the linguistic communities which have signs written in their languages along the streets of Cabbagetown.

4.2.1. Japanese Canadians[3]

It is estimated that there are about 98,900 Canadians of Japanese ethnic origin, 0.3% of the total Canadian population. 56, 570 of them are of single Japanese ancestry, whereas 42,430 are of multiple ancestry. 14,690 are women looking for professional opportunities

[3] Information about Japanese Canadians in this section has been retrieved from The Canadian Encyclopedia website: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/japanese-canadians/.

that they are denied in their homeland. Regarding location, 35% of the total Japanese Canadian population lives currently in the Province of Ontario.

The first generation of Japanese immigrants, known as Issei, arrived to Canada between 1877 and 1928. Most of them were young and came from farming and fishing villages in the southern islands of Kyushu and Honshu. They settled in British Columbia, mainly in the Japanese neighborhoods of Vancouver and Victoria. The immigration inflow ceased due to Japan's alliance with Canada's enemies during the Second World War and resumed in 1967.

Before the Second World War, most Japanese Canadians resided in Japanese neighborhoods in British Columbia, where they were able to perform their traditions and speak their language, but the Japanese community was dispersed during the Second World War. The Federal Cabinet decided to deport all Japanese Canadians residing within 160 km of the Pacific Coast after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor (1941). In 1942, 20,881 Japanese Canadians were sent to detention camps in British Columbia and Ontario. Those who resisted being sent to camps were imprisoned in Ontario. The Federal Government dispossessed all Japanese Canadians from their homes, businesses and personal properties and sold them.

Japanese Canadians, as well as other Asian immigrants – like Chinese and Southern Asians – have suffered discrimination, since they were denied the right to vote in the late 19th century until 1948, and could only work in menial jobs and farming, for which they earned lower wages than Caucasians. In the 1950s Japanese Canadians were scattered around Canada and could not reconstruct their communities; they lived in white communities, which resulted in them speaking mostly English and French and having very little knowledge of the Japanese language and culture.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the National Association of Japanese Canadians struggled to get a compensation for the injustice they suffered during the Second World War. In 1988 each Japanese Canadian who had been evacuated from the coasvt in 1942 or had lived in Canada before 1949 and was still alive was granted $21000 by the Federal Government. The Japanese community was also given $12 million to try to rebuild their communities, and those deported to Japan and their descendants during the war were give the Canadian citizenship. Nowadays, Japanese Canadians occupy all ambits of professional life.

4.2.2. Tamil Community[4]

Tamil is an ethnolinguistic group whose native language is Tamil. Tamils do not live in a nation state of their own, but live mainly in India and Sri-Lanka. It is estimated that there are between 200,000 and 300,000 Tamil Canadians, most of whom come from India and Sri-Lanka.

The Sri-Lankan Civil War in 1983 brought about a significant increase in the immigration of Tamil Sri-Lankans to Canada. Canada's tolerant immigration and refugee policy attracted many Tamils in the 1980s, which settled mostly in urban centers, like Toronto and Montreal. During the 1980s and 1990s, Canada received tens of thousands of Tamil immigrants. The great inflow of Tamil immigrants made Canada the second country with the greatest number of Sri-Lankan Tamils after Sri-Lanka.

Tamil Canadians intended to keep their language and culture – especially since one of the main causes of the Sri-Lankan civil war was the conflict between the different languages and cultures that coexisted in the island, basically Sinhala and Tamil –, but their descendants tend to speak mostly English. In fact, 30% of Sri-Lankan Tamils living in

[4] The information about the Canadian Tamil community in this section has been retrieved from the website Tamil Culture: http://tamilculture.com/the-tamil-community-in-canada-a-brief-overview/.

Canada speak only English at home, whereas 63% speak Tamil and 7% a mixture of both English and Tamil.

4.2.3. Chinese Canadians[5]

The first Chinese immigrants arrived to Canada over 200 years ago and settled on the west coast; almost all of them resided in British Columbia. At first they scattered around the territory, but due to the great inflow of Chinese immigrants they ended up congregating in Chinatowns. After the discovery of gold in Fraser Valley in 1857, Chinese immigrants coming from both other North American regions and from China arrived to British Columbia and started to work long hours as miners for low wages. Unemployed white Canadians blamed Chinese immigrants for performing their jobs, and hostility towards them increased in the 1870s. In 1872 they were denied their right to vote, which was not recovered until the end of the Second World War.

