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The Linguistic Landscape of an English-Speaking University Campus in Quebec: The Case of Bishop's University

Treball de Fi de Grau/ BA dissertation

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Grau d'Estudis Anglesos

June 2022

LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author of the present dissertation acknowledges that the object of this study (Bishop's University, Canada) sits on the traditional and unceded territories of the Abenaki people and the Wabanaki confederacy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Eva, whose consistent mentorship and encouragement have pushed me to develop my best academic self.

To my family, without whom any of this would not have been possible.

To my partner, who has been my rock whenever I needed it the most.

To all my friends, who have both supported me and helped me reconnect with myself whenever the landscape got too foggy. To my new Canadian, Brazilian, Mexican, and French family, without whom this year would not have been what it has been.

Thank you for helping me shine

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Abstract

Sociolinguistics has been analyzing linguistic landscapes for half a century. As the name suggests, these studies explore all written sources (e.g., posters, shop names, graffiti) of a localized area to understand the institutional language policies and their practices, whether contested or not.

Taking the Bishop's University campus (Quebec) as my locus of study, I intend to uncover the language policies at Bishop's University and Quebec in order to assess how these manifest on campus. Equally, I will examine the practical uses of English, French, and other languages (both outside and inside university buildings) to apprehend their roles in an English-speaking university of a francophone province. Data collection involved a total of 1316 signs, which I classify following a three-dimensional approach: first, by type of location (lecture halls, academic buildings, service-centred buildings, student-oriented buildings, and the outdoor space) and, then, according to the languages used to codify the message (English, French, other, English+French, French+English, English/French + other, and bivalent); lastly, I arrange the data according to semiotic discourses (commercial, institutional, or other) to ascertain the language ideologies of every signmaker. Results show an overall English predominance (69.41 percent), followed by English+French and French+English (11.26 and 10.93 percent, respectively). The discourse classification reveals that although English predominates in all sorts of discourses, the second most prevalent language fluctuates by discourse type, being commercial signage the only category with a remarkable French presence (14.81 percent). This study may well represent all three English-speaking universities in Quebec.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape, sociolinguistics, bilingualism, multilingualism, language policy, geosemiotics.

1. Introduction

Myriads of written signs comprise the public space. On the street, for example, a commercial for the latest running shoes may draw our attention; in a metro station, perhaps, we will look for a screen that reports the status of our line; and, most likely, in a primary school, we will find a poster reminding us of the class rules. Nevertheless, we are usually so focused on the message that we overlook how it is encoded entirely.

During the past decades, *linguistic landscape* studies have begun to fill this gap. As the name implies, linguistic landscape research is concerned with mapping out the various languages in a localized area to reveal their roles and uses. Specifically, examining linguistic landscapes in multilingual settings reveals the social status associated with the existing languages, whether official (i.e., posted by institutions such as the government) or not. Furthermore, observing which languages are used in the public space can uncover the communicative functions connected with each language. As an illustration, a poster that states a municipal prohibition is useful to detect the language of the administration, and an advertisement that announces a discounted item, depending on the context, can point to a discordance between the administration's language and citizens' language.

On top of this, the hierarchical arrangement of the various languages in multilingual signs provides an insight into the institutional regulations of language use in public locations (henceforth, 'language policies'), as well as into the attitudes towards other languages common in the area which do not make it into the public space. Therefore, it is crucial to understand that every analysis of a linguistic landscape sheds light on the geopolitical context in which it is situated.

In 1997, Landy and Bourhis published one of the most influential studies in the literature. Aside from attempting to uncover francophone students' perceptions of public signage in Quebec, Landy and Bourhis defined "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs" (p. 23, as cited in Gorter, 2013, p. 191) of a given area as constituting a *linguistic landscape*. Similarly, they clarified that "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25, as cited in Gorter, 2013, p. 191) are all included in the scope of linguistic landscape analysis. In 2013, however, Gorter proposed that, since during the past years, the written language in the public space had been incorporated into innovative technological media, Landry and Bourhis' definition had to embrace all types of signage. Therefore, it is now widely accepted that linguistic landscapes include not only road signs, commercial signs, names, and signs on government buildings, but all types of written language displayed in public locations, such as "electronic flat-panel displays, LED neon lights, foam boards, electronic message centers, interactive touch screens, inflatable signage, and scrolling banners" (Gorter, 2013, p. 191).

1.2. Objectives and justification of the study

Bearing in mind the importance of linguistic landscapes as a tool for sociolinguistic evaluation, this dissertation seeks to identify the linguistic patterns on the campus where I spent the past academic year. Beyond fulfilling a personal desire to investigate the policies and practices underlying the public written language of Bishop's University, I set out to evaluate one of the three English-speaking universities in Quebec. Indeed, Bishop's University is located in a predominantly French-speaking area on two levels:

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first, at the provincial level, where the institutional protection of French is well-defined by several laws; and second, at the municipal level, as Sherbrooke, the city to which the university is annexed, is predominantly French-speaking. Further to this, Bishop's University is the only English university in Quebec that is not located on the island of Montreal. As a result, in this study, I aim to investigate:

1. The language policies in place for different signmakers (i.e., the central government, the university's administration, student associations, and commercial outlets) in an English-speaking university.

2. The aforementioned signmakers' practices on campus.

3. The relationship between the language policies and their relevance in the campus signage, as well as the possible discrepancies emerging between the two.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Overview of linguistic landscape research

Linguistic landscapes as a discipline emerged exactly fifty years ago. Following Masai's (1972) first-ever investigation of commercial signs in Shinjuku (Tokyo), linguistic landscape studies slowly began to find new approaches and frameworks. In 1978, for example, Tulp evaluated the public signage of Brussels, a city famously known for its bilingualism, and concluded that French was clearly dominant over Dutch. Calvet (1990), who was already comparing two linguistic landscapes around a decade later, Paris', and Dakar's, resolved that, despite having found multilingual written traces on the public space created by citizens, the official language policy was unilingual.

More revealing of the slow evolution of linguistic landscape studies is the long-standing lack of a focused theoretical framework. Although Landry and Borhis' (1997) clear definition of how to locate linguistic landscapes boosted the field, it was not until 2015 that Shohamy and Ben-Rafael identified the boundaries of linguistic landscape analyses. According to them, the "main goal of LL [linguistic landscape] studies is to describe and identify systematic patterns of the presence and absence of languages in public spaces and to understand the motives, pressures, ideologies, reactions and decision making of people regarding the creation of LL in its varied forms" (Shohamy and Ben-Rafael, 2015, p.1, as cited in Darquenen et al., 2019, p. 431).

