

JULIA TUSK

Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, Polska
<https://orcid.org/0009-0005-3281-3561>

Copyright and License: Copyright by Instytut Języka
Polskiego PAN, Kraków 2024. This article is published under
the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution – NoDeriv-
atives 4.0 International (CC BY- ND 4.0) License ([https://
creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/legalcode.pl](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/legalcode.pl)).

A POLISH BOROUGH? THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF EALING AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SENSE OF IDENTITY OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS

Keywords: linguistic landscape, linguistic minorities, identity, London, Ealing.

ABSTRACT

One purpose of linguistic landscape (LL) studies is to test how linguistic minorities contribute to the construction of written language in the public sphere. Previous studies in this field focused mostly on the semiotic analysis of linguistic items situated on the street. However, there is still little research that investigates how individuals perceive the linguistic landscape. The aim of this study is: (1) to examine how linguistic minorities are represented in the linguistic landscape of the London Borough of Ealing based on the example of two selected streets; and (2) to test whether linguistic representation has an impact on the sense of identity of linguistic minorities, with a focus on Polish immigrants living in the UK. The empirical study is divided into two parts. To achieve aim (1) the linguistic landscape of two streets of Ealing, i.e., Uxbridge Road and South Ealing Road, was examined. The field study involved taking pictures of all signs on the two streets using a digital camera and a smartphone. The data for this part of study consists of 115 units of analysis. These units were analysed in terms of the languages displayed as well as the characteristics of bilingual signs. The results of the field study show English, as the majority language, holds greater importance, but minority languages are also present in shaping the linguistic landscape of Ealing. To achieve aim (2), an online questionnaire was created and sent to 45 members of the Polish community living in the UK. The questionnaire consisted of 19 questions that were divided into 3 parts. The analysis of the responses to the questionnaire shows that the Polish community living in the UK is well-integrated into the host community. They appreciate the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, that is its power to mark the status of different languages. The informational function, on the other hand, was less important for the people surveyed.

INTRODUCTION

London is one of the most linguistically diverse cities in the world, with over 300 languages being spoken. This makes it an interesting area for linguistic landscape research, which focuses on the linguistic make-up of the public space. Previous studies in this field focused mainly on the semiotic analysis of signs located on the streets. Researchers

analysed the linguistic landscape from different perspectives, investigating for example the effect of globalisation on the linguistic landscape of global cities (Ben Rafael & Ben Rafael, 2019) or the representation of linguistic minorities (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Troyer et al., 2019). However, there is still little research that investigates the relationship between the linguistic landscape and the sense of identity of linguistic minorities. For this reason, this study aims to fill this research gap by putting the focus on how minority members perceive linguistic landscape signs.

The aim of this study is twofold. Firstly, this study will examine how linguistic minorities are represented in the London Borough of Ealing, which is sometimes referred to as “the Polish Borough”. The second aim of the study is to test whether linguistic representation has an impact on the sense of identity of linguistic minorities, with a focus on Polish immigrants living in the UK. To achieve these aims, three research questions were formulated:

1. What is the linguistic make-up of the London Borough of Ealing?
2. What are the characteristics of the bilingual signs in the London Borough of Ealing?
3. What is the Polish minority perception of and attitude toward the signs written in Polish?

The article is divided into four parts. The first part focuses on the theoretical concepts associated with the area of linguistic landscape studies and linguistic minorities. The following sections describe the data collection procedure, methods of analysis, and the results of the study. The last part is dedicated to a discussion of the results.

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AND IDENTITY

The notion of the linguistic landscape as “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” was first described by Rodrigue Landry and Richard Y. Bourhis (1997). Signs in the linguistic landscape can perform various functions. They mark the importance of different languages in a given area, showing their hierarchical position and status. The linguistic landscape can also contribute to one’s feeling of affiliation to a certain group, and influence the linguistic behaviour of language users (Landry & Bourhis 1997; Cenoz & Gorter 2006). Moreover, to assess the source and purpose of signs, linguistic landscape items are commonly divided into top-down and bottom-up signs. Top-down signs are those created by the governments and institutions in order to align with the majority group. Bottom-up signs, on the other hand, are created by ordinary people and businesses and are not subject to any regulations (Backhaus 2006; E. Ben-Rafael et al. 2006).