In 1885, the Federal Government imposed a tax of $50 to all Chinese immigrants, except for diplomats, clergymen, merchants, students, tourists and scientists, so as to discourage Chinese immigrants to settle in Canada. However, Chinese laborers continued migrating to Canada, where they were able to get a much higher wage (from 10 to 20 times as much) than in their homeland. As the head tax failed to reduce Chinese immigration, the Federal Government passed an act to forbid all Chinese immigrants to enter Canada from 1923 to 1947. In 1947, after over 600 Chinese Canadians had served Canada in the Second World War, the Federal Governmen allowed Chinese immigration again.

The immigration policy established in 1962, which allowed all immigrants with working skills to enter the country regardless of their ethnic origin, attracted more laborers

[5] The information about Chinese Canadian in this section has been found at the Chinese Canadian Heritage Fund Website: http://www.sfu.ca/chinese-canadian-history/chart_en.html.

to Canada. As a consequence, the total number of Chinese immigrants increased from 876 to 5,178 in four years' time.

In the 1900s and 2000s the number of Chinese immigrants increased dramatically; in 1994 there was a total of 12,486 Chinese Canadians, which increased up to 36,718 in 2000, and between 2001 and 2006 190,000 Chinese immigrants settled in Canada. Nowadays, Chinese Canadians make up 3.9% (1,487,000 people) of the total Canadian population and concentrate in Ontario (531,635, 9.6% of the total population) and British Columbia (411,470 people, 18% of the total population), especially in the metropolitan areas, like the Greater Toronto Area (537,060 people) and Metro Vancouver (402,000).

4.2.4. Korean Canadians[6]

Korean Canadians constitute the 7th largest non-European ethnic group in Canada with a population over 100,000 people (0.3% of the total population). The Korean population in Canada has considerably increased in the past few decades; for instance, between 1996 and 2001, it increased by 53%, as opposed to the total Canadian population, which rose only by 4%. The vast majority of Korean Canadians (94%) report a single ancestry, Korean, whereas only 6% seem to have a mixed ethnic origin, perhaps because most of them have recently arrived to Canada and are foreign-born.

Canadians with Korean ethnic origin concentrate in Ontario (54% of the total Korean Canadian population, 55,000 people) and British Columbia (32%, 32,000 people), mostly in urban centers, like Toronto (42%, 43,000) and Vancouver (29%, about 30,000). Communities of Canadians with Korean ethnic origin have been established in these cities;

[6] The information about Korean Canadians in this section has been retrieved from the Statistics Canada website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007014-eng.htm.

Korean Canadians concentrate in Koreatowns in these cities, where they can perform their traditions and own businesses.

4.2.5. Latin American Canadians[7]

Latin Americans make up one of the most-recently established ethnic origins in Canada. Before 1970, the total Latin American population in Canada was less than 3000. Due to Canada's open-door immigration policy, established in 1962, its population started to increase. In the 1990s and 2000s it raised significantly; for instance, in 2001 there was a total Latin American population of 250,000 people, which increased up to 527,000 by 2006. Most Latin Americans settled in urban centers, like Toronto or Montreal, although some of them migrated to Alberta. Canadian Latin American communities are divided by nationalities; that is to say, Chileans, for instance, have set their own organizations and committees, and perform their own traditions as opposed to other Latin American communities.

4.3. Methodology

As we have seen above, the city of Toronto and, more specifically in this case, Cabbagetown, presents a certain degree of multilingualism. In this context, we are trying to see how the multiculturalism and multilingualism of the population are depicted in the spaces of Cabbagetown. Taking advantage of the multiethnic and multilingual character of its streets, we decided to analyze the signs and flyers shown in the streets of the neighborhood so as to find bonds between immigration and the languages found in the linguistic landscape. More specifically, we attempt to bring to light the language ideologies

[7] The information regarding Canadians with Latin American ethnic origin has been found at The Canadian Encyclopedia website: http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-621-x/89-621-x2007014-eng.htm.

of each community and institution and how they define spaces by analyzing the communicative function attributed to language in each case.

In order to analyze the multiethnic and multilinguistic character of Cabbagetown's linguistic landscape, we have considered the languages and icons used in each case; the institution, organization or commerce responsible for the sign; its exact location; and the communicative function given to language in each case. The analysis is based on a series of pictures taken in situ by the author, as well as on her own observations and ethnographic fieldwork experience.

The study would not have been possible if the author did not have a first-hand experience living in Cabbagetown for over four months. The experience consisted of living with a local family for this period of time. The family's home was located in Winchester Street, which is in the core of the neighborhood and adjacent to Parliament Street, the neighborhood's main commercial street (see Figure 8). During the author's stay, she got to know the streets and premises – in which she acquired goods and groceries – in the area, and became familiar with some of the customs and views of the residents.