Finally, it is worth noting that the vast majority of papers and monographs have traditionally concentrated on the linguistic landscapes of specific streets or neighbourhoods —that is, on urban public spaces—to uncover the policies and language usage in specific (multilingual) cities. Nonetheless, only in the last decade, have researchers begun to examine semi-public institutions such as schools or libraries.

2.2 Development of linguistic landscape research

Although the very first linguistic landscape study was published by Masai (1972), Gorter's (2013) revision of the literature identified Rosenbaum et al. (1977) as the pioneering study of the field (p. 192). Rosenbaum et al.'s analysis of Keren Kayemet Street (Jerusalem) proposed a ground-breaking division of language policy. For one, they detected that governmental signage was in Hebrew, given that it is the official language of the country. Businesses, however, who tended to use other languages such as English, contrasted with the signs produced by the government for employing Latin scripts rather

than Hebrew ones. Rosenbaum et al., therefore, identified a discordance between official policies (*official* signage) and marketing practices (*commercial* signage).

Thirteen years later, Calvet (1990) proved that citizens can also shape the linguistic landscape of an area. While authorities seem to stick to official signage, the written language on walls produced by citizens is two-folded: firstly, it reveals the language policy displayed in the official signage and citizens' adherence to them, and, secondly, it shows the degree of institutional acceptance of citizens' language use. Still, the study that "contain[ed] the seeds of the development of the field of linguistic landscape" (Gorter, 2013, 193) emerged seven years later. Landry and Bourhis' (1997) assessed the perceptions of public signs by Quebecoise high school students. Among their conclusions, they established that linguistic landscapes easily shape the perception of belonging and exclusion in a linguistic context. Thus, they evidenced that linguistic landscapes bear more social significance than may seem at first.

Six years after Landry and Bourhis (1997) had proposed a solid definition of linguistic landscapes, Scollon and Scollon (2003) secured one of the first theoretical bases to study linguistic landscapes. In the main, Scollon and Scollon asserted that public signs must be interpreted considering their social and cultural contexts; this, they named *geosemiotics*, as it connects material meaning (i.e., the localized public signage in itself) to the social understanding that these have in society's minds. In the same line, Ben-Raphael et al. (2006) concluded that the linguistic landscape might not reflect the actual reality of a certain area, for, in their study, they identified a discordance between the use of English, Hebrew, and Arabic in public and private signs in different communities of Israel. Because the language patterns of each of the three communities investigated were

unique, language choice seemed to have whole different impacts depending on the location of a particular sign. For this reason, Ben-Raphael et al. referred to linguistic landscapes as agents that contribute to building the *symbolic space* of the public space.

2.3 Development of linguistic landscape research in Quebec

The very bilingual nature of Quebec has given rise to scholarly analyses of its linguistic landscape. To begin with, Monnier (1989) highlighted that the province of Quebec (Canada) has a strict language policy that goes against citizens' use of the language: businesses, for example, are required to use French in their shop sign names. In practice, however, the vast majority of the commercial advertisements in storefront windows tend to be written in English.

More recently, Backhaus (2009) compared the governmental regulations of language in the public space of Tokyo and Quebec, as these are diametrically opposed. Primarily, a sizable portion of Tokyo's population speaks Japanese. Because Japanese has a secure status, the language policies of Tokyo tend to encourage the usage of other languages, such as English, Chinese, or Korean. In contrast, while French speakers are a majority in Quebec, they are a minority at the national level. This particular linguistic ecology is what prompted the provincial government of Quebec to enforce severe regulations to ensure the survival of French —and, as a result, to discriminate against the use of English or any language that is not French. Even if Tokyo and Quebec represent opposite ends of the same spectrum, similarities in their policies were discovered on account of Kloss' (1969) two language planning labels: *status* planning (or, policies that regulate the public use of language) and *corpus* planning (or, those policies or

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organizations that intend to modify its usage). In the end, Quebec was revealed to have more restrictive policies than Tokyo, given that its status planning is to regulate both the use and the non-use of the French language in public spaces, and it appoints corpus planning institutions to enforce that business names are in French.

2.4 Linguistic landscapes of university campuses

It has not been until the last decade that linguistic landscape studies have expanded beyond urban areas. While the analysis of semi-public institutions has slowly taken over the field, such as Brown's (2012) assessment of the reemergence of Võru in an Estonian school or Sayer's (2010) proposal of using linguistic landscapes as a pedagogical resource in EFL classrooms, university campuses and faculties have not received the same attention. In 2015, Jing-Jing's pioneering analysis of the linguistic landscape of Kyushu University in Japan demonstrated that university campuses are a category of their own, as, unlike cityscapes, they lack rich multilingual signage (Jing-Jing, 2015, p. 137). By means of revising the institutional policies, Jing-Jing highlighted that the municipal and the central Japanese governments promote multilingual signs, as these are required to feature English and, oftentimes, Chinese and a Hiragana transliteration, too. However, the researcher discovered that, aside from a committee that managed sign translation before the construction of the new campus and a recent plan to include English translations of all signs on the main campus, there were few formalities in place to regulate campus signage. Ultimately, Jing-Jing suggested that the significant number of Japanese and English bilingual signs on the Ito campus indicated a trend toward a developing internationalization.

Inspired by Jing-Jing's paper, other campuses were scrutinized. Jenkins et al. (2019), for instance, questioned whether the advertised linguistic diversity on the campus of the University of Southampton was true. By drawing data from interviews, classroom observation, and an analysis of the linguistic landscape, they concluded that the university was taking the first steps to accept a wider linguistic diversity, yet it still had issues tolerating what sounded like non-native English. Another example is Jiao's (2020) examination of Ankang University, a local (rather than a global) Chinese university. Despite the fact that bilingual signs had only recently begun to replace unilingual ones, the study revealed that Chinese+English signs with Chinese as the predominant language had the greatest presence. Overall, the linguistic landscape of Ankang University confirmed that, despite the university is not internationally renowned, it recognizes English as a global Lingua Franca. Sign renovations, thus, indicated the university's desire to be perceived as a globalizing institution.

2.5 Analytical approaches in linguistic landscape research

On the whole, linguistic landscape studies collect a pictographic data set of all the available written signs, which are, then, arranged according to the needs of the paper. Multiple disciplines have addressed linguistic landscape studies (e.g., contact linguistics, language policy), and qualitative and quantitative approaches have been equally featured in the literature. Over time, scholars have incorporated tailor-made labels for their own studies, but in so doing, they have neglected the standardization of a classification that can encompass all research alike.