One way to study the linguistic landscape is to investigate the representation of minority languages in a given area. Due to globalisation, most contemporary societies are not monolingual, but rather they consist of language groups that are different from each other. Researchers classify minority languages for example on the basis of the origin of the

speakers' community. Such divisions focus on whether a minority language emerged and remained a minority language indigenous to a particular region, or originated outside the country and remains a majority language in another society (Extra & Gorter 2008; Gorter et al. 2011).

Minority communities are often studied within the context of immigration (Phinney et al. 2001). Minority groups in a host society can behave in two ways. Secure minorities, who are characterized by a strong sense of identity, want to remain distinct from the host community, and focus on preserving their native culture. Insecure minority groups, on the other hand, identify strongly with what the majority represents and assimilate into the new environment (Moscovici & Paicheler 1978; Phinney et al. 2001).

However, the distinctions between majority and minority languages are not always clear, and depend greatly on the context in which they are used. For instance, languages may have the status of a majority language in one country, but be minority languages in another, as with Spanish in Spain and in the United States (May, 2006). The minority languages investigated in this study will be distinguished following Jonathan Owens (2000, 1) as "those whose speakers are fewer than those of another group(s) within a given area".

The protection of minority languages and culture, manifested for example by its presence in the linguistic landscape is a subject of international law. Article 7 of the "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" (1992) refers to the need for governments to take into account the promotion and support of the use of spoken and written minority languages when establishing new laws. Moreover, according to Article 11, paragraph 3 of the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities" (1995), authorities should make an effort to display traditional local names, street names, and other topographical indications in minority languages in regions characterised by a greater number of national minority members.

Numerous studies investigating the role of minority languages in the linguistic landscape of multilingual urban areas have been published. One of the most widely known studies of minority language representation in the linguistic landscape is Jasone Cenoz and Durk Gorter (2006). They investigated the use of minority languages (Basque and Frisian), state languages (Spanish and French) and English in the linguistic landscape of two cities: Donostia/San Sebastian in Basque Country and Ljouwert/Leeuwarden in Friesland. The results showed that in both areas it was the state language that dominated. However, in terms of minority languages and English, the results were different. In Friesland, English was the second language in the linguistic landscape and the minority Frisian language had the lowest presence. In Basque Country, on the other hand, Basque was the second language and English was the least used.

Another study by Robert Troyer et al. (2015) investigated the salience of Spanish as a minority language in the linguistic landscape of two main roads in the small town of Independence in Oregon. The results demonstrated that 11% of signs in the area contained the Spanish language, among which convenience stores, Mexican restaurants and local businesses' names predominated. The role of Spanish items in the linguistic landscape was symbolic rather than functional and was linked to the ethnic identity of the linguistic minority members.

Current research continues the discussion of the role of minority languages in the linguistic landscape. Alba Arias Álvarez and Sheryl Bernardo-Hinesley (2023) studied the importance of the Asturian minority language in the linguistic landscape of Mieres, Asturias. The study revealed that Asturian was visible on both bottom-up and top-down signage. Moreover, it showed how crucial it is to implement policies regarding the protection of minority languages in society. Another study conducted by Siham Mousa Alhaider in 2023 investigated the bottom-up signs in the linguistic landscape of the Yemeni minority in New York. The analysis demonstrated the presence of bilingual Arabic and English signs, which strengthens their identity and makes the minority language visible.

Minority languages in the linguistic landscape can be studied within various contexts. In light of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Vlada Baranova (2023) analyzed the role of linguistic minorities in anti- and pro-war signs. The results highlighted the role of minority languages as a form of protest and solidarity within a minority community. This shows that the presence and role of minority languages in society changes, depending on the situation in the world.

The study that follows focuses on the presence of minority languages in the linguistic landscape of Ealing, with particular focus on the Polish minority, one of the largest immigrant groups in the UK. Polish emigration to the UK occurred in three main waves. The largest and most recent one followed the Polish accession to the European Union in 2004. More job opportunities encouraged Polish people to leave their home country and settle in the UK. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact number of Poles that left Poland at that time, but statistics assess annual emigration to the UK increased rapidly between 2004 and 2006 from 500 to 24,000 (Okólski & Salt 2014). This rise contributed to the Polish language making its presence felt in the linguistic landscape.