During her stay, the author took pictures of several signs, which were selected according to diversity criteria (e. g. some commercial signs and some regimental ones) that is to say, a selection of signs produced by different sorts of entities both commercial and institutional, written in as many different languages as found; and having diverse communicative functions, i.e. developed with different intentions. The pictures were taken as an attempt to figure out how space was used in Cabbagetown and occupied by different communities.

Multilingualism was essential to the selection of the pictures; thus, all signs written in more than one language or in a language other than English were selected to become part of

our analysis. On the contrary, if we found that a type of commerce or institution or a specific communicative function was restricted to the use of one single language – i. e. English – we simply selected a few signs of that same type in representation of the others. Needless to say, most signs found in Cabbagetown are written in English.

5. Analysis

The pictures were taken with a non-professional digital camera and transferred to a personal laptop, where they were analyzed and classified according to the criteria established. The first feature we look at is language (e. g. English, Chinese, Tamil, Spanish) and the use – or not – of icons. Given that the author is not proficient in most of the languages present in the signs – like Chinese, Japanese or Tamil – speakers of those languages have confirmed the nature of the language and whether it was used correctly or not, as well as commented on any marked linguistic feature. We also took into consideration whether the sign had a public or a private nature and specified which institution, organization or commerce was responsible for it. According to the aim of the sign, we granted it its possible communicative function, which helps us determine why that particular language has been chosen and its implications. Finally, we specifiy its exact location. After describing and classifying the signs according to the criteria mentioned above (see Appendix A), we have analyzed the signs, and ultimately determined how spaces are defined either by governing bodies, ethnolinguistic communities or businesses.

Cabbagetown's LLs show the languages present in the neighborhood, and picture it as a polycentric space where several indexical forces coexist. The data gathered in Cabbagetown show a clear predominance of English over minority languages, since it is the language most likely to appear on street signs, but also account for the coexistence of English with other languages which have also been found on signs. The signs also illustrate

the language practices that each institutionalized scale level (i.e. the Canadian Federal Government, the Provincial Government of Ontario and Toronto's City Council) postulates, which vary according to their corresponding *de jure* language policies.

Cabbagetown has proved to be less multilingual than the entire city of Toronto as a whole. 86% of Cabbagetown's residents speak English at home whereas (see Figure 9) only 64% of the total number of Toronto's citizens speak it at home. The fact that most signs displayed in the neighborhood include English only matches the hegemonic position English occupies in Cabbagetown. Minority languages appear in very few signs, most of them displayed on the entrance of specific premises, and often along with English. The minority languages we have found on Cabbagetown's street signs are French, Korean, Tamil, Arabic, Japanese and Spanish. Some of the signs include icons as well. Signs including a text in a minority language, tend to be aimed at a more specific receiver (e.g. people who speak the language displayed on the sign), but with different purposes (e.g. commercial or to show authenticity).

The signs found in the neighborhood are emitted from the perspective of different scale-levels: from the neighborhood level (Cabbagetown), from a municipal level (Toronto City Council), from a provincial level (Ontario's Provincial Government), or from a federal level (Canada's Federal Government). All scale-levels coexist in the smallest physical space, in the neighborhood, where we can find instances of signs emitted by all levels. Each scale-level is characterized by the use of one or several languages, according to their indexical orders (Blommaert 2007), all of which interact with each other. Some of the indexical orders are *de jure*, that is to say, are official and have been registered in the legislation corresponding to each scale-level. Therefore, when it comes to signs emitted by an official governmental institution (e.g. Toronto's City Council, Ontario's Provincial

Government, Canadian Federal Government), we can expect in which language or languages, namely English and/or French, the text on the sign will be written in by looking at the scale-level to which they belong. Non-official languages appear in a few signs that are not controlled by any public institution (e.g. store signs or advertisements), especially in premises in which language is used as a symbol of authenticity. In some cases, authenticity may be related to the aim of a minority ethnolinguistic group to define its own space and make it a place they feel attached to by using their ethnic language, as well as performing their traditions (Cresswell 2004). In other cases, a foreign language may be used to provide products and premises with an added value of exoticism and authenticity with mere commercial aims (Duchêne and Heller 2009).

Signs emitted by a public institution, according to the scale-level they belong to (i.e. Toronto City Council, Ontario's Provincial Government or the Canadian Federal Government) are expected to have one or more than one language, namely English and French at a federal and provincial level (in Toronto) and English only at a municipal level. The use of English and/or French can be worked out by considering the legislation and official status of the languages concerned at each scale-level. These scales tend to use language as a symbol, such as it is the case of the Federal Government (e.g. English and French as symbol of Canada's bilingualism), to regiment space (e.g. traffic signs), and to define physical spaces (e.g. street signs).