Spolsky and Cooper (1991), for example, proposed a classification of language choice in written signs based on three conditions: the writer's skill, the reader's comprehension, and the symbolic value of the resulting text. Landry and Bourhis (1997), who focused primarily on authorship, deemed that signs are either created by governments (*governmental signs*) or by businesses and citizens (*private signs*). To this date, one of the most encompassing classifications of signs is, perhaps, Scollon and Scollon's (2003) division of semiotic places —*frontstage/public* or *backstage/private*— and semiotic discourses: *regulatory and infrastructural municipal signage* (i.e., traffic information or public labels), *commercial signs*, and *transgressive signage* (i.e., graffiti). However, other systematizations have continued to emerge: Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) referred to *top-down* and *bottom-up* signage, depending on who it is that produces the written message (institutions or the average population); Backhaus (2006) established a classification based on the source of the sign, its reader, and the dynamics of the diverse languages on it. In a latter study, Backhaus (2007) also considered the existence of *official* and *non-official* multilingual signage. In this dissertation, however, I will use my own categorization, which I have based on Scollon and Sollon's (2003) semiotic discourses: *commercial discourses, institutional discourses,* and *other discourses*. Similarly, I will adopt a mainly quantitative approach with some qualitative observations.

3. Historical context of English university education in Quebec

Quebec is the only province in Canada where French is the first language of the majority of the population (82.33 percent) (Statistics Canada, 2017). As such, most Higher Education institutions in the province employ French as a vehicular language, with only a small number of universities resorting to English as a language of instruction.

In fact, only three Quebec Universities offer their courses in English: McGill University, Concordia University, and Bishop's University. Out of these three, McGill University and Concordia University are located in the capital, Montreal, and only Bishop's University is located in a different administrative area: Estrie.

3.1. The first university in Quebec

In 1801, *the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning* was founded to promote a public education system in Lower Canada —a territory that would be renamed 'Quebec' after Canada's confederation in 1867. Among other things, the Royal Institution was meant to ensure that all regions would possess a public primary school only if they wished so. However, the absence of an education board to oversee compliance with the Royal Institution allowed the dominant French-speaking Roman Catholic Church to continue to establish schools throughout the province —and, thus, to impose a Catholic education on a substantial percentage of the population. At a primary level, the Catholic *petites écoles* covered the basic needs of alphabetization and schooling. At a secondary level, the Jesuits founded the *Collège des Jésuits* in Quebec, which, years later, became one of the first handful of *classical colleges* in Lower Canada. Nonetheless, there was never enough money or significant interest by the population or the Church to build a higher education institution such as a university.

Two significant events in the 1810s facilitated the establishment of Lower Canada's first university. For starters, in 1813, merchant James McGill's will revealed a substantial gift to the *Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning*: influenced by the recommendation of one of his close friends, McGill had bequeathed his forty-six-acre estate, Burnside, as well as ten thousand pounds, "for the creation, within ten years of his

death, of a college or university bearing his name" (Boulianne, 1992, p.58). Secondly, in 1818, the *Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning* was appointed to ensure the proper development of a public education system. Conveniently, the Anglican Lord Bishop Jacob Mountain, who, among others, had advocated for the creation of the Board in the first place, became the Principal of the Board. In addition to this, the vast majority of the trustees that he selected for the Board happened to be in line with his Anglican beliefs —so much so that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Joseph-Octave Plessis, refused to be in a dominant Anglo-Protestant organization. Thus, the creation of the first Anglican university in Quebec was only a matter of time.

Seeing that the ten-year deadline to build McGill's university was approaching, the newly arranged Board began to push for a Royal Charter that allowed for its foundation. The legal document was issued in the spring of 1821, but the university did not offer its first courses in the faculty of medicine until 1829. Overall, the English nature of McGill University can be said to have been determined by its very creation: firstly, it was the English Crown —which already possessed Lower Canada at the time— that authorized the construction of the University of McGill; and, secondly, the fact that the majority of the members of the Board of Trustees were Anglican made it unquestionable that the language of instruction at McGill would be English. Nonetheless, it is also worth noting that the liberal mindset of McGill University —particularly, that of its first Principal— ensured that, despite its Anglican foundation, "all offices in McGill College were left freely open either to Protestants or Roman Catholics, and students of all denominations w[ere] permitted to attend." (Frost, 1980, p. 60)

3.2. A historical overview of Bishop's University

Two decades after the creation of McGill, the second English-speaking university in the province was born. Unlike its siblings, McGill and Concordia, Bishop's University was built in the Eastern Townships area —a region located around 120 km southeast of Montreal. Again, only a historical overview can account for the English character of Bishop's University.

In 1840, the province of Lower Canada homed around 640,000 people: 525,000 being Francophones (i.e., 82 percent) and the remaining 115.000 being Anglophones (18 percent) (Nicholl, 1994, p. 3). In contrast to the overall demography of Lower Canada, the Eastern Townships area was predominantly English-speaking, given that its inhabitants had mainly emigrated from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Being aware of the high concentration of English speakers in the Eastern Townships, the missionary Rev. Lucius Doolittle decided to open a grammar school for boys in Lennoxville —a village adjacent to one of the biggest towns in the Eastern Townships, Sherbrooke. Doolittle, who planned to offer university-level education himself, learned that Bishop Mountain intended to establish a university in Trois-Rivières that would teach humanities, and, eventually, he persuaded the Bishop to locate it in the Eastern Townships.

Although initially skeptical of the success of an Anglican institution in such an area, the Bishop appointed a committee to decide the location of the new university. After much quarrelling over the personal benefits of all suggested locations, Lieutenant-Colonel William Morris bought forty acres in the Lennoxville area and transferred them to the Bishop for the "creation, establishment, maintenance and support, and for the exclusive

use and benefit, of a College in connection with the Established Church of England" (Nicholl, 1994, p. 21). In effect, Bishop's University was built in 1843 with the aim to provide an education in the liberal arts —in fact, the first-ever Bachelor in Arts in Lower Canada was offered that very year in McGill—, but it did not acquire permission to grant degrees until it received the Royal Charter in 1853.