DATA GATHERING PROCEDURE AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

This study was divided into two parts. The first aim was to examine how linguistic minorities are represented in the linguistic landscape of the London Borough of Ealing. What is more, to establish whether the representation of minority languages in the linguistic landscape has an effect on the sense of identity of minorities, a questionnaire was created and distributed among Polish immigrants living in the UK. In this study, ‘sense of identity’ is measured by the reaction of the people surveyed to the presence of Polish signs in their neighbourhood. In other words, the survey tested whether the Polish community living in the UK notices and appreciates the presence of Polish on signs and prefers to frequent places with Polish signage.

The area chosen for the first part of the study, the London Borough of Ealing, is situated in the western part of Greater London. It consists of seven towns: Acton; Ealing; Greenford; Hanwell; Northolt; Perivale; and Southall. The London Borough of Ealing covers 55 square kilometres, which makes it the 11th biggest borough of London (Ealing Council 2011).



Figure 1. Map of London with Ealing highlighted (Source: <https://capitalwestlondon.co.uk/ealing-2/>)

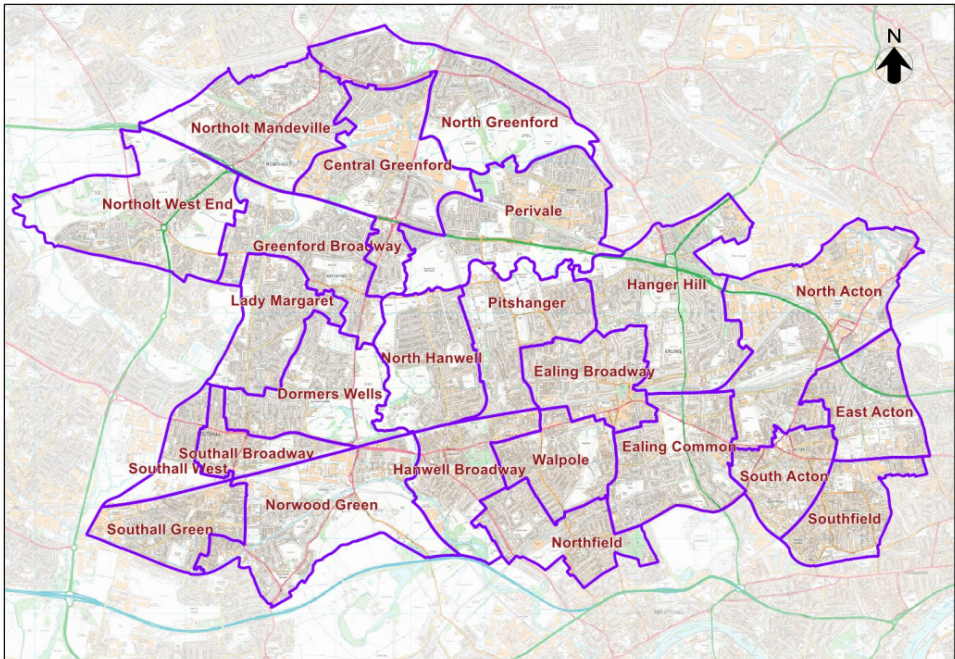


Figure 2. Map of Ealing (Source: <https://maps.ealing.gov.uk/>)

Ealing is one of the most ethnically diverse areas of London. The 2021 Census showed that people who declare non-UK identity constitute 28.1% of the population, and people who declare both UK-identity and non-UK identity make up 4.8% of the population. The Census also reported that more than half of Ealing's residents reported being born outside the UK. The four most commonly reported places of origin (other than England) among Ealing residents were India, Poland, Pakistan, and the Middle East (other than Iran and Iraq) (Office of National Statistics 2023). The multilingual character of Ealing makes it an interesting area for linguistic landscape research.

The first part of the study consisted of photographing linguistic landscape items situated on the streets. The decision was made to consider both top-down and bottom-up signs. However, in some cases it was difficult to establish what a linguistic landscape item is, and how to determine which signs should be analysed. That is why, for this study, the definition of the unit of analysis was taken from Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Miriam Ben-Rafael (2019, 25). They defined their unit of analysis as 'any linguistic combination of elements appearing together'. For this reason, items situated on the street that did not include any text were excluded from the analysis.