According to the Canadian Official Languages Act (1988), both English and French are official languages at a federal level; therefore, those signs emitted by a federal institution are expected to have a script in both languages. In Cabbagetown's LL, we have found an instance of a text whose emitter, Canada Post, is operated by the Federal Government. The script is written on a mailbox (see picture 'Canada Post'), and includes

the name of the institution in both English and French (i.e. Canada Post/ Postes Canada, as well as information about the collection and delivery of the mail). Thus, language has a function of representing the Federal Government by using their two official languages, since bilingualism has been established as a symbol of Canada by means of its legislation, which grants an equal status to both languages.

Figure 10. Picture 'Canada Post'.

At a provincial level, English is the only official language. However, the French Language Services Act guarantees the right to certain services in French in the so-called Designated Areas, which include the city of Toronto. This can be regarded by looking at the LCBO (Liquor Control Board of Ontario) sign, which exhibits a bilingual sign which says 'open / ouvert'(see Figure 11). The sign, which has an informative communicative function, also shows the Provincial Government of Ontario's compromise with francophones by providing a service managed by them in French as well as in English.

Figure 11. Picture ‘LCBO open ouvert’.

Regarding the municipal level, we should note that the Toronto City Council is responsible, for instance, for traffic and street signs. Traffic signs use iconic language, since they are meant to regiment traffic and be understood by everyone travelling or walking around the city. Icons are used due to its universality; they have been designed to be understood by everyone regardless of the language they speak. Still, English, Toronto’s official language, is used in some signs to set, for example, a speed limit or to ban parking in a specific area. In Figure 12 we can see two signs, which set a speed limit by saying ‘maximum 30’, and ban parking by using making use of both iconicity and English. Figure 13 displays three signs: two of them direct drivers to drive more slowly (one uses only text in English, whereas the other one combines an icon with a text in English), and the other one bans parking by making use of iconicity only.

Figure 12. Picture ‘Traffic sign 1’.

Figure 13. Picture ‘Traffic sign 2’.

Signs displayed in cities in which French is the official language (such as Montreal, Quebec), street signs combine iconicity with French. Therefore, the regimentation of space and traffic is also done by means of the official/majority language in other Canadian cities, which implies two different functions of the language of such signs: informing and regimenting space and circulation in the city, and a symbolic function which links the space

in which they are found to the indexical orders (including the official status of the language concerned) of the municipal level concerned.

Toronto's City Council is responsible for street signs displayed in the city. Therefore, the fact that street signs in Cabbagetown are in English (see Picture 7 'Winchester St') is not striking. We should note, though, that street signs in immigrant neighborhoods, such as Chinatown, may also include the name of the street in the language of the predominant immigrating community living there. Cabbagetown's most spoken language is English – 86% of residents speak it at home. The function of street signs in Cabbagetown seems to be merely that of defining the physical public space, and to inform drivers and pedestrians about their exact location.

Figure 14. Picture 'Winchester St.'.

Public spaces in Cabbagetown, thus, are regimented by governing bodies operating from different scale-levels, which make use of their own indexical orders; in other words physical spaces in Cababgetown are defined by institutions, which use their corresponding languages. The employment of English and French on signs emitted by an institution operating at the federal level are aimed at the representation of the state; it shows Canada's bilingualism, a symbol of the country. The signs controlled by the Provincial Government, whose official language is English only, use English and French in specific areas, such as it the case of Toronto, to show their compromise with Ontarian francophones. Signs

controlled by the municipality include text in English only, since it is the city's official language. Therefore, we can say that physical public spaces in Cabbagetown (and in the entire city of Toronto) are defined by different scale-levels, and are characterized by a blend of the indexical orders that characterize each level. The result of this blend of indexical orders is shown in Cabbagetown's LL, which contains signs written in English only or English and French, according to which governmental body has power over a certain service or regulation (e.g. traffic, liquors or the post).