With the Industrial Revolution, however, the number of English speakers residing in the Eastern Townships began to drop. To this day, the number of French speakers is far superior to that of English speakers. In the Official Census of 2016, the Estrie area (which was formerly known as the Eastern Townships) was reported to be the residence of 6.31 percent of people who speak English at home, 91.48 percent of people who speak French, and a remaining 2.2 percent of people who speak non-official languages. At the provincial level, similar data emerges: a minority of 10.10 percent of the total population in Quebec are English speakers, 82.33 percent are French speakers, and 7.56 percent are speakers of non-official languages (Statistics Canada, 2017). Only 3.27 percent of the English speakers in Quebec live in Estrie. Although the percentage may appear small, along with the area of Montreal, Estrie is reported to be the most accessible region to undertake an English postsecondary education as an alternative to the almost compulsory French schooling (Standing Senate Committee on Official Languages, 2011 p. 29). The predominance of English speakers, both historically and at present, is undoubtedly the *raison d'étre* of Bishop's University. The role of Bishop's University not only as the one English university in an area full of French institutions but also as the only university outside of the island of Montreal is certainly worthy of examination.

3.3 English Universities in Quebec nowadays

Over time, more universities started to emerge in the province. In 1959, Quebec had three French universities —Université Laval, Université de Montreal, and Université de Sherbrooke— and three English universities —McGill University, Bishop's University, and George Williams University. The following year, Quebec held elections for the first presidency of the province, and Jean Lesage was elected its first *premier*. Lesage's administration inaugurated a decade of prosperity and development that was later labelled the 'quiet revolution.' Remarkably, during this period, the *Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* was created to assess the educational system until 1960. The Commission's final report, the *Parent Report*, which was published in 1964, indicated that the excessive presence of the Church in the educational system of Quebec urged for the secularization of educational institutions. Additionally, the *Parent Report* sowed the seeds of the first law that demanded an educational reform, Bill 63, which prompted the creation of the Ministry of Education, Recreation and Sports and incorporated the CEGEP system to equate the conditions of access to university regardless of students' previous language of instruction. All of this shaped the functioning of the university system as it is known today.

Effectively, the *Parent Report* saw one of its first victories when the Université de Montreal and Université Laval detached from religion in 1965 and 1970, respectively (Jones, 1997, p. 169). Another accomplishment of the recently reformed educational system was the establishment of the Francophone Université du Quebec in four different cities to make university-level education more accessible to everyone. Because of the *Parent Report*, Francophone universities continued to originate throughout the province, such as the Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique (1969) and the École de

Technologie Supérieure (1974). However, no new English universities were added to the group —only, in 1974, George Williams University merged with Loyola College and gave way to what is now known as Concordia University. To this day, a total of eighteen universities have transformed Quebec from the province with the fewest postsecondary programmes to the one with the highest number of them (Jones, 1997, p. 186). Nonetheless, while Quebec has gained access to university education, French institutions have become the norm and English ones the exception.

4. Language Policies

As language policies scholar Elana Shohamy (2006) argues, "those in authority use language in the public space to deliver symbolic messages about the importance, power, significance and relevance of certain languages or the irrelevance of others." (p. 110) While language policies tend to be made explicit by the institution, this is not always the case. In fact, for what concerns the present dissertation, a clear difference emerges between the provincial policies in Quebec and the university's policies. As the following four bills shall prove, Quebec has unequivocal, *explicit or overt* (Shohami, 2006, p. 50) language policies about language use in the public space. However, as the second subsection will reveal, Bishop's University has almost no policies on language choice in public signs; thus, we shall consider its language policies as rather *implicit* or *covert*. (Shohami, 2006, p. 50)

4.1. Language Policies in Quebec

In the 1960s, the Government of Quebec enforced tough, protective language policies upon the realization that "the French language, a minority language in North

America and Canada, is too precarious to develop without state support." (Québec &
Ministère des Relations Internationales, 1997, p. 4). In a chronological order, the
legislations that directly or indirectly affect linguistic landscaping are the following:

- **Bill 22 or *Act respecting the official language* (1974)**: Bill 22 officialized French as
  the sole official language of Quebec. Of concern to this study, article 35 claims that:
  "Public signs must be drawn up in French or in both French and another language,
  except within certain limits provided by regulation. This section also applies to all
  advertisements in writing, in particular bill-boards and electric signs." (Bill 22 1974,
  cited in Shohamy & Gorter, 2006). The bill was withdrawn and replaced by Bill 101.

- **Bill 101 or *Charter of the French Language* (1977)**: Bill 101 sets "to make of French
  the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday
  language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business." (Bill 101
  1977, cited in Québec & Ministère des Relations Internationales, 1997, p. 4). In
  particular, three articles make French a mandatory language for commercial signs and
  labels as well as for public signs: *Article 22*, which claims that the administration will
  only use French in signs; *Article 29,* which dictates that road signs shall be written in
  the official language; and, lastly, *Article 58,* which establishes that signs of
  commercial nature must be written in French. Nevertheless, "messages of a religious,
  political, ideological or humanitarian nature" and "signs concerning cultural activities
  by a given ethnic group" (Bill 101 1977, cited in Shohamy & Gorter, 2006, p. 160)
  are exempted from using only French. Additionally, the bill creates four agencies to
  regulate and supervise compliance to the Charter: *Office de la langue française,
  Commission de toponymie, Commission de surveillance, Conseil de la langue
  française*.

In 1988, the Supreme Court of Canada deemed the exclusive use of French as illicit, given that it contradicted the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom.* That same year, Bill 178 permitted bilingual signage only when English was half the size of French.

- **Bill 86 or *Act to amend the Charter of the French language* (1993)**: Preceded by Bill 178 (1988), Bill 86 allowed languages other than French in public signage provided that French is "markedly predominant" (Bill 86 1993, cited in Shohamy & Gorter, 2006, p. 160). In this line, Article 2 specifies that "markedly predominant" means that: the French text takes twice the space of the other language's one; that the characters of the French text are twice as large as the other one's; and that the remaining characters do not diminish the visual impact of the French text.

- **Bill 104 or *Act to amend the Charter of the French language* (2002)**: In 2002, one of the multiple amendments of Bill 101 made it mandatory for English-speaking universities and colleges to have a policy that details the quality and the use of the French language. In particular, it requires such institutions to specify the language of instruction, the language of communication and work, the role of French in the university, and the teaching of French as a second language. This bill will be relevant for the present dissertation.

4.2 Bishop's University language policies

In contrast to Quebec, Bishop's University does not have clear guidelines on language choice on its signage. In the university, the public space is regulated by two institutions: the administration, which manages the university's grounds and its official signage, and the SRC (the Student Representative Council), which is responsible for

organizing student-led events and coordinating clubs and spaces such as the university bar.