Moreover, it was decided that in terms of businesses such as shops, restaurants, and others, the approach originally presented by Cenoz and Gorter (2006) would be used. In that study, cases in which the name of the shop appeared in front of a building, but also posters or other signs on the windows, were counted as one unit of analysis, as they considered them as one sign, no matter how many texts there were. This decision was justified by the fact that all languages that are displayed on the shops represent languages that are used by the company, which means they should be treated as a whole, rather than separate entities (Cenoz & Gorter 2006). Also, as this study investigates the way in which minority languages are represented in the linguistic landscape, this approach was the most suitable.

The study of the linguistic landscape in Ealing took place on one day of February 2023. The area of analysis was limited to two streets in Ealing, that is the Uxbridge Road and the South Ealing Road. On each of the streets, there was a dedicated area from one signal pole to the nearest next one. The area selected on Uxbridge Road was approximately 161 meters long whereas the area on the South Ealing Road was approximately 322 meters long.

Similarly to Cenoz and Gorter (2006), all texts situated on both top-down and bottom-up signs that were visible in the areas selected for this study were photographed using a digital camera and a smartphone. During the study, a total of 163 pictures were taken by two researchers over a period of approximately 2 hours. However, some of the pictures contained the same sign or more than one sign. For this reason, the number of signs used for analysis was different to the number of pictures taken, amounting finally to 115 units of analysis. Selected examples of the signs together with their analysis are presented in the next section.

The data gathered in Ealing was supplemented by the questionnaire data. Initially, the questionnaire was supposed to be sent only to Polish inhabitants of the Borough

of Ealing. However, due to an insufficient number of respondents, the questionnaire was also distributed to Polish immigrants living in different parts of the UK. The link to the questionnaire was posted on Facebook groups for the Polish community living in the UK, thus voluntary response sampling was used. These responses were collected over a period of two months, in March and April 2023. In total, there were 45 respondents.

The questionnaire was anonymous and consisted of 19 questions that were divided into three parts. In the first part the respondents were asked to recognize some of the signs collected during the empirical study. In the second part, survey participants were asked to state their attitudes and opinions about multilingual signs in the linguistic landscape using the 5-point Likert scale. The last part consisted of demographic questions such as the duration of their stay in the UK or when they moved to the country. All questions were asked in Polish. The answers for the first two parts of the survey will be presented in the analysis section. The demographic characteristics are provided below.

The answers to the demographic questions show that 1 person surveyed moved to the UK between 1980–1990; 5 of them between 1990–2004; and 39 after the Polish accession to the EU in 2004. Among the respondents, 10 declared living in the UK for less than 5 years; 8 for 5–10 years; 23 for 10–20 years; and 4 for more than 20 years.

The characteristics of the participants in relation to the research questions show that the majority (91%) of respondents consider themselves Polish in many aspects, and 34% consider themselves British in many aspects. Moreover, 52% of respondents feel more connected with Polish culture than British. Lastly, 51% of people surveyed claimed that they spend most of their free time with other Polish people. However, when it comes to professional life, the vast majority of respondents (80%) reported spending most of their time with non-Polish people.

Signs that were collected during the study in the London Borough of Ealing will be analysed in two ways, following the approach presented by Cenoz and Gorter (2006). First, the signs will be categorised according to the languages that were displayed on them, in order to see how each language contributes to the linguistic landscape. Then, all signs will be analysed in terms of their appearance. For this part of the analysis, each unit of analysis will be evaluated on the basis of the type and size of font, as well as the placement of texts in different languages. This decision was made according to the notion that the arrangement of languages on the sign represents the hierarchy of languages and relations between them (Cocq et al. 2020).

The answers that were collected through the questionnaire will be analysed and correlated with the answers to the demographic questions to see if these factors might have an effect on their responses to the presence of Polish signs in the linguistic landscape. In particular, the analysis will focus on the reported duration of living in the UK as well as the level of integration with other Polish people both at work and in private life of the respondents.

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

To answer the first research question (What is the linguistic make-up of the London Borough of Ealing?) all signs were categorised on the basis of the languages that appear on them. Table 1 provides the distribution of languages of the signs that were collected during the study.