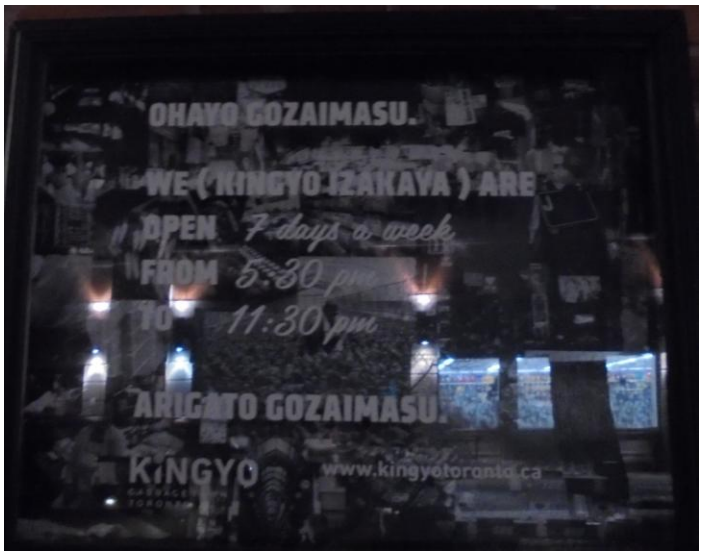
In the neighborhood, we have also found signs emitted by non-governing bodies, such as companies, businesses and individuals (e.g. advertisements, fliers or store signs), which tend to have commercial aims, and/or carry a symbolic meaning. All instances of advertisements (including both those emitted by big companies and individuals) found in the neighborhood are in English (see Figure 15). Companies tend to use English in their advertising signs so as to reach as many potential customers/buyers as possible.

Figure 15. Picture 'Ford ad'.

Premises, though, may use either English only or English along with a non-official language. The vast majority of the store signs displayed in the neighborhood use English solely, which matches the city's indexical order's unmarked pattern. Premises displaying

multilingual signs often use a non-official language to convey authenticity, which results in a combination of a symbolic and commercial space. In fact, when it comes to commercial signs, language choice is never unplanned, but it is done with specific purposes (Duchêne and Heller 2009), and direct the message they convey to a specific market (i.e. potential clients). The use of a non-official language, though, is not necessarily aimed at the linguistic community which speaks the language concerned (i.e. a minority). For instance, a Japanese restaurant sign including text in Japanese is not necessarily aimed at the Japanese ethnolinguistic community only, but uses language to convey authenticity (see Figure 16). In such cases, language undergoes a process of commodification; the values and culture associated to a certain ethnolinguistic community are used to sell their products or services (Heller 2010). Premises which such aims, are defined as commercial spaces which in fact use language with commercial aims. It should also be pointed out that, in spite of the fact that Japanese Canadians suffered discrimination for many decades, now they are able to sell their traditions, in this case their cuisine, as if they were a commodity. The fact that this restaurant is not aimed only at Japanese potential customers may be related to the fact that many Japanese Canadians were separated from the Japanese communities in which they used to live. In fact, in Toronto there is not a Japantown; Japanese Canadians, most of whom originally settled in British Columbia in Japanese neighborhoods, were scattered around Canada by the Federal Government during the Second World War, which resulted in the separation of the Canadian Japanese community.

Figure 16. Picture ‘Kingyo’.



Other premises may display a sign including text in a non-official language in order to attract a more specific type of potential customers, namely those who belong to the same ethnolinguistic community as the one associated to the sign. For instance, a Tamil-owned grocery store sign is written in both English and Tamil script (see picture 10 ‘Yarl’s Super-store’). The use of Tamil script also grants the premises a value of authenticity with commercial purposes (Heller 2010). We should point out that the signs using Tamil script that we have found in the neighborhood do not include a translation of the text in English, but they provide a transliteration of the English words displayed, and, according to the Tamil native speaker to whom we showed the picture of the sign, the words written in Tamil have spelling errors. Even though Tamil immigrants tried to preserve their language after settling in Canada, only 63% of them speak Tamil at home, and most of them relate to other Canadians (like colleagues or schoolmates) in English. The spelling errors shown on the signs may stem from the loss of contact with their ethnic language and customs that Tamil Canadians have undergone.

Figure 17. Picture ‘Yarl’s Super-store’.

In spite of the spelling errors of the text, the use of Tamil on the sign seems to have an aim to link the premises to the Tamil-speaking community, that is to say to create a symbolic place – in Cresswell’s (2004) terms – to which Tamils can feel attached and where they perform ‘seemingly mundane practices’ related to their ethnic origin, such as speak with other customers in their language, and buy products from their homeland.

We should note that not all immigrant-owned premises use non-official languages on their signs. Cabbagetown Organics (see Figure 18), an Indian-owned organic products store, and Fairway Market (see picture 12 ‘Fairway Market’), an Asian-owned convenience store, use only English on their signs. The potential customers of these stores are not necessarily members of the same ethnolinguistic community as their owners. Organic stores’ customers are usually well-off (middle to upper class individuals), and convenience stores are aimed to a broad range of potential customers; due to its open hours (convenience stores close later than regular groceries), anybody who needs to buy something in the evening, for instance after work, is a potential customer, regardless of their social class or ethnolinguistic background. Therefore, it seems like English is used in the organic store sign and the convenience store grocery sign because it is the majority language in the neighborhood and can reach more people than any other language. We can say, thus, that English is used with commercial aims to reach as many people as it is possible, since it is

the language of the majorit, and these premises are not aimed at a minority community, but to the majority or to all kind of residents in the neighborhood.