While the latter has issued two policies that touch on the university's linguistic landscape, namely the *Bishop's University SRC Poster Policy* (2020) and the *Bishop's University SRC Clubs Manual* (2020), neither mentions language choice in public signs. The *Poster Policy,* for one, states that all the posters "must be approved and stamped by the SRC or Residence Services before being posted" (Bishop's University SRC, 2020b, p. 21), thus making it compulsory for posters to be previously filtered by an institution. Equally, posters can only be posted in allotted spaces, such as "bulletin boards in the Student Union building, Residences and all academic buildings" (Bishop's University SRC, 2020b, p. 21) and must be removed two weeks after the event that they advertise. The *BU SRC Clubs Manual*, on the other hand, has a section titled "advertising events and fundraisers," but it does not specify which language posters should use, either. Even so, in accordance with the university's *Alcohol policy* (2015), the manual bans harmful discourses such as "sexually suggestive material" or the "promotion of tobacco or any form of substance abuse" (BU SRC, 2020a, p. 10)

The administration appears to be more cognizant of language policies. To begin with, as required by the 2002 amendment of the *Charter of the French Language*, the university made public a *Policy on the Use and Quality of the French Language* (2004). The preamble reaffirms Bishop's University as an English-language university, as established by the *Royal Charter* in 1853 (Bishop's University, 2004, p. 1). In contrast, all communications with the government, as well as those with "les personnes morales établies au Québec" (Bishop's University, 2004, p. 1) are reported to be made in French. Parallelly, the university guarantees "high quality instruction in French as a second

language at all levels of competence" as well as the opportunity to submit exams and assignments in French (Bishop's University, 2004, p. 1).

Moreover, the *BU Brand book* (2019) establishes that the bilingual crest logo (i.e., the logo that reads 'Université Bishop's University') must be used for all official communications and stationery design, whereas the English-only one is intended for promotional materials in the US market. Additionally, one of the several documents linked in it, "Steps to Create the University Email Signature - PC," instructs university staff to sign off with their full name, followed by the English name of their position (such as director or head of the department), and, then, the French translation of it (Bishop's University, n.d., p. 1). By and large, aside from the university logo, there does not appear to be any requirement that makes either English or French appear in public signage on campus. Rather, because Bishop's University has a sizable English-speaking community, it is assumed that most signs will, at least, include an English version of the text.

5. Data collection and classification

To gain a permanent, comprehensive understanding of the linguistic landscape of Bishop's University, I photographed all written signs on campus, both indoors and outdoors. To do it, I used the non-professional built-in camera on my phone, and I stored the pictures in a folder for later consultation. Although I could have photographed all of the buildings in a shorter period of time, most of my pictures were taken intermittently between December 2021 and April 2022 due to time constraints. My data, thus, covers all open, permanent (i.e., texts written on the walls, location markers, etc.) and semi-permanent signs (i.e., messages on screens, advertisements, etc.) exhibited in public

spaces on campus during that period. This, however, does not include buildings with restricted access, such as Divinity House (as it is under reformation to create an Indigenous gathering space 'Kwigw8mna'), Bandeen Hall (which is mostly used for student musicians, and, thus, its access is subject to special permission), the W.B. Scott Arena (which is an inoperative gymnasium) and the security-only areas. Similarly, this study does not include an assessment of the kindergarten Panda Care or Champlain College, which are located on the grounds of Bishop's University.

Having gathered approximately eight hundred photographs, I transferred the data to a Google Drive folder and organized the images by location (e.g., Residences, the Library, Hamilton building, etc.). My first attempt at data systematization was based on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) semiotic discourses: 'institutional signage' (which came from combining *regulatory signage* with *infrastructural* signage), '*commercial* signs', and 'other' (which was inspired by Scollon and Scollon's *transgressive* label). While this helped me distinguish between the two main types of discourses on the posters, it did not allow me to identify the various institutional signmakers at the university (such as the Bishop's University SRC, the university administration, the municipal city hall, or the provincial government) nor the relevant dimensions in relation to commercial ones (such as, e.g., on-campus vs off-campus events). For this reason, I divided 'institutional' and 'commercial' discourses based on the type of information that they encoded. To begin with, the label 'institutional discourses' was divided into four sub-categories based on the communicative functions of the signs: *infrastructural* (which were, mostly, location markers)*, regulatory* (i.e., rules and municipal signs)*, informational* (i.e., general and specific information, such as a professor's office hours)*,* and *other* (where there are, especially, artistic expressions and institutional acknowledgments). The 'commercial

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discourses' group, on the other hand, was divided by signmakers: *on-campus life,* which included events sponsored by on-campus organizations and institutions such as the residence team, and *off-campus life*, which grouped signs made by corporations and other academic institutions. Further to this, I had to maintain the provisional label 'other' instead of 'transgressive' due to the lack of student-produced (and, thus, 'transgressive') signs on campus.

After categorizing the data by location and discourse subtype, it was time to classify it by language(s). To gain a thorough understanding, I began by hand-drawing a table that tracked the number of discourse types in every location. There, I wrote down and colour-coded all of the language options that I had come across since: English, French, Multilingual, and other languages. In doing so, I realized that were instances that I had initially not contemplated, such as different language hierarchies in English and French bilingual signs (i.e., E+F or F+E) or words that worked equally well in English and French (i.e., bivalency, as conceptualized in Woolard, 1998, p. 7). Finally, I used Google Sheets to create two separate tables — Table 1 (see p. 24) and Table 2 (see p. 30)— to track the relationship between the location and the type of public signage discourses, respectively, with the presence of all the linguistic combinations that I had encountered in my preliminary classification: English-only, French-only, another language, English+French (i.e., a sign in which English is predominant or first), French+English, French/English+another language, and bivalent signs.

6. Data analysis

First and foremost, Bishop's University must be understood as a liberal arts university that encourages flexible, customizable academic pathways (Bishop's

University, 2022). Perhaps as a direct result of this model, the physical space of the campus is arranged not in separate faculties (e.g., faculty of humanities, faculty of political sciences), but in thirteen buildings and eight residence halls, as described further below. Observing the linguistic landscape in each building, however, would not provide a conclusive answer to this study nor a broader comprehension of English universities in Quebec. For this reason, all physical spaces have been classified according to their function in the university scheme: *lecture halls, academic buildings, service-centred buildings, student-oriented buildings*, and *the outdoor space*.