Table 1
Languages in the linguistic landscape of Ealing

Languages	number	%
English	89	77
English-Persian	7	6.1
English-Polish	6	5
English-Italian	2	2
English-Chinese	1	1
English-Spanish	1	1
English-Ukrainian	1	1
Polish	5	4.3
Other	3	2.6
Total	151	100

The semiotic study has shown a variety of languages displayed. The linguistic landscape of Ealing is constituted by monolingual English signs (77%) and bilingual signs in English and minority languages (16%). Monolingual English signs mostly consisted of shop and business names, but unlike bilingual signs in English and minority languages and monolingual Polish signs, this group also consisted of a few top-down signs. Among bilingual signs containing English and a minority language, most of them were situated on the restaurant and shop buildings, indicating the type of cuisine and products one can find inside. Moreover, during the study, 5 monolingual Polish signs were found. These mostly consisted of slogans and other forms of advertising Polish businesses, for instance shops with Polish products, but also translating services as well as cultural events for the Polish community living in Ealing.

Apart from that, 3 of the collected signs were classified as “other”. This category consists of signs that represent neither the majority, nor the minority language, that is business names in Latin or named after a person.

This analysis shows that the linguistic landscape of Ealing reflects its linguistic diversity. About 20% of signs contain a language other than English, with the highest percentage of bilingual English-Persian and English-Polish signs as well as monolingual Polish signs. The analysis of bilingual signs in terms of their characteristics is provided in the next section.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BILINGUAL SIGNS

To answer the second research question (What are the characteristics of the bilingual signs in the London Borough of Ealing?) the signs were classified in terms of the prominence of languages displayed. In this study, similarly to Cenoz and Gorter (2006), the amount of information, size of text, and general impression was taken into consideration. Table 2 shows the results of this analysis. On most of the signs collected (67%) the majority language was more prominent. About one third of the signs had the minority language first or more prominent.

Table 2

The first/more prominent language on bilingual signs

	number	%
Majority first/more prominent	12	67
Minority first/more prominent	6	33
Total	18	100

Figure 3 shows an example of a bilingual English-Persian sign in which the minority language (Persian) is more prominent. The Persian language is situated at the top of the sign and is more visible than English. Moreover, the text in Persian conveys different information than the English text, indicating that this part of the sign is directed specifically to the linguistic minority members.



Figure 3. An English-Persian sign in which Persian holds greater importance. Photo by the author, 17.02.2023

Figure 4 shows a bilingual English-Ukrainian sign in which the English language was more prominent. In this case, there is no doubt that the sign represents the Ukrainian linguistic minority living in Ealing, both because of the use of Ukrainian language and the colour coding referring to the Ukrainian national flag. The English language, however, holds greater importance as it conveys more information, for example about the items that the inhabitants of Ealing can donate to help people affected by war.



Figure 4. An English-Ukrainian sign in which English holds greater importance. Photo by the author, 17.02.2023

Table 3 shows an analysis of bilingual signs in terms of the size of font in the majority and minority language.

Table 3
The size of font on bilingual signs

	number	%
The same	8	45
Majority bigger	4	22
Minority bigger	6	33
Total	18	100

The previous analysis of the collected bilingual signs indicated that English, as the majority language, holds greater importance. However, when it comes to the analysis in terms of the size of text in both languages, nearly half of the signs (45%) featured equal size for both texts. What is more, there were slightly more signs in which the text in the minority language is larger (33%) compared to those where the text in the majority language was larger (22%). This suggests that even with the evident dominance of English, minority languages also mark their importance in shaping the linguistic landscape. An example of a bilingual sign with the bigger font in the text with the minority language is presented in Figure 5.



Figure 5. A Polish-English sign in which the Polish text is written in a bigger font. Photo by the author, 17.02.2023

THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

To answer the third research question (What are the Polish minority perceptions of, and attitudes to, signs written in Polish?) an online questionnaire was created and sent to 45 Polish immigrants living in the UK. Figures 6–9 summarize the answers to each of the four questions that were chosen for the analysis. The first question tested whether the respondents paid attention to the language of the signs in the public sphere. The vast majority (80%) of those surveyed expressed agreement with the statement, 38% of which selected “strongly agree” and 42% chose “agree”. 4% disagreed with the statement, with 2% selecting “disagree” and 2% “strongly disagree”.