Figure 18. Picture 'Cabbagetown Organics'.

Figure 19. Picture 'Fairway Market'.

Ethnolinguistic minorities are not the only communities who define their own spaces in Cabbagetown, but the hegemonic majority also does. English-speaking Canadians constitute Ontario's majority. In the neighborhood, there is an Anglican Church (see Figure 20), which links Cababgetown to their colonial past. Historically, Toronto's dominant community was constituted by British (mostly English) settlers, who looked down to Cabbagetown's Irish newcomers in the 19th century. The church is a place where the traditions of a long-established community (i.e. Anglo-Saxon Protestants) are performed. It is, thus, a symbolic religious and ethnic space, which is constructed not only by using the

language of the community, English – since it is the majority language –, but also by performing religious practices which are characteristic of the early British settlers. In fact, Saint Peter's Anglican Church was established in the 19th century, more specifically in 1863.

Figure 20. Picture 'Anglican Church'.

Geographical space within the neighborhood is also relevant to our analysis. Store signs displayed closer to the intersection between Parliament Street (the neighborhoods main commercial street) and Carlton Street; or Parliament Street and Winchester Street (see Figure 8), an area which can be considered the center of the neighborhood, are more likely to be directed to an English-speaking well-off majority, whereas store signs displayed in a more peripheral area of the neighborhood, like those closer to St. James Town (in the northern area of the neighborhood) are more likely to be aimed at potential customers who

belong to an ethnolinguistic minority group. As it has been explained above, multilingual signs may have different intentions. Signs closer to the center of the neighborhood, both monolingual (e.g. 'Cabbagetown Organics') and multilingual (e.g. 'Kingyo'), tend to be aimed to the hegemonic ethnolinguistic community (i.e. English-speaking Canadians), whereas multilingual signs located in more peripheral areas (e.g. 'Yarl's Super-store') are more likely to be directed at ethnolinguistic minorities in the neighborhood, such as the Tamil community.

6. Conclusions

Cabbagetown is a predominantly English-speaking neighborhood, with a higher percentage of home-speakers of English than the city of Toronto as a whole, and the street signs displayed along its streets are mainly in English. Still, it is a diverse geographical space; Cabbagetown's LLs show that it is characterized by a blend of indexical orders postulated from different political scalar levels, and the concurrence of different ethnolinguistic groups. The use of English embodies an unmarked pattern and fulfils an informative function, since the message conveyed can be received by nearly everybody walking around the streets of the neighborhood. In fact, English is also used in many premises owned by members of a minority group (e.g. Fairway Market); regardless of their ethnolinguistic origin, most shop-keepers target as many potential customers as possible, and they do so, in part, by using a language that can be understood by a greater number of people, namely English.

In order to understand how indexical levels in the neighborhood interact with each other, we need to take into consideration Cabbagetown's exact location; it is a neighborhood located on the east of Toronto's downtown, which is situated in Ontario, a province within Canada, a federal country. Each scale-level, i.e. the neighborhood, the City

Council, the Provincial Government and the Federal Government, as well as each linguistic community postulate their own indexical orders, which assume the use of a particular language for specific purposes. For instance, the Federal Government, which established English as well as French as official languages, uses both languages in all those services they provide, whereas Toronto's City Council, whose sole official language is English, employs only English. Therefore, language choice of institutionalized scale-levels is predictable, since it is done according to de jure language policies, such as Canada's Official Languages Act (1988) or Ontario's French Language Services Act (1986).

Institutions from different scale-levels are in charge of defining physical spaces in the neighborhood, especially the City Council; it defines public space by naming streets and regiments traffic by means of traffic signs. Symbolic spaces, though, are usually defined by private organizations individuals of different ethnolinguistic groups and sometimes by businesses. Such spaces can be linguistic, religious or ethnic. We have found out that both majority and minority groups define their symbolic spaces in the neighborhood.

The English-speaking community, the majority, is represented by the predominant use of English and by the establishment of bonds with their Anglo-Saxon origins; the establishment and preservation of an Anglican Church in the neighborhood is an instance of the presence of the British colonial past in the neighborhood, a past that still today defines the unmarked patterns in Ontario's society (i.e. English is the majority language). In short, we could say that the hegemonic power is widely represented in the neighborhood.