Primarily, 'lecture halls' comprises five buildings: Hamilton, Johnson, Molson Fine Arts, Nicolls, and the Turner Studio, this one being used mostly by drama students. Secondly, 'academic buildings' includes the two main locations of the administration and professors' offices: the cottage-shaped Morris House, which is filled, especially, with the offices of the English Department, and McGreer Hall, where the central offices are. 'Service-centred buildings' are all those spaces offering particular services: the Dewhurst Dining Hall (or, 'Dewies'), the Library Learning Commons, the John H. Price Sports & Recreation Centre (or, 'The Plex'), St Mark's Chapel, and the Sub, which hosts a bar ('The Gait'), the cooperative store ('Doolittles'), the mail and print services, and some administration and SRC offices. Lastly, 'student-oriented buildings' are those facilities open to students' needs: the Centennial Theatre, where, beyond the auditorium, students may visit a micro-art gallery ('Foreman Art Gallery'), participate in an art laboratory ('Art Lab'), or gather in the Indigenous Cultural Alliance (or, ICA), and the student residences.

| | | Total | Unilingual | | | Multilingual | | | |
			English	French	Other	E+F	F+E	F/E+ Other	Bivalent
Lecture Halls	Hamilton	41	73.17%	2.44%	0.00%	17.07%	7.32%	0.00%	0.00%
	Johnson	140	72.14%	10.00%	0.00%	10.00%	6.43%	1.43%	0.00%
	Molson	41	78.05%	0.00%	0.00%	14.63%	7.32%	0.00%	0.00%
	Nicholls	35	80.00%	2.86%	0.00%	8.57%	5.71%	2.86%	0.00%
	Turner Studio	42	88.10%	0.00%	0.00%	11.90%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	Total	299	78.29%	3.06%	0.00%	12.44%	5.36%	0.86%	0.00%
Academic Buildings	McGreer	178	76.97%	14.04%	0.00%	5.62%	3.37%	0.00%	0.00%
	Morris House	61	91.80%	1.64%	0.00%	3.28%	0.00%	1.64%	1.64%
	Total	239	84.38%	7.84%	0.00%	4.45%	1.69%	0.82%	0.82%
Service-centred Buildings	Dewies	57	46.55%	6.90%	0.00%	12.07%	29.31%	0.00%	5.17%
	Library	153	70.59%	2.61%	0.00%	18.95%	5.88%	1.96%	0.00%
	The Plex	103	48.54%	12.62%	0.00%	18.45%	20.39%	0.00%	0.00%
	Chapel	13	92.31%	0.00%	0.00%	7.69%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
	The SUB	153	62.99%	6.49%	0.00%	18.18%	9.74%	1.95%	0.65%
	Total	481	64.20%	5.73%	0.00%	15.07%	13.06%	0.78%	1.16%
Student-oriented buildings	Centennial	136	56.62%	15.44%	2.21%	6.62%	16.18%	1.47%	1.47%
	Residences	88	77.27%	0.00%	0.00%	15.91%	5.68%	1.14%	0.00%
	Total	224	66.95%	7.72%	1.10%	11.26%	10.93%	1.30%	0.74%
Outdoor space		72	26.03%	10.96%	0.00%	19.18%	41.10%	1.37%	1.37%
Total (average)		**1316**	**69.41%**	**5.73%**	**0.15%**	**12.54%**	**10.56%**	**0.92%**	**0.69%**

Table 1. Signs by their original location and the language(s) that encodes them.

Overall, Table 1 reveals that unilingual English signs constitute the vast majority of the campus' linguistic landscape, these representing more than half of the public signage (69.41 percent). Except for the outdoor space, which is dominated by F+E instances (41.10 percent), all indoor spaces have, at least, 60 percent of their signs written in English. English-only signage is especially prevalent in academic buildings, where it

constitutes a solid majority of 84.38 percent —particularly, in location markers and artistic expressions (see Figures 1 and 2 below).

In contrast, categories such as service-centred buildings seem to differentiate the spaces linguistically based on who administers them: a third-party company, or the university employers. Despite the 308 of the 481 (64.20 percent) English-only signs and posters on service-centred buildings, the menus of the three dining establishments on campus —the *Purple Pod (*located in the Sub) and *Dewies*, both operated by the food company Sodexo, and the Canadian café *Tim Hortons* (located in the Plex)— are encoded in a predominant French text with a less-visible English translation. Furthermore, in tune with the officiality of French in Quebec, Sodexo and Tim Hortons frequently display commercials and relevant information in French (see Figure 3). Conversely, the linguistic preferences of the staff who work in such settings are consistent with the university's linguistic model, as all relevant communications are written solely in English, and, in rare cases, in English+French (see Figure 4 and 5, respectively).

Figure 1. English-only indication in McGreer.

Figure 2. English-only poster in Morris House.

Figure 3. French-only advertisement (left) and French-English menu (right) at Tim Hortons.

Figure 4. Employers-produced sign 1. Example of an English-only sign.

Figure 5. Employers-produced sign 2. Example of an English+French sign.

In opposition to English-only signs, on average, French-only instances represent one-twentieth of the total count (5.73 percent). The category with the most significant number of French-only signs is the outdoors space, where most traffic signs and emergency-related information (such as Figure 6) constitute 10.96 percent of French signage. Of particular relevance is the abundance of French-only instances in one of the two student-oriented buildings, Centennial Theatre, as these represent 15.44 percent of

the location's total count. In particular, I observed that most instances of unilingual French signs are concentrated around off-campus advertisements and in the micro art gallery Foreman Art Gallery, given that this one tends to post information about its exhibitions in French and F+E. Oddly enough, neither of the other locations in this category —the student residences— have a single instance of a French-only sign.

Figure 6. French-only signs outdoors. Information about a bike path that goes through the university.

The lack of languages beyond English and French in such a multicultural university is remarkable. While Bishop's University proudly claims on its website that "more than 25% of [full-time students] are international students" (Bishop's University, 2020c, p. 1), the on-campus signs do not seem to reflect such diversity. In fact, only three signs on campus (0.15 percent) are unilingual and encoded in a non-official language: Algonquin, Mi'kmaq, and Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics (e.g., Figures 7 and 8 below), these being Indigenous languages. The number of signs that combine English or French with other languages is not much higher, as only fourteen examples of this type (0.92 percent) are visible on campus. Mostly displayed outdoors and in student-oriented buildings, the observed languages have been: Spanish, Dutch, Arabic, Ojibwe, Latin, Chinese, and Abenaki (see Figure 9).

Figure 7. Flag written in another language 1 (Mi'kmaq).