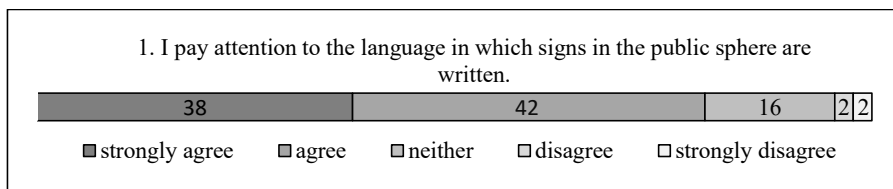


Figure 6. Responses to the first question (percentages)

Secondly, survey participants were asked about their opinion of multilingual signage in areas with large numbers of immigrants. 40% of those surveyed agreed that in such areas, signs should be written both in English and other languages, with 11% selecting the option “strongly disagree”. 51% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, with 44% choosing “disagree” and 7% “strongly disagree”.

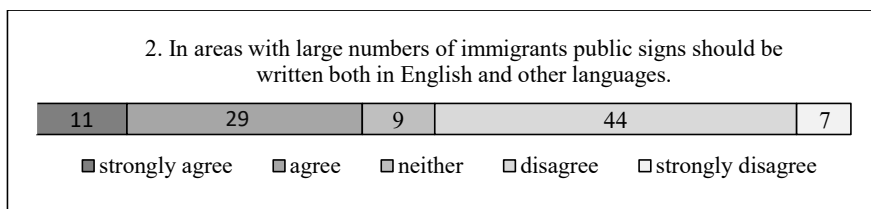


Figure 7. Responses to the second question (percentages)

The third question tested if Polish immigrants living in the UK thought that Polish signs in their neighbourhood made them feel more at home. Almost a fourth (24%) of the respondents agreed with the statement, with 2% selecting “strongly agree”. More than half (54%), on the other hand, felt that Polish signs did not make them feel at home in their neighbourhood, with 45% of the respondents disagreeing with the statement, and 9% strongly disagreeing with the statement.

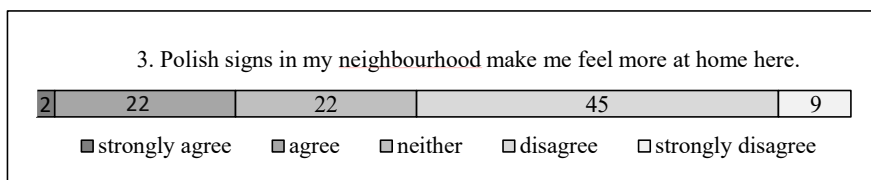


Figure 8. Responses to the third question (percentages)

The last question chosen for analysis examined whether Polish immigrants living in the UK prefer to go to places that have signs in Polish. Only 13% of the respondents

answered that they preferred to visit places with Polish signage. More than a half (56%) showed disagreement with the statement, with 34% choosing “disagree” and 22% “strongly disagree”.

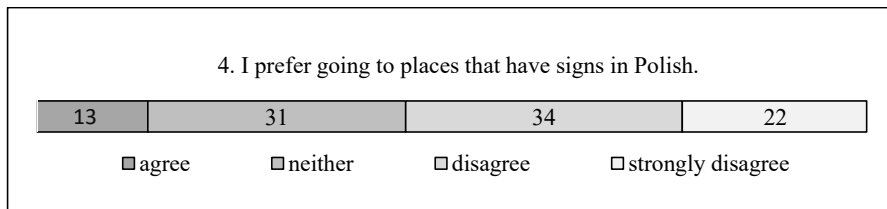


Figure 9. Responses to the fourth question (percentages)

The analysis of the responses in terms of the sociological characteristics of 45 participants suggests that there is a correlation between the duration of stay in the UK and the responses to the third question chosen for the analysis. The analysis indicated that the longer people have lived in the UK, the less Polish signs made them feel at home in their neighbourhood. Most people who declared living in the UK for less than 5 years tended to agree with the statement, with 10% choosing “strongly agree” and 50% choosing “agree”. Among the group living in the UK for 5–10 years, only 13% selected “agree”, and 62% disagreed with the statement. Lastly, 56% of Polish immigrants living in the UK for 10–20 years showed disagreement with the statement, with additional 13% selecting the option “strongly disagree”. This may indicate that the duration of stay in the UK has an impact on the reaction of the Polish community living in the UK to the presence of Polish signs in the linguistic landscape.