Minorities, though, also occupy a space in the neighborhood. Non-official minority languages are used by their corresponding communities in many premises displayed on the neighborhood. In some cases, the employment of a non-official language attempts to create a symbolic place for the ethnolinguistic minority concerned. For instance, the use of Tamil

script in Tamil-owned groceries (e.g. Yarl's super-store or Ambal's trading) targets a very specific type of customer, which shares the same or a similar ethnolinguistic background with the shop-keeper. The use of a minority language and the sale of typical products of a culture creates a link to their homeland and/or ethnographic background, which ultimately results in the creation of a place that the minority group concerned can call their own.

However, not all signs written in a minority language are mainly aimed at their corresponding minority group. In some cases, the use of a non-official language and the sale of goods and/or services typical of a culture other than the hegemonic one may be aimed at a broader public. Kingyo, a famous Japanese restaurant in the neighborhood, attracts clients from different ethnic origins. In this case, the use of the Japanese language, the performance of some of their traditions and their cuisine undergoes a process of commodification; the authenticity that these linguistic and cultural practices is an added value to the restaurant. Thus, we cannot say that Kingyo is a place granted especially to the Japanese community, but it is a commercial space that appears to use and sell the Japanese culture as a commodity.

All in all, we can say that physical and symbolic spaces in Cabbagetown are defined from different scale-levels whose indexical orders coexist and clash within the same area. Whereas institutionalized scalar levels language use is predictable by looking at their legislation, the neighborhood level, which includes individuals and minority groups as well, shows a blend of linguistic and cultural practices, which are used either for communicative or commercial purposes, or with a view to create a place for a specific community. Moreover, English is clearly the predominant language in the neighborhood, which is shown by the fact that it is both the most-spoken language and the language that appears the

most in Cabbagetown's LLs. In comparison to the whole city of Toronto, Cabbagetown is less multilingual and more English-dominant in all ambits.

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Appendix A – Classification of Signs

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
Traffic sign 1	English/ icons	Public	Toronto City Council	Conative: regimentation of public space	155-153 Winchester St.	traffic sign	English is Toronto's official language (the municipality is in charge of traffic signs)
Sumach St	English/ icons	Public	Toronto City Council	informative	Winchester St. at Sumach St.	Street sign	Defining physical space
Tutoring ad	English	Private	individual	commercial	Winchester St.	tutoring ad	Use of English to advertise academic support
Spanish classes	English	Private	Cabaggetown Community Arts Center	commercial	Winchester at Sumach	Spanish classes	Importance of bi/multilingualism

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
Riverdale Park	English	Public	Toronto City Council	Referential and conative: information and regimentation	Upper Riverdale Park	Municipal code: dogs in parks	Use of English: Toronto's official language
Winchester St	English	Private	Toronto City Council	Referential: Informative	72 Winchester St	Street sign	Definition of physical space
House numbers	English	Private	residents	defining space	121/119 Winchester St	House numbers written in English	English is the most home-language in Cabbagetown; definition of physical space
St. Martin'school	English	Private	St. Martin's School	informative, commercial	130 Winchester St	Catholic school; registration	English is the most spoken language in Toronto and a lingua franca
Kingyo	English/	Private	Kingyo	commercial,	51B Winchester	Japanese	Correct

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
	Japanese (Latin alphabet)				St	restaurant; opening hours info	transliteration of Japanese; commodification of language; seeking authenticity
Rexall ad	English	Private	Rexall (drugstore)	commercial	Winchester St at Parliament	Flu shot ad	Use of English (lingua franca) for commercial aims
Canada Post	English/French	Public	Federal Government	state representation; language as a symbol of state	Winchester St at Parliament	mailbox	Representation of the state. It shows Canada's bilingualism: Canada post is managed by the Federal

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
							Government
Litter	English	Public	Toronto City Council	Referential: informative	Parliament St	Litter	English is Toronto's official language
Liberal Party	English/ French	Private	Liberal Party	Emotive, informative, conative: propagandistic	529 Parliament St	propaganda	The Liberal Party of Canada operates at a Federal level and, therefore, it uses both English and French.
EagEagle tae kwon do	English/ Korean/ icons	Private	Eagle Tae Kwondo Academy	commercial	493 Parliament St	Martial arts academy	commodification of language; use of Korean to convey authenticity
Xtra!/Fab	English	Private	Xtra! / Fab	commercial	Parliament St	Gay magazine	English is the most