Figure 8. Poster written in another language 2 (Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics).
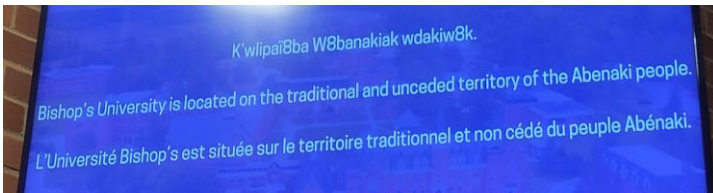

Figure 9. Message written in E/F + another language. Abenaki+English+French land acknowledgement in the Sub and the Library.

After English-only signs, F+E and E+F bilingual cases represent 23.10 percent of the campus' linguistic landscape. While, on average, E+F signs outnumber F+E ones (12.54 percent vs 10.56 percent), encountering so much bilingualism in an English-language university surprised me enormously. Notably, the outdoor space is the category with the largest number of F+E signs —30 out of 72 instances alone are F+E (41.67 percent). Nevertheless, we need not forget that the university is located in a predominantly Francophone context. Therefore, the indications about how to move around campus (Figure 10) and the preventive sanitary obligations against COVID-19 (Figure 11) are written alternatively in F+E and E+F for all users to understand.
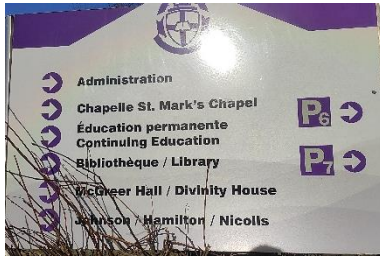
Figure 10. F+E indications outdoors.

Ultimately, the occurrence of exceptional instances that may be classified equally as English or French-only signs, prompted me to include the label 'bivalent', which was first conceptualized by Woolard (1998). The first time that I noticed this phenomenon was at Dewies, where one of the many bilingual posters that is used to designate food stations around the cafeteria, contained a single word to indicate 'desserts' yet still included a F+E bilingual description: "pour votre dent sucrée / for your sweet tooth" (see Figure 11). While I thought this was an anomaly, in the end, it turned out that there were eight examples of the kind around campus (0.69 percent of the linguistic landscape): one in academic buildings ('corridor'), one outdoors ('administration'), two in student-oriented buildings ('complaisance', 'invitation'), and four in service-centred buildings ('dessert', 'information', 'attention', 'menu').

Figure 11. Bivalent poster at Dewies.

After exploring the different linguistic combinations in relation to all types of buildings and learning that the linguistic landscape does fluctuate by location, evaluating the three main semiotic discourses —commercial, institutional, and other— is the next step. Table 2, thus, sections the data by discourses and sub-discourses and computes the

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presence of unilingual (English, French, and other), multilingual (E+F, F+E, E/F+other), and bivalent signs per category.

	Count	Unilingual			Multilingual			Bivalent
		English	French	Other	E+F	F+E	F/E+Other	
COMMERCIAL								
On-campus life	170	80.00%	5.88%	0.00%	2.94%	10.00%	1.18%	0.00%
Off-campus life	118	68.64%	23.73%	0.00%	1.69%	4.24%	1.69%	0.00%
Total	288	74.32%	14.81%	0.00%	2.32%	7.12%	1.44%	0.00%
INSTITUTIONAL								
Informational	394	71.07%	10.15%	0.00%	7.36%	9.90%	1.02%	0.51%
Infrastructural	273	46.15%	1.83%	0.00%	33.33%	17.22%	0.00%	1.47%
Regulatory	142	45.77%	7.75%	0.00%	23.94%	22.54%	0.00%	0.00%
Other	47	76.60%	2.13%	0.00%	10.64%	0.00%	6.38%	4.26%
Total	856	59.90%	5.46%	0.00%	18.82%	12.41%	1.85%	1.56%
OTHER	169	91.72%	4.14%	1.78%	1.18%	1.18%	1.78%	0.00%

Table 2. Signs by the type of discourses and language(s) that encodes them.

According to the present table, English-only signs prevail in all types of discourses: 74.32 percent of commercial advertisements, 59.90 percent of institutional signage, and 91.71 percent of other discourse types —the latter being, generally, artistic expressions. Although the second most common language choice varies depending on the nature of the information, the position fluctuates between French-only and E+F/F+E signs. French-only commercial discourses, for example, follow English-only commercial discourses (14.81 percent); however, on-campus and off-campus signmakers behave differently. On the one hand, 23.73 percent of off-campus advertisements encode their information in French —especially, those that advertise events in town or promote businesses and services in it (see Figure 12); in contrast, whenever on-campus advertisements are not composed in English, bilingual F+E signs take the lead (10 percent)

over French-only signs (5.88 percent) —especially, those advertised by partners such as the music department or a sports club (see Figure 13).

Figure 12. French-only off-campus life advertisement. Promotion of a music festival in town.

Figure 13. French+English on-campus advertisement. Promotion of the Golf club adjacent to the university.

A similar pattern can be found in institutional discourses, where bilingual E+F and F+E instances make up roughly one-third of the total count (31.23 percent). Bilingualism is especially prevalent in infrastructural and regulatory sub-discourses (50.55 percent and 46.48 percent, respectively). As stated earlier, this is primarily due to the location of the university in a French-speaking area, given that these discourses are primarily used by the municipal, provincial, and federal governments. In contrast, albeit only by 2 percent, informational sub-discourses have more F+E signs than E+F and roughly the same number of French-only instances.

The *other* types of discourses differ significantly from the previous two categories; with an English-only rate of 91.72 percent, the label formed by artistic expressions and commemorative plaques sees unilingual French signage as the second most popular linguistic choice (4.14 percent). Furthermore, the sum of bilingual F+E and E+F instances only represents half the number of French-only signs (2.36 percent), although this is most likely done purposely to create more impactful and visually appealing pieces (such as, e.g., Figure 14). Remarkably, this is the only group with student-produced signs: a series of encouraging messages created in the student support centre to promote the wellbeing of other students. Only one F+E bilingual poster stands out among the remaining thirty English-only posters (see Figure 15), thus indicating that 96.77 percent of 31 students prefer to communicate in English.
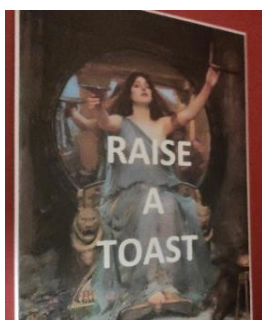

Figure 14. English-only poster classified as an 'other' type of discourse.