Since the group of Polish immigrants living in the UK for more than 20 years consisted of only 4 participants, it was more challenging to clearly see the correlation between the duration of their stay and the answers to the question. That is why it has been decided to exclude this group from the analysis. Table 4 summarises the results from this analysis.

Table 4

Responses to the third question in relation to the duration of stay in the UK (percentages)

“Polish signs in my neighbourhood make me feel at home here”			
	Less than 5 years	5–10 years	10–20 years
strongly agree	10	0	0
agree	50	13	13
neither	0	25	31
disagree	30	62	43
strongly disagree	10	0	13

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study demonstrated that the linguistic landscape of the London Borough of Ealing is characterised by a high preference for bilingual signs in various minority languages. The analysis of these signs shows that English as the majority language is more prominent in this area, but minority languages also make their mark. It is worth stressing the importance of the Polish language in the linguistic landscape of this area. Both bilingual English-Polish and monolingual Polish signs served either a symbolic or informative function, and were bottom-up: created by ordinary people and business owners. The results of the questionnaire indicate that the Polish community in the UK is well-integrated into the host community. They appreciate the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, but the informational function was less important.

There are notable points of comparison between this study and the prior research, for instance with the investigation conducted by Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael (2019). The study by Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael investigated different areas of London, including Southall (referred to as “London’s Little India”), located in the London Borough of Ealing. In comparison to the present study, the linguistic landscape of London Little India is characterised by a higher percentage of signs with ethnic markers. It also contains several examples of BCNs (Big Company Names), which were not found on Uxbridge Road nor on South Ealing Road. These differences result from the fact that Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael conducted their study in a highly commercial street (The Broadway) and so the linguistic make-up of that area differs from the observations for this study, conducted on smaller streets. What is more, Ben-Rafael and Ben-Rafael describe their findings using the terms “English with ethnic markers” and “ethnic markers” instead of “bilingual” and “monolingual” signs, since their research analysed the influence of globalisation on the linguistic landscapes of global cities rather than the representation of the linguistic minorities as such.

The research presented in this work contributes to the understanding of the correlation between linguistic minority representation in the linguistic landscape and the sense of belonging to the host culture. Answers to the questionnaire have shown that the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape as defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) was more important for Polish immigrants living in the UK than the informational function. These results parallel what was previously observed by Troyer et al. (2015). What their study demonstrated was that linguistic minority members notice the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, as they tend to name their businesses with reference to their native languages or their countries of origin.

This research gives insight into how linguistic minority members perceive themselves as members of the society in a host country. It also opens avenues for further research regarding the relationship between the linguistic landscape and the sense of identity. Continuing to test the reaction of Polish immigrants stratified by their place of residence would show whether the results of the questionnaire created for this study also apply to a larger group. Moreover, future research could explore other linguistically diverse

areas of London to see how representation varies with regard to other locations, and the linguistic make-up of the communities living there.