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
						vending machine	spoken language in Toronto and a lingua franca
Ford ad	English	Pivate	Ford	commercial	405 Parliament St	car advert	English is the most spoken language in Toronto and a lingua franca
Streetcar timatable and map	English	Public	TTC (Toronto Transit Comission)	Referential: informative	Parliament St at Gerrard St East	Streetcar timetable and map	Use of English, Toronto's official language
Toronto Public Library	English	Public	Toronto City Council	Referential: informative	269 Gerrard St	Toronto Public Library	Use of English, Toronto's official language
Parliament	English	Private	Parliament Pharmacy,	commercial	285 Gerrard St East	Pharmacy and Clinic signs	English is used in all the signs that we

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
Pharmacy / Parliament Medical Clinic			Parliament Medical Clinic				have found in the neighborhood which have to do with health- related services
Traffic sign 2	English	Public	Toronto City Council	regimentation of public space	492 Parliament St	Traffic sign	
Cabbagetown Organics	English	Private	Cabbagetown Organics	commercial	Parliament St	Organics store (run by Indians)	English is the majority language
Brashmi's Bakery flier	English	Private	Brashmi's Bakery	commercial	499 Parliament St	allergy/vegan-free bakery (a flier on Cabbagetown Organics	Use of English in an expensive organic store; Indian owners

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
						window)	
LCBO open/ouvert	English/ French	Public	LCBO (Provincial Government)	Referential: informative, commercial	512 Parliament	Liquor store	Use of English and French in an institution ruled by the Provincial Government; it shows a compromise with Ontarian francophones.
Fairway Market	English	Private	Fairway Market	commercial	Parliament St at Winchester St	convenience store (run by an Asian immigrant)	English is the most spoken language in Toronto and a lingua franca
Pet shop	English	Private	Menagerie – Pet	commercial	549 Parliament	Pet shop	English is the most

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
	(using a French borrowing)		shop		St		spoken language in Toronto and a lingua franca
Butter Chicken Factory	English	Private	Butter Chicken Factory – 'Authentic Indian cuisine'	commercial	556 Parliament St	Indian Restaurant	No use of Indian, despite of the fact that they seek authenticity
Suruthi's take out	English/Tamil	Private	Suruthi's take out	commercial, authenticity	585 Parliament St	Take-away Indian restaurant	Transliteration of English; confusing info (spelling mistakes)
Ambal Trading	English/Tamil	Private	Ambal Trading	commercial, authenticity	591 Parliament St	Indian and Sri-Lankan grocery	Transliteration of English
Yarl's Super-	English/Tamil	Private	Yarl's Super-store	commercial, authenticity	607 Parliament St	Indian and Sri-Lankan grocery	Transliteration (spelling mistakes)

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
store							
Filipino Centre	English	Private	Filipino Centre, Toronto	commercial	597 Parliament St	Community Centre	Use of English, the most spoken language, despite of the fact that is aimed at a community that speaks a non-official language
Parking meter	English	Public	Toronto Parking Authority	regimentation of space	Parliament St	Parking meter	Use of English, Toronto's official language
Streetcar ad	English	Private	Interior Design Show	commercial	Parliament St	Streetcar ad	English is the most spoken language in Toronto and a

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
							lingua franca
Welcome to Cabbbage town	English	Public	Toronto City Council	informative	Parliament St at Carlton St	Welcoming sign (welcome to Cabbagetown)	Definition of physical space; shows pride
Bahara Cuisine House	English (Halal symbol also in Arabic)	Private	Bahara Cuisine House	commercial, authenticity	178 Carlton St	Pakistani and Indian restaurant	Use of English (the language of the majority and lingual franca); use of Arabic in the Halal symbol to show authenticity
Anglican Church	English/ icon	Private	St. Peter's Anglican Church	defining a religious space	188 Carlton St	Anglican Church	Links Cabbagetown to its colonial past
Zakkushi	English/	Private	Zakkushi	commercial	193 Carlton St	Japanese	commodification of

SIGN	LANGUAGE	PUBLIC/ PRIVATE	INSTITUTION/ COMMERCE	COM. FUNCTION/ AIMS	LOCATION	DESCRIPTION	ANALYSIS
	Japanese					restaurant	language; use of Japenese to convey authenticity
Cabbagetown Chiropractic Health Centre	English	Private	Cabbagetown Chiropractic Health Centre	commercial	210 Carlton St	Chiropractic	English is the majority language
Asian restaurant	English/ Chinese	Private	China Gourmet	commercial	235 Carlton St	Asian restaurant	Commodification of the language; use of Chinese to convey authenticity
Mi Casa	Spanish	Private	Mi Casa	commercial	238 Carlton St	Household stuff store	Commodification of the language