Figure 15. English-only student produced signs with the only F+E example (left)

While unilingual and bilingual English and French signs are present in all three main categories, the signs in 'other' languages and those with bivalent words are only found in institutional discourses. To begin with, words in languages other than English or French only appear in *other* discourses (1.78 percent). The only examples of this kind are two First Nations flags and an alphabet of Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics, as previously discussed. Secondly, the eight bivalent words, which represent 1.56 percent of institutional signage, appear in three institutional discourse sub-categories: informational, infrastructural, and other. *Other* being the discourse with the highest bivalence (4.26 percent) may give the impression that this is the category with the most bivalent words. Nonetheless, in truth, both *other* and informational signs have the same number of bivalent words (2), whereas infrastructural signage is the group that records the most examples (4, these representing 1.47).

Finally, in all three types of discourses, there is a similar rate of multilingual E/F+other languages (between 1.44 percent and 1.85 percent). In particular, the 'other' institutional sub-discourse has the most examples of the kind (6.38 percent), and the regulatory and the infrastructural sub-discourses, which are two of the most representative administrative discourses, do not show any multilingual E/F+other signs at all. The high number of 'other' institutional sub-discourses, thus, is what propels institutional signs into being the category with the most E/F+Other examples (1.85 percent).

7. Discussion

On the whole, the present study has evidenced that the linguistic landscape of a university such as Bishop's University is multilayered. Indeed, the overall linguistic performance of the university is intricately linked to its location; thus, while Bishop's

University teaches its classes in English, there are, at least, three larger bodies regulating the use of some of its public spaces: the municipal administration, the provincial government, and the federal government (Sherbrooke, Quebec, and Canada, respectively).

Although these institutions play a key role in the overall functioning of the university (such as in regulating its traffic or preventing the spread of sanitary diseases), they do not dominate the university's linguistic landscape. The best example of this can be traced to Quebec's Bill 86: while the Bill dictates that, in almost any multilingual public sign, French has to double the visual predominance of the other language (this being, for the most part, English), in practice, predominantly French bilingual signs are only the third largest linguistic category on campus (10.56 percent, closely followed by E+F's 12.54 percent and English's 69.41 percent). Curiously enough, although the largest sample of F+E signs would be expected to appear in institutional signage, as these include examples of the three governments, in reality, bilingual F+E instances only predominate in two sub-categories: on-campus life commercial discourses (i.e., organizations such as the residence life, the SRC, and some departments) and in informational discourses (i.e., notices posted by any of the governments, research, or educational information).

In connection with this, commercial posters made by off-campus signmakers reflect the prevalence of French in the Sherbrooke area (the French population of which is the dominant majority). Hence, while the presence of French in the linguistic landscape is almost insignificant (only 5.73 percent), nearly a quarter of off-campus signmakers (23.73 percent) use French to advertise their services at the university. Likewise, spaces regulated by third parties experience a similar phenomenon: companies, in general, make

greater use of French and French+English signage, whereas imminent communications posted by the university's staff (who are, frequently, university students) in the same spaces are written in English or in English+French. Overall, this confirms the importance of understanding the geopolitical context in which a university is located to fully understand all signmakers.

Antithetically, we can observe that there are only a few examples of student-created signs. Unlike in linguistic landscape analyses of cityscapes, where the label 'transgressive' has been used to designate those messages drawn by citizens in unauthorized places (i.e., graffiti or placards), Bishop's University lacks a large enough sample of student-produced signs to draw firm conclusions about students' linguistic preferences. Thirty-one motivational posters indicate that, in general, students may conform to the English-language philosophy of the university (thirty posters) and that a small minority (as seen in only one poster, which is written in F+E) may feel more comfortable speaking French but still wish to be inclusive of those who do not speak it.

In the main, the language policies and practices at Bishop's University seem to contradict the overly regulated linguistic space in the province. Although Bishop's University does not have any explicit regulations concerning language choice in the public space on campus, the data I gathered shows that, in practice, the physical space is not as dominated by English as one would predict. Putting a special emphasis on institutional discourses, for these are the only ones that the university itself can control, I uncovered that only about two-thirds of the signage (59.90 percent) are exclusively English, and about the remaining third is made up by bilingual French and English, and

English and French signs. Thus, the linguistic landscape of Bishop's University indicates that the university does not behave like a linguistic island.

Even so, the lack of linguistic diversity is cause for concern: while the university acknowledges that it is located in traditional Indigenous land and that, at least, 25 percent of its students are international, there are hardly any linguistic instances that make these two groups feel welcome nor many opportunities for them to express themselves in their native tongues. Hopefully, the construction of the indigenous space Kwigw8mna will, at least, increase the sample of signs in other languages.

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Appendix 1: Data for Table 1 (Location + Languages)

Location	Unilingual				Multilingual				Bivalent signs	
	English	French	**Other language(s)**	**(which one)**	**English-French**	**French-English**	**F/E-Other language**	**(which one)**		
Hamilton	30	1			7	3				
Johnson	101	14			14	9	2	E-Some SP words		
Molson	32				6	3				
Nicholls	28	1			3	2	1	SP-English		
Turner Studio	37				5					
McGreer	137	25			10	6				
Morris House	56	1			2		1	Dutch-F	1	*corridor*
Dewies	27	4			7	17			3	*dessert, information, attention*
Library	108	4			29	9	3	1 F-Chinese; 1 Arabic-E; 1 Abenaki-E-F		
The plex	50	13			19	21				
	12				1					
The Sub	97	10			28	15	3	1 E-Latin; 1 Abenaki-E-F;	1	*menu*

								1 F-E-Lat		
Centennial	77	21	3	Algonquin, Mi'kmaq; Canadian Aboriginal Syllabics	9	22	2	F-Chinese; E-Ojibwe	2	*complaisance; invitation*
Rez	68				14	5	1	Mix of all languages		
Outdoors	19	8			14	30	1	Abenaki-E-F	1	*administration*
Total (sum) 1316	879	102	3		168	142	14		8	

Appendix 2: Data for table 2 (Semiotic Discourses + Languages)

Type of discourse	Unilingual			Multilingual			Bivalent signs
	English	**French**	**Other language(s)**	**English-French**	**French-English**	**F/E-Other language**	**Bivalent signs**
COMMERCIAL DISCOURSES							
On-campus life	136	10	0	5	17	2	0
Off-campus life	81	28	0	2	5	2	0
Total	217	38	0	7	22	4	0
INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSES							
Informational	280	40		29	39	4	2
Infrastructural	126	5		91	47		4
Regulatory	65	11		34	32		
Other	36	1		5		3	2
Total	507	57	0	159	118	7	8
OTHER DISCOURSES	155	7	3	2	2	3	
Total (sum): **1316**	879	102	3	168	142	14	8