REFERENCES

- Alhaider, S.M. 2023. "Linguistic Landscape of Arabs in New York City: Application of a Geosemiotics Analysis". *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 12(5).
- Álvarez, A. & S. Bernardo-Hinesley. 2023. "Uncovering minoritized voices: The linguistic landscape of Mieres, Asturias". *Open Linguistics* 9(1).
- Baranova, V. 2024. "The Linguistic Landscape of the war. Minority languages, language activism, and contesting identities in Russia". *Linguistic Landscape* 10(1): 55–78.
- Backhaus, P. 2006. *Linguistic landscapes: A comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ben-Rafael, E., E. Shohamy, M. Hasan Amara & N. Trumper-Hecht. 2006. "Linguistic Landscape as Symbolic Construction of the Public Space: The Case of Israel". *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3(1): 7–30.
- Ben-Rafael, E. & M. Ben-Rafael. 2019. *Multiple globalizations. Linguistic landscapes in world cities*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cenoz, J. & D. Gorter. 2006. "Linguistic landscape and minority languages", *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3(1): 67–80.
- Cocq, C., L. Granstedt, E. Lindgren & U. Lindgren. 2020. *Developing methods for the study of linguistic landscapes in sparsely populated areas*. Umeå: Umeå University.
- Council of Europe. 1992. "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages". *European Treaty Series 148*. Council of Europe: Strasbourg.
- Council of Europe, 1995. "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities". *European Treaty Series 157*. Council of Europe: Strasbourg.
- Ealing Council. 2011. *State of Ealing. Place*. London: Ealing Council.
- Extra, G. & D. Gorter, eds. 2008. *Multilingual Europe: Facts and policies*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gorter, D., H.F. Marten & L. Van Mensel. 2011. *Minority Languages in the Linguistic Landscape*. New York: Springer.
- Landry, R. & R.Y. Bourhis. 1997. "Linguistic landscape and ethnolinguistic vitality: An empirical study", *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16(1): 23–49.
- May, S. 2006. "Language policy and minority rights". In *An introduction to language policy*, ed. T. Ricento. New York: Blackwell, 255–272.
- Moscovici, S., G. Paicheler. 1978. "Social comparison and social recognition: two complementary process of identification". In *Differentiation between social groups*, ed. H. Tajfel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Office of National Statistics. 2023. "How life has changed in Ealing: Census 2021". <https://www.ons.gov.uk/visualisations/censusareachanges/E09000009/> (April 17 2023)
- Okólski M. & J. Salt. 2014. "Polish Emigration to the UK after 2004; Why Did So Many Come?". *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* 3(2): 11–37.
- Owens, J. 2013. *Arabic as a minority language*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- Phinney S.J, G. Horenczyk, K. Liebkind & P. Vedder. 2001. "Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: An interactional perspective", *Journal of social issues* 57(3): 493–510.
- Troyer, R., P. Giménez-Eguívar & C. Cáceda. 2015. "Unseen Spanish in small-town America: The linguistic landscape of a minority language: Spanish in small-town in America" in *Conflict, exclusion and dissent in the linguistic landscape*. eds. R. Rubdy, S.B. Said, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 52–76.

Polska dzielnica? Reprezentacja mniejszości językowych w krajobrazie językowym dzielnicy Ealing i jej związek z poczuciem tożsamości polskich imigrantów

Słowa kluczowe: krajobraz językowy, mniejszości językowe, tożsamość, Londyn, Ealing.

STRESZCZENIE

Jednym ze sposobów badań krajobrazu językowego jest analizowanie go pod kątem udziału mniejszości językowych w kształtowaniu języka sfery publicznej. Poprzednie badania nad krajobrazem językowym skupiały się głównie na semiotycznej analizie znaków w przestrzeni publicznej. Jest jednak niewiele badań analizujących, jak ludzie postrzegają elementy krajobrazu językowego. Celem tego badania jest (1) zbadanie, jak mniejszości językowe są reprezentowane w krajobrazie językowym dzielnicy Ealing w Londynie na przykładzie dwóch wybranych ulic oraz (2) sprawdzenie, czy reprezentacja językowa ma wpływ na poczucie tożsamości członków mniejszości językowej, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem polskich imigrantów żyjących w Wielkiej Brytanii. Badanie empiryczne zostało podzielone na dwie części. Aby osiągnąć cel (1), został zbadany krajobraz językowy dwóch ulic w dzielnicy Ealing w Londynie, mianowicie Uxbridge Road i South Ealing Road. W tej części badania wszystkie znaki znajdujące się na ulicach zostały sfotografowane za pomocą aparatu cyfrowego i telefonu komórkowego. Podczas tej części badania zebrano 151 jednostek, które zostały przeanalizowane pod kątem znajdujących się na nich języków i właściwości znaków dwujęzycznych. Wyniki analizy wykazały, że język angielski jako język większości ma największe znaczenie w krajobrazie językowym Ealing, ale języki mniejszości również uczestniczą w procesie kształtowania krajobrazu językowego. Aby osiągnąć cel (2), został stworzony kwestionariusz internetowy, który wypełniło 45 członków polskiej społeczności mieszkającej w Wielkiej Brytanii. Formularz zawierał 19 pytań, które zostały podzielone na trzy części. Z analizy odpowiedzi wynika, że polska społeczność żyjąca w Wielkiej Brytanii dobrze integruje się ze społecznością goszczącą. Zauważają oni symboliczną funkcję krajobrazu językowego, to jest jego rolę w ukazywaniu hierarchii języków na danym obszarze. Funkcja informacyjna była natomiast mniej istotna dla ankietowanych.